

LANDSCAPING DISCOURSES OF DIVERSITY AND CITIZENSHIP
EDUCATION THROUGH A MULTILAYERED CRITICAL QUALITATIVE
STUDY

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STUDY**

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ABSTRACT

LANDSCAPING DISCOURSES OF DIVERSITY AND CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION THROUGH A MULTILAYERED CRITICAL QUALITATIVE STUDY

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This study aims to landscape discourses on diversity and citizenship in the context of 4th grade curriculum. To address this purpose, a multilayered critical qualitative study design was utilized with embedded units. Qualitative data were obtained from official curriculum documents and the site visits of purposefully selected 55 primary schools in Adana sub-region. By deepening the analysis along with each layer, a multilayered and multidimensional analysis that consisted of the analysis of 4th grade curricula ($N=12$) and textbooks ($N=12$); analysis of responses to open-ended survey forms with 4th grade teachers ($N=202$), psychological counselors ($N=43$) and school managers ($N=55$); analysis of thick data obtained from semi-structured interviews with 4th grade teachers ($n=16$), psychological counselors ($n=6$) and school managers ($n=5$); and field notes based on observations in volunteer 7 teachers' classrooms were carried. Thick data were subjected to inductive content analysis by using NVivo software. Findings revealed that there is a profound schema that is based on a statist, authoritarian and nationalist perspective related to citizenship in the context of citizenship education, which becomes the barrier on the acceptance of differences, therefore, it needs to be

considered to overcome the inequalities. Correspondingly, the findings of the study uncovered the need for educators who provide students a space to criticize, discuss and transform to be able to reach their fullest potential regardless of their identity, through challenging the official discourses and creating counter-discourses in the context of citizenship education.

Keywords: Citizenship Education, Diversity, Curriculum Evaluation, Curriculum as a Phenomenological Construct, Critical Theory to Citizenship Education

ÖZ

ÇEŞİTLİLİK VE YURTTAŞLIK EĞİTİMİNE İLİŞKİN SÖYLEMLERİ ELEŞTİREL ÇOK KATMANLI NİTEL BİR ÇALIŞMA ÜZERİNDEN BETİMLEMEK

KARAKUŞ ÖZDEMİRCİ, ÖZGE

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Bu çalışma, çeşitlilik ve vatandaşlık eğitimine ilişkin söylemleri çok katmanlı bir şekilde farklı perspektiflerden analiz ederek, bu söylemleri 4. sınıf eğitim programı bağlamında ele almayı amaçlamaktadır. Bu amaca yönelik olarak, iç içe geçmiş birimlerle çok katmanlı eleştirel nitel bir çalışma deseni kullanılmıştır. Nitel veriler, resmi belgelerden ve Adana alt bölgesinde amaçlı olarak seçilmiş 55 ilkokulun saha ziyaretlerinden elde edilmiştir. Her katman ile birlikte analiz derinleştirilerek, öğretim programları ($N=12$) ve ders kitaplarının ($N=12$) analizini, 4. sınıf öğretmenleri ($N=202$), psikolojik danışmanlar ($N=43$) ve okul yöneticileri ($N=55$) tarafından doldurulan açık uçlu anket formlarını; 4. sınıf öğretmenleri ($n=16$), psikolojik danışmanlar ($n=6$) ve okul yöneticileri ($n=5$) ile yapılan yarı yapılandırılmış görüşmeleri, ve gönüllü öğretmenlerin ($n=7$) dersliklerinde 50 saatlik sınıf gözlemlerini kapsayan çok boyutlu ve çok katmanlı bir analiz gerçekleştirilmiştir. Eğitim programı, fenomenolojik bir yapı olarak ele alınarak, öğretim programları ve ders kitapları aracılığıyla üretilen resmi söylemlerin yanı sıra, öğretmenlerin, öğrencilerin, yöneticilerin ve okul psikolojik danışmanlarının görüşleri ve yaşanmış

deneyimleri de incelenmiştir. Veriler NVivo yazılımı kullanılarak tümevarımsal içerik analizine tabi tutulmuştur. Bulgular, vatandaşlık eğitimi bağlamında vatandaşlığa devletçi, otoriter ve milliyetçi bir bakış açısına dayalı, 'farklılıkların' kabul edilmesinin önünde bir engel haline gelen, dolayısıyla bu eşitsizliklerin üstesinden gelmek için dikkate alınması gereken derin bir şema olduğunu ortaya koymuştur. Buna bağlı olarak, vatandaşlık eğitimi bağlamında çalışmanın bulguları, öğrencilerin kimlikleri ne olursa olsun, resmi söylemlere meydan okuyarak ve karşı-söylemler yaratarak, öğrencilerin tam potansiyellerine ulaşmalarını sağlamak için öğrencilere eleştirme, tartışma ve dönüşme alanı sağlayan eğitimcilere olan ihtiyacı ortaya çıkarmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Vatandaşlık Eğitimi, Çeşitlilik, Eğitim Programı Değerlendirmesi, Fenomenolojik Bir Yapı Olarak Eğitim Programı, Vatandaşlık Eğitiminde Eleştirel Kuram

*To my father,
For being a great role model as a critical educator,*

And to my wonderful family...

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- CDA: Critical Discourse Analysis
CoE: Council of Europe
DC/HRE: Democratic Citizenship and Human Rights Education
DİSA: Diyarbakır Institute for Political and Social Research
EBA: Education Information Network
EDC/HRE: Education for Democratic Citizenship and Human Rights Education
ERG: Eğitim Reform Girişimi (Education Reform Initiative)
EU: European Union
GCE: Global Citizenship Education
HRCD: Human Rights, Civics and Democracy
HRW: Human Rights Watch
LGBTQI+: Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer, Intersex
METU: Middle East Technical University
MoNE: Ministry of National Education
NGO: Non-Governmental Organization
NUTS: Nomenclature of Territorial Units for Statistics
PAR: Participatory Action Research
RCE: Religious Culture and Ethics
SDG: Sustainable Development Goals
SES: Socio-economic Status
TUIK: Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu (Turkish Statistical Institute)
UNESCO: United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

For centuries, philosophers, politicians, public intellectuals, academicians, or activists have argued the values, or practices to raise citizens. From this point, education has been at the heart of state formation or nation-building as the carrier of the cultural revolution (Green, 1990). Teaching the determined national language; constructing a national identity through inculcating the national culture; teaching the values, norms of dominant classes or duties of the people to the state, and the nation; hence constructing *the responsible citizen, the diligent worker, the willing tax-payer, the reliable juror, the conscientious parent, the dutiful wife, the patriotic soldier, and the dependable or deferential voter* became the purposes of education (Green, 1990, p. 80). Therefore, the topic of this study is not new. Yet, in recent years, this old discussion, namely education for constructing citizenship, is constantly being revisited through new perspectives.

While conventional conceptions of citizenship, and the conventional perspective to citizenship education base their core on the narrative of national history and the ‘known’, ‘fixed’, and ‘certain’ culture and identity; there is a growing literature consisting of diverse perspectives that dismantle the fixed, and certain definitions of culture, identity, or citizenship and the known, and accepted roles of citizenship education (Halualani, 2010). So, what has changed? Why have new perspectives emerged? What is the reason for dismantling the rooted concepts or revisiting citizenship education from different perspectives?

The shifts in the political and economic scene, especially after World War II, have changed the meaning of citizenship. International migration had increased the diversity of the nations; globalization had changed the direction of the economy which, eventually, affected nation-wide politics, and culture. Besides, the

improvements in human rights and the development of international communities also had an influence on the changing meaning of the modern citizenship concept (Balibar, 2016; Marshall & Bottomore, 2000). In other terms, the concept of modern citizenship defines the 'individual' through the nation state idea, and the national identity (Kadioğlu, 2007). However, the shifts in world politics, and international movements changed the identity of individuals. The singular definition of identity transforms to multi-dimensional definitions; and people become more than a member of a nation state, and they realize they can exist and live together with their differences. Those shifts have redesigned the citizenship concept in terms of diversity (Sassen, 2002a).

In other terms, the new perspectives ground their arguments on the new politics of difference that argues the need of transforming the homogenous and monolithic understanding of citizenship (Ghosh & Abdi, 2004). In this respect, the equality or more importantly the equity concern is the most cited issue since differences among citizens in terms of race, ethnicity, religion, class, gender, and others are manifested louder and stronger thanks to the improvements in human rights and the activist movements that struggle for egalitarian societies.

From an educational perspective, these changes triggered new questions or sometimes recalled the critical perspectives in terms of education and more specifically citizenship education. Do schools provide equal opportunities to students from different classes, religions, ethnicities, races, abilities, or genders? Does curriculum equally represent all cultural, religious, gender, ethnic groups without ignoring or discriminating; or it reproduce the knowledge of dominant culture? Do educators approach every student equally regardless of their ethnic, racial, religious, or gender identity? How do teacher education programs respond to the changing needs of society?

According to Davies (2004), education in many countries emphasizes ethnic or class differences, and reproduces gender inequality by perpetuating the male-dominant and militarist symbolic violence. In this way, the conflicts among people are reproduced by education itself. For instance, *The Routledge International Companion to Multicultural Education* book presents the school experiences of minority students with different culture, ethnicity, race, or religion - such as being a

Muslim student in France or England, a Turkish student in Germany, a Maori in New Zealand, or a Mexican-American in the United States (USA)- from all over the world in terms of discrimination they are subjected to (as cited in Banks, 2009).

Although the discrimination and marginalization of cultural, gender, ethnic, and religious groups can still exist and be traced over the content of the textbooks or the witnesses or lived experiences of these groups; deconstruction of citizenship concept has eventually affected the philosophy and content of citizenship education. The aim of citizenship education has evolved since the ethnic revitalization movements of the 1960s and 1970s. As diversity had to be welcomed in relation to struggles and the political, economic, and cultural changes, citizenship education also had to be evolved from mono to multicultural perspectives. Recently, it is more than a need, it is a necessity to transform both the citizenship concept and the content of citizenship education by considering the differences (Noddings, 2013). There have been political and educational policies and practices that developed and applied in countries such as Canada (Hebert, 2002; Ghosh & Abdi, 2004), the USA (Banks, 2008), Australia (Banks, 2008; Khan, 2013), Germany (Kenner, 2020), Spain (Engel, 2014). Or the Eurydice report (2017) on citizenship education in Europe shows that the majority of European countries aim to raise citizens having positive attitudes towards pluralism, diversity, and gender equality by also “*discouraging all forms of discrimination*” (p. 56).

Despite the efforts for decades, it is difficult to say that discrimination in education is no longer the case even in the countries in which multiculturalism has been politically promoted. Besides, there is a danger of considering the ‘marginalized’ culture as fixed, stable, and internally homogenous as it is not. Therefore, multicultural efforts or any efforts that emphasize the existence of ‘the others’ for the sake of representation -through their clothes, cuisine, cultural customs, and others- has a danger of reproducing inequalities (Davies, 2004). According to this critical perspective, nothing should be conceived as fixed, stable, and homogenous rather should be considered as hybrid, and dynamic. Dialogue, critical thinking and transformation should be promoted, rather than essentialist and uniform definitions of citizenship, identity, culture.

By considering all these points, this study has an attempt to analyze the discussions and developments in citizenship education regarding diversity in Turkey which is a country consisting of diverse cultural, ethnic, religious, and gender groups.

1.1. Statement of the Problem

We need to develop our understanding of difference by creating a situation in which hitherto marginalized groups can name themselves, speak for themselves, and participate in defining the terms of interaction, a situation in which we can construct an understanding of the world that is sensitive to difference. (Hartsock, 1987, p. 189)

The above statement by Nancy Hartsock is quite meaningful to start the discussion to state the problem of this study: Do the national curriculum and schools in Turkey provide a learning environment for children to reach an understanding that is sensitive to differences?

Of course, Turkey is not free from the debates on modern citizenship and its challenges both politically and in the field of education. There is a rich yet limited discussion on the transformation of modern citizenship from past to today in terms of differences and diversity. However, critical studies are increasing rapidly. According to Keyman (2012), in Turkey, more discussion is needed to face and overcome the challenges due to changing conceptualizations of modern citizenship and increasing demands of cultural groups. Besides a democratic, right-based ground is needed rather than a nationalist one. İçduygu and Keyman (1998) suggested constitutional citizenship from a multicultural perspective¹. Kadıoğlu (2007, 2012), on the other hand, discusses and offers denationalization of citizenship in Turkey.² Through the concepts of denationalization and post-national citizenship, she argues that the concept of denationalization seems more appropriate for the

¹ See İçduygu (1995), Keyman (2012) for related discussions on constitutional citizenship.

² The concept of denationalization was used by Sassen (2002a) in order to underline the transformation of the national realm. Sassen argues that denationalization and post-nationalism represent two different trajectories but they do not exclude each other. The denationalization process includes the transformation of the national under the impact of globalization and several other dynamics, and tends to take part inside the national. Post-nationalism refers the new forms of citizenship that are located partly outside of the nation.

nature of the transformation of citizenship in the Turkish case, as there are unsolved problems among the majority culture and minorities which has been “ignored” for years because of the incomplete democratization process. Besides these, there is a growing literature on women’s (Arat, 1997, 2001; Sancar, 2014; Sayılan, 2012; Tekeli, 1989) human and citizenship rights.

The debates in the field of education are not free from the discussions in the field of political science. There are reports that show the inequalities among cultural, gender or class groups which highly intersect with each other. As it is shared in a report by Education Reform Initiative (ERG, 2019), in Turkey, indirect discrimination can keep children away from education (p. 9). Students whose mother tongue is not Turkish, working children, children living in rural areas, girls, children of seasonal agricultural workers, Roman children, poor children, or children whose families came to Turkey by forced migration may be pushed out of school since they do not feel safe and they do not feel belonging to the educational environment they are in. Another report on inequalities in education reveals that gender, race, ethnicity, language, age, or disability status can be factors to expose to discrimination and exclusion (ERG, 2021a). In the same report, it is highlighted that in the Turkey Report of 2019 by the European Union, inclusion is considered as an area that needs to be improved.

After this general review through some comprehensive reports on education and inclusiveness of different cultural, ethnic, gender, and other groups in Turkey, a closer look to issues such as inequalities in education regarding gender, poverty, ethnic differences, or religious differences is provided.

There are still inequalities among boys and girls in terms of access to education or school dropouts (Candaş & Yılmaz, 2012; ERG, 2019; Kaya, 2007) and this gap is more distinct in South-eastern part of the country (ERG, 2019). On the other hand, the decreasing gap between boys and girls in school enrolment has been presented as a ‘big achievement’ through national statistics; however, within this perspective, the policy understanding of gender equality is based on, and reduced to gender parity (Aydagül, 2019; Cin & Walker, 2016). As Aydagül (2019) discussed, gender parity is about numerically equal representation. Gender equality, on the other hand, defines equal access to facilities or opportunities in education to

reach a meaningful learning environment. More importantly, he also shares the concept of gender equity, which refers to a fair distribution of responsibilities, resources, and power to achieve equality. Thus, gender parity is the most basic level to approach the issue. Policy analysis and practices are needed to achieve gender equity. While approaching the issue from a deeper perspective, the intersection of class, ethnicity, migration should be considered to comprehend their profound influence on girls' schooling experiences or on the reasons of being out of school compared to same-aged boys (Ünal & Özsoy, 1999).

On the other hand, although the gap of schooling rate between boys and girls, especially in the primary level, is dropping in the last years as it is reported through national statistics (MoNE, 2017; 2018; 2019; 2020), the pandemic negatively affected girls' access to education or dropout rates more, compared to boys (ERG, 2021a). Besides, the official documents are still reproducing gender inequality through a male-dominant perspective by limiting women's occupations, portraying women as mothers, the presence of discourses that reproduces gender inequality or putting more illustrations of men (Aratemur-Çimen & Bayhan, 2018).

As well as the inequalities in terms of gender in education, ethnic differences also cause inequalities among students. Kaya's (2007) report on '*Minorities in Education System of Turkey*' discusses the inconsistencies between international conventions that are signed by Turkey or the legislations that protect the education right of all children, and the practices at schools. Although, the commitment to equality of all regardless of "*language, race, color, sex, political opinion, philosophical belief, religion, sect and similar reasons*"³ is ensured and protected by the Constitution; and although "*no one can be deprived of the right to education*"⁴, the report reveals the inequalities in education that children from minority groups -Roman, Kurd, Armenian, Alevist, Christian, Jew, atheist, agnostic, and others- exposed to.

Through a study by the Armenian Culture and Solidarity Association in 2013, interviews were conducted with individuals from different ethnic

³ Constitution of the Republic of Turkey, Article 10.

⁴ Constitution of the Republic of Turkey, Article 42.

backgrounds about their childhood experiences. The participants were aged between 20 to 50 year -old; however, their experiences were similar in terms of the discrimination they were exposed to by teachers or their peers at schools. Besides, as indicated, they did not forget the negative representation of their culture, ethnicity or religion in the textbooks, since they were defined as ‘threats’ due to their ethnic or religious origins (Gözoğlu, 2013).

Another report titled *Discrimination Against Children in Turkey* was based on the lived experiences of diverse individuals -in terms of ethnic origin or religious belief- aged between 18-25 years-old and they were asked about their childhood memories. They reported the discriminatory practices, such as humiliation or verbal violence, they were exposed to at school by their peers or teachers (Agenda Child Association, 2014).

Roman children and the discrimination they are subject to is another important issue that needs to be considered while studying and writing on the differences and educational experiences of minority groups in Turkey. They are one of the most vulnerable and most disadvantaged groups that are marginalized because of their identity. As cited in the report by Alp and Taştan (2011) the literacy rate among Roman people is generally between 30-40%, far below the Turkish average which is 92.45% according to 2009 national statistics. In the same report, poverty, discrimination, and early marriage were indicated as the reasons for school dropouts. Similar findings were highlighted in other studies on Roman people and the discriminative experiences they were subject to at school or in the education system in general (Akkan et al., 2011; Karan, 2017).

An ERG (Education Reform Initiative) report, based on the data collected through the analysis of the documents related to equity-related policies, and individual or focus group interviews with students, parents, teachers, school principals, policymakers, educational experts, school support staff, and non-governmental organizations (NGO), argues that although policy documents, such as the most recent one namely *Turkey’s Education Vision 2023*⁵, consider and highlight

⁵ Turkey’s Education Vision 2023. http://2023vizyonu.meb.gov.tr/doc/2023_VIZYON_ENG.pdf.

the need for equality among and an equitable approach to all citizens regardless of their identity; in practice, it is not clear to what extent this aim is achieved (ERG, 2021a). Besides, the participants who were interviewed also stress the ineffectiveness of policy documents to hinder discrimination and ensure equality and equity among the vulnerable and disadvantaged groups.

Thus, despite the purposes of the policy documents, the education system in Turkey can be argued to reproduce the inequalities and does not ensure equality or provide an equitable approach to all of its citizens. Besides, there are several studies that show how citizenship is constructed over the majority culture, and neglect the rights and the representation of minority cultural, ethnic, gender, religious groups as well as low socioeconomic status children through the curriculum and textbooks (Çayır & Gürkaynak, 2007; Çayır, 2014; Çotuksöken et al., 2003; Gök, 2003; Keyman & Kancı, 2011; İnce, 2012; Tüzün, 2009; Üstel, 2014).

The representation of groups other than the dominant culture, and the discriminative discourses they are subject to over textbooks or by teachers or peers can be traced back from the results of research studies and reports, or the lived experiences of the individuals from these cultures. In the light of the above, the first reason to conduct this study is to evaluate the curriculum from multiple perspectives for deeply analyzing the issue. Since this issue -providing equal conditions, opportunities and quality in education for all children- is highly considered in both the *Eleventh Development Plan (2019-2023) of the Presidency*⁶ and *Turkey's Education Vision 2023* (MoNE, 2018).

Actually, Turkey can be defined as a ‘divided society’⁷ regarding the issues between the diverse components of the country for decades. Turkey’s being a divided society is about the content of the national identity concept which is mainly

⁶ The Eleventh Development Plan (2019-2023) was approved in the 105th plenary session of The Grand National Assembly of Turkey, with the Decision number 1225, on 18.07.2019. For the translation of the original document, see: https://www.sbb.gov.tr/wp-content/uploads/2021/12/Eleventh_Development_Plan_2019-2023.pdf

⁷ According to Staeheli and Hammett (2011) some societies fail to succeed in establishing social cohesion because of their deeply problematic histories which include wars, hatred, anxiety, conflict, violence, or assimilation; and they define these societies as ‘divided’. In divided societies, the definition of citizen or the content of national identity also becomes problematic and challenging.

based on the culture of the majority. Moreover, to bind up the society together and create the idea of ‘homeland’ and ‘nation’, differences have been regarded as ‘threats’ throughout history (Çayır, 2016; Üstel, 2014). Not only minorities but also the majority culture have been experiencing anxiety and trying to protect their culture from the “others”. Thus, in *divided societies*, with the baggage of historical conflicts between cultural groups, citizens from each group either a minority or majority lose their chance to live in a democratic society and to have a multi-dimensional perspective in terms of diversity. As Ghosh and Abdi (2004) claimed, the dominant group will be incapable of coping with the realities of the world, while the disadvantaged will be oppressed, and eventually both groups do not have a chance to become democratic and active citizens.

On the other hand, the situation is even more complicated than before. The historical problems still exist, besides, there are Syrian immigrants who, increasingly, are not welcomed warmly by local people. Studies conducted by Erdoğan (2014, 2017, 2020), three years apart, show increasing negative attitudes towards Syrian immigrants. Another study by Beyazova and Akbaş (2016) indicates the situation in schools; the findings of the study reveal that parents in Turkey have negative opinions about immigrant children being in their children’s classroom. On the other hand, according to the official statistics, there are approximately 1.3 million school-aged immigrant children (the majority of them, 1.12 million, are Syrian children) living in Turkey (MoNE, 2021). The schooling rate of the foreign-national children was 67.98%, and Syrian children was 65.08%, in the 2020-2021 academic year (MoNE, 2021). Thus acceptance, inclusion, and proper policy establishing are needed for not to confront deeper problems about Syrian immigrants in the future as well. This is also one of the aims determined in the *Eleventh Development Plan (2019-2023)* of the Presidency (p. 139).

The picture of the country in terms of the problems based on the concept of citizenship and diversity has tried to be demonstrated above. As emphasized through Delors’s report (1996) *learning to live together* is one the most important challenges for the 21st century and education could help to overcome divisions in societies if policies could be formed in-depth not for show or on paper only. Therefore, new rationality is needed that considers the current social problems, conflicts,

inequalities in the classrooms, schools, and the society at large in terms of differences between people and groups. This is the second reason for conducting such a research study, to analyze the ways of developing a citizenship education through which all children can enhance their capacity of comprehending the world from multiple dimensions.

Of course, there are efforts both in the policy level and in terms of research and projects of international organizations or NGOs to raise citizens respecting each other and all the cultures or differences. For instance, the latest the European Union (EU)-Council of Europe (CoE) and MoNE joint project titled '*Strengthening Democratic Culture in Basic Education*' aims to establish a democratic school culture in accordance with universal basic values as well as fundamental rights and freedoms; to improve students' competences to live in a culturally diverse society by respecting to and empathizing with people from diverse cultures; and to respect rights of all human beings without any discrimination (CoE, 2021).⁸

There are many studies on multicultural education that discuss the ways to improve the practices on multicultural education practices or analyze the perceptions of teachers, teacher candidates, or students (Damgaci & Aydin, 2013; Demir, 2012; Polat, 2011; Polat & Kılıç, 2013; Tarman & Tarman, 2011; Taş, 2019; Tonbuloğlu et al., 2016; Yılmaz, 2016);⁹ while there are limited studies on multicultural citizenship education (Arslan, 2014; Bilge, 2019; Esen, 2009), and global citizenship education (Çolak, 2015; Göl, 2013; Sarioğlu, 2013; Uydaş, 2014). There are also very few studies that analyze the influences of EU policies on citizenship education in Turkey (Som & Karataş, 2015; Şahin, 2012; Yalnız, 2012). Again, a limited number of studies analyze teacher competences to deal with differences in the absence of multicultural education policies (Esen, 2009), or analyze the opinions and experiences of non-Muslim citizens on citizenship education in Turkey (İbrahimioğlu, 2014). On the other hand, from a history

⁸ The Project started in 2018 and will end in November 2022. See the website of the Project for more information: <https://www.coe.int/tr/web/ankara/joint-project-on-strengthening-democratic-culture-in-basic-education>.

⁹ There are so many studies on multicultural education, I just share very few of them. For a more comprehensive analysis on the studies on multicultural education in Turkey, see Günay and Aydın's (2015) content analysis study on multicultural education.

education perspective, some studies emphasized the need of protecting national values, culture, and identity from globalization and possible threats in terms of citizenship education (Safran, 2008; Şivgin, 2009). However, there is not any study that evaluates the citizenship education curriculum in the context of diversity and differences from multiple perspectives. Therefore, the current study aims to fill the gap and examine the issue deeply and critically with a multidimensional perspective.

1.2. Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to landscape discourses on diversity and citizenship in the context of 4th grade curriculum. Through the literature review, some concepts emerged that needed consideration to be added to the analysis since they are related to the concepts of citizenship and diversity: nation, national, citizen, culture, ethnicity, diversity, differences, gender, minorities, rights, and responsibilities. Therefore, the discourses on these concepts were aimed to be analyzed from multiple perspectives to explore the curriculum's understanding of diversity. By multiple perspectives, I refer to a multidimensional analysis such as examining both the opinions and lived experiences of teachers, students, school managers and school counsellors as well as the curricula and textbooks. Eventually, the study was conducted in layers.

The first layer of the study included document analysis and aimed to analyze the official discourse on citizenship understanding regarding diversity. The second layer intended to reach a considerable number of educators in order to analyze the field thoroughly and to be able to observe the 'echoes' of official discourse in a larger area. Following the second layer, the third layer sought to illuminate the insights of the findings from the second layer by also considering its relation with official discourse. Ultimately, the steps below were carried out:

- 1- Curricula and textbooks of 4th grade were analyzed;
- 2- Survey forms were conducted to 4th grade elementary school teachers, school managers, and psychological counselors;
- 3- 4th grade elementary school teachers, school managers, and psychological counselors were interviewed, and in-class observations were conducted in order to gather in-depth data, and field notes were

obtained regarding the hidden messages exhibited on the hall walls in schools visited.

The study has three layers which are interrelated to each other, and overall it is aimed to answer the research question as follows:

- 1- How are citizenship and human rights constructs presented in the 4th grade Human Rights, Civics and Democracy curriculum?
 - a) What are the constructed discourses on citizenship-related concepts, namely 'national, nation, citizen, culture, ethnicity, diversity, gender, differences, rights and responsibilities' in the official 4th grade curriculum?
 - b) What are the constructed discourses on citizenship-related concepts, namely 'national, nation, citizen, culture, ethnicity, diversity, gender, differences, rights and responsibilities' in the textbooks of 4th grade?
- 2- How are the constructed discourses on citizenship and human rights reflected into their practices by school members in culturally diverse primary school settings in Adana sub-region?
 - a) In what ways do the official discourses on citizenship-related concepts, namely 'national, nation, citizen, culture, ethnicity, diversity, gender, differences, rights and responsibilities' affect the discourses of teachers, counselors and managers working in culturally diverse primary school settings in Adana sub-region?
 - b) In what ways do the official discourses on citizenship-related concepts, namely 'national, nation, citizen, culture, ethnicity, diversity, gender, differences, rights and responsibilities' affect the lived experiences of students, teachers, counselors and managers from culturally diverse primary school settings in central Mersin?

1.3. Definition of Terms

Sharing my positionality to the core concepts of this study is a necessity to clarify their definitions and meanings. In this section, I set some boundaries around the basic concepts -citizenship, curriculum and diversity- and the constantly used

important concepts -culture, difference and discourse- of the study to give a theoretical coherence to the discussions.

1.3.1. Concept of Citizenship

Citizenship is a highly contested concept and is comprehensively discussed in the literature review. However, it is briefly defined to explain my perspective towards the concept.

Citizenship, in its most basic, formal and limited terms, refers to a legal relation between the individual and the state. It is through this relationship that the state guarantees the legal status of the individuals that, in turn, brings some rights and loads some obligations to them. It defines quite a one-way and an individualized relationship. The individualized and legal citizenship understanding causes an understanding that validates some boundaries to determine the norms of the 'good citizen' (Tupper et al., 2010), and the good citizen corresponds to the powered, the dominant, the hegemony. Lister (2003) defines the universal good citizen as a white, non-disabled, heterosexual male.

On the other hand, there are diverse theoretical perspectives that consider citizenship as a participatory, collective, cultural, and social act (Nicoll et al., 2013). Thus, a shift is defined from rights and obligations to subjectivities and participation. Turner and Hamilton (1994), from a historical perspective, define this issue as a dichotomy and claim that citizenship can both be a radical concept of protest and a conservative system of induction. Seeing citizenship as a Janus-faced phenomenon rather than through the individualized and legal lenses offers the 'others', or the minorities space to voice themselves as equal citizens.

From another perspective, I approach citizenship from a post-structural perspective that provides a ground to analyze intersections, to challenge orthodoxies by deconstructing the concepts and dismantling the borders between people and groups; since the modern citizenship understanding emphasizes uniform and homogenous citizenship through an essentialist perspective and by forming the borders rigidly between 'we' and 'others' (Özkırmılı, 2005). According to Giroux (1991a, 1991b) and McLaren (1994) for educators that seek for an egalitarian and emancipatory pedagogy, post-structural perspective offers new possibilities, visions

and epistemologies to struggle for a democratic society in which nobody is marginalized, silenced, oppressed or ignored regarding one's ethnicity, race, gender, class, and others.

I envision the potential of citizenship as a participatory, cultural, collective, and social act; and from an educational perspective, I consider that opening spaces for different subjectivities in the context of citizenship provides a ground for all citizens regardless of their identities to become subjects as equal citizens. Thus, in this study, citizenship is not only envisaged as a top-down concept but a bottom-up concept with intersections of different identities that has the power to ensure social change.

Besides the concept of citizenship, it is important to explain what citizenship education, in this study, conceptually corresponds to. "*Citizenship education is a broad and fluid concept*" (Eurydice, 2017, p. 19). According to Kerr's (1999) review of 16 countries' citizenship education over the curriculum, there are some broad contextual and structural factors that influence the approaches to citizenship education of a country. Contextual factors are determined as historical tradition, geographical position, socio-political structure, economic system, and global trends; while structural factors refer to the organization of and responsibilities for education, educational values and aims, and funding and regulatory arrangements (p. 8). Thus, in the context of citizenship education, there are several factors that have an effect on the aims, organization, and structure of the curriculum, teaching and learning approaches, teacher training, use of textbooks, assessment arrangements, and current and future developments.

From this perspective, considering citizenship education as a 'broad concept' refers to the interdisciplinarity of the citizenship-related content, structure of the teaching and learning process, and the civic-related practical experiences gained at school. Currently, in the international literature, citizenship education corresponds to creating engaging and interactive learning environments for students to promote critical thinking, learning to live together, analytical thinking, cooperation, or problem-solving skills which requires a holistic, participatory, and interdisciplinary approach (Eurydice, 2017). Therefore, in this study, a whole-school approach, including the content of all courses, the structure of the teaching-learning process in

classrooms, and ethos and actions of active citizenship, human rights and democracy into school governance, and school culture were all regarded as essential components of citizenship education.

The Relationship between Citizenship, Democracy and Human Rights

There is a strong relationship between citizenship education and democracy since a well-functioning democracy needs teaching the necessary competences to students to be able to think and act democratically. Further, education in a democratic society should support, perpetuate, enlarge and strengthen the democratic way of life (Mursell, 1955). In democratic societies, citizens' knowing their rights and duties, their internalizing democracy and democratic values, their internalizing, respecting and protecting human rights and freedoms could be possible by promoting active citizenship, democracy, and human rights through education (Ulubey & Gözütok, 2015).

The latest framework of CoE comprehensively presents the competences for democratic culture (CDC). There are four dimensions -values, attitudes, skills and knowledge and critical understanding- and 20 competences to ensure a democratic school culture and raise democratic citizens namely valuing human dignity and human rights, valuing cultural diversity, valuing democracy, justice, fairness, equality and rule of law, openness to cultural otherness and other beliefs, world views and practices, respect, civic-mindedness, responsibility, self-efficacy, tolerance to ambiguity, analytical and critical thinking skills, skills of listening and observing, empathy, flexibility and adaptability, linguistic, communicative and plurilingual skills, cooperation skills, conflict-resolution skills, knowledge and critical understanding of the self, knowledge and critical understanding of language and communication, and knowledge and critical understanding of the world (CoE, 2018). Thus, democratic citizens need to internalize democratic values and attitudes, internalize values concerning human rights and human dignity, have skills to practice democracy, have an understanding to openly embrace all people regardless of differences, and have a critical understanding of the self and the world from many dimensions. This requires extended knowledge, understanding, and skills of democracy and human rights in the context of citizenship education.

1.3.2. Diversity and Difference in the Context of Citizenship

The modern liberal thought grounded on positivism and structuralism define the citizenship phenomenon through *homogeneity* and *sameness* and claim citizenship as a universal concept that goes beyond *particularity* and *difference*. Therefore, modern liberal thought defines exclusionary citizenship by creating dichotomies such as we/others, citizen/stranger, male/female or good/bad by confirming the primary one as superior (Ivic, 2011). In other terms, modernism privileges some while excluding some 'others' through the categories of race, ethnicity, gender, or class, and frames identity and culture through rigid boundaries (Giroux, 1991a). On the other hand, post-structural theorists argue the shifting social and cultural construction of culture and identity. They try to deconstruct the rigid identifications of the structuralist perspective by dismantling the constructed boundaries between people and groups regarding culture and identity (Giroux, 1991a). Thus, post-structural critique represents a struggle with the dominant and oppressive Western tradition by focusing on inequalities and exclusion in terms of the ethnic, racial, gender, class differences that have been marginalized (Aronowitz & Giroux, 1991; Giroux, 1991b; McLaren & Hammer, 1989).

However, Derrida (2008) expounds on his understanding of difference by expanding the discussion. According to Derrida, the groups that defined inside the limits of difference such as ethnic minorities, females, homosexuals and others should not be considered as monolithic and 'one'. They also should be considered as heterogeneous since they consist of individuals with different experiences and these experiences are not static, they are dynamic like every other experience or concept in the world. These groups include different voices which are always prone to change. If we consider differences as static, unchanging and the groups that are defined as 'different' as uniform, we reproduce what we criticize about the binary, uniform and essentialist perceptions and positions. That is why, Derrida introduces a new concept 'differance' to overcome and not reproduce the homogeneity and sameness of 'difference'. I considered intersections and envisaged 'differences' as 'differance' through Derrida's powerful argument throughout this research study.

On the other hand, I prefer to use 'diversity' rather than 'difference' in the title. Although I do not attribute a static meaning to the concept (difference); in terms

of citizenship, it sounds more consistent to use ‘diversity’. Diversity has a positive meaning that reminds the existence of differences between and among groups, while using ‘difference’ has a danger of reproducing the majority discourse which draws the limits of who is different, and who is not. I do not use the concept of ‘difference’ to refer to the groups, people, or culture other than the majority; yet still want to stress this issue and explain my preference about the title to be consistent with the critical perspective that the study has.

1.3.3. Culture as a Dynamic Phenomenon

As the other fundamental concepts of this study, culture is also quite complex, multidimensional and interdisciplinary. Therefore, it is not possible to make a comprehensive discussion about what culture refers to, rather I prefer to briefly explain how ‘culture’ is defined in the limits of this study.

According to Ghosh and Abdi (2004), culture defines the ways of people through which a group of people cognitively, emotionally or behaviorally responds to their environment. In this study, culture is not accepted as a fixed, static and unchangeable phenomenon as it is mainly accepted through an essentialist envisioning of the concept (Bradley, 2018). From a post-structural perspective, culture is regarded as a dynamic phenomenon, which evolves through people and time.

1.3.4. Curriculum as a Critical Construct

Aronowitz and Giroux (2003) develop some theoretical categories to reconstruct the curriculum theory by accepting curriculum as an emancipatory practice. First, they expand the meaning of ‘political’ by subjecting any curricular discourse to a critical analysis.¹⁰ They put the relationship between knowledge and power to the center of their analysis by defining the political process as neither neutral nor objective. Secondly, by exceeding the theories of reproduction, they link the curriculum theory

¹⁰ This critical analysis actually refers to reproduction theories of education and schooling in the field of sociology of education (Althusser, 1971; Bernstein, 2003; Bowles & Gintis, 1976; Bourdieu & Passeron, 2015; Whitty, 1985).

to the self and social empowerment which means the curriculum is regarded as a language of critique and possibility. Thirdly, they believe that teachers should be critical for self-empowerment and to transform students and society at large and named them as public intellectuals. Fourthly and most importantly they consider curriculum research as an active involvement to community life by redefining and reconstructing the relationship between curriculum theory and practice.

The postmodern curriculum theory meets with the critical curriculum theory regarding the idea of reconceptualization of curriculum theory, practice, and research. For instance, Maxine Green (1993) claims that structuring knowledge monologically is increasingly indefensible in the post-modern world which can be defined over increasing dialogue, vantage points and conversations among different people and groups. We are all making ourselves and the world, nothing is fixed and one-dimensional, thus the curriculum should provide a space for all without marginalizing anyone to make themselves, to criticize, to question, to be aware, to comprehend, and to transform. Greene calls for a curriculum transformation rather than adding to it. In other words, rather than adding some statements about some 'ignored or marginalized groups' for the sake of inclusive or multicultural practices, she calls for a transformation. Since, unless curriculum is critically analyzed as a production of a political system that is prone to reproduce inequalities, it is not possible to make it egalitarian and emancipatory.

Finally, I would like to combine these perspectives with the thoughts of reconceptualists in the field of curriculum. They consider curriculum as a deconstructed text that carries the potential to transform the individual and the society (Pinar, 1978; 2004; Pinar et al., 2002; Vagle, 2015). Through this vantage point, they place the curriculum to a critical standpoint by reminding its potential to address the continuing marginalization, discrimination and ignorance that sustain racism, ethnic divisions, sexism and heterosexism (Slattery, 2006). Therefore, they envisage the curriculum more than a political text to construct the citizen. Curriculum needs to be imagined as an emancipatory act that extends the space for all people and groups to voice themselves not to be silenced. As Greene (1993) truly believed and voiced years ago:

We require a curriculum that can help provoke persons to reach past themselves and to become. We want to see them in their multiplicity linking arms, becoming recognized. We want them in their ongoing quests for what it means to be human to be free to move. We want them-and we want to-enable them-to exist. (p. 220)

1.3.5. Discourse as a Social Practice and Critical Act to Transform

Discourse has a special meaning in post-modern theory. Postmodern theorists claim the importance of discourse in the production of the subject (Ivic, 2011). In other terms, language constructs the reality, and the reality is dynamic, not essentialist and natural as modernists claim. All concepts are socially and historically constructed, from a post-modernist understanding.

This idea is quite at the center of this study. Discursive construction of the nation and citizenship is criticized. The modernist explanations of nationalism or citizenship leaves no room for resistance and change and the reproduction of citizenship with its boundaries including some while excluding some others is seen as irreversible (Özkırıklı, 2005). In other words, the boundaries of citizenship are thickened over the state institutions, citizenship education and everyday life through the nationalist discourses, however it has the potential to extend and reconstruct the boundaries (Turner & Hamilton, 1994) to include the ‘others’. All concepts that are under examination are accepted as Janus-faced and their potential to reverse the process is considered essential to challenge, change, and transform.

In this point, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) illuminated my way as a theoretical perspective. CDA is currently a well-known theory and method in social sciences. It is based on linguistics and its transformation from ‘traditional’ to ‘critical’ during the 1970s. Language was started to be defined as a meaning-making process, by also the influence of post-modern theories (Rogers et al., 2005).

The term ‘critical’ is the main focus in CDA. It is rooted in the critical theory of Frankfurt school (Rogers, 2004), and shaped through the influence of Jürgen Habermas (Wodak, 2001). For instance, most of the theorists of CDA agree with Habermas’s argument claiming that “*language is also a medium of domination and social force. It serves to legitimize relations of organized power. In so far as the legitimations of power relations...are not articulated...language is also ideological*” (as cited in Wodak, 2001). Basically, CDA claims the necessity of

combining social theories with linguistics to illuminate the relationship between language and power (Wodak, 2001).

According to Fairclough (2003) discourse is more than a one-layered object, it is a complex set of relations and “*we can only arrive at an understanding of it by analyzing sets of relations*” (p. 3). Gee (1996), moreover, claims that Discourses are ideological, and carry the hierarchical structure inside the society. In brief, discourse is a complex and multi-layered social practice affected by power relations. “*They are always socially, politically, racially, economically loaded*” (Rogers, 2004, p. 6). However, critical discourse analysis also assumes and believes a dialectical relationship between discourses and particular social structures or institutions. On the one hand, the power forms and reproduces discourses to be in power; on the other hand, discourses influence social and political reality but not always strengthen the status of the powerful, sometimes discourses are shaped by oppressed as the tools of struggle.

Considering the discursive construction as a dialectical and bilateral process provides a ground to discuss both citizenship and curriculum as phenomena that have the potential to challenge and transform. Although nation, citizenship, culture can be constructed over citizenship education curriculum; the curriculum can challenge the citizenship boundaries that have been produced and reproduced over years and used as inclusion/exclusion criteria. Curriculum needs to be considered as a *living organism* constantly changes through the experiences of people. It is more than a text, and it can be used as an instrument to extend the boundaries of citizenship by including the ‘others’. This transformative dimension -as Giroux reminds- requires critical teachers or public intellectuals.

1.4. Significance of the Study

The importance of the study stems from its benefits to research, practice and policy and there are several areas where this study makes an original contribution.

Citizenship education literature is evolving since the concept has been revisited due to the major shifts in cultural, political, economic scenes. Eventually, the conceptual framework and the content of the citizenship education has evolved from nationalist to a universal perspective and started to include the content on

cultural diversity, multiculturalism, democratic participation, active citizenship, global citizenship, cosmopolitanism, human rights, tolerance, empathy, peace, equality, equity, and others (Johnson & Morris, 2010). Research and practice to improve the new vision of citizenship education focus on the post-national solutions to overcome the rigid definition of the phenomenon in the limits of the national. To exemplify, the effort to expand the discussion towards multicultural, global, intercultural, cosmopolitan, or European citizenship have contributed to the literature and still, new perspectives are flourishing. Nevertheless, post-national suggestions are prone to reproduce the structural inequalities since they mostly neglect to challenge the relationship between the hegemony, the dominant, and the knowledge. For instance, multicultural citizenship education cannot ensure the equity and equality for minority students by only adding some content on cultural diversity, respect, empathy, or tolerance without a perception change of the school members or facing the prejudices towards the different (Hoffman, 2004). Besides, the multicultural perspective has a danger of confining the minority cultures into some boundaries that are drawn by the dominant culture; or reducing the cultural elements into something that can be 'acceptable' such as some traditional or 'exotic' clothes, cuisine, plays or music (Davies, 2004). Multicultural citizenship education has a danger of only managing diversity rather than opening spaces for all to ensure equity and equality for a democratic and egalitarian school environment or society at large. That is why, a literature is growing that has a critical perspective towards multicultural citizenship education and ground multicultural citizenship to a more critical stance in the context of education (Banks, 2008; Kanpol & McLaren, 1995; Dilworth, 2004; Lash, 2021). Or as a most concrete form of post-national citizenship, European citizenship is criticized for its failure to ensure equity among European citizens since the research reveals the great influence of socio-economic class -which intersects with the race, language, religion- to be able to benefit from being a European citizen (Hoskins, 2018; 2020). Thus, European citizenship education does not reflect the reality considering the inequity among European citizens, although a rich discursive framework was constituted based on cultural diversity, learning to live together, or social inclusion in the citizenship curriculum of European countries (Eurydice, 2017).

Thus, this study provides an opportunity for a critical review of diverse perspectives to citizenship education and a critical and broader perspective on citizenship education that does not envisage the concept from a top to down perspective rather discusses the necessity of a down to top perspective to ensure active, and democratic citizenship. In relation to this, taking curriculum as a critical phenomenon by enriching its potential as a space for constructing egalitarian, democratic, and active citizenship contributes to the research and provided a field for the future practices. Since, in this study, curriculum is envisioned by a phenomenological construct that is open to down to top changes. This is an important reminder for future research and practice.

Besides all these, there are a limited number of studies that aim to analyze citizenship education in terms of differences or diversity, in Turkey. Some of them directly analyzed the citizenship education understanding by considering the shifts from national to post-national in both intellectual and practical levels (Arslan, 2014; Bilge, 2019; Çelikten, 2015; Çolak, 2015; Esen, 2009; İbrahimoglu, 2014; Göl, 2013; Göz, 2010; Güven, 2010; Sarıoğlu, 2013; Şahin, 2012; Taş, 2019; Uydaş, 2014; Yalnız, 2012); while some of them evaluated the Human Rights, Civics and Democracy curriculum from diverse perspectives (Akdeniz, 2018; Alataş, 2019; Arslantürk, 2018; Ayan, 2018; Durdi, 2020; Efe, 2017; Hastürk, 2019; Mangal, 2020; Purcu, 2019). Yet, the issue of ‘differences’ or ‘cultural diversity’ has been discussed by a limited number of studies from a critical perspective. This point is elaborated through a comparative discussion in the literature review chapter. However, the potential of this study to elaborate the discussion through both its theoretical and practical dimensions can be regarded as a contribution to the citizenship education field in the context of Turkey.

As highlighted while stating the problem previously in this chapter, the understanding of citizenship education needs to evolve through the changing understanding towards the citizenship phenomenon in the international literature. There are still rigid borders around the ‘us’ discourse and that hinder social cohesion and cause social divisions. Eventually, this is causing an obstacle against the sound social and cultural development of both the majority and minority children. This study has a potential to make a contribution to the field of citizenship education to

remind the importance of considering the issue from the context of Turkey. In other terms, writing on multicultural education without mentioning about the cultural diversity of the country, examining multicultural citizenship without voicing the opinions, feelings or needs of individuals from minority groups, or studying on global citizenship without having a critical perspective may cause covering the issues rather than unpacking them.

I try to consider the relationality of the constructs, the intersections and approach to each phenomenon in a continuum rather than the rigid ends; this critical perspective enhanced my understanding throughout the research process as the researcher yet the learner. Therefore, the methodological perspective in this study also has the potential to enrich the curriculum research in the context of citizenship education. I located myself as a learner, as well as researcher, and located participants as active meaning-makers; which eventually may open up spaces for curriculum research studies that seek praxis.

1.5. My Positionality

To clarify my position in this study, I share some information about my understanding about the studied phenomenon. I have a Bachelor's degree in Counseling Psychology, and a Master's degree in Educational Psychology. However, as a young researcher, my research interests have evolved in time and the questions that motivated me have changed through the readings on critical pedagogy. In the process of time, I found myself asking questions and seeking answers about the citizenship construction process, and I started reading about the nation construction process of the Turkish Republic that has a close link to formal education.

In the course of time, I gained and internalized some keywords that broadened my research interests such as social justice, awareness, emancipation, praxis, dialogue, action, or transformation. Along with this study, I aim to challenge the inequalities and injustices in society by analyzing the issues around the phenomenon of citizenship education in the primary school context regarding cultural diversity.

From this perspective, I can define myself as an insider and a participant, as well as a researcher. My experiences as a child growing up in a culturally diverse city, and hearing the experiences of my father who was working in a migration-receiving and low-income region of Mersin as a school manager has always influenced my perspective about the concept of citizenship in culturally diverse nations. Although, my ethnic and religious background never caused a discrimination that I experienced, as Greene (1993) nicely stated:

My interest in coping with diversity and striving toward significant inclusion derives to a large degree from an awareness of the savagery, the brutal marginalizations, the structured silences, the imposed invisibility, so present all around. (p. 211)

Combining my experiences with the readings on ‘citizenship construction, critical pedagogy, multiculturalism, intercultural education, democracy and human rights education’; I found myself working on this dissertation research. And throughout the research process, I realized, unlearned and learned many things. The methodology of the research has been shaped and sometimes changed through my critical consciousness. Besides my thoughts, feelings, experiences as a citizen, and former student, former school counsellor, and former lecturer who has experienced the education system both in Turkey and abroad more than twenty-five years have supported the framework of the research methodology. Now, I share some reflective scratches which I wrote during the research process of this study and which carry insights from my perspective towards the issue I have been thinking and studying on:

Who am I? This is one of the questions that I have been asking myself for years, and the answers I gave have been changings as I change. Human being, woman, a citizen of Turkish Republic, a critical educator, a critical researcher, a human rights activist, an ecologist, ... This, my individual experience even, shows the changing character of identity, and its diversity and on the other hand the unity between changing responses since I could always succeed to answer the question of who am I, although the priorities, meanings, concepts changed in time.

The culture I have, also evolved, since I lived in different cities, or in different countries. I observed diverse cultures, had a chance to evaluate myself in diverse contexts, learned and changed continuously. I think, even my short life experience is a data that shows the fluidity of identities and cultures.

Perhaps, that is the reason for my trying to understand the uniform understanding of identities. Perhaps, that is the reason for my trying to analyze the essence of uniform citizenship understanding, which does not let you think about yourself, the

changing world, differences, or diversities. Perhaps that is the reason for my trying to find new ways to teach and learn citizenship.

At some point, I started to ask, who is “us” what are the boundaries of the concept “us” who draws these boundaries, and how we -human beings living in nation-states- all are persuaded to accept these boundaries or are we persuaded? These are big questions to ask, and there is not a one, correct answer; besides the answers cannot be one-dimensional considering the multilayered character of the concepts citizen, nation, culture, identity and the cumulative history of humankind.

Therefore, from a critical perspective, at some point, I started to question myself how students can become critical thinkers, critical and active citizens who have the ability to live together in peace, who respect the rights of all human beings and their fellow citizens regardless of their cultural, ethnic, religious, or gender identity. In other terms, I ask one of the most elementary questions of the study, how students can become ‘subjects’ who have the ability to query inequalities in their classroom or in the society to start the change from themselves, and how citizenship education can provide these possibilities.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

In general, the chapter involves the relevant content regarding the concepts of citizenship and citizenship education. The relationship between citizenship and national identity and the role of citizenship education to construct this relationship is the first path that I follow. The changing conceptualizations of citizenship, the deconstruction of modern concepts and the space that is being created to discuss both citizenship and education from diverse perspectives is the second path that is followed by considering differences and diversity in a society. Thirdly, the critical perspective to all national and post-national understandings on citizenship and citizenship education is reviewed and shared since there is a third path in the literature that can be followed. Finally, in line with the debates in the international literature, the historical overview of citizenship education in Turkey is briefly and critically summarized.

2.1. Understanding the Concept of Citizenship

First, I need to start by expressing the difficulty of the task; understanding the concept of citizenship. Today, in its most basic definition and in legal and political terms, citizenship defines the membership status of a modern nation-state that includes sorts of rights and obligations and creates a condition of civic equality (Bellamy, 2014). However, there is a long history starting from ancient city-states; and a multi-layered historical process including social, political, cultural, economic, psychological, or legal alterations influencing the concept of citizenship to take diverse forms in the different regions of the world and being discussed from diverse perspectives by diverse disciplines over the centuries. Thus, citizenship, as a controversial concept of social sciences, has a *complex* and *contested* character

(Lister, 2003). Besides, it is context-dependent like any other social science phenomenon, and defines a multi-dimensional relationship between the state, community and the individual. In brief, there is a huge and still flourishing literature on the concept.

Before discussing about the approaches to citizenship, looking back to history could give a chance to understand the roots of the concept¹¹ and, to some extent, the roots of today's discussions. Citizenship was not an invention of modernity, though the literature is mainly based on the modern Western political tradition¹². Pocock (1995) argued that citizenship understandings of Ancient Greece and Imperial Rome evolved as the 'republican' and 'liberal' citizenship traditions of the modern times. The Republican tradition has its roots in the thoughts of Aristotle, he provided the classic exposition of the civic republican citizenship (Heater, 2008). From Aristotle to Cicero, Machiavelli and Rousseau, the civic duties, right to vote, active participation in public affairs, civic virtue, and patriotic citizenship were some of the concepts, and issues that have been discussed related to civic republican form of citizenship. On the other hand, the liberal tradition has its roots in Roman citizenship which brought legal status to the concept. Through the construction of a legal system, the citizen was evolved from *zoon politikon* (the political animal) to *legalis homo* (lawful/legal person) (Kartal, 2010). In Roman citizenship, the idea and practice of legal status brought the idea of 'ownership',

¹¹ The word 'citizen' derives from the Latin *civis* or *civitas*, and it refers to a self-governing political membership of an ancient city-state (Smith, 2002, p. 106). For a detailed etymological analysis of the concept, see Turner (1990). According to Merriam-Webster, citizenship defines a "*status of being a citizen*" or "*membership in a community*". In Turkish, 'vatandaşlık' is being used that corresponds to the concept of 'citizenship'. The concept 'vatan' etymologically comes from Arabic (*wṭn*), and corresponds to "*the place where one was born or lived, homeland or residence*". Although, previously, vatandaş (citizen) referred to the place where one was born and lived; it corresponds to a political identity since 1908, in Turkish. See the website for the etymological roots of 'vatan' and 'vatandaş': <https://www.nisanyansozluk.com/kelime/vatanda%C5%9F>.

¹² As Işın (2015) discussed in *Citizenship after orientalism: Transforming political theory*, citizenship was being accepted as a Western (Euro-American) invention that can be criticized as an 'orientalist' perspective from a critical standpoint (p. 1-14). By considering the limits of the study, I did not discuss this 'orientalist' assumption in detail, but by taking a critical standpoint to the citizenship concept I want to highlight that citizenship approaches -included in this study- are not accepted as universal, rather I accept them as context-dependent. However, due to the Western-based modernization aims of the Turkish Republic, a Western-dominant narrative is used especially while explaining the first path that I follow which is based on the modern citizenship understanding.

since a citizen was defined as one who is a property owner and owns legal rights, as well as watching others' possessions and legal rights (Bellamy, 2008).

Not only the roots of liberal and civic republican citizenship were found to be in the distant past; but also the values of equality and universality regarding citizenship had their roots in the Greek Stoic philosophy. Or, we can trace the roots of dual citizenship back to Imperial Rome, since Roman citizenship became a supra-identity in time (Faulks, 2000). Even exclusive and inclusive characteristics of citizenship can be rooted to the discussions and practices in Ancient Greece and Imperial Rome (Heater, 2008). Thus, giving some thought on the historical development of citizenship enables us to see the concept more than a modern and progressive phenomenon. Since from city-states, tribes, principalities, to nation-states¹³; citizenship's principal locus changed through the cultural, religious, political, scientific, industrial, and social movements in the history of humanity (Paehlke, 2014). Besides, anti-colonial struggles provide a ground to uncover, imagine and reinvent citizenship by uprooting its Western or European-centric 'roots' (Işın, 2012). All these provide a ground to realize the context-dependency of the concept. However, by considering the context of today's citizenship understanding, I focus on the modern nation-state form of citizenship which has its roots in the 18th century¹⁴.

2.1.1. Modern Citizenship

Modern citizenship is inherently a national project, and defines a membership of a community in which there are nested relationships between the state and individuals (Lister, 2003). The revolutions of the 18th century -American Revolution of 1776 and French Declaration of Rights of Man and the Citizen in 1789- provided a basis

¹³ Since 1980s the form of nation-state has been criticized and diverse citizenship understandings have been discussed. There are other concepts to define citizenship such as regional, global, cosmopolitan, world, ecological that overstep the limits of nation-states and provide a basis to discuss the possibilities of post-nationalism or de-nationalism. This is discussed while presenting the second path including diversity and differences in a society.

¹⁴ For detailed information on citizenship in Ancient Greece and Imperial Rome, or in general the historical development of citizenship as a concept and practice see Faulks (2000), Heater (2008), Bellamy & Kennedy-Macfoy (2014).

for individuals to transform from vassal to citizen in France and North America. These developments triggered nationalist movements across Europe and the World from the late 18th century to today; hence, there is a close link between citizenship, and national identity which is discussed in detail later.

Citizenship, as a modern phenomenon, is multidimensional; it defines a status, a membership, besides participation and having rights. Modern citizens are defined in specific territorial borders, and through participation, allegiance and having rights (Yeğen, 2005). From a different perspective, Münch (2001) defines the citizenship-construction process as a homogenization process, and according to him in the best case the homogenization brings equality by sharing rights as equal citizens, in the worst case it causes extinguishing the differences through internal colonization and assimilation. As a contested, historical, multi-dimensional and context-dependent concept, citizenship has been analyzed and defined from diverse perspectives, hence there are diverse approaches to modern citizenship.

Modern Citizenship Approaches. There are two well-known approaches to citizenship, and as highlighted their roots can be grounded to the Ancient times: ‘liberal’ and ‘republican’ citizenship traditions. Liberal tradition centers its perspective on the individual and focuses on the rights guaranteed by the state in exchange for legal membership. Limiting the state power and guaranteeing freedom of citizens are the promises of liberal citizenship (Schuck, 2002). T. H. Marshall’s triaxial sociological analysis exemplifies liberal perspective to citizenship¹⁵. Marshall (1950) claims that, starting from the 18th century, citizenship -in terms of ‘rights’- was formed by the combination of three historically different right axes namely civic (such as freedom of speak, freedom of thought and faith), political (such as right to elect and be elected, or right to participate) and social (such as right to education, or public services) rights. In Marshall’s theory, civil, political and social rights are developed in a time order. First civil rights were constructed in the 18th century as a response to absolutism, then political rights in the 19th century through the birth of parliamentary democracy in modern states, and finally social

¹⁵ T. H. Marshall analyzed the historical development of citizenship through rights by grounding his theory to the historical development of rights in England.

rights in the 20th century through the establishment of the welfare state idea (Marshall, 1950, p. 14-27). According to Esendemir (2003) Marshall's theory is prominent for three reasons; firstly, he defined citizenship as *dynamic and evolving* rather than *static*; secondly by emphasizing 'equality', he expanded the borders of citizenship from elites to all people/citizens; and thirdly he grounded his theory on to the 'rights' which has a much broader ground to discuss citizenship at the present. Besides, he also had a critical standpoint; by emphasizing 'equality' and making a differentiation between social class and citizenship as different statuses in society. Marshall (1950) claimed that citizenship reproduces social inequalities rather than challenging them, since in the 18th century citizenship was constructed over civic rights which was in accord with capitalist economy. In other words, the late development of social rights caused a system based on civil rights and capitalist economy, and eventually, citizenship became a mechanism reproducing social inequalities.¹⁶¹⁷ Today, on the other hand, there are other rights that are included in citizenship literature to extend the context and the borders of the concept. Cultural rights, human rights, and identity rights are some of them that widens the content and context of the discussion (Yeğen, 2005). These are analyzed in the second part of this chapter while discussing changing citizenship understanding.

For the civic republican tradition, on the other hand, the 'real' citizenship requires a civic virtue; thus, it has an ethical as well as a legal dimension (Dagger, 2002). The citizen is referred to as the one who has ethical responsibilities towards the community that one lives in. 'Duties', 'responsibilities' and 'active participation in public affairs' are highlighted more than 'rights.' Due to its ethical dimension, the citizen is defined as 'good/true/real' or 'bad' through a republican approach. As Dagger (2002) clearly classified, two virtues well-define the characteristics of 'good' or 'true/real' citizen; one is being a public-spirited person by pushing

¹⁶ For criticisms of Marshall's theory of citizenship, see Mann (1987) and Turner (1990).

¹⁷ From Thomas Hobbes, to John Locke, John Stuart Mill, Adam Smith, or John Rawls, there is quite an important literature about the liberal citizenship tradition. For more information and a concise discussion see Faulks (2000), Heater (2008), Honohan (2017).

personal interests into the background and placing community's interest to the top, while the second is taking responsibilities in public affairs.¹⁸

Here, the important point is to recall the existence of a continuum for both traditions, which means there are right and left versions and various perspectives to defend liberal or republican traditions. The issues such the rights believed to be claimed and defended, the way of defending the rights, inclusion of the rights of 'minorities' or ignorance of differences have been given diverse responses in liberal tradition (Schuck, 2002). Or the responsibilities that a citizen does, the level of participation of a citizen to public affairs are contested issues in republican tradition (Dagger, 2002). Although these two canonic traditions are essential to understand the historical development of citizenship, we need to constantly recall the context-dependent, changing, and multi-dimensional character of the concept and in parallel the complex and contested nature of the approaches to citizenship.

Another approach to citizenship was put forward by Rogers Brubaker (1992) by his book *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany*. According to his thesis, the legal status of citizenship is formed through the perceptions of the nation and national identity. How a nation bonds its citizens to each other and how these bonds are presented in law are the determinants to define the citizenship approach of the nation-state. He compares France and Germany as cases to ground his thesis. By practicing a combination of *Jus Soli* (contractual) and *Jus Sanguinis* (consanguineous), yet through the tangible domination of *Jus Soli*, France accepts individuals to citizenship if the individual is born in the territorial borders of the country. Germany, on the other hand, prioritizes consanguinity or race to define German citizenship. Of course, the changing demographics of the countries or the increasing international migration have rocked the roots and practices connecting to *Jus Sanguinis* lately¹⁹.

¹⁸ From Aristotle, to Cicero, Machiavelli, Rousseau, Hegel or Tocqueville, there is a seminal literature on republican citizenship tradition. For more information, see Aristotle (2014), Rousseau (2017); and for a concise discussion see Heater (2008), Walzer (2014) and Honohan (2017).

¹⁹ Considering the limits of the thesis, I did not go into detail; however, Brubaker's (1992) thesis gives a useful perspective to understand the nation-building and citizenship construction process in nation states. *Jus Soli* and *Jus Sanguinis* are the concepts that have survived in the citizenship theory and practice.

Bryan S. Turner's (1990) approach²⁰ to citizenship provides a clear classification and helps to analyze the differences grounded in private/public division and above/below distinction. He grounded his classification to Marshall's, Mann's, Engel's theses, and to his criticism over these theories. He developed a quartet typology to define the creation of citizenship rights. In Turner's typology, taking the rights from the state through struggle (above) or handed down the rights to citizens (below) is formed the first axis. In other terms, the above/below distinction can be explained through the difference between active and passive citizenship. In active citizenship, citizen is the one who struggles for the rights, while in passive citizenship the rights are accepted to be given by the state. The second axis comprises the division between public and private sphere. Four citizenship typologies were emerged through these two axes: revolutionary, liberal pluralist, passive democratic and authoritarian democratic. In liberal pluralist and revolutionary contexts, rights are demanded by citizens (above); however, private world is insisted in liberal context while it is approached with suspicion in revolutionary context. On the other hand, in passive democratic and authoritarian democratic contexts, citizens are passive acceptors, *there is no established tradition of struggles for rights* (p. 200). Yet, while in passive democracy there are representative institutions such as the courts, or a welfare system; in authoritarian democracy context private sphere becomes a sanctuary from state regulation since the public life is highly and constantly controlled by the state.

So far, diverse dualities were highlighted through the well-known political or sociological approaches to citizenship, such emphasis on either rights or responsibilities; given importance either to public or private sphere; being either active or passive citizen; depending citizenship either to contract or consanguinity; either rights' being given or being taken. The debates on citizenship, naturally, are related to long-standing political and social traditions.

²⁰ His approach was also based on citizenship practices in Europe.

Yeğen (2005) describes the change of citizenship in terms of three elements in historicity; *a formal-legal status, belonging²¹ of a political community, and participation*. He asserts that the change may not be progressive always, sometimes a regression regarding rights, legal status or participation level may be experienced. By stressing this point, he reminds the context-dependent nature of citizenship. The most important argumentation of his article is about the tension between universality and particularism or equality discourse²² that is related to the *belonging of a political community*. Equality is the common discourse of the modern citizenship concept, the state promises to all its citizens to be treated equally, to have the equal rights, to have and the equal responsibilities. However, in every society, there are differences among individuals in terms of color, race²³, ethnicity, religion, gender, social-class, sexual orientation, and others. On the other hand, discourse of universality contains many debates and tensions within it. Hence, in such a world and period, with stretching borders, increasing migration, increasing racism through the effect of increasing differences and the equality requisition of all diverse groups in terms of their ethnic roots, religious beliefs, gender, and others; the universality vs equality tension might be the most challenging one about citizenship theory and practice.

For me, the tensions between the dualities that have shaped through the long-standing approaches are important to realize the limits of the concept that I am studying. In addition, the outline of the approaches brings us to the most essential

²¹ Yeğen used the concept of ‘mensubiyet’ to define the second element. There were two options to translate as ‘allegiance’ or ‘belonging’, I preferred ‘belonging’ since ‘allegiance’ refers to loyalty more than belonging.

²² This tension between the discourses on universality and particularism or equality takes part in the core of this thesis. This point is visited throughout the thesis as well as the literature review and discussed in detail later. Besides, while remarking the tension between the equality discourse and universality, I also use the concept of ‘essentialist understanding’ to explain the citizenship definitions in which commonalities are constantly underlined by giving reference to the ‘essence of the culture, race, ethnicity, etc.’, and differences are ignored.

²³ Race is not used as a biological classifier. As S. Hall (2017) raised it may not be a biological fact; however, it is a historical and cultural fact. He further remarked that,

“...race is a discursive construct, a sliding signifier. Race, in this sense, is the centerpiece of a hierarchical system that produces differences. These are differences, moreover, of which W. E. B. Du Bois once said, in 1897, that “subtle, delicate and elusive though they may be . . . [they] have silently but definitely separated men into groups.”

discussion in citizenship literature concerning the aims of the study. Yet, before presenting the contemporary discussions on equality-universality debate, the relationship between citizenship, nationalism, and national identity needs to be shared since in modern nation-states, nation-building, construction of citizenship and national identity are hand in hand.

The Relationship between Modern Citizenship, Nationalism and National Identity. Nations, as a community of people, are defined over the narrative of a shared history, a common culture, and ethnicity that lives in specific geographical spaces. They have territorial, historical, political, emotional, social and cultural dimensions that support the narrative of a specific identity. People in the world mainly hold a national identity -there are exceptions- and have tangible documents to show whenever needed inside or outside the borders of their nations. Thus, its reality is not discussable; however, I aim to review the literature to discuss its construction process and its relationship between nationalism and citizenship.

Habermas (1998) explains the modern meaning of 'nation' and its relationship with citizenship through the etymological root of the concepts. In the Roman Empire, '*natio*' meant *goddess of birth and origin*, and unlike *civitas*, *natio* referred to the native communities *who were not yet organized in political associations*; hence nation was used to define 'barbaric' tribes. At first, there was a difference between *natio* and *civitas*. However, starting from the middle of 18th century and the idea of modernity, the difference between nation and '*politically organize people*' began to disappear and even after French Revolution, nation became *the source of state sovereignty* (p. 22). Today, citizenship refers to a form of legal, political and practical membership based on a form of specific identity. According to Smith (1991), there are some elements that constitute national identity which is based on an ethnic community; a *territory* namely a homeland or a historic land of the nation, a *community* with a single political will through its laws and institutions, *citizenship* that provides a legal equality among the members of the community, and finally *common values, culture, traditions* (including common symbols, past, myths) and *a common civic ideology* (p. 9-11).

Today, we mostly are living within the borders of a national community, holding our national identity cards, as well as our shared history, culture, values and

traditions. Today, “*whatever else is forgotten in a world of information overload, we do not forget our homelands...we are constantly invited to relax, at home, within the homeland’s borders. This form of life is national identity...*” (Billig, 1995, p. 127). Billig’s words, probably, sound quite meaningful to the majority of people in the world; and helps us to understand and feel the power of national identity.

How did modern nations build such powerful collective identities? There is not a consensus in the literature about when and how *nation* gained a prevalent meaning and became a *common property*; or more precisely do nations build the states, and the phenomenon of nationalism and national identity or are they the products of modernity (Özkırıklı, 2005; 2013). The major theorists that discussed the time of birth of nations and nationalism are generally grouped into three; primordialists, modernists and ethno-symbolists²⁴. Primordialists argued that the root of today’s nations goes back to immemorial times. Every nation has natural, and ancient bonds that separate them from other nations and determine the biological or cultural characteristics of that nation such as language, ethnicity, race, religion, traditions, symbols, myths, etc. Thus, they define both culture, ethnicity, and identity as fixed and unchangeable; there is an ‘essence’ of every nation. Ethno-symbolists, on the other hand, agree about the historical, cultural, or ethnic ties of the nations with the past; yet, by defining ‘nationalism’ as the product of the modern era they claim that modern nations were shaped through their own ethnic, cultural or historical roots in time. In other words, nations have their own ‘essences’, however they have changed and transformed to modern national identity in time. Ethno-symbolists believe the existence of the ethnic or cultural essence; however, they do not define this essence as fixed and unchangeable²⁵. Finally, modernists try to justify that the birth of nations is associated with modernity and they are the products of capitalism, industrialization, urbanization, the bureaucratic state and

²⁴ It is the most common classification in the literature and gain wide currency through the studies of Anthony D. Smith (Özkırıklı, 2013, p. 253).

²⁵ Check Smith (2010) for more information about ethno-symbolists as he is one of the pioneers of ethno-symbolism.

secularism (Özkırıklı, 2013). Nationalism constructed the nations; they were invented through modernity.²⁶

By discussing all the theoretical categories in detail, Özkırıklı (2013) claims that the prevalent classification mostly misleads the readers since the criteria making distinctions between theories were not defined clearly. Thus, it would be more useful to explore the theories of nationalism into two groups: essentialist and constructivist. Essentialists believe that there is an '*essence*' of each nation which is the most important and unchangeable. Essentialist understanding -includes the theories classified in primordialist and ethno-symbolist perspectives- does not consider the intersections of diverse identities since the most important character of any nation is their national essence that most of the time refers to their ethnicity (Özkırıklı, 2013, p. 256). On the other hand, constructivists -includes modernist theories- consider the subjectivity; every character of any nation is constructed and reconstructed according to the changing conditions in social structures through modernity. In other terms, constructivists claim that nations are the product of the age of nationalism, not of the past ethnic cultures. As Özkırıklı (2013) asserts, constructivists have proved that most of today's countries are the product of last centuries; what they become today is the result of the developments that occurred in the last centuries (p.261).

The theories related to these perspectives determined the content and context of discussions on nationalism till 1980-1990s; however, as Özkırıklı (2013) emphasized, especially starting from 1990s a new understanding emerged which has also questioned the existence of minorities in terms of color, race, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, disability status, social class, and others. Since being a nation has been constructed through commonalities, and nationalism has been referred to the identification and support of the characteristics of the nation by the hegemonic discourses; the condition of minorities has not been discussed much until then.

²⁶ Smith (2010) actually defines more than three paradigms that target to explain the birth of nations. In addition to primordialism, modernism and ethno-symbolism, he classifies another paradigm named as perennialism. According to perennialists, although nationalism is a modern concept, nations existed from a long period of time and they based their claims on empirical data, not defended nations as natural and organic.

However, the development of *cultural studies* during the 1960s as an academic field triggered scholars to question the elements of culture, does it define a unity or are there any differences between people regarding the culture they have? Hence, a new perspective criticizing the discourses on ‘unity’ and ‘commonality’ has emerged which is explained in detail while discussing the second path that I follow. I shall, now, share some well-known constructivist (modernist) theories²⁷ to explain how a nation is constructed and reconstructed, since the purpose of this title is showing the connection between citizenship and national identity and eventually to review the role of citizenship education.

Ernest Renan (2016) with his famous lecture at Sorbonne, titled ‘*What is a nation?*’, explained his perspective towards the nation and nationalism, in 1882; and the transcription of this lecture has been one of the most notable resources in nationalism literature. According to Renan, nations are not natural forms and they are not eternal either. He stated that there are no ethnic or racial ties between members of a nation; it is not the organic elements that bind the nation together, it is the will to be and act together, nation is a way of solidarity. Besides, the source of the solidarity, the will to have a common present and future was not defined over spirituality, the human mind was the source of nation. From this perspective, he attributed a rational as well as emotional meaning to the existence of a nation. On the other hand, although he referred to the nation as a modern phenomenon; he, at the same time, cited the historical roots of a nation as important elements. Renan emphasized the commonalities of a nation, even though he did not define these commonalities as the essence of the nation. He also claimed that forgetting the past is an essential part of being a nation:

For, the essential element of a nation is that all its individuals must have many things in common but it must also have forgotten many things. No French citizen knows whether s/he is a Burgundian, an Alani, a Tayfal or a Visigoth. Every French citizen must have forgotten the night of St. Barthélemy and the massacres in the thirteenth century in the South. (p. 38)

In other words, he defined two conditions to become a nation. The first one is having a common rich legacy of memories which includes forgetting some parts

²⁷ It needs to be reminded that all the theories discussed here are deeper than the limits of this discussion which is determined through the purposes of the study.

of the past. The other is the will to come to a joint decision in the present, the desire to live together, to continue developing the heritage they have received undivided (p. 50). A common sorrow or victory in the past, a hope or plan for the future, self-sacrificing of individual lives through a powerful feeling of solidarity are some elements that support the foundation of a nation.

Ernest Gellner (1992), with his well-known and broadly influential theory on nationalism, precisely claims that nations are the products of modernity. According to him, nationalism refers to the combination of culture and politics. Culture became the element of commonality within the nation in modernity. Thereby, there is a relationship between the state and culture; and every person needs to have a national identity such that the person has a nose or two eyes. In other words, he combined political membership with the national identity by binding these two with common culture.

Through a functionalist perspective, Gellner asserted that differently from the pre-modern ages, in modern times, as a result of industrialization, there is an order in the society which needs to be sustained through standardization and constructing a 'high culture' with the support of education. He emphasized the importance of standardized education and according to him the only system that can control mass education could be a centralized state system. The 'high culture' that refers to a common 'upper' culture, can be acquired through the standardized and centralized education. It is the way to create nations over generations; thus, nations are *real*, as well as *imagined* and modern human beings were no longer loyal to the king or religion, but to the culture and the state.

Eric J. Hobsbawm (1990) was influenced by the thoughts of Gellner and repeated Gellner's words to define nationalism "...nationalism, which sometimes takes pre-existing culture and turns them into nations, sometimes invents them, and often obliterates pre-existing cultures..." (as cited in Hobsbawm, p.10). As well as the 'invention' discourse, Hobsbawm uses the term 'social engineering' to explain how nations are produced. Moreover, according to him the most essential phenomenon to explore for understanding the core of nationalism is 'invented traditions'. *Invented traditions* including rituals, symbols, accepted rules, sets of practices, values or norms provide a bridge between the past and present, as well as

the feeling of continuity for the nation. He attributed a technical meaning to the *invented traditions*. The invention sometimes corresponds to modification, ritualization and institutionalization of existing traditions such as modification of lyrics of a folk song with some patriotic content or giving a new national meaning to an existing festival. Therewith sometimes new traditions, rituals or symbols are invented such as national anthem and singing national anthem every day at school; or national flag and the flag raising ceremony held in schools to construct the nation (Hobsbawn & Ranger, 1983).

According to Hobsbawn, the nation can only emerge through technological, political and economic developments, that is why he emphasized the effect of modernity and explained nations as products of nationalisms. Like Gellner, he also highlighted the importance of education. A nation cannot be a nation as long as the masses are not reached; therefore, nationalism is a phenomenon that needs to be built from top down. Yet, additional to Gellner's ideas, he did not forget to add the necessity of understanding the needs, emotions, and opinions of masses.

Gellner's and Hobsbawn's thoughts are quite similar; since Hobsbawn is highly influenced by Gellner's opinions. Both of them believed the necessity of an elite class to construct the nation from top down; however, Hobsbawn (1990) criticizes Gellner and reminds the necessity of the bilateral perspective to construct nations since nations cannot be understood unless the hopes, needs, longings and interests of ordinary people are considered (p. 10). He strongly believes that studies on nationalism need to investigate and analyze the opinions and feelings of *ordinary people*, as it is not possible to assume that every person in the nation self-identify themselves in accordance with the official ideologies of states.

Benedict Anderson (1995) with his powerful thesis on the birth of nations and nationalism, presented his definition as follows: nations are *imagined political communities*, and imagined to be both *limited* and *sovereign*. By attributing an *imagined* meaning to nations, he referred to the imagination of every member of a nation that makes them believing in togetherness even though they do not see each other, or even if they do not exactly know their existence personally. Thus, in the end, nations are imagined as a deep fellowship; this feeling leads the fellows sacrifice themselves whenever needed.

Though both Gellner, Hobsbawm, Renan and Anderson grounded their theories of nationalism on modernity, they all claimed that it was the nationalisms that constructed nations. Yet, as can be seen from the nuances in between, they explained the construction of nations over different factors. Gellner and Hobsbawm described it as an *invention* process by an *elite class*; however, their theories did not refer to the feelings, solidarity, or loyalty as much as emphasized by Anderson and Renan. Yet, all these theories had quite a similar claim, all believed the importance of commonalities either invented or imagined; common past, common daily life, common feelings, common thoughts, common victories or sorrows, or common future. These are all the basis of national identity. From another perspective, I share a famous statement of an Italian diplomat Massimo d’Azeglio to concretize what the theoreticians of nationalism referred to when they talked about ‘*invention of nation*’ or ‘*imagined communities*’. Massimo d’Azeglio, in the 19th century during vast changes in the map of Europe, by admitting the necessity of inventing the Italian nation stated that “*We have made Italy, now we must make Italians.*” (Hobsbawm, 1990, p. 44). A similar discourse can be followed in the 10th year march of Turkish Republic, which was written and composed to celebrate the tenth year of the young Republic. In one of the lines of the March, it is stated that “*In 10 years we have created fifteen million young people at every age*”. Hence, the direct relationship of nation, nationalism and citizenship can be sensed from these discourses; yet I still need to deepen the discussion to show the relationship between citizenship, nation and nationalism.

Today, there is almost a consensus about the nation’s referring to a form of identity such as class, gender, race, or religion; however, the point of discussion is about the effect of other forms of identities on national identity (Habermas, 1998). This debate brings us to the literature on the types of nationalism and the content or form of their connection to citizenship.

There are various perspectives towards nationalism that eventually causes a rich distinction between the versions of diverse nationalisms such as civic/political, ethnic/cultural/organic, territorial, state-building, peripheral, irredentist, unitary, Western, Eastern, liberal/not-liberal, colonial/anti-colonial; however, the most

commonly-used distinction is defined over the civic/ethnic dichotomy (Özkırıklı, 2005; Sancar, 2014).

Either based on ethnic or civic elements, all nations have a unique place, and determined/protected boundaries. In addition to the boundaries, all nations have specific identities representing specific characteristics; thus, they are both inclusionary and exclusionary, at the same time. These are widely-accepted realities and refer to the core of most discussions on citizenship at present. What constitutes the root of this dichotomy then?

Recalling Brubaker (1992), and his distinction to explain the differences between France and Germany through the concepts of *Jus Soli* and *Jus Sanguinis*, provides a basis to review the literature. As argued before, *Jus Soli* refers to a contractual citizenship experienced in France; while blood-relation that is considered important for Germany, builds another form of citizenship namely *Jus Sanguinis*. Brubaker made a legal distinction in terms of citizenship by analyzing the naturalization codes in both countries; however, he, at the same time, accepted France's assimilation policies to construct a French nation. On the other hand, Brubaker (1998) criticized the civic/ethnic nationalism classification by mapping *culture* in this dichotomy. According to him, ethnic/civic distinction and their borders are not clear to discuss nationalism over such a dichotomy. If ethnic purely refers to the ethnicity, *in this case there is very little ethnic nationalism around* (p. 299) since culture will be an element of civic nationalism which eventually makes the category of civic nationalism quite heterogeneous, thus not useful. In other respects, if culture is included as an element of ethnic nationalism -which makes the category ethno-cultural-, there will not be any nation that can be categorized in civic nationalism, since every nation is constructed over common culture or ethnicity. In addition, and more importantly, he believed that civic/ethnic dichotomy is a cause or product of the Orientalist perspective of the Western Europe. Civic is coded as good and seen as characteristic of Western Europe, while Eastern Europe is coded as ethnic which carries a negative meaning.

Brubaker was not the only one who disagrees with this dichotomy, there have been many scholars who emphasized the impossibility of civic nationalism, every nation has cultural boundaries, and these cultural boundaries generally address the

culture of ethnic majority. Thus, the civic/ethnic dichotomy is mainly found *bogus*, or defined as a *myth* both in theory and practice; rather than accepted as a reality (Özkırımlı, 2005).

I shall summarize briefly the above review to finalize this title with the main point that I want to emphasize. Although there are diverse theories to examine nationalism, it's being the product of modernity or the product of changing social, economic, or political conditions and developments is the widely-accepted one. Through the consequences of changing conditions, people needed to define themselves as members of a nation-state with a national-identity; this was the time when citizenship gained a modern meaning with rights and responsibilities (Kadioğlu, 2012). Building the nation was required for creation of commonalities, either by modifying the existing ones, or inventing the new ones; and people needed to believe or needed to be believed the existence of these commonalities to feel solidarity with their fellow citizens or to feel loyalty towards them; and mass education became the tool of citizenship construction.

In this equation, citizenship refers to equality, equal rights, and equal responsibilities; however, when we add differences -in terms of ethnicity, race, color, gender, religion, sexual orientation, disability status, and others- and when we consider the diversity of population in almost every nation in the world, a *tragedy* is realized (Yeğen, 2005). Modern citizenship as a status, membership or practice, produces and reproduces both equalities and inequalities at the same time (Yeğen, 2005). It has a promise about providing equality, while producing inequalities through the boundaries of constructed national identity. Modern states aim to construct a common national identity; thus, they, actually, aim to define every citizen and construct citizenship over the same national identity; however, this has not been a succeeded project, due to the multi-national, multicultural, and multiethnic structure of modern countries as it was highlighted by Kymlicka (1995) many years ago. Now, I examine the role of citizenship education for the construction of national identity.

2.2. What is Citizenship Education for in Modern Nation-states?

Nations have been imagined as communities sharing common culture and history; and common culture has been mainly based on race, ethnicity, language or religion. Though, ethnicity has been the most distinct separator to identify the nation with; in other words, ethnicity was the most regarded element of a community to homogenize it constructing a nation (Altnay, 2007). So far, I briefly explained the approaches to modern citizenship and the relationship between modern citizenship, nationalism and national identity. Now, I want to examine the role of citizenship education in modern nation-states to construct a national identity.

Citizenship is a *contested* concept and of course citizenship education has different purposes at present, compared to the past. However, in the past, in modern nation-states, citizenship education was chiefly targeted to organize the relationship between citizens and the nation-state. And both in early industrialized and anti-colonial nationalist countries citizenship education was considered substantial to form a national identity with an emphasis on common history and culture. Besides, patriotism and loyalty to the nation and the state were expected from the citizens and encouraging citizens to be loyal and ‘good’ patriots were also aimed (Lawson & Scott, 2002). I used past tense to cite the role of citizenship education in the process of nation-building or state formation; however, both nation building and citizenship construction refer to a continuing process, citizens need to be convinced among generations to be a part of a nation. Therefore, these purposes are still on the agenda of citizenship education. Yet, there are many tensions due to the contested and complex character of citizenship education, as well as the changing structures of today’s nation states.

Defining the mind of children as ‘*tabula rasa*’, namely *blank slate*, Locke is regarded as the first philosopher that defined children as ‘*potential citizens*’ (Kaplan, 2005, p. 42-43). Before that children were seen as *miniature* version of adults or *defective adults* (Üstel, 2014, p. 11). If the mind is blank, children need to be educated by their parents and the state through education (Öztaş, 2013). According to Üstel (2014), this is one of the reasons that shaped citizenship education in modern nation-states. She listed two more reasons; realization of the impact of mass education by the executive elites to construct and consolidate the centralized nation-

states²⁸, and secularization of the states and the need of secular citizens which was grounded to the principle of national sovereignty. In other words, the source of sovereignty was not the God or the King as the representative, the sovereignty of the nation belonged to the nation and the nation needed a 'new' model of citizens (p. 11). What was expected from and inculcated to the 'new' model citizen through national education?

Heater (2004) made a comprehensive analysis by sharing important documents that show the purposes and content of citizenship education in early nation-states during the 18th century. For instance, he examined several French authors', philosophers' and politicians' writings and reports on citizenship education to understand how the purposes and content have been formed. La Chalotais²⁹, as the leading figure in the parliament of Brittany, remarked that national education should prepare citizens and citizenship education should be related to the national constitution, natural law, ethics and politics. Navarre, as a member of religious to teach about duties, patriotism and national constitution to the youth in his award-winning essay on the best educational system for France. Rousseau, on the other hand, as one of the most prominent philosophers of the 18th century on politics and education, believed that education for citizenship needs to promote the consciousness of national cohesion, as well as an attitude of civic virtue and citizenship duties. According to him, the minds of youth can be shaped through education (p. 38). While Rousseau (1999) remarks the importance of virtuous citizens to form a republic, he did not forget to highlight the great importance of the role of education to raise virtuous citizens; though according to him both of them are difficult enterprises.³⁰ Turgot, as an influential political figure, highlighted the capital importance of forming a national education system through which

²⁸ This is also the claim of Andy Green (1990) through his study on the role of education in state formation.

²⁹ La Chalotais was one of the first users of the concept of 'national education'. In his report, *An Essay on National Education*, he emphasized the need for an education for state citizenship (Üstel 2014, p. 13).

³⁰ *Emile or on Education* and *The Social Contract* are the two important books of Rousseau to understand his perspective on citizenship education. See Gomes (2020) for a comprehensive analysis of Rousseau's thoughts on citizenship and education.

citizenship duties and patriotism can be inculcated to raise *zealous* citizens (Turgot, 1775, as cited in Heater, 2004). The French philosopher Condorcet's opinions show another perspective of the citizenship education in France as an early nation-state. He stated that "*national holidays should be used to tell or refresh the memories of the citizenry as a whole about the country's traditions, especially of heroism, to confirm the historical foundations of the call for citizens to recognize their duties*" (de la Fontaineire, 1932, as cited in Heater, 2004, p. 43). All these important figures defended a national education system and a citizenship education to raise dutiful, conscious, patriotic and zealous citizens.³¹

In the continental Europe, France has been the most stable country in terms of the progress of citizenship education, it became one of the compulsory courses and the content was discussed in detail from various aspects (Üstel 2014). According to Heater (2002), thanks to the keen interest of French philosophers, secularization and Revolution in 1789, France preceded the developments on citizenship education. On the other hand, some similar processes were experienced in other early nation states, such Prussia (German nation). Heater (2004) included the opinions of Fichte (a philosopher) and Humboldt (a philosopher and politician) to discover the purposes and content of citizenship education in Prussia, although they have different opinions. Fichte claimed the necessity of a widely available education, while Humboldt believed in educating a minority group through classical education. Yet, there were two main purposes of citizenship education in this period; promoting the loyalty to state through the commitment to citizenship duties and sense of patriotism. Fichte stated that the sense of *fatherland*³² should be taught to the majority of citizens. While these processes have occurred regarding citizenship education in France and Prussia, a more radical and democratic mode of citizenship education was experienced in Britain. *Equality* between citizens regarding education was the most considered characteristic of the state schools; yet there were

³¹ Füsün Üstel (2014) in her book 'Makbul Vatandaşın Peşinde', summarized the development of citizenship education in France succinctly; the introduction part of the book can be checked for more detailed information.

³² *Fatherland* was used by Fichte, I would prefer to use homeland instead, however I did not want to change his words.

discussions about the possibility of state schools' acting as an indoctrination and controlling mechanism. Therefore, a widely available citizenship education was approached with suspicion.

According to Heater (2002) there have been changes in the 19th and 20th centuries on the purposes of citizenship education. Although national education had been discussed throughout the 18th century, education was still accessible by the elites in some early nation states; and the character of citizenship education was widely decided, though it had been widely discussed. In addition, religion still had an impact on education even though the idea and practice of secularization had started to be discussed (Heater, 2004). There were three political developments that pushed the nation-states to prioritize citizenship education: the evolution of parliamentary forms of constitution, the growing sense of belonging to nationhood and ethnicity, and finally the decolonization process (Heater, 2002).

On the other hand, beginning from the 19th century, citizenship education gained a democratic characteristic; citizens of the newly democratized nation-states needed to learn democracy and the necessities of democratic citizenship. For instance, voting was included as an essential citizenship duty, if people vote, they need to be conscious about the act they perform since this act brings some responsibilities and consequences. Moreover, teaching civic rights became essential as well as teaching duties over citizenship education; as Lavissee -a leading educationist in France- stated, in 1898, that civic rights need to be taught in accordance with the civic duties, since civic *rights* and *honors* cannot be free. Besides voting and civic rights; paying taxes, military service, or dying for the country were some other points that were targeted through citizenship education. Again, Lavissee wrote that there are four obligations of a citizen which are performing military duty, being ready to die for France, paying taxes, and voting (as cited in Heater, 2004, p. 79). Thus, as can be sensed a militaristic character was attributed to the modern citizenship idea to protect the state and the nation.

So far, I tried to present a very brief summary about what citizenship education is for, in other terms the role of citizenship education in modern nation-states. From here onwards, I briefly listed the highlighted roles:

- Teaching citizenship duties: Citizens need to perform the expected responsibilities, roles, and duties for the nation including voting, paying taxes, performing military duty, and even dying for the country if needed.
- Teaching national constitution, ethics, laws, and regulations: Citizens need to learn the rules and regulations or ethics to live in an order and to internalize civic virtue.
- Teaching patriotism, loyalty and national consciousness: Citizens should learn to love their nation and country; they should be loyal and have national consciousness to perform their responsibilities and duties to the nation.
- Teaching democracy and citizenship rights: Citizens need to learn democracy and their rights to act compatibly with their roles in democratic and modern nation-states.

All these roles are expected through some premises in modern nation-states. In a nutshell, the citizens are ‘imagined’ as ‘same in totality’ without differences in between; and being conscious about the nation they are a part of gives them a national identity to belong. However, according to Young (2000) by *seeking to define attributes of national identity or character that all members share* (p. 252), modern nation-states create the *homogeneity* and *equality* discourses; which is defined as a myth as well as being an essentialist description of the nation (Özkırmı, 2005). These unrealistic premises and the essentialist understanding causes a ‘us/others’, or ‘citizen/foreigner’ dichotomy (Özkırmı, 2005). Eventually, citizenship education targets to teach ‘our’ character, history, language, customs, beliefs, and others, and defines the borders of national identity besides teaching roles, and responsibilities to *equal* citizens of the nation. In this way, *citizens can place themselves in a continuum of human life and, connecting themselves to their ancestors as well as the future generations* (Tamir, 1993, pp. 85-86).

Citizenship education is one of the ways to produce a sense of national identity, national consciousness, and group belongingness in modern nation-states; yet as Nathanson (1997) argued rituals and symbols are developed, or monuments are built to celebrate the historical achievement of the group to unify the nation which are also used in citizenship education in modern nation states. Commonalities

(common past, common victories, common sorrows, and others) are reminded to construct a loyal and patriotic ‘future’ citizens through citizenship education.

In most basic terms, citizenship education refers to a support process of individuals to become citizens of the modern nation-states by attributing them a national identity. However, the citizenship concept has been *broadened* and *deepened* over the last decades. By *broadened*, Veugelers (2017) refers to the territorial flexibility of the post-modern nation-states by emphasizing the regional or global definitions of citizenship. By *deepened*, he emphasizes the changing conceptions of citizenship regarding social and cultural dimensions as well as the political one. Therefore, the understanding of citizenship has evolved from modern to postmodern that also affects the understanding of citizenship education. Now, I review the changing understanding of citizenship and citizenship education.

2.3. Changing Understanding of Citizenship and Citizenship Education

Let’s turn back to Yeğen’s (2005) words starting to define the transition from modern to post-modern, multi-national, de-national, or multicultural citizenship. Yeğen (2005) describes and argues the concept of citizenship through three elements; *a formal-legal status, belonging of a political community* (membership), and *participation*. How these elements have transformed from the past to today? According to Yeğen, citizenship as formal/legal status has developed and the rights of citizens were constructed starting from civil rights to political, and social rights. Today, cultural rights, identity rights, and even at large human rights are being discussed about citizenship as a legal and formal status. Secondly, Yeğen discusses the changes regarding the *participation* element of citizenship, from city-states to nation-states citizen has become passive rather than active as the representatives decide on behalf of the citizens in modern nation-states and the political activity has been withered away. On the other hand, today, being active citizens is discussed through the concepts of ‘localness’, active citizenship, critical citizenship or transformative citizenship (Banks, 2008; Giroux, 1991a).

On the other hand, *belonging to a political community* namely the *membership* element of citizenship has a more complicated story. While citizenship status has referred to being a member of a nation-state and having rights

accordingly; today, through the influence of increasing global migration, and development of international organizations and their influences on the decisions of nation-states make citizenship as a membership more complicated than ever (Balibar, 2016; Marshall & Bottomore, 2000).

Those shifts have redesigned and reconstructed the citizenship phenomenon -mostly as an academic and intellectual practice- as belonging to a political community. Today, post-national, multicultural, denationalized, cosmopolitan or global citizenship are being discussed in citizenship literature (Anık, 2012; Sassen, 2002a), and there are some practices to extend the boundaries of citizenship as membership in some nation-states such as Canada, Australia, the USA or the majority of the countries in Europe (Banks, 2008; Doytcheva, 2016; Eurydice, 2017; Kymlicka, 1995). Yet, Yeğen (2005) describes the transformation process of modern citizenship as *belonging to a political community* through the term ‘tragedy’ to cite two uncompromising results and ‘paradoxes’ of this transformation. On the one hand, modern citizenship ensures the equality of all citizens; while on the other hand, it causes unequal practices of citizens because of their class, ethnicity, race, color, culture, gender, religion, and others. Because modern citizenship targets to construct uniform citizens regardless of their differences causes silencing the differences, reproducing inequalities as well as masking them. Thus, while accepting and emphasizing equality as a premise, modern citizenship, today, is in an impasse regarding the ‘equality’ discourse; since the equality discourses over class, culture, ethnicity, race, color, identity, or gender base differences are increasing day by day.

2.3.1. Citizenship and Difference

Using *citizenship* and *difference* together is quite an oxymoron as Lister (1998) reminded years ago. Citizenship refers to an inclusion/exclusion practice both as a status, feeling, membership or practice. It defines a group of people, a community in more modern terms ‘a nation’, with its culture, identity, ethnicity, race, religion, or language. In some cases -such as Switzerland, Canada, New Zealand, Ireland, etc.-, more than one ethnicity, race, language, religion or culture are accepted as core parts of that nation; yet still, it includes and accepts some while excludes and

marginalized some other groups. In this point, the question is how modern nation-states respond to the increasing diversity and differences due to two important developments; (1) increasing consciousness of people who have been marginalized because of their class, cultural, gender, ethnic, or racial identity, (2) increasing global migration in-between nation-states.

This is a question which has not got a satisfactory and complete answer yet; although there are some practices of some states such as Canada, United States of America, New Zealand, or in Continental Europe in general as European citizenship.³³ Hence, I rather prefer to discuss the intellectual debates about *post-national*, *de-national*, *multicultural*, *cosmopolitan*, and *other citizenship* formulations.

a) Post-national Citizenship. Soysal (1994) in her seminal book *Limits of Citizenship: Migrants and Postnational Citizenship in Europe* studied on the membership status of guest workers in Europe and discussed that even they have no citizenship status, they are considered through some legal and organizational structures in the host countries they are living in.³⁴ She suggested a new model of citizenship by analyzing the changing experiences of people and states in the contemporary world. According to her, the rights and privileges of citizenship status have been expanded through some waves historically as the definition of public has changed by including the poor, women, or children. And today, “*rights that used to belong solely to nationals are now extended to foreign populations* (p. 137)”. Guest workers, migrants or refugees have rights and certain status regarding universal human rights. Thereby, there is a transformation about the citizenship understanding which exceeds the borders of the national citizenship and needs to be theorized to construct its foundations. To do this, Soysal offers *going beyond the nation-state* (p. 139) and call this as *postnational* citizenship.

³³ I will give some examples about the practices from different states; however, I will not base my arguments any of these practices. That is why I mainly conduct a theoretical discussion.

³⁴ She claimed that her arguments about postnational citizenship over the migrants’ membership status and rights in host countries are not exclusive to Europe, even she uses cases from Western Europe in her discussion (p. 155-156).

Soysal constructed her arguments about reconfiguration of citizenship status through two interrelated developments in the contemporary world structure. The first one is about “*the increasing interdependence and connectedness...and the emergence of transnational political structures, which altogether... complicate nation-state sovereignty and jurisdiction*” (p. 143). Thus, the conditions of guest workers need to be organized according to global rules and structures, since in the contemporary world there are international and transnational structures such as United Nation, European Union, International Labor Office. The second development is about international human rights conventions. For instance, as it is proclaimed through Universal Declaration of Human Rights, “*all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights (Article 1)*”; and they all have “*the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state (Article 13-1)*”. Therefore, regardless of national identity, each state is responsible to protect the rights of migrants, and refugees which provides and expansion of the rights of guest workers, refugees or migrants. And even, these rights are not protected as individual rights, the cultural or collective rights of migrant groups -ethnic identity, mother tongue- are also considered to be protected (Soysal, 1994).

Soysal used the concept of *fluidity* to describe the fluidity of membership of a state, since one can be a citizen of one state while having some civil, political or social rights also in another state. Yet, she also emphasized the predominance of the borders or the national model of citizenship understanding both in European nation-states and in the world. In other words, the organization, and implementation of all these international and transnational rules, laws and conventions are tied to the practices of the state itself. However, according to her, there are theoretical, legal and practical developments in the world-wide through which groups or individual people struggle for their rights by basing their arguments to human rights and transnational conventions; thus, the idea of nation-state and “*nationhood become more and more discredited (p. 162)*” day by day.³⁵³⁶

³⁵ In her analysis, Soysal highlights the important dialectical tension between ‘national identity’ and ‘international human rights’.

³⁶ See Bauböck (1994), Bosniak (2000), Falk (2000) and Sassen (2002a) for more discussion on postnational or transnational citizenship.

There are other proponents of postnational citizenship that argued the irrelevancy of national citizenship. Jacobson and Goodwin-White (2018) mostly agree with Soysal's arguments by accepting the effectiveness of two trends, which are the expansion of rights of permanent residents and human rights' being an international code and exceeding the citizenship status, on the decline of national citizenship. Moreover, according to Appadurai (1996) '*we need to think ourselves beyond the nation* (p. 158)' by citing the crisis of nation-states due to its inability to manage globalization, interlinked diasporas of people and images.

Özkırımlı (2005) completely shares the positivity of transcending the nation-state idea since he criticizes the causes of nationalism such as intolerance, wars, massacres, polarization in everyday life and he emphasizes the increasing international struggle and resistance over the increasing existence of non-governmental organizations around the world. Therefore, he claims that a postnational or transnational perspective might provide better alternatives. Yet, according to him, these projections are quite utopian and naïve, at least they are not feasible in our lifetime, might be in the very distant future.³⁷

b) Citizenship Denationalized. Sassen (2002a) transcends the postnational citizenship discussion into a broader context. She defined a continuum to discuss the deconstructed alternatives of national citizenship; on the one side there is postnational citizenship and on the other there is denationalized citizenship. According to Sassen, both are *viable* and *do not exclude each other* (p. 286). As discussed, postnational citizenship proponents claim the irrelevancy of national citizenship and the need of transformation in national citizenship understanding. Through the concept of denationalization Sassen (2002a) finds an alternative to national citizenship, again, within the nation. In her words, denationalized citizenship refers to a citizenship definition that is constituted through "*the transformation of the national, specifically under the impact of globalization and several other dynamics, and will tend to instantiate inside the national* (p. 286)". Thus, according to her, the meaning of the national will change and will need to

³⁷ For a harsher criticism to postnational citizenship see Hansen (2009).

change in time is providing the possibility for citizenship to extend its borders inside the national.

Bosniak (2000), in her article *Citizenship Denationalized*, remarks her beliefs about the changing character of citizenship as a legal status, system of rights, form of political activity or form of identity. She discusses the denationalization claims through four dimensions of citizenship, and concludes that citizenship exceeds the bounds of the nation to some degree for each dimension, “*though the process of denationalization has occurred more extensively and meaningfully in some domains than in others* (p. 452)”. In other words, she also extends the discussion by analyzing the transformation of citizenship through the current changes and developments in the world; and her analysis is multi-dimensional by considering different conceptualizations of citizenship. For instance, according to her, citizenship as a legal status has exceeded its national borders since there is a concrete example for that which is the European Union. Besides, extension of rights for ‘aliens’ is another point to consider about the transformation of citizenship as a legal status; as well as possibility of having dual or multiple citizenships.

She also remarks on the states’ position and power towards positive rights. The developments of civil, cultural, political, social rights through the international conventions and agreements ensures a ground for human rights that transcends the borders of nation-states. Further, there are political and civil international organizations that hold international struggles, and grassroots social movements for protecting rights. Thus, citizens of a nation-state feel connection towards people from different parts of the world from different nation-states; and sometimes they belong themselves to a group of people through ties other than nationality. This can be explained as denationalized forms of identity says Bosniak. Through all these arguments, that she analyzed and discussed in detail, she asserts that “*there is no good logical or empirical reason to refuse the denationalization of the citizenship or to allow the term to evolve along these changes* (p. 508)”.

Unlike the statist and modernist view that divides the whole world into ‘us’ and ‘others’, targets to homogenize the nations and creates dichotomies to ensure its existence; the alternatives based on globally oriented citizenship are mainly grounded in the essence of citizenship to the wider human community. Thereby, in

the latter, national borders of citizenship are tried to be extended by including ‘others’ more.

c) Cosmopolitan Citizenship. As shared, diverse alternatives and diverse conceptualizations are constructed, mostly on the intellectual level. One of these conceptualizations is ‘cosmopolitan citizenship’; or it can be defined as world or global citizenship.

Cosmopolitanism based citizenship refers to equality of all human beings living in the world regardless of their class, sex, race, color, ethnicity, religion, sexual orientation, or any other specific affiliations. Cosmopolitanism, on the other hand, is not a modern idea; it dates back to ancient times, to the thoughts of Diogenes from ancient Greece who defined himself as *a citizen of the world* almost 2500 years ago (Linklater, 2002). Stoics followed and developed *kosmopolites* by describing two communities; *the local community* where we born in and *the wider community*, the latter’s *boundaries can be measured by the sun* (Nussbaum, 2002). The Stoics base their moral obligations to the wider community, to *kosmopolites*. Actually their understanding is quite deep and detailed. They do not assert to abandon any of the local identities; yet they define circles around each people and the largest one constitutes humanity as a whole (Nussbaum, 2002). Later, Kant used the idea of cosmopolitan citizenship. He uses the concept of cosmopolitan citizenship to challenge the exclusionary sovereign states (Linklater, 2002). Therefore, he does not give up the idea of state system -since according to him this might cause the existence of a despotic world government which would be insensitive to cultural differences-, yet he imagines a cosmopolitan community of humankind alongside with system of states (as cited in Linklater, 2002).

Cosmopolitanism and cosmopolitan citizenship is still one of the most argued alternatives to the problems or challenges occurring due to globalization and its cultural, economic, political, or social causes around the world. Martha Nussbaum (2002) through her essay *Patriotism and Cosmopolitanism* starts a discussion about cosmopolitan citizenship. It was an invitation to a philosophy of cosmopolitan education. Her invitation provokes a deep debate, even the answers to her call are collected and published as a contentful book named *For Love of Country*. Nussbaum (2002) adopts Stoic understanding of cosmopolitan education and she

claims the importance of world citizenship as the ground for civic education rather than national or democratic citizenship. According to her, human beings accidentally born in a nation, thus, a cosmopolitan citizen needs to put rights before her/his country and universal reason before her/his national belonging. She stresses the necessity to respect and cooperate across national borders and national identities that divide humanity. Thereby, in one respect, she advocates cosmopolitanism over patriotism.

There are several objections to her claims. For instance, Sissela Bok (2002) finds her ideas quite unrealistic. There are almost eight billion people living on the planet World, and it is more concrete for children to start exploring, cooperating, understanding their local region first before learning to be cosmopolitan citizens. Gutmann (2002), on the other hand, highlights the importance of democracy and democratic citizenship. She remarks to being loyal to democratic values, justice and equality rather than being loyal or feeling allegiance to any national or cosmopolitan community.

Himmerfalb's (2002) criticism is quite important since she clearly stresses that the values such as 'justice', 'right', 'reason', or 'love of humanity' are the values that grounded to Western philosophical history; therefore, the claim of cosmopolitan citizenship over Western values and ideas is quite paradoxical. Wallerstein (2002), from another perspective, reminds us a similar issue and defines *the citizens of the world* as 'ambiguous'. Then he strongly evokes the unequal conditions in the world. Some states have the power, and determine the system while some others try to protect themselves or in most cases have to be in accord with the system of the powerful. The weak needs to protect itself -its' language, culture, and others- against the hegemonic power. Wallerstein does not only criticizes, he also makes a contribution to create a more *realistic* scenario:

What is needed educationally is not to learn that we are citizens of the world, but that we occupy particular niches in an unequal world, and that being disinterested and global on one hand and defending one's narrow interests on the other are not opposites but positions combined in complicated ways. (p. 124)

From another perspective, by connecting cosmopolitanism to diversity of the world, Hannerz (1990) remarks that the existence of cosmopolitans hinges on the existence of locals. He invites people to realize the diversity of the cultures and a cosmopolitan

is the one who lives within the structure of the world rather than within the structure of the locality or nation. Cosmopolitan has the competence to take a positive stance towards diversity and accommodate this diversity in his/her individual experience. There are quite different point of views to the idea of cosmopolitanism and cosmopolitan citizenship³⁸; yet, there are also strong criticisms.

As mentioned before, Nussbaum gets many critical replies to her essay. The idea of cosmopolitanism in general has received severe criticisms from the past to today. Some scholars use similar arguments with Wallerstein (2002). Only the privileged can enjoy cosmopolitan citizenship by travelling around, and learning other languages; besides the hegemonic power of the industrial world will probably absorb the other cultures (Özkırıklı, 2005, p. 144). The cultural effects of globalization exemplify how the 'powerful' can absorb the 'weak'. The standardization of what we eat, watch and wear; or the disappearance of authenticity would be quite a negative impact of globalization. Cosmopolitanism becomes a nightmare rather than a utopia in that case, says Tamir (as cited in Özkırıklı, 2005, p. 145).

d) Global Citizenship. Although global citizenship is defined by some scholars as synonym of cosmopolitan or world citizenship (Appiah, 2008; Heater, 2002; Nussbaum, 2002), there are scholars who separate those two from each other. Cabrera (2008) separates *institutional cosmopolitanism* -development of network between global governing institutions- and *individual cosmopolitanism* - individuals' feeling as a part of global community and concerned about the justice and sustainability of global community- from each other and ground the framework of global citizenship to the individual cosmopolitanism. On the other hand, Reysen and Katzarska-Miller (2013) discussed the definition of global citizenship and its similarities or differences from cosmopolitan, transnational, or world citizenship. According to them, there is a confusion about these interchangeably used concepts. For instance, Golmohamad (2008) uses global citizenship substituted for international or world citizenship, while Haugestad (2004) differentiates global

³⁸ See Özkırıklı (2005) and Güçler (2019) for different perspectives to cosmopolitanism.

citizenship from world citizenship by basing global citizenship to social justice and world citizenship to international trade and mobility (as cited in Reysen & Katzarska-Miller, 2013, p. 859). While Snider, Reysen, & Katzarska-Miller, (2013) review the literature and define global citizen as the one who is aware about the world she is living in as well as being caring, having a sense of responsibility to act, and embracing cultural diversity to promote social justice and sustainability. Reysen and Katzarska-Miller's (2013) empirical data presents that global citizenship includes (1) having prosocial values, intergroup empathy, and global awareness, (2) valuing diversity, social justice, and environmental sustainability, (3) helping out the group members, and (4) feeling responsible about the present and future of the world.

e) Globally-oriented Citizenship. Rather than using global or cosmopolitan citizenship, Parekh (2003; 2008) prefers to use the concept of globally oriented citizenship. Parekh's perspective is shared to show the diversity of alternative approaches to national identity in terms of its' emphasis on homogeneity, and the nuances between conceptualizations as well as their diversity.

Parekh (2003; 2008) makes a distinction between the national, the cosmopolitan and the international. Colonialism of the West, and economic and cultural globalization influence the connection between people from different parts of the world says Parekh (2003). Today, human beings are sharing fate and humankind has become a moral community. Yet, they still have their own valued home. Therefore, Parekh claims that neither nationalism nor cosmopolitanism can be solutions and they both have pathologies. Extending the love of one's country to respect and love of other communities and feeling responsible to humanity while still having special ties to one community and trying to redefine, reorganize that community; in other words, being national by extending it through international and being cosmopolitan by reducing its arguments by considering the national can provide an international basis to practice globally oriented citizenship. Parekh, eventually, argues three components of globally oriented citizenship; (1) *democratic deepening of national citizenship* by challenging -even struggling and protesting if needed- narrow policies of the states pertaining to diversity, rights, democratic participation (2) active interest and having strong sense of responsibility towards

human rights and humanity, (3) *active commitment to construct a just world order* (p. 12-13).

f) Multicultural Citizenship. So far, I discussed the postnational, denational, cosmopolitan, global and globally oriented approaches to citizenship and all of them stress the changing character of citizenship from diverse standpoints and offer diverse alternatives. Besides, all of these approaches agree the irrelevancy of homogenized and fixed national citizenship understanding. Now, I focus on the approaches that directly ground their arguments to cultural diversity of nation-states, and propose alternatives to citizenship regarding differences and diversity.

The first approach is quite a well-known theory of Will Kymlicka which is multicultural citizenship. Kymlicka (1995) broadly introduces the conditions that established a ground for the development of his understanding on multicultural citizenship. World War II and its consequences caused a break about human rights theory and practice. The causes of fascism compulsorily pushed the Western countries to find a new approach to minority rights. A developed emphasis on *human rights* became the cement to bind up the wounds and prevent any other fascistic experiences in the future. Most liberals agreed on the protectiveness of such a universal understanding from the marginalization of the minorities regarding their group rights in nation-states. In other words, minority or group rights were subsumed under human rights and this idea was accepted by most of the liberal thinkers and practically applied to international politics. However, according to Kymlicka, human rights doctrines cannot answer the needs of ethnic, cultural or racial minorities:

The right to free speech does not tell us what an appropriate language policy is; the right to vote does not tell us how political boundaries should be drawn, or how powers should be distributed between levels of government; the right to mobility does not tell us what an appropriate immigration and naturalization policy is. These questions have been left to the usual process of majoritarian decision-making within each state. (p. 5)

Besides, there are other reasons that he emphasizes to construct a multicultural citizenship theory. The multinational, multicultural, multilingual characteristics of today's states is the first one. More than one nation has been living under the most national flags. Further, this diversity is increasing day by day due to

the effect of global migration. Therefore, he tried to find a liberal solution about the coexistence of minority or cultural rights with human rights.

The distinct character of Kymlicka's (1995) theory is about the difference he made between national minorities and immigrants. National minorities are the natives who are ready to struggle to sustain their culture, language, religion; and through their existence, it is not possible to accept the existence of one major nation in most of the nation-states. On the other hand, immigrants move to another country by accepting to live through the expectations, regulations, laws, customs, or language of that country; and their existence makes the nation-states polyethnic. Since national minorities and immigrants constitute different cultural groups with different characteristics, needs and expectations; Kymlicka offers polyethnic and representation rights for the immigrants while self-government rights for the national minorities. Self-government rights refer to political autonomy of national minorities to speak their language, get education in their mother tongues, protect and experience their customs, traditions, religious beliefs officially without any limitation. Conversely to self-government rights, polyethnic rights refers to integration to the 'host' state; yet polyethnic rights are also permanent and intend to support immigrants to express their culture without any hesitation in the larger/dominant society. Finally, special representation rights contain group rights of disadvantaged groups such as women, the poor, disabled, and others, as legislators in most of the countries are dominated by white, middle-class, able-bodied, heterosexual men.

Although he included the rights of women, disabled, or poor to his theory; Kymlicka uses culture and multiculturalism to focus on national and ethnic differences; as he stresses he is using “‘*culture*’ as synonymous with ‘*nation*’ or ‘*people*’... *that is occupying a given territory or homeland, sharing a distinct language and history* (p. 18)”.

There are other perspectives to multicultural citizenship. For instance, Parekh (2000) makes a distinction between the concept of ‘multicultural’ and ‘multiculturalism’. A multicultural society implies a society including more than one cultural community inside. If this society welcomes this diversity it can be defined as *multiculturalist*; while if cultural minorities are dominated and tried to be

assimilated in that society, it can only be defined as *monoculturalist* even though it is *multicultural*. While explaining multiculturalism as cultural diversity and making a broader definition of culture, compared to Kymlicka, Parekh's (2000) definition of cultural diversity and multiculturalism is much broader by consisting of all different cultures such as LGBTQI+ people, women, immigrants, ethnic groups, religious communities, and others.³⁹

Unlike postnational, denational, global or cosmopolitan citizenship, multicultural citizenship is more than an intellectual discussion. Canada and Australia have been the most prominent examples; they both accepted multiculturalism as a ground for political acts regarding citizenship and cultural diversity.⁴⁰ As the changing theoretical perspectives, the applications through multiculturalism differ from country to country. While Canada and Australia construct their multicultural policies by including all people living inside the borders; Sweden and Netherlands in Europe target only immigrants through their policies on multiculturalism.⁴¹ In other words, the existence of minorities, diversity, differences and developments about pluralism and multiculturalism has been influencing the politics of some countries, and there have been political developments regarding the recognition of cultural diversity starting from the 1970s (Doytcheva, 2016).

Yet, there are quite strong criticisms to liberal multiculturalism. On the one hand, nationalists have a concern of separation as long as cultural minorities are given their cultural rights (Joppke, 2002; Özkırmı, 2005). On the other hand, from the perspective of critical theory, liberal multiculturalism -both as a theory and political act- serves to hegemony of the Western capitalist countries to control and manage the existence of cultural minorities⁴² (Ünal, 2010).

³⁹ See Joppke (2002), Modood (2013), Taylor (1994) for diverse perspectives to multiculturalism.

⁴⁰ Multiculturalism first used as a political term in the government policies of Canada and Australia starting from the beginning of 1970s, before used as a theoretical concept (Doytcheva, 2016).

⁴¹ See Joppke (2002), and Kymlicka (1995) for more information on multicultural citizenship in practice.

⁴² I will be elaborate on this criticism from a critical theory perspective while mentioning about the multicultural citizenship education.

Young (1997) was also one of the critics of multicultural citizenship theory of Kymlicka. Although she found Kymlicka's liberal theory as *powerful* and *persuasive*, she criticized his theory from diverse aspects. First of all, Kymlicka's theory is prone to create dichotomy, he constructed his theory over a dichotomy by distinguishing national minorities from ethnic minorities (immigrants). This separation is quite contradictory to the essence of multicultural citizenship understanding, says Young. Besides, how the 'others' who do not fit any of the categories can be defined and placed regarding their group rights. Therefore, Young suggests a continuum rather than a dichotomy to define diverse cultural groups. Second criticism is about the causes of immigration from poor countries to wealthy ones. Since Kymlicka conditions the integration of ethnic minorities to the majority culture, Young quite clearly asks that why people who seeks for a better life in another country have to forsake their original cultures voluntarily? Further, Young criticizes Kymlicka about reproducing the 'nation' and 'the majority culture' while seeking to establish a multicultural citizenship theory.

According to Young, Kymlicka's theory offers either separation -for national minorities- or integration -for ethnic minorities/immigrants-; yet Young (1999) thinks that "*integration requires members of the segregated group to change their lives and conform to the expectations of the dominant group, it puts the onus for success on the relatively more disadvantaged groups* (p. 244)". The dilemma of integration connects to segregation and separation. Through integration, the problem becomes mixing different cultural groups, namely minorities and the majority culture together and minority cultures are expected to compatible with the dominant culture. However, the problem is segregation, in other words, the problem is not about integration, it is about the system that sustains the production and maintenance of the privilege. Thereby, Young (1989) offers the concept of *differentiated citizenship*.

g) Differentiated Citizenship. Young (1995) framed a politics which "*treats difference as variation and specificity, rather than as exclusive opposition* (p. 165)"; she claimed the necessity of a society in which there is "*social equality among explicitly differentiated groups who conceive themselves as dwelling together without exclusions* (p. 165)". Young defines three elements to reach such

an ideal of differentiated citizenship. First diverse groups in the same society needs to accept their existence and willing to make an effort for coexistence; secondly there might be some conflicts between these diverse groups -which is normal-, yet there needs to be a single polity through which a single public can be created for groups to communicate; and finally, the primary moral target of this heterogeneous public should be promoting social justice through its policies. Under these circumstances, diverse groups in public can be coexistent together-in-difference.

Difference, citizenship and need of coexistence are the three main key words of this review about the present and future of nation-states in a globalized world. Yeğen (2005) conceptualizes the interactions between these three words through two concepts: ‘the dialectic of citizenship’ and ‘the tragedy of citizenship’. The dialectic of citizenship refers to changing characteristics of the concept of citizenship even inside the borders of a nation-state. It has been transforming and will continue to transform as a status, membership or practice. Sometimes or in somewhere this transformation would be ‘progressivist’ or ‘revolutionary’; while in somewhere or sometimes this change would cause regression in understanding and practice. Yet, citizenship as a concept, status, or practice is always changing. On the other hand, the ‘tragedy of citizenship’ refers to citizenship’s producing the claim of equality and conditions for inequality at the same time. While modern citizenship claims to provide equality between members of the political community, in reality, it hides inequality by reproducing or homogenizing existing inequalities (Yeğen, 2005). The above suggestions about postnational, denational, global, cosmopolitan, multicultural or differentiated citizenship are the suggestions to overcome this *tragedy* from different perspectives. Now, how these developments in political science influence the educational theory and practice is discussed over some ‘new’ conceptualizations in citizenship education.

2.4. Changing Codes of Citizenship Education

Traditionally, citizenship education targets to raise loyal, patriot, responsible, zealous ‘future’ citizens to ensure and protect the unity of the nation and the state. Therefore, teaching national consciousness, the love of country and the nation are the primary aims; prospective citizen is defined as the one who has *natural affinity*

to the nation-state (Osler, 2011); and citizenship is defined over ‘sameness’ regarding ethnicity, race, religion to secure the unity. As Banks (2017) indicates, schools target to raise citizens who *internalized national values, venerated national heroes, and accepted glorified versions of national histories* in most of the nation-states *prior to the ethnic revitalization movements of 1960s and 1970s* (p. xxvii). However, due to a number of cultural, political, social and historical developments such as globalization, worldwide immigration, increasing diversity around the world, and developments in human rights change the codes of citizenship education.

Now, I share some broader classifications of citizenship education approaches to show some general frameworks⁴³ that consists both modern and post-modern characteristics of citizenship education. Three classifications by McLaughlin (1992), Schulz and Sibberns (2004) and Cogan and Kubow (1997) are shared which all studied and wrote about the theoretical background of citizenship education, as well as analyzing citizenship education practices from both a modern and post-modern perspectives.⁴⁴

T. H. McLaughlin (1992) in his article titled *Citizenship, Diversity and Education: A Philosophical Perspective* argues the ambiguity and tensions contained within citizenship concept and claims that these tensions can be mapped on a continuum that ranges from minimal to maximal interpretations of the concept. In other words, he prefers to use the continuum discourse to define the contrasting and contested interpretations of citizenship; and claims that these diverse interpretations shall be located on a continuum rather than categorizing distinctively. Four features of citizenship, namely *identity, virtues, political involvement, and social prerequisites* are employed to show the minimal and maximal interpretations. On minimal interpretations, a citizen is defined through a certain civil status with its associated rights, such as possessing a passport, having the right to vote, or holding

⁴³ Here, I want to emphasize that I am aware about abstractness of these kind of classifications to analyze diverse dimensions of the concept from different aspects. In real life, it is not possible to draw strict borders between different approaches or between dualities, or in real life some of these dualities might not be contradictory and can be practiced together in some levels; however, this kind of classifications or frameworks are needed to make detail analysis.

⁴⁴ For more studies on citizenship education perspectives see Johnson and Morris (2010) and Veugelers and de Groot (2019).

a nationality. Besides, the citizenship virtues are quite limited, local, and immediate. For instance, behaving responsibly to the society or being loyal to the country are some expected virtues that a citizen has. As for political participation, on minimal views, it is enough to vote for the selection of representatives to participate the public affairs and regarding social prerequisites having a formal legal status is considered enough. On the other hand, from a maximal view, citizenship's not providing equal status or conditions to all is highly criticized; and the need of a full political participation which comprises more than voting is emphasized. From a maximal perspective, the citizen is seen as a conscious, and dynamic member of a community more than a passport holder or a voter; that is why the citizen is envisaged as empowered, critical and fully active in public affairs as part of her/his loyalty and responsibilities. Therefore, on minimal interpretations of citizenship, citizenship education targets to give the necessary information about the government, roles, responsibilities, and civic virtue. While on maximal interpretations, the critical understanding in all respects of life is at most essential for a citizen to learn, and practice. McLaughlin (1992), while presenting the citizenship continuum, constantly reminds that the characteristics he shared represents two ends of the continuum; however, there are several combinations of these characteristics in theory and practice.

Another rich discussion can be found in Schulz and Sibbern's (2004) report, which is based on the widest research study data in the field of citizenship education. This study was based on previous research that was conducted by Torney, Oppenheim and Farnen in 1971 in ten countries - Federal Republic of Germany, Finland, Iran, Ireland, Israel, Italy, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Sweden, and the United States-. The study was conducted as a part of the Six Subject Survey through which reading comprehension, science, literature, French as a foreign language, English as a foreign language and civic knowledge of 10 year-olds, 14 year-olds and pre-university students were examined across countries. To examine the factual knowledge, civic attitudes, civic perception and understanding of political processes of the students, a questionnaire was developed and carried out. The data consisted of more than 30.000 responses from students. Besides this, the teacher and school questionnaires were also administered to collect data on the learning contexts. The

findings of the study showed that the participated students had a low knowledge level about many aspects of citizenship. They also had some basic misconceptions about politics, their own governments, and democracy. On the other hand, the most important finding of the research study was its demonstrating the importance of classroom climate to encourage students expressing their own opinions. In other words, the study revealed the influence of encouraging classroom climate or the democratic characteristic of a school as an interdependent system on students' positive development in terms of their civic knowledge, understanding and practice (Torney, Oppenheim & Farnen, 1975).

The study by Torney, Oppenheim and Farnen (1975) was conducted within IEA's (International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement) authorization. After this research study, the meetings were continued and several meeting reports were prepared to enlarge the study across countries by also developing a new perspective, new research design, and new instruments. Although the general design of the previous study was preserved to some extent, new concepts were added to the new study such as social cohesion, and diversity. The technical description of the enlarged study was approved during the 35th IEA General Assembly in 1994 and the data was collected from 28 countries in 1999 (Schulz & Sibbern, 2004).

The aim of the study was to scrutinize the ways through which students are prepared for citizenship rights and responsibilities in their societies while their societies are mainly undergoing rapid changes in terms of rapid changes in the world. They used Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems model while designing the research since they considered school as an important system yet not the only system that affects students' civic development. Thus the home background was analyzed regarding the resources that students' experience at home, the parent support to foster literacy and educational achievement; school experiences of the students were analyzed by collecting information on school and teacher characteristics to comprehend the implemented curriculum, as well as school and classroom climate. It was a two-phased study including series of national case studies in the countries in the first phase and a comparative empirical study consisting of a test on civic knowledge and a survey about civic-related concepts and attitudes in the second.

The phase-1 results showed three topic areas that needed a fundamental concern and focus for the phase-2 which are; (1) democracy and citizenship, (2) national identity and international relations, and (3) social cohesion and diversity. As can be seen, the second study conducted in 1999 considered internationality, social cohesion and diversity while administering a research study on knowledge, attitudes, and practices regarding citizenship.

In total, approximately 90.000 14 year-old students, 9.000 teachers and 4.000 school principals participated in study from 28 countries; while for the older population this sample was decreased to more than 50.000 16 to 18 year-old students and 2.000 school principals from 16 countries. There were three domains of the assessment process. First, students' civic knowledge and skills about interpreting political communication, their knowledge on citizenship and democracy, their attitudes towards institutions, national identity and minorities, and their actions or activities related to citizenship were assessed both for 14 year-olds and 16 to 18-year-olds. Yet, only upper secondary students between 16 to 18 year-olds were assessed about economic literacy. Secondly, information was collected about the home background of the participated students. Thirdly, characteristics of the participating schools and characteristics of teachers who taught civic-related subjects were also documented. While the results of the study were published in two volumes by Torney-Putra et. al. (2001) and Amadeo et al. (2002); a broader technical report prepared that edited by Schulz and Sibbern (2004).

The results showed that 14 year-old students demonstrated a superficial understanding about democracy, although they had the basic and fundamental knowledge, and the upper secondary students were more knowledgeable compare to 14 year-olds in terms of their civic knowledge on democratic institutions, national identity, diversity and social cohesion (Torney-Putra et. al., 2001; Amadeo et al., 2002). The findings of the previous study conducted in 1971 was replicated in the study that took place in 1999 regarding the positive effect of encouraging classroom climate of free discussion on students' scoring high in civic knowledge and having positive attitudes on political participation (Torney-Putra et. al., 2001). The results also demonstrated students' perceptions about the benefits for and threats to democracy. Free elections, availability of different organizations, political parties

that support women, free expression, peaceful protests, and minimum incomes were stated as benefits for democracy. While, monopolizing of the media, courts and judges being influenced by the hegemony, wealth people's having more influence in the society, and senior staff's giving jobs to their families or friends were remarked as threats to democracy. Yet, the results also illustrated the older students' deeper conceptual knowledge and understanding on democracy compare to 14 year-olds (Amadeo et al., 2002). There was a high degree of consensus among students about the characteristics, attitudes or behaviors of a good citizen; according to the most of the participated students regardless of their age, a good citizen should engage in obeying the law, voting and following political issues. Yet, obeying the law was the most agreed and stated behavior of a good citizen (Amadeo et al., 2002). On the other hand, social welfare, education and economy-related responsibilities of governments were also perceived and endorsed by especially older students (Amadeo et al., 2002).

The study aimed to analyze students' attitudes towards the issues related to women and immigrants since social cohesion and diversity were considered important for the development of civic knowledge, attitudes, skills, and actions as a result of phase-1 of the study. The results showed that students regardless of their age had mostly positive attitudes towards the rights of immigrants, and women. However, the researchers raised a caution regarding negative attitudes of some group of students from all participated countries towards immigrants which should not be overlooked. Besides, findings revealed that girls are more likely to have positive attitudes towards the rights of immigrants and the political rights of women and they are more likely to perceive an open classroom climate for free discussion (Amadeo et al., 2002).

These studies conducted in 1971 and 1999 has tremendous findings to understand the situation, developments and needs in civic education. However, for the literature review part of this thesis, their understanding on citizenship have the most importance. Since after a long and detailed analyzing and reviewing process starting from the beginning of the 1990s and by also grounding the research to the study conducted in 1975 in ten countries; and more specifically by reviewing the second-phase research instruments through the first-phase case studies data, they

categorized citizenship into two, namely *conventional* and *social-movement related*. According to this categorization, a conventional citizen is the one who is conscious about the country's history, compliant to social norms or democratic duties by voting in elections, following political issues, and respecting to political leaders or government representatives. On the other hand, a citizen who can be classified in social-movement related citizenship would struggle for human rights, environmental issues or be always active in the community by protesting a law believed to be unjust for a group of people.

Another comprehensive study leaded by Cagan and Kubow (1997) between 1991 and 1997 aimed to determine the demands and needs of citizenship education over the next 25 years that nation-states need to consider. The Citizenship Education Policy Study project was an international research network project that includes researchers and experts across nine nations and carried out by four national and multinational research teams -one from Japan, one from Thailand, five from the European region including England, Greece, Germany, Hungary and the Netherlands and two from the North American region including Canada and the USA- including 26 researchers. The study employed a cultural future modification of the Ethnographic Delphi Futures Research methodology which aimed to achieve as much consensus as possible among the participated panelists. 182 policy experts from a broad range of fields participated as panelists to an interview and subsequent two or more survey rounds to share their visions about the future needs of citizenship education. In the end, the experts had a consensus on 19 global trends that included *increasingly significant challenges, areas to monitor* and *areas to encourage* to prepare individuals to the next 25 years as citizens. Increasing social, cultural, economic and technological inequalities within and between nations was highlighted as well as increasing migration which may cause increasing marginalization and conflicts. Ultimately, experts reached a consensus on eight citizenship characteristics that needs to be improved through citizenship education. These characteristics were: (1) being able to think and act as a member of global community, (2) being able to work cooperatively and taking responsibility to improve the society, (3) being able to accept, appreciate and tolerate cultural differences, (4) having capacity to think critically and systematically, (5) being able

to solve the conflicts in a constructive way, (6) being conscious about environmental challenges and being ready to change one's lifestyle or consumption habits to protect the environment, (7) being a human rights protector by defending rights of women, ethnic minorities, and others, and finally (8) being part of politics as active and critical citizens at local, national and international levels (pp. 29-30). These citizenship characteristics were highlighted as the most important issues that need to be regarded while constructing the aims of citizenship education. And, the researchers highlighted that citizenship education policy needs to be grounded upon a vision of *multidimensional citizenship*. However, according to these 182 policy experts, the most urgent attention and action needs to be given to raising citizens who understand, accept and tolerate cultural differences.

These results and discussions of the three international research studies which aim to discuss the needs related and the future of citizenship education have a great importance to show the urgent consideration of diversity and differences in citizenship education. Even, they were all conducted at the end of the 1990s, which means there have been so many rapid changes after 2000 that affect people's perception of differences and diversity worldwide. Thus, the urgency of this issue is still prominent. Yet, of course, there have been studies about diverse conceptualization of citizenship education that highlights the changing role of citizenship education regarding increasing migration, increasing differences and diversity or the need to deconstruct citizenship and citizenship education from a post-modern perspective which are shared and discussed in the following sub-titles.

2.4.1. Global Citizenship Education

Global citizenship education (GCE) is not a new concept, yet it is a combination of some well-known concepts such as global education, civic education, human rights education, sustainable development, education for democracy, peace education, and intercultural learning. GCE is an integrative approach that combines all these concepts or some of their important components and gives them a new focus (Wintersteiner et al., 2015). The question is why a new and broad conceptualization is needed and constructed? Wintersteiner et al. (2015), while explaining UNESCO's framework on global citizenship education, state that democracy, human rights,

sustainable development, peace, intercultural understanding, or citizenship, all of these concepts needed a ‘new’ and ‘global’ ground to base the arguments, offer suggestions or discuss solutions.

According to Pak (2013), there are three main contributing factors about the development of GCE understanding. First of all, the expected role of education has been transformed through the intensified globalization. Skills, values, attitudes that need to be taught to ‘global citizens’ of the world have transformed; as well as the increasing concerns about teaching human rights, equity, diversity, sustainable development, or peace. Secondly, people mostly are more connected to each other and they are more interdependent before, regardless of the distance. Thus people’s having cultural, economic, and social connections that exceed the borders of the nation-states made the communities more heterogeneous that need to learn how to live together. Finally, these connected communities of the globe have common challenges that require cooperation and collective action such as climate change, water shortage, political instability, human rights violations, and others.

Through all these issues, challenges, and highlights, UNESCO (2014) defines global citizenship education as below:

GCE is a framing paradigm which encapsulates how education can develop the knowledge, skills, values and attitudes learners need for securing a world which is more just, peaceful, tolerant, inclusive, secure and sustainable. (p. 9)

Besides, the GCE was linked to sustainable development goals⁴⁵ (SDGs) as outlined in the SDG target 4.7:

By 2030, ensure that all learners acquire the knowledge and skills needed to promote sustainable development, including, among others, through education for sustainable development and sustainable lifestyles, human rights, gender equality, promotion of a culture of peace and non-violence, global citizenship and appreciation of cultural diversity and of culture’s contribution to sustainable development. (UNESCO, 2017, p. 6)

⁴⁵ SDGs were introduced in the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development by United Nations in 2015. There are 17 goals that aim to end poverty and hunger; ensure good health and wellbeing, quality education, gender equality and responsible consumption and production for all; provide clean water and sanitation, affordable and clean energy, peace, justice and strong communities for all; promote decent work and economic growth for all; build resilient infrastructure and promote sustainable industrialization; reduce inequalities within and among countries; make sustainable, inclusive, safe and resilient cities and communities; take urgent action about climate change; conserve lives of all living creatures below water and on earth; and finally strengthen the global partnership for sustainable development as a whole.

From this perspective, GCE is defined as a conceptual shift from nation-oriented citizenship to global-oriented citizenship by considering the facts in the wake of globalization and its challenges that affect all humanity. Besides, there are two different conceptualizations about the GCE; through which one conceptualization criticizes the superficiality of the other. One refers to *individual cosmopolitanism* that purposes to educate the global citizen; while the other implies to *structural cosmopolitanism* by aiming of education for global citizenship (Pak, 2013; Wintersteiner et al., 2015). This separation between the individual versus structural or by Wintersteiner et al.'s (2015) terms humanitarian versus political or by Andreotti's (2006) terms soft versus critical approaches is quite important and determines the content of the GCE from many perspectives. The individual (soft, humanitarian) approach to GCE focuses on the human qualities while structural (political, critical) approach concerns not only human qualities. The structural (critical) approach first deals with the unequal societal structures and power relations which need to be changed to make cosmopolitanism a viable option. In other terms, GCE should teach more than humanitarian aid from a critical perspective.

Besides all these theoretical debates, there are research studies that shows the existence of practices from China, the USA, Canada, South Korea, Singapore, Australia, and some European countries that aim to incorporate some facets of GCE into their curricula (Goren & Yemini, 2017; Hameed, 2020; Ramirez & Meyer, 2012). For instance, Schweisfurth (2006) analyzed the Ontario teachers' perception and attitudes towards GCE as a part of compulsory Civics course through documentary analysis, classroom observation, and interviews. As remarked by Schweisfurth (2006), economic justice, human rights, peacekeeping, and ecological balance are some concepts that are emphasized regarding the aims and content of GCE; besides students are invited to have an intellectual and moral perspective towards the most crucial issues that the humanity and the nature face. Yet, in Ontario case, what Schweisfurth (2006) found that even teachers have a motivation to discuss global issues with their students to support them about gaining a global perspective, the academic standards and curricular standardization do not allow them to prioritize GCE related content. In other terms, the motivated teachers feel

odd and unusual when they want to spare time to GCE content due to the curricular expectations regarding the academic standards and the attitudes of the majority of their colleagues.

Hameed (2020) conducted a study to compare Singapore and Australia in terms of the adaptation of GCE over two schools which use the discourse of GCE to define their curricula since they aim to develop international curricula. Yet, Hameed defined this as a *strategic move* for being competitive in their local markets. In other terms, since global education, global citizenship or being international are some of the trend discourses in education lately, the schools that Hameed observed use this trend to increase their eligibility in the market. The other prominent result is about both schools' purpose about preparing their students to the global labor market by teaching different languages or providing student exchange programs. Hameed (2020) interpreted those findings as being compatible with neoliberal market ideology. Thus, how GCE was incorporated in those schools is related to the economic aspect of globalization rather than cultural or social aspects which is quite coherent to the findings of Rapoport's (2009) research. Rapoport (2009) found that GCE is adapted only in 15 states of the USA and among those adaptations or curricular reforms, the economic aspects of globalization are included rather than cultural and social aspects of globalization and the need of a global citizen with compatible attitudes, understanding, perspective, values or skills to promote a peaceful, egalitarian and just community.

There is a systematic review study of Goren and Yemini (2017) and they reviewed 32 empirical studies that analyze the curricular reform regarding GCE from diverse countries. Their review showed that in the curricula and textbooks of the schools which claim a curricular reform that corresponds to GCE, the content or manifestations on global citizenship is quite narrow and superficial compare to their claims. Although global citizenship and related themes such as globalization, diversity, appreciating differences, cosmopolitanism, human rights, peace or tolerance are included in the curricula and textbooks of many countries from North America, Europe, Asia and Australia; the results of the reviewed studies demonstrated a contradictory between the aimed, and the practiced or experienced curriculum regarding GCE. For instance, a study from Finland demonstrated that

while Finnish government aim to promote global citizenship, they only highlighted the understanding the ‘other’ or empathizing with the ‘other’ rather than supporting students to critically engage in global issues, structural inequalities and their causes in the world (Andreotti, Biesta & Ahenakew, 2015).

Education of the global citizen is about raising compatible citizens to the global world needs in terms of their competences, attitudes, values, and knowledge. For instance, the global citizens are able to recognize the social, cultural, economic, political, or ecological challenges or problems of the global world; or they should value justice, equality, equity, dignity in universal terms; or they need to have competences to communicate with people from diverse cultures and to evaluate the problems globally to find joint global solutions collaboratively (Wintersteiner et al., 2015). On the other hand, this approach neglects the structural problems in the world such as differences in wealth, power and status, and reduces the global action to the efforts of individual citizens. Thereby, education for global citizenship also reminds the utopian side of global citizenship by emphasizing structural inequalities and facts in world politics. First of all, according to education for global citizenship, we need to recall that national citizenship is still an apodictic force since the nation-state idea is still powerful (Pak, 2013). Further, we need to recall the roots of global problems that mainly are the results of structural inequalities between and within nation-states. Thus, being a global citizen, having required competences, values, or skills are not enough to make structural changes globally in such a politically unequal world. Otherwise, western centric values, competences and skills would be acceptable and required from global citizens (Wintersteiner et al., 2015). In this case, global citizenship only caters the needs of transnational elites that acquire the Westernized values, knowledge and cultural capital for their personal benefit (Pak, 2013).

In practical terms, for an effective education for global citizenship, educational resources should be enriched through the worldwide developments and issues by exceeding the borders of the nation (Parmenter, 2018); however, it should be more than adding some international content to the curriculum. Educational objectives should be compatible with the values, attitudes, competences and skills of the global citizen. For instance, students need to be improved regarding their

intercultural competences to be able to evaluate an issue from diverse perspectives by considering global inequality and global citizenship (Parmenter, 2018). Or, in terms of citizenship and difference, education for global citizenship should target to raise respectful citizens to all humanity who actively stand-up for peace, democracy, human rights, social justice, and equality in local, regional, national, international, and global level. Further, all the diverse voices should be heard or the educational environment should always be ready to consider diverse voices (Pak, 2013).

2.4.2. Cosmopolitan Citizenship Education

Although there are nuances between global citizenship and cosmopolitan, world, transnational or postnational citizenship regarding their highlights, they mostly support each other. Education for global citizenship and cosmopolitan citizenship ideas are quite related; although they are sometimes defined as independent concepts, or sometimes used synonymously with each other. For instance, Wintersteiner et al. (2015) used the framework of Osler and Starkey (2005) who built a framework for and advocate the necessity of cosmopolitan citizenship education.

Proponents of cosmopolitan citizenship education ground their arguments to Ancient Greece through Diogenes and his understanding about being *a citizen of the world* (Nussbaum, 2002). Following the path from Diogenes, they base their arguments to Stoics and later Kant from Enlightenment philosophers about constructing a world/cosmopolitan citizenship idea through education. Nussbaum (1994) with her article *Patriotism and Cosmopolitanism* justifies her rationale on cosmopolitan citizenship education.

According to Nussbaum (2002), Stoics's recommendations about education for world citizenship and their arguments to support were consistent; these arguments have survived and are still applicable in today's world. Stoics claimed three grounds to defend education for world citizenship. Firstly, we can understand ourselves (self-knowledge) only if we have an understanding about humanity. Second, local allegiances and partisan loyalties are dangerous and damage the political life of any group; therefore, the fundamental allegiance should be for the world community. Finally, justice, respect, and goodness are more valuable, deep,

and lasting when they are covered by cosmopolitan ideas, values, and attitudes. Yet, both for Stoics and for Nussbaum, this does not mean that people should not have local or national identities. People are living in circles starting from their environment, and the humanity is the largest circle; thus, starting with themselves they also need to learn about the ‘others’, about the ‘different’.

Nussbaum (2002) by adopting Stoics philosophy about education for cosmopolitan citizenship offers four arguments to make it the focus of citizenship education rather than democratic or national citizenship. First of all, she agrees with Stoics about the way of understanding ourselves, our community, or our nation depends on the understanding of ‘others’; children should learn to see themselves through the lens of the other. Secondly, people need to comprehend that some worldwide issues need a collaborative action such as global warming, climate change, or food supply; therefore, cosmopolitan citizenship education would ensure the basis of a global dialogue, or at least the awareness of the shared ‘destiny’ of humanity. Thirdly, Nussbaum claims the necessity of teaching rights through a universal understanding rather than confining them inside the nation. Lastly, she advocates for an education that supports children to cross the national boundaries in their minds and imagination which can be possible in compatible educational environments.

Following Nussbaum’s call on education for cosmopolitan citizenship, scholars have argued about the frameworks to make this intellectual discussion possible in practice, by also drawing the distinctions between global and cosmopolitan citizenship understanding (Osler 2011). Osler and Vincent (2002), are one of the proponents of education for cosmopolitan citizenship. According to them, through cosmopolitan citizenship idea education should enable learners *a broader understanding of national identity* by supporting them *to make connections between their immediate contexts and the global context* (p. 124). Osler (2011) asserts that cosmopolitan citizenship education seeks to extend individual, local, regional, national identifications through global awareness about justice and equality by recognizing solidarities, and differences across boundaries (p. 2). Further, Osler and Starkey (2003) believe that education for cosmopolitan citizenship targets of *learning to imagine the nation as a diverse and inclusive community* (p. 245).

Through these understandings, on the one hand learners perceive the global connections of their individual, local, or national identities; on the other hand, they recognize others as similar to themselves and their consciousness will base on the humanity as well as the community or the nation. Eventually, the cosmopolitan citizen learns to act both locally, nationally, and globally by making connections between issues, events, and challenges at all levels, and by relating their individual, local, and national identities to other cultural groups within the nation, and the world (Osler & Starkey, 2005).

Osler and Starkey (2018) discuss the necessities to ensure a cosmopolitan citizenship education for youth by considering experiences of students in both school, and everyday life. First, they highlighted the prominent role of the local authorities and local government to support such an education since it is important for youth to experience playing a role in political processes and having a voice in decision making processes at local level. Secondly, they emphasize that teachers need to be supported with human rights education regarding their knowledge and skills to be able to incorporate human rights education to their classroom. Osler and Starkey (2018) believe that teachers' selection from diverse backgrounds in terms of their culture, ethnicity, religion, nationality, and others can support developing an appropriate curriculum in terms of cosmopolitan citizenship understanding. In other terms, they believe that teachers should have a say to extend the limits of curricula from national to cosmopolitan. They also believe in the participation of students from diverse backgrounds in the curriculum development process as their needs need to be considered to be able to equip them with knowledge and skills for cosmopolitan citizenship.

2.4.3. Multicultural Citizenship Education

Multicultural citizenship education specifically focuses on the tension between diversity and citizenship in the globalized world, as well as the cultural, social, political, and economic effects of globalization, and worldwide immigration. Multiculturalism claims the necessity of cultural rights. While some scholars claim only rights of national or ethnic minorities (Kymlicka, 1995); some define 'culture' through different forms of diversity such as subcultural diversity -gays, lesbians, in

brief those have unconventional lifestyles or family structures-, perspectival diversity -feminists, religious people or ecologists, and others-, and communal diversity which is self-conscious and well organized -ethnic, religious, racial, immigrant groups- (Parekh, 2000).

James A. Banks (2009) who is the well-known pioneer of multicultural education has three essential arguments to advocate the necessity of a multicultural education; almost all the nations in the world is culturally, ethnically, racially, linguistically, religiously diverse, and these diverse groups need to be structurally included in the nation to develop and feel a strong allegiance. Besides these two arguments, he underlines that in traditional or assimilationist education, regarding citizenship, and differences, students from diverse cultural, ethnic, racial, religious or linguistic backgrounds have had difficult times to accept or value their cultural heritages since they have continuously experienced institutionalized discrimination, racism or other forms of marginalization. That is why, citizens should be educated in school environments that internalized multiculturalism. He also emphasizes the need of a delicate balance between unity and diversity which can be substantially ensured through formal and informal educational experiences of citizens. Because unity without diversity causes hegemony; while diversity without unity causes balkanization.

Gutmann (2004) emphasizes teaching civic equality, toleration to and recognition of cultural differences to define the framework of the multicultural education. On the other hand, multicultural citizenship education is not only for the majority learners to recognize or show tolerance to minorities, or not for minority groups to be integrated in the majority culture; multicultural education is about the betterment of all society by acting all together (Gonçalves e Silva, 2004). Schugurensky (2002) summarizes definitions of multicultural education and concludes that “*it generally aims at enabling students from diverse cultures to learn how to transcend their cultural borders and engage in dialogue and action with people who differ from them in significant ways (p. 2)*”. Thus, comparing to traditional education, multicultural education refers to a holistic perspective in terms of citizenship, cultural diversity, and differences that provides a ground for intercultural dialogue. Banks (2014) states that education for multicultural

citizenship should support learners to have knowledge and sensitivity towards diverse cultural groups, as well as the power of action to transform the society.

There are diverse definitions about multicultural citizenship education. As Dilworth (2004) clearly underlines the goals of multicultural citizenship education range from including knowledge of diverse cultural minorities in the curriculum to restructuring the entire school culture to combat racism and ensure equality between diverse cultural groups. However, when Dilworth reviewed the proponents' opinions about the content and context of multicultural citizenship education, she found that they mostly agree that a multicultural citizenship education should include attention to "*sociopolitical problems derive from long history of oppression, unequal distribution of opportunities and resources, ethnic identities, cultural pluralism, and critical cultural consciousness* (p. 156)".

According to Raihani (2017), there are two dimensions of multicultural education; one concentrates on a multicultural curriculum reform while the second focuses on the creation of multicultural schools by providing an equal school environment for all regardless of any identity. A multicultural curriculum should widen students' understanding regarding the local, national, and global differences and diversity, as well as triggering fruitful dialogues to support students' critical review, judgement, and analysis skills. On the other hand, the second dimension is about transforming schools to multicultural grounds for students by providing equal opportunities to all regardless of their sex, ethnicity, race, class, culture, religion, or sexual orientation. However, as Banks (2009) remarks both dimensions are connected to each other since it is not possible to make a multicultural curriculum reform without changing the understanding of schools or it is not possible to implement a multicultural curriculum in a school that does not internalize multicultural education. Thus, multicultural citizenship education requires set of systematically comprehensive strategies consisting the changes in the institutional norms, curriculum, instructional understanding, hidden curriculum, counseling understanding, assessment understanding, teaching materials, language policy, attitudes of school staff, the activities and organizations in the school, student clubs, school-parent communication and relationship, and others (Raihani, 2017).

Since the 1970s there is a rich theoretical debate, especially in the USA, about the necessity of a multicultural citizenship education to support youth to be able to live and work in a diverse society; however, this debate has continued to flourish in the theoretical level (Dilworth, 2004). For instance, as Banks (2009) reported, The Center of Multicultural Education at the University of Washington implemented a project to discuss the needs of society, especially the ethnic, racial, immigrant, religious, and linguistic groups in multicultural nations; and as a part of this project they held a conference (Bellagio Conference) with participants from 12 nations -Japan, Russia, China, Israel, Brazil, India, the United Kingdom, Canada, South Africa, the USA, Palestine and Germany-. According to Banks (2009) there are two important conclusions of this conference; first the need of redesigning citizenship education by considering the changes in the world such as globalization, increasing diversity in the nations. Therefore, democracy, diversity, inclusion, recognition of diverse groups should be promoted through education and students need to be supported to acquire the necessary knowledge, attitudes, values, and skills to keep pace with the increasing diversity. Secondly, he concluded that the presented papers around the world showed the different approaches to citizenship education as well as common needs regarding the increasing diversity and globalization, thus a common understanding should be developed to formulate the guidelines among the scholars and educators around the world.

After the Bellagio Conference, the Center for Multicultural Education organized an International Consensus Panel that wrote a publication titled *Democracy and Diversity: Principles and Concepts for Education Citizens in a Global Age*. The Panel agreed on four principles and ten concepts to support the young citizens to live in democratic and diverse societies. According to these principles students should learn to live in multicultural societies not through showing respect or tolerance to the diverse groups, they should learn the connections between economic, environmental, cultural, political and technological changes in the world and their effects to their very local, national, regional environment which increasingly become interdependent to the people and communities around the world (Banks et al., 2005). Besides, the Panel put a special emphasis on human rights education as a part of citizenship education in multicultural nations.

Therefore, the emphasized concepts by the Panel were; globalization, empire/imperialism/power, patriotism and cosmopolitanism, prejudice/discrimination/racism, migration, identity/diversity, democracy, diversity, multiple perspectives, sustainable development (Banks et al., 2005).

In the USA, there have been efforts to determine national standards about integrating the multicultural content in the curricula (Dilworth, 1998a; 1998b; 2004). Nevertheless, teachers mainly could not follow or integrate the national standards to their teaching or preferred to continue teaching without paying attention to the importance of multicultural education (Dilworth, 2004). To understand how multicultural content implemented and take a form within social studies curriculum, Dilworth (2004) collected data through interviews, observations and document analysis by conducting a case study which was designed to explore two teachers' efforts while incorporating multicultural content. The findings of Dilworth's study showed the great importance of personal knowledge and experience of teachers to effectively teach the multicultural content, since both observed teachers had clear perspectives on multicultural education and they could help students about viewing historical events through multicultural lenses by as much as eliminating prejudices and discrimination. Thus, as Dilworth (2004) reminds teachers should be knowledgeable and comfortable about talking on controversial issues concerning race, oppression, discrimination, gender, or social justice. Besides, Dilworth (2004) argues that teachers need to go beyond including the multicultural content; the instructional approach, the created classroom environment, the manner or attitudes while teaching the content or during the discussions, the values regarded or the style of communication are all important to be considered for an effective integration of multicultural citizenship education. For instance, ensuring additional activities, projects or discussions to promote students' developing multicultural lenses while sharing their personal views or suggesting alternative actions that related to controversial topics was emphasized as important.

Although there is a rich theoretical debate, and some practices or at least efforts to incorporate multicultural citizenship education; there are also some criticisms. Conservative critics find multicultural education quite radical. According to conservatives, diversity is too divisive and it is a threat for unity of the nation;

liberal and critical critics, on the other hand assert that multicultural education does not consider structural inequalities, the unequal distribution of political, economic, and social power or ongoing oppression (Dilworth, 2004). Like Dilworth, Kincheloe and Steinberg (1997) in their book *Changing Multiculturalism* and Sloan et al. (2018) in their book *Critical Multiculturalism and Intersectionality in a Complex World* emphasize, there are diverse and critical conceptualizations of multiculturalism and multicultural education. They recognize multiculturalism and multicultural education as continuums rather than as static and fixed concepts, and prefer to define their standpoint as critical regarding multiculturalism. Critical multicultural education, from this perspective, “*focuses specifically on raising the consciousness of social groups that are or have been oppressed and the systems that foster that oppression* (Sloan et al., 2018, p. 8)”. Since, I focus on critical theories in the following main title, I conclude the criticisms to multicultural citizenship education while presenting the views of critical theory to education on citizenship education.

2.4.4. Intercultural Citizenship Education

As discussed previously, multiculturalism has been criticized by conservatives for potentially causing separation and segregation; or being swallow and far from being a realistic solution to overcome discrimination and marginalization by critical scholars since it mostly refers to a liberal ‘solution’ to manage the diversity. There are other criticisms of ‘multiculturalism’ that are raised by the proponents of ‘interculturalism’. Meer and Modood (2011), by questioning and thoroughly analyzing Lentin’s argument about *interculturalism’s being an updated version of multiculturalism*, discussed the intellectually voiced differences between multiculturalism and interculturalism by which it is alleged that constructing another discourse other than ‘multiculturalism’ is needed to enhance plural and egalitarian multicultural societies.

Meer and Modood (2011) thoroughly collect, sketch out and critically discuss the soundness of these criticisms. They group these criticisms, against multiculturalism for the sake of interculturalism into four titles which are connected to each other. Firstly, multiculturalism is criticized by being less proper to enhance

interaction and dialogue between diverse cultures since the differences are highlighted through multiculturalism; the intercultural setting, on the other hand, is more open to cultural diversity. That is why, secondly, multiculturalism is more ‘groupist’ than interculturalism; and interculturalism is more prone to create a synthesis between diverse cultures. Thirdly, since interculturalism is less ‘groupist’, it is more possible to construct a sense of the whole, social cohesion or a common national identity compare to a multiculturalist practice. Finally, interculturalists argue that interculturalism *has the capacity to criticize and censure culture (as part of a process of intercultural dialogue), and so is more likely to emphasize the protection of individual rights* while in a multicultural setting it is more difficult to get support from the majority culture if the beneficiaries of multicultural policies are seen as representatives of ‘primitive’ illiberal cultural practices (Meer & Modood, 2011)⁴⁶.

While ‘multiculturalism’ mostly emerged in Canada and Australia in 1960s and 1970s as a political act, and in the United States of America and Britain as an educational policy in the field of education to a lesser extent; the idea of interculturalism has been more common in the continental Europe such as in Netherlands, Germany, Greece, Spain, and recently in Britain (Meer & Modood, 2012). As Lesinska (2014) highlighted, European leaders criticize multiculturalism by claiming the failure of liberal tolerance and the need of controlled immigration and more assimilative policies. As emphasized in the *White Paper on Intercultural dialogue; pluralism, tolerance and broadmindedness may not be sufficient: a proactive, a structured and widely shared effort in managing cultural diversity is needed* (Council of Europe, 2008, p. 13). Therefore, interculturalism and intercultural dialogue is suggested alternative to multiculturalism for achieving this aim. The criticisms on multiculturalism provided a ground for interculturalism as a theoretical and practical field both in political sciences and in the field of education.

Intercultural citizenship refers to a combination of skills, knowledge, and attitudes that is necessary for awareness of ‘other’ cultural groups and for engaging

⁴⁶ For more discussion on the comparison of multiculturalism and interculturalism see Levey (2012). The difference between two models is quite discussed in the context of Canadian multiculturalism and Quebec interculturalism, see also Bouchard (2011) for this debate.

in cooperative social action (Wagner & Byram, 2017). Byram introduced the concept of intercultural citizenship through his model of intercultural communicative competence that is about foreign language education (as cited in Wagner & Byram, 2017). Byram (2006) advocates a language education that *must go beyond the assumption that linguistic competence is sufficient, and must take intercultural competence as one of its aims* (p. 127) since states are interdependent from many aspects. Accordingly, citizenship education needs to take a wider perspective which should provide an environment for students to engage with people from diverse cultures. From this perspective, he associates the roles of language teachers and those who teach citizenship. Byram (2006, 2008) claims that intercultural citizenship education should equally involve learners from diverse cultures; should provide an educational environment for learners to experience the intercultural citizenship by working with ‘others’ collaboratively; should support learners to develop self-awareness to analyze their intercultural experiences and create learning that provides a cognitive, attitudinal, behavioral change in the individual. Thus, education for intercultural citizenship not only engages with the concept of ‘active citizenship’, it also emphasizes to involve learners from all cultural groups equally to engage and act collaboratively both local, regional national and international level.

The proponents of language education who believe in the potential of language teaching to foster intercultural citizenship implemented a project named ‘*Citizenship Education in the Language Classroom*’ since they advocate that foreign language education provides a natural setting for students to acquire knowledge and skills, internalize values and attitudes and gain critical awareness regarding intercultural citizenship. Although the project held in higher education institutions, the experiences have the potential to enhance the further research about integrating intercultural citizenship education to the primary or secondary school curricula other than language curriculum. One of the research that conducted as a part of this project carried out in Argentina and Italy in 2013 (Porto, 2018). The data was collected from second-year bachelor degree students from Argentina and Italy during their English course. The courses had intercultural aims regarding citizenship as well as linguistic aims. There were three phases of the study. First students were promoted to get to

know their communities through the graffiti and mural art in the neighborhood they live. They photographed the mural art and graffiti and shared them online. In the second phase, students from Argentina and Italy met online through skype throughout two months and described the historical, cultural and social meanings of the murals and the graffiti they photographed. The aim of second phase was to create an online environment for students to share their cultures, and the meaning of murals and graffiti in terms of the issues such as freedom, ecology, sustainable art, police enforcement and repression, and others. In the third phase, in which only Argentinian students participated, students took action in their communities by trying to analyze the issues that became the subject of the murals and the graffiti. Besides, they acted for change about the problems that became the subject of the murals and the graffiti through publishing articles on university newspaper, drawing mural with primary school students or giving lessons about mural art and graffiti in a shelter home to poor women who were victims of domestic violence. The results of the study showed that, students' attitudes, behaviors and skills improved in terms of de-centering their position and perspective-taking while communicating with their peers from different cultures (Porto, 2018). In other terms, they learned to distance themselves from their own positions to be able to understand different perspectives.

The research of Porto (2018) is one of the studies in the project and there are studies and comparative studies from different countries such as Hungary, the USA, China, Denmark, Britain, Korea, Sweden, Japan, and Taiwan. All the reports from the research studies was published in a book titled '*From Principles to Practice in Education for Intercultural Citizenship*' (Byram et al., 2018). The project aimed to discuss, analyze, test and show how teachers and researchers from primary school to university education can work collaboratively by using the potential of language education to raise intercultural citizens.

There are efforts to enhance the theory and practice of intercultural citizenship education and the studies on language education seem having the potential to enhance intercultural citizenship education practices among other courses and curricula. Yet, a whole school approach as Banks (1986) advocated is needed that consists a review and revision in the hidden curriculum, or norms and

principles of the school, as well as curricular improvements. Decades ago, Zimmer (1984) as one of the proponents of intercultural pedagogy describes how a school that adopts intercultural education would be by these words: children are experienced living in a multicultural community by feeling equal distance to everyone's culture; all cultures are integrated to the curriculum of all lessons; the issues and challenges caused by cultural diversity are not ignored, on the contrary they are discussed during lessons and solutions are tried to be found through some projects; parents are involved in projects and extracurricular activities to share their culture with the school community (as cited in Nohl, 2014). Yet, Zimmer named his book as utopia of intercultural education, while Nohl (2014) also shared his perspective as 'utopia of Zimmer'.

Although there are practices of education for intercultural citizenship in America, East Asia and Europe (Council of Europe, 2008; Wagner & Byram, 2017); there are criticisms which discuss the shallowness and delusiveness of these practices or the backlash of these practices due to the election of center-right/right governments (Lesinska, 2014; Hoskins, 2018; Stavenhagen, 2008). Nohl (2014) also argues how 'intercultural' interventions in education reproduce the dominant culture and 'otherness' and causes marginalization of differences. He gives example from textbooks of Germany. After accepting the immigrants' culture as part of German culture, Turkish, Greek or Spanish cultures are also included in the textbooks of Germany. However, the visuals of children from diverse cultures are differentiated through their clothes that symbolizes their culture. Therefore, as Nohl (2014) argues this causes the reproduction of 'otherness' since the cultural differences are underlined by giving a representative role to those visuals rather than tried to construct togetherness through human rights theory.

2.4.5. European Citizenship Education

Habermas (1994) in his article on citizenship and national identity questions the possibility of a European citizenship. By comparing Europe with the United States of America, he states that the USA is a multicultural society that united over the same political culture and shares the same language. Later, by trying to predict he adds that the European Union can only be a multilingual state of different nations

(p. 29). And finally he asks “*whether there can ever be such a thing as European citizenship* (p. 29) through which all Europeans have a consciousness to act for the European common weal.

Today, there is such a thing as European citizenship which can be defined as the most concrete form of post-national citizenship predictions. After, the European cooperation was built to transcend nationalism and to bind up wounds from the Second World War, the membership to EU countries has been afforded some supranational rights to the EU nationals (Hoskins, 2020)⁴⁷. Since then, there have been constant efforts, recommendations, strategies, and actions to construct the European citizenship (Missira, 2019).

However, as Hoskins (2018) summarizes, the citizenship understanding in European level has been shifted many times especially from late 1990s to the present. For instance, between 2000 and 2008, which is defined as the pre-crisis period, the citizenship understanding had transformed from nation-based, narrow, and exclusive to more global, inclusive and fluid form. This citizenship form has been constructed over a supranational understanding with an emphasis on *cooperative spirit, a sense of solidarity, tolerance to cultural differences, acknowledgement of common traits and differences* (Missira, 2019)⁴⁸.

Yet, starting from 2007 till 2011, by the effect of economic and political crisis, the efforts to create a broader and more inclusive citizenship has been interrupted. Another reason of this backlash has been due to the reverse influences of center-right/right governments’ philosophy and narrow understanding on inclusive citizenship (Hoskins, 2018). ‘Multiculturalism’ has been drawn heavy criticisms for being no longer adequate to create and enhance inclusive societies in ever-growing (Council of Europe, 2008; Lesinska, 2014). Thus, European citizenship has been mainly grounded on interculturalism and intercultural dialogue from 2007 onwards. Besides this backlash, the growing emphasis on

⁴⁷ All citizens of EU countries are automatically citizens of the EU. Being an EU citizen gives individuals a range of personal, civil, political, economic and social rights (https://europa.eu/european-union/about-eu/eu-citizenship_en)

⁴⁸ These objectives are constituted by the Children’s Identity and Citizenship European Association (CiCea) established in 1998.

competitiveness and employability through the effects of stronger neoliberal ideology, preparing European citizens for work and entrepreneurship become the soul of the citizenship understanding across European countries (Hoskins, 2018). On the other hand, the only change from 2012 onwards has been about responding the increasing and pressing societal issues which have been thought to be threaten the security of European countries such as racism, xenophobia, violence, extremism and terrorism. Thus, according to Hoskins (2018) the European citizenship is more defensive than expansive lately.

In the whole this process of constructing European citizenship, education has been in the center to raise active and democratic European citizens and to shape an inclusive European community (Hoskins, 2020). As it is highlighted in the European Commission (Eurydice, 2017) report on citizenship education “*promoting citizenship education at school has in fact been a long-standing objective of European cooperation in the field of education (p. 17)*”. In 1997, the Council of Europe shared the *Education for Democratic Citizenship Program* for the development of democracy by promoting democratic education (Missira, 2019). 2005 was declared as the *European year of Education through Active Citizens* (Missira, 2019); while social and civic competences of European citizens have been identified as one of the key competences in 2006, and *promoting equity, social cohesion and active citizenship through school education* have been regarded as one of the main objectives in the context of the Strategic Framework for European Cooperation in Education and Training in 2009 (as cited in Eurydice, 2017). All these developments eventually resulted in legalization of *Education for Democratic Citizenship and Human Rights Education (EDC/HRE)* through the Charter of the Council of Europe in 2010 (Missira, 2019). According to this Charter, education for democratic citizenship means:

Education, training, awareness raising, information, practices and activities which aim, by equipping learners with knowledge, skills and understanding and developing their attitudes and behavior, to empower them to exercise and defend their democratic rights and responsibilities in society, to value diversity and to play an active part in democratic life, with a view to the promotion and protection of democracy and the rule of law. (Council of Europe Charter on EDC/HRE, 2010)

Finally, the Council of Europe has started to work on a reference framework and they published the *Competences for democratic culture: Living together as*

equals in culturally diverse societies in 2016 (Eurydice, 2017). These competences have decided to be included of elements that related to skills, knowledge and attitudes; yet later a fourth dimension namely ‘values’ was added to the framework. The reference framework has been transformed in time and the *Reference Framework of Competences for Democratic Culture* is declared as the latest policy of the Council of Europe on the EDC/HRE in 2018. There is a model in the framework that contains four competence areas -namely values, attitudes skills and knowledge- and 20 competences to promote active and democratic citizenship in culturally diverse democratic societies of Europe (CoE, 2018). The model that formulates the competences to create a democratic culture emphasizes some competences that enhances an intercultural dialogue among European citizens, which are valuing cultural diversity, valuing human dignity and human rights, openness to and respecting cultural otherness and other beliefs/world views/practices, having linguistic/ communicative and plurilingual skills, knowledge and critical understanding of the self, knowledge and critical understanding of language and communication, knowledge and critical understanding of the world: politics, law, human rights, culture, cultures, religions, history, media, economies, environment, sustainability (CoE, 2018, p. 38).

The findings of the 2017 Eurydice report on citizenship education is coherent with the efforts about developing a common understanding to foster inclusion, intercultural dialogue and equality through citizenship education among European countries (Eurydice, 2017). The report consists of information about 42 countries’ citizenship education which are a part of Eurydice network including both primary, secondary and vocational school programs. The data was gathered through a questionnaire and there are essential findings related to the general tendency of European countries on citizenship education and diversity, which shows the understanding at the European level.

Analysis showed that there are three ways to integrate citizenship content to the curriculum; integrating as a cross-curricular theme, by integrating into other subjects or integrating as a separate subject. Yet, the most widespread approach is integrating the citizenship content into broader subjects or learning areas combined with putting some content as a cross curricular theme. The general trends revealed

four competences that aimed to be developed through citizenship education; thinking critically, acting democratically, acting in a socially-responsible manner, interacting effectively and constructively with others. Among all these competences, acting socially-responsible manner, which consists of respecting human beings, human rights, other cultures and religions, non-discrimination, protecting cultural heritage and the environment, and sense of belonging to local, regional, national and European community, constitutes the widest part of the content compare to the other competences (Eurydice, 2017, p. 50). The report concludes that, the fact of Europe's being more multicultural and diverse, reflects the content of citizenship education which can be observed through the citizenship content that promotes diversity, pluralism and respecting to all cultures. On the other hand, the report also shows that strengthening national identity and sense of patriotism is still the case in most countries' primary school curricula; however, the sense of belonging shifts from national identity to identity at European level in time. In other terms, findings revealed that although national identity is promoted in primary education, a much broader perspective at European level dominates the understanding on citizenship. this point is quite suitable to review the criticisms on the idea of European citizenship and its being promoted through education.

Besides the developments, charters, strategies, and actions to create a European understanding of citizenship at European level; there are criticisms that considered European citizenship as not working for all. There are studies that show how rights and opportunities of European citizenship are benefitted by highly educated elites (Hoskins, 2018). Therefore, Hoskins (2018) believes that an alternative understanding of European citizenship is needed which is socio-economically more inclusive. Hoskins (2018) further claims that good and bad practices or experiences of European countries in terms of European citizenship are essential since it has a long history. Thus, European citizenship can be used as a hub to improve global citizenship understanding in Europe and in the world through this European experience.

The experiences of Europe regarding citizenship education have been influencing the practices in Turkey since the mid-1990s. Hence, discussing European citizenship and educational practices to enhance this form of citizenship

is essential regarding its' effects on citizenship education policies of Turkey. I turn back to the influences of European citizenship practices while examining the historical process of citizenship education in Turkey. However, before reviewing the literature on citizenship education in the Turkish context, I briefly review the critical perspective on citizenship education through critical theories to education.

2.5. The Perspective of Critical Theory to Citizenship Education

So far, I tried to discuss the modern and post-modern approaches to citizenship education regarding differences and diversity by building these on the past and present of the citizenship phenomenon. To be honest, it was not an easy task, and although I tried to show a broad perspective and different aspects of the issue, there are so many diverse approaches that were not covered in this study. However, I also would like to state that, I mainly discussed all the approaches that I have queried throughout the study. However, as can be sensed while reading the post-modern approaches, there are critical perspectives to each approach which highlights the existence of structural inequalities.

The rising and suppressed sound of citizens with diverse ethnic, racial, religious, class, or gender identities; and the ignorance of 'other' students in classrooms and in the curriculum in general was the main issue of all post-national approaches to citizenship, and they criticized the nation-state perspective of citizenship that base on a uniform and essentialist understanding. In other terms, post-national approaches to citizenship seek for a solution and claims that we cannot find solutions through the lenses of modern nation-state citizenship idea since they could not provide a solution while being the reason. Thus, to overcome the *tragedy* of citizenship, a new vision was queried that can be concretized by post-national perspectives such as de-national, global, multicultural solutions to the changing perceptions towards and practices about the citizenship phenomenon. Yet, these were, again, *top to down* perspectives to construct a new vision and not realistic when considered the institutionalized social, cultural, or economic inequalities within and between nation-states. Both multicultural, cosmopolitan, intercultural, or European citizenship education perspectives cannot be a solution to provide an egalitarian, and pluralist learning environments for students with diverse cultural,

social, or economic identities, unless they criticize and challenge the relationship between power, national identity and knowledge. As Giroux (1991b) states, multiculturalism is generally about otherness and by attributing an *exotic* and *authentic* meaning to ‘other’ cultures and leaving the master narratives of dominant cultures unquestioned it fades the actual inequalities. Even sometimes cultural differences or differences in general are reduced to learning styles of ‘others’⁴⁹. Or as is was discussed while presenting the advocates of global and cosmopolitan citizenship education, they can be again turn to oppressive practices if the institutionalized inequalities between and within countries are not questioned or criticized (Himmerfalb, 2002; Wallerstein, 2002).

Critical theories to education, on the other hand, broadly seeks to expose how relations of power and inequality (social, cultural, economic), in their myriad forms, combinations, and complexities, are manifested and challenged in the formal and informal education of children and adults (Apple, Au & Gandin, 2009). It problematizes the reproduction of inequalities and power-relations in schools and classrooms and focuses on the relationship between the knowledge and the power. In this respect, according to critical theorists, the content of the curriculum or in general the schooling process is not independent from the economic, social, cultural hegemony of the ruling/dominant class.

Historically, critical theories to education has its origins in the critical theory of the Frankfurt School, and this tradition was greatly influenced by the work of Karl Marx. According to Marx, the essential societal problem was socio-economic inequality and in essence, he argued that social justice is dependent upon the economic conditions. The critical theorists of Frankfurt School argued that schools, education or curriculum encourage dependency and hierarchical understanding of authority, in this way schools undermine the social consciousness needed for change and social transformation (Breuing, 2011).

⁴⁹ There is a growing literature on multicultural education or multicultural citizenship, yet there are quite important works that advocate critical multiculturalism. See *Critical Multiculturalism and Intersectionality in a Complex world* written by Sloan et. al. (2018) for a comprehensive discussion. In addition, see Ünal (2004) for a criticism on multicultural education.

Freire (2014) as the leading figure of critical pedagogy put forward some concepts -humanization, dehumanization, true generosity, false charity, critical dialogue, banking education, libertarian education- that to some extent can mainly explain the elementary ideas of critical pedagogy. *Humanization* as an alternative defines freedom and justice as the needs of humanity, but the oppressors/hegemony try to *dehumanize* people and they thwart the humanization by exploitation, violence and oppression (p.44). Thus, for oppressed, *humanization* becomes a struggle to be recognized and recover their lost humanity. The struggle against *dehumanization* must be started from the oppressed themselves and from those who are truly solidary with them. Individuals, by fighting for the restoration of their humanity, attempt the restoration of *true generosity* (p.45). *False charity* defines the donation of oppressors, this *donation* could not end the *dehumanization* process over education, *false charity* reproduces inequalities and the power. Therefore, oppressed needs to begin discovering and believing in themselves when they become involved in the organized struggle for their liberation through *critical and liberating dialogue*. For education, Freire implies a dialogic exchange between teachers and students, where both learn, both question, both reflect and both participate in meaning-making process. A reflective participation of oppressed needed to reach the *praxis* (p.65). And he offers a method for a humanizing pedagogy through which the teachers can support the students (the oppressed) for their consciousness, and to re-create the knowledge and their own words consciously (p.69). Freire (2014) claimed that education *is suffering from narration sickness* (p.71). Teachers' task is not to "fill" the students with the "required" knowledge, while students' role is memorizing, repeating and recording. This is the *banking concept of education* through which it is aimed to minimize students' creative power and their critical consciousness. On the other hand, in *libertarian/problem-posing education*, education must begin with the solution of the teacher-student contradiction by reconciling the poles of the contradiction so that both can be simultaneously teachers and students (p.72).

John Dewey has quite an influential role in the development of critical perspective to education. Besides, he is one of the most important philosophers on citizenship education. He emphasized the important role of education to achieve democracy. As he indicated, children need to experience democracy to internalize

since democracy is “*more than a form of government; it is primarily a mode of associated living, of conjoint communicated experience*” (Dewey, 2001, p. 91). He also advocated for equal opportunities for all children regardless of their social origin or class as well as a culturally inclusive education that gives opportunity to students to explore their backgrounds (Dewey, 1966; 2001).

Dewey (1966) conceptualizes school as a miniature society. Coherently, he claims that school life is not for the preparation to social life, they are organically linked to each other (Dewey, 2001). For him, education is not for transmission of the knowledge, it should be transformative by enriching one’s experience. Thus, education is not preparation or development only towards a certain goal determined by the authorities, it is about gaining experience, and learning open-mindedness, critical thinking and creativity. That is why, education occurs while sharing experience or concerns during co-operative doings or conjoint activities. These opinions constitute the grounds of democratic citizenship education. By assigning a special meaning to *experience*, he highlights the necessity of a democratic school environment for democratic citizenship education. For Dewey, all school education and processes are about democratic citizenship education; citizenship education is more than a separate subject.

According to Dewey (2001), there are two crucial role of schools in the society regarding citizenship education. First, developing students’ ability to think which naturally is about the reflective dimension of experience; and secondly familiarizing students about their roles (member of a family, consumer, employee, voter, etc.) in society. Thus, school is a place where students learn to think critically by applying their knowledge and making thorough judgements; and where students learn and experience their roles in society. However, without critical thinking, education is reduced to knowledge, value, or attitude transmission; only the transformative role of education can support democratic citizenship.

All critical theorists to education mainly claim the necessity of challenging the existing inequalities in society through citizenship education by supporting students to develop consciousness and equip them with skills, knowledge and experiences to challenge such inequalities. Thus, critical citizenship education is about empowering students by promoting transformative practices and experiences

in school and society. Henry Giroux, on the other hand, has articles specifically on citizenship education. Giroux (1980) in his article titled *Critical Theory and Rationality in Citizenship Education*, claims that citizenship education needs to be freed from the burden of its own intellectual and ideological perspective and a new vision, a new rationality and perspective needs to be constructed that examines the relationship between the schools and the society. By rationality, he refers to the *specific set of assumptions and social practices* that determine the interaction of an individual or group with the wider society. Thus, reformulating the assumptions and social practices of citizenship education by considering the relationship between power, knowledge, ideology, and class is needed to overcome the barriers between each individual or group and the wider society.

Giroux defines three modes of rationality -the technical, hermeneutic and emancipatory- and each rationalities represents a perspective towards citizenship education. Technical rationality refers to a controlling process through citizenship education. The concept of transmission has the most essential meaning since the target of citizenship education is defined as the transmission of the accepted and official knowledge that constitutes the knowledge of the powerful. Conversely to technical rationality, hermeneutic rationality considers the thoughts, experiences, feelings and opinions of students regarding citizenship education. Students are not seen as passive receivers, rather they are considered as the meaning makers. Thus, students are promoted to experience, explore and share their thoughts. Yet, this rationality still does not seek after to query the institutionalized inequalities. According to Giroux, hermeneutic rationality related citizenship education perspectives lack critical understanding. On the other hand, emancipatory rationality-based citizenship education is grounded on critique and action. According to Giroux, citizenship education has to be emancipatory which combines *historical critique, critical reflection* and *social action*. He establishes a theory of citizenship education by emphasizing several points that needs to be considered to create a new vision and a new rationality for citizenship education and the transformation of the society at large.

First of all, the changing codes and needs of the society should be evaluated. Besides, a historical critique is also a necessity to analyse the past to overcome the

challenges and issues related to the past in order to create a vision for the present and the future. Giroux also highlights the importance of a critical perspective that provides a ground to analyse schooling process as a cultural and social reproduction process. In relation to this critical perspective, the existence of critical educators who are conscious about the relationship between power, culture, and knowledge, as well as the enormous influence of the hidden curriculum⁵⁰ is at most important to transmit the official values, norms, culture and attitudes. In addition, teachers need to have a critical perspective to transform themselves and ensure a space for students to be critical citizens. In short, citizenship education should not aim to ‘fit’ the students into the existing culture since there are institutionalized inequalities; rather it should promote being critical and creative to support students about challenging the existing inequalities in the society.

Besides his critical analysis and suggestions on citizenship education, Giroux’s theory of border pedagogy also offers rich insights about citizenship education. Giroux (1991c; 1991d) defines border pedagogy as a postmodern resistance. According to him, if we want to escape from rigid borders that prone to reproduce inequalities and not be the tool of oppression above people or groups who are defined outside the borders of ‘we’; we need to produce postmodern discourses that have the potential to allow multiple and heterogeneous ways of life in the society. This requires critical teachers to ensure a classroom environment that does not reproduce one-dimensional cultural and historical narrative. Border pedagogy, by acknowledging the shifting borders, defines a learning environment in which students learn to respect differences and have the opportunity to experience multiplicity of democratic practices, and teachers have an opportunity to rethink the relationship between power and knowledge and its representations on the lives of

⁵⁰ Giroux (1978; 1979; 1983) wrote extensively about the *hidden curriculum* in his earlier work. He defines hidden curriculum as “*those unstated norms, values, and beliefs embedded in and transmitted to students through the underlying rules that structure the routines and social relationships in school and classroom* (Giroux, 2001)”. According to Giroux, hidden curriculum is a conceptual tool to understand or realize the complexity of schooling and education. Hidden curriculum shows “the whole picture” of schooling which includes the linkages between schools and social, economic and political landscape that make up the wider society. Thus, he claims that the concept of hidden curriculum needs to become a central issue in the development of curriculum theory.

different groups. Yet, it is not only a pedagogy to acknowledge, the space extended is not an intellectual space, border pedagogy presents a way of struggle with domination, power, oppression and institutionalized inequalities that students and teachers expose to this one-dimensional understanding and a way of life. These practices to marginalize, of course, do not only affect the marginalized, the *superiors* -males regarding gender, ethnic majority regarding ethnicity, religious majority regarding religious beliefs, and others- are also exposed to experience the life from an essentialist, uniform and one-dimensional understanding.

Border pedagogy of Giroux offers a new rationality for citizenship education. It offers students to engage in myriad forms of experiences and cultural codes and an ability to critically reading and responding to the text and the world. Students, through this developed critical reflex, can develop a healthy skepticism to question the knowledge and they become conscious by realizing their active and critical role to transform. In other terms, they have opportunities to discuss on, dismantle and deconstruct the social, cultural and political orthodoxies through their life experiences. Students learn to be courageous to cross the cultural borders that socially and politically constructed through meta-narratives, and eventually this process provides a ground for a democratic society.

Giroux, mostly, elaborates on the role of teachers in border pedagogy. Teachers have to be conscious about the structural causes of marginalization or ignorance in schools and the curriculum. They need to be critical not to reproduce but to challenge these discriminative thoughts, acts, behaviors, or attitudes in classrooms, schools or in the curriculum. In addition, they need to provide a democratic environment for all students in which they can learn to be critical citizens. In short, through Giroux's (1991b) words;

Teachers need to take up a pedagogy that provides a more dialectical understanding of their own politics and values; they need to break down pedagogical boundaries that silence them in the name of methodological rigor or pedagogical absolutes; more important, they need to develop a power-sensitive discourse that allows them to open up their interactions with the discourses of various Others so that their classrooms can engage rather than block out the multiple positions and experiences that allow teachers and students to speak in and with many complex and different voices. (p. 254)

Critical theorists envisage teachers not as technicians that *mimes*⁵¹ what is written in the overt curriculum⁵² (Giroux, 1991b; Giroux & McLaren, 1986); rather, on all occasions, they repeat the necessity of critical teachers who treat students as critical agents and active and critical citizens to overcome inequalities and conflicts in classrooms and in society at large. They define teachers as ‘public intellectuals’ or ‘transformative intellectuals’ by considering education more than a tool of power to reproduce the official knowledge. As can be sensed, the transformative role of education through the transformative role of teachers is quite distinct when we take a critical perspective.

2.6. Summary and Critical Analysis of Literature Review

In the previous sections, I have tried to understand the developments in citizenship education in both intellectual and practical levels by examining the modern citizenship phenomenon and post-modern possibilities, as well as the perspective of critical theory in detail.

Modern citizenship, in the simplest term, defines a membership of a nation-state and a status that taken correspondingly. Until 1960s-70s, this uniform understanding had a profound dominancy. Although, it is still the case that being members of nation-states and getting statuses and national identities consonant with the determined borders (regarding inclusion/exclusion criteria) of the citizenship; starting from 1960s-70s citizenship has been defined over diverse perspectives. Increasing migration, increasing diversity inside the societies, and the demand of recognition as women, LBGTQI+ people, ethnic minorities, migrants, religious minorities provided a ground to criticize the uniform understanding of modern citizenship. In other terms, the exclusivist or ignorant nature of modern citizenship

⁵¹ According to Pinar (2004), teachers need to be ‘subjects’ to transform the curriculum rather than being ‘mimes’ of the curriculum developers.

⁵² Glatthorn, Carr and Harris (2001) determined eight different kinds of curriculum namely *recommended, written, supported, tested, taught, learned, hidden* and *excluded (null)* curriculum. The written curriculum refers to the curriculum that developed by the state, district, school or teacher depending on the centrality of the education system. For instance, in the case of Turkey, the written curriculum is developed by MoNE as the representative of the state. However, if education is not centralized in a country, the written curriculum can be developed in district or even in the school level.

and national identity has been criticized and defined as causes of undemocratic practices and experiences (Kadıoğlu, 2012). Eventually, the shifts in world politics and the international movements provided a ground for people to voice themselves regarding the 'identity' they identify themselves with. The equality and democracy promises of modern citizenship has been fragmented by communities that struggle for their group identities. The singular definition of identity transformed to multi-dimensional definitions. Thereby, in the recent times, citizenship and identity are the two interrelated notions of social sciences that have been examined and discussed together through local, transnational, and critical notions (Benhabib, 2016; Keyman, 2012; Kymlicka & Norman, 2000; Yeğen, 2004). Besides, the increasing influence of human rights discourse has been one of the reasons for disjunction of the modern citizenship concept (Kadıoğlu, 2012). Today, we are more than a member of a nation state, and we need to exist and live together with our differences.

Deconstruction of the citizenship concept has eventually affected the philosophy and content of citizenship education. The aim of citizenship education has evolved since the ethnic revitalization movements of the 1960s and 1970s; before, it was aimed to raise citizens who internalized national values and their roles to be 'the responsible citizen' for the future of the nation state, which cause an assimilation of the 'marginalized' or 'excluded' at the end (Banks, 2009). However, as the diversity has been welcomed in relation to political, economic and cultural changes; citizenship education had to be evolved from mono to multicultural perspective. Recently, it is more than a need, it is a necessity to transform both the citizenship concept and the content of citizenship education (Noddings, 2013; Çayır, 2016).

Yet, as critical theoreticians claim the most of debated possibilities are still prone to reproduce inequalities since they do not critically consider and try to overcome the structural inequalities. Besides, there are myriad differences between people when we consider gender, sex, race, ethnicity, religion, religious beliefs, and class. The intersections between these identities also needs to be conceived, since as Derrida (2008) states so strongly, there is a danger to reproduce the difference as it is something static and one-dimensional, yet everything is evolving and we cannot

examine a difference without considering the intersections. As McLaughlin (1992) and Schulz and Sibbern (2004) clearly stated, there are *minimal or conventional* and *maximal or social-movement related* interpretations of citizenship and citizenship education. It is like a continuum, and raising critical citizens can enhance one's experiences as democratic citizens and enlarge the space for democracy and living together in peace.

Although we are living inside borders, and these borders mainly refers to a nation and nationality, we experience borders within the nations we are a part. From a critical perspective, all these identities and differences should not create borders between people, there are ways to cross the borders, even demolish the borders to get to know each other. Border pedagogy, that based on critical theory and postmodernism, provides a ground to start a change in the minds of students through education.

Before diving to Turkey; examining and understanding the role of citizenship education in early nation-states -especially France since France has special importance in the history of the Turkish Republic-, bringing the subject to the 20th century, reviewing the changing understanding of citizenship and citizenship education, and reviewing the perspective of critical theory to citizenship education, in a nutshell, provided me a ground to link the role of citizenship education in the context of Turkey to the debates in international literature. Now, I summarize the historical development of citizenship education in Turkey.

2.7. A Historical Overview of Citizenship Education in Turkey

The historical development of citizenship education is followed over the citizenship courses starting from the 19th century Ottoman Empire. From *Malumat-ı Medeniye*, to *Human Rights, Civics and Democracy*, the content of citizenship education has evolved in years; yet there are also some continuities which, all, are reviewed in the following subtitles.

a) Malumat-ı Medeniye: Raising Future Ottoman Citizens. In Turkey, the modernization of the country and the conceptualization of “modern citizenship” dates back to the rescript of Gülhane (Tanzimat Fermanı) in 1839 during Ottoman

Empire. Actually, the starting point of modernization process, and the nationalism idea which affected the change in the status of people from vassal to citizen is a controversial issue. Üstel (2014) started this with the declaration of Second Constitution (1908-1920); yet Deringil (1999) points to II. Abdülhamid period (1876-1909) that characterizes the Ottoman version of official nationalism as Fortna (2005) does.

To critically analyze the discussions, it can be claimed that, conceptualization of modern citizenship was a process that can be followed through the modernization developments including the *rescript of Gülhane (Tanzimat Fermanı)* in 1839 and the *Edict of Reform* in 1856. After the declaration of Second Constitution, the idea of raising the children-citizens through education was concretized through Malumat-ı Medeniye lessons. Since then, citizenship education has been being used as a political tool to construct the nation and the acceptable citizen (makbul vatandaş) (Üstel, 2014).

Immediately after the proclamation of the Second Constitution in 1908, the reformist Ottoman intelligentsia, that closely followed the educational developments in the Third Republic France, contributed to the inclusion of course called *Malumat-ı Medeniye* to the curriculum of primary, secondary and high schools and in the same year Malumat-ı Medeniye textbooks were written and published (Tunç-Yaşar, 2018; Üstel, 2014). The Ottoman intelligentsia aimed to teach students the meaning of homeland, nation, state, parliament, government, and tax. Students were expected to learn their roles, responsibilities and rights -as future citizens- for the perpetuity of the country, nation and government through Malumat-ı Medeniye courses (Tunç-Yaşar, 2018).

During the Second Constitutional Period, education was used as a tool to create the Ottoman nation (Osmanlılık) as the Ottoman Empire was collapsing due to unending wars and land losses (Tunç-Yaşar, 2018). Therefore, Malumat-ı Medeniye courses can be regarded as a part of rescue operation to construct the idea of Ottoman nation (Üstel, 2014). Both the curriculum and the textbooks targeted to raise multi-dimensional future citizens who were healthy, sturdy, determined, brave, responsible, hardworking and loyal to the country and the nation, besides ready to do everything for the benefits of the homeland (Tunç-Yaşar, 2018). As Üstel (2014)

emphasizes, textbooks of Malumat-1 Medeniye referred to a citizenship that had a communitarian understanding rather than addressing the individual-citizen. Therefore, the homeland was defined as the common house, the citizen was defined as the child of the house and all citizens were defined through sisterhood. Further, this communitarian citizen was equipped with some citizenship responsibilities such as complying with the law, doing military service and paying taxes (Üstel, 2014). The Minister of Education of the period explained the purpose of the citizenship education as “*raising the men in every sense (her manasıyla adam yetiştirmek)*” or “*raising the full men*”.⁵³ By *full men* he referred to characteristics and attitudes such as being loyal to the religion (Islam), being patriot, and having national consciousness (Tunç-Yaşar, 2018).

Malumat-1 Medeniye course had continued to be taught till 1924; however, it had undergone diverse processes during these twenty-six years. The title of the course was only Malumat-1 Medeniye at first, in time some additional concepts - ethics, law, economy- were attached to the title of the course such as Malumat-1 Medeniye ve Ahlakiye (Knowledge of Civilization and Ethics), Malumat-1 Ahlakiye ve Medeniye (Knowledge of Ethics and Civilization), or Malumat-1 Medeniye ve Hukukiye (Knowledge of Civilization and Law) (Tunç-Yaşar, 2018). Not only the title, the content of the course was also transformed and the content about ethics was gradually included in the curriculum and the textbooks. Tunç-Yaşar (2018) clearly presents the debates on the content of Malumat-1 Medeniye which was the only civic course. The expectations from the ‘*full men*’ of the Ottoman Empire were diverse and they were changing from one textbook to another since the period can be characterized as a period experienced fast and deep alterations in the society. Therefore, it is not possible to give a certain answer about what kind of citizens were aimed to be raised through these courses. The writers of the textbooks had different envisagement and thoughts about the needed characteristics of the future Ottoman citizens. Yet, as can be seen from the above explanations, Ottoman citizenship was

⁵³ *Men* refer to human beings. However, I did not change the wording not to interfere with the original quotation.

envisaged as communitarian and conventional who were patriot, and ready to practice their responsibilities for the sake of the Empire.

Malumat-ı Medeniye course mostly targeted to raise civilized and ethical Ottoman citizens who are loyal to the religion, family, and the country; on the other hand, the proclamation of the Republic and especially acceptance of the Law on Unification of Education in 1924 could be defined as one of the strongest breaking points of the nation-building process of the Turkish Republic (Üstel, 2014).

b) From Malumat-ı Vataniye to Yurt Bilgisi⁵⁴. After the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, the Republic of Turkey was established in 1923; and until 1950⁵⁵, a single party called the Republican People's Party was the only ruling organization of the Republic. That is why, this period is defined as the Single Party Period. This period is often characterized as the ground of nation-construction process. After the War of Independence, it was the time to build a constant national identity (Bora, 1996). As İnce (2012) remarks, during the single party period, citizenship was tried to be formed over “*one language, one culture, one ideal*”. Of course, a national education understanding was targeted to be developed and internalized to build the nation (Kaplan, 2013). Therefore, the unification and centralization of the educational institutions through the Law on Unification of Education in 1924⁵⁶ was the most prominent development of the single-party period policies regarding education. Besides, education and more specifically citizenship education was seen as an essential tool of the ‘state-centric modernization project’ during the single party period (Çayır & Gürkaynak 2007; Keyman & Kancı, 2011). Education, in other terms, was regarded as the *driving force* of the transformation from fragmented society to the Turkish nation as Zurcher asserted (as cited in Caymaz, 2007).

⁵⁴ *Malumat-ı Vataniye* and *Yurt Bilgisi* are synonym and both mean *Knowledge of Homeland* in English.

⁵⁵ The Republican People's party hold the power till 1950, yet they were not the single party starting from 1946.

⁵⁶ By this law, religious schools (*Medreses*) were abolished and all schools (including Minority schools of Armenians, Greeks, and Jews) were required to be administered by the Ministry of Education (Çayır & Gürkaynak, 2007).

Another essential regulation in education was the change of the curriculum, all primary, secondary and high school curricula were revised and changed. According to Üstel (2014) there were two dimensions of the revisions: pedagogical and ideological. The content was simplified pedagogically and the content related to Ottoman Empire were selected and removed while a content that consonant with the principles of the Republic was added. In line with this curriculum reform, the name of the only civic course from the Ottoman period *Malumat-ı Madeniye* was transformed into *Malumat-ı Vataniye (Knowledge of Homeland)*, and thereafter, the benefits of the republic were inculcated by the citizenship education. Besides, as the content related to the Ottoman Empire was included to negate and marginalize the political symbols and social structure of the Empire, while the Republic was represented by civilization, modernization and strong state organizations (Özer & Kondu, 2019; Sel & Sözer, 2018).

In the textbook of *Malumat-ı Vataniye*, citizens are defined as the children of the homeland; it was accepted that “*even there are language or religious differences among them, they are fellow citizens to each other*” (İnce, 2012, p. 119). Besides, according to Üstel (1996) a distinction was made between Muslim and non-Muslim populations; for instance, while non-Muslims -Jews, Greeks and Armenians- were defined as citizens in the national borders, they were not referred inside the nation. On the other hand, Turks living in Türkistan⁵⁷ were recognized inside the nation as *milletdaş*⁵⁸(*fellow citizen*) (as cited in İnce, 2012). Further, in a *Malumat-ı Vataniye* textbook written by Mehmet Emin Erişligil, the target of the course was explained as inculcating the roles and responsibilities towards the nation (Üstel, 2014).

The *new people* of the new Republic were aimed to be formed by *the army of culture/teachers*. Thus, education was resembled to a *war* to create the uniform nation. In 1923, while talking to teachers in Kütahya, Atatürk stated that teachers “*belong to the army of culture*” the duty of this army “*is to build the future of the*

⁵⁷ Türkistan is a historical region in Central Asia which lies between Gobi Desert on the east, Caspian Sea on the west, Siberia on the north and Iran, Iraq, Afghanistan and Tibet on the south. It has a special meaning for Turks since the region is accepted as the homeland in Central Asia.

⁵⁸ This point is important since a similar understanding can still be observed in the current textbooks.

nation⁵⁹” (as cited in Kaplan, 2013, p. 141). After won the War of Independence and formed the assembly; now, that was time to form the nation through the *education army*.

The name of *Malumat-ı Vataniye* was transformed through the curriculum developed in 1926 (*İlkmektep Müfredat Programı*). The name of the new citizenship course became *Yurt Bilgisi (Knowledge of the Homeland)*⁶⁰. *Yurt Bilgisi* was added to the curriculum of elementary schools (4th and 5th grades) as two hours a week; later it was added to the curriculum of *Village Teachers Schools (Köy Öğretmen Okulları)* in 1927-28 academic year; and to the curriculum of *Teacher Schools (Muallim Mektepleri)* in 1931 (Üstel, 2014, p. 131). The aims of the *Yurt Bilgisi* courses were educating children about the ethnics, law and economy related to their everyday life in society; teaching them the sense of solidarity with the state, nation and family; inculcating them their rights and responsibilities as citizens; infusing them the love of homeland and nation; instilling them the courage and self-reliance about the Turk’s economic and civil power and capability; and teaching them state organization and the functioning of the government (Üstel, 2014, p. 132-133). According to the Ministry of Education of the period (Mustafa Necati Uğural):

Yurt Bilgisi course has a great role in primary education. Because this course almost constitutes a central position and understanding for other courses. The primary purpose of primary education is to raise citizens and to adapt young people to their homeland and nation. *Yurt Bilgisi* is a course that directly addresses this purpose; therefore, it is a center and pivot of all the other courses. (as cited in Sel & Sözer, 2018)⁶¹

The centrality of citizenship education to raise the citizens consonant to the national aims was emphasized by the education minister of the period. Üstel (2014) asserts

⁵⁹ ...öğretmenler “*irfan (kültür) ordusuna mensuptur.*” İrfan ordusunun görevi “*milletin istikbalini yoğurmaktır.*”

⁶⁰ *Malumat-ı Vataniye* and *Yurt Bilgisi* have the same meaning as it was highlighted previously; that is why it sounds the same in English. However, etymologically, the terms in the former one were Arabic, while the words in the latter were Turkish (please check <https://www.nisanyansozluk.com/> to see the etymology of the terms). ‘New’ nation, new words, new alphabets; this is a good example to show that the transformation from Ottomanism to Turkish nationalism manifests in all areas of social life.

⁶¹ “*Yurt bilgisi dersinin ilk tedrisatta vazifesi pek büyüktür. Çünkü bu ders, diğer dersler için adeta bir telakki ve temerküz sahası teşkil eder. İlk tahsilin birinci maksadı vatandaş yetiştirmek, gençleri mensup oldukları vatan ve millete intibak ettirmektir. Yurt Bilgisi ise bu gayeyi doğrudan doğruya istihdaf eden bir derstir; bu itibarla diğer derslerin hepsinin bir merkez ve mihveri mahiyetindedir.*”

that there was a difference between *Malumat-ı Vataniye* and *Yurt Bilgisi* courses regarding the citizenship understanding. In the former one, citizens were defined as the members of a big family, while in the latter, there was a state-based approach. That means in the latter one, the citizenship concept was institutionalized compared to the former. On the other hand, there was not a concrete definition of *Turkish nation* or *Turkish citizenship* in the civic textbooks that published before 1929 (İnce, 2012). During the 1930s, the educational targets regarding constructing the nation and the citizens were more concrete and the interventions and developments gathered speed. Üstel (2014) shared the statements of the Minister of Education of the period (Esat Sagay) to show this decisiveness:

The Turkish school is obliged to make every Turkish child turned into a Turkish citizen who has fully grasped the psychology and ideology of the regime of the Republic, and who is most beneficial to the Turkish nation and the Republic of Turkey. (as cited in Üstel, p. 136-37)⁶²

c) Changing Content of Yurt Bilgisi. Starting from 1929-1930, a new period begun, and in relation to that transformation the content of the *Yurt Bilgisi* curriculum and textbooks were revised through a more nationalist understanding. *Raising the true/authentic Turkish patriots* was strongly highlighted as the essential target of the citizenship education (Üstel, 2014, p. 137). One of the most crucial developments of the post 1929-1930 period was the civic education textbook titled *Vatandaş için Medeni Bilgiler (Civic Information for the Citizen)* that written by Afet İnan (Atatürk's adopted daughter) through the dictation of Atatürk in 1931 (Çayır & Gürkaynak, 2007; İnce, 2012). Üstel (2014) describes this textbook as *the cult text of the official citizenship*. The meaning of citizenship and the nation can be comprehended from the content of this textbook. The nation was defined as a political and social community that shaped by the citizens who bound each other with the unity of language, culture and ideal; and people that established the Turkish Republic were defined as the Turkish nation (as cited in İnce, 2012). Both İnce (2012) and Üstel (2014) stress that the strong emphasis on *one culture, one ideal*

⁶² “*Türk mektebi, eline teslim edilmiş her Türk çocuğunu, Cumhuriyet’in rejiminin psikolojisi ve ideolojisini tamamıyla kavramış, Türk milleti ve Türkiye cumhuriyeti için azami derecede faydalı bir Türk vatandaşı haline getirmeye mecburdur* (Maarif Vekili Esat Sagay)”.

and *one language* is quite observable in the *Vatandaş için Medeni Bilgiler* textbook. Although the definition of the nation seems to be inclusive at first glance, the constant references to the roots of Turks reveal the organic nation understanding that getting stronger in time (İnce, 2012; Üstel, 2014). For instance, as İnce shares a statement from the textbook which, according to İnce (2012), refers to a citizenship definition that consonant with an organic nation understanding:

These are the historical and natural facts regarding the basis of the Turkish nation: a) political unity; b) linguistic unity; c) territorial unity; d) racial unity; e) shared history; f) shared morality. [İnan (1931) as cited in İnce, 2012)]

In the same textbook, it was claimed that the Turkish nation is the biggest, oldest, and cleanest nation of the world; and there is no language in the world which is richer, comprehensible and more beautiful than the Turkish language (İnce, 2012)⁶³. These thoughts were in accord with the ideological practices that carried out in the 1930s such as *Turkish History Thesis*⁶⁴ and *Sun Language Theory*⁶⁵ by which it was aimed to separate the history of Turks from the Ottoman history, and creating a strong Turkish national identity to prove the long-standing existence of Turks in Anatolia (Copeaux, 2016, p. 51). Besides, in the textbook of *Vatandaş için Medeni Bilgiler*, the ethnically non-Turkish Muslim citizens' (Kurdish, Circassian, Laz, Bosnian) ethnic identity were not recognized separately from the Turkish identity, history, or ethics (İnce, 2012).

In 1936, the national curriculum was revised the second time, and nationalization, again but stronger, became the carrier of the educational philosophy (Üstel, 2014). By emphasizing the national culture, national goals, national ideals, national morality, and by aiming to raise citizens who internalize all these, *the nation*

⁶³ As İnce (2012) clearly exemplifies and presents, not only in Afet İnan's civic textbook, but also in other civic textbooks written in the Single Party Period, an ethnic emphasis was made while defining the Turkish nation, and the characteristics of Turkish nation was exaggerated. This can be interpreted as the outcomes of a nation-building process, since meanwhile a definition of 'Others' also constructed to strengthen the national identity.

⁶⁴ Turkish History Thesis claims that Turks' native land was Central Asia, and Turks civilized the world through the migrations they made from Central Asia to all over the World. Thus, by Turkish History Thesis, the history of Turkish nation was grounded on the ancient history of Turks in Central Asia (Aydın, 2010; Copeaux, 2016).

⁶⁵ By Sun Language Theory, it was claimed that all languages were derived from Turkish (Aydın, 2010; Copeaux, 2016).

was tried to be homogenized to become *a nation*. Üstel defines this program as the one that the Turkishness emphasis became prominent, and the meaning of citizenship exceeded the limits of a political and legal citizenship.

Yurt Bilgisi continued to be taught to children when the third curriculum revision was made throughout the Single-Party Period. As Sel and Sözer (2017) indicated, there were thirty-two different books written to be utilized in *Yurt Bilgisi* courses. These textbooks mainly covered the content about the nation, the state, the Republic, democracy, taxes, military and military service (Üstel, 2014).

The general aim was to raise secular, modern, patriotic, and loyal citizens who dedicated themselves to the practice of Atatürk's principles -which are Republicanism, Populism, Secularism, Reformism, Nationalism, Statism-. On the other hand, among Atatürk's principles, *Nationalism* has been emphasized more than the other principles (Parlak, 2005). Thus, national consciousness, loving the flag, homeland, state, and the nation, struggling for national unity, and sacrificing oneself for the sake of the country were some of the essential and common themes of the textbooks. Further, being a 'good citizen' by obeying the rules and fulfilling the responsibilities towards the homeland and the nation were reminded and inculcated more than citizenship rights (Arslan, 2014; Caymaz, 2007; Çayır & Gürkaynak, 2007; İnce, 2012; Sel & Sözer, 2018; Üstel, 2014). According to İnce (2012), Keyman and Kancı (2011), and Üstel (2014), a citizenship perspective that based on Turkishness became more prominent especially after 1930 as a part of the nation-building process since, in nation-states, the national identity is constructed on the 'we / others' distinction.

As claimed, while 'we' attributed to the Turks, Turkish history, Turkish culture, Turkish morality, there was a list of 'others'; besides, sometimes these 'others' were also presented as threats to the homeland, nation or the Republic (Arslan, 2014; Parlak, 2005; Üstel, 2014). The ones who still support the Ottomans and the Sultanate were seen as the internal 'others' (Parlak, 2005; Sel & Sözer, 2018; Üstel, 2014). The non-Muslim citizens were not included in the 'we' definition starting from the Proclamation of the Republic since religious identity (being Muslim, even Sunni-Muslim) was reconstructed as an essential part of national identity (İnce, 2012; Üstel, 2014; İbrahimoğlu, 2014); and as claimed, they were

aimed to be melted in a Turkish population (Caymaz, 2007; Çapar, 2006; Çayır & Gürkaynak, 2007; İnce, 2012; Üstel, 2014).

The first thirty years of the Republic was quite a ‘painful’ period as after the War of Independence, it was time to create the nation; yet the multi-ethnic, multi-religious and multicultural structure of the society was challenging to construct a nation-state. On the other hand, it was quite a dynamic period that can be characterized with the ‘cultural revolution’ in terms of education (Çapar, 2006). Many scholars claim that extolling the Turkish nation and Turkishness indicates the essentialist understanding of the textbooks written in the Single-Party period. Essentialism denotes to a nationalist perspective that attributes to all ‘good’ characteristics to the nation as constant (Bağlı & Esen, 2003; Bora, 1997; Çapar, 2006; Çayır, 2016). The Turkish nation was defined through an essentialist understanding regarding civilization, race, military, and being strong in the citizenship textbooks of the Single-Party Period (Parlak, 2005).

In 1946, there was a transition from a single-party to a multi-party regime. Yet, until 1960, there was not a distinct transformation in citizenship education. *Yurt Bilgisi* continued to be taught till 1968 however with slight changes after the year 1950 when Democratic Party took over the government. From 1946 to 1960, the policies of the Single-Party Period regarding citizenship education were mainly kept and the aim and content of the citizenship education did not change. The conventional (responsibility-based) citizenship understanding was still prominent and the content was still including the responsibilities of the citizens (paying taxes, doing military service, obeying rules, voting), the definition of the Turkish nation, the insiders and outsiders regarding the national identity, the emphasis on Turkishness, the essentialist understanding about nation and national identity (İnce, 2012).

On the other hand, there were some changes in the citizenship understanding that was reflected to the educational policies. First of all, there was more content on democracy such as democracy at school, democracy in family (Caymaz, 2007); and the books started to explain the meaning of democracy, the importance of establishing foundations for the sake of democracy and the role of political parties to sustain democracy (İnce, 2012). Yet, this was not a radical change as it was

declared during that time. Even, in one of the textbooks, it was strongly underlined that the foundations that were intended to be established must not conflict with the interests of the community. Therefore, *democracy* was bound to certain conditions by some textbook writers (İnce, 2012). Besides, even though a human rights and democracy content was added to the textbooks, a ‘warning’ still be sensed regarding limiting the rights in case of extraordinary situations to protect the national unity (Caymaz, 2007; İnce, 2012; Sen, 2017).

Secondly, the influence of religion was started to be sensed more in the educational decisions. This was, first of all, due to the being protected the nation and the country against the influences of communism that ‘became a threat’ through the strong impact of American discourse. Therefore, in order to prevent political polarization because of the Cold War between the USA and Russia, by using religion as a political instrument and a social glue, the Turkish youth were promoted to recall their religious identity (Gençkal-Eroler, 2019; Kaplan, 2013; Sen, 2017). The other reason of promoting religion through education was due to the increasing impact of silent religious majority; the political parties tried to consolidate their voters by polishing the religious codes of national identity (Arslan, 2014; Gençkal-Eroler, 2019; Sen, 2017). Other than these changes, the order of the country was not disturbed with regards to the targets of citizenship education between 1946 and 1960 (Caymaz, 2007).

In 1960, there was a *military intervention* or from another perspective a *revolution*. A new constitution was established which has been defined as the most libertarian constitution of the Republican history (Üstel, 2014). This again affected the content of citizenship education. In 1961, the content of the citizenship curriculum revised through the newly established constitution and its’ citizenship understanding. In relation to this, the content about citizenship rights and the duties of the state towards its citizens were attached more importance compare to the previous curriculum and textbooks (Çayır & Gürkaynak, 2007; İnce, 2012). On the other hand, the understanding about the Turkish national identity, the ‘insiders/outsideers’ or ‘we/others’ discourses regarding the Turkish nation, the emphasis on Turkishness, the fundamental place of Atatürk’s principles for the state

and the nation, or the expectations (roles and responsibilities) from Turkish citizens remained stable (İbrahimoglu, 2014; İnce, 2012; Üstel, 2014).

d) Changing Understanding Towards the Concept of Citizenship: Citizenship Content Integrated into Social Sciences Curriculum. In 1962, a process that purposed to develop a new national curriculum was started and a draft curriculum was developed. After long-term preparation and piloting process, in 1968, the new national curriculum was put into practice started from 1968-1969 academic year (Arslan, 2014). Through these changes, citizenship education was integrated into *Social Studies* curriculum (Arslan, 2014). Related to this change in the policy, the textbooks were decided to be transformed through the decision given in 1969 (Üstel, 2014). First time, concepts such as active citizenship and critical thinking were encouraged while raising citizens of the Turkish Republic (Arslan, 2014). Participative citizenship was promoted to raise participative citizens, who do more than voting, doing military service and paying taxes, and have the knowledge and skills to think on social problems and act for solving these problems constructively (Üstel, 2014). As both İnce (2012) and Üstel (2014) emphasize, these positive developments towards active citizenship was motivated by the Council of Europe's '*General and Technical Education Report*' that published in 1969. This report had concrete suggestions about the teaching methods of citizenship education in schools.

Besides these, there is an important point that needs to be highlighted about the 1968 curriculum; in the Republican history, it was the first time that the pluralistic structure of the society was regarded by indicating the social, political and economic differences (Gürses, 2011; Üstel, 2014). However, as stated, these differences must be dissolved in line with the common views, feelings, living conditions and ideals embodied in the Constitution of the Republic of Turkey (Üstel, 2014, p. 263).

This process lasted quite short and ended in 1971 by the influence of military intervention (the 1971 memorandum). Initiatives towards democracy and democratic citizenship were interrupted by the revisions in the curriculum; and upholding the Turkish nationalism got a central position among the targets of the citizenship education (Çayır & Gürkaynak, 2007). Duties were emphasized more

than rights, again; and even in one of the textbooks, the writers defined rights as *desirable in exchange for fulfilling civic duties* (İnce, 2012, p. 124).

e) Citizenship, again, Became a Separate Course: Vatandaşlık Bilgisi. In 1980, Turkey experienced another military intervention, the 1980 coup d'état; and we still sense its' influences in today's citizenship education. After the coup d'état, the citizenship education, again, got a separate place in the national curriculum. The *Social Studies* curriculum of middle schools was splatted up into three courses namely *National History*, *National Geography* and *Knowledge of Citizenship* (Vatandaşlık Bilgisi) in 1985. History and geography courses' national character were strengthened, while citizenship's religious character was polished more than ever (Kaplan, 2013). In the curriculum of *Knowledge of Citizenship*, the emphasized and targeted characteristics of the Turkish citizen were obeying the rules, being responsible, having national consciousness, working hard for the sake of the homeland, comprehending the importance of the Republic, being ready to protect the country, being self-sacrificing, respecting the state authority, being loyal to Atatürk's principles, and being democratic (Üstel, 2014, p. 279-280). Even democracy and being democratic was defined over only responsibilities, the students were passivized and the nation became 'the subject' again. Besides, as Üstel remarks, democracy in school was explained as participating the *student clubs* (*eğitici kol*) as a continuing theme that added after the transition of multi-party system.

The 1980 coup d'état has been massive effects regarding the content of Turkish national identity. Actually, the discourses on the insiders and outsiders of the Turkish nation and the borders of the Turkish national identity was not altered so much. As can be seen through the above discussion, there was a continuity regarding ethnic and religious references of Turkish national identity since the proclamation of the Republic. However, in the citizenship textbooks of the post-1980, borders of the Turkish national identity were strictly redrawn and the 'others' were marginalized more strongly; and through the 'threat' discourse, they were reconsidered as enemies that 'we' need to struggle against protecting the country (Üstel, 2014). Discourses of 'protecting the nation against enemies who want to divide the country' and 'fighting against the enemies who are after the Turkish

lands' were reconstructed, while the internal enemies 'who also seek to divide the country and the nation along lines of the religious sect, class and race' were created discursively (Keyman & Kancı, 2011; İnce, 2012). Therefore, the ethnic and religious minorities who were mostly ignored previously started to be introduced as threats against the indivisible unity of the country (Çapar, 2006). The content of "us" was restricted while the content of "others or enemies" was expanded. The citizens of the Republic, after the coup d'état, had many internal enemies additional to external ones (Keser, Akar & Yıldırım, 2011; İnce, 2012; Üstel, 2014).

Nationalism was named as Atatürk's nationalism, and by drawing Atatürk to religion it was aimed to build a Turkish-Islam synthesis which, afterwards, became a constant component of the Turkish national identity (Copeaux, 2016)⁶⁶. Thus, the 'others, threats, enemies' discourses were reproduced rather than plurality; responsibilities and abiding by the state authority were requested rather than being conscious about rights (Arslan, 2014). A unity in language, race, religion, history and culture was reproduced, this time more strictly (İnce, 2012). Therefore, rather than raising critical, active, conscious, democratic and participative citizens; a nationalist, obedient and religious citizen-type were envisaged for the future of the Turkish Republic (Caymaz, 2007; İnce, 2012).

f) The Effect of Neoliberal Policies on Citizenship Education. Beginning from the second quarter of the 1980s, neoliberal policies and open market economy were gained speed. The integration of global economy increased relations with European countries and several educational reforms were carried out as a part of the efforts to join the EU (Çayır & Gürkaynak, 2007). In 1994, the EU confirmed to open the negotiations about Turkey's candidacy, if the Copenhagen Criteria, that set conditions about achieving the stability in institutions guaranteeing democracy, the

⁶⁶ Copeaux (2016) in his seminal work '*From Turkish History Thesis to Turkish-Islam Synthesis (Türk Tarih Tezinden Türk-İslam Sentezine)*' clearly shows that how Kemalism and Islam were approached together by using Atatürk's statements on Islam (Sunni-Islam), using Atatürk as a symbol even more than it had used during Single-Party period and re-strengthening the ethno-centered content of Turkish citizenship that built during the Single-Party period. In other terms, both Atatürk and Islam were instrumentalized to reconstruct Turkish national identity by strict ethnic and religious bonds. To do this, Turks' ancient religious believes were reproduced by approaching them to Sunni-Islam.

rule of law, human rights, and the respect for protection of minorities, were followed. This development towards EU supported essential revisions in citizenship education. Following that, MoNE changed the name of the *Knowledge of Citizenship* course to *Citizenship and Human Rights Education* in harmony with the declaration of United Nations for ‘Decade for Human Rights Education’ of 1995. After that, ‘human rights’, ‘peace’ and ‘democracy education’ topics were added to the citizenship education curriculum of 8th grades. The existence of ‘human rights’, ‘peace’ and ‘democracy’ themes in citizenship education was considered as serious developments in the history of citizenship education (Keser, Akar & Yıldırım, 2011; İnce, 2012).

At first, a brief revision was made in the existing textbooks through the draft Citizenship and Human Rights Education curriculum (Üstel, 2014). Later, the curriculum of 7th and 8th grade *Citizenship and Human Rights Education* were developed to be implemented beginning from 1998-1999 academic year. Meanwhile, the curriculum of *Democracy and Citizenship* course was developed to be implemented as an elective course for 10th grade beginning from 1999-2000 academic year (Human Rights Education Turkey program, 1999). Besides these developments in the field of education, in 1998, it was decided to organize in-service training on human rights to train the trainers and all employees in public institutions. In the same year, the National Committee of the Decade of Human Rights Education was established to implement the United Nations Human Rights Education Decade Action Plan in Turkey and to organize and develop human rights education in Turkey (Human Rights Education Turkey program, 1999).

On the other hand, according to several scholars, these reforms, since the mid-1990s, did not exactly reflect the reality (Çayır & Gürkaynak, 2007; Gök, 2003; Keyman & Kancı, 2011; İnce, 2012; Üstel, 2014). The inconsistency between the promises and the reality could be observed through a close analysis. For instance, according to Çayır and Gürkaynak (2007) universal themes that should be emphasized and taught through universal values *stand side by side with nationalist and authoritarian citizenship education* (p. 53). They further highlighted that the 8th grade “Citizenship and Human Rights Education” curriculum outlined four basic ways of carrying out citizenship responsibilities: voting, paying taxes, performing

military service and obeying laws; which showed no improvement about the citizenship understanding compare to the past years. Additionally, the post-1980 effect -discourses on ‘*the geopolitical significance of Turkey*’ and ‘*the dislike of a strong Turkey*’-, that created and emphasized external and internal threats and the security of the country more than ever, could be observed inside the objectives of the curriculum and content of the textbooks under the headlines of ‘national security’, ‘importance of Turkish armed forces’, ‘terrorism and spreading reasons of terrorism’, ‘anarchism’, ‘individuals’ roles to prevent terrorism’, ‘internal threats’, and ‘external threats’ (Çayır & Gürkaynak, 2007; Keyman & Kancı, 2011; Üstel, 2014). The thirty percent of the curriculum was about the National Security and the above highlighted themes (Şen, 2017; Üstel, 2014).

Democratic understanding needs a human rights perspective more than a state-centric understanding. Yet, the curriculum and textbooks still continued to define citizenship inside the limits of a strong state tradition, rather constructing a ‘new’ approach over active, participative and democratic citizenship. As Keyman and İçduygu (2005) remark, after the ‘reforms’, citizenship education still targeted to maintain the four basic elements of the state-centric operation of Turkish modernity in 2000s: Strong-state tradition, national developmentalism, the organic vision of society, and a republican notion of citizenship. In other terms, the ‘others’ continue to be the ‘others’, the uniform and ethno-centric understanding of the nation and citizenship that emphasizes the cultural unity is still the case, citizenship duties are still more prevalent than the rights, obedient citizenship is still envisaged rather than active citizenship and the state authority is still glorified (Bora, 2003; Çayır, 2003; Gök, 2003; Kancı, 2009)⁶⁷.

g) Citizenship Content, Once Again, Integrated into Social Studies Curriculum. In 2004, there was a comprehensive curriculum reform which was defined as ‘revolutionary’ and aimed to redesigning the national curriculum by a student-centered approach. The curriculum reform also consisted of the textbook changes and starting from basic primary school courses, all the primary level (Grade

⁶⁷ These studies are inside the Project report of Human Rights in Textbooks: Scanning Results (Ders Kitaplarında İnsan Hakları: Tarama Sonuçları) that published in 2003.

1-5) and lower-secondary level (Grade 6-8) textbooks renewed until 2008-2009 academic year (Çayır, 2009). Meanwhile, in 2005, the *Citizenship and Human Rights Education* was abolished by MoNE and the content was integrated into *Social Studies*. After this serious reform in the education system, many research studies were conducted and some were analyzed the citizenship understanding of the newly developed national curriculum and its textbooks. For instance, a comprehensive textbook analysis was made through a project⁶⁸ that implemented by the History Foundation, Turkish Academy of Sciences and Human Rights Foundation of Turkey. All of the textbooks published to be used in 2007-2008 academic year were analyzed and the results demonstrate that there were some positive improvements such as fewer discriminatory statements towards minorities and the references to internal or external threats were mostly removed compare to the previous textbooks (Çayır, 2015). However, the textbooks were still reproducing the essentialist and ethno-centric understanding of the nation (Tüzün, 2009).

Kancı (2009) also emphasizes the existence of positive improvements such as including citizenship rights more than before alongside with the duties, targeting to raise active students that search and participate the learning process more, less emphasis on ethnic elements rather focusing more on the humanity from a universal perspective. However, as she indicates *identity* and *differences* were only included through a limited approach by only mentioning about differences regarding physical traits, hobbies, feelings and thoughts. Or, about rights; yet, mostly consumer rights were mentioned. Further, although it was mostly decreased, there were still ethnic references to the Central Asia or Turkic States (as cognates).

h) Five Years Two Changes: From Integrated Content to Separate Courses. In 2011-2012 year, *Citizenship and Democracy Education* course was added as a separate subject to the curriculum of 8th grade as a part of Democratic Citizenship and Human Rights Education Project of the Council of Europe (Çayır, 2011). Yet, studies show that an ethno-centric and homogenous citizenship understanding was still the case and human rights were presented as abstract

⁶⁸ Gürel Tüzün edited the project -Human Rights in Textbooks: Scanning Results II (Ders Kitaplarında İnsan Hakları: Tarama Sonuçları II)- report that published in 2009.

concepts without linking them to the problems and challenges experienced in Turkey (Çayır, 2011, 2014⁶⁹).

In 2012, the educational system was shifted from 5+3+4 with 8-year compulsory education to 4+4+4 with 12-year compulsory education. As a product of a four-year (2011-2015) Council of Europe project -Democratic Citizenship and Human Rights Education Project” (DC/HRE)- 4th grade *Human Rights, Civics and Democracy* course was added to the curriculum substituted for the 8th grade *Citizenship and Democracy Education* curriculum. It is started to be implemented beginning from 2015-2016 academic year, and it is still actively in practice. Curriculum and textbook analysis show that the ethno-centric and uniform citizenship understanding is still prevalent, the ‘we/others’ distinction is reproduced, state-centered and duty-based understanding are prioritized compare to human and citizenship rights, and the nationalist understanding is still dominant (Human Rights Education Cooperation Network, 2015).

In this part, I tried to present and analyze the historical process of citizenship education in Turkey from the past to today in a nutshell. Reviewing the history revealed the continuities in terms of citizenship and citizenship education understanding. As claimed by Yeğen (2004) and Kadioğlu (2012), ‘Turkish citizenship’ can be defined over republican model and it refers a passive citizenship who needs to perform citizenship responsibilities. In terms of differences, ‘Turkish citizenship’ consists ethnic (Turkishness) and religious (Sunni-Muslim) bonds.

Although there are some developments or backlashes that influence the aim and content of citizenship education from the past to the present, there is also a continuity on the perspective towards citizenship education. Beginning from the 19th century, citizenship education has been used as a tool to unite the masses over a national identity. Through the conceptualizations of citizenship education literature, it can be claimed that citizenship education in Turkey aims of knowledge giving to give the necessary information about the government, roles, responsibilities and civic virtue. Further, it can be claimed that conventional citizenship is apparent to

⁶⁹ Kenan Çayır was the editor of the 3rd Project - that implemented by the History Foundation, Turkish Academy of Sciences and Human Rights Foundation of Turkey- report titled as Human Rights in Textbooks: Scanning Results III which was published in 2014.

raise citizens who are conscious about the country's history, compliant to social norms or democratic duties by voting in every election, following political issues, and respecting to political leaders or government representatives. Therefore, through the literature, minimal interpretations of citizenship education (McLaughlin, 1992) and a conventional citizenship education understanding (Schulz & Sibbern, 2004) can define the framework of the citizenship education in Turkey.

2.7.1. Research on Citizenship Education in the Turkish Context

In this part I will briefly summarize what has been discussed in the context of citizenship education through the graduate dissertations to review the conducted studies and discuss the gap in citizenship education literature. There are limited number of studies that aim to analyze citizenship education in terms of differences or diversity, in Turkey. Some of them directly analyzed the citizenship education understanding by considering the shifts from modernism to post-modernism in both intellectual and practical levels; while some of them evaluated the Human Rights, Citizenship and Democracy curriculum from diverse perspectives. In this section, I aim to comparatively present the dissertations related to citizenship education and differences. In addition, I share the dissertations that conducted to evaluate HRCD curriculum to understand the focus of the written thesis.

The theses about the post-modern debates on citizenship education are mostly written in the last 10 years. Yalnız (2012) and Şahin (2012) analyzed the policies of EU in terms of citizenship education. Yalnız (2012) summarized the effects of EU policies on the national policies of EU countries regarding citizenship education; yet, he did not include the process of Turkey. Şahin (2012), on the other hand, evaluated the aims and content of citizenship education of Turkey through the EU citizenship model. By analyzing the content of Social Sciences curriculum, she found that citizenship understanding of Turkey has evolved over the positive effect of EU policies and global citizenship debates in the international arena. Şahin (2012) claimed that the content including attitudes and values such as tolerance and empathy, which should be gained by students in cultural, economic, political and educational dimensions, were included in the textbooks. The textbooks are no more

reproduce the ‘threat’ discourse and other countries’ culture are introduced in. Patriotism that concretized by dying for the sake of the country is not taught, and a rights-based global citizenship understanding is quite distinct. Nevertheless, Şahin’s conclusions contradicts with the results of Human Rights in Textbooks II and III. The second project (Human Rights in Textbook II) was conducted in 2007-2008 academic year and 139 textbooks were reviewed through human rights criteria, while the third one was implemented in 2013-2014 academic year and 245 textbooks were analyzed. The results illuminated that ‘others’ continue to be the ‘others’, the uniform and ethno-centric understanding of the nation and citizenship that emphasizes the cultural unity is still the case, patriotism and dying for the sake of the country is still glorified, citizenship duties are still more prevalent than the rights, obedient citizenship is still envisaged rather than active citizenship and the state authority is still glorified (Çayır, 2014; Tüzün, 2009).

Other than European citizenship, diverse ‘post-modern’ citizenship perspectives have been debated in the citizenship education literature. For instance, global citizenship has been solely discussed through the citizenship education dimension of social studies courses. In his doctoral dissertation Çolak (2015) argued that global citizenship understanding is included in the curriculum of Life Sciences and Social Sciences. The findings of the thesis showed that, although not all dimensions of global citizenship were considered, respect to different cultures was the most included dimension. In addition to document analysis, Çolak (2015) also queried the opinions of teachers and students about the concept of global citizenship, and found that both teachers and students notice the cultural, ethnic, religious differences and they believe the necessity of being respectful. There are limited number of studies on global citizenship as graduate thesis. Göl (2013) analyzed the attitudes of social studies teacher candidates on global citizenship phenomenon; Uydaş (2014) focused on the secondary school students’ opinions on multiculturalism in the context of global citizenship; and Çelikten (2015) analyzed primary school teachers’ global citizenship levels and its relation to the values they want to teach. When I reviewed the thesis that written on global citizenship education, I realized that they mostly accept the existence of a global citizenship understanding in the national curriculum. They did not make a critical analysis.

While presenting the findings and discussing their arguments on the ‘respect or tolerance of cultural diversity and differences’ as one of the dimensions of global citizenship, they did not mention about the ethnic, religious, or any other diverse groups existence in Turkey. In the literature, global citizenship education is defined as a conceptual shift from nation-oriented citizenship to global-oriented citizenship by considering the facts in the wake of globalization and its challenges that affect all humanity. Therefore, there is a need to discuss global citizenship, before critically analyzing the citizenship understanding of the curriculum or the findings of the studies critically.

Sarioğlu (2013), on the other hand, examined the competences that a teacher should have in order to be a globally-oriented teacher, together with seven classroom teachers. In the first phase of the study, they discussed about the definition of globally-oriented teacher as a citizen, and concluded that s/he has to have relevant knowledge, skills, values and attitudes that foster a universal understanding. That means, a globally-oriented teacher needs to be a responsible citizen by struggling for social justice for everyone regardless of race, religion, social status or any kind of difference. In the second phase of the study, Sarioğlu developed a scale by analyzing the global competency areas in terms of the knowledge, skills, values and attitudes. Including teachers to the study through the Normative Delphi Technique and basing the definition to their opinions and the consensus made after discussions among participants is definitely an important contribution to the literature for examining the core of globally-oriented teacher as a citizen in the context of Turkey.

Multicultural citizenship or citizenship in multicultural societies is also one of the studied issues. Arslan (2014), for instance, aimed to examine the citizenship perceptions of both students and teachers in culturally diverse classrooms of Mardin. Arslan found that students’ perceptions and awareness on multicultural citizenship were high since they carry these competences as legacy due to living in a multicultural environment⁷⁰. He claimed through the teacher opinions that the curriculum is insufficient to teach multicultural citizenship and students with

⁷⁰ Mardin is quite a multicultural city with Yezidi, Christian and Muslim; as well as Assyrian, Kurdish, Arabic, Turkish and Aramaic population and with a rich culture and ancient history (Arslan, 2014).

different cultures feel an isolation from the curriculum. The majority of the participated teachers stated that they try to find alternative activities to overcome these deficiencies of the curriculum. Öztürk's (1998) and Esen's (2009) dissertation results manifested similar conclusions. Öztürk (1998) examined the textbooks of Early Republican period, while Esen (2009) interviewed with 15 teachers to analyze the strategies of teachers about dealing with differences in the absence of a multicultural education policy. Öztürk (1998) found and emphasized that differences in the society were ignored and made invisible during the Early Republican period. The 'different' cultures that were not in the majority culture were expected to comply with the majority culture. Although there have been decades from 1930-40s to 2009, and there have been several breaking points, and changes in the society and education policies, Esen (2009) also found that especially elder teachers are prone to ignore the differences and cultural diversity for the sake of the national security and as the prevention against separation. They believe the necessity of ignoring differences to protect national unity. Esen observed an anxiety in the statements of the participated teachers while talking about cultural differences or diversity. Further, the results of his study showed that teachers mostly have two tendencies towards the differences which are individualization of differences and reduction of differences to folk dances or foods. On the other hand, both Esen's dissertation showed the needs of teachers to improve themselves regarding teaching in culturally diverse classrooms.

From a different perspective, İbrahimoğlu (2014) studied the perceptions and opinions of 'other' citizens that are neither Turkish, nor Muslim, yet citizens of Turkey. He interviewed with 34 Armenian, Jew and Rum citizens, who are legally defined as minorities, about their opinions on citizenship education. The findings revealed that they are uncomfortable to be included through negative historical narratives in the textbooks or not being included at all. Although some participants indicated some events or times that they felt discriminated in the school, according to the conclusions of İbrahimoğlu (2014), they mostly did not report any extensive and systematic pressures and difficulties.

Bilge's (2019) dissertation findings to some extent approved the findings from İbrahimoğlu's (2014) dissertation. Bilge (2019) compared the curriculum and

textbooks of Turkey and Sweden in terms of the discourses on national minorities. The findings manifested the gap between the educational materials of two countries. While the minorities either ignored or presented as ‘inner threats’, and not included inside the definition of ‘us’ through an essentialist and uniform citizenship understanding in the textbooks of Turkey; in Sweden, the textbooks are written from a multicultural understanding and the minorities are not defined as ‘threats’ to the nation and the state.

From the textbook and curriculum perspective, there are several academic studies that analyzed textbooks and curricula to understand their perspectives regarding multiculturalism in the last two decades. In other terms, these studies aimed to examine the content of education materials in terms of their understanding on cultural diversity and differences, and mostly found a positive development as reviewed by Taş (2019). Taş also claimed an improvement in education regarding multicultural education phenomenon. Yet, these studies mainly lack of a critical perspective and they only analyzed either the curriculum or the curriculum and textbooks. What is happening in classrooms was left outside the discussion.

Besides these studies, I also reviewed the studies on primary level citizenship education and Human Rights, Citizenship and Democracy course to understand their focus and aims.

There are a few studies which specifically analyze the citizenship education in primary education from different perspectives. Göz (2010) analyzed the relationship between the knowledge level and values/behaviors/actions of classroom and social studies teachers related to the citizenship content. Findings revealed that teachers’ knowledge level on specific topics in citizenship education determine their actions related to that content; and in the end they internalize the knowledge as value. The participated teachers mainly valued the content on environment, global issues and production/consumption and economy; which means they were mostly knowledgeable about these topics and they cared about them more than other topics that related to citizenship education.

Güven (2010) also focused on citizenship education in primary level by examining teachers’ opinions on citizenship education understanding of the curriculum and analyzing students’ relevant citizenship competences that purposed

through the curriculum. Güven found that teachers define citizenship as awareness of roles and responsibilities, state consciousness, awareness of rights, and active participation. Teachers mainly indicated their positive opinions regarding the content of citizenship and claimed that thanks to the curriculum they raise students who are active, participative, critical, responsible, democratic, self-confident, respectful, tolerant, and problem-solver, as well as being conscious about their rights and responsibilities. On the other hand, the vast majority of them remarked that they use lecturing rather than using student-centered instructional methods or techniques while teaching the citizenship content. Besides, even they criticized, they stated that they still expect obedient students as they were expected to be obedient when they were students. Hence, the survey results showed that students could not gain the relevant knowledge and competences.

Besides these studies, there are several dissertations that written on HRCDC course, all in Master's level. I will not discuss all the findings in detail, both the aim and the results of these studies are not relevant to the aim of this research study. Yet, I think sharing the aim of these theses can deepen my arguments regarding the gap in citizenship education literature, especially in the field of Curriculum and Instruction.

Most of the written theses were analyzed teacher opinions (Akdeniz, 2018; Arslantürk, 2018; Ayan, 2018; Durdi, 2020; Hastürk, 2019; Purcu, 2019). Four of these studies were descriptive and designed in survey method and they were written in the field of Curriculum and Instruction, which means they evaluated the curriculum through teacher and expert opinions to analyze its objectives, content, instructional methods, and assessment understanding (Arslantürk, 2018; Ayan, 2018; Durdi, 2018; Purcu, 2019). Arslantürk (2018) evaluated the HRCDC curriculum in terms of its aims, content, and instructional and assessment methods through 4th grade teachers' ($n=155$) opinions by also comparing the participants' opinions regarding their sex, age, education level, and experience through a survey. Ayan (2018) also evaluated the HRCDC curriculum through CIPP (Context, Input, Process, Product) Model through 4th grade teachers ($n=109$) opinions. Durdi (2018), additionally, asked opinions of both primary ($n=91$) and social studies ($n=299$) teachers, and compare their understanding regarding the aim, content, and

instructional and assessment method of the curriculum. Finally, Purcu (2019) analyzed primary school teachers' ($n=205$) self-efficacy beliefs to teach the course as well as evaluating the HRCED curriculum through their opinions. Hastürk (2019) conducted a qualitative case study to analyze the appropriateness of adding HRCED course to the curriculum of primary education, by taking opinions of social studies teachers ($n=26$) and academicians ($n=14$). Finally, Akdeniz (2018) utilized mixed methods research to take the opinions of primary school teachers on the HRCED curriculum by both conducting a survey to and interviewing with the participants.

In addition, there are some studies that experimentally used some instructional understandings, methods or techniques, such as creative drama, digital fictionalization, or critical pedagogy, to teach HRCED content (Alataş, 2019; Efe, 2017; Mangal, 2020).

As it is briefly summarized, there are some points that needs to be considered while conducting studies on citizenship education. First of all, the issue of 'differences' or 'cultural diversity' has been discussed by a limited number of studies. Therefore, I believe that more perspectives and discussions are needed to enrich the academic field in order to discuss practical suggestions to overcome diversity and difference based conflicts in the society. Even these issues were debated, I realized that the studies were lack of a critical perspective by discussing the changes in the international arena but not considering the processes, facts or issues in Turkey. In general, when the conducted studies on citizenship education regarding differences or diversity is examined, it is possible to observe the uncritical manner or superficial understanding. This manner can have two reasons: one of this could be the internalization of the "truth" through the voice of majority and secondly these issues generally regarded as "delicate" which should not be voiced or mentioned. For instance, in many of the articles written on multicultural education in Turkey, the names of ethnic minorities are not mentioned (Çayır, 2016); or multicultural education is discussed as giving some superficial rights to the 'minorities', not from a critical, egalitarian and emancipatory perspective. Quite relatedly, these studies tended to accept some superficial changes in the curriculum as strong and constant improvements in the philosophy and understanding of the national curriculum. In other words, only analyzing curricula and textbooks cannot

provide the general picture; what is happening in the classrooms, what school members experience are quite an essential part of the curriculum research. Besides, the studies on citizenship education has been conducted mostly in the field of Social Sciences or Classroom Teaching. Studies in the field of Curriculum and Instruction is needed.

From this perspective, this study is an attempt to envisage the 'curriculum' as multidimensional rather than a text; it is an attempt to analyze citizenship education curriculum in terms of differences and diversity from the context of curriculum research; moreover, this study is a critical attempt that promotes a critical and open perspective about discussing citizenship regarding differences and diversity through scientific lenses. Now, the methodology of research is explained to ground the research process on a scientific basis.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

The chapter includes an overview of the research methodology. I first present the theoretical perspective behind the research design, then elaborate on the design. Following this, data collection procedures, data collection tools, and participants' profiles are explained explicitly. After elaborating on data analysis, I discuss how the trustworthiness of the study is provided, and indicate the steps taken and decisions given. Finally, the limitations are shared to present a holistic and coherent framework of the research process.

3.1. Theoretical Perspective

The research design process begins with the decisions that the inquirer makes and is guided by three philosophical assumptions -ontological, epistemological, and methodological- while conducting a research (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). Researcher's philosophical position about the nature of the reality (ontology) and the distance s/he determines between her/his and research participants -the nature of knowledge (epistemology)- specify the methods used in the research (Creswell, 2007). In other words, a qualitative researcher shapes her/his research by choosing inquiry *paradigms* or *worldviews* which comprises a "*set of beliefs that guide action*" (Guba, 1990, p. 17). Although there are diverse classifications about inquiry paradigms, I mention three distinct paradigms that are identified by Carr and Kemmis (as cited in Merriam & Tisdell, 2016): positivist, interpretive and critical.

Positivist paradigm claims a stable and measurable 'reality out there'; while, interpretive paradigm is the most common in qualitative inquiry and based its assumptions on the socially constructed multiple realities (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). On the other hand, critical research transcends revealing multiple realities; it

considers inequalities, injustices in the society; but the key perspective is not only uncovering the issues, it requires an awareness of addressing inequalities by creating a space for the least advantaged groups in society (Denzin, 2017).

I based my approach as a researcher and the philosophy of the study in general to critical qualitative inquiry. To be more precise, I expand on what I mean by basing my research to critical paradigm in the proceeding paragraphs.

Critical research struggles for social justice and attempts to create conditions for empowerment. Critical researchers announce their standpoint to struggle the oppression and the hegemony to overcome the injustices for a better world (Kincheloe, McLaren, Steinberg & Monzo, 2017). Accordingly, my decisions regarding the following issues about the research process were affected from critical paradigm:

Primarily, critical researchers claim that in any society, there are certain groups whose culture, knowledge or beliefs are privileged and this cause oppression over marginalized groups (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2005). I, as a researcher, agree that education is political, and knowledge and discourses that constructed in the schools are reproduced through and affected by the power relations (Denzin, 2017; Kincheloe, McLaren, Steinberg & Monzo, 2017). Thus, the pre-assumption about centrality of power -which, eventually, influences knowledge production, teaching-learning experiences of individuals, curriculum development, the content of the textbooks- was at the center of this research study as the main philosophy (Kincheloe, 2003, p. 17).

Secondly, by also considering the first assumption, I consider and define both education and research as a transformation process, rather than one-way knowledge-giving, knowledge-gaining or data-taking. Freire's understanding about research affected my position towards the participants and the data gathered in general. Freire (2014) considers the participants of a research process as partners, he respects a research process by involving people inside and encouraging them to begin thinking on their thinking; but not only the participants criticize, recognize and learn; the researcher also transforms in time. That status attributed to the participants was one of the notions that directed the approach and philosophy of the

study. The participants were regarded not as a “sample” or “subjects” of data collection process, they were active ‘meaning-makers’.

Thirdly, many qualitative researchers have been discussing the role of qualitative research and according to these scholars qualitative research is not just about “method” or “technique”, it is about making the world visible, and it should be an ethically responsible activist research (Canella, Salazar Perez & Pasque, 2015; Denzin & Giardina, 2010; Denzin, 2017; Kress, Malott & Porfilio, 2013). Regarding this critical perspective to qualitative research, critical scholars believe that research cannot be separated from politics and can be used for either *emancipation* or *oppression*, and they claim the role of qualitative inquiry as being transformative to challenge the social injustices and to make the world a better place to live in.

In addition to the ontological choices, there were other choices that construct the theoretical perspective of the research design. This study had a qualitative understanding as it aimed to understand, describe and challenge the phenomenon investigated -*citizenship understanding regarding diversity*- in its daily life context (Cooper & Finley, 2014; Denzin & Lincoln, 2018). Besides, it sought critical purposes such as reading the field from the voices of participants, and analyzing the echoes of official discourse in the field both to illuminate the reproduction processes and demonstrating the resistance. However, there are other motives to ground the research design within critical qualitative inquiry. According to Rossman and Rallis (2012), the ultimate purpose of qualitative research is learning. This statement has a dual meaning; qualitative research is a learning process as the researcher seeks answers to her/his questions in real world, besides, it is a learning process because the “*researcher is often transformed... as a learner*” (p. 5). Throughout the research process, I have learned continuously and the research design has evolved as my understanding has evolved. This brings another characteristic of qualitative inquiry, the data gathered is not free from the participants and the researchers, it cannot be ‘objective’; the knowledge is constructed through the experiences, feelings, opinions, perspectives and viewpoints of the participants who are ‘meaning makers’. As Butler-Kisber (2010) remarked qualitative researchers bring their beliefs even unarticulated ones to the research process. Thus, I agree that research is an

interaction, experience gaining, learning, and sometimes ‘unlearning’ process both for the participants and the researcher. This understanding shaped the research design from the beginning to the end.

Regarding the above mentioned points, I grounded my research on not only to qualitative inquiry and its assumptions, but also on critical theory; and combined my qualitative understanding with assumptions of critical research.

Before explaining the research design, the theoretical perspective is shared since Creswell (2007) claims that the researcher uses theoretical and interpretive frameworks to shape the study. Through the course of the study, several choices were made and so many decisions were given which shape the overall research design. Thus it would be more meaningful, and could provide more accurate basis to share the theoretical perspective. Now, I continue to elaborate on to the design of the study.

3.2 Research Design

The purpose of this study was to landscape discourses on diversity and citizenship in primary education, specifically in the context of 4th grade HRCD curriculum by analyzing the discourses on nation, national, citizen, culture, ethnicity, diversity, differences, gender, minorities, rights and responsibilities in order to explore its understanding about diversity. However, as explained in the introduction chapter, citizenship education exceeds the limits of one course on citizenship. “*Citizenship education is a broad concept*” (Eurydice, 2017, p. 19). Besides, according to the Eurydice report (2017) on citizenship education in Europe, Turkey is one of the countries where citizenship education is both integrated into other compulsory subjects and delivered as a separate subject (4th grade HRCD course). Thus, firstly, a broader perspective to citizenship education, which includes the aim and content of other subjects in the 4th grade curriculum, navigated the research design.

Besides, as it is explained while defining the essential terms in the study, citizenship education is considered as a broad concept that refers to a whole-school approach consisting of the structure of the teaching-learning process in classrooms, and ethos and actions of active citizenship, human rights and democracy into school governance and school culture. Therefore, the perceptions of school members,

namely teachers, managers, and counselors, and experiences of school members, including teachers, students, managers, and counselors, were analyzed to reach multidimensional data. Ultimately, the study was designed as a multilayered critical qualitative inquiry with embedded units.

These layers correspond to diverse data collection tools and methods including curriculum analysis, open-ended question forms, interviews, in-class observations and field notes of the researcher. Therefore, research design consists of several embedded units to analyze. Each layer is explained in detail in the following sub-sections. On the other hand, an illustration of the overall of the study design (Figure 3.1.) can be found below:

Multilayered Critical Qualitative Inquiry with Embedded Units

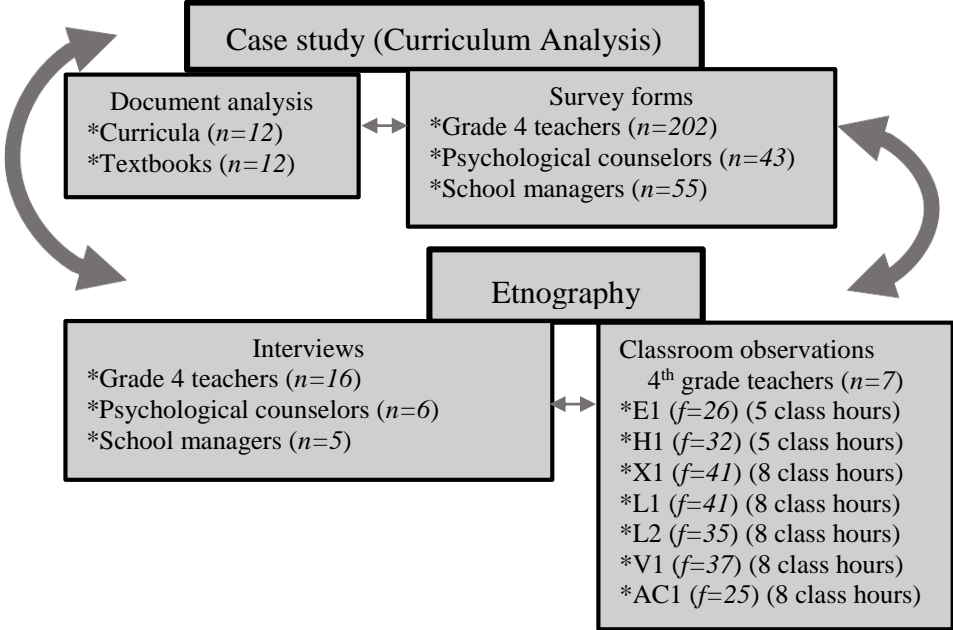


Figure 3.1. Overall research design.

As shown in the figure above, the study was initiated with curriculum analysis to analyze the official discourses on citizenship understanding regarding diversity through document analysis. Simultaneously, the second layer intended to reach a considerable amount of educators in order to analyze the field thoroughly and to be able to observe the “echoes” of official discourse in a larger area through a qualitatively constructed survey instrument. Following the second layer, the third

layer sought to illuminate the insights of the findings from the second layer by also considering its relation with official discourse. In other words, it was a curriculum evaluation study enriched among three layers; the steps below were carried out:

- 1- Curricula and textbooks of 4th grade were analyzed;
- 2- Survey forms were conducted to 4th grade elementary school teachers, school managers, and psychological counselors;
- 3- 4th grade elementary school teachers, school managers, and psychological counselors were interviewed, and in-class observations were conducted to gather in-depth data. Field notes were obtained regarding the hidden messages exhibited on the hall walls in schools visited. The below figure summarizes the methodology of each layer and their interactions with each other:

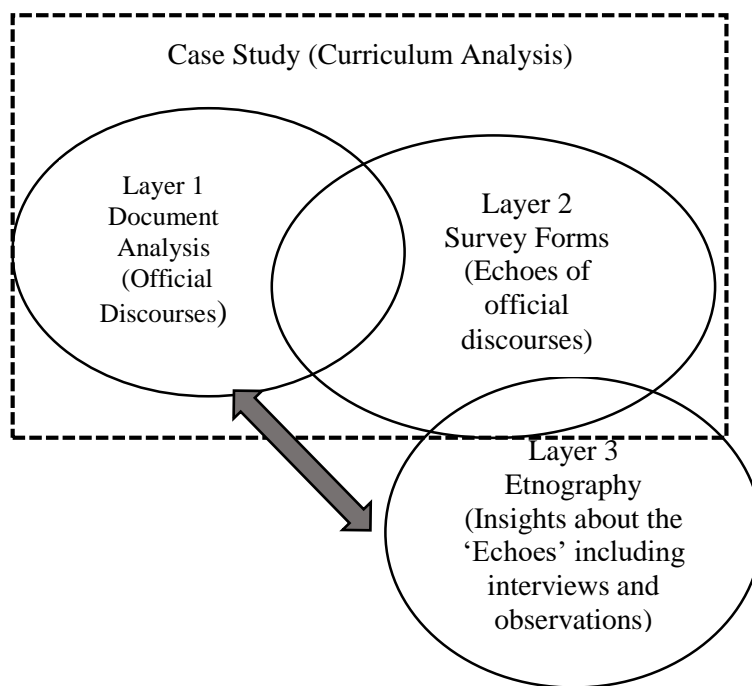


Figure 3.2. Research design specified each layer's methodology.

Now, in the following subtitles, each layer's preferences regarding the methodology briefly explicate.

a) Layer 1 and 2: Curriculum Analysis through Case Study Design. Case study has divergent definitions and the perspective of scholars change in terms of their epistemological understanding and differences on their viewpoints about research and research design. According to Stake (1995), the case is a *specific, complex and functioning thing* (Stake, 1995, p. 2). He confirms Louis Smith's definition of *bounded system* and sees the case as an *object* rather than a *process* (Stake, 1995). In other words, Stake does not see the case study research as a method; he claims that case is a choice of what is to be explored, analyzed or studied. Merriam and Tisdell (2016) also agrees with Stake and states that case study is *a choice of what is to be studied*, more than a methodological choice while Yin qualifies case study as a methodology or strategy of inquiry (Creswell, 2007). According to Yin (2018), case study is an empirical inquiry that targets to explore a contemporary phenomenon in its real-life context, when the focus is on the reasons; the researcher cannot manipulate the behavior of participants in the study; or boundaries are not clear between the phenomenon and the context, and the researcher wants to cover the contextual conditions.

I grounded my understanding and choices within the first and second layer over Stake's intrinsic case study approach. There are several reasons for adopting Stake's approach. Still, most importantly, I define the case, not as the method or process. The case is citizenship education in the primary school context by including document analysis and educators' perceptions. In the first two layers, mainly the understanding on citizenship and national identity were tried to be examined regarding diversity through curriculum analysis. The 4th grade curriculum was evaluated through the embedded units of the first two layers of this research study. The reason for evaluating the 4th grade curriculum was that it was the only compulsory citizenship education course⁷¹ within the national curriculum.

⁷¹ Human Rights, Civics and Democracy curriculum is one of the outcomes of the Democratic Citizenship and Human Rights Education (DC/HRE) project. DC/HRE is a EU and CoE joint project and conducted between 2011 and 2015 through the support of MoNE and Board of Education in 10 cities (Edirne, Elazığ, İstanbul, Konya, Manisa, Mardin, Sakarya, Mersin, Samsun, and Yozgat). As one of the outcomes of the project, the Human Rights, Civics and Democracy curriculum started to be implemented as a compulsory course and applied to the general curriculum of 4th grade as two-course hours in a week, from the beginning of 2015-2016 academic year.

The second reason of employing Stake's perspective was his preferences on epistemological tradition. Stake (1995) prefers and employs qualitative tradition epistemologically. He believes that "*knowledge is constructed not discovered*" (p. 99). He defines the case study researcher as an interpreter; this is a coherent viewpoint in terms of my views on the role of research, researcher and participants.

Thirdly, Stake is more flexible than Yin in terms of the research design which also related with their epistemological perspectives. Stake claims the impossibility of step-to-step pre-decisions and he claims that even major changes could be done after proceeding designing process to the research process (Yazan, 2015). In this study, major changes have happened since I have changed and my decisions have changed during the research process. In the further sub-titles, the methodological choices for the first and second layers are shared, respectively.

Layer 1: Analyzing the Official Discourses through Document Analysis.

Citizenship education exceeds the limits of one course on citizenship, and Turkey is one of the countries where citizenship education is both integrated into other compulsory subjects and delivered as a separate subject (Eurydice, 2017). Therefore, the aim and content of other subjects in the 4th grade curriculum were also included in the document analysis. Ultimately, the 4th grade curriculum was analyzed holistically to uncover the official discourses on citizenship in terms of diversity.

Textbooks provides a rich base to see how the citizenship and diversity concepts are constructed. Textbooks have an enormous role to shape the citizens of modern nation-states. They reflect the main ideas about the present and the future of a nation; thus their fundamental task is to create a collective memory (Pingel, 2010).

On the other hand, although, the objectivity of educational knowledge is claimed in modern nation-states, and although the neutrality of school knowledge and inclusion of minorities is presented as 21st century values and norms; according to Giroux (1988) school knowledge is the representation of hegemonic culture, and it is used as a tool to reproduce the 'privileged' culture, language, norms, or values. Thus, it cannot be neutral politically. In brief, critical approaches to education claim

its function for social control in terms of race, ethnicity, class, religion, gender, and others.

Apple (2004) argues the official knowledge reproduction through curriculum in his book *Ideology and Curriculum*. He does not only refer to curriculum as a text, he defined three dimensions to make the reproduction of hegemonic knowledge possible; (1) values, norms, dispositions, and routines of the schools namely the hidden curriculum, (2) the educational knowledge taught in the schools, and (3) the perspectives, practices and acts of the educator.

Therefore, according to critical approaches to education, values, needs, and interests of dominant classes are considered while “the others” are silenced (Aronowitz & Giroux, 2003). That is why, I started from the documents namely curriculum documents and textbooks to comprehend the official understanding and discourses on citizenship and diversity. However, I also aimed to observe both the institutional routines of the schools, and the perspectives of the teachers as I am aware that curriculum is more than a text, it is multi-dimensional (Apple, 2004). Curriculum is a *living organism* and a *complicated conversation* (Pinar, 2004), and through Apple’s (2004) words:

... we need to examine critically not just ‘how a student acquires more knowledge’, but ‘why and how particular aspects of the collective culture are presented in school as objective, factual knowledge.’ How, concretely, may official knowledge represent ideological configurations of the dominant interests in a society? How do schools legitimate these limited and partial standards of knowing as unquestioned truths? (Apple, 2004, p.12)

Layer II: Taking an Overall Perspective. The second layer of the study was designed by using the survey method, however it should be highlighted that a quantitative description was not the purpose. As it is explained previously, this study was methodologically qualitatively undertaken and had critical purposes. Thus, the survey questions were open-ended and aimed to obtain a general picture of the Adana sub-region in the context of primary school education regarding the participants’ thoughts and experiences related to diversity and citizenship education.

There were three aims of conducting survey forms in the research process. First, the Adana sub-region is quite large to conduct a qualitative study. Although, there was not any aim to generalize the results, the sub-region was chosen to reach an overall picture which later supported the data gathering process. The second

reason was reasonably related to the first one; survey forms were used to better identify the context, make observations, and select the schools with more diverse populations for further data gathering. And thirdly, starting the data collection process within a broader context and scaling down in each data collection layer provided me to check the trustworthiness of the data throughout the research process, as well as to perceive the details and the depths, and to interpret them from different dimensions.

According to Creswell and Creswell (2018), “*a survey design provides a quantitative description of trends, attitudes, and opinions of a population, or tests for associations among variables of a population, by studying a sample of that population*” (p. 207). The data gathered through the survey forms provided a description of the participants' trends, attitudes, and opinions. However, neither generalization nor only emphasizing the most cited opinions or attitudes were aspired. Instead, a ground for interviews and observations, and observing the reflections of official discourses from a broader group of participants were aimed. As a junior researcher seeking to learn and transform, I was aware that less frequent responses might be more critical and provide a more robust ground to elaborate on throughout the research process (Akar & Şen, 2017).

b) Layer III: Perceptions, Lived Experiences, and Interactions from the Field. Defining citizenship education from a broader perspective, by also considering the perceptions of teachers, managers and counselors towards citizenship-related concepts, and the lived experiences of students, teachers, managers and counselors in terms of diversity; the purpose of the third layer was to analyze the reflections of teachers, managers and counselors' perceptions into schools and classrooms in the context of citizenship education and diversity. Moreover, the influence of official discourses and the spaces that were enlarged to create counter-discourses were traced through an ethnographic understanding.

Through ethnographic research, the purpose is obtaining a holistic picture of the studied phenomenon through an emphasis on the everyday experiences of the participants by using interviews and observations as data collection methods (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). Therefore, a researcher, who utilized ethnography, spends time in the field where there are interactions, experiences, and perceptions

that can be caught and examined in the context of the studied phenomena (Madison, 2020).

In this mini-ethnographic⁷² layer of the study, the data was collected through semi-structured interviews, in-class observations, and my own field notes and experiences as the participant researcher. However, as the methodology and theory of this research was grounded on critical qualitative inquiry, this part of the study was grounded on critical ethnography. By building its assumptions on critical theory, critical ethnography aims to examine issues of power and oppression (Rossman & Rallis, 2012). Thus, the distinction of critical ethnography is related to ethical responsibility of researcher to uncover the injustices and inequalities in terms of a particular phenomenon within a particular context (Madison, 2020).

By defining curriculum as a ‘living organism’ through reconceptualists perspective, and by applying critical theory to curriculum research and envisaging curriculum as a multi-dimensional construct, in this study, curriculum was considered as multidimensional and rather than solely an official text (Apple, 2004; Pinar et al., 2002). From this perspective, the perceptions and lived experiences of teachers, managers, counselors, and students have a strong potential to manifest the interactions between each other and between themselves and other things (official discourse in the textbooks and the curriculum; norms, values and routines of the school as an institution). Therefore, interviews and observations were the main data collection methods of the layer three.

Semi-structured Interviews. Merriam thinks that interviewing is the most powerful data collecting technique in qualitative research, and Freeman claims that interviews provide a rich understanding of human nature and human experience (as cited in Roulston, 2014).

From a more detailed approach, Patton (2015) defines the aim of interviewing process in qualitative research:

⁷² In ethnographic studies, a long data collection process is needed to examine the studied phenomenon in its everyday context (Rossman & Rallis, 2012). However, the data of this layer was collected in three months. That is why, the methodology of this part is defined as mini-ethnography (Rossman & Rallis, 2012). On the other hand, data collection process of interviews and observations was quite intense, and continued till data saturated.

We interview people to find out from them those things we cannot directly observe... We cannot observe feelings, thoughts, and intentions. We cannot observe behaviors that took place at some previous point in time. We cannot observe situations that preclude the presence of an observer. We cannot observe how people have organized the world and the meanings they attach to what goes on in the world. We have to ask people questions about those things. (p. 416)

By constructing Patton's viewpoint, Merriam and Tisdell (2016) believe the necessity of interviewing in qualitative research to understand the perspective and interpretations of people about a phenomenon.

On the other hand, the way of conducting interviews in qualitative research is based on the research questions, the data needed and the aims of the researcher. Thus, some pre-decisions need to be made before the preparation of interview questions (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). According to Patton (2015) interviews can be categorized in three types: informal conversational interviews, the interview guide approach, and standardized open-ended interviews. Informal conversational interviews can be defined as unplanned and structureless, as they are happening as a part of an informal conversation and added inside the field notes of the researcher. The interview guide approach has a more structured and pre-prepared aim. The researcher identifies some topics and questions to ask in her/his mind, however s/he is also open to the related topics that participants bring. The standardized open-ended interviews are highly prefigured, there are fixed questions that are organized in a particular order.

Through Patton's approach on the types of interviews in qualitative research, I can define the types of conducted interviews as standardized open-ended interviews, as the questions were fixed and planned and asked in a pre-planned order to all participants. It was important to get answers from participants for pre-determined questions, and as the aim was to reach several teachers, counselors and managers in the context, it was more valuable and useful to determine some specific and organized questions.

On the other hand, it does not mean that only pre-prepared questions were asked during the interviews. Flexibility regarding the additional questions by considering the profile and foreknowledge about the school were also needed to be regarded to define the character of the conducted interviews. From this perspective, the interviews had also a semi-structured character, as the wordings were changed

or some additional questions were added sometimes by considering the context, problems, or the issues raised by the participants (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016).

School and Classroom Observations. Observations are one of the primary sources of data in qualitative research (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016); and “*they are fundamental to all qualitative inquiry*” as they provide to be in the setting and to explore the complexity of phenomenon by experiencing (Rossman & Rallis, 2012, p. 192). There are several reasons to benefit from observations in qualitative inquiry. If a researcher wants to understand the context and to see the tacit patterns firsthand, rather than totally relying on participants’ interpretations; and if s/he cannot discuss the phenomenon under study thoroughly and clearly because of the “sensitivity” of the topic, observation could be the best technique to use (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016; Rossman & Rallis, 2012).

Classroom observations could be identified as the most important data collection tools for the third layer of the study, as they provided me to see the context firsthand, and to observe students, teachers and their attitudes and behaviors, as well as the used discourses and narratives about cultural diversity, citizenship, human rights, and democracy. Moreover, the ‘sensitivity’ of the topic sometimes blocked the interview process as participants did not want to identify the cultural diversity in their schools or classrooms, or they did not want to clearly or thoroughly discuss the questions asked. Thus, doing in-class observations was an opportunity to gather data for conducting in-depth analysis.

3.2.1. Research Questions

The study has three layers which are interrelated to each other, and overall it is aimed to answer the research question as follows:

- 1- How are citizenship and human rights constructs presented in the 4th grade Human Rights, Civics and Democracy curriculum?
 - a) What are the constructed discourses on citizenship-related concepts, namely ‘national, nation, citizen, culture, ethnicity, diversity, gender, differences, rights and responsibilities’ in the official 4th grade curriculum?

- b) What are the constructed discourses on citizenship-related concepts, namely ‘national, nation, citizen, culture, ethnicity, diversity, gender, differences, rights and responsibilities’ in the textbooks of 4th grade?
- 2- How are the constructed discourses on citizenship and human rights reflected into their practices by school members in culturally diverse primary school settings in Adana sub-region?
- a) In what ways do the official discourses on citizenship-related concepts, namely ‘national, nation, citizen, culture, ethnicity, diversity, gender, differences, rights and responsibilities’ affect the discourses of teachers, counselors and managers working in culturally diverse primary school settings in Adana sub-region?
 - b) In what ways do the official discourses on citizenship-related concepts, namely ‘national, nation, citizen, culture, ethnicity, diversity, gender, differences, rights and responsibilities’ affect the lived experiences of students, teachers, counselors and managers from culturally diverse primary school settings in central Mersin?

3.2.2. The Context

The context needs to be clarified and explained in-depth in order to provide the basis for the decisions given regarding the region studied inside and to set the boundaries of the research.

There are 12 regions, 26 sub-regions and 81 cities in Turkey according to Nomenclature of Territorial Units for Statistics (NUTS). NUTS was decided to be organized in 2001 in accordance with the EU harmonization process; they were determined and started to be used as a new concept to define ‘regions’ in the country in 2002. Population, cultural structure and development level of cities were the criteria used to specify regions and sub-regions (Taş, 2006).

This study was conducted in Adana sub-region in the South of Turkey, which is one of the 26 sub-regions inside the classification system and includes two cities: Adana and Mersin. The most significant factor for selecting Adana sub-region was the diversity of the population.

Adana has a 2.2 million population (the 6th most populated city) while Mersin has a 1.8 million population (the 11th most populated city) in 2018 (TUIK, 2019). Both cities were inside the first ten migration-receiving cities among 81 cities (TUIK, 2018). Adana sub-region mainly receives immigrants from the East and Southeast of Turkey. For instance, in 2017, 26.000 people (40.5%) out of 65.000; in 2018, 27.000 people (44.6%) out of 60.000 people migrated to Adana and Mersin from the East and Southeast of the country (TUIK, 2019). Adana sub-region was received more people from Adıyaman, Diyarbakır, Gaziantep, Kahramanmaraş, Mardin and Şanlıurfa than the others; in other words, these are the cities that have a dense Kurdish population, and Adana sub-region mainly receives domestic migration from those cities.

Further, according to Ministry of Interior's statistics, Adana and Mersin are in the first six cities that receive the maximum number of immigrants from Syria. Adana allowed around 255.943 (11.4%) Syrian immigrants, while Mersin has 238.461 (12.96%).⁷³

Adana has a multicultural structure regarding the population for centuries. The city has been the home to Armenians, Arabs, Assyrians, Greeks, Jews, Kurds and Turks throughout the centuries (Aslan, 2015; Gümüş & Aslan, 2015; Keshishian, Löker & Polatel, 2018). However, the diversity of the city was changed during the early 20th century through the relocation of Armenians and the population exchange of Greek community. Some of the architecture from diverse cultures is still living in the city such as churches, schools, chapels, monasteries, orphanages (Keshishian, Löker & Polatel, 2018).

Some recent studies on Adana's demographics have claimed a population change in the city. The out-migration rates are as high as in-migration rates in recent years (TUIK, 2019). Rate of net immigration was -8.5% between 2017 and 2018 (TUIK, 2019). Especially people born in Adana prefer to migrate to other cities, while people from eastern and southeastern cities, or from Syria prefer to migrate to Adana (Aslan, 2015). According to Aslan (2015) Adana became a 'transition' city for immigrants, which changed the structure of the socio-economic status of the

⁷³ Retrieved on January 8, 2022, from <https://www.goc.gov.tr/gecici-koruma5638>.

population. However, it is still possible to claim a multicultural population structure with three broad communities living in the city: Arab-Alevists, Kurds and Turks (Aslan, 2015; Gümüş & Aslan, 2015); as well as the existence of Syrian immigrants increases the diversity of the population.

The structure of population and its change from past to present is similar for Mersin. From a more historical perspective, *Cilicia*, the name of the region that included Adana, Mersin, Hatay and Osmaniye, combines antecedences of Adana and Mersin, historically. The same region is known as *Çukurova* nowadays.

Mersin has been the home to diverse cultures, religions, ethnicities for centuries. During the late 19th century and early 20th century, Greeks, Cristian Arabs (*Maronites*), Jews, Turkmen Alevists (*Tahtacılar*) lived in the city and not only demographics but also the architecture of the city was diversified and flourished in these decades (Erim, 2016). It is still possible to see the rich history of the city from the historical buildings. Greeks were sent to Greece as a result of population exchange during the 1920s (Emgili, 2005). On the other hand, immigrants from Thessaloniki and Crete island continued to raise the diversity of population. In time, Christians had to leave the city, or some of them were assimilated. Nowadays it is not possible to feel the diversity of the culture, however Mersin is still a migration receiving city, especially from the south and southeastern part of the country (Erim, 2016), and as well as from Syria. Thus, Mersin can be still defined as a multicultural city with considerable numbers of Turk, Kurd and Arab (both local Arab community and Syrian immigrants) population.

All these statistics provides evidence about the diversity of the population in Adana sub-region regarding its culture. Diversity was one of the key concepts of this study to analyze the issue from a broader context by also considering the intersectionalities through the effects of migration, ethnicity, culture and class differences. However, for reaching in-migration and multicultural regions in both cities, only central districts were decided to be involved in.

There are 15 districts in Adana and 13 districts in Mersin (TUIK, 2018b). The population living in central districts of Adana is 1.77 million, while it is almost 1 million in Mersin (TUIK, 2018b). That means the majority of people is living in central districts; thus, only central districts of Adana ($n=5$) and Mersin ($n=4$) were

decided to be included in order to reach the in-migration regions. However, later, it was realized that one of the central districts in Adana (Karaisalı) has low population (22 thousand) and is quite far to the center. Besides, the population of the schools in Karaisalı is also quite low, they are performing as village schools. By considering the aim of the research, and to reach urban schools with diverse populations, Karaisalı was removed from the list of central districts to be visited. Eventually, eight central districts from Adana ($n=4$) and Mersin ($n=4$) were included in the study.

3.2.3. My Positionality as the Researcher

In qualitative research, the context refers more than the region that the study was conducted in. It also denotes the positionality of the researcher. Positionality is about the position that is adopted by the researcher throughout the research process. (Savin-Baden & Major, 2013). It has influences on research process and outcomes, as well as the problem that is chosen to be investigated (Holmes, 2020). In the introduction chapter, I already shared my position that I chose to adopt while determining the phenomenon investigated or my understanding towards the examined phenomenon. Now, I elaborate on my positionality in terms of research process and results, as well as mentioning some context-dependent factors they might have an impact on the collected data.

Positionality that I want to elaborate on in methodology includes the influence of my personal characteristics on the research. Does my gender, age, personal experiences, ideological stance, beliefs, biases, emotional responses affect the research process and eventually the outcomes are the main questions that I examine while specifying my positionality (Berger, 2013).

As a critical qualitative researcher, I defined myself as an insider who is transforming herself through the research process and learning, unlearning, understanding, realizing, or facing. That means throughout the research process I carefully self-monitor my self-knowledge, sensitivity, beliefs, personal experiences, or biases since I was a part of the research process as an insider, or sometimes as an instrument (Berger, 2013; Stake 2010).

First of all, I was an insider who lived in Mersin until leaving the city for educational purposes. Thus, I was very comfortable while visiting the schools, or talking with the participants, as I am used to the region's culture and knowledgeable about the region. Therefore, I could ask additional questions to elaborate, which I think, strengthened the data collection process, and enriched the collected data. I think my upbringing in Mersin positively influenced the participants' comfort and comfort since it was easier for them to explain what they meant since I have background knowledge. On the other hand, I did not reflect my personal opinions, or experiences, which may refer to an ideological or political stance, into any communication I had during the data collection process. Even during the very difficult conditions, such as observing the verbal violence of a teacher towards her ethnically-different students, I remained as I should be as a researcher. Although I am quite a sensitive person to any discriminative act or statement, I just make my observation and did not change my attitude towards the teacher.

I do not think my personal characteristics such as age or gender had an impact on the data collection process or the collected data. At least, I did not have any feeling or experience about the effects of my age or gender. On the other hand, my critical and theoretical stance as well as my being an insider as a citizen, woman, former student, and former counselor namely my personal experiences in the education system from different perspectives had the potential to be influential in the research process. Yet, being critical requires being critical towards yourself, especially while conducting scientific research. Thus, my most iterative attitude was checking my decisions, and interpretations continuously and consciously with a self-critical perspective.

Other than my positionality, an issue needs to be briefly mentioned about the context that have the potential to be an internal validity threat. I was planning to share and discuss the findings with some of the participants from Mersin, in this way participants' opinions would be added to analysis which would deepen and layered the findings. However, I could not include the participants to the data analysis process as I planned, due to the limited time, and unexpected circumstances which caused the schools closing and the long-acting home isolation process. This was also important in terms of the critical research theory that I grounded the design

of the study since research within the context of critical qualitative inquiry also has empowering purposes for all participants including the researcher. Yet, the context was not suitable in this regard.

As I emphasized before, this was also a transformation process for me. I realized my presupposition about teachers' lack of skills and knowledge to teach human rights, democracy, citizenship content or in culturally diverse classrooms and did not allow these presuppositions to affect the results and outcomes of the study. Actually, I became a critical researcher during the research process and my position as a researcher evolved from *expert* to *a learner, or a participant* since I realized the teachers who are knowledgeable and use creative methods while teaching the human rights, citizenship, and democracy content by considering the diversity of their classrooms. Being critical to my attitudes and beliefs ensured the existence of another dimension in the research which deepened the outcomes.

I had a reflexive approach from beginning to end which I think deepened and strengthened the outcomes. The reflexive approach is not about eliminating all social, political, historical factors that may affect the research process which is not possible; it is about the researcher's openness, flexibility, motivation, and effort, to acknowledge and disclose the potential influences of experiences, theoretical stance, ideological stance, beliefs, or biases (Berger, 2013; Holmes, 2020). As a critical researcher, I was willing and open to face the factors that might have an impact on the research process and outcomes. However, again, as a critical qualitative researcher I am aware that pure objectivity is not possible since my experiences are linked to the problem that I am studying on as I explained in the introduction.

3.3. Data Sources

Data sources of the study consisted of written sources -4th grade curricula and textbooks- and participants namely 4th grade teachers, psychological counselors, school managers, and students in the observed classrooms. Data sources are presented clearly in the following subheadings.

3.3.1. Documents

The data sources of the study include two different kinds of documents: 4th-grade official curriculum and 4th-grade textbooks. They were major sources of the first layer of the study and they were analyzed by the researcher. As they have diverse natures, curriculum documents and textbooks are explained in the following subtitles separately.

a) Curriculum Documents

The 4th-grade official curriculum was published by MoNE and available online at the official open-access website of MoNE (2018) which is <http://mufredat.meb.gov.tr/Programlar.aspx>. All currently used national curricula ($n=12$) were found from this database.

There are 12 courses within the 4th grade official curriculum. These are: Math's; Turkish Literature; Science; Social Studies; English; Religious Culture and Ethics; Visual Arts; Music; Information Technologies and Software; Physical Education and Play; Traffic Security; Human Rights, Civics and Democracy. All of them have a curriculum with specific goals, attainments, content, instruction approach and testing and evaluation approach. On the other hand, the official primary school curriculum has a philosophy, general goals and competences, instruction approach and testing and evaluation approach. Thus, the general philosophy, goals, instruction approach, and testing and evaluation approach of the national curriculum, and the specific parts of the programs of 4th grade were included in the analysis. The official 4th grade curriculum, with the 12 courses, is not included in one document. There are separate curriculum documents for all of the courses. Besides, all of the curriculum documents consist of all grade levels' programs from grade 1 to grade 4 or grade 1 to grade 8 for that specific course. The table (Table 3.1) below shows the details of the analyzed curriculum documents.

Table 3.1

Details about the analyzed curriculum documents

No	Curriculum	Grade levels	Total pages	Page number of 4 th grade syllabus	Year
1	English Curriculum	Grade 2-8	96	38-48	2018
2	Human Rights, Civics and Democracy Curriculum	Grade 4	15	-	2018
3	Information Technologies and Software Curriculum	Grade 1-4	15	11-15	2018
4	Math's Curriculum	Grade 1-8	76	45-50	2018
5	Music Curriculum	Grade 1-8	36	22-24	2018
6	Physical Education and Play Curriculum	Grade 1-4	25	23-25	2018
7	Religious Culture and Ethics Curriculum	Grade 4-8	40	16-20	2018
8	Science Curriculum	Grade 3-8	54	20-24	2018
9	Social Studies Curriculum	Grade 4-7	25	14-16	2018
10	Traffic Security Curriculum	Grade 4	13	-	2018
11	Turkish Literature Curriculum	Grade 1-8	63	31-35	2018
12	Visual Arts Curriculum	Grade 1-8	31	16-17	2018

To be more precise about the general (common) parts and specific parts of each curriculum document, the below table (Table 3.2) is prepared:

Table 3.2

The content of common and specific parts of curriculum documents

Common parts	Specific parts
- General philosophy of the curriculum	- Specific goals
- Goals of the curriculum	- Specific competences (if any)
- Key competences in the curriculum	- Specific values (if any)
- Values education in the curriculum	- Instruction approach
- Testing and evaluation approach of the curriculum	- Important issues for the application of the curriculum
- Personal development and the curriculum	- Testing and evaluation approach
- Conclusion	- Syllabuses of each grade level

The common parts were same for all of the curriculum documents, thus the general philosophy, goals, instruction and testing and evaluation approach were included as the general framework besides the specific parts and 4th grade syllabuses of all curriculum documents.

It is important to mention the key competences of the national curriculum which are commenced by the European Commission. The key competences address

the basic knowledge, skills and attitudes that every citizen is to be equipped during the formal education they get; which are communication in mother tongue, communication in foreign languages, literacy, basic skills in math and science, learning to learn, social and civic responsibility, initiative and entrepreneurship, and cultural awareness and creativity.

b) Textbooks

Textbooks, work books, and activity books are prepared through the instructions of the Ministry of National Education in Turkey. The textbooks are sometimes published directly by the Ministry or sometimes by private publishers. They are provided by the Ministry for free and they are compulsory textbooks to be used in classrooms. Besides sending the textbooks directly to the schools, the Ministry publishes them online on www.eba.gov.tr. The textbooks (n=12) were reached from the website of EBA (Education Information Network) which is a digital platform developed by MoNE to share the instructional materials with teachers, students and parents. All textbooks can be found and downloaded, however, you need to be a verified member such as a currently working teacher, or a student or parent. I could reach the textbooks with the support of a friend who is a primary school teacher.

There are 11 Textbooks and one Activity Book which is for Physical Education and Play course. On the other hand, for the 2018-2019 academic year, there was not any textbook for Visual Arts, and Information Technologies and Software courses, while there were two different textbook options for Science, and Religious Culture and Ethics courses. Both options for Science and Religious Culture and Ethics textbooks were included in the analysis because both options were being used in the visited schools. In the end, 11 Textbooks and one Activity Book (Physical Education and Play) -that were published for and used during the 2018-2019 academic year- were included in the analysis. The details about the textbooks are shared in the Table 3.

Table 3.3

List of analyzed textbooks

No	Textbooks	Writers	Page number	Publisher	Year
1	English Language Textbook	Akseki et al.	150	MoNE	2018
2	Human Rights, Civics and Democracy Textbook	Altay et al.	112	MoNE	2018
3	Math's Textbook	Özçelik	304	ATA	2018
4	Music Textbook	Çalışkan, et al.	111	MoNE	2018
5	Physical Education and Play Activity Book	İnce et al.	88	MoNE	2018
6	Religious Culture and Ethics Textbook	Yiğit et al.	134	MoNE	2018
7	Religious Culture and Ethics Textbook	Demirtaş	144	İLKE	2018
8	Science Textbook	Yaman et al.	288	MoNE	2018
9	Science Textbook	Çetin et al.	224	ATA	2018
10	Social Studies Textbook	Tüysüz	208	TUNA	2018
11	Traffic Security Textbook	Yurdusever et al.	80	S.E.K	2018
12	Turkish Literature Textbook	Kaftan Ayan et al.	265	MoNE	2019

3.3.2. Participants of Survey

In this section, the participants of the study are introduced in detail. As explained previously, the study includes a qualitative survey, semi-structured interviews, and in-class observations; as well as document analysis. Thus, in this section, the participants of the qualitative survey part are shared. The details about interviewees and finally the participants of in-class observations namely teachers and students are stated thoroughly in the next section. However, before presenting the participants, and giving detail about sampling procedures, the approach of sampling is explained briefly.

In qualitative studies as the researcher wants to be sure that included participants should be uniquely suited the intent of the study, random sampling ordinarily is not feasible and meaningful; thus, participants are included purposefully (Fraenkel, Wallen & Hyun, 2012). Purposive sampling is a powerful sampling approach for qualitative studies, as the researcher tries to find information-rich cases in order to study in depth (Patton, 2015). Purposive sampling was used throughout the research process to include school settings with cultural diversity.

a) Sampling Procedure

The number of schools in each central district in Mersin and Adana is shown through the Table 3.4 below:

Table 3.4

Number of schools in central districts of Adana sub-region

	Number of Schools	Total
Adana		
Seyhan	86	232
Yüreğir	75	
Sarıçam	44	
Çukurova	27	
Mersin		
Akdeniz	52	137
Toroslar	38	
Mezitli	24	
Yenişehir	23	
Total		369

There are 232 public elementary schools ($N=232$) in central districts of Adana and 137 public elementary schools ($N=137$) in central districts of Mersin. Half of the schools were chosen randomly to be able to get the necessary permission from Ministry of National Education and to ease the school selection process by using IBM SPSS 22.0. It does not affect to find information-rich cases, as all central districts in both cities have a multicultural structure regarding the population from many dimensions such as ethnicity, religious beliefs, socio-economic class, and others. The details in terms of the number of schools chosen in each district can be seen in the Table 3.5. below:

Table 3.5

Number of school involved in the study

	Number of Schools	Total
Adana		
Seyhan	43	116
Yüreğir	37	
Sarıçam	22	
Çukurova	14	
Mersin		
Akdeniz	25	68
Toroslar	19	
Mezitli	12	
Yenişehir	12	
Total		184

Eventually, 116 public elementary schools ($n=116$) from Adana, and 68 public elementary schools ($n=68$) from Mersin were determined as the schools to be included and potentially visited throughout the research process.

After the selection of fifty percent of the public primary schools in Adana sub-region, the schools were selected through the support of two educators from Adana and Mersin. A secondary school teacher from Adana and a former school principal from Mersin supported me to find information-rich cases which refers to culturally diverse schools; since including culturally diverse schools was essential for the generalizability of the research findings.

First, I shared the list of randomly selected 116 schools from Adana and 68 schools from Mersin with the teacher and former school principle. By going through the list, they gave information about the region and school profiles, and helped me to select the culturally diverse schools from low, middle, and upper-middle SES regions. Their help eased the school selection process and strengthen the depth of information. Ultimately, the schools were selected purposefully through the support of experienced educators who have been working in the region for more than 20 years. In other words, although 50% of the schools from the Adana sub-region were selected randomly, the schools participating in the study were not determined through random selection, the educators supported me to include the ones with a culturally diverse population, and they also guided me throughout the school visits.

In total, 55 schools located in Adana sub-region were visited to conduct the open-ended survey forms. 27 of them were in Adana and 28 of them were in Mersin. The number of the public elementary schools in each district were taken into consideration proportionally while visiting the schools and deciding the numbers in each district. The survey forms were delivered to 4th-grade classroom teachers, school managers, and psychological counsellors. The number of distributed forms and collected forms can be seen in detail in Table 3.6. below:

Table 3.6

The number of distributed and collected qualitative surveys

City	District	Elementary school teachers			Psychological counsellors		School managers	
		SV (n)	DF (n)	CF (n)	DF (n)	CF (n)	DF (n)	CF (n)
Adana	Seyhan	11	37	30	10	7	14	11
	Yüreğir	9	51	34	12	6	10	10
	Sarıçam	4	12	11	4	2	4	4
	Çukurova	3	13	13	6	4	4	4
	Total	27	113	88	32	19	32	29
Mersin	Akdeniz	10	45	37	11	9	10	7
	Toroslar	6	35	29	9	8	6	4
	Mezitli	6	26	19	9	6	7	6
	Yenişehir	6	43	29	3	1	9	9
	Total	28	149	114	32	24	32	26
	Total	55	262	202	64	43	64	55
	Survey Return rate (%)	-	-	77.1	-	67.2	-	85.9

V: Schools Visited; DF: Distributed Forms; CF: Collected Forms

As can be seen from the table, in total 390 teachers ($n=262$), counselor ($n=64$) and manager ($n=64$) survey forms were distributed, and 76.9% of them were collected ($n=300$). The survey return rate was 77.1% for 4th grade teachers ($n=202$), 67.2% for counselors ($n=43$) and 85.9% for managers ($n=55$).

Participants consisted of volunteer 202 teachers, 43 counselors and 55 managers for the qualitative survey. There was not any sampling process applied to select the participants, as the most significant criteria was the characteristic of schools regarding cultural diversity. Thus, after selecting the schools with the support of experienced educators in both cities, selected schools were visited in

person, and qualitative surveys were distributed to all 4th grade teachers, school managers (both managers and deputy managers) and psychological counsellors who volunteered to participate.

b) Participant Profiles

Participant profiles demonstrated that a little more than half of them ($n=154$, 51.3%) were females, while 46.1% were males ($n=140$). More specifically, the majority of the teachers ($n= 123$, 60.9%) and counselors ($n=24$, 55.8%) were females, while most of the managers ($n= 48$, 87.3%) were males. Four teacher participants and two counselors did not indicate their sex. The below table (Table 3.7) indicates the gender of the participants:

Table 3.7
Gender of the participants

	Gender					
	Female		Male		Did not specify	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Teachers	123	60.9	75	37.1	4	2
Counselors	24	55.8	17	39.5	2	4.6
Managers	7	12.7	48	87.3	-	-
Total	154	51.3	140	46.7	6	2

The majority of the participants ($n=126$, 42%) were between 40 and 49 years old. A closer look demonstrated that counselors were younger than other groups of participants. Teachers ($n= 136$) and managers ($n=41$) were mainly between 40 and 59 years old. Besides, six teachers and one counselor did not specify their ages. The table (Table 3.8) below shows the details about ages of the participants.

Table 3.8

Ages of the participants

	Age (in years)					Did not specify
	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60+	
Teachers	4	45	85	51	11	6
Counselors	10	18	13	1	-	1
Managers	-	10	28	13	4	-
Total	14	73	126	65	15	7

As for the work experience, which is quite related to the age of participants, most of them ($n=253$) mainly had at least 10 years of experience. The vast majority of the teachers ($n=159$, 78.7%) had between 11 to 30 years of experience in teaching. Counselors were mainly less-experienced as they were younger than teachers. The managers were mainly experienced, and most of them ($n=40$, 72.7%) had work experience in schools between 11 to 30 years; while almost half of them ($n=27$, 49%), had one to 10 years of managerial experience. The work experience of the participants was elaborated through the table (Table 3.9) below:

Table 3.9

Work experience of the participants

	Work Experience (in years)					Did not specify
	1-10	11-20	21-30	31-40	41+	
Teachers	17	76	83	20	4	2
Counselors	22	18	3	-	-	-
Managers	6	17	23	9	-	-
Total	45	111	109	29	4	2

Table 3.10 summarizes the salient characteristics of the participants in terms of their education level and graduated department. By majority, classroom teachers ($n=179$, 88.6%), psychological counselors ($n=34$, 79.1%) and school managers ($n=40$, 72.7%) had bachelor degrees. Six teachers (3%) and two managers (3.6%) had associate degrees. On the other hand, 5.9% of the teachers ($n=12$), 18.6% of the counselors ($n=8$) and 23.6% of the managers ($n=13$) had Master's degree.

Table 3.10

Education level and graduated department of the participants

	Teachers		Counselors		Managers	
	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%
Educational degree						
Associate degree	6	3	-	-	2	3.6
Bachelor degree	179	88.6	34	79.1	40	72.7
Master's degree	12	5.9	8	18.6	13	23.6
PhD degree	-	-	1	2.3	-	-
Did not indicate	5	2.5	-	-	-	-
Graduated department						
Primary school teaching	110	54.5	-	-	33	60
Other education-related departments	31	15.3	4	9.3	6	11
Psychological counseling	-	-	31	72.1	-	-
Departments not related to education	49	24.3	7	16.3	14	25.4
Did not indicate	12	5.9	1	2.3	2	3.6

Although most of the participants graduated from job-related departments such as primary school teaching for teachers ($n=110$, 54.5%) and managers ($n=33$, 60%), or school counseling for counselors ($n=31$, 72.1%); some of the teachers ($n=31$, 15.3%), counselors ($n=4$, 9.3%) and managers ($n=6$, 11%) graduated from other education-related departments such as subject matter teaching, curriculum and instruction, assessment and evaluation in education, and others. Whereas, there were some teachers ($n=49$, 24.3%), counselors ($n=7$, 16.3%) and managers ($n=14$, 25.4%) who were graduated from irrelevant departments regarding their job such as engineering, economy, business and management, public administration, theology, philosophy, landscape architecture or geoscience.

c) School Demographics

The total number of students in 55 participated schools was 44.316, and 3.582 of them (8.1%) were foreign students, such as Syrian, Iraqi, or Afghani. Although, the number of visited schools in Adana ($f=27$) and Mersin ($f=28$) were almost equal, the number of students ($N=25.317$) in schools of Mersin was more than the number of students ($N=18.999$) in schools from Adana. Besides, schools in Mersin consisted of 71.6% of the foreign student population ($N=2566$) out of 3.582 foreign students

from both cities; this means that 10% of the students in 28 schools of Mersin were foreign students, while it was 5% for Adana.

Consistently with the difference between the total number of students in the schools in Adana and Mersin, the average number of students in the classrooms differed in two cities. The classroom sizes were approximately 31 for Mersin, and 27 for Adana, respectively. Besides, participant teachers from Mersin reported more foreign students in their classrooms compared to Adana.

Although, the numbers show the density of foreign student population, especially in Mersin; and Adana and Mersin can be defined as migration-receiving and multicultural cities through the previously shared data, the cultural profile of parents and students were asked to both managers, counselors and teachers to understand their perceptions about cultural diversity. Answers of managers, counselors and teachers from the same schools were compared and evaluated together; and participants' statements showed that all of the 55 schools had a multicultural structure regarding parents and students' ethnic and cultural profile.

The data on parents' socio-economic profile indicated that parents in many of the schools had low income and low education levels ($f=34$, 61.8%), while only in 34.5% of the schools ($f=19$) parents had middle socio-economic status and in 3.6% of the schools ($f=2$) had upper-middle socio-economic status. On the other hand, participants (counselors, managers and teachers) from 14 schools (25.5%) reported that the socio-economic status of parents was mixed, there were parents and students both from low and middle or middle and upper-middle socio-economic class.

Teachers are also asked about the dropouts and their profiles in order to see the effect of some factors such as gender, nationality or ethnicity on dropouts in the context of the sample. Teachers' responses demonstrated that seven students from classrooms in Adana and 18 students from Mersin dropped out of the school. The numbers were almost equal for female ($n=12$) and male students ($n=13$). Most of the teachers did not write the details of drop outs. Only 11 teachers reported the causes, and regarding the written details it was seen that, five of the students who dropped out the school were Syrian students.

In brief, all participating schools were culturally diverse and more than half of them ($f=34$) had a parent profile of low in-come and low education level. Low in-come regions were located in migration-receiving regions of both cities. In other words, both domestic and external migration rates were higher in low socio-economic level regions, and this influenced the demographics of the schools.

In low socio-economic level schools, mothers generally did not have a steady job and fathers mainly were working in low-paid jobs. Likewise, mothers generally did not have a steady job even in middle socio-economic level schools, while fathers were mainly civil servants. Only in upper-middle ($f=2$) and very few of the middle socio-economic status schools ($f=2$), participants reported both parents' working.

3.3.3. Participants of Interviews and Classroom Observations

This section includes information about the participants of interviews and classroom observations. After collecting and pre-analysis of survey forms; some of the schools and classrooms were chosen to conduct semi-structured interviews and in-class observations based on two criteria. For the interviews and classroom observations, the data was collected only from Mersin to narrow down the region and deepen the analysis to reach more in-depth data.

There were two reasons to continue the study only in Mersin. First of all, the pre-analysis findings from the survey about the school profiles showed that it was easier to reach a mixture of cultures in low, middle and upper-middle socio-economic areas in Mersin, as it was shared in the above title on *school demographics*. Secondly, Mersin was more compact in terms of the location of central districts which made the data collection process more feasible. Ultimately, we consented that Mersin was more feasible to continue the study, by considering the abovementioned reasons.

a) Sampling Procedures

Participants of the interviews and classroom observations were involved in the study in terms of pre-determined criteria. First of all, the effect of class and socio-economic level of students and the region of the schools located in were considered significant to be able to analyze class differences and needs of diverse socio-

economic level students. Thus, schools located both in low, middle and upper-middle socio-economic level regions were attempted to be included.

Schools were determined initially rather than a selection of teachers, in the first place. In Mersin, there were 28 public primary schools that were visited for conducting the survey forms; approximately 14 of them (50%) were located in low socio-economic level regions and student profiles were mainly representing low SES students. While 12 of the schools (42.9%) were located in middle socio-economic level regions and only two of them (7.1%) could be considered that had upper-middle SES students. Thus, the proportion of the low, middle and upper-middle socioeconomic level schools was considered as the first criteria. Ultimately, three schools from low socio-economic regions, two schools from middle socio-economic regions, and one school from the upper-middle socio-economic region were selected which represented the three of the central districts in the city. Besides all these, as stated before, purposive sampling was used throughout the research process to include school settings with cultural diversity. Although, the culturally diverse schools were selected at the beginning of the research study before implementing the survey forms; pre-analysis findings from the survey about the school profiles -in terms of cultural diversity and the number of challenges based on diversity- were also used while selecting culturally diverse schools from low, middle and upper-middle socio-economic regions to conduct the interviews and classroom observations.

After selecting the schools ($n=6$) for both interviews and classroom observations, the volunteered 4th-grade teachers, school counselors and school managers from these schools were interviewed. However, the sampling procedure of classroom observations was more complex, since additional schools -inside the selected six schools- and classrooms were added to the classroom observation process, in time.

Initially, three schools have been chosen for in-class observations among the six schools that were purposefully selected for the interviews and classroom observations. The socio-economic profile of schools was regarded to be able to make observations both in low, middle and upper-middle socio-economic level classrooms regarding parents' education and income level. One of them was located

in low income region while one of them was located in middle-class region and the third one was included as an upper-middle socio-economic level school.

After starting the observations in the selected schools and classes, I realized that the chosen upper-middle socio-economic level school did not represent the upper-middle socio-economic status (there are newly built neighborhoods for upper middle-income people lately, and they started to send their children to either private schools or the public school which is located in that region), thus the school which is located in the upper-middle socio-economic level region was also added to the observation process. Eventually, two male and two female teachers' classrooms were observed. However, the classrooms of the two female teachers were excluded from the process after three weeks, because teachers lacked the ability to manage their classrooms effectively and the teaching process did not operate effectively as there was no instruction happening related to the key terms/topics, and the observation process became meaningless after two weeks. In other terms, since teachers could not manage the classroom process effectively, nothing was discussed about the content and teachers mainly did not implement the curriculum; that is why, after the third week the observations stopped in that classrooms. On the other hand, it can be claimed that teachers' being quite inadequate was also a significant finding which is also added and discussed in the results chapter. Additionally, three more classrooms were added the process, two of them located in middle income regions while one of them represented low socio-economic schools.

Ultimately, three schools ($n=3$) from low in-come and high in-migration regions, two schools ($n=2$) from middle socio-economic level regions, and one school ($n=1$) with upper-middle socio-economic profile students were visited also for observations additional to the interviews. Besides these, the most important criteria that taken into were teachers' voluntariness and gender. The volunteer teachers were determined during the interviews and the proportion of female and male teachers was tried to be balanced in terms of the female/male proportion of participants in the study. Teachers' experiences could not be considered, as the trend was that generally experienced teachers were appointed to Mersin province at that time.

b) Participant Profiles for Interviews

After a thorough selection process regarding the pre-determined criteria that aimed to purposefully select the information-rich cases which were coherent with the school demographics and participant profiles of the survey layer, six schools were selected for the interviews and observations. To give a comprehensive information, first, interview participants are shared under this title. In the following sub-titles, the characteristics of teachers, counselors and managers are shared respectively.

1) Teachers. For the semi-structured interviews, three schools ($n=3$, 50%) from low in-come regions, two schools from middle in-come regions ($n=2$, 33.3%), and only one school ($n=1$, 16.7%) that had upper-middle SES students were visited. The Table 3.11 demonstrates the details about the school profiles regarding SES and the characteristics of the teacher-participants:

Table 3.11

Salient characteristics of interviewed teachers

District	School	School profile (SES)	Teacher	Gender	Experience (years)
Akdeniz	E	Low	1	Female	13
			2	Female	19
			3	Female	12
Toroslar	X	Low	1	Female	40
	H	Low	1	Female	30
	L	Middle	2	Female	24
1			Male	29	
2			Female	20	
Yenişehir	V	Middle	3	Female	26
			1	Male	20
			2	Female	18
AC	Upper-middle		3	Male	21
			4	Female	11
			1	Male	36
			2	Female	35
			3	Male	12

As can be seen from the table, 11 teachers ($n=11$, 68.7%) were female, while five of them ($n=5$, 31.3%) were male. The gender proportion represents the reality as there are more female primary school teachers than males. According to National

Education Statistics of MoNE (2018), 62% of the primary school teachers were female in 2017-2018 academic year.

As for the graduated department, 10 of the teachers ($n=10$, 62.5%) were graduated from universities' holding credentials in primary classroom teaching while one of them ($n=1$, 6.2%) graduated from education related institutions or departments such as physics teaching or biology teaching; five of them ($n=5$, 31.3%) were graduated from irrelevant departments to the field of education such as art history, physics, French language and literature or handcraft teaching.

On the other hand, all of them had at least 11 years of experience in primary school teaching. Six of them ($n=6$, 37.5%) had 10 to 19 years of teaching experience; six of them ($n=6$, 37.5%) had 20 to 29 years of experience; while four of them ($n=4$, 25%) have been teaching in primary schools more than 30 years.

2) School Counselors. I also interviewed with school counselors ($n=6$) to reach in-depth information. Six counselors from six schools were participated to the study. The below table shows the school profiles and school counselors' characteristics regarding gender and experience (Table 3.12):

Table 3.12

Characteristics of interviewed psychological counselors

District	School	School profile (SES)	Gender	Experience (years)
Akdeniz	E	Low	Female	6
	X	Low	Female	17
Toroslar	H	Low	Female	11
	L	Middle	Female	10
Yenişehir	V	Middle	Female	4
	AC	Upper-middle	Male	32

The majority of them were female ($n=5$), and one of them were male ($n=1$). Their work experience varied from 4 to 32 years as a school counselor, however they ($n=5$) mostly had 6 to 17 years of experience in public schools. Besides, the majority of them ($n=4$) were graduated from the department of psychological counseling and guidance. On the other hand, two of them graduated from education related departments such as curriculum and instruction, and assessment and evaluation in education.

3) School Managers. As for the school managers, same schools were visited for interviews and five school managers from six schools volunteered to participate the semi-structured interview part of the study and to share in-depth information (Table 3.13):

Table 3.13

Characteristics of interviewed managers

District	School	School profile (SES)	Gender	Management Experience (years)
Toroslar	X	Low	Male	2
	H	Low	Female	1.5
	L	Middle	Male	10
Yenişehir	V	Middle	Male	9
	AC	Upper-middle	Male	14

The majority of the interviewed school managers ($n=4$) were male, while one of them ($n=1$) were female. The salient point was not only about males' being the majority in the managing positions, a female school manager working as deputy manager ($n=1$) was also interviewed.

Most of them were experienced teachers, and had more than 20 years of experience in the field of education and in schools. However, they were mainly less-experienced about school management.

The majority of them ($n=4$) graduated from education and teaching related departments such as primary school, or pre-school teaching; on the other hand, one of them ($n=1$) graduated from the department of economics and administrative sciences.

c) Participants Profiles for In-class Observations

In total, observations took place in six different schools and seven different classrooms, since two teachers volunteered from school L. The Table 3.14 shows the profile of the schools, and the characteristics of the teachers and classrooms that were observed:

Table 3.14

Characteristics of the teachers and classrooms in observed classrooms

District	Code	School profile		Teacher profile		Class size	Observation time (class hours)
		SES	Size	Gender	Experience (years)		
Akdeniz	E1	Low	1818	Female	13	25	5
	X1	Low	1124	Female	40	41	8
Toroslar	H1	Low	1100	Female	29	28	5
	L1	Middle	960	Male	29	41	8
	L2	Middle	960	Female	20	35	8
Yenişehir	V1	Middle	985	Male	20	37	8
	AC1	Upper-middle	780	Male	36	25	8

Note: Human Rights, Civics and Democracy course is taught as 2 hours per week.

As can be seen, the student population in low and middle SES schools were higher than the upper-middle SES school, which could show the effect of the income level of the region on school size. For the teacher profiles, the salient details regarding their characteristics are; four of them (n=4) were female, and three of them (n=3) were male. They had at least 19 to 20 years of teaching experience, and two of them even had approximately 40 years of teaching experience. They (n=4) held credentials mainly in classroom teaching, while three of them (n=3) graduated from French language and literature, Handcraft teaching and Administrative sciences.

Classrooms were observed at least 5 class hours and mostly 8 class hours (one-month observation) were completed. Classroom profiles were differ regarding the region that the school located in. Cultural and socio-economic differences were highly depended on the region of the schools.

3.4. Data Collection Forms

In the study, the data were gathered through document analysis, survey forms, semi-structured interviews and in-class observations. Before introducing the details about the data collection forms, their development process is explained explicitly.

3.4.1. The Development Phase

After the thesis proposal presentation in November 6, 2017, the construction process of data collection forms was started.

All the data collection forms for analyzing the documents and conducting survey, interviews and observations were constructed in four steps. In the first step, two document analysis forms, three survey forms, three interview forms and one classroom observation form were prepared based on the literature on citizenship education and consideration of diversity or differences in the citizenship curriculum. The data collection forms for document analysis, surveys and interviews were parallel in nature, however some items, points or questions were included or excluded based on the involvement of each cohort. For instance, survey and interview questions were arranged in terms of the positions and roles of each participant group, namely teachers, counselors and managers.

Secondly, the draft data collection forms were shared with the supervisor and after taking her opinions and suggestions they were revised. The questions in the forms were systematized -as introductory and main questions-, some questions were excluded -since they were repetitive-, and some wordings or the structure of the questions were changed to clarify. Yet, the content of the questions remained same. The revised data collection forms were shared with the examining committee members ($n=2$) and other three experts ($n=3$) from diverse area of specialization. In total six experts' -from the departments of curriculum and instruction ($n=3$), philosophical, social and historical foundations of education ($n=1$), sociology ($n=1$) and school counselling ($n=1$)- opinions and suggestions were taken while developing the data collection forms of the study.

In the third step, the developed forms were revised based on the opinions of the experts for face and content validity purposes and sent to the supervisor for the final feedback before the pilot study. After taking the suggestions of the supervisor some more additional changes were made and the data collection forms were finalized before the ethics committee approval and the piloting of the data collection forms.

When the initial forms and the forms after the revisions through the experts are compared, there are several changes that are observable in the structure and the

content of the data collection forms. For instance, a part about school demographics was added to the school manager open-ended survey form, some sub-questions were added to concretize what we mean -such as, in the prior form, managers' opinions about diversity in school were asked, later two sub-questions were added about the advantages and challenges of socio-cultural diversity at school to organize their responses-, and the wordings of some questions were changed to clarify the questions. The semi-structured interview form of managers also revised by adding one question about the practices to enhance democracy at school, and altering some of the questions by either rewriting the question with different words, or adding some examples or sub-questions to systemize the responses.

There were several revisions in the open-ended survey and interview forms of teachers. For instance, similarly, a demographics part, which aimed to collect data about classroom size and students in terms of their nationality, gender, and dropouts, was added to the open-ended survey form; as well as dividing some questions into two, changing the wordings of some questions to clarify or adding some sub-questions or examples to guide the respondents. To exemplify what I mean by the examples or sub-questions to guide the respondents, I share how I revised the question about gender in the open-ended survey form of teachers:

The prior version of the question: Is the representation of male and female students equal in terms of gender in the curriculum and textbook of human rights, citizenship and democracy course?

The revised version: How do you think that male and female students are represented in terms of gender in the curriculum and textbook of human rights, citizenship and democracy course? (in terms of illustrations used, examples given, the gender of included characters, and others.)

Additionally, three questions were added to the interview form of teachers to understand the experiences of girls and boys in classroom, the student assessment method that teachers preferred for the HRCD course and the suggestions of teachers to improve the HRCD curriculum.

Finally, I share the revisions in the counselor forms. Priorly, there were seven questions in the open-ended survey form; one of them was excluded -it was a specific question about a unite in HRCD textbook-, one question was divided into four -since it was about the communication problems between teachers-students, students-students and teachers-parents, and the solutions of school counseling

service to overcome the communication problems-, and one question was divided into two by asking the social and academic experiences of boys and girls separately. Ultimately, the revised version included 10 open-ended questions. The aim of dividing the questions was about getting more explicit responses by asking more clear questions. On the other hand, in the interview form of counselors, some general questions about the concepts of citizenship, human rights, democracy or the HRCD course were revised and asked in the context of their schools. Such as, initially, the counselors were aimed to asked their opinions about the HRCD course in general to understand their opinions about the course; after the revision, the question was put in a context to make it more meaningful for the respondent and changed as “*Could you tell us about the importance of the HRCD course in your school?*”.

After the revisions in terms of expert opinions and taking the approval from the ethics committee, the piloting of the data collection forms was started and the below sub-title gives information about the piloting process.

3.4.2. Piloting the Data Collection Forms

Pilot studies were implemented in Sinop which is located on the north shore of the country, and all participants included to pilot studies on a volunteer basis. As there are three parallel forms for surveys and interviews, three groups of participants participated to the pilot studies. However, same participants supported to the piloting process of both survey forms and interviews. In total, four 4th grade elementary school teachers ($n=4$), four school principals ($n=4$) and three psychological counsellors ($n=3$) participated in pilot studies. Besides two instructors from Sinop University ($n=2$), one from the department of educational administration and planning and one from the department of psychological counselling, also participated to pilot studies in order to check the clarity of wordings and questions for face validity. The survey and interview forms were revised regarding the experiences from piloting process and the feedback taken from the participants of the pilot study.

In the prior open-ended survey form for teachers that revised after the expert opinions, there were one part about the demographics that consisted questions about the respondent teacher -such as gender, age, experience- and his/her classroom and

students -such as classroom size, number of girls and boys, number of dropouts in terms of gender, number of foreign students-; however, after the piloting and additional revision process, three parts were structured before the main part of the form namely the information about the participant teachers, the information about the students, and the information about the physical capacity of the classroom. Furthermore, several slight changes were made to clarify what we meant. For instance, the first main question was about the socio-cultural characteristics of students; two sub-questions were added and first the socio-economic status of students -in terms of parents' education level and economic status-, then cultural characteristics of students were asked separately. The below example shows the change of a question from the open-ended survey form for teachers and it is shared to exemplify the structure of the revisions:

Prior version of the question: What do you experience in your lesson about the handling of different cultures/individuals from different cultures in the human rights, citizenship and democracy curriculum and textbook?

Revised version: How is cultural diversity handled in the human rights, citizenship and democracy curriculum and textbook? In this regard, what happens in the classroom during the lesson? Please explain.

Similarly, in the survey form for managers, additional parts were added to collect data about the physical capacity of the schools -library, laboratories, sports hall, music room, and others-, and statistical information about the number of students and teachers. Additional to that, the question about the communication of the management with students, teachers and parents was removed since during the piloting process it was realized that the question was not understood clearly by the participants. Instead of querying the communication between the management and other school members, the practices of school management that apply to enhance democracy and participation of all school members were asked through a question. Besides this, one question was added to take the observations of school managers on the contribution of the HRCD course to the school culture and the aim was to understand the managers' perceptions about the HRCD content. The need of asking such a question was realized during the piloting process.

Both in the manager and counselor open-ended survey forms, priorly, experiences of girls and boys were asked in general, in the revised form the academic and social experiences of girls and boys regarding their gender were asked

separately, since during the piloting process I needed to clarify the question each time. Furthermore, students' cultural and socio-economic profiles were asked separately and more explicitly and the revised open-ended survey form for the counselors were focused on communication problems between teachers-parents, teachers-students and students-students, however, this time the communication problems in terms of cultural diversity were highlighted, since the term socio-cultural was not clear and I could not get the responses that was aimed in the context of the study.

As seen from the above examples, the wordings, the used terms, the structure of some questions were changed, as well as dividing some questions, putting additional questions or removing some of them; yet, all revisions were aimed to clarify the questions to get the coherent and valid responses in the context of the study. On the other hand, for the semi-structured interview forms, a content-wise revision -such as adding or removing question- was not applied; however, the wordings revised or some questions were rewritten to clarify.

After the first piloting process in February, 2018 and conducting the open-ended survey forms in May, 2018, the first Thesis Examining Committee meeting was held on 4th of June, 2018. In the meeting, it was decided to make additional pilot interviews by taking into account the survey findings. The reason of suggesting additional pilot interviews was about a revision need for interview forms through the preliminary survey findings. Whole data collection forms were parallel in nature, and the step-by-step process provided to see the deficiencies and needs more clearly. The interview forms were revised regarding the findings of the survey. Three questions added to the teacher interview form, one was about the opinions of teachers on HRCD textbook, one was about the responsibilities taken in the classroom by girls and boys, and the last one was about the methods used to enhance democratic classroom environment. In the counselor and manager forms, the questions directly related to the HRCD course were removed. For the managers the practices to enhance democratic school environment and their observations and experiences about working in culturally diverse schools were focused; while for the counselors the communication problems between diverse components of schools in

terms of cultural diversity, and culture of schools regarding democracy and citizenship were highlighted more.

After the revision of semi-structured interview forms through the survey findings, additional pilot interviews were made to check the expediency of revised forms and newly-added questions. This time, interviews were made in Mersin with two 4th grade teachers ($n=2$), two psychological counselors ($n=2$) and one school principal ($n=1$) in June, 2018.

The semi-structured interview questions were revised according to the additional pilot interviews. In introductory questions (the first part of the interviews) which targeted to collect data about the participants, their schools or classrooms, or the student profile were not changed for both teacher, manager and counselor forms. On the other hand, there were several revisions in the main questions. The most important revision for all (teacher, manager, and counselor) forms was reducing the number of questions and focusing on the other questions that had more potential to deepen the responses in terms of validity issues.

For instance, in the prior version of the teacher forms, there were 15 questions, four of them -how you teach democracy and human rights, the responsibilities that taken by girls and boys, the strengths and weaknesses of teachers to teach HRCED course- were removed, since they did not clear and did not work well during the pilot interviews. Or, in the prior version of the manager form, there were 14 questions, in the revised form the number of questions were reduced to six, some repetitive and unclear questions were removed such as “*Considering the cultural profile of your school, what value do you consider most in the school management process? Can you explain what you are doing and what you care about in this direction, can you give examples?*”. Finally, in the initial version of the counselor form there were 13 questions and the number of the questions was reduced to seven through the same logic, by focusing on some questions to deepen the responses and removing the repetitive or unclear ones. The data collection form development process was completed after several expert reviews, conducting open-ended survey forms and two piloting processes.

3.4.3. Final Forms

After a four phase data collection form development process, the forms were put into final form. In the following sub-titles, the final versions of document analysis, survey, interview and classroom observation forms are shared respectively.

a) Document Analysis Forms

The data sources for the first layer of the study are two different kinds of documents: official 4th grade curriculum including 12 programs and 12 textbooks. First, two document analysis forms -Curriculum Analysis Form and Textbook Analysis Form - were developed to analyze the documents. To develop the document analysis forms, the qualitative criteria that were determined to analyze the textbooks for the Project named *Human Rights in Textbooks*⁷⁴, which was implemented in 2002, was utilized. The comprehensive scanning results were published in 2003 as a book titled *Human Rights in Textbooks: Scanning Results* and the criteria that used to analyze the textbooks were shared in the report (pp. 326-334). By using the criteria, two parallel forms were developed which included two parts. In the first part, there are items to record the basic information about the textbooks (name, writer, publisher, publication year, publication city) and the curricula (name, year of implementation, number of attainments for 4th grade, number of attainments that are related to human rights, citizenship and democracy). The second part was the forms were about the content that relate to human rights, democracy and citizenship. There were 13 questions for the curriculum analysis and 12 questions for the textbook analysis which were queried the citizenship understanding over the rights and responsibilities that were included, the understanding on differences and diversity, the understanding on culture, human rights gender, or tolerance, as well the instructional and assessment approaches. For instance, as for the curriculum analysis, it was asked that how human rights are approached, or how and over which examples “culture” is defined were some of the questions; while, how and over which examples

⁷⁴ The Project was conducted through the grant from the Council of Europe and Open Society Foundation, by the coordination of the History foundation and expertise of the Human Rights Foundation.

similarities and differences defined or how rights and freedoms are discussed in terms of citizenship were some examples from the textbook analysis form.

However, during the analysis, the toughness and impracticality of analyzing documents through pre-determined forms were experienced. Because, there were 24 documents in total, and recording the analyses findings on forms will not be feasible to be able to reach compact and discussible findings. Therefore, NVivo software was decided to be used to analyze the documents. Documents were downloaded and the downloaded documents were uploaded to the NVivo 12 Pro and analyzed.

Curriculum documents have two main parts (common parts and specific parts) as it was explained before. The common part is same for all curriculum documents and includes the general philosophy, goals, competences, instruction and texting and evaluation approach. This part was taken as the main framework during the analysis and analyzed separately from the specific parts of the curriculum documents. On the other hand, specific parts of the curriculum documents namely specific goals, attainments, content, instruction approach and texting and evaluation approach were analyzed together based on the first sub-research question and the emerged topics during the pre-analysis.

On the other hand, discourses to define the nation/national; the concept of 'us'; the discourses on 'our' commonalities, what are seen as common; how differences and diversity are defined; how citizenship is defined; which roles are described for citizens; the discourses on gender, gender roles, occupations/plays/activities/interests regarding gender were the points to be followed during the textbook analysis. As it was explained before these topics appeared during the iterative readings of the documents and they were deepened during the analysis. The content of the documents regarding the topics, that arouse during the iterative readings before the analyses, were analyzed. First, the codes emerged during the analyses, then the patterns between the codes were determined, then the iterative analysis of codes and code patterns yielded a synthesis and the categories emerged; finally, the categories have constructed the themes after several categorization processes (Saldana, 2013). Moreover, during the textbook analysis, visuals were also analyzed cautiously in terms of the emerged topics.

b) Open-ended Survey Forms

Both data collection and data analysis process in qualitative research have an iterative structure (Berkowitz, 1997). Working in a context and drawing a framework to comprehend the overall picture through survey design, then working in that framework for more depth data was meaningful for me to analyze the phenomenon I was studying on.

Survey forms that were developed for this research study were qualitative data collection tools with open-ended questions. The aim was to reach a wide range of 4th grade teachers, school counselors, and school managers to understand the participants and the context better. Besides, the survey findings supported further data collection processes as they were used as inventories to determine culturally diverse schools in Mersin.

Three parallel survey forms were developed, as there were three groups of participants (4th grade teachers, counselors, and managers), and their role in the school changes regarding their position and areas of specialization. On the other hand, there were some common questions in the parallel forms.

All survey forms had two sections, and they all start with a note from the researcher which explains the aim of the study and the significance of the participation. First sections consisted of questions about demographics regarding the participant, classroom and school, while the second sections covered the topics about citizenship, democracy and human rights education. The sections of all parallel survey forms were explained thoroughly in the following sub-titles.

1) Open-ended Survey Form for Teachers. Demographics section of teacher survey targeted to gather information about some characteristics of participant-teachers such as age, gender, department of graduation, graduation year, education level and experience (in year). Moreover, there were some questions to get information about the conditions of the classroom, in other words about physical characteristics of classrooms. For instance, the availability of some equipment such as bookshelf, computer, projector or smart board was asked. Besides, characteristics of classroom population such as number of students (by gender), number of dropouts (by gender) or number of foreign students were also enquired.

The second section of the survey covered the questions about teachers' perceptions about cultural diversity, or teachers' thoughts about the curriculum and its textbook. The first aim was to explore the cultural diversity of the student population in the classroom. Students' and parents' socio-economic and cultural profiles were enquired in order to be able to understand the context better. Secondly, teachers were respected as the most important participants as they were the ones who teach Human Rights, Civics and Democracy courses. Thus questions about the curriculum of the course and its textbook were mainly directed to teacher-participants. For instance, how they teach the concepts of citizenship and human rights through the Human Rights, Civics and Democracy course was questioned. Besides, their thoughts about the curriculum and textbook were asked for possible suggestions. Questions such as; which educational attainments or topics they were going to add or which ones they were going to exclude if they could; or their suggestions about educational attainments, content, instructional method and assessment techniques of the curriculum were posed inside the second section of teacher form. Moreover, a question about how cultural diversity and differences were included in the textbook and their perceptions and thoughts regarding this point were also directed to teacher-participants to analyze their perception and interpretations about the curriculum and textbook in terms of cultural diversity. Finally, as gender was one of the significant dimensions of the study, their opinions on the gender perspective of textbooks were asked to teacher-participants.

2) *Open-ended Survey Form for Counselors.* In the demographics section of the counselor survey, only the questions about characteristics of psychological counselors were included, and the counselors were inquired about their age, gender, experience (in years), graduation year, department of graduation and education level. Other than these questions, the number of counselors in the school and the number of schools they are working in (sometimes counselors are working in more than one school) were asked in the demographics part of the counselor surveys.

The second section of the counselor survey also started with the question about characteristics of the student population in the school; students' and parents' cultural background and their socio-economic level were asked primarily. Further, counselor survey covered the questions about their thoughts and experience on the

multicultural profile of schools; as well as the questions about problems they encounter in terms of the cultural diversity of schools they are working in. Psychological counselors' perception and their experiences were considered significant as they have a chance to observe both students, parents, management and teachers independently; thus the problems they experienced regarding the multicultural structure of schools and how they try to find solutions were some of the particular questions posed to counselors only. And their perception about the needs of all students by considering cultural differences regarding human rights, democracy and citizenship notions was also asked in order to explore the problems and needs in the schools. Finally, their observations about gender roles and students' experiences related to these roles were added to the counselor survey as their observations also valuable about this issue.

3) *Open-ended Survey Form for Managers.* The questions about the participant characteristics were the same in the manager survey. However, some additional questions were asked in order to understand the conditions, characteristics and profile of schools regarding building capacity, equipment availability or the number of students or teachers. For instance, a number of classrooms, students, and teachers were enquired. Besides, questions about schooling time (full time or dual education), school location, the availability of pre-school education, the availability of school counseling room, the number of newly enrolled students (by gender), the number of school dropouts (by gender) and the number of foreign students were added to the demographics section of school manager survey. Further, the availability and usability of the library, sports center, conference room, computer lab, science lab. and music room were also enquired to be able to understand and analyze the capacity of school buildings regarding the district or region they are located inside.

In the second section of the manager survey, their thoughts and perceptions on working in culturally diverse schools were tried to be understood by asking what they think about cultural diversity (advantages and challenges). School managers' understanding on democracy and their way of practicing democracy and human rights were considered important, thus the practices in the school to ensure democracy and harmony between school members were enquired. As gender was

one of the significant dimensions of the study, managers' views and perceptions about gender and its effects on the academic and social life of students were added to the survey. Besides, what they do for the internalization of democracy by students was also added to the second section of the manager survey.

c) Semi-structured Interview Forms

Semi-structured interview forms consisted of two sections including demographics and the main part. As the characteristics of participant groups' differed regarding their position, three parallel interview forms were prepared. Each form is explained separately through the following sections.

1) Interview Form for Teachers. In the teacher interview form (Appendix C), the first section about demographics covered nine questions. Some of the questions were about participants' salient characteristics such as working experience and department of graduation. Human rights, civics, and democracy teaching requires some specific theoretical and instructional knowledge and skills, since it requires an interdisciplinary approach consisting the fundamental information on human rights, democracy, and their relationship with citizenship, as well as a democracy and human rights based instructional approach and the necessary skills about supporting students' critical thinking (Henry, 1991; Krain & Nurse, 2004). Thus, whether they took a lesson about human rights, civics and democracy teaching during the university education or as an in-service training was one of the question in the demographics section of interview forms for teacher participants.

Additional to this, teaching in culturally diverse classrooms, especially to students with diverse languages could be challenging, thus whether they attend an in-service training about this issue was also questioned. Finally, the profile of classrooms by including questions about the socio-economic level of parents, cultural characteristics, number of students, and gender distribution of classroom was enquired to get in-depth information about the classrooms.

There were 11 pre-determined questions in the second part of the teacher interview forms, however as I emphasized before, some additional questions were

added depending on the context and raised issues. The pre-determined questions were aimed to examine teachers' thoughts about the Human Rights, Civics and Democracy course, its curriculum and textbook. Further, teachers' perceptions about human rights, citizenship and democracy concepts were tried to be understood over the questions. I also considered their opinions and perceptions about the curriculum's and its textbook's understanding on cultural diversity significant, and how teachers perceive the approach of the curriculum and textbook was one of the important points that tried to be elaborated. Moreover, the challenges they perceived regarding the multicultural profile of the classrooms; and the suggestions they had about the curriculum, textbook or in general about the Human Rights, Civics, and Democracy course were also discussed through the questions and some additional questions if required.

2) Interview Form for Counselors. Counselor interview form comprised seven questions about demographics and seven questions about the notions of human rights, democracy and civics education.

The questions in the first section aimed to examine the characteristics of counselors and the student population. Department of graduation and working experience were the basic questions to reach some details about the counselor participants, yet they were not the only questions asked. Whether they took a course or in-service training about human rights, democracy education or working in multicultural school settings were some other questions to understand the profile and needs of the counselors. Finally, the characteristic of the school population was asked to gather information about the cultural and economic diversity of students in the school, and to make an introduction for the second group of questions.

As I tried to explain before, psychological counselors have an important position in schools. They have a chance to view the context from a broader perspective, they act as a mediator between parents, teachers, students, and managers. Accordingly, they have a wider perspective while observing the relations in schools. Thus, the pre-determined questions aimed to get information about their observations on school culture regarding cultural diversity, democracy, human rights and citizenship. The practices in the schools about enhancing democracy and human rights, the communication culture between teachers, students, managers and

parents were asked through the second section of the interviews. Besides, their perception about multicultural school settings was also tried to be examined. Finally, as it was asked in all interview forms, gender and its effects on girls' and boys' social and academic experiences in the school was included as an important dimension regarding citizenship. Because the achievement of democratic and egalitarian citizenship education is impossible without the participation of all students in all aspects of school life regardless of their sex. This, in the future, determines the engagement of male and female citizens and eventually the democratic conditions in society (Arnot, 2005).

3) Interview Form for Managers. Interview form for managers consisted of ten demographic and six phenomenon-related questions.

The first group of questions targeted to get information about managers' profiles regarding their education and work experience. Two issues were also asked to managers in order to understand how much those issues were considered in the education system: whether they got training on democratic school management or integrating human rights to the school management process, and whether they got an in-service training about managing multicultural school settings. In addition to these, characteristics of the student population were tried to be explored by asking socio-economic and cultural profile of parents and students.

In the second group of pre-determined questions, firstly, managers' views on the "good" citizen, their approach and suggestions to raise "good" citizens were questioned to understand their citizenship perspective. They were also asked about the school culture and what they expect for students to learn through the Human rights, Civics and Democracy courses by aiming to gather in depth information about the challenges they experience regarding the characteristic of the student population. This question or questions in general are also intended to reach information on managers' perception about the notions of human rights, cultural diversity, democracy and citizenship. How they perceive cultural diversity, the practices they considered to enhance democracy culture, and their perception on gender roles and boys' and girls' academic and social experiences were the other pre-determined questions that seek answers from managers' understanding.

d) Classroom Observation Form

A structured classroom observation form was developed in the very beginning of the research. The developed observation form had five sections that sought for information: characteristic of the teacher; physical and cultural characteristics of the classroom; the curriculum (aimed objectives, taught content, used instructional methods, used assessment techniques); questions about the aim of the study such as which questions asked by the teacher, by students, which visuals used, what kind of feedback given by the teacher or what students do; and post-questions (after the lesson) for a short interview with the teacher.

However, during the very first observation, it was realized that the activities, responses, emotions, questions, feedback cannot be paid attention to separately. Besides in time, it was realized that post-interviews could not be carried out, because teachers did not eager to spare time during their breaks. According to these field experiences, the observation form was revised and the revised version started to be used thereafter.

The latest version of the observation form consisted of three sections that were about characteristics of the teacher such as work experience, gender, age, department of graduation, the past experiences or training about human rights, democracy or citizenship teaching; physical characteristics of the school and physical and socio-cultural characteristics of the classroom; the taught subject and all the process during the observed class hours. In other words, all specific questions were excluded from the form and I started to write down every detail regarding the research aims and the explored phenomenon and concepts.

More specifically, the first weeks of the observations were more intense, as a brief pre-interview was made with teachers to get information about their characteristics; further physical characteristics of schools and classrooms were observed (the features of buildings regarding the capacity, cleanness; the panels on the walls, pictures, etc.) and information obtained on socio-economic and cultural characteristics of the classroom population. However, after first weeks only in-class observations were made during class hours, and school observations in the schoolyard, teachers' room or school corridors were made during the breaks.

3.5. Data Collection Procedures

The data collection process is elaborated in this section. Data collection was started after taking necessary permissions from the human subjects ethics committee and Ministry of National Education. After the data collection forms were revised regarding the experts' opinions, the application was made to the Human Subjects Ethics Committee of METU for permission, on January 30, 2018; and the permission from the committee was taken on February 8, 2018 (Appendix A). However, before starting to the data collection process, pilot studies were conducted for open-ended survey forms and semi-structured interview forms; then the application was made to MoNE for permission to collect data from public elementary schools in Adana and Mersin.

As highlighted before, pilot studies were conducted in central Sinop with volunteered 4th grade teachers, school managers, psychological counselors and university lecturers in February 2018. After the data collection forms were put their final form by considering the pilot study findings, the application to MoNE was made on 30th February, 2018 and it was taken on March 20, 2018 (Appendix B). The details of the data collection process can be followed from the Table 3.15 below:

Table 3.15

Timetable that shows the data collection process

Task	Time Period
Literature review for data collection form development	July-October 2017
Pre-analysis of documents	July-October 2017
Development of data collection forms	October, 2017-January 2018
Permission from Human Subjects Ethics Committee	January-February, 2018
Piloting	February, 2018
Permission from MoNE	March, 2018
Conducting survey forms	May, 2018
Pre-analysis of survey forms	June, 2018
Revision of semi-structured interview forms	June 2018
Piloting the revised interview forms	June, 2018
Conducting semi-structured interviews	October, 2018-January 2019
Conducting in-class observations	October, 2018-January 2019

The first step of data collection namely the survey conducting process started on May 21, 2018. The survey forms were given in closed envelopes to volunteered

4th grade teachers, counselors and managers (both managers and deputy managers) who accepted to participate to the research. Then, I picked up the envelopes on a later date in the same week. The survey conducting process lasted two weeks between 21-31th of May during the spring semester of 2017-2018 academic year both for Adana and Mersin. Schools were visited in person first for survey form distribution, then for survey form collection. However, not all the forms could be collected in two weeks, thus some of them ($n=23$) were sent by cargo later, by the school managers. At the end, 202 teacher survey forms, 43 counselor survey forms and 55 manager survey forms were collected.

The in-depth data (observation and semi-structured interviews) collection process started on the 4th of October, 2018 and ended on 21st of December, 2018. In three months, 50 class-hour classroom observation was conducted. Additionally, to that, in total, 16 teachers, 5 school managers and 6 psychological counselors were interviewed. The interviews with the teachers lasted an average of 20.8 minutes. On the other hand, the interviews with the counselors lasted 28.5 minutes on average; while the manager interviews lasted an average of 25.7 minutes. The duration of the videotaped interviews can be found in the below table (Table 3.16):

Table 3.16

Durations of the interviews

Code	Duration	Code	Duration
AC-S1	23.20	AC-R1	26.13
AC-S2	14.01	E-R1	43.46
E-S1	37.54	H-R1	37.51
E-S2	19.15	L-R1	18.51
E-S3	23.30	X-R1	22.06
H-S1	21.58	V-R1	23.21
H-S2	26.01	AC-Y1	17.10
L-S1	23.57	H-Y1	26.59
L-S2	18.46	L-Y1	41.01
L-S3	22.32	V-Y1	30.51
V-S1	24.40	X-Y1	13.37
V-S2	16.08		
V-S3	31.52		
V-S4	14.19		
X-S1	18.04		

All the findings from document analysis, interviews, observations, field notes and survey forms were analyzed in detail after collecting all the data and transcription of all the interviews.

3.6. Data Analysis

Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2018) emphasize the complex nature of qualitative data, thus they claimed that there is not a straightforward way to analyze and present qualitative data. Moreover, Patton (2015) also indicates the variety of ways to analyze qualitative data. They both claim that the purpose of the research determines the data analysis process.

As previously explained, this was a multilayered qualitative research study. Although there were diverse interrelated purposes for each layer, there was also a common understanding of data analysis procedures. According to Rossman and Rallis (2012), analyzing and interpreting qualitative data is a complex process that is both sequential and iterative; and there are three activities to analyze the qualitative data: (1) knowing the data namely *immersion*, (2) organizing the data into chunks in other words *analysis*, and finally (3) discussing the meaning of those chunks which is *interpretation*. Another related definition of qualitative data analysis states breaking down the data into bits and then to see how these bits are connected (Dey, 1993).

Similar processes were experienced to analyze the data gathered namely documents, survey forms, interview transcriptions and field notes of observations. First, the data was broken down into bits for each layer, and each layer's analysis illuminated the next one; this layered nature of research design provided a ground to establish the connections between bits, and eased the interpretation process. Thus, an inductive data analysis process was applied which aimed to reach the themes by first determining the codes then categories after an iterative reading and analysis processes.

Although, there are common ways to define the qualitative data analysis process, there are diverse data analysis methods changing by the purposes. For instance, sometimes only 'description' is aimed, and sometimes 'interpretation'; or sometimes 'quantifying' the data is superior to 'qualitative' purposes. According to

Rossmann and Rallis (2012) “*Your purpose helps frame your analysis*” (p. 269). If a researcher aims to focus on description, more holistic and contextual analyses are conducted, however, if s/he wants to compare and contrast the data, s/he will probably code the data to generate categories and themes to be able to look at differences and similarities. In this study, three layers were tried to be combined to make a holistic analysis of the studied phenomenon. Thus, although a general frame can be defined about the analysis of the data of this study, specific decisions and ways were applied during the data analysis of each layer. First I explain the general frame of data analysis regarding my purposes, and then in each sub-title, the data analysis process of each layer is elaborated.

This study had specific preferences such as utilizing inductive content analysis. The embedded meanings of the content in documents, survey forms, interview transcriptions, observation notes and field notes were analyzed to uncover the understandings on citizenship, cultural differences, diversity, human rights, democracy, gender, etc.

There are diverse approaches to content analysis. Drisko and Maschi (2016) remarked on different approaches to content analysis which are basic, interpretive and qualitative. Actually, these variations of content analysis address the evolved character of the method in time, from quantitative to interpretive, or qualitative. The basic content analysis seeks for quantitative description and organization of the data, and be interested in the manifested content. On the other hand, the interpretive content analysis focuses on *summarizing and describing meanings in an interpretive and narrative manner* (p. 5). As a third option, they were mentioned qualitative content analysis, they used the definition of Mayring who first used the term in 1983. According to Mayring (2000) qualitative content analysis is a set of techniques not aimed to address only the manifest content or frequencies, also themes and core ideas as primary content, and context information as latent content are addressed. However, Mayring (2000) indicates the ‘inductive category development’ and ‘deductive category application’ steps included in the qualitative content analysis; and the method is less appropriate if the more holistic analysis is planned. By considering the diverse approaches to content analysis, it can be claimed that diverse approaches shaped the analysis of each layer’s data; a figure (Figure 3.3) was

prepared to demonstrate the general framework of the data analysis and the relations between layers:

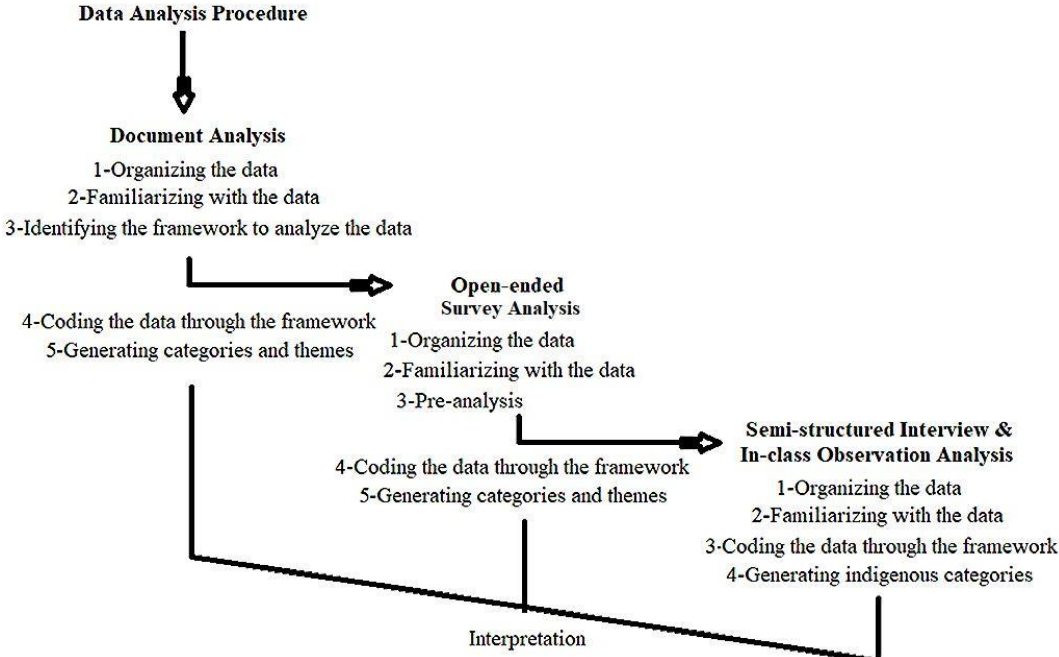


Figure 3.3. Data analysis procedure.

The second preference was using NVivo as a software to analyze the data. The software assisted me in managing the masses of data while coding, forming and relating categories, or constructing themes. Now, data analysis procedures applied in each layer are explained after explaining the data organization process, respectively.

3.6.1. Data Organization

Data analysis requires a preparation process before starting to know the data or the iterative readings. I applied several steps to prepare the data for the analysis. For the document analysis, the documents were reached online as it is explained in the data sources section.

The data for the second layer included qualitative surveys for teachers, managers and counselors. The participants filled the survey forms with pencil, thus the filled survey forms were re-written as a word document to be able to work on them on computer. The re-writing process took approximately two weeks. The

survey forms were collected anonymously, thus a coding procedure was needed to name each form. They were coded by the city, branch, and school.

Schools in Mersin were named by letters (A, B, C, etc.), while schools in Adana were named by numbers (1, 2, 3, etc.). AA, AB, AC, and AD were also used after all letters were used to code the visited schools in Mersin. The letters ‘R’ for counselors, ‘Y’ for managers, and ‘S’ for teachers were used to define the participants’ position in the school. Finally, teacher, counselor, and manager survey forms were arranged to start from the first school (A) from Mersin, and numbered one by one, these numbers show the order of the participant.

Regarding the above-shared procedures to name/code each of the survey forms, the code 24-190S means that it is a teacher’s survey form who is working in a school coded as 24 in Adana. Another example can be found below (Figure 3.4):

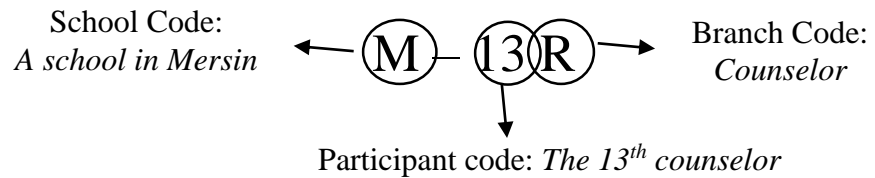


Figure 3.4. Coding procedure of survey forms.

Organizing the third layer’s data consists of interview transcriptions and writing up the field notes as word files. Semi-structured interviews were recorded except one teacher’s interview; s/he did not want to be recorded. The audio-recorded interviews were transcribed personally and the transcription process took approximately two months. The interviewed participants’ recordings and transcriptions were coded by using the school codes, branch codes and the order of the participant. The school code and branch code are the same as it is in the survey forms, however this time the participants attended from the same school numbered in their schools, in other words if more than two managers were interviewed in one school the first one was named as 1, and the second one named as 2, the next school’s manager was named as 1 again not as 3.

An example can be found below (Figure 3.5):

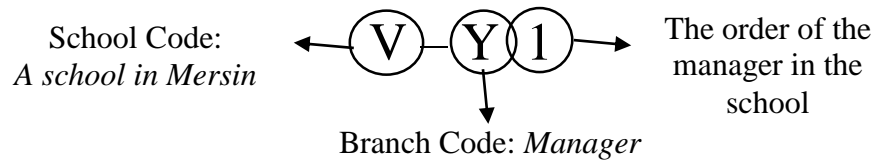


Figure 3.5. Coding procedures of semi-structured interviews.

Finally, the field notes of the observations were taken to the prepared classroom observation forms, each day after observing the classrooms and the schools in general; the taken notes were written down as word files and saved in the computer. Classrooms were coded regarding teachers' previously created codes. For instance, the first interviewed teacher's classroom from school E was coded as E1, just as her code.

After explained the data organization and preparation process, data analysis procedures for each layer are shared in the following parts, respectively.

3.6.2. Document Analysis

As previously explained, curriculum documents ($n=12$) and textbooks ($n=12$) of 4th grade were analyzed in the first layer to examine the 'official discourse' about the concepts of citizenship, human rights, cultural diversity, and gender to understand the official approach on the studied phenomenon 'construction of citizenship in terms of cultural diversity'. Although, I used the term 'discourse', it should be highlighted that 'the meaning', 'symbolic expressions' and 'historical narratives' were also focused on during the analysis. The concept of discourse was used to attribute the complexity and multi-layered nature of 'discourses' that was affected by power relations. As Rogers (2004) claimed discourses are always *socially, politically, racially, economically loaded* (p. 6).

Inductive content analysis was utilized to analyze the documents. The framework, which appeared during the iterative readings namely immersion process of data analysis, was used to analyze the data inductively, which consists of six major contents/topics:

- 1- The construction of the nation and national

- 2- The concept of “us” emphasis and its boundaries
- 3- Discourses on commonalities
- 4- Discourses on diversity and differences
- 5- Discourses on citizenship
- 6- Discourses on gender

The official discourses were tried to be comprehended by considering the emerged coding frame above which took shape after iterative readings and pre-analysis. Furthermore, curriculum documents and textbooks were analyzed together to understand the philosophy of the developed curriculum and its coherence with the written textbooks.

The data analysis approach was shaped during the iterative readings and analysis; thus it was aimed not to limit the data analysis process through pre-decided rules or steps. Yet, the data analysis was a systematic as well as a flexible process by applying Saldana’s (2013) coding scheme which structured the process as coding, categorizing, and theming and guided the first layer of data analysis as it was guided the other two layers. Only, the coding frame was guided the data analysis process, and although the data was quantified by breaking down to the bits, at the end interpretive and qualitative purposes were targeted to analyze the first layer data, by also linking it to the data from other layers.

The codes, categories and themes were emerged after iterative coding, categorizing and theming processes. There were four feedback sessions -either via e-mail, face-to-face or online- with the supervisor to reach an agreement on the coding process, code descriptions, categories and themes. The major themes and categories that emerged in the document analysis are as follows (Table 3.17):

Table 3.17

Emerged themes and categories from document analysis

Documents (Curriculum and Textbooks)
1. Citizenship understanding
1.1 Conventional citizenship
- The 'us' discourse
- Commonalities as 'ours'
- National history and national heroes
- National rituals and symbols
- Patriotism
- The discourse of military-nation
- Fulfilling citizenship responsibilities
1.2 Rights-based citizenship
1.3 Active citizenship
2. Discourses on differences
2.1 The considered differences
- Individual differences
- Cultural and religious differences
2.2 General outlook of the documents on differences
- Promoted attitudes towards differences
- Strengthening hostile attitudes towards the 'others'

As can be seen, there were two themes that emerged through the analysis which were about the discourses on citizenship and the differences. The below section is about the analysis of open-ended survey forms and the emerged categories and themes through the inductive analysis.

3.6.3. Survey Form Analysis

The second layer data includes 300 open-ended survey forms ($n=300$) filled by teachers, counselors and managers. The aim of the second layer was to see the connections between 'official discourses' and opinions, attitudes and experiences of the participants regarding the studied phenomenon in a broader area. Thus, 'quantifying' was the dominant purpose, as well as organizing the data. Basic inductive content analysis was utilized for the second layer data; however, data organization process also ensured establishing bonds between the first layer and second layer data, namely between 'official discourses' and 'daily acts, opinions and experiences of school members'. From this perspective, it can be claimed that, although basic inductive content analysis was dominant for the second layer,

‘interpretation’ was also applied. On the other hand, I want to emphasize that second layer of the data aimed to balance the findings in first and third layers, and counting the opinions and attitudes of the participants supplemented the power of ‘official discourses’, the existence of ‘counter discourses’, and the narratives and experiences of the third layer participants.

The codes, categories and themes were emerged after iterative coding, categorizing and theming processes. There were four feedback sessions -either via e-mail, face-to-face or online- with the supervisor to reach an agreement on the coding process, code descriptions, categories and themes. The major themes and categories that emerged in the document analysis are as follows:

The major themes and categories that emerged in the survey analysis for each cohort are shared in the Table 3.18 below.

Table 3.18

Emerg ed themes and categories from manager and counselor survey forms

The reflection of official discourses in the field
1. Demographics
2. Discourses on citizenship
2.1 Conventional citizenship
2.2 Rights-based citizenship
3. Discourses on human rights
3.1 The concepts used while explaining human rights
3.2 Understanding the significance of human rights
3.3 The emphasized human rights
3.4 Criticisms on the content of human rights in the curriculum
4. Discourses on cultural diversity
4.1 Understanding on cultural diversity
4.2 Practices to encounter with the challenges caused by cultural diversity
5. Discourses on gender
6. Practice to enhance democratic school culture
7. Opinions on HRCD curriculum
7.1 Preferences about the implementation of the HRCD curriculum
7.2 Suggestions to improve the HRCD curriculum

Seven themes were emerged after iterative reading and analysis of the survey forms. In the next section, the analysis process the ethnographic data is explained.

3.6.4. Analysis of Data from Ethnography

The third layer data consists of semi-structured interviews ($n=27$) and in-school and 50 class-hours of in-class observations. The 'lived experiences' of teachers, students, counselors and managers were aimed to be examined in depth. The difference of the third layer from the second layer data was about its deepness, and the holistic perspective while analyzing the data. In the third layer, interpretive content analysis was utilized inductively. The appeared framework, that consists the construction of the nation and national, the concept of "us" emphasis and its boundaries, discourses on commonalities, discourses on diversity and differences, discourses on citizenship, discourses on gender, was taken as a basis while analyzing the interviews and observations, as well as the field notes during the school visits.

During the third layer of data analysis, portraits of schools were created. The visited schools were defined holistically by considering not only the narratives from participants, but also the pictures on the walls, or boards, students' and teachers' behaviors and attitudes during recess time. In other words, my observations and the field notes I took during the school visits were used to complete the overall portrait. Moreover, classroom portraits were also created with regards to the field notes and memos taken during the in-class observations, as well as semi-structured interviews and unstructured conversations with the teachers of the observed classrooms.

While analyzing the third layer data, using the expressions of participants was preferred and the data was not interfered to create authentic portraits of the schools and classrooms (Appendix D). However, I also added my field notes that include my opinions, experiences and perspectives during the visits (Appendix E). I tried to complete the data that was collected from diverse cohorts -teachers, students, counselors, managers, me as the researcher- by considering the expressions used from the participants. Rossman and Rallis (2012) called this as '*indigenous categories*'.

After explaining the data analysis process for each step and the reason of given decisions, now, how the trustworthiness is ensured is explained in the next section.

3.7. Trustworthiness

The criteria utilizing to evaluate rigor in qualitative research is different from the criteria for quantitative research, as there are ontological, epistemological and methodological differences between positivist and interpretive, critical or post-structural paradigms (Lincoln & Guba, 1986). Lincoln and Guba (1985) started the discussion years ago about the testing quality of qualitative research by asking “*How can an inquirer persuade his or her audiences that the research findings of an inquiry are worth paying attention to?*” (p. 290). Ever since diverse discussions occurred and diverse suggestions offered by qualitative scholars.

In 1985, Guba and Lincoln offered four criteria (credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability) for the trustworthiness and authenticity of a qualitative research. Thenceforth, various strategies or criteria are shared by qualitative scholars. Cohen and Crabtree (2008) reviewed these strategies and shared more than 30 strategies as a comprehensive list.

However, the discussion has not been about the included/excluded criteria or strategies to test the rigor of qualitative research. Some of the qualitative scholars were opposed to the development of standards, as they mostly claimed that a standardization idea of quality testing contradicts with the philosophy of interpretive, critical or post-structural paradigms (Tracy, 2010). According to them, qualitative research is context-dependent, and there are diverse qualitative communities such as ethnography, case study, narrative research, phenomenology or grounded theory, it is not possible to create common criteria for these diverse-natured research methodologies. For instance, Creswell (2007) created standards of validation and evaluation for each of the five qualitative approaches namely ethnographic, narrative, case study, phenomenological and grounded theory research.

On the other hand, Tracy (2010) tried to develop a set of criteria that reflects the complexity of qualitative research. She used the ‘big-tent’ conceptualization of Denzin (2008) to explain the variety of qualitative approaches, and to refer the possibility of meeting under a ‘big-tent’ (as cited in Tracy, 2010). She developed “*Eight ‘Big-tent’ Criteria for Excellent Qualitative Research*”. I mainly used the criteria developed by Tracy (2010) to discuss the trustworthiness of the study.

Tracy (2010) conceptualized eight points about the quality of qualitative research: worthy topic, rich rigor, sincerity, credibility, resonance, significant contribution, ethical, and meaningful coherence. I elaborated on the details on the trustworthiness of this study by applying Tracy's flexible criteria. A point needs to be stated that, all the criteria do not have to be suitable to evaluate this research study; thus the quality of the study was evaluated through the coherent ones.

Starting from the worthiness of the research, it can be claimed that the studied phenomenon is highly important in a country where cultural diversity is rapidly increasing and citizenship is considered and defined from a nation-based perspective, as it was discussed in the literature part. From this understanding, this study can be regarded as timely, relevant, significant and worthy to study on (Tracy, 2010). Further, as I explained in the introduction and earlier in the methodology chapters, my positionality has importance for this research study. By growing in a multicultural neighborhood and city -and country-, I had many observations and experiences which many times become a hinder to understanding myself and the world better. In time, I found another rationale to study on citizenship and differences; as I experienced and observed, I realized that drawing borders between people and our trying to stay within the limits of these borders becomes a barrier even we are staying with the majority groups. And, I continue to experience the same problems as I grow. The polarization between people is increasing year by year. Thus, my childhood questions are still timely, relevant, significant and worthy to study on.

Rich rigor conceptualization of Tracy (2010) is about the amount of data, the sufficiency of time to collect significant data, the appropriateness of the sample and context of study in terms of the research purposes, and appropriateness of procedures during interviewing, analyzing the data, observing or field note-taking. According to the shared factors related to rich rigor, the current research study can be defined as rigorous as the context (Adana sub-region) and the sample corresponds to the phenomenon studied. Adana and Mersin are culturally diverse cities as it was explicated in detail in the methodology while explaining the context, and the schools were selected purposefully. Besides, the coherence of the context and the sample

were also confirmed through the participants' statements. All of the schools were reported as culturally diverse.

The data were rich including documents, surveys, interviews and observations; and in each step participants were selected regarding the research purposes. For instance, after the second step, the schools experiencing challenges regarding cultural diversity and the classrooms which reflected the cultural diversity were selected for interviews and observations. Besides, interviews and observations were continued till the data-saturated.

For the survey layer, I purposefully used open-ended questions for allowing participants space to define themselves and their opinions about the studied phenomenon as they like. The survey participants were given time (at least 3 days were given to fill the survey) to think on the questions to be able to get sincerer, detailed and deeper responses. From this point, their convenience in terms of time and place were considered while collecting the survey data.

For the ethnography, I sensitively cared about the convenience of the participants and the place to interview for the quality of interviews. I ensured that they feel comfortable in terms of place and time. Therefore, the interviews were done during the free hours of teachers. It was easier to manage free hours for managers and counselors since their schedules were more flexible than the schedule of teachers. I also tried to observe each of the seven classrooms at least eight class hours. In addition, I was very careful to be neutral and not to show my feelings during the observations. On the other hand, sometimes problems occurred, for instance, the data-saturated in two of the classrooms after five class hour observations, as it was explained previously, thus two more classrooms were added to the data gathering process in order to provide rich data.

Furthermore, before their participation, all of the participants were given information about their rights -such as stopping the interview whenever they want, removing the parts they do not want to be included, or asking for withdrawal if they do not feel comfortable- and how I ensure their confidentiality (Appendix F). They were given my e-mail address to reach if they have any problems or questions about the study.

For the potential internal validity threats regarding the data collector characteristics and data collector bias, the earlier section on “my positionality as a researcher” explains how I secure internal validity in terms of these issues.

In brief, the time was sufficient to collect the significant data, there was not any limiting factors continuing the data gathering till the data saturation; the context and sample was appropriate; the procedures during data gathering was carefully organized to get the quality data, and finally the amount of data provided meaningful findings to discuss the phenomenon. Accordingly, it can be claimed that rich rigor was ensured.

According to Tracy (2010), providing credibility needs triangulation and thick description. Multiple types of data sources (counselors, managers, teachers, students, documents), various data gathering methods (document analysis, interviews, surveys, observations) and theoretical frameworks were used during the research process. In addition to these, research process was navigated and audit by the supervisor, she guided me throughout the research process and the decisions were given together. It was a systematic review process, from this context, which eventually is valuable for the rigor and the accuracy of the decisions given in each step of the research process.

Tracy (2010) conceptualized ‘thick description’ in credibility. She emphasized the necessity of giving concrete details or in-depth illustrations to concretization of the complexity of the data. According to Tracy (2010) researchers need to show the details of the research process to the readers rather than “*telling the reader what to think*”, since qualitative research is highly context-dependent, and many layers may be formed throughout the process. As it can be followed throughout the written report, the context, and participants, the process, and procedures, the given decisions and their reasons, and findings were explained and shared explicitly and concretely to ensure credibility.

Tracy (2010) uses the concept ‘resonance’ “*to refer research’s ability to meaningfully reverberate and affect an audience*” (p. 845). She claimed that qualitative research achieves resonance through transferability, and transferability can be achieved when readers feel they can “*transfer the research to their own action*” (p. 845). Ensuring transferability needs rich description and direct

testimony. Three experts including my supervisor followed the research process through the reports I prepared regularly. Their support eased the decisions especially about the methodology. Besides, more experts and volunteer participants supported the data collection tools' development process. Additionally, the translations were controlled by an expert on English teaching as a second language. Thus there were experts who testified the research process, especially the parts when a second sometimes third opinion or testimony was needed. Thus, it can be claimed that direct testimony was provided throughout the research process, as well as the rich description of the research process.

According to Jensen (2008), *time, angles, colleagues* and *triangulation* are important to be considered to ensure and increase credibility. As discussed so far, enough time was allocated to the data collection process, research was designed to let me look at the phenomenon from different angles and perspectives, triangulation was provided with multiple data sources and data collection methods, and several experts followed the process.

Finally, Tracy (2010) also heeds the 'sincerity' of the researcher. According to her, sincerity refers to the honesty and transparency of the researcher about her/his biases, goals, foibles and how these played a role during the research process. I tried to explain my position to and relation with the studied phenomenon as transparent as possible. Besides, the position that I placed myself determined the methodology as I explained in-depth and detailed.

3.8. Limitations and Delimitations

Before sharing and interpreting the results of the study, several limitations and delimitations need to be acknowledged.

An observation about the teachers' being unmotivated was the most challenging limitation. I observed two reasons of the lack of motivation through the responses or attitudes of the teachers; one was a general attitude while the other was towards the phenomenon that I was studying. First of all, as some of them voiced they were tired of participating in such research studies since they believe that the results do not affect the education system at all, and these research studies are meaningless, but a loss of time from their perspective.

Besides, I sometimes felt an ambitionless attitude. To overcome this challenge, I was trying to be positive, and trying to make the participants believe the significance of the study and the great importance of their participation. However, some of the educators especially teachers seemed quite unmotivated. There were two attitudes that I observed which might describe the educators' unwillingness; some looked quite reckless while some looked quite desperate about the education system. These attitudes might affect the collected data since some survey forms were answered shortly. Besides, some participants of the interviews were also reluctant to answer questions wholeheartedly although they agreed to participate the research and schedule an interview time collaboratively. However, by triangulating the data in terms of sources and methods, and by trying to reach as many participants as possible until the data-saturated, the trustworthiness of the data was ensured.

The second reason of this reluctance to participate the study was about some educators' concern to talk about such a topic which was considered as 'delicate'. According to Merriam (2002) participant restraint is one of the limitations of case studies, as they might have hesitations to share information about themselves or their thoughts about a phenomenon. During the interactions with the participants, this has been the most challenging problem as the studied phenomenon was found 'delicate' by many of the participants. Some of them did not want to participate or to be recorded, or some of them asked to stop the voice recorder to be able to tell their opinions and feelings openly.

Further, even if they accepted to be interviewed, sometimes it was felt that some of them preferred to answer the questions briefly. Those who did not feel comfortable about interviewing about such a topic, yet did not refuse to participate to the study, preferred to give short answers to all questions that is why there was an unbalance between the durations of interviews. Some interviews lasted only 10, 13 or 14 minutes while the majority lasted more than 20 minutes.

There was another limitation which might have affected the deepness of the responses to surveys. I could not use some of the concepts such as 'ethnic or religious differences in the survey forms while asking the profile of the school, classrooms; I used 'cultural diversity' without specifying the concept with additional terms -such as ethnic diversity or religious diversity. For instance, some

of them understood 'cultural diversity as the diversity among parents regarding their education level. Although the socio-economic difference is one of the dimensions of the study, 'cultural diversity refers to many other differences such as ethnicity, religion, nationality, gender, and others. In brief, cultural diversity including different ethnicities, religions or gender is a 'delicate' subject in Turkey, as it can be any other nation-state defining citizenship with an emphasis on commonalities. Although I have ensured confidentiality of their identities, I felt the concern some of the participants had. That is why, collecting data by using diverse ways namely interviews, surveys, or observations provided an opportunity to overcome some of the limitations connected to participant restraint.

Another limitation was being a single researcher, although expert support was received to ensure trustworthiness of data analysis. According to Rossman and Rallis (2012) the qualitative researcher has to challenge the patterns s/he found from the data. There are always alternative understandings, and a qualitative researcher needs to identify them and explain how her/his interpretation is sound and grounded in the data. On the other hand, utilizing from multiple types of data sources (counselors, managers, teachers, students, documents); applying various data gathering methods (document analysis, interviews, surveys, observations); and the guidance and audit from the supervisor throughout the research process helped me to challenge the patterns that emerged from the data. Besides, I, as a critical researcher, defined the research process as a transformation process, rather than one-way knowledge-giving, knowledge-gaining or data-taking; that is why I was open to challenge with my understanding, my way of looking or seeing, or my perspective throughout the research process.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

The chapter presents the results of the document (curricula and textbooks), survey, and interview, classroom observation and field note analysis by connecting them to each other. Since, the study was designed in three layers to connect the results of each layer for the next layer, the deepness of the findings increases in each layer. First, the official discourses are shared through the curriculum analysis. Secondly, the open-ended survey form findings are presented. Finally, the findings from each school, that visited for interviews and classroom observations were, shared in its own context.

4.1. The Official Discourses: What Documents Tell?

This section includes the analysis results of 4th grade curriculum (MoNE, 2018) including Turkish Literature, Visual Arts, Social Sciences, Science, Human Rights Civics and Democracy (HRCDD), Music, Religious Culture and Ethics (RCE), Traffic Security, English, Information Technologies and Software, Physical Education and Math curricula ($n=12$) and their textbooks ($n=12$). Scope of the document analysis was limited with the first research question which queried the construction of citizenship and the constructed discourses on ‘nation, national, citizen, culture, ethnicity, diversity, gender, differences, rights and responsibilities’.

The curricula ($n=12$) were published by the MoNE in 2018, and the textbooks were designed and written regarding the frames in each of the program. All of the programs include two main sections. They consist of a general and common section explaining the general philosophy, goals and assessment approach of the national curriculum, and the intended values and competences. After the general philosophy; the specific goals, learning objectives, instructional approach,

and assessment approach are explained for each curriculum. Both first and the second parts of the curricula contain discourses and narratives on the nation, national, the concept of 'us', commonalities, diversity, differences, citizenship and gender. However, as the first part is common for every curriculum, the general philosophy and goals of the national curriculum is mentioned briefly before going into the specific details of each document.

The philosophy and goals of the national curriculum provide the characteristics of constructed citizenship. Some 'values' and 'competences' are specified and highlighted to describe future citizens. *Justice, friendship, honesty, self-control, patience, respect, love, responsibility, patriotism and helpfulness* are the 'root values' to be intended (MoNE, 2018a, p. 5). Besides, *communication in mother tongue, communication in foreign languages, mathematical competence and basic competences in science and technology, digital competence, learning to learn, social and civic competences, taking initiative and entrepreneurship, cultural awareness and creativity* are specified as the main competences to be aimed for future citizens (MoNE, 2018a, pp. 5-6). According to the definition of *social and civic competences*, future citizens are expected to have interpersonal and intercultural competences as well as to participate in the social and political life actively:

Social and citizenship competences: These competences include personal, interpersonal and intercultural competences which enable individuals to effectively and constructively participate to the differentiated society and working life. They also cover all forms of behavior that enable individuals to be equipped with features to resolve conflicts when necessary. Citizenship competence equips individuals to fully participate in civil life, based on their knowledge of social and political concepts and structures and their commitment to democratic and active participation. (MoNE, 2018b, p.5)

This statement clearly depicts an active citizenship understanding. Further, intercultural competences such as awareness of 'other' cultural groups to engage in cooperative social practices is considered essential in differentiated society and working life. On the other hand, the other most related competence to citizenship is *cultural awareness and creativity*, and culture is given an essential place by emphasizing the importance of cultural awareness while expressing thoughts, experiences and emotions during mass communication (MoNE, 2018b, p. 5).

To be more precise, the goal of the national curriculum is indicated as raising individuals as *active citizens, problem solvers, critical thinkers, entrepreneurs, patriots, and contributors to the culture and society; with good skills in communication, technology, and empathy* (MoNE, 2018a, p. 4). As can be observed, there are traces of both conventional and active citizenship understandings.

In the national curriculum (MoNE, 2018a, p. 4), the relation between knowledge and daily life is emphasized several times; the significance of *high-level cognitive skills* is considered important; *individual differences* of students are regarded; and the attention is attached to *skill-construction* rather than knowledge gaining. Yet, I elaborate on this point through the discourses in the textbooks and will show how the ‘claimed’ is quite different from the ‘reproduced’.

After the general description about the understanding and main goals of the national curriculum, now, I present the findings of curriculum analysis. Two major themes emerged during the iterative analysis, which are citizenship understanding, and discourses on differences. The findings for each theme are shared in the following sections respectively.

4.1.1 Citizenship Understanding in the Documents

The 4th grade curriculum including 12 curricula were analyzed by considering their specific goals, learning objectives (cognitive, affective and psychomotor), content, and instructional approach including assessment. While the contents of the textbooks were analyzed by considering both the texts and the illustrations.

The findings showed that the majority of the programs directly include citizenship-related objectives except for Math, English Language and Traffic Security. On the other hand, the overview of the thematic units of the textbooks revealed that HRCD, Social Studies and Turkish Literature textbooks have the most related thematic units to comprehend the understanding on citizenship, human rights, diversity and differences; however, all textbooks, either written or visual, include discourses and narratives about the key concepts of this research study.

Three main perspectives namely categories on citizenship emerged during the curriculum analysis: conventional (responsibility-based), rights-based and active

citizenship⁷⁵. Although conventional citizenship appeared to be dominant, results also showed the existence of the rights-based and active citizenship perspectives. The quotation below is taken from Social Studies textbook, and it briefly summarizes what kind of citizens are envisaged through the 4th grade curriculum:

Social Studies is one of the courses that you will take this year and the upcoming years. The course will enable you with *language and history awareness* thanks to the knowledge and skills you will acquire in Social Studies lessons. It will *strengthen your love for your homeland and nation, realize your rights and responsibilities, and improve your sensitivity on human rights*. You will also grow up as *individuals who will be able to make the right decisions and find solutions to problems*. (Tüysüz, 2018, p. 10)

As can be observed from the statements written in italics, there is a balance between diverse citizenship approaches. Patriotism, and national consciousness are highlighted, while right and responsibility consciousness and active citizenship are remarked at the same time. Both conventional, rights-based and active citizenship seems possible to be observed. Yet close analysis will reveal the dominant discourse on conventional citizenship as shown in the following sub-titles.

1) Conventional Citizenship

As it is explicitly discussed in the literature, every nation's creation bases on some elements such as a homeland, flag, anthem, language, culture, values, history, victories, national festivals, traditional celebrations, and others, as well as a national identity to set the boundaries of citizenship. These elements provide a ground to

⁷⁵ These citizenship perspectives were explained in the literature review. To remind; conventional citizenship that is taken from the study of Schulz and Sibbern (2004) refers to a responsibility-based citizenship understanding. According to this categorization, conventional citizen is the one who is conscious about the country's history, compliant to social norms or democratic duties by voting in every election, following political issues, and respecting to political leaders or government representatives. Therefore, while conventional citizenship refers to the republican model, rights-based citizenship refers to the liberal model by prioritizing citizenship and human rights as well as responsibilities. Active citizenship, on the other hand, is defined as "*participation in civil society, community and/or political life, characterized by mutual respect and nonviolence and in accordance with human rights and democracy*" (Hoskins, 2006). Here, I want to reemphasize that I am aware about the abstractness of these kind of classifications to analyze diverse dimensions of the concept from different aspects. In real life, it is not possible to draw strict borders between different approaches or between dualities, or in real life some of these dualities might not be contradictory and can be practiced together in some levels; however, this kind of classification or frameworks are needed to make detail analysis.

create a nation and curriculum has a role to reproduce the national elements for the perpetuity of the nation. The shared discourses from the 4th grade curriculum and textbooks on conventional citizenship understanding mainly aim to remind the nation to reproduce its boundaries. There are some specific codes that appeared to be used constantly to ensure the unity and reproduce the nation by thicken the borders and strengthen the national consciousness of students, namely (a) the ‘us’ discourse, (b) commonalities, (c) national history and national heroes, (d) national rituals and symbols, (e) patriotism, (f) the discourse of military-nation, (g) fulfilling citizenship responsibilities.

a) The ‘Us’ Discourse

I will start with the findings about the discourses on ‘us’ which is used to link every citizen to each other and to the nation, while creating an ‘other’ discourse either through the hidden or the null curriculum.⁷⁶ Setting the boundaries of national identity is essential to raise the awareness of students about the nation and themselves. Document analysis showed the two prominent characteristics of the ‘Turkish national identity’: Turkishness and Sunni-Islam.

Turkishness is the first character of the nation, and learning objectives are mainly written with this emphasis. Learning objectives of Play and Physical Activities curriculum (2018) guide students to “*investigate Turkish athletes who have been successful in international competitions*” (p.25). Turkish music in Music curriculum (2018, p. 8) and Turkish architecture in Visual Arts curriculum (2018, pp. 11-12) are highlighted to define the nation and its citizens which is coherent with the Constitution, at the first glance. According to the Article 66 in the Constitution, every citizen is defined as ‘Turk’, and being ‘Turk’ defines the nationality rather

⁷⁶ According to Eisner (1985), schools teach three types of curricula namely the explicit, the implicit and the null curriculum. Explicit curriculum indicates the formal, the written curriculum which is announced to be used. The implicit and null curriculum, on the other hand, have deeper meanings. The implicit curriculum refers to the hidden curriculum which discussed in the literature and consists the values and expectations that are not included in the explicit curriculum but learned by students. Null curriculum is more complex and emphasizes the knowledge that is not included. Through Eisner’s own words the null curriculum is “...*the options students are not afforded, the perspectives they may never know about, much less be able to use, the concepts and skills that are not part of their intellectual repertoire*” (1985, p. 107).

than ethnicity. There are examples in the textbooks that refer the nationality of people living in the Turkish Republic:

Like every Turkish citizen, I have an ID number. This number is in the upper left part of my ID card... (Tüysüz, 2018, p. 13)

The Turkish National Team who won a gold medal by beating England in European Wheelchair Basketball Championship returned to the country. (Çetin et al., 2018, p. 69)

Coherently, discourses such as Turkish scientist (Kaftan Ayan et. al., 2019, p. 95), Turkish sporter (İnce et al, 2018, p. 52), or Turkish businessman⁷⁷ (Tüysüz, 2018, p. 184) are used to define the nationality. On the other hand, some of the discourses in the textbooks demonstrate that ‘Turkishness’ is not used to define only nationality, every cultural element in the country is identified over Turkishness:

Turkish folk music, traditional Turkish art music, polyphonic Turkish music and popular music which represent our traditional music genres narrate the emotions, thoughts and experiences of our people. It is important to get to know our traditional music. (Çalışkan et al., p. 58)

Offering coffee, which is one of the symbols of Turkish hospitality, has been a subject of our proverbs. ‘A cup of coffee has a forty-year sake.’ is an example of this. (Tüysüz, 2018, p. 39)

Moreover, there is another narrative on ‘Turkishness’ that might deepen the analysis to identify who is included inside the concept of ‘us’. ‘Turkishness’ is not only defined through the history of Turkish Republic, the narration on Turkish society and ‘being Turk’ dates back to pre-Islamic times.

Hide and seek is a children’s game known as ‘karaguni’ and played in its current form for centuries in Turkish society. (Tüysüz, 2018, p. 45)

The Turks regarded Oğuz Kağan as an ancestor both before and after Islam. History shows that all Turks from the Huns to the Ottomans, Khorasan, and the Turkish communities that established states in Azerbaijan, Iraq, Anatolia, Balkans, Crimea, Ukraine and North Africa are all descendants of the same Hun-Oğuz union. (Kaftan Ayan et al., 2019, p. 194)

According to these discourses, Turks and the Turkish society exist for centuries which indicate a complexity about the use of ‘Turkishness’ in the

⁷⁷ ‘Businessman’ is not a gender neutral choice. Instead, ‘business person’ can be used. The gender neutral language will be touched upon in the section called ‘Discourses on gender’.

textbooks. On the one hand, Turkish citizens are defined as ‘Turks’ consistently through the Constitution; on the other hand, ‘being Turk’ is linked to Central Asia and to the pre-Islamic centuries which attributes an ethnic meaning to the identity. Through this limitation it can be claimed that, the national identity is defined over ‘Turkishness’ by considering its ethnic meaning more than the Constitutional regulation. The below example (Figure 4.1) highlights the same point by also using the concept of ‘us’:



Our traditional clothing is one of the flashy material elements of our culture. These clothes were worn by the Turkish people for centuries with their women and men. Today, it is mostly worn on special occasions or exhibited in ethnography museums.

Figure 4.1. Illustration from Social Studies textbook, p. 193.

Traditional clothes that belong to Turkish people for centuries clearly explain the incoherency, as this emphasis has an ethnic meaning by grounding the ethnic identity to Central Asia rather than to Turkish Republic. Coherently with this perspective, Turkic Republics and other Turkish communities are given a special meaning and they are particularly emphasized in Social Studies textbook (Tüysüz, 2018, p. 182-185).

There are strong historical ties between Azerbaijan and us. Turkey and Azerbaijan are brother/sister countries who are expressing themselves as “one nation, two

states". Atatürk expressed this brotherhood/sisterhood: by saying "The joy of Azerbaijan is our joy; their sorrow is our sorrow." (p. 183)

There is a balanced relationship based on mutual respect, understanding and cooperation between Turkey and Turkmenistan who share common history, language, faith and culture. (p. 184)

A unity in lineage and culture are defined between Turkic Republics, other Turkish communities and Turkey, as well as the sustained cooperation.

Turkey has established some institutions to manage its relationships with Turks living in other countries especially in Turkic Republics. The major institutions are Turkish Coordination and Cooperation Agency and The Presidency for Turks Abroad and Relative Communities. (Tüysüz, 2018, p. 183)

In addition, the bonds with the countries including Turkish population are emphasized:

In addition to the political and economic relations between Turkey and Georgia, there are also strong cultural ties. Meskhetian Turks living in Georgia creates a cultural bridge between the people of two countries. (Tüysüz, 2018, p. 179)

There are strong historical and cultural bonds between Turkey and Bulgaria which consists of a considerable number of Turkish population. The baths, fountains, bridges, mosques and similar artifacts from the Ottoman period, in various parts of the country, carry the traces of the Turkish culture. (Tüysüz, 2018, p. 177)

Thus, while other ethnicities (Kurd, Arab, Cherkes, Laz, and others) living in Turkey as Turkish citizens are not mentioned in the textbooks as the distinct presence of the null curriculum, it is possible to see Turks who are living in other countries with other nationalities. This distinction does not seem coherent with the claim that being Turk or Turkish refers to a nationality rather than ethnicity.

Document analysis showed that the boundaries of national identity have also a strong connection with Islam, especially with Sunni-Islam, as other sects are not included inside. The general aim of the RCE curriculum (MoNE, 2018d) is explained as to teach Islam and other religions through a descriptive approach. Islam was grounded on the basic principles of Quran and the sunna (sünnet). It is claimed that, the interpretations of Islam were approached through a scientific method and a supra-denominational understanding; while other living religions were also covered through a scientific method, supra-national and phenomenological understanding (p. 8). Yet, RCE curriculum has 10 specific goals and four of them directly aims to teach about Islam and Prophet Muhammed:

- Students will recognize the main sources of Islam
- Students will recognize the life and exemplary moral values of Prophet Muhammad
- Students will explain the principles of belief, worship and morality of the religion of Islam
- Students will recognize the content of some prayers and suras (sure) in general terms

Moreover, RCE curriculum includes detailed principles and instructions about textbooks to be prepared. For instance, the below instruction demonstrates that there is a dominant sect and the decision to explain other worship(s) in Islam is left to teachers:

The information about sects' diverse understandings and implementations of worships inside Islam (such as ablution, prayer, and others) are explained by teachers in case of need. (p. 9)

That shows that the knowledge about other sects are not included in the textbooks, yet teachers are reminded to give some information in case of need; which at the same time reveals the presence of both the hidden and the null curriculum. The decision of including any information is left to teachers which hiddenly reveals that the knowledge of other sects is not regarded as fundamental as the knowledge on Sunni-Islam. As can be observed from the learning objectives and content of RCE curriculum, the dominant Islamic sect is accepted and presented as Sunni-Islam. There are five units (Religious expressions in Islam, Getting to know Islam, Social ethics, Getting to know Prophet Muhammad, and Religion and cleanness) and 19 learning objectives which refers to Sunni-Islam (MoNE, 2018d, p. 16-20). There is not any learning objective that targets to show different sects in Islam or different religious beliefs which are represented by many of the citizens in the country.

For instance, the unit on 'Knowing Islam' and 'Knowing Prophet Muhammad' directly aim to teach six pillars of faith, five pillars of Islam, Koran, Prophet Muhammad's life and family, and some prayers from Koran. On the other hand, the unit about 'Religious expressions' only refers to daily expressions in Islam:

We use so many religious expressions and concepts in our daily lives. Some of them are, "Allah, prophet, eûzü basmala, salaam, hamt and şükür, tekbir and salawat, sevap, günah, helal, haram, estağfurullah and suphanallah". (Demirtaş, 2018, p. 12)

Besides, it is possible to see direct discourses showing the boundaries of the ‘us’ concept, such as ‘our’ holy Koran or ‘our’ Prophet Muhammad. For instance, a statement starts with “*In our holy Koran, it is commanded that ‘Allah and his angels say a lot of salawats to Prophet Muhammad...’*”; or another starts as “*Our Prophet, in one of his deeds, exemplified a behavior to us and commanded that ...*”. Islam is defined as ‘our religion’, “*According to our religion doing good deeds is halal. Earning your keep, eating healthy are halal behaviors.*” (Demirtaş, 2018, p. 21-23). In the third unit, social ethics is grounded on Islam in other words to ‘our’ religion. Islam is regarded as guide to learn how to behave ethically:

The religion of Islam advises people to strengthen their love and respect in their relations with each other. The advice of the Islam guides us in our relations with our parents, brothers/sisters, relatives, neighbors, friends and teachers. (Demirtaş, 2018, p. 63)

The main codes of relationship with parents, brothers/sisters, relatives, neighbors, friends and teachers are shared with students over the values of Islam. RCE textbooks include detailed examples about how to behave to parents, teachers, relatives, neighbors, friends and brothers/sisters with respect to Islam.

It is important to behave respectfully to our parents and family elders. Fulfilling the duties, that given by family elders, in accordance with the religion; being quiet if there is someone sleeping or working; taking care of the guests; kissing the hands of the elders and many more behaviors are indicators of respect in family. (Yiğit et. al., 2018, p. 58)

Coherently with the above points, only illustrations about Islam are used in the RCE textbooks that promoting a religious citizen through the values, attitudes and knowledge of Sunni-Islam (Figure 4.2):



Figure 4.2. Some illustrations from Religious Culture and Ethics textbooks.

Islamic elements are not only used in RCE textbooks. In Math textbook, a math problem is about the distance of an elder man's living in the rural to a mosque, the problem is shared with the used illustration:

Grandfather Bekir can go from his home to the mosque in 613 steps. Grandfather Bekir took 522 steps to go the mosque from his home. How it can be estimated that how many steps Grandfather Bekir needs to take to reach the mosque? (Özçelik, 2018, p. 62)



Figure 4.3. Math textbook, p. 62.

The sixth unit of Turkish Literature textbook is about 'Our National Culture', a long text is involved about Ramadan, and the below illustration is shared under the text, which symbolizes Ramadan and its religious meaning.



Figure 4.4. Turkish Literature textbook, p. 177.

Moreover, in one of the Science textbooks (Çetin et. al., 2018), while mentioning about lightening technologies, the beauty of ‘our’ historical heritage with lights is given as an example and the below mosque illustration is depicted:

Lightening technologies can also be used to make our historical heritage look beautiful at night. The lightening of our historical buildings makes them look remarkable and beautiful.

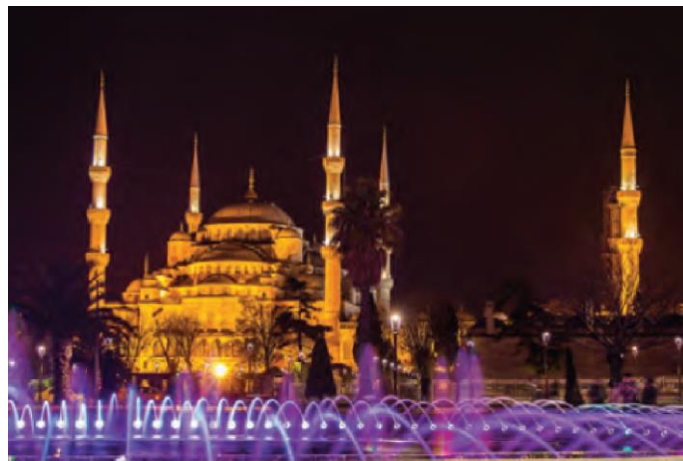


Figure 4.5. Science textbook, p. 147.

Therefore, it can be easily observed while reviewing the curriculum and textbooks that religion, and especially Sunni-Islam is promoted as a characteristic of the ‘us’ concept; while ‘other’ religions, religious beliefs or sects in Islam that

have followers or believers among the citizens of the country are not considered, but ignored. Ethnically, the Turkish citizenship is bounded to be a Turk/Turkish; and as can be easily comprehended through the textbook analysis, the ‘Turkish’ does mostly not refer to the national identity, it is ethnically loaded. On the other hand, again, the citizens who are not Turk/Turkish are ignored in the textbooks, while students are invited to develop intimacy with the Turks that are born and live in other countries with different nationalities. In brief, the ‘Turkish national identity’ is clearly defined over Turkishness and Sunni-Islam in the documents.

b) Commonalities as ‘Our’

Variety of commonalities are reproduced to strengthen national consciousness. They are emphasized to build a collective memory and strengthen the collective identity. In Music textbook, ‘our music culture’ (Çalışkan et. al., 2018, p. 58); in Physical Activities and Play activity book ‘our traditional folk dances and plays’ (İnce et. al., 2018, p. 51); in Math textbook, ‘our national struggle’ (Özçelik, 2018, p. 10); in HRCD textbook, common ‘values’ and national unity (Altay et. al., 2018, p. 90); and in RCE textbooks ‘our religion’ are emphasized. In this way, a collective memory is being constructed from various angles and the limits of ‘us’ is drawn by emphasizing various elements, consistently.

Culture, values, destiny, history, language, national sentiments, religion are some of the elements to indicate ‘our’ commonalities and to build a collective memory. In the documents, the homeland is defined more than a place to live in, and national consciousness is strengthened through commonalities:

Y.4.6.1. Students will know a homeland is needed to live together.

It is emphasized that the homeland is not just a place; homeland becomes meaningful with common values and culture. (HRCD curriculum; MoNE, 2018g, p. 15)

The piece of land that people live together is defined as the homeland. However, the homeland is not just a place to live in. Homeland is the place where people who are sharing their pride, joy and sorrow live peacefully and adopt common culture and values. (Altay et al., 2018, p. 90)

“*Adopting common culture and values*” exemplifies what I mean by constructing commonalities to strengthen national identity to reproduce the nation. There are several examples from both the curriculum and textbooks. For instance,

the below objective from Social Studies curriculum (MoNE, 2018c), highlights ‘our’ common cultural and architectural elements that mostly remind Islam:

SB.4.2.2. Students will give examples by researching the elements reflecting their family and national culture.

A visit to a historical place such as a museum, mosque, tomb, bridge, madrasa, or caravanserai from the immediate surroundings is arranged, or oral history or local history studies are held. (p.14)

Further, a passage from Social Studies textbook (Tüysüz, 2018) mentions about the ‘Elements of Our National Culture’:

Nation; is a community of people with unity in language, history and culture. People, who form a nation, make tools and build structures for various purposes. They try to express their feelings and thoughts through words, writing, music or painting. By sharing their joys and sorrows, they share a common fate. As a result of these long-lived experiences, they create their own material and spiritual values called national culture. So every nation differs from other nations with its language, traditions and customs, national costumes, festivals, beliefs, moral values and sense of art. (p. 38)

Language, history, culture, sense of art, the created art, emotions, values, traditions, customs, costumes, festivals, and beliefs are defined inside the commonalities of a nation; and they are defined by the concept of ‘our’. The passage continues through the examples from Turkish nation:

The Turkish nation, whose roots go deep into history, has a rich culture. It is one of our national cultural elements to offer coffee to guests, to kiss the hands of adults on religious holidays, to visit patients, to conduct circumcision and to hold wedding ceremonies. In addition, in our houses, all of us have artefacts and works of art reflecting our national culture. (p. 38)

As revealed, traditions and customs are commonized, and some of the artefacts or works of art are regarded as common belongings that everyone has. Culture and customs are reduced to the traditions of some communities living in the country. Circumcise and kissing the hands of adults on religious holidays, that promoted as cultural elements of the nation, only refers to the Muslim citizens’ religious traditions.

A similar example which only introduces religious festivals in Islam is founded in one of the RCE textbook. According to the textbook, “*Muslims have two religious holidays. First one is Ramadan Feast which comes after the month of*

Ramadan, when we fast; the second one is the Feast of Sacrifice, which we sacrifice to gain the consent of our Lord” (Yiğit et. al., 2018, p. 22).

It is observed that, the content in the diverse textbooks completes each other. Religious festivals are shared as both a cultural, religious and national element. The quote below was taken from the Social Studies textbook showing how cultural and national are connected to each other by stressing commonalities and limiting the ‘us’ to Sunni-Muslim identity.

Our festivals have a special place in our national cultural values. I love festivals... I wake up early in the morning of the festivals. After the salad el aid, I wear my festival clothes and kiss my mother’s and father’s hands and celebrate their feasts. After the breakfast, we celebrate our neighbors and relatives’ feasts... These beautiful traditions of us strengthen respect, family unity and kinship bonds among family members... (Tüysüz, 2018, p. 43)

The bonds that reinforce national unity and link the citizens to each other are highlighted from diverse perspectives. For instance, in Social Studies curriculum (MoNE, 2018c), one of the specific goals of the course is explained as “*students understand the basic elements and processes that make up the Turkish culture and history and accept that cultural heritage, which enables the formation of national consciousness, should be protected and developed*” (p. 8). Likewise, the Turkish Literature curriculum (MoNE, 2018b) specifically aims to enhance national, moral, spiritual, historical, cultural, and social values; and to strengthen national feelings of students (p. 8). Therefore, commonalities are not only constructed to unite the nation, and build a collective memory regarding history, culture, art, architecture, and others. They are also constructed and used to set the boundaries of the ‘us’ concept. According to the general perspective and philosophy of the national curriculum, ‘our values’ are also a part of ‘our culture’ and “*they have been distilled from the national and spiritual resources of our society, and have reached today from past and will be transferred to our future* (MoNE, 2018b, p. 4)”. The discourses on common past, present and future interrelatedly fosters the discourses on ‘us’.

c) National History and National Heroes

Not only the culture and cultural elements are reproduced through the official discourses, but also a common history is created. It is exemplified by one of the learning objectives of the Social Studies curriculum which is ‘*Students will*

understand the importance of the National Struggle with reference to the lives of National Struggle heroes” (p.14). Discourses on National Struggle (The War of Independence) emphasizes the common past, common sorrows, pride, and the heroes that fought against the enemies for ‘us’ to live in sovereignty and peace. This is quite a distinct character to build and reproduce the nation and national identity. Emphasizing the national history, especially the historical events that have the potential to bond people to each other is an apparent way of uniting the citizens of the nation.

Therefore, in the textbooks, history is observed as one of the powerful elements to establish a bond between people. Narratives about The War of Independence aim to keep the collective proud and sorrow alive. The below quotation is taken from Social Studies textbook, past sorrows, struggles, and national heroes are reminded to the future citizens to move on with proud and self-confidence as a nation:

We must draw lessons from the disasters our nation has suffered and the sacrifices they made in the past. On the other hand, we should be proud of our heroic ancestors, especially Atatürk, and we should trust ourselves with the strength we get from them. (Tüysüz, 2018, p. 58)

The narration on The War of Independence provides the bond to unify the nation today. Reminding collective sorrow, discourses on sacrifices, cooperation and solidarity, emphasizing the proud of victory are some of the components of this narration and this is how a collective memory is being constructed:

The Turkish people gave the best example of solidarity and cooperation during the War of Independence. Under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, all the people from seven to seventy participated in this war. Everyone has made their sacrifices. As a result of this war, the Turkish nation achieved victory through perseverance and solidarity.



Figure 4.6. Illustration from HRCD textbook, p. 38.

The same illustration is used also in Social Studies textbook, next to a composition written by an 8th grade student⁷⁸, I present the shared part of the composition below:

A PROMISE TO ELDERS

Time make us forget the greatest pains, but nobody forgets happiness and success. We also, we do not forget. Did you think about how this homeland came today? Do you know how we succeeded and won the victory? We tried to succeed the impossible. We resisted to thousands of them (*enemies*). But they were missing something. This was love of homeland, a sense of brotherhood/sisterhood and a desire for independence.



We finally did it. We defeated thousands and opened our assembly. Because we had to be free. We had to make our own decisions and again we had to practice them by the representatives we have chosen. We cannot forget our mothers carrying our bullets on the bare feet, we cannot forget our martyrs who gave their lives for the sake of this homeland. We feel proud and able to look to the future with confidence while thinking about them. We want to protect the State and the Republic more and glorify them.

Figure 4.7. Illustration and a composition from Social Studies textbook, p. 169.

⁷⁸ The student won a competition organized by the Grand National Assembly of Turkey with her composition on Grand National Assembly and the Republic, in 2004.

This composition written by an 8th grade student, and she emphasizes collective sorrow, success, happiness, proud, confidence, and hopes and desires for the future. The collective memory is revisited through her words in which an emphasis is put on patriotism, ‘our’ ancestors, ‘our’ martyrs, the proud of being a nation, and the promise to protect the State and the Republic forever. A direct link is built between the past, present and the future through the history.

In the textbooks, ‘our’ national ancestors’ defeating the homeland from the enemies is recalled with respect, and proud; national heroes are reminded to build national consciousness. For instance, an emotional poem from Turkish Literature textbook (Kaftan Ayan, 2019) is shared with the used illustrations below:

Atatürk was with them

I saw them in Çanakkale
Their names were written on tombstones
Soldier Süleyman:
Age 17, His hometown, Adapazarı
He desisted from his life to embrace the land of the homeland.
Master sergeant Salih:
Age 20
He came from Mardin to stop the attackers (*enemies*).



Sergeant Üzeyir:
Age 19, his hometown was İnebolu,
‘The homeland lives long!’ he said,
There was no regret in his eyes.
Captain Mahmut,
Age 29, he was from Urfa,
His eyes were spitting fire
‘I do not give a handful of my land to anyone!’
Major Süleyman:
Age 32, Hometown, Ağrı
He showed Conkbayırı with his hand.
He was laughing and showing the place where he martyred.
He was making jokes
Mustafa Kemal Pasha was there with them.



Figure 4.8. Illustration and a poem from Turkish Literature textbook, p. 48-49.

The poem is about Dardanelles Campaign happened between 1915 and 1916. National heroes, their faith to succeed, their patriotism, their courage and determination to sacrifice their lives for the country are stated. When the places of exclamation marks (!) are examined, the strong emotions about patriotism can be felt to build national conscience.

The narration on national heroes is quite dominant especially in Turkish Literature and Social Studies textbooks.

Our heroes, who have come out of the bosom of the Turkish nation, have a big share in winning the National Struggle. Ghazi Mustafa Kemal Atatürk comes first, who started the struggle by saying "Either freedom or death!"



Mustafa Kemal in front line during Dardanelles Campaign
Figure 4.9. Illustration from Social Studies textbook, p. 49.

Sütçü İmam from Maraş, Ali Saip Bey from Urfa, Şahin Bey from Antep, Hasan Tahsin from İzmir, Tayyar Rahmiye Hanım from Osmaniye, Yörük Ali Efe from Aegean region, Ali Fuat Pasha and Colonel İsmet Bey from Western Front, Şerife Bacı, Vecihi Hürkuş and Sergeant Halime are some of the national heroes of the War of Independence that are introduced in the 4th grade Turkish Literature and Social Studies textbooks.



Tayyar Rahmiye Hanım



Vecihi Hürkuş

Figure 4.10. Social Studies textbook, p. 52. Figure 4.11. Turkish Literature textbook, p. 66.



Yörük Ali Efe



Hasan Tahsin



Şahin Bey

Figure 4.12. Illustrations of national heroes from Social Studies textbook, p. 54-55.

Each of the national heroes' illustration is shared as well as the heroic narratives about them. For instance, Tayyar Rahmine Hanım is mentioned as a patriot Turkish woman, she was martyred while attacking to the enemies. Besides it is emphasized that she sacrificed her life for the flag, and this holy homeland is a gift from her (Tüysüz, 2018, p. 52). Vecihi Hürkuş's life, his efforts to build a

warplane, and his success about being the first pilot who crashed a warplane during the War of Independence are mentioned. And the others, their lives, illustrations, and heroic narratives about them are explicitly shared to remind students that they sacrifice their lives to build the nation and protect the homeland. In this way, heroes of the nation and the emotions about the specific events in the history are commonized, and the national history is constantly reminded for strengthening the national conscious.

On the other hand, since these discourses are taken from the 4th grade textbooks, it is possible to discuss their suitability for 4th grade students pedagogically, when we consider their age.

History is a powerful element to strengthen the shared feeling of belonging; and bonds are also established between the past, present and future over the national struggle, martyrs, victories, and national heroes. In Social Studies textbook, the narration on the War of Independence is linked to a present event which is July 15 Coup Attempt:

...the achievements provided by the existence of our freedom and independence depend primarily on the protection of our Republic. However, our Republic has been subjected to various attacks from inside and outside since its foundation. The last of these attacks took place on July 15, 2016. That night, the terrorist organization, which aimed to eliminate democracy by ignoring national will, made a treacherous coup attempt. (p. 170)

On the night of July 15, the heroic Turkish nation suppressed the coup attempt by lying down in front of the tanks without fear and by shielding their chest to the bullets. Thus, they made history by showing that they do not hesitate to die for the sake of the one nation, one flag, one country and one state. That night, 248 citizens were martyred because of the opened fire by the coup plotters and 2.196 citizens were injured and became veterans. (p. 170)

Similar discourses can be observed in the passages on the War of Independence and July 15 Coup Attempt⁷⁹. Struggling and dying for the country are glorified; courage, faith, and patriotism of the citizens are emphasized; and martyrdom, becoming a veteran, and sacrificing for the country are sanctified. In other words, students are invited to die for the country if needed one day. In the last

⁷⁹ The 15 July 2016 coup was attempted in Turkey against the government. It was organized and carried out by a fraction in the Turkish Armed Forces. The government emphasized the link of the fraction to Gülen movement which is defined as a terrorist organization (FETÖ) by the Republic of Turkey.

paragraph, the nation is invited to remember July 15 to sustain the independence of the nation and the country. July 15 was noted in history as ‘Democracy and National Unity Day’:

We should understand the meaning and importance of this day, which states that no power can stand against the national will. We should not forget that we owe the independence of our country and our individual freedoms to those who bravely resisted against the coup plotters on July 15. We should be grateful to our martyrs and veterans who have lost their lives for the sake of democracy and national unity. (Social Studies textbook, p. 170)



Figure 4.13. A photograph representing July 15 Coup Attempt, Social Studies textbook, p. 170.

Besides this, there is a text on July 15 and the narration on national unity, national struggle, freedom, democracy, national will, heroism, and martyrdom in Social Studies textbook. July 15 is also reminded in the Turkish Literature textbook with a question “What have women done to protect our country on the night of July 15? (p.62); and with an illustration in the Traffic Security textbook by naming the bus as July 15:



Figure 4.14. Illustration from Traffic Security textbook, p. 43.

Both through the War of Independence and July 15 coup attempt, inculcating students with the loftiness and nobility of dying for the sake of the country cannot be regarded and approved as a proper way to teach ‘love of country’, pedagogically. Students are promoted to remember the sorrows, and the ‘enemies’; and they are constantly invited to feel strong emotions for the national history and heroes. ‘Love of country’ is, to some extent, linked to be ready to fight against the ‘enemies’ and die whenever needed. National history including sorrows, pride, and heroes is used as a tool to reproduce the nation and strengthen national identity by strengthening the national consciousness.

d) National Rituals and Symbols

In the documents, there are some elements, such as national flag, anthem, the national leader Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, national holidays, and the Republic, that highlighted or included with respect to their symbolic meaning for the nation. Creation and reproduction of a collective memory is important to protect and develop national consciousness in the minds of future citizens. Therefore, in the curriculum, it is strongly advised that:

The values that strengthen the bonds of love, respect, brotherhood/sisterhood, and friendship and that reinforce national unity and solidarity through the values of homeland, nation, flag, martyrdom, and veteran are inculcated strongly into students. (p. 10)

Further, according to one of the instructions in Social Studies curriculum (MoNE, 2018c), it is advised that “students’ historical sensitivity and national consciousness should be improved by making use of national and religious holidays, local liberation and celebration days, and important events” (p. 10). Celebrating national holidays has an important role for construction of a collective memory. Similar intention is observed in the other curricula. For instance, singing the Turkish National Anthem respectfully; or, participating the activities during national festivals -such as October 29 Republic Day, April 23 National Sovereignty and Children’s Day-, are some of the conventional citizenship related learning objectives from Music (MoNE, 2018e) and Physical Education and Play (MoNE, 2018f) curricula.

National flag and the National Anthem also symbolize the national struggle and how the nation became a nation. Atatürk’s Address to Youth is taken from ‘Nutuk (The Speech)’ in which he consigned the *Turkish Independence* and *Turkish Republic* to the future generations. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk’s portrait reminds the savior of the homeland and founder of the nation and the Republic.



Figure 4.15. First three pages of course materials.

The same symbols such as national flag, the photograph of poet Mehmet Akif Ersoy (National Anthem’s poet), the illustrations of ‘Nutuk (The Speech)’ and Atatürk are included in the textbooks. These symbols are included to create and remind the ‘characteristics’ of the nation for strengthening the national consciousness of students. Since, as Smith (2001) argues national symbols

“constitute an important force for social solidarity... they appear to be necessary for the establishment of social cohesion, the legitimization of institutions and political authority, and the inculcation of beliefs and conventions of behavior” (p. 522). Further, the symbols are used to remind ‘Who we are’, in other terms these rituals and symbols refer to the national identity and the constructed ‘us’.



Figure 4.16. Some examples of national symbols.

‘The Republic’ has a special meaning for the nation, it is defined more than a regime, and it symbolizes the national unity, national struggle, and the country’s independence. Citizens are expected to protect the Republic as it is also expressed by Atatürk in his Address to Youth; the Republic was commended to the youth, to future generations. The textbooks reproduce the same discourse about the Republic and its meaning for the Turkish nation. For instance, the below paragraph belongs to a 7th grade student⁸⁰ that included in Social Studies textbook:

Republic is a form of regime. It is the management of the people by the people elected. However, the Republic is not only a regime for the Turkish nation. It is freedom, salvation, resurrection, unity, everything. It is the revival of a plane tree that dried up. (Tüysüz, 2018, p. 169)

⁸⁰ Her composition won the competition in 2004 which is about the Grand National Assembly of Turkey and the Republic.

Another example is from Turkish Literature textbook, Atatürk's expression on the Republic and its meaning is shared:

The Republic is based on virtue and ethics. The Republic wants generations with free thought, free understanding and free conscience. Oh the rising new generation! The future is yours. We established the Republic; you are the one who will sustain it. (Kaftan Ayan et al., 2019, p. 65)

Republic is defined as the most proper regime to protect human rights and freedom of individuals, and to ensure equality and human dignity, in HRC D textbook (Altay et al., 2018). Furthermore, by referring to Atatürk's expressions, the Republic is explained as the most appropriate form of government for the characteristics, and customs of the Turkish nation (Altay et al., 2018, p. 38). Thus, Republic means more than a regime; it represents and symbolizes the nation, discursively.

Furthermore, Atatürk's wise quotes and information about him can be included and shared in the context of national symbols; since he is the founder. His characteristic is shown as the model for the future generations and his expressions are considered important. For instance, he is introduced as the great leader and founder of the Turkish Republic in English Language textbook:



Figure 4.17. Illustration from English Language textbook, p. 40.

Some anecdotes from his life, his choices, and his character⁸¹ are included in the course materials. The below example is from Turkish Literature textbook and both his character, and a small anecdote from his life are shared:

The most important source showing Atatürk's interest in books is his private library. There are so many books in this library, from military service to history, linguistics to civilizations, sociology to psychology, or philosophy to economy. Atatürk read these books carefully, put marks on the points that aroused his interest and took notes... Dear children, Atatürk expressed the source of his success and love of books as follows: "If I didn't give one of the two cents I received to the books in my childhood, I wouldn't be able to do any of the things I can do today." (Kaftan Ayan, 2019, p. 44)

Through this anecdote, love of books is promoted by introducing Atatürk as a role model. Related to this text, students are asked to talk about the things Atatürk has done for this homeland (p. 46). In another text about Atatürk's working style, his being disciplined, planned, realistic, respectful to other's opinions, and his rationality, and intellectualness are emphasized (p. 68-69).

Furthermore, his interests are shared in Music textbook by combining them with his thoughts on music education:

Atatürk loved music. He also liked listening to music, singing and dancing with folk music. Atatürk said that "Music is the joy, spirit, and everything of life.", and as he cares about music education in our country, he asked for the establishment of music schools and the support of artists. We remember Atatürk every year on the anniversary of his death with respect and love. We show our appreciation by singing the songs and anthems that mentions about him, and by singing the songs he loved. (Çalışkan et al., 2018, p. 74)

The songs and anthems that mentions about Atatürk and the songs Atatürk loved are also included in Music textbook.

Finally, wise quotes of Atatürk which also include messages about the topic to be learned are part of inputs about Atatürk. For instance, the preparation to the topic on 'The Rules and Freedom' is made by asking students to discuss on a wise quote of Atatürk about the topic:

What Mustafa Kemal Atatürk has emphasized with this statement: "Freedom is using everything without being harmful to anyone else. The limit of others is shown as a limit to personal freedom. The limit is determined and specified only by law." Discuss with your friends. (Atay et al., 2018, p. 78)

⁸¹ Copeux (2014) defines these as 'Kemalist inputs'.

Similarly, in Turkish Literature textbook (Kaftan Ayan et al., 2019) it is asked students to find wise sayings of Atatürk about wisdom and science as a preparation to the next lesson on the national struggle and Atatürk (p. 47). Or students are asked to write a poem which includes their feelings about Atatürk in the context of the “Atatürk and the National Struggle” Unit (p. 52). As can be followed through the examples, Atatürk’s symbolic meaning for the nation is reproduced to bond the people and the nation together. Love of Atatürk, and respect to his personality and character are some of the elements that commonize the nation.

e) Patriotism

‘Turkish citizen’ is defined as a strong patriot, who loves and be loyal to the country and the nation. In HRCB textbook (Altay et. al., 2018), *patriotism* is indicated as one of the primary responsibilities of the citizens (p. 96).

The homeland is defined as more than a common place to live in, it is defined as a place in where people are loyal to the country and the nation (Altay et. al, 2018, p. 90); and the love of the country and nation are remarked regardless of differences between citizens which in the end explained through patriotism:

No matter where in our country, when a disaster occurs, people from different views and lifestyles unite together. They collect and send what they have to the people in need. This is because of the love of the homeland and the nation. (Kaftan Ayan et. al, 2019, p.196)

The above quotation is taken from the Turkish Literature textbook, and in the same paragraph, it is claimed that *the love of homeland sustains and advances a country, and the biggest example of this is shown in our country* (p. 196). In other words, the biggest example of patriotism is defined over citizens of Turkish Republic. Even in this sentence, the dose of nationalist perspective can be sensed through which the national identity is shaped and strengthened in many levels starting from the ‘us’ discourse and continue with ‘our’ commonalities.

Patriotism is characterized as one of the components of ‘our’ tradition. In the same passage from the Turkish Literature textbook, it is indicated that “*In our traditions, the homeland and the flag are embraced with great love. On every national holiday, our flag is waved from the balconies and windows of the houses*” (Kaftan Ayan et al., 2019, p. 196). Patriotism, love of national flag, and loyalty to

the country and the nation are identified together as it can be understood from the shared examples so far. They are presented as the characteristics of citizens of Turkish Republic. Even music curriculum (MoNE, 2018e) targets to raise national and moral consciousness, and teach patriotism through music (p. 24); and teachers are reminded the role of music on shaping cultural identity (p. 9). Besides being loyal to the country or love of the nation; patriotism is connected to being beneficial to the country and the nation for sustainability of the homeland, the nation, and the Republic forever:

So, what should be our targets as youngsters of this country? First of all, we must be an ethical generation that cares about national values and science and that defends and protects the Republic. It is not enough to say ‘I die for this homeland’. We should also say ‘I try to keep this homeland, this flag forever; I do not waste a moment’. We should not forget our martyrs who have lost their blood for this country. We must make efforts for the future with the lessons we have learned from the history, and we must sustain our Republic forever. (Tüysüz, 2018, p. 169)

As can be seen from the above examples, patriotism is also characterized by dying for the sake of the country namely it takes a military-based form of citizenship in some of the discourses. It is possible to see discourses on patriotism, national consciousness, and military-nation together in the same narration. They manifested themselves separately during the analysis, however they are also quite interrelated and sometimes it is not possible to define one of them without mentioning about the other. I share the emerged characteristics under the sub-sections without a claim about isolating one from the other. The upcoming code is about the military-nation; similar discourses are shown from different angles.

f) The Discourse of Military-nation

In the previous sub-sections on the ‘us’ discourse, commonalities, national history and national heroes, national rituals and symbols, and patriotism, discourses that glorify being military-nation are touched upon. Patriotism is defined over risking death for the sake of the country, and ‘dying for the country’ is glorified. Or, to strength national consciousness, national struggle is glorified, violence or killing people for the sake of the country is normalized, and narrations on national heroes and their heroic decisions are hallowed. In other words, some of the elements that refer a military-nation understanding are already shared, they are not shared again;

however, I want to briefly share some other findings, this time from the perspective that glorifies being military-nation. These discourses are mainly observed in three textbooks which are HRCD, Social Studies and Turkish Literature, coherently with their curricula.

For instance, in a poem from HRCD textbook named as *Feeling Patriotism Heartedly*, ‘shedding blood’, ‘dying’, and ‘being martyred’ for the homeland are glorified (Altay et al., 2018, p. 90). In another example from the Social Studies textbook, ‘Turkish blood’ that belongs to the martyrs is hallowed, and killing for the country is normalized:

There is Turkish blood in every part of these lands where your dirty feet stepped. There is a grave of an ancestor in every part of this land. Turks have lived in this land since the ancient times. Turks warmed towards these lands, these lands warmed to Turks. Not only you, even whole world come together, nobody can separate us from these lands. Didn't you hear then, that the Turkish prisoner would not live? To die for honor and liberty seems to us sweeter than drinking cold water in the heat of August. You are fond of comfort. Do not stack us. Take off from our land right away. Otherwise, we'll kill you. (Tüysüz, 2018, p. 54)

The above text is taken from Şahin Bey's⁸² personal letter to the French Command, dated 1920. Nationalism intersects with a military-nation understanding in this letter, and today, after a hundred years, it is shared with 10 year-old children. The immense exposure to death, sacrificing oneself and killing; in other words, glorifying the death and killing for the sake of the country cannot be considered as pedagogically appropriate. Other than these, considering enemies valueless or legalizing killing to solve the problems can clearly be defined as elements that glorify being military-nation.

There are other examples including killing and dying for the sake of the homeland that narrates Sütçü İmam's and Hasan Tahsin's bravery:⁸³

On October 31, 1919, French-Armenian soldiers attacked Turkish women who were going their homes, in Maraş. They also martyred Çakmakçı Sait who wanted to protect women. Therewith, a patriot of Maraş known as Sütçü İmam quickly left his shop and killed one of the soldiers. (p. 53)

The first reaction against the invasion of İzmir came from journalist Hasan Tahsin. ...He became a symbol of national struggle by shooting the first bullet against the

⁸² A national hero of the War of Independence.

⁸³ They are heroes of the War of Independence.

Greek soldiers. Hasan Tahsin was martyred in the clash. But his heroic movement strengthened the Turkish nation's determination to resist. (p. 55)

Further, in the Turkish textbook, the narration on the National Anthem's history includes the below statements:

These verses start a fire in the soul of our people. It [*the National Anthem*] created a fresh national faith and self-confidence. The Anatolian people were uniting more and more each day, they became like one heart one fist, and that fist was impatient to punch to the top of the enemy: "Either independence or death!". (Kaftan Ayan et al., 2019, p. 54)

Although the above examples mainly glorify the War of Independence, and national heroes, as well as reproduce the military-nation understanding by using the historical narrations; in an example from Turkish Literature textbook, the military service is sanctified in today's circumstances. Military service is presented as something more than a citizenship responsibility. It is considered as a sacred task, and sacrificing oneself for the sake of the country is still glorified and legitimized.

Our youth, who will do their military service, see of by drums and clarions, and by covering with flags. Mothers send their children by saying that sacrifice your life for the sake of the homeland. Our mothers are courageous enough to apply henna⁸⁴ to their children who are sent to the war for the country. The coffin of those who died for the sake of their homeland is draped with a flag⁸⁵. (Kaftan Ayan et. al., 2019, p. 196)

Military service is regarded as one of the citizenship responsibilities which can only be performed by men. However, fulfilling citizenship responsibilities does not only include performing military service; there are some other indispensable tasks of citizens, which are also referred to in the documents.

g) *Fulfilling Citizenship Duties*

Civic responsibility is one of the distinct characters of conventional citizenship understanding. Citizens are considered through their commonalities; and by their

⁸⁴ Applying henna has both religious and cultural meaning in Anatolia. It symbolizes to being sacrificed and applying henna to soldiers' hand symbolizes soldiers' being sacrificed for the sake of the homeland (Yardımcı, 2008).

⁸⁵ According to the 'Turkish Flag Regulation' made in 1985, the coffin of the martyrs is draped with the Turkish flag.

duties, and responsibilities to the state and the nation. While, the state is defined as the centralized, and powerful foundation to bear a hand to its citizens whenever needed. The statist perspective reduces the state-citizen relationship to an unbalanced relationship by putting the state to the top hierarchically. For instance, a reading text in the HRCD textbook shows the existence of statism:

The journalist, who went to a region where the flood disaster was experienced, wanted to get the feelings and thoughts of an 80-year-old woman about the disaster. She expressed her feelings and thoughts as follows:

- Oh, my dear, it rained non-stop, the children were very scared... Our lost is a lot, but the state extended its hand. They came right away... They gave us blankets, hot soup. They arranged a place to sleep. We have such a state, we have no fear, thank goodness. (Altay et al., 2018, p. 95)

The relationship between the state and the citizen is, to some extent, reduced to the ‘extended hand’ of the state. Besides, in some examples this statist perspective reproduces itself over refugees:

Today, I met children who took refuge in our country by leaving the lands where they were born and raised due to the internal turmoil in their country. Our state had considered their educational needs as well as their nutritional, shelter and health needs. For this purpose, it [*our state*] sent the school-age children to schools and some of these children came to our school. (Tüysüz, 2018, pp. 25-26)

In HRCD curriculum (MoNE, 2018g), it is indicated that the teacher should guide “*students in fulfilling to their duties and responsibilities towards the Republic of Turkey which is national, unitary, modern, democratic, secular and social law state*” (p. 9). Future citizens are expected to fulfill some responsibilities such as *obeying the law, paying taxes, participating the elections and doing military service*; as well as protecting the Republic, having national consciousness and learning ‘their’ history, heritage, and culture. In HRCD textbook, these are defined as some of the substantial responsibilities that citizens have towards the state (Altay et. al, 2018, p. 96).

For instance, the importance of paying taxes is stressed in the Social Studies textbook; according to this emphasis, having tax consciousness is a citizenship duty:

Receiving receipts or invoices after purchases is a citizenship duty. Because taxes constitute a part of the money we pay for the products we buy. These taxes reach to the treasury of our state by the citizens' requests of vouchers or invoices. Because the amount on the document we will receive after shopping is recorded through the cash register. The state collects taxes on these records. If receipts or invoices are not received, the sales process is not recorded. This means that the money that needs

to be paid to the state remains in the safe of the seller and the tax revenues are reduced. (p. 136)

Likewise, in math curriculum, teachers are invited to build a bridge between Math and daily life such as giving the examples about taxes and trying to guide students to have tax consciousness (MoNE, 2018h, p. 15). Further, learning to be a conscious consumer to protect the resources of the country and the world is highlighted in Social Studies (MoNE, 2018c, p. 15-16) and Science (MoNE, 2018a, p. 24) curricula.

Obeying the law and rules are considered as a necessity that cannot be objected, in HRCD textbook:

There are laws, regulations and rules for organizing communal living. We need to comply with these, there is no need to argue over and compromise. For example, students cannot make decisions about entrance and exit hours of school. They have to follow the rules determined in this regard. (Altay et al., 2018, p. 65)

This example is taken from the unit on 'Consensus'. Rules, laws and regulations are introduced as decisions that have to be complied with without questioning or compromising on. Therefore, students are invited not to criticize the rules and regulations that are taken by the authorities. This is not consistent with the understanding of the national curriculum through which it is aimed to raise active citizens, problem solvers, and critical thinkers. In the unit on 'Rules', obeying the rules is grounded over living together in harmony:

There are some rules that people must follow to live together in harmony. Thanks to these rules, we learn how we should act in which place. For example, it is some of these rules to respect everyone, not to lie, to keep our promises, not to interrupt others while talking, and to go to school on time. (p. 76)

In the same unit obeying the rules is also linked to benefitting from the right to education:

Social rules regulate the use of our rights and freedoms and serve their protection. These rules also load some responsibilities to us. For example, we go to the school by using our right to education. There are some rules we need to follow at school. Which days we go to school, our hours of entering and leaving the lesson, what behaviors we should pay attention to in the class and during break time, and how we treat to our friends and teachers are determined by the rules. If these rules are not followed in schools, we cannot sufficiently benefit from right to education. (p. 78)

Thus, providing harmony inside communal living and benefitting from rights are explained as outcomes of obeying the rules. By connecting the right to

education to the quality of schooling and holding students responsible to get the best quality by obeying the rules, the right to education is attributed a ‘quality’. On the other hand, human rights are the natural rights of each human being has. In the context of human rights, it might cause giving wrong messages to attach a ‘quality’ to the right to education, and to attribute students with some responsibilities to reach that right. Further, the sanctions are defined as consequences of nonobservance of the rules:

If the rules are not followed in the society we live in, in the family, in the school and during the games we play, confusion arises and the order is disrupted. Failure to follow the rules prevents individuals from integrating with society and causes uncertainty in relationships. In this case, we cannot use our rights and freedoms, justice and equality cannot be achieved. In such an environment, it becomes impossible for individuals to live in peace and security. Therefore, sanctions are applied if the rules are not followed. (Altay et al., 2018, p. 80)

For instance, the below illustrations are used in HRCD textbook to exemplify the behaviors by which the rules are violated:

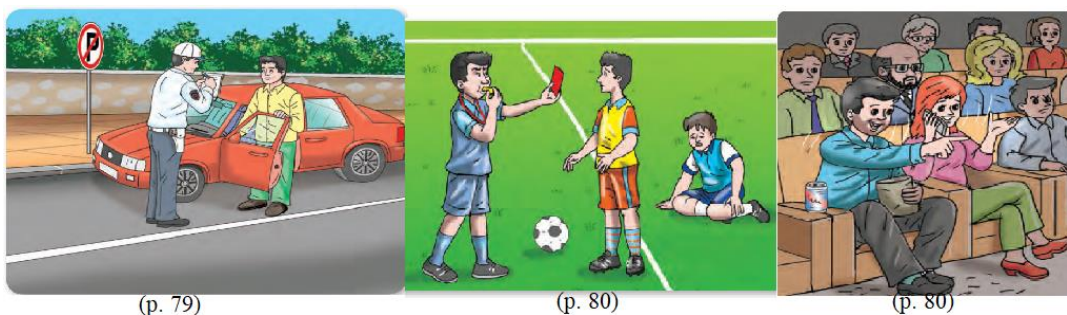


Figure 4.18. Some examples from HRCD textbook about violation of rules.

Rules are seeming to be defined over quite a superficial understanding without linking their existence to the freedom and rights of every person. On the other hand, the ‘good citizens’ are also expected to watch other citizens; they are considered responsible to follow other citizens about observance of the rules and laws (Altay et al., 2018, p. 83). In the Traffic Security textbook (Yurdusever & Yalçın, 2018), following the traffic rules and etiquettes, and warning the ones who are not following are defined as civic duties (p. 54). A *good citizen* is defined as the one “*who obeys the laws to ensure the order and continuation of the country; who adopts the laws as the basic value; who is sensitive to the order and continuation of the country*” (p. 82).

Furthermore, students are informed about their responsibilities to contribute the national economy:

If traffic culture develops and traffic rules are followed, traffic accidents causing loss of lives, injuries, material damages and environmental pollution can be prevented. If losses caused by traffic accidents can be prevented, these resources can be transferred to meeting the needs of the society. This will contribute to the national development, by providing resources for more schools and more hospitals. (Yurdusever & Yalçın, 2018, p. 56)

In the above example, students are explained one of their civic duties about contributing to the national economy which can be achieved by following the traffic rules. Not damaging the public property such as traffic lights, traffic signs (p. 18), or public transport vehicles (p.45) are emphasized as civic duties for safety of life and property and for not damaging the national economy.

Finally, to be beneficial for the nation is highlighted as a citizenship responsibility for some of the textbooks:

Our teachers teach us our history, language, religion, social ethics, righteousness and goodness. They strive for our being honest, knowledgeable, and beneficial to the homeland and the nation as good individuals. They work hard with patience and effort for our being successful. (Religious Culture and Ethics textbook) (Demirtaş, 2018, p. 74)

Doing the best for the country is regarded as one of the most important responsibilities of citizens in HRCB textbook (Altay et al., 2018, p. 96), while working hard to keep the flag and the country alive is emphasized in Social Studies textbook (Tüysüz, 2018, p. 169). Moreover, in Turkish textbook, the role of a marriage is defined over bringing dutiful children to the country and the nation:

In our wedding ceremonies, folk dances are performed. Folklore shows are held. On this happiest day, those who are married are sent off with the prayers about bringing dutiful children for the country and the nation. (Kaftan Ayan, 2019, p.196)

Further, in the learning objective of the Social Studies curriculum, the national liberation and individual freedom are linked together; and civic responsibility is reminded for the permanence of the national independence:

SB.4.6.4. Students will explain the relationship between the independence of their country and their individual freedom.

National sovereignty is associated with the opening of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey.

As an individual, students give examples of the roles they can play for the independence of the country.

The contribution of 15 July Democracy and National Unity Day to the independence of the country and individual freedom is emphasized. (MoNE, 2018c, p. 16)

In brief, conventional citizenship understanding is observed through diverse discourses such as the ‘us’, commonalities, national history and national heroes, or national rituals and symbols, patriotism, and the discourse of military-nation that used as tools to thicken the boundaries of national identity, and strengthen the national consciousness of students. There were also discourses on the citizenship responsibilities which reminds students their role in the society to support the perpetuity of the nation. As can be observed quite explicitly, conventional citizenship understanding is strongly placed in the curriculum and textbooks. On the other hand, it is not the only approach that can be traced in the documents. Although, rights-based citizenship understanding is not as distinct as conventional citizenship understanding, there are discourses that prioritized rights over responsibilities or strengthening national conscious. The below section includes the examples about rights-based citizenship approach.

2) Rights-based Citizenship

Rights-based citizenship understanding is mainly dominant in HRCDCD curriculum. There are six units named (1) Being Human, (2) Right, Freedom and Responsibility, (3) Justice and Equality, (4) Consensus, (5) Rules and (6) Living Together. The learning objectives in the first three units are directly related to rights-based citizenship understanding. Students’ learning about human rights and being aware of the equality of all human beings are targeted and embodied by the majority of the learning objectives in the curriculum (MoNE, 2018g, p. 12-13).

On the other hand, discourses on citizenship is mostly observed in Social Studies and HRCDCD textbooks as their content is compatible with the concept of citizenship compared to other courses. In the first pages of Social Studies textbook (Tüysüz, 2018), it is stated that one of the aims of the course is students’ being aware of their rights and responsibilities and being sensitive to human rights.

HRCDCD textbook (Altay et al., 2018) includes the main information on universal human rights. The fundamental rights such as right to life, education, health, citizenship, privacy, freedom of opinion and expression, physical integrity,

and freedom of religion; and conscience are emphasized by indicating that they are inherent to all human beings regardless of sex, race, language, ethnicity, nationality, religion or any other status. Besides, children rights such as right to play, rest, participation, health, education, life and development, citizenship, protection from abuse are also indicated both in HRCD and Social Studies textbooks. Thus, students are introduced their fundamental rights as today's children and future citizens. Moreover, equality of all citizens without any discrimination is stressed.

In social life, it is possible to avoid discrimination among individuals in terms of rights and to eliminate existing discriminations through the principle of equality. In a society where equality is achieved, laws and rules are applied equally to all. Under the law, no one can be granted privileges regarding his/her individual characteristics and his/her position in society. People from all walks of life can claim their rights under the law. (Altay et al., 2018, p. 50)

Equality of every citizen regardless of their language, race, sex, color, political opinion, philosophical beliefs, religion, or sect is emphasized by citing the related article of the Constitution. As well as equality; equity is also emphasized in terms of citizenship rights. According to HRCD textbook (Altay et al., 2018), if equality and justice cannot be achieved in a society, human rights and freedoms are violated and the social order is disrupted. Therefore, citizens should claim their rights to be treated equitably and they should also treat other citizens equitably (p. 53). The importance of equity to ensure equality for disadvantaged groups such as women, children, or disabled and elderly people is pointed in HRCD textbook. Besides, equity is highlighted as a condition of being an inclusive and coherent society. For instance, the below example is given for explaining the importance of equity concerning this point:

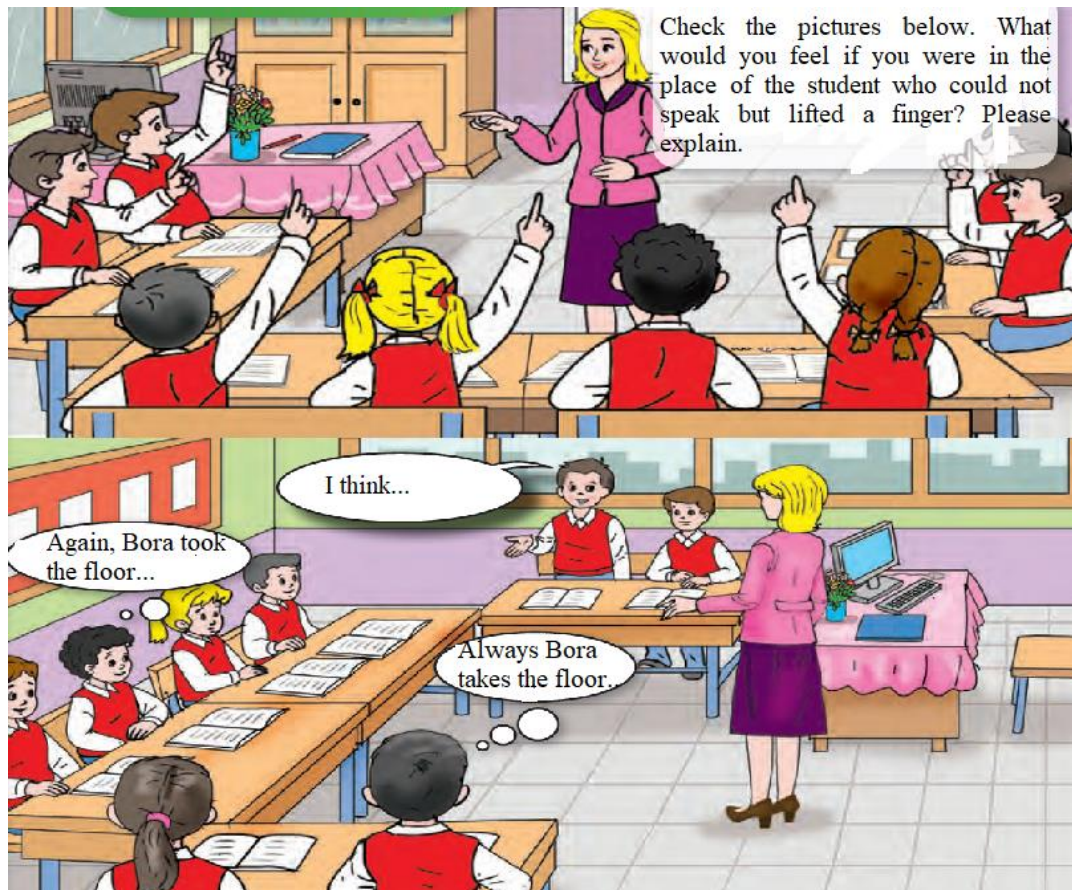


Figure 4.19. Illustration from HRCD textbook, p. 54.

Related to this illustration it is stated that, if there is inequality among people or justice is not achieved, we do not feel safe; hence this prevents us from feeling sense of belonging and integrating with the society. Thus, both individual and the state responsibilities to behave justly are reminded to ensure equality and equity in the society (p. 54). Further, students are promoted to behave justly and invited to consider each individual living in this country equal. In other terms, respecting other's rights as human beings is also one of the points related to individual responsibilities to ensure and improve human rights (p. 98).

Responsibilities of state and right to citizenship are also indicated in HRCD (p. 92 and p. 94) and Social Studies (p. 11) textbooks:

People who share the same homeland need a regulatory agency throughout their lives for the areas such as education, health, law, security, and others. For example, citizens go to schools to enjoy their right to education and to hospitals to enjoy their right to health. This regulatory agency is called the state...People who are not our citizens also benefit from the services provided by state institutions. It has to

provide services to everyone living in its borders and to meet their needs. (Altay et al., 2018 p. 92)



Figure 4.20. Illustration from HRCD textbook, p. 92.

With the definition of a state above, the responsibilities of a state to its citizens are introduced and the necessity of equality is emphasized explicitly. In HRCD textbook, the role of the Republic to succeed protecting and ensuring human rights is stressed several times. To this emphasis, the Turkish Republic was established on the basis of respect for human rights and it is the best regime by which human dignity, rights, and freedoms are protected and practiced (p. 38).

As well as the individual and state responsibilities to practice and improve human rights, the universal human rights and children rights are also included in the content of HRCD (Altay et al., 2018) and Social Studies (Tüysüz, 2018) textbooks. Children's rights such as live, education, play, rest, participate, health, and others; and equality of all children in the world regardless of differences are remarked in HRCD (p. 16), and Social Studies textbooks (p. 152). Examples from the world and the country are given about children rights, such as right to nutrition and life are exemplified over Somalian children (Altay et al., 2018, p. 31). Right to rest, education, play or living in a peaceful environment are exemplified over the statistics that shows the number of child workers (more than 200 million) in the world (Altay et al., 2018, p. 30).

Promoting Helping Hand rather than Discussing State Responsibility. On the other hand, none of these issues is discussed by considering the relevant problems in the country. Right to nutrition is discussed over Somalian children, or the world statistics about child workers are introduced rather than discussing the

child workers in Turkey. For instance, in Social Studies textbook, the issue of child labor is stressed over individual responsibilities more than state responsibilities:

I want to talk about our siblings who are forced to work. Children should not be employed; they should go to school, play and rest instead. Besides, every child should do fun activities suitable for their age, and participate freely in the culture and art life. Children should especially take full advantage of their educational rights. My father is a teacher. He has a very successful student. However, s/he has difficulty in attending school because s/he works in the repair shop. We must help children who are deprived of all these rights, especially education, because they work. Because they are still very young and do not know what to do, where to apply. We should teach these children what their rights are and from which institutions they can get support. (p. 155)

In brief, human and citizenship rights content is not comprehensive and it does not provide a ground for students to elaborate on, criticize, discuss or actively engage with the everyday life problems. Human rights or children rights are emphasized over the universal declarations. Human right violations are discussed through the examples from far countries. In other words, the direction of the discussions is determined by excluding country-related human rights issues; a ground for being active citizens is neglected by alienating students from the issues that they are experiencing everyday. Thus, an inconsistency is observed regarding the rights-based citizenship understanding. Citizenship is based on rights without supporting students to think about human rights or citizenship rights. Nevertheless, there is a relevant content on active citizenship understanding which prioritizes actively engaging with the problems of the society.

3) Active Citizenship

Active citizenship understanding has a stronger existence in national curriculum compare to rights-based citizenship. Raising active citizens who can *think critically, solve social problems, and contribute to the culture and society with good skills in communication, technology, and empathy* are targeted. Besides, as it is claimed, the *high-level cognitive skills* are essentially considered and *individual differences* of students are highlighted. A similar understanding can be observed through the learning objectives of some of the 4th grade curricula; however, the strong existence cannot be observed in the majority of them, as it is observed for conventional citizenship.

For instance, HRCED curriculum has a stronger active citizenship understanding by comprising citizenship rights and responsibilities, state responsibilities, and rights to legal remedies:

Y.4.2.5. Students will give examples of what responsibilities can be assumed in solving situations where rights and freedoms are violated or restricted. (p. 13)

Y.4.6.3. Students will explain the responsibilities of the state towards its citizens.
It is emphasized that public institutions and organizations are exist to protect and develop the rights of citizens, to serve their citizens and to meet their needs and security. (p. 15)

In the HRCED textbook, active citizenship defined over responsibilities, as well as being critical, sensitive, and questioning everything:

It is important to be an active citizen in societies that have adopted the culture of democracy. The active citizen fulfills his/her responsibilities and claims his/her rights. In addition to claiming his/her own right, s/he also protects the rights of others and encourages them. Active citizen is critical and s/he queries. S/he is sensitive to the events around him/her. (Altay et al., 2018, p. 96)

Likewise, in the Social Studies textbook, one of the thematic units is on 'active citizenship' and one of the topics inside this unit is 'taking responsibility'. A relationship between freedom, responsibility, and rules is established, and students are reminded of their limits of freedom to protect the order. Then, students are reminded their responsibilities at home and at school. Although responsibilities are defined something 'taken', students are kept being reminded their responsibilities at home such as helping parents in housework, studying, sleeping early, and waking early not to be late to school. Or responsibilities at school are also defined and inculcated such as taking responsibility for special day celebrations, participating social clubs, or being class president. Although, the responsibilities that children have at home and at school are listed without giving children much space to think on; taking responsibility is connected to giving own decisions which is connected to be beneficial to oneself and to the society (Tüysüz, 2018, p. 162).

Besides these, being conscious about rights and the ways of demanding justice are indicated; students are informed about the ways to be followed in case of their rights' being violated:

When our rights and freedoms are violated, we use various ways to claim our rights. In this case, first, we must try to compromise with the other party. We can do this by talking to each other or mediating someone we trust. If we cannot reach an agreement, we take legal action...Our rights and freedoms can sometimes be

violated by individuals and sometimes by public institutions and organizations. For example, not following the traffic rules is a personal violation that threatens our life safety. Garbage's not being collected regularly in the neighborhood is a corporate violation that threatens our health. We should not forget that there are institutions and organizations that we can get help in cases where our rights and freedoms are violated. (Altay et al., 2018, p. 34)

Active citizens are equipped with characteristics for sustainability of communal life, and for protecting their own rights; and they are expected to be conscious about state responsibilities. Thus, according to HRCDD textbook, citizens should be aware of that the state has responsibilities to protect their rights:

People who share the same homeland need a regulatory agency for education, health, law, security, etc. throughout their lives. For example, citizens go to schools to benefit from the right of education and to hospitals to benefit from the right of health. This regulatory agency is called the state. In addition to ensuring the functioning of these institutions, the state solves the problems of citizens. It establishes new institutions in the areas needed and ensures that these institutions serve the citizens. (Altay et al., 2018, p. 92)

Furthermore, state responsibilities are listed by referring to the Constitution in HRCDD textbook. According to this statement, state has responsibilities to protect and improve the rights of its citizens and to fulfill the needs and security of the society. And according to the 5th article of the Constitution, the main goals and duties of the state are:

To ensure the independence of the people living in the country, and the integrity and the indivisibility of the country. To ensure the welfare, peace and happiness of the society. To secure the fundamental rights and freedoms of the people. To prepare the necessary conditions for the development of the material and moral existence of people. (Altay et al., 2018, p. 94)

Thus, not only citizens' duties, but also the duties of a state are specified and right to petition is mentioned to students to advocate their rights whenever needed (Altay et al., 2018, p. 34). Being critical, sensitive to social issues, and conscious about rights and the ways of claiming rights are claimed to be expected from future citizens.

Other than these learning objectives and content, active citizenship understanding can be followed inside the instruction approach of the curriculum. Active learners and guiding teachers are expected and teachers are advised to use methods or techniques that enhance students' critical and independent thinking skills. Problem-solving, decision making, making inferences are considered

important to be improved through the curriculum. For instance, in Visual Arts curriculum, teachers are advised to associate the lessons to the daily life issues:

The lessons should be associated with current events (economic, environmental and cultural sustainability, natural disasters, environmental awareness, occupational health safety, scientific developments, technological developments, global warming, healthy nutrition, harmful habits and ways of protection, energy resources savings, etc.) which can be experienced directly by students and related to their everyday life experiences that can attract their attention. (MoNE, 2018j, p. 10)

By advising this, students are aimed to be active individuals who can connect the knowledge, skills and values that learned in the school to their social life, and generate solutions to their everyday life problems. Moreover, improving reflective thinking skills of students is targeted and suggested to teachers in the Social Studies curriculum:

Attention should be given to the understanding of “social studies as social sciences” and “social studies as reflective thinking”. The scientific methods used by social scientists (geographer, historian, etc.) should be sensed to students. By making use of the events inside and outside the school, students should be frequently encountered real-life problems and contradictory situations and they should be made to reflect on the social problems they face. (MoNE, 2018c, p.10)

Students are imagined as active problem solvers who can transfer the school knowledge to solve the everyday life issues. In addition to these, the importance of active learning and the needed instructional conditions are reminded to teachers for students’ permanent learning in Turkish Literature and English Language curriculum documents:

Students should be actively involved in the teaching and learning process and students should be encouraged to take responsibility for their own learning. Activities and studies which students can actively participate and allow students to associate their learnings with the sociocultural and environmental conditions that they live in should be included. (MoNE, 2018b, p. 8)

In framing the new curricular model for English, no single teaching methodology has been designated. Instead, an action-oriented approach grounded in current educational research and international teaching standards has been adopted, taking into account the three descriptors of the Common European Framework of Reference comprising learner autonomy, self-assessment, and appreciation for cultural diversity. (MoNE, 2018k, p. 8)

Finally, in Science curriculum, the importance of creating a democratic classroom atmosphere to raise democratic and active individuals is highlighted which can contribute to active citizenship:

Creating a democratic classroom atmosphere in which students can easily express their views in learning environments will contribute to students' expressing their own thoughts and developing their reasoning and communication skills. (MoNE, 2018a, p. 10)

Coherently, in the Social Studies textbook (Tüysüz, 2018), school is defined as a place where students can be prepared for life and become skillful at communication, self-expression, coping with difficulties, producing solutions to the problems, participating in team work:

Students establish communities in their schools for a variety of purposes; they participate in the activities of the community, which they consider appropriate for their interests, wishes and abilities. During the activities, they learn by doing and experiencing the requirements of democratic life. They have a taste of achievement, feeling of trust, making new friendships and being accepted. They participate in social life as more free and active individuals by getting used to take responsibility. (p. 163)

Yet, in the same paragraph, school life is separated from the 'real life' and students are seen as unprepared individuals or future citizens, which contradict with philosophy of the national curriculum which emphasizes the great importance of using real life problems to raise critical thinkers, problem solvers and active citizens (p. 163).

Finally, being a conscious consumer is emphasized so many times in Science, HRCED, Social Studies and Traffic Security textbooks. Importance of recycling for supporting national economy, preserving natural resources, or preventing environmental pollution is emphasized in both of the Science textbooks. Moreover, using electric, water, and food economically is highlighted many times by emphasizing its importance for preserving natural sources. The question of what can individuals do to consume consciously is answered from various aspects such as electric, water, or food consumption.

Our only source of lightening is the sun. We can start using lightening technologies economically by making more use of sunlight. We should not forget that the lamps, which are open during the day, damage both the family and the national economy. At the same time, sunlight allows us to see our environment in true colors. We should make use of sunlight as much as possible, and we should not use lightening tools in environments where sunlight is sufficient. (Çetin et. al, p. 156)

Foods are also important sources like water to continue our lives. The important thing for conscious consumption is to meet our basic needs. We must buy as much food as necessary to meet our basic needs. Sometimes we also buy food that we do not need while shopping, because of the influence of advertisements. We should

not buy food products that we do not need in order to save food. (Yaman, et. al, p. 238)

The same point, not being affected by the advertisements while making our decisions is also highlighted as a conscious consumer behavior in Social Studies textbook (Tüysüz, 2018, p. 136). In HRCD textbook, human beings' responsibilities to the environment are indicated as "*keeping the place we live in clean, not polluting, not harming natural assets, and using natural sources consciously*" (p. 29). Coherently with this emphasis, in Traffic Security textbook, using public transportation is advised to contribute the reduction of environmental pollution (p. 42).

In brief, the content on active citizenship is quite limited in the textbooks. Although teachers are advised to create a democratic learning environment, the learning objectives and content of the textbooks seem inconsistent with the instructional approach. Since, the discourses are mainly prone to reproduce conventional citizenship understanding compared to rights-based and active citizenship approaches. It is clearly observed that patriot citizens who have strong national conscious and strong sense of responsibility about their civic duties; and citizens who are not afraid of sacrificing their life for the sake of the country are targeted, more than citizens who critically aware of their and other's rights and who have a say or have faith to struggle against injustices in the society. Besides, the in-class observations showed the instructional preferences of teachers and this point is discussed in the discussion chapter after sharing all the findings. The dominance of conventional citizenship is also noticed in the discourses of differences and diversity.

4.1.2. How are the Differences Discursively Constructed in the Documents?

In this section, the considered differences and the approach to differences and diversity are presented through the discourses from the documents. Eventually, two main categories were emerged: the considered differences including individual, cultural and religious differences and, the documents' general outlook on the issue of differences. Below, the findings associated with each category are presented respectively.

1) The Considered Differences

Differences between individuals in terms of opinions, culture, gender, readiness level, learning styles, religious, socio-economic status or disability status and peaceful coexistence are indicated in the documents. The below quote, which is an excerpt taken from the national curriculum, claims that it considers every difference between students including cultural differences:

Curriculum has been structured by considering the sensitivities about individual differences. Individual differences arising from genetic, environmental and cultural factors also manifest themselves in terms of interests and needs. (MoNE, 2018c, p. 7)

As can be followed from the following sub-titles, mostly, individual differences are regarded and emphasized compared to cultural or religious differences. Hence, two codes about the considered differences are emerged: (1) individual differences, (2) cultural and religious differences and both are elaborated in the proceeding sections.

a) Individual Differences

Individual differences such as sex, socio-economic status, learning styles, readiness level, special needs and disability status are considered important to fulfill the needs of students. There are learning objectives emphasizing the normality of differences and the necessity of being respectful towards individuals with different characteristics:

The teacher should pay attention to the explanations about the implementation of the program and flexible practices should be included by considering the individual differences between students. (MoNE, 2018j, p. 10)

Individual differences of students should not be neglected. Therefore, priority should be given to the practices that highlight the learning styles of students during Math class. (MoNE, 2018h, p. 14)

The individual differences (readiness level, learning style and needs, sociocultural differences, etc.) of the students should be taken into consideration during the planning of teaching and learning process. (MoNE, 2018b, p. 8)

Students being respectful to differences of people is targeted in HRCD (p.13) and Social Studies (p.14) curricula. Teachers are suggested to indicate rights of people who have diverse differences and needs -such as women, disabled or disadvantaged people- in the context of justice and equality (p. 13).

Differences between people are mainly presented through psychological, physical or personal diversities. For instance, the naturalness of opinion differences is highlighted several times in the Turkish Literature textbook (Kaftan Ayan, 2019, p. 36; p. 107). Or, face shapes, fingerprints and hair and eye color-based differences as well as differences regarding talent, taste and personality are mentioned in Social Studies textbook (Tüysüz, 2018, p. 25). Differences between people explained from diverse aspects:

Like colors, people who make up society are different. While some people are very active, some are calm. Some are careful and attentive, some are messy. There may be introvert people as well as extrovert people. People differ from each other by their feelings and thoughts, as well as their characters. They can be interested in different hobbies, as well as they can be fans of different sports clubs. They can defend different views and adopt different lifestyles. (Tüysüz, 2018, p. 28)

In HRCD textbook, a similar discourse on differences is observed:

People have many common features. For example, we all think, question and produce ideas. We have feelings like loving, being happy and sad. However, we are separated from each other by features such as our way of thinking, ideas, preferences, lifestyle, tastes, interests, and abilities. (Altay et al., 2018, p. 46)

Disability Status Related Differences: Both in Social Studies and HRCD textbooks, having a disability is stated as a difference rather than a deficiency or an obstacle to life; and the entire content on differences is based on differences over disability. The below example is taken from Social Studies textbook:

A person can be different from other people not only by his/her feelings, thoughts or character, but also by his/her appearance. However, this distinction should not be seen as a reason for superiority or deficiency among people. For example, a person with a physical disability is not ahead or behind someone without the same disability. Because being physically disabled is a difference, not a deficiency. Despite this, physically handicapped people face difficulties in their daily lives and work environments. (Tüysüz, 2018, p. 29)

Having a disability is the most emphasized aspect about people's being different from each other. There are so many examples in the textbooks. For instance, the below statement underline that having disability is not an obstacle:

People using wheelchairs speed up by turning the wheels of the chair. Sometimes they slow down the wheels with their hands. Well, do you know that people who use wheelchairs can play basketball by working with determination? How do these athletes change direction with a wheelchair? Well, do you know that we have a national team of athletes using wheelchairs? (Çetin et. al., p. 69)

A similar narration can be found in a poem in Turkish Literature textbook named *'I am not disabled, mum'*, the poem emphasizes the power and strength of children with physical disabilities (Kaftan Ayan, 2019, p. 81). Besides this, there are many illustrations representing people with disabilities almost in every textbook. Figure 4.21 shows a collection of illustrations that make the disabled people visible in the society:

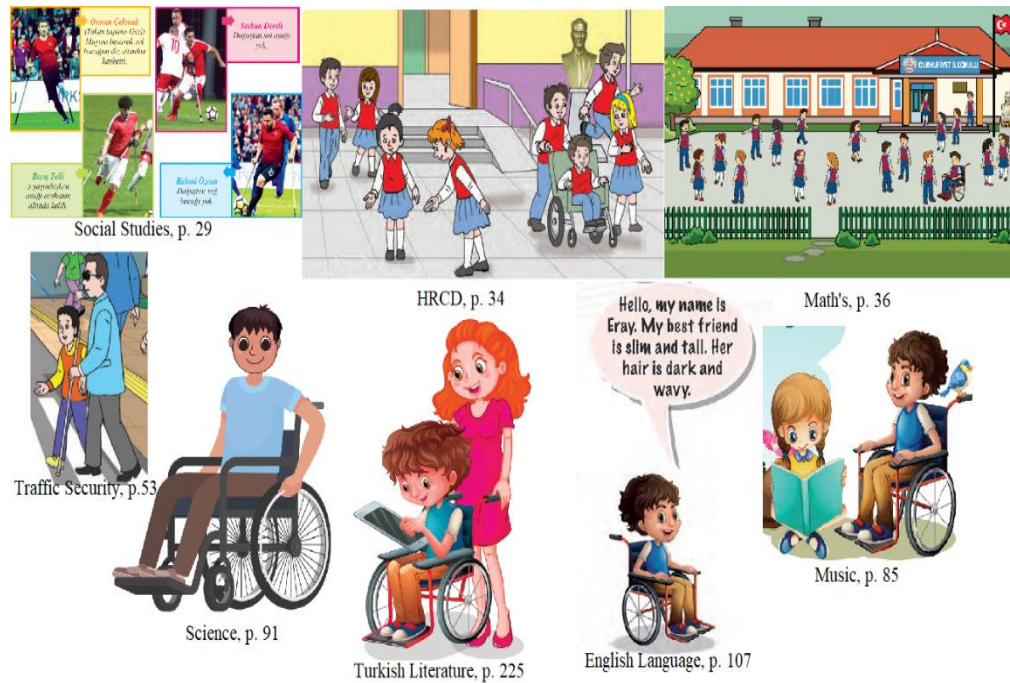


Figure 4.21. Illustrations representing disabled people in the textbooks.

Right of disabled people to be active in life is remarked several times in HRCD and Social Studies textbooks. For instance, in Social Science textbook, a woman with wheelchair struggling with the obstacles such as sidewalk while trying to move or having difficulty to reach the cash dispenser is mentioned to highlight the importance of the necessary arrangements for disabled people (p. 27). In fact, it is also remarked in HRCD textbook:

Various arrangements should be made for individuals with special needs to enable them taking more active part in life. With these arrangements, individuals with special needs can easily go to school, cinema, theater, park without the help of someone else. (Altay et al., 2018, p. 47)

Related to this text, students are invited to discuss about the necessary arrangements that needs to be done in playground for their special needs peers (p.

34); or think about the ways and solutions to ensure justice for people with special needs (p. 49).

Gendered Discourses: Although there are fewer discourses on gender within the content on differences, there are so many hidden discourses on gender in the textbooks. These discourses can be observed in texts or through the illustrations. Roles, occupations, plays, activities, interests, clothes or even colors are gendered in some of the examples; yet, traditional gender roles are challenged in a few examples.

In some of the textbooks, a gendered language is sensed through which only men are considered:

Oh human beings! I recommend you to respect the rights of women and to fear God in this matter. You have a right over women and they have a right over you... Believers! Listen and memorize my words well. Your Lord is one, your father is one. All of you are from Adam. Adam is from soil. (RCE textbook) (Demirtaş, 2018, p. 106)

This quotation is taken from Prophet Muhammad's 'Last Speech', and the speech addresses to men only. Although, the text has both historical and religious meaning, sharing such a text in the 4th grade textbook may send misleading messages to children of that age. Besides this, a similar expression is realized in Turkish Literature textbook. Students are given some examples of proverbs about art in the unit on 'Art'. One of these proverbs is "*the art of the ancestor is a legacy to the son*⁸⁶" (p. 237), which considers 'father and son' while explaining the transfer of artistry as legacy. These examples seem reproducing the past attitudes about men's being more active and visible in the society.

On the other hand, in the Social Studies textbook, women are defined as potential brides, both historically and culturally:

My daughter, it is a tradition in Turkish culture that young girls prepare dowry and keep their dowry in a chest. People had limited opportunities before, to get their household needs at once. For this reason, mothers would start their daughter's marriage preparations early by saying, "Girl to a cradle, dowry to a chest."

⁸⁶ The proverb in Turkish is "Atanın sanatı oğula mirastır". There are two words in this proverb which needs to be etymologically explained: 'ata (ancestor)' and 'oğul (son)'. 'Ata' means 'father, grandfather' in old Turkish. On the other hand, in old Turkish, 'oğul' means 'child' without indicating the sex; however, it has been used by assigning the meaning of 'male child' for centuries (www.nisanyansozluk.com).

Wherever they saw a garment, silk fabric, jewelry, needlework, lace or embroidery, they would take it or make it and put it in their daughter's dowry chest. The chest was slowly filling over time, and the young girl was preparing herself for her wedding days. (p. 39)

Men are coded as pioneers of the society, while women are coded as the mothers and wives. Besides these, during the analysis it is realized that all illustrations in one of the RCE textbook written by Demirtaş (2018) includes only men - they are illustrated in business meeting, as teachers, outside with friends, or as passengers, and others-, except two illustrations showing mothers taking care of their children.

A closer look, to all the textbooks, regarding the roles and tasks of males and females in a family revealed the details more explicitly. Traditionally, women are shown at home while doing housework, when men are outside with an outside job and salary. Or, men do the repairing works at home, while women do the cooking.

In the current textbooks, there are examples both consistent with and against to the traditional understanding. For instance, the below figure (Figure 4.22) includes a collection of illustrations, taken from the textbooks, that challenge the traditional gender roles.



Figure 4.22. Illustrations from textbooks challenging traditional gender roles⁸⁷.

⁸⁷ Both examples from Science textbook are taken from Çetin et. al. (2018).

A boy puts the dishes to the dishwasher, a father cooks for his daughter, and a grandfather prepares lemonade for his grandchildren. These are not traditionally accepted roles of men by the society. These kinds of behaviors are coded as ‘helping’ the lady of the house. Conversely, traditional gender roles still predominate; women are mainly presented in kitchen or shopping for kitchen while men are illustrated as knowledgeable with repairing and electric work. The below figure (Figure 4.23) shows the collection of illustrations that reproduces traditional gender roles.



Figure 4.23. Illustrations from textbooks exemplifying traditional gender roles⁸⁸.

⁸⁸ Illustrations 3, 6, 9 and 10 are taken from Çetin et. al. (2018); while illustrations 7 and 8 are taken from Yaman et al. (2018).

When it comes to the father and mother roles, there are efforts to challenge the traditional understanding on gender roles. In the below illustration from the Science textbook (Yaman et. al. 2018) a father drives his baby's pushchair:



Figure 4.24. An illustration challenging traditional gender roles, p. 88.

Or, in a text in Turkish Literature textbook, father and mother share the house work:

I went to the kitchen this morning. My father was cooking eggs in the pan in the meantime toasting breads in the toaster. On the other hand, I found my mother ironing in the bedroom. (Kaftan Ayan, 2018, p. 109)

However, the analysis results indicate the traditional gender roles' dominance regarding father and mother roles in a family. For instance, according to the below quotation from Science textbook (Çetin et. al., 2018) cooking is identified as mother's task:

I came from the school. My mother was not at home. My brother was working in his room. I was so hungry and I could not wait for my mother. As far as I heard, pasta was easy to cook and I decided to cook pasta... (p. 124)

Similarly, in English Literature textbook, a breakfast of a family is illustrated, mother is seen while wearing a cooking apron and preparing the breakfast, as well as caring children and his wife, while father and children are having their breakfasts:



Figure 4.25. Illustration from English Literature textbook, p. 118.

Mothers are attributed a caring role in the family, and especially in RCE textbooks they are shown as the ones who takes care of children:

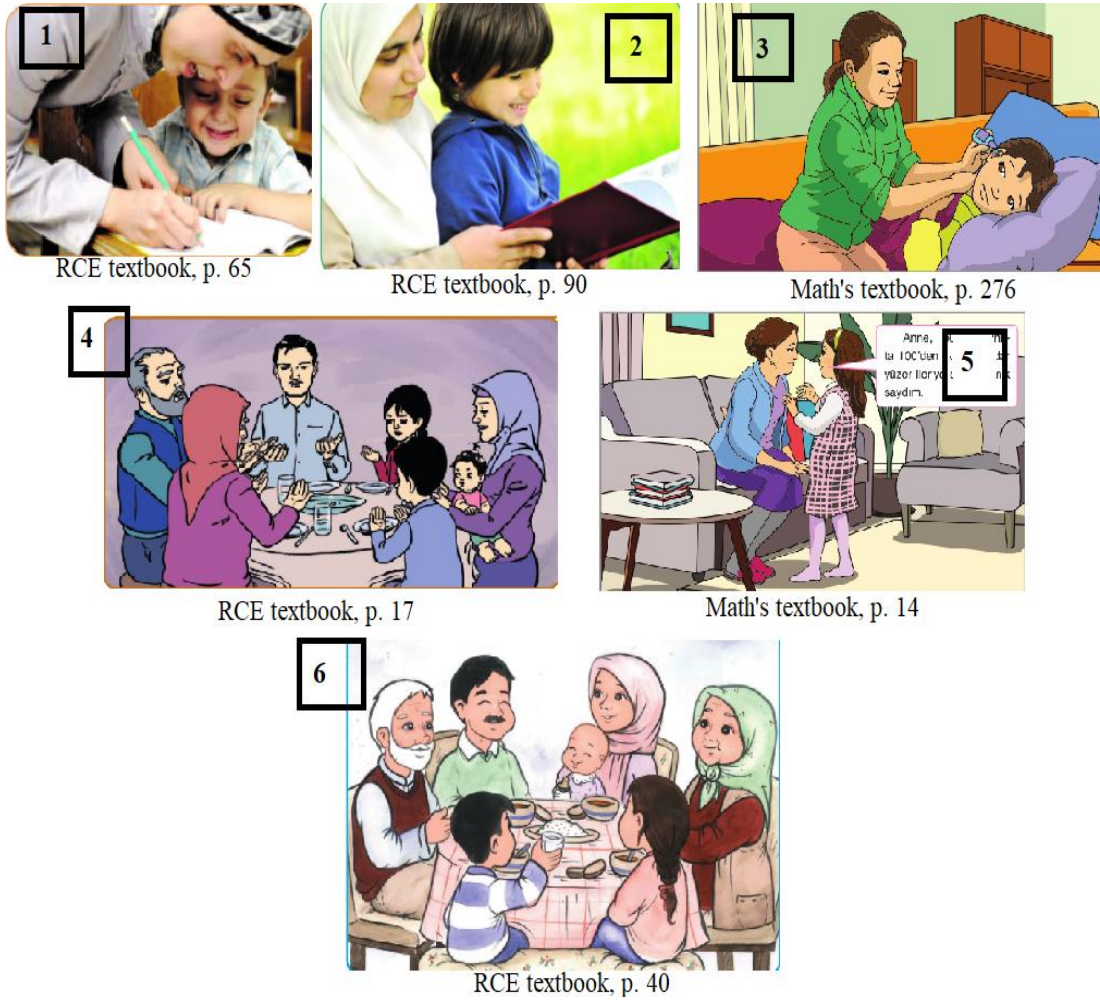


Figure 4.26. Illustration collection about mother roles from different textbooks⁸⁹.

Furthermore, holiness of motherhood is emphasized through Prophet Muhammad's sayings several times in one of the RCE textbooks (Demirtaş, 2018, p. 67; p. 69).

On the other hand, the illustrations below show the father-child interaction. As can be seen, fathers visit museum, travel, go shopping and watch football match on the television with their children.

⁸⁹ Illustrations 4 and 6 are taken from Religious Culture and Ethics textbook written by Yiğit et al. (2018), while illustrations 1 and 2 are taken from Religious Culture and Ethics textbook written by Demirtaş (2018).



RCE, p. 25



Science textbook, p. 24



Math's textbook, p. 211



Science textbook, p. 142

Figure 4.27. Collection of illustrations showing father-child interaction.

Fathers are illustrated while doing outside activities with their children, conversely to the roles that attributed to mothers. There are other examples that promote the traditional father roles in a family.

For instance, in Social Studies textbook, a father gives pocket-money to his daughter and teaches planning the monthly budget, by saying “...if you want we can plan this month’s family budget together” (p. 138). Or, in the Science textbook (Çetin et. al., 2018) father is presented as the responsible family member from the car, before family journey and drives during the family trip:

Okan and his family were going to the ski resort with their vehicles. The weather was very cold. Okan wiped the vehicle's steamed glass to see the outside better...His father entered a gas station to buy gas. After buying gasoline, he checked the air of the tires of his vehicle. (p. 107)

Not only as a father role, driving, in general, is illustrated with men more than women, below there is a collection of illustrations from the different textbooks showing people driving car:

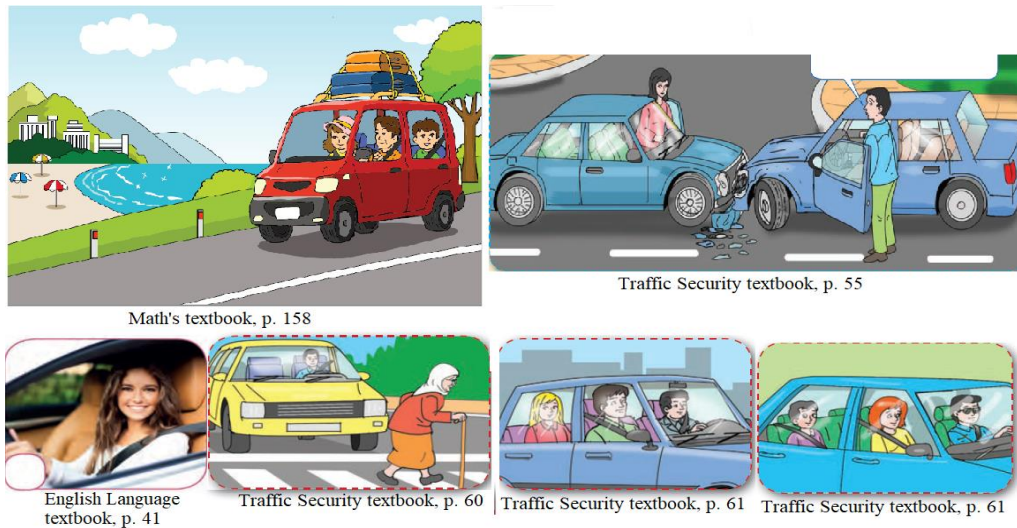


Figure 4.28. Illustrations showing people driving a car.

Most of the drivers are drawn as males in the textbooks. In a similar vein, some differences are observed for activities, plays, and interests between a male and a female does. For instance, in several pictures boys are illustrated while playing basketball, volleyball or football; conversely only in one illustration a girl is playing football.

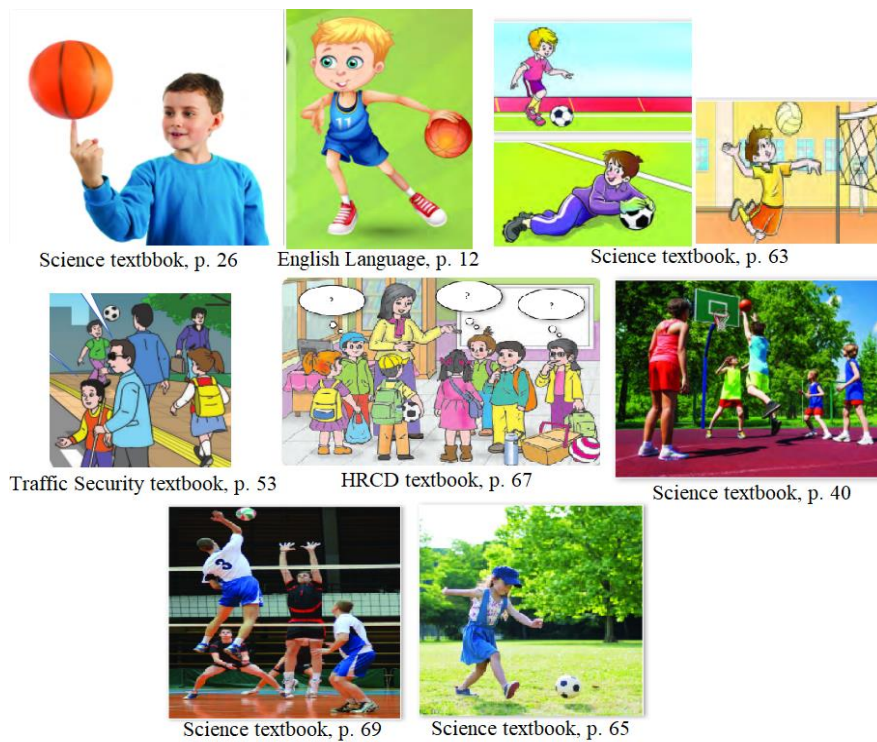


Figure 4.29. Illustrations showing girls and boys playing with ball.

Other than playing with ball, boys are presented while cycling, playing table tennis, playing fishing game, paddling, swimming, taking photographs, designing cars; and girls are presented with cycling, playing with dolls, playing chess, playing table tennis, performing ballet, or playing violin. The below illustrations from HRCB textbook shows children's playing together regardless of sex, however the boy is illustrated with a ball while the girl is illustrated with a doll:



HRCB textbook, p. 33

Figure 4.30. Illustrations showing children's playing together.

Boys' and girls' activities and toys are also differentiated regarding the expected gender roles. For instance, in a problem in Math's textbook, toy types of a boy are shared and according to this example, he has four kinds of toys with diverse numbers, which are cars, balls, marbles, and airplanes (Özelik, 2018, p. 178). Therefore, according to the findings from the 4th grade textbooks, it is possible to claim that girls' and boys' are expected to play with toys and do activities which are compatible with their gender.

As for the occupation, there are clear distinctions between male and female professions. Women are presented as teachers more than men, or professions that need physical strength or driving are illustrated with men. To briefly mentioned, men are shown as engineer, gardener, construction worker, architecture, driver (ambulance, school bus, bus, truck), tour company owner, technician, herbalist, dentist, health officer, doctor, mineworker, road worker, farmer, bag store owner, tailor, machinist, sea captain, traffic police, teacher, or pilot; Figure 4.31 shows a collection of illustrations of men with different professions.



Figure 4.31. Collection of illustrations of males with different professions.

On the other hand, women are shown as teacher, dietician, florist, doctor, market owner, herbalist, farmer, nurse, pharmacist, librarian, architecture, pilot, baker, veterinary, or health officer. Figure 4.32 includes a collection of illustrations of women with different professions.



Figure 4.32. Collection of illustrations of females with different professions.

Additional to the above indicated and demonstrated professions, both men and women are presented as scientist or researcher; some of these examples are shared below:



Miss Nergis is doing research about Topkapı, Beylerbeyi and Yıldız Palaces in Istanbul during the Ottoman Empire. While doing her research, she read 1471, 2604 and 3028 pages of books per month for three months. How many pages did Nergis Hanım read in total for three months? (Math's textbook, p. 70)



Miss Fatma has been observing a star for 4 years and 6 months. How many more weeks would she need to complete 8 year observation? (Math's textbook, p. 158)



Academician Mister Hamza investigates the lives of the Ottoman Empire sultans. During his research, he read 1746 books last month and 900 pages this month. The number of pages read by Hamza Bey while doing his research ... (Math's textbook, p. 50)

Figure 4.33. Illustrations showing men and women as scientist or researcher.

One issue needs to be remarked at this point, In Turkish language, the word 'scientist' can be gendered or might have a masculine character depending on the word used with 'science'⁹⁰. 'Human of science' or 'man of science' are the two options and 'man of science' has been the frequently used one. However, nowadays people try to use the 'gender neutral' option. Textbook analysis demonstrated that although gender neutral option tried to be used and authors or editors tried to be careful in this regard, it is still possible to find both usages even in the same textbook. For instance, in one of the Science textbooks (Yaman et. al., 2018) both 'man of science' and 'human of science' are used in different texts. 'Man of science' is used for men (p. 42, p. 64, and p. 236) but Marie Curie is still defined as 'human

⁹⁰ 'Bilimadamı', which can be translated as 'Men of Science' or 'Science men' in English, is traditionally the used option. Biliminsanı (Human of science) on the other hand, is the gender neutral option.

of science' in the same textbook (p. 171). Men's being men is highlighted, while gender neutral language is preferred to define Marie Curie's profession.

As a final point, the sex of historical characters, scientists, or artists namely 'celebrities' needs to be highlighted, as the unbalance in the number of introduced women and men celebrities is realized. In the textbooks, male celebrities such as scientists, inventors, or artists are mentioned six times more than female celebrities. To briefly list, the table below is prepared:

Table 4.1: *List of celebrities regarding their sex that included in textbooks*

Important Figures (Male)	Important Figures (Female)
Aziz Sancar (scientist)	April Deniz (painter)
Cezeri (scientist)	Canan Dağdeviren (scientist)
Carlos Tiscar (designer)	Marie Curie (scientist)
Isamu Akasaki & Hiroshi Amano & Shuji Nakamura (Nobel-winning scientists)	
Salih Acar (scientist)	
Claude Chappe (inventor)	
Thomas Edison (inventor)	
Graf Volta (inventor)	
Galileo Galilei (scientist)	
Graham Bell (inventor)	
Louis Pasteur (scientist)	
Koca Yusuf (wrestler)	
Newton (scientist)	
Peter Hewitt (inventor)	
Wilson Alwyn Bentley (photographer)	
Aşık Veysel (musician)	
Neşet Ertaş (musician)	

Similarly, the same issue is observed about presentation of 'national heroes' especially in Social Studies and Turkish Literature textbooks. The narrative on the foundations of the nation is established over the national struggle. The professional soldiers or people from public that joined the war courageously are introduced as the heroes of the nation. So many male characters of the national struggle are introduced, while only Şerife Bacı and Tayyar Rahmiye hanım are presented as national heroines. Therefore, a masculine narration glorifying men more than women is depicted clearly in the textbooks, which also shows the military-nation character of the nation-state.

b) Cultural and Religious Differences

Individual differences are emphasized more than cultural or religious differences; however, there are some examples in the curricula that emphasize the existence of cultural and religious differences and the importance of being respectful to different cultures. Before deepening the analysis on cultural differences, I would like to emphasize that there is only one specific goal which indicates the religious diversity and targets to recognizing and respecting different religious beliefs and interpretations (MoNE, 2018d, p. 8). Yet, there are some examples that exemplify the representation of cultural differences.

For instance, one of the specific goals of Music curriculum is “*recognizing the local, regional, national, and international music genres and perceiving the elements of different cultures as wealth*” (MoNE, 2018e, p. 8). Likewise, one of the attainments of 4th grade Social Studies curriculum is *learning to compare cultural elements belonging to different countries and cultural elements of our country* (MoNE, 2018c, p. 16). Teachers are suggested to emphasize visual and written communication tools and cultural items such as clothes, foods, games, family relations while explaining the differences between cultural elements of diverse countries.

However, cultural differences are exemplified as something outside the borders of the country. Although there are examples that described differences concerning race, language, religion, or nationality, these are only presenting the intercountry differences. In other words, the diversity in the country and the nation is not taken into consideration in keeping with conventional citizenship understanding.

In a text in the Social Science textbook titled “*I am different and I respect differences*”, it is stated that “*...regardless of race, language, religion or gender, every person is a respectable entity no matter where s/he is from and what is his/her opinion*” (p. 28). And in a poem in the same issue, it is remarked that “*thoughts, races, languages are the features that distinguish us; one common thing that we are all human beings*” (p. 30). However, this understanding is not maintained through other examples.

Cultural differences between countries is one of the topics in the last thematic unit named ‘Global Connections’, in the Social Studies textbook. Some countries such as Finland, Jordan; neighboring countries such as Bulgaria, Greece, Nakhcevan, Georgia, Armenia, Iran, Iraq, Syria; Turkic Republics such as Turkic Republic of Cyprus, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan, Kazakhstan are introduced. In addition, Hungary and Japan are introduced regarding their cultures, inside the content on ‘Different Cultures’. Children plays, festivals, foods, greeting rituals, home visit rituals, clothes, artifacts, souvenirs, eating habits, dining rituals, traditional sports, or traditional art of Hungary and Japan are introduced by this content. Furthermore, uniqueness of each country regarding its language, flag, traditional clothes, religious beliefs, festivals, cuisine, music, folk dances, wedding and funeral ceremonies are highlighted in the text named ‘*The World is Beautiful with Differences*’. Also, some of the differences are illustrated such as different traditional clothes of Turkish, Scottish and Indian culture:



Figure 4.34. Illustrations from Social Studies textbook, p. 193.

Cuisine culture and eating rituals are exemplified over Japan, India, England, Chile and Arabian culture. For instance, eating with hands or with sticks is given as examples about different eating rituals, and students are warned not to marginalize diverse cultures.



Figure 4.35. Social Studies textbook, p. 194.

In Physical Activities and Play activity book, presenting different cultures' folk dances is suggested starting from 'our' country's neighbors to the far countries'.

After introducing our folk dances, which constitute our own cultural values, students should be presented with examples of folk dances of different cultures that have a universal qualification and create important values in the world. While presenting these examples, it is recommended to start with the neighbors of our country in accordance with the principle of 'from close to far'. In addition, in the classroom, students may be asked to organize a 'different cultures day' or 'week' in which students can recognize and practice some examples of folk dances from different cultures. (İnce et al., 2018, p.51)

A similar understanding is observed in Music textbook, differences between countries are indicated regarding their music culture and students are invited to listen and learn different music genres:

Although we do not know their language, we can communicate with people of different countries through music. Music is a common language for people all over the world. Music creates songs combining with poetry, it creates folk dances combining with dance, ballet and other types of dances, it creates some form of arts such as musicals and opera combining with theater. We can watch documentary programs, do research and go to concerts to get to know and learn the music genres of our own culture and different countries. (Çalışkan et al., 2018, p. 76)

As followed through the examples, local differences regarding culture and ethnicity is not touched on; instead, cultural differences are exemplified over several countries. Only in two examples, students are invited to think on national diversity; however, these examples are quite 'on the surface' to realize the diversity of the culture in the country. In the first one, teachers are suggested to ask students to find traditional children plays from different regions of the country. In this way, having diverse cultures in the different regions of the country is stated.

With this attainment, it is aimed to introduce students to our children plays, which are an important part of our cultural values in our country, and perhaps to increase the practices of these plays that are forgotten in some regions. Students should be asked to research our local and national children plays and learn about their rules and introduce them to their friends. In addition, similar practices should be asked for children plays of different cultures. (MoNE, 2018f, p. 52)

In the second example, refugee students that had to migrate from their countries are mentioned as individuals who have different characteristics.

In terms of our interests and abilities, each of us may have similarities with others, or we may have differences. We should know that these differences are caused by our personal characteristics and interests, and we should take this naturally. What would I think, or what would I do if I were in their place? We all have asked ourselves questions like these. People often ask these kind of questions when they meet people who are not in the same situation as them. Now I will tell you an observation about people with different characteristics. Today, I met some children who had to take refuge to our country because of the internal disturbance in their country... (Tüysüz, 2018, p. 26)

Actually, as can be observed, the above quotation is about ‘developing empathy towards people with differences’. The differences of refugee students are defined over personal differences; and in the following statements of the text, giving a helping hand to refugee students is suggested by reminding their losses and sorrows. Students are invited to feel pity for their refugee peers. This point brings us to the second category about the general outlook on the issue of differences and diversity.

2) General Outlook on Differences

The category on the considered differences includes significant data to comprehend the included differences and the approach of the documents about being different. In this section the promoted attitudes towards differences is analyzed more closely over two codes: (1) promoted attitudes towards differences, (2) strengthening hostile attitudes towards the ‘enemies’.

a) Promoted Attitudes Towards Differences

There are three attitudes that promoted to act towards the ‘different’. Being respectful is the most indicated attitude; such it is clearly emphasized through a poem in Social Studies textbook:

Of course we all have a different side
In this world we live together
Although we all live in different places
We have respect for each other. (Tüysüz, 2018, p. 30)

In the above example, differences are normalized and being respectful to differences is encouraged. In this regard, having differences is considered as a right and ‘being respectful’ is presented as the solution to overcome the challenges:

People have made significant progress in showing respect to differences from past to present. Still ... they have not completely overcome their deficiencies. However, every person regardless of race, language, religion or gender, or regardless of his/her opinion or country, is a respectable entity. Therefore, people's differences should not be made a reason for separation and oppression. No human being should be confronted with blame, exclusion, ridicule and humiliation because of his/her differences. It should not be forgotten that having differences is a universal right and every person has the right to live and express him/herself freely. (Tüysüz, 2018, p. 29)

According to the above quotation, differences should not be a cause of discrimination or oppression; the same point is remarked once more while explaining children’s rights in Social Studies textbook:

Equality is one of the important rights of children. Children should not be discriminated because of their language, religion, color, sex or pedigree. They should be able to express their feelings and thoughts freely and be able to come together with other children. Also, they should not be deprived of the right to experience their own culture. (Tüysüz, 2018, p. 156)

Respecting differences, different opinions, and right to be different are also stated in HRCB textbook (p. 98); and the right to experience one’s own culture is also highlighted in another text concerning the cultural differences between countries such as differences in clothes, cuisine, eating habits/rituals, or visiting rituals:

We can feel out of about different countries’ cuisine cultures. For example, an Arab who is eating with his/her hand or a Far Eastern who takes rice pilaf in his/her mouth with sticks may seem strange to us. When we see these, we might ask "Why do they eat like this when it is easier to eat with a spoon?". However, instead of asking such questions, we should consider that this form of eating is a part of humanity's cultural heritage and we should respect those cultures. We should know that this will not be difficult for a person who is accustomed to eating with a stick or a hand in his/her childhood. We must think that some habits in our eating culture may seem strange to others. (Tüysüz, 2018, p. 194)

As it can be seen in above example, both being respectful and empathic to differences and the understanding that considers cultural differences as richness are

promoted to overcome challenges pertaining to differences. According to Social Studies textbook, if people respect each other's differences and consider those differences as a wealth, the world would be more livable, where peace and love would be core values and human dignity would be glorified (p. 195). This approach that considers differences as a source of wealth is also indicated in Music textbook. Music culture of different countries is presented as a rich way of communication to understand each other (Çalışkan et al., 2018, p. 76).

Being empathetic and tolerant to differences and different people are advised to students about the existence of refugees in 'our' country. Students are asked to put themselves in refugees' place, and imagine what they feel and think if they have to leave their life, home, city, or country both in RCE (Demirtaş, 2018, p. 101), HRCO (Altay et. al., 2018, p. 32) and Social Studies (Tüysüz, 2018, p. 25) textbooks. Besides, importance of learning tolerance to differences is stressed in Social Studies textbook (p.27), while being tolerant to different opinions during discussions is underlined in Turkish Literature textbook several times (p. 36, p.107).

To briefly summarize, respect, empathy, and tolerance are the emphasized attitudes towards differences; further differences are considered as a right and wealth, and exposing discrimination due to being different is criticized. However, as it can be discerned from the shared statements, the content on how to approach to differences is superficially included in the textbooks. While the attitudes towards clothes, cuisine, eating habits, or rituals of distant cultures are included, there is not any promoted attitude among differences of diverse cultures, ethnicities or religious beliefs inside the country. In addition, tolerance is promoted which might cause a hierarchical understanding towards differences. This point is discussed more explicitly in the discussion chapter.

b) Strengthening Hostile Attitudes Towards the 'Others'

Differences are considered as wealth and the right to be different is highlighted; yet, still, these points are not discussed over an intrastate perspective, rather the unity discourse is tried to be protected by externalizing differences and being different. Even, in some of the statements, one of the ethnic components of Turkey - Armenians- is marginalized through the historical narratives.

In parallel to the narration on the National Struggle, there is a narration about opposing forces. In general, European countries and in particular allied powers including France, England, Greece, and Italy; as well as Armenian people are the subject of these narratives. However, the expressions, from time to time, cause a digression from the historical narrative to a hostile narrative. For instance, in the below examples there are historical narratives on the ‘badness’ of enemies, and bravery of Turkish nation.

The Allied Powers took action to establish an Armenian state in Eastern Anatolia after the First World War. Armenians also entered Eastern Anatolia during mid-1920 by relying on the Allied Powers. (Tüysüz, 2018, p. 51)

Following the Armistice of Mudros, our southern provinces were occupied by the British and then the French. The French who entered Adana, Maraş, Antep and Urfa cooperated with the Armenians living in the region. Upon the attacks of the Armenians who were armed by the French, the Turkish nation defended itself by forming the troops of the army, and took the occupants out of their territory by fighting bravely. (Tüysüz, 2018, p. 52)

Besides, from time to time a nationalist and military-nation narrative can be sensed to glorify the national struggle and the nation; which at the same time includes a hostile narration:

French Armenian soldiers in Maraş attacked Turkish women who were going to their homes on October 31, 1919. They also martyred Çakmakçı Sait, who wanted to protect women. Thereupon, a patriot of Maraş, known as Sütçü İmam, quickly left his shop and killed one of the soldiers. (Tüysüz, 2018, p. 53)

Time makes us forget the greatest pain, but nobody forgets happiness and success. We do not forget. Did you think how this homeland came to these days? Do you know how we succeeded, how we won the victory? We tried to do what is very difficult and indispensable. We resisted against thousands by hundreds. But something was missing in them. This was a love of homeland, a sense of brotherhood/sisterhood and a desire for independence. (Tüysüz, 2018, p. 169)

To summarize briefly, opposing forces are defined as occupants, killers, attackers. Armenians who are one of the fundamental parts of this country are defined as collaborators of Allied Powers, while Turkish nation is defined as hero, and patriot. Reproducing the past to strength national consciousness by introducing today’s nations and some of the Turkish citizens as enemies might cause invalidation of the discourses about equality, humanity, human rights, or living together.

Thus, findings about discourses on differences revealed the power of the discourses relevant to conventional citizenship understanding, compared to rights-based and active citizenship approaches. Although, there are discourses that promotes rights-based or active citizenship, knowledge and skills about being critical, being aware of other's rights, respecting differences or living together are subordinate to knowledge and attitudes about having national consciousness, being patriot, knowing enemies and their 'weaknesses' as well as knowing yourself and your strengths as a part of the Turkish nation. The content on rights-based or active citizenship approaches was superficial and the documents were not support each other, as they did for conventional citizenship. In other words, rights-based citizenship was mainly included in HRCD curriculum and its textbook; or active citizenship was one of the Social Studies subjects. On the other hand, the elements of conventional citizenship understanding could be observed in every document. Nationalist discourses were dominant, and national identity was defined through an essentialist understanding. Differences were externalized by giving the examples from distant countries, and internal differences were neglected. By this way, diversity in the country was overlooked and a strict definition of the nation was reproduced. Document analysis was supported the research to comprehend official discourses on citizenship and differences. Below, the participants' discourses on citizenship and differences are presented to understand the impact of official discourses on the field and practices.

4.2. The General Outlook to Schools on the Issue of Citizenship and Diversity

The used discourses by the participants and their opinions about citizenship and diversity, and information about school and classroom facilities were collected through 300 survey instruments from the visited 55 schools. First, the information on school and classroom facilities is shared before presenting the discourses and opinions of teachers, managers and counselors on citizenship, citizenship-related concepts, and cultural diversity.

4.2.1. Demographics

The population of the study contained three hundred sixty-nine public primary schools ($N=369$), in the central districts of Adana ($N=232$) and Mersin ($N=137$). Half of the primary schools ($N=184$) were randomly selected and the most central 55 primary schools were purposefully selected to conduct survey instruments in the Adana sub-region.

Only 19 schools provided full-time education and all 55 schools in the sample were located in the urban center. However, three of them did not have a psychological counselor, and five of them did not have a preschool classroom. Besides, most of them possessed either limited or inadequate conditions regarding the school infrastructure. The table below demonstrates the number of schools in terms of the existing facilities.

Table 4.2

School Facilities (number of schools regarding the existing facilities)

	Available (<i>f</i>)	Available with limited sources (<i>f</i>)	Lacks facility (<i>f</i>)
Library	25	12	18
Sports Hall	1	-	54
Conference Room	29	6	20
Technology Lab.	8	4	43
Science Lab.	11	6	38
Music Room	3	2	50

One third of the schools ($f= 18$; 32.7%) did not have a library and more than one third ($f= 20$; 36.4%) had no conference room. Besides, the majority of those schools did not have a science lab ($f=38$; 69.1%) or a technology lab ($f= 43$; 78.2%), let alone having a sports hall ($f= 54$; 98.2%).

Facilities in the classrooms ($n=202$) also provided insights about the participated teachers' classrooms in general. The table below shows the classroom facilities.

Table 4.3

Classroom facilities

	Available (<i>f</i>)	Not available (<i>f</i>)	Did not report (<i>f</i>)
Bookcase	188	14	-
Computer	129	66	7
Projector	120	71	11
Smart board	71	126	5

The majority of the classrooms ($f=129$, 66%) among the reported ones had a computer, or a projector ($f=120$; 63%); while the majority ($f=126$, 64%) had not got a smart board inside. Besides, the vast majority of the classrooms ($f=188$, 93%) had got a bookcase, however only 26 of them (14.2%) had got more than 150 books; while there were between 101-150 books in the bookcases of 38 classrooms (20.8%); 51-100 books in the bookcases of 75 classrooms (41%); and 0-50 books in the bookcases of 44 classrooms (24%).

The seating plan of classrooms in other words the seating order of students were mainly arranged as sequential ($f=179$, 89%), only a small portion of classrooms' seating plan were arranged as clustered ($f=5$) or U-order ($f=11$); and five of the teachers ($f=5$) reported that they use diverse seating plans regarding to the subject or topic studied.

Schools and classrooms were mainly lack infrastructure, and especially the ones in low in-come and high migration-receiving regions were lack economic resources. However, it should be highlighted that the existence of facilities or economic resources were related to the region that schools were built inside; as the region of the school determines parent profile and parent profile determines the physical capacity of schools and classrooms. Having insights about the physical capacity of schools and classrooms provided me to interpret the findings by also considering the socio-economic differences.

Below, the discourses, obtained through the survey findings of the participants on citizenship, citizenship-related concepts, and diversity are shared.

4.2.2. The Echoes of the Official Discourses at Schools

Three groups of participants ($n= 300$) were surveyed regarding their position and role in the school. Teachers were asked about their understanding on citizenship, human rights, cultural diversity and gender, as well as their preferences and suggestions about HRCD curriculum. While the reason of taking managers' (including deputy managers) opinions was to understand the culture in schools, the general perception of school management about cultural diversity, human rights and democracy. Psychological counselors, on the other hand, were asked about several topics such as the challenges caused by cultural diversity, issues occur between teachers, parents and students, the practices to encounter with the challenges, students' academic and social experiences in schools regarding their gender, and the importance and contributions of HRCD course for the school culture.

Eventually, six major themes were appeared to be meaningful through the responses of participants: (1) discourses on citizenship, (2) discourses on human rights, (3) discourses on cultural diversity, (4) practices to enhance democratic school culture, (5) discourses on gender, and (6) opinions on HRCD curriculum. Yet, some of the themes, only consist of solely teachers' or solely managers' opinions since each cohort were asked different questions as regards to their role and specialty in the schools. In the following sections, the themes are elaborated respectively.

1) Discourses on Citizenship

Teachers were to report on their conceptual understanding of citizenship. In-depth analysis of the discourses reveals that diverse discourses in different densities were expressed by the teachers. As can be seen on theme 4.1. conventional citizenship was mostly referred ($f=138$), although seven different perspectives towards citizenship were emerged:

Theme 4.1

Discourses on citizenship

Categories	<i>f</i>
Conventional citizenship	138
Living in the same country	36
Rights-based citizenship	28
Multicultural citizenship	16
Defined based on the curriculum	12
Active citizenship	2
World citizenship	1

Some respondents used a plain expression and defined the concept of citizenship through geographical borders; they described citizenship over “living in the same country” ($f=36$). While some others reported that they based the definition of citizenship concept on the curriculum without stating any details ($f=12$). On the other hand, most of the teachers tended to define citizenship through responsibilities towards the state and commonalities among citizens ($f=138$). The codes of the ‘Conventional citizenship’ category are shared to comprehend the discourses about.

a) Conventional Citizenship

Duties towards the state ($f=102$) was the most cited discourse in this category. According to the teachers, citizens have responsibilities such as awareness of responsibilities ($f=33$), doing useful things for the country ($f=4$), obeying the laws and rules ($f=4$), paying taxes ($f=2$) or voting ($f=1$). They further remarked that the citizen protects and sacrifices himself/herself for the country ($f=12$). For instance, one counselor from Mersin (M-52S) stated that the citizen should fulfill the responsibilities in order to protect the flag and the unity of the state. Besides these, being loyal to the country, to other citizens, and to the constitution ($f=52$), and being patriot ($f=32$) were the highlighted characteristics of the responsible citizen. (See Category 4.1)

Category 4.1

Conventional citizenship

Codes	<i>f</i>
Have duties towards the state	102
Have commonalities	57
Ideological inputs	15
Used metaphors	13
Benefit from rights provided by the state	6
The concept of “us”	4

Commonalities were strongly expressed by some of the participants to define the citizenship. One of the teacher’s definition reminded Benedict Anderson’s (1983) ‘imagined community’⁹¹ concept, she (AC-101S) emphasized that citizens are same even they do not know each other. Moreover, discourses on common values ($f=29$), common culture ($f=22$), common emotions ($f=10$), common language ($f=9$), common flag ($f=7$), common history ($f=6$), common ideals for the future ($f=6$), common destiny ($f=4$), common heritage ($f=3$), common feasts ($f=1$), common anthem ($f=1$), common lifestyle ($f=1$), common religion ($f=1$) were used to define similarities among citizens.

Additional to the emphasis on loyalty, patriotism and commonalities, metaphors referring to family bonds were used to explain the relationship between citizens. Country were resembled as “a mother” ($f=1$), citizens were defined as “family members” ($f=2$), or brothers and sisters ($f=10$).

Some ideological emphasis was realized as well as “Kemalist inputs”⁹². For instance, one teacher referred to July 15 coup attempt and one of the Atatürk’s sayings to define citizenship:

Lessons are taught by using various method and techniques, by emphasizing that people struggling for the state, nation and country at the risk of their life can be citizens, especially by recalling the July 15 coup attempt. The emphasis is done on the lesson and the subject, especially by reminding the saying of the great leader

⁹¹ *Imagined community* is a concept developed by Benedict Anderson in his book ‘Imagined Communities’. Anderson (1983) analyzed nationalism and defined a nation as a socially constructed body politic that is imagined by the people. The people in that community tend to imagine themselves as a part of that group.

⁹² Etienne Copeaux (2016) uses the concept of ‘Kemalist inputs’ to define the discourses of and about Atatürk inside textbooks. He claims that sometimes a statement, an expression or a characteristic of Atatürk is used to bond a relationship between the past and present, to be able to construct a ‘collective memory’ among citizens.

Atatürk which is ‘the one who does the duty loves the homeland most’. (2-120S)

She used symbolic events -July 15 coup attempt and its meaning- and symbolic person -one of Atatürk’s sayings- for the nation to explain the elements of citizenship, and according to her doing the duties and struggling for the country at risk of one’s life are important to be citizens. She gave the citizenship definition a meaning by recalling some events and people from collective history.

There were also “Kemalist inputs” ($f=8$); his patriotism, loyalty to the country and the nation were given as examples to be a good citizen:

A good citizen is loyal to Atatürk’s principles, patriotic, pays taxes, votes in the elections, and protects the state, nation, and flag. S/he goes to school, and studies to the lessons, fulfills his/her responsibilities. S/he knows his/her rights, keeps the environment clean ... In this context, we read the topic, underline important words, and clarify (homeland-citizen) concepts. We focus on Atatürk’s love of homeland and nation. (D-16S)

I explain the importance of love of homeland and that we must protect the Republic founded by Atatürk for peace and tranquility. I try to explain the importance of peace at homeland. I make them read the poem of Aşık Veysel [*a poem about patriotism*] by explaining the meaning and importance of the love of homeland. (G-29S)

Furthermore, nationalist inputs ($f=7$) were also used to bond a relationship between history and present and to remind the commonalities to be able to construct a collective memory among citizens. For instance, a teacher from Adana (9-137S) defined homeland as the tent that was used by Turks in Central Asia. Another teacher from Mersin stated that she explains how the homeland became a homeland based on the National Struggle. In the first example, a bond constructed between Central Asia Turks and the present, while in the second one the past difficulties, as well as victories were reminded to foster collective memory to reconstruct the citizenship.

Finally, citizenship rights were highlighted by some of the participants. They prefer to define citizens as people benefiting from the rights provided by the state ($f=6$). For instance, a teacher from Mersin (S-74S) indicated that a citizen is the one who fulfils the responsibilities to the state and gets service such as health, security or education in return. Thus, according to these statements, citizenship rights were seen as the ‘service’ of the state to its citizens and they are given by the state.

On the other hand, there were some participants who prioritized rights over responsibilities, and represents citizens as actively engaged people.

b) Rights-based Citizenship

Teachers representing rights-based citizenship perspective were more tended to emphasize rights and defined citizens as active to demand justice, or to be aware of the responsibilities of the state ($f=9$). According to one teacher from Mersin (A-4S), the citizen is the one who is free, has rights, and can defend her/his rights when needed. Furthermore, equality and having equal rights ($f=9$) was remarked by a few of the participants.

Respecting other citizens' rights ($f=13$) were also emphasized as well as awareness about citizenship rights. For instance, one teacher from Adana (21-180S) indicated that citizens should believe the importance of respecting human rights and democracy, even they are different from each other regarding language, religion, race or culture. Thus, there were some participants who emphasized and normalized the differences in a nation, or a country. I prefer to categorize these statements inside multicultural citizenship understanding ($f=16$), as they addressed to multicultural structure of countries and nations:

Everyone who lives in the same country and feels belonging to this country regardless of their nation and sect is called a citizen. I try to make the students comprehend this. (10-138S)

In the HRCED course, the concept of citizenship is defined as the people living in the same country. However, I think there may be people with cultural differences living in the same country. But I think people with same targets are the citizens of that country. There may be people from different ethnic groups, but if they live in a country and feel belonging to this country, they are citizens of that country. (V-82S)

Finally, the significance of active citizenship was highlighted without a detailed explanation by two of the participants; while only one teacher used the concept of "World citizenship".

Most of the discourses used to define citizenship reminded me of the discourses used in the textbooks. That is why I decided to use the concept of 'echo' while analyzing the responses from open-ended surveys. The majority of the teachers were prone to use discourses that echoed conventional citizenship with a

nationalist perspective; while only a few of them used diverse discourses and concepts such as ‘world citizenship’ or emphasized the importance of mentioning diversity while teaching citizenship. Besides, some teachers were prone to teach ‘rights’ as something given by the state which is not consonant with the active citizenship understanding. Active citizenship is briefly included in the textbooks, on the other hand it is also highlighted in the national curriculum by emphasizing the great importance of raising critical thinkers, active citizens and problem solvers. To discuss this point deeper later in the discussion chapter, I share the discourses on human rights below.

2) Discourses on Human Rights

Teachers’ discourses on human rights were grouped into four distinct categories through the analysis. Discourses on human rights revealed (1) the concepts that teachers used to explain human rights; (2) the emphasized human rights; (3) teachers’ understanding about the significance of human rights, and (4) their criticisms on the content of human rights in the curriculum. A figure (Figure 4.36) is prepared to show the categories and codes that formed this theme.

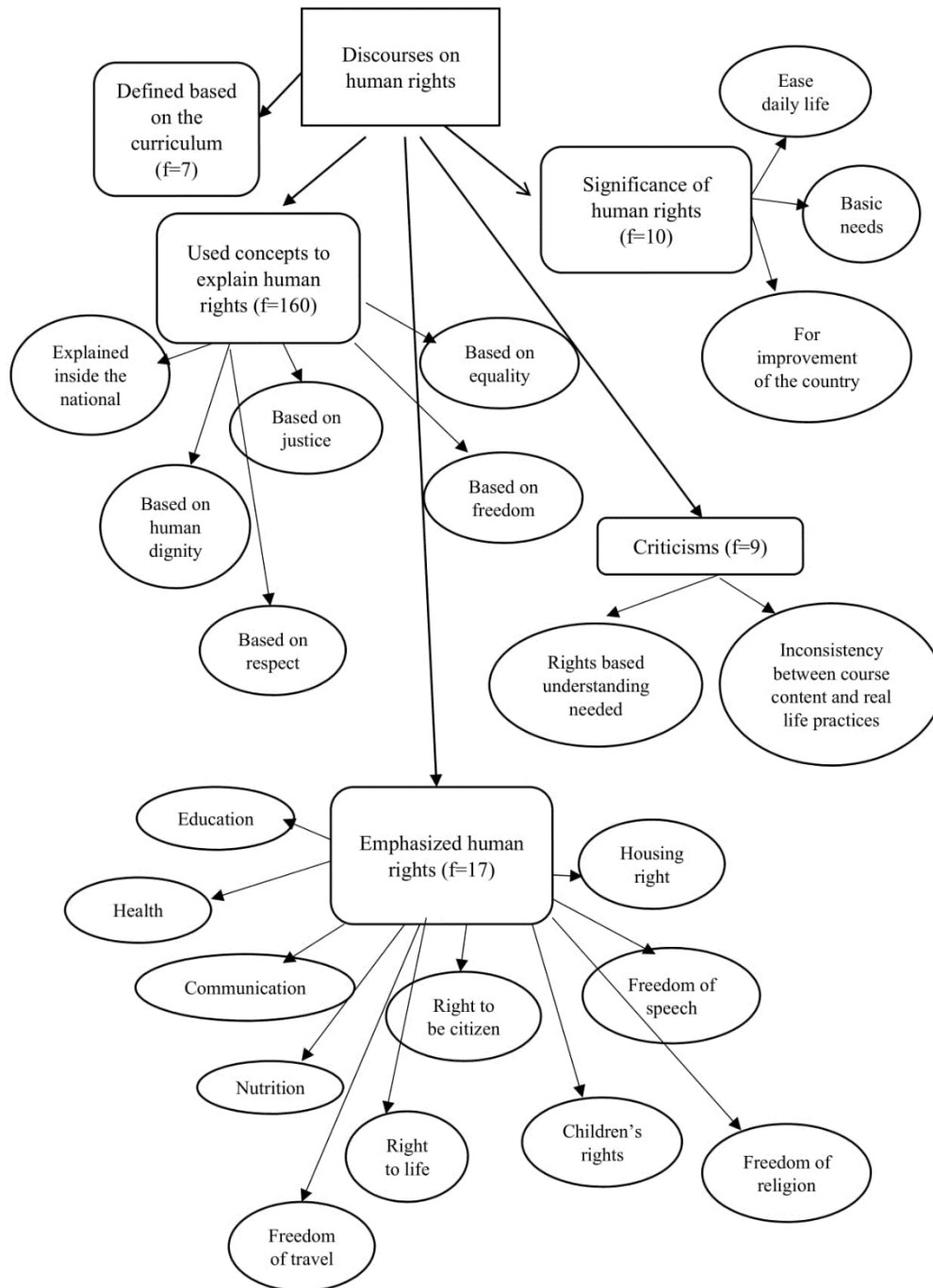


Figure 4.36 Discourses on human rights.

As can be seen from the figure, some teachers remarked that they define the human rights concept regarding the definition in the curriculum ($f=7$), and they did not share their personal opinions about. On the other hand, the majority of the teachers report on their conceptual understanding on human rights and how they

teach human rights in classroom. They, for instance, highlighted diverse concepts while defining human rights, such as equality, respect, human dignity, and others.

a) Which Concepts Used While Explaining Human Rights to Students?

It is important to understand the conceptual understanding of the teachers to analyze their perspective on human rights. (See category 4.2). The analysis revealed that the majority of participants built the definition of human rights on equality ($f=122$), and remarked that human rights are inherent to all human beings. “Being inherent”, “rights of all human beings”, “equality of all human beings regardless of race, sex, ethnicity, and others, regarding rights”, “universality of human rights” were the main statements that were used to define human rights in terms of the concept of equality.

Category 4.2

Used concepts to explain human rights

Codes	<i>f</i>
Based on equality	122
Explained inside the “national”	37
Based on freedom	29
Based on human dignity	10
Based on respect	6
Based on justice	1

From another perspective, some participants preferred to define human rights through a nationalist perspective ($f=37$), in other words they limited the human rights concept inside the borders of Turkish Republic. I share the statements in a table (Code 4.1) for a more explicit demonstration:

Code 4.1

Statements inside the “Explained in the limits of national” code

Statement	<i>f</i>
Rights protected by the state	25
Rights limited by laws	5
Rights of people living in Turkey	4
Rights given by Atatürk	2
Rights given through the constitution	1
Rights people have without threatening the unity of the country	1

By attributing human rights to the responsibility of the state, some of the teachers indicated the role of the state regarding the protection of human rights ($f=25$). Some participants define human rights through ‘laws’ ($f=5$) or ‘constitution’ ($f=1$) by referring citizenship rights rather than human rights. Similarly, some others included only Turkish citizens as beneficiaries of human rights ($f=2$), and some teachers grounded human rights on Early Republican period and remarked that human rights were provided by Atatürk after the War of Independence ($f=2$):

While talking about the revolutions made after the proclamation of the Republic, an introduction to the subject on rights is made. It is stated that the efforts carried out under the leadership of Atatürk to ensure that citizens live humanly are human rights. After the War of Independence... (F-25S)

Finally, one teacher shared his sensitivity about the unity of the country ($f=1$) while mentioning about freedom of expression. He emphasized that people might have freedom of opinion and expression, unless they express something that might threaten unity of the country or his religious beliefs:

It [*freedom of expression*] is having rights to live equally, free and honorable, unless threatening the unity of the country, or respecting my religious views. In the context of these, citizens should be able to express his/her views freely. (B-9S)

These discourses remind the unity of the nation, the existence of the state, and the Republic more than the universality of human rights. Besides, the citizens of the country were addressed more than the humanity. In other terms, these discourses were rooted inside the nation-state idea.

Some participants grounded their definition on “freedom” ($f=29$). They mainly specified that human rights mean right to be free without interfering to some others’ freedom. Others mentioned about “to be free”, “to be happy”, or “to be peaceful” to define the concept. There were very few participants who referred to basic rights, or the universality of human rights. These responses also refer to the importance of human rights for people’s lives and some teachers focused on this issue rather than sharing a conceptual understanding on human rights.

b) Why Human Rights Are Essential in People’s Lives?

A small number of the respondents also shared their opinions about the significance of human rights while defining the concept. Human rights were claimed as an

element to ease our daily life ($f=4$). According to some of the participants, having rights and respecting others' rights increase the quality of our lives, and it is a key for a sound life. Some teachers regarded human rights as they are basic needs of human beings ($f=3$). Finally, human rights were considered significant for the improvement of the country ($f=3$). Related to this point, the following sub-title elaborates which rights are emphasized more than the others.

c) Emphasized Human Rights

While sharing their definitions on human rights, some teachers gave examples and attached importance to some of the human rights such as education rights ($f=10$), health rights ($f=8$), right to life ($f=7$), housing rights ($f=7$) and freedom of opinion and expression were the most cited human rights. Besides, right to nutrition ($f=3$), freedom of religion ($f=2$), freedom of travel ($f=2$), right to be a citizen ($f=2$), right to communication ($f=1$) were the other human rights that were pointed. Furthermore, children's rights ($f=2$) were also emphasized by a few participants. These results about the emphasized human rights are not say anything alone; however, I think it is important to share all the findings to understand teachers' conceptual framework as human beings and professionals. That is why I prefer to share every detail from the results. On the other hand, as well as definitions and opinions, there were some criticisms about the human rights content of the curriculum.

d) Criticisms: How Can Human Rights Be Taught While Students Do Not Experience in Daily Life?

There were very few criticisms from teachers when they were asked how they taught human rights in classroom. Yet, I think these criticisms are important since they show the existence of diverse perspectives and diverse voices which do not echo the similar discourses written in the textbooks, instead have a critical understanding.

The inconsistency between the course content and real life experiences ($f=7$) were criticized by a few of the participants. They either indicated that it is not possible for students to internalize human rights in a violent family environment, or remarked that there are so many injustices and inequalities in the society and the

country, thus it is not realistic to talk about human rights in such an incoherent political environment.

Very few teachers, on the other hand, signified that the content on human rights is quite narrow-scoped and should be prioritized in the curriculum ($f=2$), as one of them stated:

With this program [*HRC D program*], I find pedagogically correct to put forward a content that emphasizes human rights and freedom, which prioritizes being human. Learning objectives should be prepared accordingly. (R-70S)

3) Discourses on Cultural Diversity

This theme is consisting of the discourses of teachers, counselors and managers about cultural diversity. Two categories formed the theme; (1) understanding on cultural diversity, and (2) practices to encounter with the challenges caused by cultural diversity.

a) Understanding on Cultural Diversity

This category includes both teachers', managers', and counselors' understanding on cultural diversity. Teachers' conceptual understanding and managers' and counselors' perceptions about the positive impacts or challenges of cultural diversity were comprehensively analyzed to understand participants' perspectives on cultural diversity and working in culturally diverse schools.

Teachers' Perception of Cultural Diversity. Teachers were asked about the understanding of the HRC D curriculum and its textbook on cultural diversity. However, it was realized that, they mainly shared their personal standpoint. To put it another way, it was possible to comprehend their perspective about cultural diversity while analyzing their thoughts about the content of the curriculum on cultural diversity. The discourses on cultural diversity showed teachers' conceptual understanding as well as their perspective about the concept.

Code 4.2

Teachers' perception of cultural diversity

	<i>f</i>
Country based differences emphasized	49
Concretized cultural diversity over Turkey	24
Individual differences emphasized	13
Regional differences emphasized	10
Based on human rights	6

For instance, some of the teachers explained cultural diversity over country-based differences ($f=35$), as it was in the below statement:

In the lesson, the cultures of other countries are described and comparisons are made between the culture of our own country and the cultures of other countries. Students are surprised when they learn about different cultures from their own. (20-178S)

Besides some of them reported that country-based differences emphasized in the textbook while explaining cultural diversity ($f=14$).

Cultural diversity has been addressed about refugees who have come to our country. The diversity in our own country has been overlooked. I try to work on this issue in line with children's awareness. (P-65)

As it can be seen from the statement above, cultural diversity of the country was exemplified over Syrian refugees in the textbook, and according to the teacher cultural differences of the country was overlooked.

On the other hand, some participants indicated that they explained cultural diversity by giving examples from diverse cultures in Turkey ($f=24$). For instance, one teacher from Adana (11-145S) remarked that, his classroom is already like a small Turkey with so many cultural differences inside, and he explains cultural diversity through demographics of the classroom. Another teacher from Mersin expressed that she highlights the diversity of the country regarding culture:

We live together with our cultural differences for many years. These differences are our wealth. Students develop themselves in this respect. In this regard, we support students to learn to enjoy living with our differences. (AB-96)

Some of the teachers, that explained cultural diversity over diversity and differences in Turkey, remarked that having a culturally diverse classroom is an important element to make constructive discussions on cultural diversity, since students experience differences both in their neighborhood and in the school ($f=11$). One of the teachers from Mersin also pointed to the age level of students and claimed

that students' being at early ages prevents prejudices towards differences. Conversely, there were some teachers who specified prejudices of students and their parents ($f=3$) which eventually prevented discussions on cultural diversity in the classroom.

A few participants indicated that they give examples from diverse regions' cultural differences such as differences regarding clothes, food, wedding ceremonies, celebrations, or music, between eastern and western, or northern and southern parts of the country ($f=10$). They grounded their explanation on the geographical differences rather than cultural differences regarding ethnicity or religion.

Besides these perspectives, cultural diversity was concretized by individual differences such as physical differences, disability status, or opinion differences among people by some of the participants ($f=4$), while some others reported that cultural diversity is explained over individual differences in the textbook ($f=9$).

Finally, a few teachers based their standpoint to the concept of human rights and they claimed that they teach cultural diversity by emphasizing the equality of all human beings regardless of language, ethnicity, gender, or religion ($f=6$).

Which Attitudes or Skills Are Promoted While Teaching Cultural Diversity? In addition to the perspectives of documents and the teachers about cultural diversity, there were some findings that showed the emphasized attitudes and skills while teaching cultural diversity.

Respect, tolerance, and openness to other cultures were the promoted attitudes towards cultural diversity. These findings show both the perceived understanding of the HRC content regarding cultural diversity and the standpoint of the teachers towards differences:

Code 4.3

Promoted attitudes while teaching cultural diversity

Codes	<i>f</i>
Respect to different cultures	28
Tolerance to different cultures	13
Openness to other cultures	8

As some teachers reported, cultural diversity and differences is included in the “respect to differences” subject of the HRCDD textbook; thus being respectful towards diverse cultures ($f=28$) was highlighted most. Responses of the participants illuminated that being tolerant to different cultures ($f=13$) was promoted in some of the classrooms. Besides these, being open to other cultures and establishing empathy ($f=8$) were attached importance by a small number of the teachers. The discourses of teachers about approaching cultural diversity reminded the discourses in the documents. This was not the only similarity between the findings from documents and survey forms. Mostly, country-based differences were regarded by the teachers as it was in the documents. On the other hand, there were a few responses underlining the necessity of including in-country differences in terms of culture.

The Perceived Positive Impacts of Cultural Diversity by Managers. While teachers were reported that they teach respect, tolerance, openness to other cultures or developing empathy, the majority of the managers shared their opinions about the opportunities of cultural diversity to students’ personal or social development, and for creating an intercultural school culture.

According to some of the managers, an environment for intercultural dialogue was provided ($f=11$), and a cultural mosaic was created in culturally diverse schools, thereby cultural richness would increase and students would have the opportunity to know and learn about diverse cultures. Besides, its positive effect on democracy culture ($f=1$) was reminded.

One manager responded this question from an instructional perspective and highlighted that working in a culturally diverse school provides an opportunity to develop instructional methods and techniques about multicultural education ($f=1$), which was a valuable insight from a pedagogical perspective.

On the other hand, one manager cared about socio-economic diversity in the school. He was working in a mixed SES school and thought that socio-economic diversity provides financial opportunities ($f=1$), which eases the school management process financially. Finally, one manager indicated that ‘*management has a strong authority, when the majority of children are obedient, poor family children*’. In other words, according to him, school management would be easier if the majority of children were poor family children, in that case students would be more obedient.

Cultural diversity was also considered important to support the personal development of school members by some of the participants. According to them, students' intercultural skills developed ($f=8$), and experiencing cultural mosaic of the country in school prepared them for life ($f=5$). Besides, their self-confidence ($f=1$), their ability to realize and propose effective solutions for school problems, and their responsibility taking behavior ($f=1$) were developed. Some of the managers stated that cultural diversity positively influences all school members, parents also realized their prejudices ($f=1$) and became more open to differences, as cultural diversity provided an environment for positive communication between cultures. Moreover, gaining different point of views by managers, teachers, and students in such diversity ($f=2$) was mentioned as another positive impact regarding school members' personal development.

Not only related to personal development, cultural diversity was also perceived as a positive parameter regarding children's pro-social development. For instance, some managers indicated that children from Turkey became empathetic ($f=1$) and tolerant ($f=3$) individuals by observing the difficulties that refugee children's encountered, and they learn to appreciate living in their own homeland ($f=1$). And related to the refugee students' existence, some of the managers remarked students' development about understanding the value of cooperation ($f=5$). On the other hand, cultural diversity was perceived as challenging more than a positive parameter for school members or school culture.

Perceived Challenges Due to Cultural Differences. This theme and especially this category is essential since it represents the core idea of this research study. How educators perceive the differences, how they react and which discourses they use are important to discuss explicitly.

Before presenting the perceived challenges of the participants, there was an important finding which revealed the understanding of some managers on cultural diversity since they reported no cultural diversity in their schools ($f=7$). However, counselors' and teachers' statements addressed the opposite. Three schools in Adana (school codes: 7, 9, and 16) and three schools in Mersin (school codes: A, C, and D) were located in migration-receiving regions; they had students from countryside, eastern, and southeastern part of the country, as well as refugee students. And the

school AC from Mersin has refugee students, as it was reported by the participated teachers and the counselor. This finding, to some extent, shows how cultural diversity is paid no attention or overlooked in some of the visited schools, although it has a tremendous impact on school culture in terms of democracy, and human rights.

On the other hand, the majority of school managers mentioned about the challenges of cultural diversity for schooling process. The table below introduces the emerged codes on challenges due to cultural differences that perceived by the school managers.

Code 4.4

Challenges due to cultural differences

	<i>f</i>
Challenges due to adaptation of students from different cultures	29
Conflicts among school members	9
Schools' lack economic resources in refugee-dense areas	6
Discrimination against refugees	4
Increasing school absence in refugee-dense schools	2
Resistance to adapt	1

Challenges due to adaptation ($f=29$) were reported for both the refugee population and the ethnically or socio-economically different students. Refugee students' encountered with some challenges and had difficulties while adapting their new environment ($f=19$). Especially, language differences were defined as the main challenge. Refugee students were reported to experience communication and learning difficulties due to language differences; and some of the managers ($f=3$) perceived this as a cause of decline in classroom and school success.

For refugee students, having to adapt to a new culture and a new education system was a stressful process alone, yet this was not the only challenge that they had to encounter. The age differences compare to their Turkish or Kurdish class mates, and differences between readiness level of Turkish citizens and refugee students were some of the reasons that block their adaptation process. For instance, a manager from Adana reported that:

Sometimes new students may be older than the schooling age. They have adaptation problems...they have language problems; they can harm other students. They are discriminated when there is a huge cultural difference. (13-40Y)

The challenges that refugee students encountered, and the reasons that affected their adaptation to school environment, sometimes caused school absences; and only two managers among refugee-dense schools indicated a concern related to increasing school absences ($f=2$).

Teachers' and counselors' statements affirmed these observations of the managers. Teachers mainly emphasized refugee students' adaptation problems based on language and cultural differences and their disobeying the rules ($f=15$). Language differences of Syrian, Iraqi and Kurdish students and parents ($f=10$) were also reported as a challenge by the counselors working in low SES and in-migration regions that negatively affect the schooling process of students in terms of adaptation, and academic success. Moreover, counselors cited low parental involvement ($f=10$) due to parents' low education level, or language differences between teachers and parents, which, in the end, affect students' schooling process. According to the counselors, these reasons cause low academic success ($f=3$), adaptation problems ($f=2$), and low self-confidence ($f=1$) of refugee students, eventually.

On the other hand, counselors reported behavioral problems of students ($f=12$) such as disrupting the integrity, violent behaviors, or not obeying the rules from a wider perspective. According to them, the behavioral problems occurred due to socio-economic level, or cultural characteristics of students. Only two counselors from middle SES schools indicated that parents tend to spoil their children and students are overconfident which causes behavioral problems of children in classrooms against their peers and teachers. Besides, one counselor highlighted that teachers are not successful to impact on students' behavioral development.

Language and adaptation problems were not only voiced about refugee students. As some of the teachers reported, Kurdish and local Arabic students are also experiencing language and adaptation problems ($f=8$), and especially social status and culture of students and parents were found to be determinants of these problems. The parents were criticized for not adapting to the city culture:

The children of the families who came with migration are actually not seeing any village environment and trying to live the village life in the city. They sit on the floor, eat on the floor and make a bed on the floor. (G-29S)

In my class, there are students from the East, and there are Syrian students. Culture

levels are low. They do not have habit of reading books and habit of brushing teeth. They spit on the ground and throw trash, they constantly watch TV shows with their children, and they are prone to violence and swearing. (8-134S)

In the second example, the teacher meant Kurdish students by ‘the students from the East’. Besides, in the above statements, both Kurdish and Syrian students and their families were identified as ‘uncultured’ who does not know how to live in a city.

Challenges related to adaptation were also not reported only for refugee population by the managers. A few of the managers working in migration receiving regions remarked difficulties of minority students to adapt ($f=6$) such as Kurdish students and maladaptation of students who migrated from the countryside ($f=4$). And one manager from low SES and Kurdish-dense schools in Mersin indicated that parents and students resist to adapt to the education system and the culture. Some counselors’ statements affirmed this observation since they reported negative attitudes of parents’ towards education system ($f=2$), such as Kurdish and refugee parents’ resistance to change, not to lose their culture. Although this was reported, or highlighted by a very few participants, it is discussed regarding the purposes and limits of the study in the discussion chapter.

Cultural Differences Cause Conflicts Among School Members. Managers indicated conflicts between Turkish citizens and refugees ($f=9$). Both students and parents were prone to conflict in some of the schools. According to the managers, conflicts were caused by language and cultural differences. Parents generally did not want refugee students in their children’s classrooms, and they either put the pressure on school management or on teachers to avoid refugees’ existence. As reported by some of the managers, prejudices against refugees, their culture, and the perception about their being a ‘burden’ to the country, in other words discrimination against refugees ($f=4$) were some of the reasons of these conflicts. According to some of the managers’ refugees are exposed to discrimination.

Cultural diversity occasionally causes conflicts between students and their families. For example, in the last few years, there has been a discrimination and lovelessness towards foreign students in our country, they are not wanted.

Some of the teachers’ responses validate the managers’ observations. They mentioned about the conflicts between local and refugee students ($f=2$):

We mostly teach children of the families who migrated from Eastern and Southeast Anatolia. They live in slum-style houses around the school where people of Kurdish and Arab people migrate. Kurdish and Arab students and their parents sometimes conflict. Culture and education levels are low. (23-186S)

Since most of the students' parents in my class are civil servants, there are no cultural problems among themselves, but they have problems with Syrian students. I didn't see anything they did together. I observe groupings. (Although I have made several warnings). (P-62S)

In addition to these, some managers indicated that financial aids for refugee students are one of the reasons of the conflicts, since in those regions Turkish citizens also live in poverty. In other words, in low in-come neighborhoods, aids for refugee students could be a factor of conflict.

Managers' statements revealed that conflicts among parents cause student conflicts. Violent behaviors, peer bullying, and communication problems were increased and there were groupings and gangs among refugee students and local students.

A point needs to be elaborated here about the socio-cultural structure of those schools in which conflicts between refugee students and Turkish citizens were reported. Those challenges mainly observed in low in-come and low education level regions, as most of the refugee families were able to settle in those regions. Hereby, schools' lack economic resources ($f=6$) was appeared as a significant challenge due to refugee population. They were living in poverty, and schools had difficulties to provide quality education for all students causing conflicts and anger of local parents and students against refugees' existence.

Counsellors' responses also deepened the analysis. Their participation of the surveying process provided me to analyze similar issues from a different perspective. For instance, they reported diverse attitudes and behaviors that cause miscommunication and conflicts among school members.

Code 4.5

Negative attitudes and behaviors of school members towards each other

	<i>f</i>
Students' violent behaviors towards each-other	28
Majority students discriminate their minority peers	8
School members lack respect towards each other	5
Teachers' negative behaviors towards parents and students	5
School members lack empathy towards each other	4

Violent behaviors of students ($f=28$) was the most cited challenge. Verbal violence such as swearing, nicknaming, or mocking; and physical violence such as fighting, bullying, or beating were the reported negative behaviors of students. Counselors indicated that children from diverse cultures feel anger to each other, or sometimes their plays are based on violence. An important point needs to be highlighted that violent behaviors were mainly reported by the counselors working in low in-come and migration receiving regions. According to them, students' social experiences outside the school were the reasons of violence since they were exposed to violence inside home, and they normalized violent behaviors.

Besides this, violence towards ($f=3$) and from ($f=4$) refugee students was also reported by some of the respondents. Even, one of the counselors (W-22R) linked the causes of violence to refugee students and their culture:

After Syrian citizens came, problems started to occur. Because of the habit of solving problems with violence in the Arab culture, they start to use violence to our students intensely. Verbal and physical violence are frequent, racist discourses have increased among themselves. Syrian and Turkish parents mostly do not compromise for this reason.

As reported by counselors, discriminative behaviors ($f=8$) were observed in some schools, especially in the ones that located in migration-receiving regions. They claimed that majority students discriminate their peers due to their culture, ethnicity or nationality. For instance, three of them specifically indicated that refugee students are exposed to discrimination by their peers.

Counselors also reported challenges due to lack of respect ($f=5$) and empathy ($f=4$). They indicated that parents do not respect decisions of teachers about their children and sometimes they threaten teachers to complaint. Lack of empathy was also reported among parents, teachers, and students due to cultural differences.

Another related issue was teachers' negative behaviors towards students and parents ($f=5$). Counselors working in low in-come and migration-receiving schools reported some discriminative behaviors of teachers towards minority students and their parents such as belittling students and their parents about their cultural differences, social class or education level. And, one counselor reported that teachers expect obedient students and they have authoritarian behaviors that cause difficulties in classrooms and school.

As well as negative attitudes or behaviors of school members towards each other, differences in understanding or culture caused conflicts or miscommunication between school members. According to the counselors, there were cultural conflicts ($f=5$) between school members. Groupings among culturally homogenous parents against 'others' or against teachers ($f=2$) were also indicated as challenges of culturally diverse schools. Eventually, sometimes miscommunication ($f=3$) was occurred between teachers and parents because of cultural differences or prejudices towards each other.

SES Differences Cause Conflicts Among Parents and Students. Not only the differences regarding nationality or ethnicity were causing conflicts among parents and students; according to the managers, SES differences among parents ($f=18$) also caused diverse challenges such as lack of parental involvement and children's school adaptation. It was reported that the SES gap may be apt to conflicts ($f=5$) and even discrimination ($f=2$) among children.

Code 4.6

Challenges caused by SES differences

	<i>f</i>
Lack of effective parental involvement	8
Problems on school adaptation	6
Socio-economic gaps causes conflicts	5
Discrimination	2
Increasing school absence	2
Early puberty due to poor housing conditions	1

Socio-economic gaps between students were reported as an important cause of students' school adaptation. Lower socio-economic status children's being in mixed SES classrooms sometimes causes their having low opinions' about

themselves - because of their clothes or shoes when they compare them with the middle or upper-middle SES students' clothes and shoes- in mixed socio-economic level schools- which eventually affected their school adaptation ($f=6$). Moreover, socio-economic gaps between students were reported as a cause of discrimination ($f=2$). Sometimes low SES children were discriminated by their peers because of their clothes or being 'deficient'. Or sometimes, higher SES status parents tended to label low SES children and did not want them in their children's classroom, which affected their children's attitudes and manners towards their low SES peers in the end.

According to respondents' statements, socio-economic differences also cause conflicts among students, among parents, and between students and their parents ($f=5$). Sometimes, parents had disagreements due to financial issues; managers working in socio-economically mixed schools indicated that parents are asked for financial support to organize educational and social activities, and there can be conflicts when some parents do not contribute financially. Socio-economic status of parents appeared as a critical fact in mixed SES schools for some other challenges such as low SES students' demanding the objects, clothes, or shoes they see in school from their financially better peers; which is considered to be means to cause conflict between low SES students and their parents.

The responses of some of the counselors affirmed this observation or experience of the managers, since they also emphasized that age, socio-economic level and lifestyle based differences caused differences in understanding and conflicts between teachers and parents ($f=11$); or SES differences also caused conflicts among parents ($f=2$).

In addition to all these, lack of effective parental involvement ($f=8$) was reported both by managers working in low, middle, and upper-middle in-come schools. While, lack of parental involvement due to parents' low education levels, their working in labor-intensive jobs, or their low level of knowledge on schooling process was reported as an issue from low SES schools. Permissive and protective parenting were indicated as challenges of working in higher SES schools.

It seems that socio-economic level of parents was perceived as an advantage or disadvantage in terms of school management process by some of the managers.

For instance, one of the manager working in mixed SES school in Mersin (Z-20Y) differentiated parents as ‘interested’ and ‘uninterested’ in terms of the financial contribution they made for their children’s social activities or school needs.

There is an imbalance in meeting the physical and educational financial needs of our school. With some parents' extreme attention and some others' excessive indifferent attitudes, dead ends can occur. [*In this context*] The targeted unity cannot be achieved in terms of creating a school culture.

Another manager (14-41Y) working in an upper-middle SES school claimed that there are less problems if the socio-economic level of parents is higher.

The other reported challenges caused by socio-economic levels of parents was, increasing school absence due to low in-come of parents ($f=2$). Besides, one manager from Adana highlighted a consequence of poor housing conditions. Since children had to witness their parents’ sexual life, they reach early puberty earlier than their peers.

In brief, according to the managers, all these challenges caused difficulties for creating a school culture. The category below shows the manifested opinions.

Code 4.7

Challenges for creating a sound school culture

	<i>f</i>
Cultural conflicts	6
Discrimination towards school members from diverse cultures	5
Increasing problems	3
Working with disadvantaged students	1

This code shows the relationality of challenges and their common influence to school culture. Some of the managers indicated that cultural conflicts between students and parents from diverse cultures ($f=6$), discrimination towards school members from diverse cultures ($f=5$), and working in low in-come and migration-receiving regions with disadvantaged students ($f=1$) cause challenges about creating a school culture. Moreover, according to a small number of participants, problems became diversified, the number of problems increased, and students affected each other negatively in culturally diverse schools which, in the end, hindered the creation of a school culture ($f=4$).

b) Practices to Encounter with the Challenges Caused by Cultural Diversity

Diverse challenges were reported, and the responses of counselors about the practices they apply to encounter with the challenges caused by cultural diversity showed the variety of practices they conduct.

Category 4.3

Practices to encounter with the challenges caused by cultural diversity

	f
Individual counseling	20
Seminars	14
Group activities for social cohesion	9
Trainings	8
Classroom guidance	6
Group counseling	6
Social activities for social cohesion	4
Board preparing	3
Projects	2

Counselors mainly utilized from individual counseling to students ($f=20$), and seminars to parents and students ($f=14$). Although they did not give detailed information, few of them working in refugee-dense schools cited to orientation and adaptation meetings with students and parents. One of these counselors (3-27R) highlighted the negative effect of language differences:

For example, when I give seminars, I am having language problems. I also organized seminars with an interpreter several times when I had to talk to [*refugee*] students or [*refugee*] parents. I also distributed the announcements in 2 languages. (3-27)

Group ($f=9$) and social ($f=4$) activities for social cohesion -such as plays, picnics, drama activities, or cultural tours- were organized by counselors to enhance cohesion among students from diverse cultures, and these were mainly reported by counselors working in refugee-dense schools.

In-class activities ($f=6$) to strengthen empathy skills; group counseling ($f=6$) to encounter with the problems between student groups; and trainings ($f=8$) on empathy, anger control, conflict resolution, peer mediation were some of the practices to cope with the issues caused by cultural diversity. Further, few of them

mentioned about developing projects ($f=2$) to encounter the challenges of cultural diversity.

4) Discourses on gender

Gender is an important dimension while discussing the perspectives on differences. Thus, each cohort was asked their observations about the gender differences. While teachers were asked to analyze the content of the HRCB textbook regarding gender equality, the managers and counselors were asked their observations about the academic and social experiences of boys and girls in schools. I prefer to present the findings from each cohort separately since they have diverse experiences and focuses in relation to their specialty.

Teachers' Perception of Gender Equality. Three categories were emerged from teachers' statements when they were queried their opinions about the content of HRCB textbook in terms of gender equality. The responses, at the same time, showed their perceptions and present the major discourses they use to define gender equality, in the context of education.

Category 4.4

Opinions about the content on gender

Codes	<i>f</i>
No gender inequality observed in the textbook	128
Gender inequality observed in the textbook	19
Content is insufficient regarding gender equality	12

Majority of the participants thought that girls' and boys' are represented equally without reproducing the "attributed" gender roles by the society ($f=128$). They mainly stated that both the illustrations and the content are suitable and equally present women and men and the textbook was written by paying attention to gender equality. However, it was found that some of the statements tended to reproduce traditional gender roles ($f=4$). For instance, a teacher from Adana (4-124S) claimed that girls' and boys' roles are defined correctly in the textbook. Or another teacher from Adana indicated that:

An equal number of girls and boys were tried to be given in the images. The book has properly defined the gender roles that society wants from us. Samples are suitable for students' level. (20-174S)

One teacher did not report gender inequality in the textbook, however according to her the society is male dominant even the textbook emphasizes gender equality. On the other hand, gender inequality ($f=19$) was reported by some of the teachers, and many of them claimed that traditional gender roles are reproduced through the HRCD textbook ($f=10$). For instance, women are still represented as housewife, girls' helping to their mother for housework or girls' playing with dolls; while boys' playing with balls:

In the textbooks, the girl helps the mother with housework. The father is reading the newspaper. The mother knits. Doesn't the mother read a book or a newspaper? Who will be a role model for the female student who wants to be an ambulance driver? (14-155S)

Some of the respondents also emphasized that even though an effort is realized to ensure gender equality, traditional gender roles can be sensed from the illustrations or examples. For instance, a teacher from Mersin (V-81S) claimed that, women's being housewives is tried to be normalized and sensed hidden even though they are illustrated with some outside jobs. Another teacher stated that:

Gender equality was considered in the [HRCD] curriculum and the [HRCD] textbook. It was tried to be attentive about the equality of girls and boys. However, in some of the illustrations in the textbook, girls were shown with dolls while boys were shown with basketball ball. (M-54S)

Although a few of the teachers found the content suitable regarding gender equality, they believed the content is insufficient and needs to be revised and improved regarding gender ($f=12$).

Results showed that, most of the teachers did not have a critical standpoint to analyze the textbooks; since they could not realize the reproduced gender roles, while some others realized the inequalities and the reproduction of gender inequalities by giving direct examples from the HRCD textbook. Furthermore, even some of them continue to reproduce the traditional gender roles while affirming the gender neutrality of the textbook.

Comparison of Academic and Social Experiences of Boys and Girls.
School managers and counselors are asked about academic and social experiences

of boys and girls in their schools. Some of the respondents perceived no difference between boys' and girls' social experiences ($f=41$), or their academic success ($f=11$). On the other hand, the others' statements manifested the perceived characteristics of female and male students, and the differences between boys' and girls' experiences concerning their social and academic life in schools. Descriptions used for girls and boys are summarized below:

Category 4.5

Comparative descriptions used for girls and boys

Descriptions used for girls		Descriptions used for boys	
	<i>f</i>		<i>f</i>
Codes		Codes	
More successful	33	More behavioral problems	9
More willing to participate school activities	23	More active in physical activities	6
Less absent	16	Mischievous	4
Rapid-adaptation to schooling process	13	More absent	2
More responsible	13	More dynamic	2
More harmonious	8	More coddled	1
More motivated	8	Overconfident	1
Higher school dropout rates	7	Unwilling to schooling process	1
More absent due to domestic responsibilities	6	Lower adaptation skills	1
Obedient	6	Absent due to child labor	1
More success-oriented	5	Better social skills	1
More tidy and disciplined	3	Higher school dropout	1
More self-confident	2		
Strong school belonging	1		
Cares about teacher approval	1		
Introvert	1		
Advanced emotional skills	1		
More active in art activities	1		

Girls were defined as successful ($f=33$), and success-oriented ($f=5$) compared to boys. Besides, they were defined as more willing to participate school activities ($f=23$), more responsible, and willing to take responsibility ($f=13$). Some of the statements manifested that girls were perceived as harmonious ($f=8$), self-confident ($f=2$), obedient ($f=6$) and with rapid-adaptation ability to schooling process ($f=13$) compared to boys.

Conversely, boys were defined through behavioral problems ($f=9$) and as mischievous/ill-behaved ($f=4$), coddled ($f=1$) and overconfident ($f=1$) compared to girls. One manager stated about boys' unwillingness to schooling process, and two managers from middle SES schools defined boys as more absent by citing their unsteadiness compared to girls. Some respondents cited that boys are active in physical activities ($f=6$) such as football, and more dynamic ($f=2$) in the school.

As for the absence rates, the majority of the managers and counselors claim no difference between girls' and boys' school dropout or school absence rates ($f=31$), while some respondents indicated that school dropouts start after the primary level ($f=6$). However, counselors from low SES schools reported more absence of female students due to their domestic responsibilities ($f=6$) such as looking after their siblings, while their mothers are working; or higher absence rates of male students due to seasonal labor ($f=1$). Inside this group of respondents, some of them from low SES schools indicated lack of social experiences of students due to low economic opportunities.

As highlighted before, this part of the survey uncovered the perceived characteristics of female and male students by the school counselors and managers. To discuss the findings on gender, I think, two important details need to be deepened which cause the reproduction of gender roles and gendered citizenship. First of all, as can be observed from the descriptive discourses on boys and girls, it can simply be realized that boys seem to have more space to act freely, while girls are mostly defined as more motivated, successful, responsible, and harmonious. This, to some extent, can explain why some of the educators were observed that girls are more obedient and care about teacher approval. Yet, we need more data to analyze the reasons of these observations from managers and counselors; and the data collected from interviews and in-class observations will comprehensively complement the data.

Secondly, the differences between low income and middle or high income school students in terms of their gender-based experiences was quite distinct. Therefore, the class seems to intersect with gender, and that becomes more influential for low socio-economic status girls' academic and social experiences.

These discussions are elaborated on through the findings from the deepened school visits.

5) Practices to Enhance Democratic School Culture

A general tendency in reference to the practices to enhance democratic school culture was taken into consideration. For instance, the vast majority of the managers mentioned about classroom ($f=41$) and school ($f=50$) representative elections⁹³ to provide an experience for students about their “*most important democratic right*”, which is right to vote. Theme 4.2 shows the details.

Theme 4.2

Practices to enhance democratic school culture

Codes	<i>f</i>
School representative elections	50
Classroom representative elections	41
Practices of counseling service	25
Class president elections	9
Celebration of relevant official ceremonies	3
Social clubs	2
Projects	1
Board preparation	1
Activities on values education	1
Do not have enough information	1

Class president elections ($f=9$) were also considered as a practice to promote democratic behaviors of students by a few managers. In addition to elections, half of them cited the activities of counseling service ($f=25$) without giving concrete information. Very few also mentioned about celebration of relevant important days such as children’s rights week or human rights week ($f=3$). Social club activities ($f=2$), board preparing ($f=1$), activities on values education ($f=1$) and projects ($f=1$)

⁹³ During my field research whenever I asked about the practices to enhance democracy, school managers mentioned about student councils and student clubs. Unfortunately, both of them were removed from the curriculum. For the student councils, there was an amendment in 2019 and through this amendment the student councils were abolished from the curriculum. (https://mus.meb.gov.tr/meb_iys_dosyalar/2019_04/19144837_Demokrasi_EYitimi_ve_Okul_Mec_lisleri_Projesi_YYnergesinin_YYrYIYkten_KaldYrYlmasY.pdf). Student clubs’ activities are requested to be done after school through the change in the regulation on June, 2017 (http://ogm.meb.gov.tr/meb_iys_dosyalar/2017_06/08095142_Yeni_Microsoft_Word_Belgesi.pdf)

were mentioned as other practices to improve democratic school culture. Finally, one manager wrote that he has no idea about the practices applied by the management to strengthen democratic school culture.

1) Opinions on HRC D Curriculum

This theme includes the opinions of teachers, managers and counselors on HRC D curriculum. Two categories emerged from the data and they are shared respectively: (1) preferences of teachers about the implementation of HRC D curriculum, (2) suggestions by teachers to improve the curriculum.

a) Preferences of Teachers About the Implementation of HRC D Curriculum

Instructional and assessment methods are important as much as the content of a curriculum. Preferences of teachers as regards to instruction and assessment can make a difference. Thus, teachers were asked about the learning environment during HRC D lessons, including instruction and assessment.

For instance, the applied instructional methods and techniques were asked to the teachers to understand the learning environment during the HRC D course hours. Responses indicated a general tendency about using expository teaching methods and techniques ($f=172$) such as concretization of concepts through examples ($f=107$), lecturing ($f=90$), using visuals (video, picture, and smart board) ($f=47$), and using concept maps ($f=1$). The category below shows the other instructional preferences.

Code 4.8

Instructional preferences

Codes	<i>f</i>
Expository teaching methods	172
Discovery learning	97
From the textbook	57
Inquiry-based learning	5
Students' experiencing democracy is more meaningful than teaching	1

Secondly, teachers, prefer to apply discovery learning techniques such as question-answer ($f=53$), drama/role playing ($f=34$), discussion ($f=29$) and

brainstorming ($f=13$). Some of them reported that they use only the textbook ($f=57$).

However, a few of the statements indicated that inquiry-based learning ($f=5$) was applied by a very small number of the participants; and only one teacher remarked that students' experiencing democracy in the classroom is more meaningful than trying to teach it ($f=1$).

I try to explain the related concepts by giving positive or negative examples from life. I also give examples from countries that are the cradle of democracy in the world. Examples are shared from various sources in the light of concrete information. What my students said or will say is very valuable for me. Education should be student-centered. The easiest way to teach democracy or students' experiencing democracy is teacher's practicing democracy in the classroom. (R-70)

Findings revealed that teachers were tended to teach the content, more than creating an environment for students to comprehend and experience the relevant concepts.

A general tendency was also observed about the assessment methods. Majority of the participants reported that they make written exams ($f=157$). Additional to the written exams, some of them also considered course participation ($f=56$), behaviors of students inside and outside of the classroom ($f=31$), oral exam results ($f=13$) and homework notes ($f=4$).

Besides these, a few of them indicated that they do not make a written exam, rather they prefer to grade students by observing their behaviors ($f=13$), considering course participation ($f=4$), grading the given homework ($f=2$), or making oral exams ($f=2$).

One teacher directly referred the assessment method -which is two written exams in one semester- determined by the curriculum. Actually, some of the respondents highlighted that they have to hold two written exams in a semester. Nevertheless, according to some of the teachers HRCD course content and the aimed attainments cannot be assessed through written or oral questions, since the relevant concepts needs to be experienced by the students, thus assessment method needs to be changed ($f=29$).

b) Suggestions by Teachers to Improve the Curriculum

Teachers were asked about their suggestions to improve the curriculum. The table (Category 4.6) below summarizes their criticisms and suggestions.

Category 4.6

Suggestions to improve the curriculum

Codes	<i>f</i>
Content on cultural diversity needs to be enriched	32
More active learning activities needed	32
More examples needed in the textbook	30
Visual materials (short videos) needed	29
Course hours are not enough	29
Resources are insufficient	19
Content needs to be simplified	17
Content and concepts are abstract for age level	11
Stories based on one truth negatively affects students critical thinking skills	1

Content on cultural diversity was found insufficient, and they suggested to enrich the content and adding more content on cultural diversity ($f=32$). The resource namely the HRCD textbook was also found insufficient ($f=19$) to teach the concepts of the course. Besides, content and concepts' abstractness ($f=11$) and difficulty ($f=17$) for age level of the 4th-grade students were voiced by some of the participants; accordingly increasing the number of examples ($f=30$) and preparing visual materials ($f=29$) to make the content more concrete were suggested.

Some of them stated that students can learn the concepts and the content through the activities more effectively as the content mainly aims emotional and behavioral development rather than cognitive development. Thus they suggested to add activities supporting active learning ($f=32$).

Finally, regarding the content, a teacher criticized the texts in the textbook and claimed that stories including one true opinion or value hinder the improvement of students' critical thinking skills. In addition to these criticisms and suggestions regarding the resource, content and the instructional methods, some of the participants reported the insufficiency of course hours ($f=29$). They suggested to either increasing the course hours ($f=24$) or reducing the course content ($f=5$).

In brief, six categories were emerged that illuminate the used discourses about citizenship, human rights, differences, democracy and the HRCD curriculum. Findings revealed the dominance of conventional citizenship understanding that reduces human rights phenomenon to the limits of citizenship and causes a responsibility-based citizenship understanding.

4.2.3. How do the Findings from Survey Forms Echoed the Document

Analysis Results?

In this section, I briefly discuss the connection between the results from document analysis and survey findings which was realized while reading and analyzing the survey forms.

As highlighted, there is an inconsistency between the understanding of the national curriculum and the learning objectives of the curricula which eventually affects the content of the textbooks. While active citizenship -including the emphasis on problem solving and critical thinking skills- emphasis is quite dominant as the core understanding of the national curriculum, a closer look to the learning objectives and to the content of the textbooks showed that students are not left a place to critically think on the issues related citizenship, democracy, human rights, civic responsibilities, or cultural diversity and differences. By defining the ‘us’ (insiders/outside) from a limited perspective; by prioritizing commonalities as ‘ours’ which refer to the ‘us’ discourse; by using national history, national heroes, national rituals, and symbols to construct and strengthen the ‘us’ and ‘our commonalities’ discourses; by highlighting the great importance of love of country while using the military-nation discourse at the same time; and by reminding the civic responsibilities more than civic rights, citizenship is mainly defined over a conventional and nationalist perspective. A similar understanding can be followed through the discourses of the survey participants since the majority was prone to use the discourses of responsibilities and commonalities by also referring the national symbols, and national history.

Similarly, the understanding on human rights was quite limited both in the documents and survey forms. When it comes to including of or mentioning about universal rights, it was possible to see discourses in the textbooks or survey forms. On the other hand, again, a critical look showed the superficiality of these discourses since there was not much critical insight or input through which students might be promoted to critically think on human rights or the experiences from their daily lives. The metaphor of ‘echo’ is not only the similarity of the discourses, it also

refers to the superficiality and lack of critical perspective of both the documents and the participant statements.

Another similarity was about the understanding on cultural diversity or differences that is quite at the center of this study. In the documents, differences are defined over individual differences while cultural, ethnic, or religious differences are mainly overlooked. Besides, Syrian refugees are the main subjects of examples whenever needed to explain the importance of empathy or tolerance to cultural differences. A similar understanding was found in the majority of the survey forms. Country-based differences were mainly highlighted and the cultural differences directly and mostly reminded the differences between Turkish and refugee students. The perspective of the majority of the participants and the documents were also consonant in terms of gender inequality, since they both prone to produce gender inequality.

On the other hand, the survey findings also revealed the existence of the counter-discourse against the hegemonic discourse. Some of the participants criticize the textbooks due to their deficient content on cultural diversity, gender equality, right-based citizenship; while some also reminded the inconsistencies between daily life experiences and the content of the documents in terms of democracy and human rights. Thus, although the survey findings echoed the official discourses, from another perspective the metaphor of ‘echo’ can be used for criticisms since they were the counter-echoes against the official one.

It was important to make a brief discussion to show the relationality of the results from the first two layers before deepen the analysis and results for the third layer. Therefore, I end this brief discussion here, yet it is turned back in the discussion chapter. In the following section, the findings from interviews and observations are shared.

4.3. The Manifested Discourses from the Lived Experiences of School Members

To understand the lived experiences of school members regarding the phenomenon of ‘citizenship in culturally diverse school settings’; teachers, counselors and managers were interviewed. In addition, in-class observations were conducted in some of the purposefully selected schools in Mersin. Teachers, counselors and

managers were asked several questions to illuminate their perception on citizenship, cultural diversity, and citizenship-related concepts such as human rights and democracy. The opportunities and challenges they perceived about working in a culturally diverse school, the practices they applied about enhancing democracy and human rights in classrooms and schools, and the culture of classrooms and schools regarding cultural diversity, democracy, human rights and citizenship were tried to be embodied through the interviews. In addition, in-class observations provided me to comprehend the lived experiences of teachers and students during the HRCD courses in culturally diverse classroom settings. Ultimately, 6 schools were visited to conduct interviews with teachers ($n=16$), counselors ($n=6$) and managers ($n=5$); further in-class observations were made in the seven classrooms. A table (Table 4.4) is shared to recall the number of schools, interviewees, classrooms, and the duration of in-class observations; as well as the districts, and socio-economic characteristics of the region that schools located.

Table 4.4

Visited school and classrooms for interviews and in-class observations

District	School code	SES	Number of interviewees	Classroom Code	Observation hours
Akdeniz	E	Low	4	E1	5
	X	Low	3	X1	8
Toroslar	H	Low	4	H1	5
	L	Middle	5	L1	8
				L2	8
Yenişehir	V	Middle	6	V1	8
	AC	Upper-middle	5	AC1	8

Note: E, X, H, L, V, and AC are the given codes to the visited schools.

Each school was visited more than four times to conduct both the interviews and observations. Thus, I also made observations in the schools which helped me to create the school profiles while analyzing the data from each visited school. This part summarizes the lived experiences of school members including students, teachers, managers and counselors with their own words and statements as regards to working in culturally diverse schools by also considering the voiced discourses

on citizenship, differences, gender, and their opinions on HRCD course content. In this part, mostly indigenous codes⁹⁴ are used to be able to create a narrative on each school which was visited multiple times.

4.3.1. A ‘High-status’ School in a ‘High-status’ Neighborhood

There were 780 students, 36 teachers, two psychological counselors and three school managers in the school. School AC is one of the several high profile schools regarding parents and students’ socio-economic status. Even the school was moved recently from more central neighborhood in Yenışehir district to the northern part of the city with luxury buildings around, to be able to ‘protect’ the parent and student profile. It has a four-decker new building, however according to the data about the physical capacity, there is only a library inside, there is not a technology, science, or music lab., or a conference room. However, during the observations, it was realized that they had to move rapidly, and some parts of the building were still under construction. In spite of moving recently, there are air conditioners and smart boards in all of the classrooms.

The school was known as one of the ‘high status’ primary schools regarding the socio-economic level of the parents. As the school manager remarked, the school has a reputation thanks to its success. Hence, not all of its students were living in this neighborhood; upper-middle SES parents living far from the school preferred to send their children to this school through school buses. Almost 80% of the students were coming to the school by school buses, which meant an extra cost that parents spending by considering the reputation of the school. The school counselor defined the school profile as much better than the average regarding socio-economic levels of parents. However, there were also limited number of low and middle SES parents and students. According to one of the teacher’s observations, who have been working in the school more than 20 years, school profile was changing rapidly in the last years. There were more middle SES parents compared to previous years as high socio-economic status parents prefer to send their children to private schools lately. On the other hand, cultural profile of the school reflected the diversity of the

⁹⁴ The indigenous codes, that are put as sub-titles, were placed in quotes.

city with Turkish and Kurdish students and staff, as well as 35 Syrian students and two Syrian support personnel.

Teachers were mostly experienced, and some of them were working their last years before retirement. The interviewed ones did not seem motivated; even I took a note on 18th December, after an interview with one of the teachers:

This morning, I went to the school AC, and the day started with the interview with one of the teachers. In this school, most of the teachers are almost at their retirement age. The interviewed teacher was too reluctant, she preferred to give quick and brief responses; and she seemed unmotivated. Similar behaviors and attitudes were observed about the teacher whose classroom is being observed.

In the school AC, three teachers, one counselor and one manager (deputy manager) interviews were conducted, as well as eight-hour in class observation in one of the teacher's classroom. School was visited eight times, and I had informal conversations with the school manager as well as pre-planned observations and interviews. Although he was not interested in to participate to the study as an interviewee, we had two brief unstructured talks and during both of them he only talked about financial issues of the school. Manager's finance based perspective took my attention. Later, during the interviews and observations it was realized that parents make 'donations' to the school for their children's being accepted.⁹⁵ Besides, each month teachers collect money from parents for fulfilling the needs of the classrooms.⁹⁶

A profile of the school tried to be created from the data obtained through observations, informal conversations and interviews. The lived experiences of students, teachers, counsellors, and managers about being in culturally diverse school setting and the constructed concepts, and discourses on democracy, cultural diversity, citizenship, and human rights and their reflection to the practices, attitudes

⁹⁵ According to the Regulation on Pre-school Education and Primary Education Institutions, School registration is done through e-school system, based on the residence address information in the national address database created by the Population Services Law dated 25.04.2016 and numbered 5490.

⁹⁶ According to the Primary Education and Training Law No. 222, article 2 "*Primary education is given in primary education institutions; it is compulsory for girls and boys of education age, free of charge in public schools.*".

and behaviors of the participants are shared by considering the interview and observation results.

“Educational Policies Hinder Raising Conscious Citizens”. Both the school counselor (AC-R1) and the deputy manager (AC-Y1) stated that educational policies could be the reason of not being able to raise conscious citizens who are aware of their rights and responsibilities. The counselor remarked that he is not sure about the aim of the education system, are we aiming to raise vassals or citizens? And he emphasized that they have difficulties to teach sense of responsibility, and citizen consciousness.

A similar point was remarked by the deputy manager, he criticized educational policies for not being able to raise ‘good’ citizens who are conscious about their responsibilities such as not to throw litter. The exam-oriented education system was found responsible for this:

...now expectations are also important here, when our parents bring their children to the school, their goal is academic achievement...so, nobody cares about their children’s being a good citizen. In other words, they do not question whether their children are doing what they need to do regarding citizenship or not, whether their children learn to be a good citizen or not; of course, under the pressure of the parents, teachers also put to raising ‘good’ citizens in the second plan; learning math, being successful in tests, and exams are targeted for students. This is entirely about the country’s educational policy. As long as this [*exam-oriented education and academic success*] will be in the forefront, everybody continues that race...this is because of academic achievement oriented, exam-oriented education system... (AC-Y1)

It was not just educational policies; the negative effect of parents was also highlighted. According to them, parents need to be trained as well as their children. The deputy manager claimed that the parents’ attitudes to human rights, civic responsibilities or different cultures directly influence their children’s attitudes; hence school-parent cooperation and parents’ impact were regarded important.

“We Could Not Create a School Culture Regarding Human Rights, Citizenship and Democracy”. The deputy manager and counselor were also asked what they target to raise ‘good’ citizens and the practices to enhance human rights and democracy; in other words, they were asked about the school culture regarding democracy, human rights, and citizenship. While the deputy manager indicated the school councils and student clubs where students are promoted to be active or the

special day celebrations such as human rights week, children rights day, and others; the counselor specified the importance of having an organizational culture to raise students through the targeted attainments, or a school culture to enhance democracy. However, the counselor claimed weak cooperation between the components of the school:

One of the fundamentals to create an organizational culture is that all staff working in the school has the same understanding regarding education. Of course, we may have ideological differences but we should be able to exhibit common attitudes and behaviors in terms of education. We need to be able to hold commissions, boards and meetings frequently, to achieve this. Unfortunately, the current national curriculum does not allow this much. Unfortunately, a disadvantage is that the working conditions of our teachers are heavy and their wages are low. Because I think most of our teachers are doing other part time jobs such as tutoring, giving courses or other things [*for extra income*]. Therefore, teachers do not want to allocate their time outside of the working hours by thinking that the state does not protect them [*in terms of their rights and level of income*]. Thus, the teacher enters the lesson and goes home when the time comes. Therefore, I think it is not easy to create an institutional culture.

So many issues were raised by the counselor to explain lack of a school culture to enhance democracy and raise well-educated ‘good’ citizens. The communication between the school members, namely teachers, and the management was found insufficient to develop a common understanding. However, heavy working conditions as regards to the load of the curriculum, and the low salary to concentrate only on the school process motivatedly were seen as the reasons not to be successful to create a school culture.

As well as the intensity of national curriculum and the general approach to education and teaching profession in governmental level, the counselor emphasized the attitude of school management about creating a school culture. According to him, although the school management with the manager and two deputy managers has democratic attitudes towards teachers, they fail to build a democratic culture in the school. Since there were not any planned practices, or a cooperation between staff to enhance democracy, human rights or to raise individuals with targeted behaviors, attitudes or skills; in brief there were no additional effort to strengthen democracy.

“Teachers Teach Regarding Their Democracy and Citizenship Understanding”. The counselor exemplified the lack of cooperation and a common

understanding regarding democracy and citizenship over class president elections. As he reported, teachers try to teach students their own democracy understanding and raise citizens regarding their own values.

The teacher is trying to establish whatever his/her democracy understanding is. I don't know if this example works for you, for example, here we try to organize class president elections with another colleague, and we inform the teachers about this. We ask teachers to inform us about the class president and student representative elections, and we want to make the elections in the same way as the country makes the local and general elections. We do this from time to time...but not all of our teachers cooperate with us. Some of them appoint the class president. Some of them do not choose. This is a culture of democracy; in fact, in some of our teachers' classrooms every student becomes a class president in turn...In this respect, teachers apply their own democracy culture to their classroom practices. (AC-R1)

In addition, findings from teacher interviews supported this opinion. Teachers had diverse approaches about being democratic and enhancing democracy and human rights in their classrooms. For instance, teacher AC-S1 tried to be as democratic as possible by giving students opportunity to express themselves and teach behaving in accordance with the rules. Teacher AC-S2 considered students' behaviors and show how they behave regarding the content of HRCDC curriculum, in other words she created an environment in which students were faced their acts to be aware of their actions. Teacher AC-S3 gave the class president election as the most concrete example of democratic classroom environment; further he indicated that sometimes blank papers are distributed to the students and they are asked to write their opinions about the classroom anonymously, besides he cared about students' right to speak and took their opinions for common decisions. In brief, diverse approaches about being a democratic teacher shared by the teachers. Teaching to act according to the rules was considered as a democratic teacher behavior by teacher AC-S1, while teacher AC-S3 explained his being democratic through class president elections. On the other hand, teacher AC-S2 faced students with their behaviors to make them democratic individuals. Besides their differences, they had a common understanding which was the hegemonic language that hierarchically made their position superior to students. 'Giving opportunity to speak or express their opinions', or 'showing students their faults' were sounded hegemonic.

In a similar vein, it was realized that teachers' perspectives about citizenship

were differentiated, although all of them found the content of HRCD textbook good in terms of citizenship. For instance, teacher AC-S2 highlighted students' learning diverse approaches, while teacher AC-S3 marked the course's positive impact on students' communication with each other. Besides, according to teacher AC-S3 there was not much content on citizenship in the textbook as it is for children; in other words, he claimed that only adults can be considered as citizens. And both teachers thought that being aware of rights, respecting others' rights, equality, and justice are mostly emphasized in the HRCD textbook regarding citizenship.

On the other hand, from a broader perspective, teacher AC-S1 interpreted the general understanding of the 4th grade curriculum regarding citizenship by considering the discourses in Social Studies textbook. In his point of view, citizens who are loyal to national and cultural values and aware of their responsibilities are aimed. Although he agreed with his colleagues about HRCD textbook's citizenship content which is mainly on rights and responsibilities and aims to teach students their responsibilities, and rights as citizens; he further stated that the information in the textbook does not reflect the reality in the society:

It is a positive thing [*to have HRCD course in the curriculum*], but I do not think the state has a concern with human rights while putting the course in the curriculum. You put it [*HRCD curriculum*] there, but you will not deal with it. Let me give an example, when there is a right-seeking citizen, even we teachers start in the classrooms, we put pressure on the children who are seeking their own right, or we take a negative attitude when someone complains. When citizens made an effort to seek rights, they end up in police station, prison, or being tortured. This course [*HRCD course*] becomes meaningless when you see those [*everyday life realities*]. Of course, I do not know how it will produce positive results in the future.

In other words, according to him, human rights or citizenship rights are taught at schools as school knowledge but citizens' claiming their rights have to struggle with difficulties in 'real life'. Thus, he found the content of HRCD textbook as not realistic.

“No Challenges About Cultural Differences Due to Parents' Economic Status”. The school AC is culturally diverse in parallel to city's demographics, however only Syrian students were mentioned by the participants while talking about cultural diversity. According to deputy manager, they do not experience any challenge concerning cultural differences, since their students have upper-middle

SES parents. He claimed that growing in upper-middle SES families with similar peers around make the cultural differences invisible in time.

On the other hand, according to the counselor, children from different cultures such as the ones whose families migrated from Southeastern part of Turkey already integrated the city, thus he did not consider them from different cultures:

Now, we have Syrian students as coming from different cultures. If you mean the groups living in the Southeast inside this different culture, they are already integrated here. Therefore, we cannot say anything different about them. However, we have Syrian students, and we have Syrian teachers for them.

Different understandings of the participants about cultural differences was attracted my attention. In a sense, they assigned different meanings to the concept of cultural differences. For instance, teacher AC-S3 remarked that he is not interested in cultural profile of his students, even he does not look at parent profile of students. Teacher AC-S2 claimed that there is no cultural diversity in her classroom -she meant Syrian students, there was no Syrian students in her classroom-; while teacher AC-S1 gave examples from the textbook in which disability status is explained over differences or he mentioned about one of his Syrian student from last years' class. Teacher AC-S1 also shared his experiences from his previous school that located in migration-receiving area with students from Eastern and Southeastern parts of Turkey, and he indicated that "*they were in terrorist incidents through the influence of their families*". Therefore, diverse codings of the participants about cultural differences were observed through the interviews.

In addition to these, it is understood, from the statements of the deputy manager and the counselor, that teachers feel uncomfortable about refugee students' existence in the school. The counselor explained the feelings of his colleagues explicitly, he stated that teachers in the school especially the ones who are dissentient to the government's Syrian policy, sometimes directed their anger to the refugee students:

... there is anger, anger from time to time. We are not sure that if the government has any serious work about the integration of refugee students who came from that region [*Syria*] into our culture. Because last year they were trying to give education in separate schools, this year they started to spread them to all schools under the name of inclusion for a year and a half. We do not know what will be at the end, but we know that some of the people who oppose the government, including

teachers, unfortunately reflect their anger towards children or innocent Syrian citizens... Oh, that's not to say, of course, those kids are not being treated badly, no. However, teachers do not make a special effort either because students do not know Turkish or they have integration problems with our culture. So they run their normal program. And children take whatever they can understand, while teachers follow the normal program. I do not think that teachers made a very special effort for them, but we cannot blame the teacher for this, because the teacher is not trained for this, unfortunately.

As far as followed through the counselor's observations, refugee students were neglected, and even they were not warmly welcomed in the classrooms. Deputy manager's experiences supported the counselor's statements; according to his observations, at first refugee students were seen as a work load but teachers got used to them in time.

On the other hand, the given examples by the interviewed teachers demonstrated their perception to some extent which affirmed the observations of the counselor and the deputy manager. For instance, according to teacher AC-S2 refugee students do not deserve to be educated in their school as they do not have to donate or be a resident of that neighborhood to be accepted to the school, she defined this as an injustice:

Students think that, in the simplest way, we made considerable amount of donations to enter this school, but they entered without doing anything. They neither donated nor find a fake address to be accepted, but they were given the same opportunities. Students are right as parents make great efforts to enroll their children in this school. We have parents from various neighborhoods; they are trying to offer opportunities to their children to be educated with their peers in good environments. While they are making these efforts, someone from the top comes and easily enrolled their children to the school they want. The school administration expresses their discomfort before we express it. Parents are also uncomfortable. It is definitely spoken in the families. (AC-S2)

Her statements showed that, in that school, some of the students, their parents and, some of the teachers do not warmly welcome refugees in their classroom.

Teacher AC-S3 shared one of his experiences, in the school, regarding Syrian students by emphasizing the challenges of language differences. He mentioned about his Syrian student from the previous year, there were problems and conflicts between local students and the Syrian student because of misunderstandings due to language differences. Besides, the teacher emphasized that he also could not understand the Syrian student. And he claimed over his observations that there are conflicts between refugee students and local students, as

refugee students could be peevish because not being able to express themselves. The counselor had similar observations and experiences:

...there are not serious problems because there are only two or three Syrian students in each class, even there are not any in some of the classes, or one or two in some of them. Last year was the first year that we had some Syrian students, so there were some conflicts from time to time; as Syrian students cannot express themselves in Turkish, they grouped, they started small gangs, children gangs let's say. It might be a strong statement... So, when a student behaves badly to them in classroom, they league together in the corridor during the breaks and start to behave badly to that student.

Besides these challenges, some of the participants voiced their need of training to encounter with the challenges regarding refugee students' education. While the deputy manager and two of the teachers (AC-S1 and AC-S3) took short trainings as a part of Promoting Integration of Syrian Children into Turkish Education System (PICTES) project, the counselor and teacher AC-S2 did not take any training. The counselor stated his need to be able to ease refugee students' adaptation process, to learn how to communicate with these children, and to better understand their needs. On the other hand, some participants who took this training were not satisfied. According to the deputy manager the training was effective only for raising awareness, rather than capacity building. Further, teacher AC-S1 indicated that the training was ineffective as the trainers were not experts on this issue. The trainers were some colleagues participated to the training of trainers, and the training of the trainers was not enough to guide the teachers. Only, teacher AC-S3 was satisfied with the training since it helped him to gain awareness.

Other than their personal thoughts on cultural differences, the teachers shared their opinions about the content of HRCD textbook on cultural diversity. When I asked how cultural differences are addressed in the textbook, they gave the below responses:

Teacher AC-S3: Cultural differences are defined as richness, there are examples from all over the world, from China to Germany, etc. there are examples from all cultures.

Researcher: Is there any example from Turkey?

Teacher AC-S3: Not like that. The historical artifacts, historical buildings in the Black Sea region, they are all included.

The book tells us that people of different colors, cultures and places are normal, that we should approach them empathically and especially people with disabilities are like us and we should be more careful. (AC-S1)

Teacher AC-S2: Cultural differences are given good weight. It [*the textbook*] says, we should be respectful to differences and cultures. It explains this very well.

Researcher: How the textbook explains this?

Teacher AC-S2: We do not have a Syrian student in our classroom but it says that we should empathize, if there is any.

Researcher: Is there any other example that you can give about this issue?

Teacher AC-S2: No.

Teachers' statements were parallel with the document analysis and survey findings. As they claimed, country-based, regional, and individual -such as disability status- differences were given as examples concerning cultural differences, as well as the existence of Syrian refugees in 'our' country. Although according to teacher AC-S2, the content on cultural differences is sufficient; she could not indicate any other example than refugees. In addition, teachers' observations about the advised attitudes to cultural differences were compatible with the document analysis results. They also highlighted that being empathetic towards culturally different people, and considering cultural differences as richness were promoted in the textbook.

a) A Classroom with Self-Confident, Cared and Considered Students

Before presenting the data on relevant concepts, the portrait of the classroom regarding students' demographics, and teacher's experiences, as well as the physical portrait of the classroom were shared.

There were 25 students in the classroom, 13 of them were male and 12 of them were female. There were not any Syrian students; and the population represented the cultural diversity of the city. The vast majority of the fathers had bachelor degree, and mothers had at least high school graduation, yet the majority of them had bachelor degree. The majority of parents were working.

The teacher was graduated from education institute in 1982 and started to work as a classroom teacher in the same year. He had 36 years of experience as a classroom teacher. It was his last year; he was planning to retire at the end of the academic year.

The classroom was large, school desks were ordered as 'U' shape and all students had a chance to see each other. Students had their own small student lockers

for their course materials and stationery equipment, just outside the classroom. Besides, there was a bookcase, a smart board and a projector in the classroom.

My first observation was students' self-confidence and their ability to express themselves clearly. For instance, while the teacher introduced me to the classroom in the very first day, he introduced me as a PhD student, and asked me what I will become after finishing PhD. I said that I will specialize in my study field, he explained this to the students "*Let's say, you will be a 'science man'*"; at this point, one of the girls objected this by saying "*science woman, not science man*", and after her, another girl told that "*we can say science human*". Thus, their self-confidence and self-expression skills took my attention, as well as some of the girls' being conscious about discriminative statements regarding gender and gender neutral language.

Students were disposed to share their opinions, they had a rich vocabulary, and almost all of them were raising their hands to take the floor, however their answers were not about the question in general. During the four of the observations, I took notes about digressing from the subject discussed due to students' starting to talk about something they wanted to talk such as a memory, something happened during the break time, or an irrelevant news they heard. In the first day teacher listened all of them regardless of the responses' being relevant or irrelevant to the discussed subject; however, in time, during the other observations, he started to warn, even stopped the students.

On the other hand, students' self-confidence was quite distinct. They were prone to talk about whatever they want, some of them liked to take the attention by making jokes when the teacher was expecting to hear their responses or opinions about the discussed subject. These kinds of behaviors were observed throughout the observation process. Besides according to the teacher, they got used to control the adults around them, because they had working-parents in general and the parents were prone to do whatever they want due to seeing their children only in the evenings. Furthermore, the majority of the students indicated that their opinions are considered in the family, when they were asked about how the decisions are made in their family.

From the teacher's perspective, he attributed students' self-confidence or self-expression skills to their being 'spoiled children'. For instance, while discussing about child labor and children rights, teacher stated that '*you are lucky, you have whatever you want*' and students started to object this, teacher got angry and told that '*this building was constructed to this neighborhood for you to take quality education, your parents are making efforts to send you here*'. He also told me several times that they are overconfident because of their parents' permissive parenting style.

These observations made me think that the socio-economic status of parents might influence self-confidence and self-expression skills of children. Students had a confidence while expressing themselves, since they were accepted and listened by their parents, as well as the teacher.

Students' Understanding About Rights. During an activity, the teacher asked students to find the mentioned rights in a poem in the textbook, and right down how to use these rights. After giving some time, students started to share their responses. They generally found right to rest, play, and nutrition. Some of the students defined right to nutrition as eating whatever they want; or right to rest as not studying, or right to play as playing how much and whatever they want. Students answered the questions regarding their perceptions, and the teacher did not try to expand the discussion.

In other respects, students' statements took attention about 'right to free education' and 'equality of all human beings regarding rights'. As it was highlighted before, the manager seemed quite focus on the financial issues about the school rather than educational issues as an educator. Besides, while interviewing with the teacher AC-S2, it was observed that students' being enrolled to the school by making donations and finding fake addresses. 'Rights to free education for all' was one of the discussed rights during the first observation in the classroom AC1. When the teacher (AC-S1) asked them "*Is there a free education for children?*" they were confused, and some of them disagreed by saying that they are paying money. The teacher stated that "*education must be free but it is not practiced like this in our country because of the low budget that spared for education; but, you do not have to pay for the textbooks, or coming to the school*". Some of the students objected

this statement and they indicated that they are paying money, but the teacher told that the money they paid is for the needs of the classroom. During the observations, it was realized that the teacher collects money from the parents, regularly; and this point confused students about the right to free education.

A similar dilemma that was experienced during discussing the right to free education was also observed while discussing about the statement “*rich people have more rights*”. Some of the students agreed with this statement, and the teacher also agreed and defined this as the reality, by emphasizing its wrongness. He further remarked that not only in our country, in many countries rich people have more rights and privileges.

Observations about students’ opinions on human rights illuminated the impact of socio-economic status on their perceptions concerning human rights. Defining right to nutrition as eating whatever they want; or right to rest as not studying, or right to play as playing how much and whatever they want naturally showed their realities and the limits of their perception as regards to their conditions. However, the point that attracted my attention was teacher’s remaining unresponsive, rather than trying to expand students’ horizon. Students’ understanding about ‘*right to free education*’ and ‘*rich people have more rights*’ statements demonstrated their experiences which became their realities in time. The below code is also related to this point.

SES Level of Parents Determine Students’ Understanding. When students were asked about their responsibilities discussing about the subject on children and adult responsibilities, their responses showed how their perception are shaped by their parents’ SES level. They mentioned about responsibilities such as playing timely, studying timely, cycling, going to school, playing in the park, being respectful to people, eating ice-cream, not fighting, reading book, tidying their own room, coming to the school in time, helping mother (a female student told this).

Furthermore, a similar observation was made while they were discussing about how the decisions made in their families. As it was highlighted before, the majority of the students indicated that they can participate in decision-making process of their families. During the discussion, students’ examples showed that they are included in the decisions regarding spare time activities while deciding

about going to a mall, café or mountain trip. Besides, although both mothers and fathers were mentioned as decision-makers in their families, in general students first mentioned about their fathers to answer the question of who makes the decisions in your family.

As it is clear in general, parents' socio-economic status shapes students' understanding about many issues. However, in this code, the existence of traditional gender roles was taken my attention. A girl mentioned about helping her mother with the chores; and as appeared fathers had a dominant role while making decisions.

Insufficient Knowledge and Skills to Teach HRCD. The observed teacher (AC-S1) was not seemed motivated during the observations, except the first day. Working the last year could be one of the reasons, and he also voiced this from time to time. For instance, starting from the second week, I took notes about teacher's being unmotivated and reluctant:

It was observed that the teacher is not eager to teach or look interested this week. He does not seem prepared. Last week, during the first observation, he was more interested and prepared, but this week he behaves in a relaxed manner. He gives opportunity to students to talk, but the topic is not discussed well-coordinatedly. Teacher warns some of them regularly, students are quite energetic, they lost their attention quickly and the teacher does not do anything to gather their attention. Students are not interested in the subject; some of them try to make jokes regularly. (November 2, 2018)

The teacher only used the activities in the textbook and he remarked that they are insufficient. Other than that, he did not try to ask questions to expand students' responses, to show them different viewpoints; or he did not give feedback to their responses. He just listened to them without giving any feedback and mostly students digressed from the subject. Most of the time, I felt that the teacher wanted to fill in the time. Moreover, he asked some questions which were close-ended, the below conversation can be exemplified this point:

Student: [*During a discussion about who make the decisions in your family*] My opinions are not considered while making decisions.

Teacher: When you will be a parent, do you want to behave your children like your parents are behaving you? Would you give opportunity to your children to express themselves?

Student: Yes.

Besides these, some authoritative behaviors of the teacher were observed. For instance, during a discussion, he skipped two of the students while giving the floor in an order. And when students objected this, he indicated that classroom management is his role, he listens all of their opinions, but he decides who will speak and when. The below conversation also exemplifies this issue:

Teacher: How decisions are made in the classroom, is it as regards to the majority?

Students: Yes.

Teacher: If there are dissenting people, do they have a right to say no?

Students: Yes.

Teacher: Can this be considered?

Students: Yes. Teacher, if you are the one who made the decision?

Teacher: As I am the teacher, I can make decisions sometimes to do what is necessary for the lesson.

As can be seen from the above examples, teacher had some authoritative behaviors and attitudes; and he did not seem well-equipped to teach human rights, democracy or citizenship concepts regarding his knowledge and skills, as well as his low motivation. On the other hand, the teacher does not think that he needs a training to teach HRCD better, because according to him the topics are too easy.

Three of the teachers did not attend any training about teaching HRCD after the curriculum was added to the 4th grade curriculum. However, teacher AC-S3 also remarked that he does not need training as he does not need to teach the content in detailed. Besides, teacher AC-S1 and AC-S2 mentioned about the textbook's late arrival to their school, that is why they could not find time to be prepared.

Although other interviewed teachers' classrooms were not observed, the interview findings showed that they also used only the textbook for HRCD course, although they found it insufficient regarding the activities inside. However, other than activities, the two of the teachers (AC-S2 and AC-S3) indicated that they like the textbook.

4.3.2. A School in a Neighborhood that Receiving Migration Rapidly

School V was located in Yenişehir district. There were 985 students and 117 of them were refugee students. Full-time schooling was practiced and there were 43 teachers, two psychological counselors, three school managers.

The school was visited nine times, including visits for in-class observations, and interviews. The school manager accepted to be interviewed; he was quite interested and spared time as much as needed. He had 9-10 years' school management experience, and 2018-2019 academic year was the third year of his experience in the school V.

According to him, the structure of student population has changed in the neighborhood of school V in the last 10 years. High class families started to prefer to move to the northern part of the city in where luxury buildings were constructed lately; and the school neighborhood received migration from the East, Southeast and Syria. He stated that majority of the families are middle class, and the school is highly diverse regarding the culture. The counselor of the school defined the school profile as below:

In general, students are children of middle-class families, both economically and culturally. We have both university and primary school graduate parents. We have both parents that working minimum wage and upper-middle class parents. However, there is not so many upper-middle class families...We have foreign students, Syrians, Iraqis...They constituted almost 10% of our population. We have also Kurdish, and local Arabic students. (V-R1)

The school was located in a very central neighborhood. For the physical capacity, they have a school library and a conference room. However, other than these they did not have any science, or technology lab.

The school manager, psychological counselor, and four of the 4th grade teachers volunteered to be interviewed. Their opinions, attitudes and experiences concerning citizenship, cultural diversity, democracy, HRCD course, gender and human rights are presented below.

“We Care About Democratic Participation”. The school manager indicated their -as school management- understanding about participation of teachers, parents and students to the decisions and their belief in democratic school management. However, he shared his hesitations due to disincentive parent behaviors:

...our management approach is also called a democratic management model as a team, in fact, we try to implement it. But you cannot stay connected with one of those leader types, the manager has to be sometimes authoritative, sometimes autocratic, and sometimes transformative. But at the school, for instance we establish boards and commissions that need to be established as per the regulation, at the beginning of the year, and the teachers' committee also ensures that teachers also participate in the administration through very democratic procedures and

methods. Before making important decisions - regarding the mission and vision of the school- we definitely have small meetings and get the opinions of our teachers. We can only sustain democracy in this way, the more teachers participate in the decision, the easier it is to implement that decision...But sometimes the culture of the organization, the conditions, or our parent profile might block the implementation of the decisions, we may suffer due to the parent profile when we act so democratically. So when we ask everything to the parents, there is a problem. When it comes to democratic management, it is necessary to ensure the participation of the student, but parents do not let students' deciding through their free will, the parent effect is very high.

Regarding his statements on school management, it was understood that all educators are participated to decision-making process, and democracy is considered as an asset. However, although parents and students are also wanted to be included in the decision making process, there are problems in implementation due to parent profile. The counselor supported the manager's statements about democratic school management:

We can express ourselves. Our requests are considered; our opinions are valued. The students can also share their opinions, expectations, and requests freely and they can get feedback in return, either from their teachers, the counselor service or from the management. In this sense, there is an environment in which everyone can express their thoughts freely. The parents are the same.

According to her, both educators and students were being regarded by the school management. On the other hand, some authoritative attitudes and opinions were realized during the interview with the school manager. For instance, he likened the school to 'a family' while talking about positive discrimination regarding gender, and he defined school management as 'the father' of the school:

We always say that we are a big family, let's not say the head of the family, but as a father, when we make feel that girls' are positively discriminated, we lose the control. This common attitude is very important and we are also an undergoing transformation for 2 years, we changed even the logo of the school, of course those who could not keep up with it [*the transformation*] retired, our staff became younger.

The manager was knowledgeable and prone to improve himself. He defined himself as an educator, as well as the manager. He was reading theoretical books on school management - even he showed some of them- and had a clear manner about how to be a good manager. He cared about democracy, yet he also had some opinions such as never allowing people's voicing their political opinions in the school borders, or not stretching the rules or regulations in regards to people's

expectations. Thereby, he sometimes spoke in a manner by putting himself to the top or sometimes putting the rules or regulations to the top without considering needs or opinions of the other school members.

In other respects, teachers mentioned about diverse practices to enhance democracy and improve students' democratic understanding. For instance, teacher V-S3 indicated the elections -class president and class representative elections- performed in the classroom to help students to comprehend democracy culture. Further, he stated that a classroom environment, where everybody is accepted and express themselves freely, is created. Teacher V-S2 also specified the importance of an environment where everybody can express themselves and students can empathize with their peers. Improving empathy skills of students to enhance democracy was also highlighted by teachers V-S1 and V-S4; besides according to the teacher V-S1 a link between school and social life needs to be created during the lessons or extra-curricular activities such as showing the importance of making common decisions during the plays, playing with everybody without discrimination or including everyone in the plays, and making students realize when they violate others' rights.

“A Good Citizen Should Be Well-Behaved Before Her/His Academic Success”. How participants defined citizenship, what they valued or aimed to improve to raise ‘good’ citizens or what they observed as a need were some of the questions I sought answers; and the responses of participants showed their diverse understandings by reference to the concept.

In the school building's entrance, there was a laconism which says *‘The school is the place where love meets knowledge’*, the manager also voiced this and emphasized its importance to make students feel the love in the school. However, according to him, their students do not know playing together, or respecting others' rights; their plays include violence and due to the effect of parents the school has difficulties to teach respect, tolerance or love for each other. Therefore, he claimed that students first need to learn love, respect and tolerance through citizenship education. He was asked about the practices they apply to ensure students' learning these attitudes and values. His response showed that inclusion of as many students as possible to the activities, and trying to improve students' self-confidence,

responsibility taking and responsibility discharging behaviors during the activities were considered to teach respect, love and tolerance for each other. He also highlighted the importance of raising democratic citizens who has democracy consciousness. He indicated that elections, such as class or student club president elections, should be practiced democratically by allowing children experience democracy to internalize it.

The manager defined raising well-behaved individuals as the primary goal of formal education; and he criticized teachers for caring about academic success more than behavior development.

Academic success is not the primary goal for me. As a behavior, that is to say, if you teach that child to read and write, the child finds her/his way. Being compatible with the society, solving her/his own problems, having sense of responsibility, being self-confident but not over-confident, being respectful, having self-expression skills... This [*self-expression skills*] is also what needs to be taught in Turkish lessons, but teachers skip these, let the child write whatever s/he want, let her/him to share feelings, s/he will relax if s/he can share, and later teachers can teach everything they want academically. But we do not let the child relax, we make them sit for 40 minutes, we think that s/he is listening but s/he does not, teachers waste their time and effort.

According to him, making students listen to learn the content and prioritizing cognitive learning objectives more than affective ones decrease the impact of school to raise well-educated and well-behaved children. The below code supports this opinion from another angle.

“Students Are Educated to Become ‘Objects’ Rather Than ‘Subjects’”. A practice named ‘environment police (çevre polisi)’ took my attention while observing the school boards and walls. There was a poster about ‘environment police’ and teacher V-S1 gave information about this practice during one of the informal conversations in the breaks. According to him, students are seen as ‘objects’ in schools, they have to do what is told and what is expected; they do not have a right to speak about what they want, and he mentioned about the practice of ‘environment police’ to exemplify his opinion.

‘Environment police’ was one of the practices that applied for a long time and it was abolished in the teachers’ board meeting that held at the beginning of 2018-2019 academic year. In line with the practice, some of the students -preferably the taller and senior ones with a strong body- are chosen as environment polices,

and their role is to keep guard in front of the building door during all breaks including lunch break, and not let the other students to go into the building. Thus, the hall monitors empty the classrooms during the breaks, and the environment polices do not let the students entered in. According to teacher V-S1, this caused students' lying or pretending to be ill to enter the building, thus, they learned to lie to be heard. He indicated that the majority of the teachers supported this practice considering their comfort during their hall monitoring duty, and a small number of teachers including him struggled against, since they thought that this practice is incompatible with children's rights as the 'subjects' of the school. Besides, he stated that the practice was not democratic, and he defined the practice as a danger for human rights, and democracy and raising children who do not have a word to say, rather learn to obey the rules.

This example corresponds to manager's viewpoint about prioritizing knowledge more than behavioral development. Both the manager and teacher V-S1 highlighted that school is seen as a place where there are rules and regulations which sometimes push students into the backstage, and they become 'objects' rather than 'subjects' of schools. Thereby, their needs, opinions, and feelings are neglected.

“We Try to Raise Patriot Students”. This statement *“We try to raise patriot students”* belongs to the school counselor. She was asked about the vision and mission of the school about citizenship education, in other words the question was what kind of citizens are targeted to be raised in the school, and she emphasized 'patriotism' as the primary value:

There are underlined concepts. National values are emphasized. Homeland, nation, flag, love of Atatürk, these issues are emphasized. National holidays are celebrated nicely. Important days are definitely covered in classrooms and in the school. The meanings of important days are explained or students are asked to explain. I do not know how much content remains at the conceptual level or how much is given because I am not in the classes, because I am not the one who gives the lessons. Our vision is in this direction. Whether it is a school administration or a teaching staff, it is aimed at raising this awareness.

On the other hand, she was the only participant that strongly highlighted the importance of 'patriotism and national values' for citizenship education. According to her, HRCED course should support students to gain the social values 'we' lost such as patriotism, respect to the flag and the National Anthem, and citizen

consciousness:

These are the concepts that children don't really care about anymore. In the simplest way, we would not breathe [*she meant the concentration level that the older generations had*] while singing the National Anthem; children can walk around in the garden nowadays. Because the [*national*] values are emptied... How these values are earned, how we got today, what the Republic brought, our situation today and what happens when we lose them... These are citizenship awareness, democracy, people's ability to express themselves in the society, the importance of such concepts should be explained to children very well. Children should be informed about what will happen when they lose them. They should grasp this, before they graduate.

As can be seen, her statements about school's vision and mission and her personal beliefs about what should the HRCD course teach overlap.

On the other hand, my observation in the school building demonstrated the emphasis on 'Atatürk, flag, the National Anthem, ancestors, national struggle, or national unity' through the sayings, pictures, symbols that hung on the walls. In the entrance on the left side, the saying of Atatürk was hung which is "*The Turkish nation will find strength in recognition of its ancestry.*", and under this saying 23 pictures were hung that symbolized the 'ancestry'. 21 of them were male such as Atatürk, Mehmet Akif Ersoy, Fatih Sultan, or Ulubatlı Hasan, one of the symbolized Turkish women that struggled against the enemy during the national struggle, and the last one was about the history and meaning of the flag. In the entrance, on the left, there were Atatürk bust, the National Anthem and Address to Youth, and just on the opposite wall, a picture symbolizing July 15 martyrs was hung. Every school has national symbols on the walls, even some of them are compulsory such as Address to Youth, the National Anthem, Atatürk picture, July 15 panel; however, the quantity of them was quite apparent in the School V.

Teacher V-S1 indicated that the HRCD curriculum and its textbook also aim to raise citizens who internalized national values.

Mostly, national values were emphasized. In other words, universal rights have been defined, but of course these [*the content on human rights*] do not go beyond the limits determined by the ones who have the 'power'. In other words, the program is limited through what kind of citizen we want immediately, how it works for us, how it stays within the boundaries we set. So this kind of citizen is expected. So...there is always some content that determines where children should stand, rather than promoting them to realize their own freedom. So students have to learn to keep their heads down. So citizenship is limited to the expectations of the power. There is such an imagination how a citizen should be nationally, rather than letting children to be themselves; it is desired for the future.

He criticized the aim of HRCB curriculum concerning citizenship. He claimed that the hegemony aims to show citizens their limits; what a citizen should do, feel, or think are targeted to teach rather than guiding students to find themselves as human beings through their universal rights. According to him, citizenship is defined through the boundaries that are set by the hegemony. On the other hand, he further added that children should learn how to live together in peace. They first need to realize their realities, then learn to share, empathize, keeping the values and producing the new ones, being sensitive and caring about the others and their environment to be ‘good’ citizens. Teacher V-S2 also highlighted the importance of raising individuals, who know and express themselves. Further, she indicated that it is essential to teach children their rights and responsibilities as citizens.

“Everyone Living in These Borders Is Citizen Regardless of Race, Or Ethnicity”. According to teachers V-S3 and V-S4, the concept of citizen should be defined over ‘equality’ without discrimination regarding race, religion, language, nation or ethnicity. Otherwise, “...*if you define the concept through one nation, this might cause discrimination. I use the concept of citizenship to unite (V-S3).*”.

The school manager emphasized the incorrectness of discriminating children due to their cultural differences in the school; yet, he mostly meant refugee students:

We have frequent meetings with our parents from different cultures, for example, through interpreters, we have proceeded so much in the last two years about the school’s perspective to them or to the experienced problems. Neither our teachers nor our students do not call them as ‘Syrians’, we banned it. We ensure that everybody will be called by his/her name, this made a great contribution. Like other students, we try to include them [*Syrian students*] in the decision making process...It is our biggest thing that we should not separate the people, after all, they are children, an educator should not categorize the children, we are aware of it and we pass it on to our friends and they are largely comply with.

Through the manager’s statements, the understanding about refugee students and their integration on management level could be comprehended. Although, he mentioned about the adaptation problems of children, he did not consider refugee students’ existence as ‘problem’. Since, he stood behind the state policy about refugee students’ education, and believed that he needs to follow the regulations as a government official. His loyalty and strong belief to the regulations was taken

attention during the interview. Besides these, according to him, it is an advantage for Turkish students to know diverse cultures.

However, not all of the interviewed educators agreed the correctness of state policy about refugee students. According to the school counselor, the integration of refugee students in public schools hinders the education of other students, as refugee students' do not know Turkish. Thus, it is not possible to practice the same curriculum for refugees'; otherwise, teachers encounter with so many problems. On the other hand, she also thought that the refugee education policy of the state is causing injustices against Turkish students; refugee students should not have the same rights:

An individualized program for them [*refugee students*] needs to be implemented. They should not have the same conditions, the same rights. This is not only about the primary school level, because in the future, there will be a lot of problems in high school entrance exam and then in university entrance exam. I think they should not have the same, and equal rights. I think that our children should have a distinction and a positive privilege.

She was also asked about the challenges on communication between diverse cultural groups. As she reported, there were some conflicts between Syrian students and 'local' students at the beginning, but these problems decreased in time. However, there were still invisible boundaries between Syrian and local students.

Both the manager and some of the teachers indicated similar problems. The manager told that, the city has a mixed-culture and there were people from diverse cities of Turkey, even before Syrians moved to the city. Nonetheless, intercultural dialog never existed between different cultures. He drew an analogy between the difficulty in creating the city culture and school culture. Everybody tries to practice their 'own' culture in the school like it is in the city. Thus, according to him, it is challenging to create a school culture. He further specified that refugees' existence added a new dimension to this mixed culture, however they are discriminated more than any other cultural group. Teacher V-S1 also agreed with the manager, however made a relatively sociological analysis:

Some children [*from minority cultures*] tend to be introvert. They are having difficulties about expressing themselves. Lately, refugee students' number is high, they are starting to get together and grouping among themselves. So there are problems in this sense. About integration, in fact, we still have difficulties about being integrated, we are still unable to define ourselves, we could not fully understand who we are, so we still have problems about integration of new comers.

We are starting to talk about human rights there [*in the context of Syrian refugees' existence*]. However, we do not have a close-knit structure in the society. There are independent structures which are disconnected and cannot come together for common problems. In fact, the same thing is happening in the school. It is not so different.

Teacher V-S1 also defined the society as independent structures disconnected to each other. In other words, each cultural group has its own bonds in their community. He questioned the definition of 'us', and who is included inside 'us'. According to him, it is not possible to integrate another group (Syrians) unless we peacefully define ourselves.

Teacher V-S3 had three Syrian students in his classroom. As he remarked, from time to time, local children are affected by their parents' prejudices and this causes problems such as refusing to sit next to a Syrian student. When the teacher was asked about the challenges between other cultural groups such as Turkish, Kurdish, or local Arabic people, or any other ethnic or religious groups, he replied that "*our latest trend is Syrians, there is an antipathy against them (V-S3)*".

As well as the sociological reasons about challenges of integration, three of the teachers mentioned about language differences, and its' effects on the integration of the students' with different languages. This problem was raised both for refugee and Kurdish students. One of them (V-S4) was defined language differences as the primary problem. According to her experiences, problems decrease when refugees start to speak Turkish. Teacher V-S2 indicated that she has so many Kurdish students and they have difficulties to express themselves, however this does not cause any problems between students. The most experienced teacher was V-S3 about working in culturally-diverse schools, as he worked as a teacher in Germany for seven years. Both as a teacher and parent, he had so many observations about being a minority, or challenges of talking a different language in classroom. He closely experienced that students might become violent when they are not understood and they cannot express themselves. He indicated that working abroad provided him awareness about working in cultural diversity school settings.

On the other hand, there were diverse opinions about students' being in culturally diverse schools. For instance, the counselor thought that minority students such as Kurdish or Roman can adapt the culture easier than Syrians, and they can better adapt to the culture when they are educated in culturally mixed schools. When

she was asked about the opportunities of being in a culturally diverse school for children, she stated that:

If we can take this positively, there are of course opportunities. Those who come from different places can take an example of behaviors if they have difficulty in adapting here. They can learn something they haven't seen. In this sense, it will definitely benefit. When we leave them [*those who come different regions*] in their own nature, they cannot improve much. This problem is very much in completely separated schools [*the schools which have only migrated students*⁹⁷]. I worked in another school like that. -They are called 'Sepetçiler'...Also called 'Gypsies' or whatever, a lot of names are given- the school consisted of only those students; there was not a single student from the outside. It was incredibly difficult; no matter what we do at school, they were totally under the influence of the environment and the family when they went home. They could not learn how to behave. They were constantly pulled each other down. They do not see a different life, people, and they do not see a different behavior. For example, I also met with the District Governor for that school, I was also one of the school managers in that school. I tried to do a lot of work, but the solution I saw was: Separating the children from there and distributing them to other places, even to the boarding schools...

According to her, the opportunities of being in a culturally diverse school would be migrated students' easier adaptation to the targeted culture or behaviors. She even thought that migrated children should be separated from their environment and educated in boarding schools to better achieve the targets, which is the integration of children to the targeted culture.

Diverse approaches are realized about cultural diversity in School V; the manager was trying to adapt the refugee policy of the state, on the other hand he stated the problems in the city and the school. Teacher V-S3 was experienced and gained awareness during his staying in Germany and he was trying to practice what he observed and learned. The counselor criticized the Syrian policy of the state and according to her every cultural group in a school should be adapted the targeted behaviors and culture. Other teachers were trying to adapt and find ways to integrate all students. Besides, teacher V-S1 thought that the integration is difficult as this is a rooted problem; the society has been 'divided', and different cultures live disconnected to each other for years.

On the other hand, except the counselor, they all believed the necessity of getting training to be able to manage the cultural diversity in their classrooms or

⁹⁷ The emphasis belongs to me to clarify what the interviewee meant by 'separated schools'.

school. The manager and two of the teachers (V-S1 and V-S4) got training; however, as it was understood from their statements, the training was mainly about awareness raising rather than capacity development. For instance, teacher V-S4 criticized the content of the trainings about only mentioning about culture of refugee students; while teacher V-S1 thought that this kind of trainings should be held constantly to keep the teacher up-to-date and not only target the refugee students as there are so many other differences between students. In other respects, the counselor trusted her experiences about managing cultural diversity; she found herself successful to encounter with the challenges, thus she did not need training.

a) A classroom in which students were promoted to think critically

There were 37 -19 male, 18 female- students in the classroom. The majority had middle class parents, and parents were mainly government officials. There were two Syrian students, as well as Kurdish and Turkish students. One of the Syrian students could not speak and understand Turkish, while one of the Kurdish students had difficulties to speak and understand Turkish. Besides, there was one student with physical disabilities and one student with weak mental abilities. Almost 30% of the parents were divorced.

The classroom was not so large, and there was not any place to move with 37 desks, one teacher desk, board, student lockers, and a bookcase. The teacher (V-S1) was graduated from the faculty of economics and administrative sciences; however, he has been teaching for 20 years.

In the very first day, I noted down the below observations which might give a brief description about the classroom V1 and the teacher V-S1:

Today, during the first observation, it was observed that students were interested in to take the floor or answer the teacher's questions. Their answers were sophisticated regarding their age and relevant to the asked question; and they could express themselves clearly without hesitation. The teacher tried to ask open-ended questions, he tried to make them think about their answers by giving feedback, and asking additional questions. He also tried to motivate them. For instance, they have a notebook for HRCd course that was named as 'free notebook', they draw, write whatever they want -could be a poem, slogan, a story or a song-, about the topic of the lesson. (October 17, 2018)

The notes I have taken after the first day very much summarizes the teachers' understanding, his way of teaching, students' interest and their understanding level

regarding the HRC D course. Besides these, after all observations, it was seen that the teacher tried to open up students' horizon by asking questions that make them think. Besides, he ensured an environment to enhance students' creativity through sparing the second lesson hours for their 'free notebooks'. He also cared about promoting cooperative learning environments by giving students chance to create together during the 'free notebook' hours. For instance, the below conversation could show the structure of his questions:

Teacher: Is it a right or a responsibility for you to be here?

Students: Right.

Teacher: Well, what kind of responsibilities you have while exercising this right?

Student: We need to follow the school and classroom rules.

Teacher: Your friend told that exercising right to education brings the responsibility of following the rules. What are the other responsibilities you will have?

Students' answers: Listening to teacher, empathizing, participating to lessons, studying...

Teacher: Who can explain me the relationship between rights and responsibilities?
[Some of the students explained the relationship between right to education and studying; or right to nutrition and wastage]

Teacher: Well, we have right to express our opinions, right? Can we say everything we want while expressing our opinions, or does this right bring some responsibilities?

[Students could not understand the point first, teacher further explained]

Teacher: For example, can being rude to someone count as having the right to express our opinions? Muhammed, do you come across such kind of behavior?

Muhammed: They call me 'Momi' in the neighborhood. I do not want.

At the end of this conversation, students found the importance of empathize with others by themselves. In addition, the teacher emphasized that giving a nickname cannot be considered as the right to express opinions; people should express their opinions without hurting someone's feelings. He further highlighted that he wanted to concrete the right to express opinion through the example of 'giving a nickname'; since he has observed that this is a problem in the classroom.

The above conversation showed teacher's instructional style. He asked open questions such as '*what kind of responsibilities you have while exercising rights to education?*' Step by step, he made children to think about their responses, and to think more critically about the subject. The questions were related to each other, and guided students to think deeply. Besides, he made the discussed subject concrete through students' daily life experiences and issues. He used his previous observations to open up a discussion relevant to the content, and deepened the discussion to make students realize the issue. During the observations, I thought that

students' self-confidence, their high-level cognitive skills, and their deep understanding of the HRC D content considering their age level were due to the teacher's instructional style, and his understanding of education, and democracy. Interview findings affirmed this, since he was the most sophisticated teacher among the others as regards to the deepness and multidimensionality of his responses.

I also asked to the teacher the concept which draws the students' attention most. As he reported, 'empathy' attracted their attention most. He realized this during an activity they conducted:

For example, there was a study we did the other day. Who would I be for the next 24 hours? The practice was like that; you wake up in the morning, you wake up as someone else, and designed a day about it. So tell me your day regarding the version of the person you decided to be. During this practice, some students woke up as a child with orthopedic disability, lived a day like him/her and talked about it through his/her experiences. In fact, the students were dreaming while doing this. Children were very interested in empathy.

He explained the success of this practice. Experiencing a day from another person's perspective supported students to realize other people's thoughts, feelings, or difficulties. According to him, today's children need to add something from their lives to learn; otherwise they are not interested in.

The above examples exemplify teacher-student interaction and teacher's attitudes regarding the problems in the classroom. Besides, they slightly show the democratic attitudes of the teacher, which also can be demonstrated through another example. At the end of the second observation, some of the students asked their Traffic Security exam notes, the teacher asked to the classroom if there is anybody who does not want her/his notes' being read loudly, before starting to read. In general, the teacher was not hegemonic, and tried to make decisions together with the students; and as it was observed students had sense of belonging and sense of responsibility towards their classroom. They cleaned the classroom when needed, nobody was tasked with the cleaning, or the bookcase was open to use all the time, nobody was tasked to take care of or organize the bookcase.

A Critical Teacher. Besides these, teacher's being critical and teaching students to be critical was taken my attention. For instance, during the last observation the teacher criticized a statement from the HRC D textbook, which was '*Freedom means a person's deciding to do something with her/his own thought*

without any coercion. Human being is the only living creature who is free and responsible.' He objected this sentence and stated that, he does not agree, every living creature has responsibilities.

Teacher's effort to include all students and their life experiences to the lessons was one of the observations. For instance, he explained violation of right over the student who had physical disability or Syrian students who had to leave their country.

Teacher: Is there anybody who wants to tell us the fundamental rights?

[*Students listed all the fundamental rights, the teacher listened all of the answers without interfering*]

Teacher: When the fundamental rights start in our lives?

Student A: When we were born...

Student B: Does not it start when we are in our mother's womb?

Teacher: Yes, this is a good point. And how will these rights be protected?

Student C: The state protects.

Teacher: Why the state has to protect?

Student D: Because we give taxes.

Teacher: Yes, you are right, the state has to protect our fundamental rights that is why we elect the governments. Did you see anybody whose rights were violated? [*The teacher exemplified and concretized the 'violation of rights' over the student with physical disability.*] Esra's father is working, paying taxes, but Esra has difficulties while she tries to move in the street with her wheelchair. Did you observe that kind of violations of rights?

After explaining the concept of 'rights' and 'violation of rights', he also gave examples over refugee students to concretize the concepts. Besides these, he cared the Syrian student who cannot speak Turkish or the Kurdish student who has difficulties to express himself in Turkish while other students were writing or drawing their opinions to their 'free notebook' either individually or cooperatively. Thus, every member of the classroom could express themselves in the classroom V without any hesitation about their identities or their characteristics which sometimes can be tools to be discriminated in the society.

"When I Was a Child, I Fear to Be Discriminated for Being an Alevist".

His sensitivity toward cultural differences attracted my attention during the observations and informal conversations in the breaks. And on the last day of the observations, he mentioned about his being raised with a fear to be discriminated due to being an Alevist. He told that lynching culture is quite prevalent in the society, and there are many people who can suddenly get carried away and lynch

people from different cultures. At this point, the teacher's opinions about the content on cultural diversity in the HRCD textbook could be shared:

There is almost no content about cultural differences. There should be a lot. There are children from many different cultural structures. They live it differently in the family, but here they have to keep their culture in their wallets when they enter life. There are very important values, but they have troubles about opening up them. Therefore, I think people with different cultural, ethnic, and religious background should be in the curriculum. Children must absolutely find themselves; realize themselves, so that they can get something by starting from there.

Teacher V-S1 criticized the content of the textbook about diverse cultural groups not being included in. He, as an Alevist citizen, had negative experiences about not being included; thus according to him all students with diverse backgrounds culturally, ethnically, or religiously should feel that they are considered.

On the other hand, teacher V-S3 indicated that Syrians are included in the textbook. There is some content about not to discriminate Syrians. When teacher V-S4 was asked about the general 4th grade curriculum and textbooks, and their perspective on cultural differences, she replied that:

Teacher V-S4: There are not different cultural groups in [*the textbook*], just us. Our culture, all the time.

Researcher: When you say 'us', who enters inside the 'us'?

Teacher V-S4: There are no Syrians. For example, today we looked at our games in social studies. Our games... Games from our ancestors... Nothing about them [*Syrians*]... They played this, like that. Now, there are mainly Syrians in Turkey. Nothing about them... Just related to us.

Researcher: Well, there are Kurdish and local Arabic people also living in Mersin, when you think from this side?

Teacher V-S4: I included all of them when I say 'us', Kurdish, local Arabic, Turkish. I spoke to those from abroad.

The 'us' discourse determines specific codes in individual's mind. There is a common understanding about who to include to or exclude from 'us'. This issue was sensed through the teacher V-S4's statements. Her definition was coherent with the official discourse. When I asked about cultural differences, she only perceived Syrians as a culturally different group. The cultural groups in Turkey become invisible; as it is in the textbooks.

During the interviews, it was realized that teachers had diverse opinions about cultural differences. They also had different standpoints towards HRCD curriculum, its textbook, its meaning or its importance. For instance, teacher V-S2,

and V-S3 thought that children can learn their rights through HRCD course. Teacher V-S3 claimed that HRCD course is important, since children can realize their rights, other's rights, and the injustices in the society.

On the other hand, teacher V-S1 found the course meaningless. According to him, human rights, democracy or citizenship content is not like the content in Maths or in Science. The content of HRCD is quite related to daily life, so children need to learn the related values, attitudes, behaviors or skills through projects or some practices in schools. As he remarked, HRCD course and its textbook could reduce the importance of human rights, and democracy concepts by theorizing them, while they need to be practiced in life. Further, he found the curriculum and its textbook quite superficial and weak regarding human rights or democracy. He had two points while criticizing the textbook. First of all, he found the textbook quite theoretical and bureaucratic; according to him, it is written through a statist perspective. Secondly, it was superficially prepared, like a bunch of rules or responsibilities without creating a perception about life. However, from another point of view, he also emphasized that, even hearing these concepts could be meaningful for children, although the curriculum and the textbook are quite superficial and insufficient.

Teacher V-S4 agreed about superficiality of the textbook. As she reported, she does not use the textbook since the activities could not attract students' attention. Thereby, she preferred to read the texts and use question-answer method to discuss the topics. On the other hand, teacher V-S2 indicated that students like the textbook and the curriculum is proper for students' age level.

Teacher V-S3 also voiced the importance of daily life practices for HRCD curriculum by comparing his experiences between Germany and Turkey. He gave an example from Germany; students were taken to the 'waste utilization plant' to learn the importance of sorting trash, and families cared about this, because there were also rules and regulations about sorting trash. However, his experiences from Turkey were quite different compared to experiences in Germany as regards to a similar issue:

One day, in İstanbul, I was teaching children why they should not throw litter, how to sort trash and how trash disposal harms our environment, but, I saw a child, he was throwing trash on the ground. We went on a trip, I saw that he threw the garbage

on the ground. I said, son, “I’m teaching these. Look, what have we learned, what you are doing. You care too, but why did you throw the trash on the floor?” He replied; “My mom, dad, my family are kidding with me for carrying trash in my pockets”. I think it is also important to raise the awareness of the parents here.

Through this example, teacher V-S3 emphasized the importance and necessity of parent trainings and compatible regulations and practices in life, as well as the theoretical knowledge in the textbook.

It was realized that teachers have diverse opinions, and use diverse instruction or assessment methods and techniques during HRCD course; however, they all specified their need to get training about how to teach human rights, democracy, and citizenship.

4.3.3. A School with Mostly Middle or Lower-middle Class Students

School L was located in Toroslar district of the city. There were 960 students and 33 of them were refugees. Double shift schooling was practiced and 38 teachers, two psychological counselors and three school managers were working in the school.

Two classrooms (L1 and L2) were observed in this school. One male teacher volunteered for his class to be observed, later one female teacher also wanted to participate the study through in-class observations. Observing two classrooms in one school was a good opportunity for me to see diverse preferences, behaviors, and attitudes of teachers in the same school. Thus the school was visited 13 times for in-class observations and interviews. During the visits, three teachers were interviewed including the ones whose classroom were observed and in total 16 class hours in class and three-hour school observations (in the playground, school corridors, and teachers’ room) were conducted. I have not seen the school manager in the school throughout the 13 visits; however, one of the deputy managers and psychological counselors were volunteered to participate.

The school had a quite clean and organized building, this was one of the first observations and the first note I took during the first visit. There was a school library, and a conference room with limited conditions, besides a technology lab and a science lab.

Middle-class families were the majority in the neighborhood, and they were mainly from Mersin and called as ‘yörüks’⁹⁸; and they are known as local people of Mersin. Besides, as the school counselor reported, 20% of the families migrated from Eastern parts of the country. The manager directly mentioned about the refugee students, when he was asked about cultural diversity of the school profile. Further, as it was understood from the counselors’ and one of the teachers’ (L-S2) statements that there was considerable amount of students whose parents were divorced.

The deputy manager, psychological counselor, and three of the 4th grade teachers’ opinions, attitudes and experiences concerning citizenship, cultural diversity, democracy, HRCDC course, gender, and human rights are presented below.

“Management Team Should Do Whatever They Can Rather Than Ordering”. The deputy manager had 10 years of management experience, as well as 11 years of teaching experience. He graduated from faculty of economics and administrative sciences, and based all of his responses to his academic background. He defined being a school manager as performing actions rather than sitting and ordering people what to do, and he defined this as democracy:

When I first arrived, I said, I did not come here to be an administrator; I came here to act. I was even doing most of the work that teachers need to do. I think the management should create a healthy environment, and coordinate, and provide communication with parents. In other words, the management makes the working environment more decent...People who manage and gain a certain place generally build a wall around them. They try to be harsh, show their work, but do not act...I do not have this mindset, none of us in the management team here. We have screwdriver, drill, we do everything. I do not take offense. I put my hand under the stone; I have the right to request anything from the teachers. In some schools, teachers think that managers only sit back, no one can tell us such a thing here, it is impossible to be said. We put our body, our sincerity ... This is what I understand from democracy.

According to him, building a bridge between parents and teachers, doing the hand labor or working as manual worker when needed defines democracy and shows how democratic he is as a manager, as well as all the management team. He defined ‘democracy’ as not hesitating to do repair or modification works as a manager who

⁹⁸ Yörüks, also known as Yuruks or Yoruks, are nomadic tribes that living in the mountain areas of the Mediterranean region (Özden & Atmış, 2006); however, some of them settled into cities and Mersin is one of the cities that includes high Yörük population.

can order whenever he wants. On the other hand, some of the school members had different opinions about management's performing effective actions. For instance, the teacher L-S2 was quite unmotivated and she was going through a job burnout - she even thought to resign⁹⁹-, and according to her the management is two-faced, non-democratic, and not treating everyone equally as I noted in the last in-class observation of classroom L2:

The teacher stated that, the school is quite problematical; the management, teachers, and parents are two-faced to show they support the government and its politics; the management tries to create selected classes and she is bored to work in this school because of these issues. She further told that students that labeled as 'undesirable' were given to her classroom, as her classroom is labeled as 'the low academic success classroom', and her style of teaching -because she cares about the social skills of students as well as academic achievement- is different from other teachers' styles. She also indicated that the school principal does not come to school, the deputy manager only criticizes, but he did not do anything to change the system and understanding in the school (November 27, 2018).

Teacher L-S2 claimed 'favoritism' from many dimensions. Selected classrooms were created, and since her teaching style was not regarded, children labeled with low success and considered as 'undesirable' sent to her classroom. Thereby, her classroom was culturally diverse compared to other classrooms.

The counselor's statements confirmed the 'favoritism' while organizing the classrooms, and placing the teachers and some of the parents' children in private classes. In brief, some of the school members expected a different management style while according to the deputy manager they are doing whatever is needed, they are not only working as a manager they are also working as manual workers for the sake of the school.

“Teachers Need to Be Democratic to Teach Democracy”.

For example, if you are talking about democracy, if you are talking about belief, I look at your behavior patterns. I say the same thing to my students and my children that you need to look at the actions of people first not to the statements. For democracy education in school, the teacher must first provide that environment.

The above statement belongs to the deputy manager. He emphasized the importance of actions more than words. According to him, a democratic

⁹⁹ As I learned in May 2020, she resigned and started to work in a private school in where she feels more motivated.

environment should provide freedom of opinion, belief, and expression and hidden curriculum is important to enhance democracy in schools. In addition to these he remarked that a teacher needs to be educated about basic law, and basic rights to be democratic:

I always say to the teachers that the moment students enter the door of the school, education starts with everything. You should also give the child the idea of a democracy through plays. Outside, s/he plays with the ball, here also s/he plays with ball but in here, s/he needs to learn the idea of democracy while playing. This is not going to happen in an instant. Learning does not happen instantly, it takes a long time, and effort. And it takes a long time to set the behavior pattern...Of course, the educator must agree. The educator also needs to be trained.

He highlighted that democracy can be learned through experiences, and every practice conducted in school should promote democratic behaviors, and attitudes. Besides, teachers need to be motivated, and trained to achieve this. He had criticisms about teachers. He indicated that teachers prone to blame external factors such as the curriculum, or the parent profile. However, they need to act, change or improve themselves, since either the parents' genes or the curriculum content cannot be changed:

... Leave the criticism about the parent, I say. You can't change somethings. Legally ... You cannot change the parents' genes...do not worry about the politics in the country. You have to practice what you have in the curriculum, you have to apply it; I also criticize the curriculum, but you have to apply it by every detail. Huh, does it give you a space while implementing, yes it does. There is nothing to prevent you from talking about and teaching Kemalism right now; nothing. It is similar to other issues...

As it was understood from the statements of the manager, some of the teachers had negative opinions about the parent profile of the school. And some of them criticized the current curriculum for being insufficient about the content on Atatürk. Especially, the 'Kemalism' emphasis showed the important impact of ideologies on the curriculum, and how people evaluate the philosophy, aims or the content of the curriculum.

In other respects, he also criticized the parent profile of the neighborhood for not being supportive about behavioral development of their children such as decreasing violent behaviors, and bad language usage or increasing sensitivity to the environment.

Teacher L-S3 had strong opinions about inadequacy of school education on

behavioral development of children without parent support, and she stated that she does not use any practice to enhance democracy in the classroom:

I'm not using any method [*to make students internalize democracy and human rights*]. Because I think everything is related to the family. If the student comes from a family that values each other and respects each other, s/he learns. There are children who feel like loser towards the people around, they are aggressive. We can't give them anything. S/he can even attack the child who looks after him during the breaks. If the children experience them [*democracy and human rights*] in the family, our success is 100 percent; otherwise it is 30-40 percent.

She strictly believed that democracy or human rights cannot be taught unless children experience these at home. On the other hand, teacher L-S1 and teacher L-S2 mentioned about the practices they apply, or the concepts they put emphasis on to make students internalize democracy and human rights. For instance, teacher L-S2 indicated that she reminds students to be respectful to be respected, and not to be selfish; as well as to make them feel the beauty of differences and living together in peace. On the other hand, teacher L-S1 focused on the culture of voting for enhancing culture of democracy and human rights:

We make elections to enhance democracy in classrooms Apart from the student representative, we elect the best male and female student of the month. We always go for the election. We take students' ideas at every opportunity. We try to instill the right to be elected and the culture of letting the deserving one win. We take their ideas if we are going to do any activity. We explain that the opinion of the majority should be respected. For human rights, we work on rights and responsibilities in the classroom environment, but ... When there are students who have speech problems in the classroom, we also show students that they have the right to speak and their right to express themselves should be respected. We ensure that everyone is assigned with tasks such as chairing a task in class or on trips. We appoint students in order and show that everyone has the right to be appointed.

Teacher L-S1 had different opinions compared to teacher L-S2. The culture of voting through elections, assigning tasks equally, and taking opinions of students for common issues were regarded important to promote democratic behaviors and attitudes of students. According to him, opinion of the majority should be respected. He grounded his democracy understanding to the decisions of majority, while teacher L-S2 emphasized the beauty of differences.

The deputy manager and the counselor also mentioned about the school council elections to exemplify the practices applied to enhance the culture of democracy. However, according to teacher L-S2 school council operates very superficially. During the last observation in the classroom L2, while she was

explaining ‘claiming one’s rights’, she stated that this, normally, can be done through school councils in schools, later she added that:

School presidential candidates make promises that are impossible to be realized like politicians and try to win the school council elections in this way. They are making promises such as making a pool in the schoolyard, making grass on the field, distributing chocolate to everyone. It may be interesting to promise something that may not be true, but is it realistic? No. What does the real representative do? S/he sets out from the real problems.

As reported by the teacher L-S2, students’ council does not function like a students’ council; rather students do what they observe from the politicians, by making propaganda with empty promises. Later this issue was discussed with the teacher, and additional to the examples she shared during the class, she stated that school representative’s ‘empty promises’ even found ‘sympathetic’ by some of the teachers; and the school management; or the commissioned teachers allow the elections to be made in this way. In other words, giving empty promises, making propaganda without considering the ‘real’ problems of the students were promoted by managers, and some of the teachers. In brief, one more time, I had an opportunity to realize the variety of opinions, and perspectives that educators have about democracy, human rights, or citizenship.

“We Try to Raise Well-Behaved Children Who Are Sensitive to The Environment”. The deputy manager’s statements about the targeted citizen showed that the school management considers being well-behaved and sensitive to the environment. He did not clearly explain what he meant by being well-behaved and sensitive to the environment, however his relevant statements indicated that he meant students who are respectful, obedient, and have environmental consciousness. Besides, according to the manager, teachers should be role models. He indicated that teaching is a profession which is special and teachers should take care of themselves; and he gave an example from himself:

For example, I never smoked where students would see. The teacher should pay attention to everything. I was smoking in a hut at the top of the mountain in the village, but the students didn't see it. I never carried a package in the front pocket, it was hidden... Teacher should be a role model. When I say this is bad, my behavior

must be consistent... There are some professions in the West¹⁰⁰ you also need to pay attention to this [*to be consistent*]. The service stops, for example, all the cars, on the side where students will land, stop. This is the shaping of democratic thought. Respect for others, self-respect, everything.

On the other hand, the counselor thought that academic success is priority and considered important more than the behavioral development both by teachers and parents. Moreover, she emphasized the tremendous parent effect on teachers and students. As she remarked, parents are quite influential, and teachers hesitate while communicating with them since the parents have no toleration to hear negative points about their children.

Besides these, some of the teachers claimed that parents - in general the social environment of students namely the neighborhood- has negative influences on behavioral development of students. For instance, teacher L-S3 stated that the content in HRCD course is sufficient, however parents form the basis to teach human rights, equality, justice or being a citizen. According to her, teachers can recite the concepts; however, they could succeed if students start to practice these concepts in their daily lives. And to ensure this, parents should be educated first. Teacher L-S1 also stated teachers' trying to teach children's rights, respecting rights of others, and civic responsibilities; however, he explained the incoherency between school knowledge and students' out-of-school behaviors through an example:

The most surprising thing in my professional life was the following: I thought that I succeeded in teaching my students the habit of keeping the environment organized in four years. But one day I saw one of my students who passed to 5th grade. He took a pog¹⁰¹ from the stationery. He took the pog and threw its package on the road. Of course he learns this behavior from the environment. Since the child sees the bad behaviors, what we do goes for nothing. *The child thinks that if my behavior is right*¹⁰², why does everyone else do something else? Right, responsibility and

¹⁰⁰ The 'West' discourse attracted my attention since he used this discourse repeatedly to explain the difference between his perception of 'West' and 'us' such as in the below example:

In the West, Magna Carta was accepted in the 1200s and they established democratic ideas in the 15th century. While they were experiencing Industrial Revolution, we were dealing with debts.

His codes about 'West' and 'us' created a difference between two conceptualizations. 'West' was defined more developed and civilized, compared to 'us'.

¹⁰¹ Named as 'taso' in Turkish, pogs are used to play pog game.

¹⁰² The sentence was clarified; the original sentence was '*If mine is right*'.

freedom are all right, but the child does not experience them outside. The practice does not match the knowledge taught in Turkey. We teach the rules of listening, but when there is a ceremony, the manager's speech is not listened by the parents, or teachers, and the students that observed them. Similar problems may occur in this [HRC]course. Although the children gain the attainments, the implementation is very low. What is said goes in one ear and comes out from the other.

The incoherency between the taught knowledge and practices is highly criticized by the interviewed school members. The counselor also emphasized the incoherency between school knowledge and what is taught by parents. According to her, students learn to be disrespectful and overconfident from their parents and they are overconfident even though they are wrong. Therefore, role modeling by teachers and others in the school is insufficient if parents and the community are not educated with expected behaviors in terms of rights, civic responsibilities or democracy.

“Students Experience Injustices Even at School”. The counselor emphasized the injustices, and inequality experienced through the existence of selected classrooms in school. This issue was voiced by the teacher L-S2 as it was mentioned before, however the school counselor indicated this issue from a different perspective.

...everyone wants to place [*their children*] to a good class, and there is no equality. Who is stronger, who is heavyweight, can place [*their children*] to a good classroom, so there can be such an injustice, that attracts my attention. There must be something about this, in fact, there must be equality. Even in the selection of the teacher, such things happen; teachers who know somebody can be assigned to a good classroom. No matter how much the classroom-teacher matching is selected by lots, such things can happen with pressure, can be experienced, injustices can happen. This is unfair.

In this way, she also attracted attention about the incoherency between school knowledge and school experiences of children. In other words, teachers highlighted the importance of raising just citizens who can claim their rights, and protect others' rights. However, according to the counselor and the teacher L-S2 there are injustices about forming the classrooms; thus some of the students, parents, and teachers experience injustices at school, or some others' unjust behaviors are promoted.

“Teachers Do Not Want Students Who Claim Their Rights”. When the teachers were asked about the aims of the HRCDC course regarding citizenship, they mainly gave the same responses by highlighting the importance of raising citizens who are conscious about their rights and responsibilities, and others’ rights; only teacher L-S2 had an additional comment:

The book contains content about respecting the rights of others. I cannot say that they have digressed from this, but I do not find it sufficient. When raising a citizen, an individual at this age, instilling self-confidence yes, teaching self-defense yes, teaching not to be violated yes, but we should avoid raising selfish, individualistic children who only think oneself to be respected. Apart from that, I think the course is necessary and nice. I like it. We just have to complete it because it has deficiencies.

She mentioned about deficiencies of the curriculum. On the other hand, the deputy manager claimed that *“teachers do not want students who claim their rights”*. According to him, a teacher must be egoless, and he exemplified his opinions through an experience he had:

My wife’s nephew -he is now an engineer- once took the science exam, gave a very good exam paper but got a low grade. He requested to see his exam paper by saying that ‘I wasn’t expecting this grade’, the teacher did not want to show it. I was a manager that time, I visited the teacher, I said to the teacher that ‘you do not want this type of people, you should commend this child for claiming his right... You have to show his exam paper, even if you do not give the paper, you can sit him near and explain him, since the boy is sure, and he is intelligent as well’, I said ‘just give up this logic’, students can criticize teachers, teachers are not perfect, they may make mistakes. I also said to my students when they object something, I say, okay, let’s do it in your way.

By his example, he emphasized the importance of not to be afraid of being criticized to raise critical and self-confident students. The manager also indicated that they care about developing students’ skills to claim their rights. For instance, he remarked that when students have problems and complaint about the canteen, first, they are advised to claim their rights personally since they are the consumers. Then, they are guided to come to the management if they cannot solve the problem personally. In brief, as the manager claimed, students are provided an environment in which they can claim their rights, and gain self-confidence.

“Children Should Learn Patriotism and Their Responsibilities”. This point was voiced by the counselor and teacher L-S1 while explaining the characteristics of citizens they targeted to raise. Teacher L-S1 stated that patriotism and fulfilling

responsibilities should be prioritized. Yet, he blamed parents not giving responsibilities to their children. Even, sometimes, parents fulfill their children's responsibilities instead of giving them space to learn and feel responsible. He exemplified this point with the project works that were given to the students once, and removed due to parents' doing their children's project works.

“Syrians Are Not the Only Cultural Group in Turkey”. When school members were asked about cultural differences in the school or classroom, it was realized that they have diverse perceptions and opinions about cultural diversity. In general, school members do not mean only Syrian students while mentioning about cultural differences. Even teachers criticized the understanding in HRCB textbook about only including Syrian students in the content on cultural diversity:

There is content on cultural differences. And mentioned nicely... There is already content in our Social Studies course. It is more efficient when we teach in parallel with it. The differences are beautiful, it is very important to respect the characteristics of different children, but the only difference seems to be Syrian children. The only different child is not a Syrian child, but we have adopted it so much... Every culture should be in it, without being marginalized. There are a lot of different children in Turkey. (L-S3)

It seems strange to me, only including Syrians. Take a look at the East in recent years, there are many cultures already. These are happy together. Turkey already has a lot of culture. I think it is the economy that differentiates people; otherwise we get accustomed to live with differences. (L-S2)

Those who came from Syria are given as example to exemplify different cultural groups. The child needs to know people from different cultures, not only people with Syrian origin, or not those coming from the East, even if someone from outside our country. They need to know people even with different beliefs...(L-S1)

Differently from the others, teacher L-S1 stated that students need to know World cultures other than cultures in the country, yet he still agreed that only Syrians are included in the content on cultural differences.

The counselor reported that teachers try to avoid discrimination among students. Even, they try to prepare a project about minority students' education and all students' living in peace in school; however, their project was not accepted. Besides this point, as the manager indicated, Syrian students are not discriminated since the majority of them started the school from the 1th grade.

Teacher L-S2 and L-S3 strongly remarked that if the teacher does not allow discrimination in the classroom, nobody can discriminate. For instance, in teacher

L-S3's classroom there were Kurdish and Syrian children, as well as children from Mersin (Yörüks). She explained her perspective regarding cultural diversity:

Teacher L-S3: When the children first arrive, nobody wanted to get closer, they marginalized [Syrian] children. Actually, this issue is related to the attitudes of teacher. In the beginning, they [Syrian children] were treated as if they were the cause of all the troubles. They got used to them [Syrian children] now they accepted them [Syrian children]. Both families and children get along well. We have not had any problems with those coming from the East. If the teacher does not allow someone to be marginalized, the one is finally accepted.

Researcher: So what have you done to achieve this?

Teacher L-S3: When such events happened, families were also reactive. The families were coming with a request that their children do not sit near Syrian children, and I did not allow. I said I would warn you if I saw a mistake, and I refused their requests. They were not spoiled by me; I put a very big set in front of them...I did not listen to any complaints. The incident did not grow because I was angry with those who complained. If I was also encouraged who complaint, the kids would pass unnoticed. There is no problem right now. Although a student in my classroom is still like 1th grade even he is with me for 4 years, his friends coach him, they give him homework, and they teach him. They are trying to teach language the other Syrian child.

As far as understood, in the teacher L-S3's classroom, there were prejudices towards Syrian students, at first. Her perspective, attitudes and the practices she applied blocked prejudices.

In a similar vein, the teacher L-S2 also did not allow parents' intervening to the classroom process. As she indicated, students learn to respect each other in time, so as the parents. Even, a Syrian child played the leading role in a theatre activity, and nobody told anything. By using a metaphor, she defined a culturally diverse classroom as 'colorful'.

While teachers L-S2 and L-S3 focused on living together culture, and respecting each other in their classrooms; teacher L-S1 preferred to explain this issue through integration of minority students to the classroom culture:

We have students from Mersin as well as students from the East. The student population is not entirely local, approximately 20% come from the East, but they are not incompatible. They have to be compatible due to the classroom environment. The child becomes absorbed in the atmosphere of the class, even if s/he will exhibit a behavioral disorder.

The statement of '*becoming absorbed in the atmosphere of the class*' neglects the existence of diverse cultural groups, since the aim seems the adaptation of minority students to the majority culture. In addition, defining different behaviors inside 'behavioral disorder' sound discriminative, as this attitude hierarchically

glorifies majority culture.

According to the counselor, the language difference is the biggest challenge. Teacher L-S3 stated the same challenge as the only challenge she had. Other than this, as teachers L-S2, and L-S3, and the counselor reported, they do not need an additional training to work in culturally diverse schools, since they are already living in a cosmopolite city and have been working in culturally diverse schools for years. Only two of the teachers (teacher L-S2 and teacher L-S3) attended the trainings within PICTES project; however, the counselor, manager and teacher L-S1 did not attend any training to cope with the challenges about working in culturally diverse schools. On the other hand, as teacher L-S3 claimed, the training was not effective and the trainers were not knowledgeable enough to teach the content.

“Minorities Should Be Separated and Distributed into The City and The Schools for Integration”. This opinion belongs to the deputy manager, he made a long speech about the migration politics, and how immigrants can be integrated into the city culture. According to him the integration of the immigrants -such as Syrians and Kurdish people from the South East - to the society does not mean assimilation, the social harmony and social unity can be ensured by immigrants’ integration and their keeping face with the culture of the city. Therefore, he claimed to separate and distribute the immigrants into the city and children of immigrants into the diverse schools. He gave an example to explain what he meant:

For example, there is a school; there are about 600 Syrian students. They [*Syrian students*] try to make our students look like themselves. Here's what it is like to be majority ... These are the wrong policies, why do you put 600 children in the same place? Distribute them somehow, because you will live with them. They have to be distributed somehow to merge into this society.

a) One School, Two Classrooms, Two Perspectives

Only one of the classrooms was observed in six of the schools that visited for observations. However, two teachers volunteered to be observed in the school L, therefore, two classrooms were observed and in total 16 class-hours in-class observations was conducted. This sub-section is written comparatively by including the observation data from classrooms L1 and L2.

There were 41 students in the classroom L1, 23 of them were female, and 18 of them were male. The cultural structure of the classroom represented the structure of the school regarding cultural diversity; 20% of the students were Kurdish. Parents of students were mainly middle class, and only a few of the students had lower class families regarding socio-economic level. Education level of the parents was not high and only one-third of the mothers had an outside job. And as a final point, according to the teacher, parents were quite interested in the education of their children.

On the other hand, there were 35 students, including 19 females and 16 males, in classroom L2. Classroom L2 was more diverse culturally; there were Syrian, Kurdish, Cherkes and Turkish students. The socio-economic structure of parents was also quite diverse, the parents were from low and middle class mainly; yet half of the mothers had a steady job.

The teacher L-S1 had 29 years of working experience as a classroom teacher and he was graduated from primary school teaching in 1989; while the teacher L-S2 had 20 years of classroom teaching experience. She was not graduated from an education faculty¹⁰³, and started to work as a classroom teacher shortly after the graduation.

The reason I am writing a comparative sub-section is due to different teaching styles of teachers. To expand on what I mean by different teaching styles, I share the very first minute observations and notes for both classrooms:

Researcher notes for classroom L1: The classroom was very organized, there were fabric covers on the desks, and the curtain was also made of the same fabric. The boards, the arrangement of the pictures hanging on the boards, or the distances between the desks, everything was very neat and clean. There was a harmony in the classroom in terms of arrangement of the objects and the used fabric. Besides, there was a projector and a computer in the classroom. Desks were arranged in rows; namely traditional setup was preferred. Desks were arranged in four rows, and in each row there were five desks. The students sit in pairs. Students were so silent; they did not speak without the floor was given to them. (November 5, 2018)

Researcher notes for classroom L2: The desks were arranged in rows. There were four rows and two students were sitting in each desk. Students were quite free, even some of them went to lavatories or canteen after the class hour started. The teacher was quite flexible and seemed calm. Students were walking in the classroom but each time she warned them calmly. (November 6, 2018)

¹⁰³ I did not want to share her field since it could be quite distinguishing and violate her anonymity.

As can be sensed from the above observation notes, the order inside classroom L1 took my attention as every object had a place to put in, and the classroom order was quite coherent with the teacher's teaching style. He was quite planned, and each taken step was seemed a part of a schedule and each action had an order. For instance, while he was giving the floor to the students, he chose one student from each row starting from the first row; or sometimes he chose students regarding their gender such as first a male student then a female student answers the question. Besides these, he also watched students' sitting positions -students should lean back and their legs should be inside the desks, besides the pencil should be unhande- and he gave floor to speak to the ones who sit consistent with the instructions he made. There was a scheduled time and several steps for every action. In other words, there was a ritual for every action such as students' writing their homework. While writing the homework, first, all the students take their agenda (a notebook only to write down their homework) out of the bags, and then the teacher starts to write the homework to the board. First, girls are allowed to write down the written homework to their agenda, then boys. Later all of them put their homework notebook to their school bags, and clean up their desks. After finishing the cleaning, they silently wait for the school bell to go home.

On the other hand, the teaching style of the teacher and classroom climate were different for classroom L2. Students were more relaxed, as the teacher; the classroom was not as neat as classroom L1, yet it was also not untidy or messy. Students seemed more relaxed and freer in classroom L2; nevertheless, the classroom climate allowed classroom discussions, activities, and question-answer sessions. The observation notes gave more ideas about the differences of classrooms L1 and L2. The questions of what kind of behaviors are motivated based on the style of teachers; and which style is more regarded by the management could be observed through observing two classrooms in the same school.

Different Question Styles, Different Emphases to Develop Critical Thinking. The question style of teachers was one of the points that attracted my attention, teacher L-S1 was prone to ask close-ended questions, and not create an environment for discussions rather he only followed the textbook. On the other hand, teacher L-S2 tried to motivate children to think about the content on textbook

as well as think about their opinions or responses. The first example is from classroom L1 during a discussion on refugee students regarding the related text from the textbook:

Teacher L-S1: Now let's put ourselves in their [*refugees*] place; you are a normal human being, you do not carry disease, there is no job for you, you do not know the language of the country, so do you feel sad to be marginalized like this?

Whole class: Yes.

Teacher L-S1: Well, although the majority is not bad, maybe three-five people may be bad among the members of this classroom, for example; but is it true to blame 41 people for this [*these bad behaviors*]?

Whole class: No

Teacher L-S1: Well, by excluding these people, we push them into crime. How?

Student A: They may need help, if we act badly, they may turn into crime and act badly.

As can be seen, teacher L-S1 asked close ended questions through which he had his answers approved. Even though he asked open-ended questions, it was realized that he only took the answers of students rather than creating a discussion environment. In the below example, the classroom was still discussing on the same text about refugees:

Teacher L-S1: How can we help people who are in similar conditions with Hüseyin [*Hüseyin is the Syrian child who was mentioned in a text, in the HRC D textbook*]?

Students' responses: (1) I would teach Turkish; (2) I would teach games; (3) Not excluding them; (4) Including them into games; (5) We can help by giving money; (6) I would try to make them forget their country; (7) I would comfort them if they were upset; (8) We can give food and drink; (9) We can give things like money; (10) We can donate clothes; (11) Making them feel like at home

Teacher L-S1: So what do people like Hüseyin need most? Is it a shelter, food and drink, clothing, or communicating with people in your area? Isn't it communication, or the days would be boring for them?

Students: Yes.

After he asked the first question - "*How can we help people who are in similar conditions with Hüseyin?*"-, he only gave the floor to the students one by one, and did not ask an additional question or did not give any feedback about the responses. On the other hand, the examples from the classroom L2 showed teacher's different style of questions, and the environment of classroom during discussions. For instance, in the below example, they were discussing about the limits of freedom through a text from the textbook:

Teacher L-S2: Children, what kind of creatures are human beings?

Student A: They are social beings who can think.

Teacher L-S2: Yes, they are social beings who think. So how did the child in the picture interpret 'freedom'?

Student B: As doing whatever you want.

Teacher L-S2: Yes, he says I will do what I want. I will not do if I do not want, my mother does for me. Well, do you think freedom is always about doing whatever you want?

Whole class: No.

Teacher L-S2: Show me an example; is there any experience or an event that you can exemplify this?

Student responses: (1) Car crash to a friend while cycling; (2) I left my toy truck on the bed for my mom to collect, my cousins came and broke.

Teacher L-S2 asked additional questions or sometimes gave feedback to expand on the content and to make children think about the discussed topic. Further, she also made children think and criticize on their own opinions.

For instance, during the fourth observation, students were reading the stories they prepared about claiming one's rights; and one of the student's story was not about claiming rights rather he only explained the problem. The story was about some people's torturing a cat in the street, but the student did not add suggestions about how to solve the issue. The teacher asked him several questions to make him realize that there might be some solutions or he can do something to encounter this problem and to claim that cat's rights. Two different understandings, and two different instructional styles, which promote different behaviors, attitudes or skills, were observed from the same school.

A Citizen Should Claim Own Rights

Teacher L-S2: How do you claim your right, if a friend of you hurts you?

Students' responses: (1) I left him/her alone for 10-15 minutes, to understand his/her mistake; (2) I use six thinking hats technique; (3) S/he must apologize; (4) I would expect him/her to empathize

Teacher L-S2: You tried all of them, but nothing changed. S/he did not apologize, did not empathize, did not control anger, you used the six thinking hats technique but it did not work. What do you do?

Student A: I ask for an adult to help.

Teacher L-S2: Who is this adult?

Student A: The manager

Teacher L-S2: The manager did not help either; what is the order here, first from which adult we ask for help? First the teacher, then the school counselor, then the school manager... if the problem is still not solved?

Student B: We tell the family.

Teacher L-S2: But it's still not resolved, let's say the problem is big

Student C: Is it too big?

Teacher L-S2: Yeah

Students C: Then we go to the governor.

Teacher L-S2: No, not to the governor first. (*Then she explained the chain: first family or teacher, then school counselor, management, district directorate of education, provincial directorate of education*)

The above conversation is from the fourth observation in which claiming rights was discussed in the classroom L2. After asking students questions by supporting them to find the answers, she explained the chain of adults in educational institutions and governmental agencies who can support students in case of any problem. She also opened a discussion about how to claim rights as citizens. She explained right to petition, the importance of being sensitive about the problems and claiming rights as citizens. She concluded the topic with the democracy concept:

Teacher L-S2: This is the meaning of democracy, even if I am the leader, if I did something wrong, it should be investigated, democratic life requires this. If I make a mistake, does your family have the right to complain about me by giving a petition?

Whole class: No.

Teacher L-S2: Yes, they have. Everywhere is your living space and if there is something that puts you in trouble, you have the right to complain.

Students were promoted to complain their rights whatever is the issue or and whoever is the person that causes injustices. She exemplified this over herself by emphasizing that everyone can be criticized and rights must be defended against all.

On the other hand, during the third observation in classroom L1, the class was discussing about children rights regarding the related content on the HRCDD textbook. Teacher L-S1 mentioned about children's rights and gave examples around the World. He also explained children's right to participate to decisions, and further added that:

You have the right to say your opinion freely and respectfully while decisions are being made about you, but remember that your opinions do not have to be performed. Nowadays, some children want that everything they want to be performed, this is not appropriate. If your family approves, what you want is done. Adults can see what you cannot, and they may not approve if your requests are not appropriate religiously, culturall, and faithfully.

Quite the contrary, teacher L-S1 did not promote students to be critical regarding their rights. Unlike the teacher L-S2, he did not consider students as individuals. He still had a traditional understanding on education, through which students are educated to be compatible in the society.

As it was mentioned before, there were strict rules in classroom L1. For

instance, students were chosen in terms of their sitting style or hand raising style to take the floor. The reward-punishment system was being used by the teacher; there was a big table on the wall with the all students' names on it and students got stars or their stars were sometimes taken back due to their positive and negative behaviors. Besides there were daily controls about homework or stationary equipment; students who were responsible for homework controls or stationary equipment controls made the controls. Students got 'plus' if they did their homework and brought all the needed equipment, otherwise they got 'minus'. During the day, the class monitors were responsible to observe their classmates while they were moving out of the class for the breaks, and students should not run; if they run, they were reported to the teacher. At the end of each day, the class president was responsible to check under the desks and reporting the dirty desks to the teacher. As can be seen from the examples, there was a strict control mechanism in the classroom, students were observed by the teacher, and if the teacher was not in the classroom there were attendant students who were observing their peers for the teacher. Ultimately, a hidden curriculum was observed that aim to educate students to learn their borders, and to be obedient individuals.

In addition to all these, in classroom L1, the best female and male students of the month were selected by the class by classifying students regarding their gender through monthly mini-competitions.

As it was emphasized before, it was useful to observe two classrooms in one of the visited schools, this showed the layered relations, expectations, understandings more explicitly. I believe that I can present the profiles of both classrooms so far, and at this point it would be meaningful to reflect the management's opinions on both classrooms. Teacher L-S1's teaching style was appreciated more than teacher L-S2, since the students were quieter and 'disciplined' compared to the students in classroom L2 who were more free, relaxed and 'noisier' as it was defined.

The practices applied during HRC D course hours

From the HRC D textbook, the same text¹⁰⁴ was discussed in both classrooms during the first in-class observations. Below I share my observation notes from both classrooms about the same activity:

Table 4.5

Observation notes on the implementation the same activity in classroom L1 and L2

Classroom L1	Classroom L2
Warm Up: Motivating the students and supporting them to be ready for the lesson	
<i>[Teacher L-S1 warned the class to be silent.]</i>	Teacher L-S2: Are we ready to start? Lean back, our textbooks are opened <i>[the teacher did some breath and physical exercises such as deep breathing and neck-movements before starting to implement the curriculum]</i>
Introduction: Presenting the main activity of the lesson and its process to prepare the students	
	Children, are we ready? Today, we will discuss about freedom. We will experience a new technique, six thinking hats technique. First I will explain the technique. Sometimes we experience difficulties while deciding, right? Situations that we could not decide. Six thinking hats technique includes the steps to make decisions. We will practice these steps and make a decision.
The main activity: Student-teacher interactions	
Teacher L-S1: Friends, now you will sit in listening position; unhand your pencils, lean back, take your legs inside the desks. <i>[This instruction was repeated constantly in this classroom. The only reason for trying to sit students in order by also controlling their sitting positions was about teachers' preference to order everything including students' sitting position]</i>	<i>[Six students that holding different colors of hats went to the board, and the teacher explained each of the hats meanings.]</i> Teacher L-S2: Your friends tried to make concrete the steps for you, but these steps are in your mind <i>[She explained the hats by their meanings]</i>

¹⁰⁴ The text was about a boy's trying to decide about getting a dog. If his parents get him a dog he has to be responsible about the dog, so he needs to decide. The activity was about the relationship between rights and responsibility (p. 26).

Table 4.5 (cont'd)

<p>[Then the teacher explained the six thinking hats technique, explained each color and its meanings, and asked students whether the explanation was clear, and asked them to write down their responses for six hats. Students seem confused.]</p> <p>Student A: Teacher, could we do one example together?</p> <p>Teacher L-S1: For example, yellow hat, everybody will write their optimistic opinions. [Students started to write their optimistic opinions, and then each of them read their responses. The teacher read his response.]</p> <p>Teacher L-S1: Ali should get a dog, he can look after it. Write this response to your notebooks and create opinions for other hats. Ali says I will get a dog, which right is being used here?</p> <p>Student B: Right to express opinions.</p> <p>Teacher L-S1: Well, what the parents has to do?</p> <p>Student C: They have to consider.</p>	<p>then gave two examples, and then the teacher read the text about a boy's getting a dog. she emphasized some points, tried to explain taking responsibility.]</p> <p>Teacher L-S2: Yes, now Ali has to decide, right? Let's take out the hats. This is Ali's brain, Ali first reveals the problem, what is the problem?</p> <p>Student A: Ali wants a dog.</p> <p>Teacher L-S2: Now, be neutral, Ali wants a dog and he is free to get or not get. Be optimistic, you are Ali, what do you say? [Responses about each hat were taken, and discussed.]</p>
<p>Debriefing/Reflection</p>	
<p>Teacher L-S1: They will discuss all together from diverse perspectives and they will decide; what the majority wants will be done and the rests conform to it.</p>	<p>Teacher L-S2: Ali's brain thought a lot, about the advantages, disadvantages, now everybody will make a decision for Ali. (Then students shared their decisions, and the teacher explained the relationship between freedom and responsibility.)</p>

As can be seen in the table, teacher L-S2 started with a warm-up exercise to alert students for classroom engagement. Then, she set goals for the classroom and informed the students about what will they learn. On the other hand, teacher L-S1 did not set the goals and inform the students about the activity. For the implementation of the activity, it was realized that the teacher L-S1 could not control the process, and student-teacher interaction was low in classroom L1 compared to classroom L2. Students got confused, the teacher digressed from the subject and in the end the relationship between rights and responsibilities was not discussed in

classroom L1. Conversely, the teacher L-S2 created an environment for students to interact by using guiding questions and there was an active communication between the teacher and the students in the classroom L2. At the end of the activity, the teacher L1 concluded the topic over the concept of democracy by emphasizing the power of majority. On the other hand, the teacher L-S2 summarized the activity process and focused on the relationship between rights and responsibilities through the students' responses who decide to get a dog as a results of six-steps deciding process.

In brief, observing the same activity in different classrooms showed the differences between understandings, and used techniques. For instance, teacher L-S1 asked students to rewrite the content in the textbook to their notebooks as homework, while teacher L-S2 asked her students to write up a story about human rights, and how to claim own rights. Or, teacher L-S1 only used the textbook and the questions in the textbook, while teacher L-S2 asked additional questions to discuss the concepts or made additional activities.

For instance, during the second in-class observation, teacher L-S2 made an activity named as 'silent walk'. She first explained the activity:

Children, in our textbook, there are only five of your responsibilities mentioned which are: doing homework, cleaning your room, doing your personal care, going to school on time, and using the furnish and goods in the school properly. But, these are insufficient. Children have more responsibilities. Since we cannot walk around the streets and at home all together, we will walk inside the school silently and you will note down your responsibilities inside the school whenever you see something, or you find out something while walking.

Children walked inside the school silently, and after turned back to the classroom they shared their notes. Some of the responsibilities they noted down were: not hurting someone while playing, not hurting the animals those living in the schoolyard, watering the trees in the schoolyard, being respectful to peers those who are disable or different from us, leaving the chairs in the canteen properly, keeping the toilets clean. After getting all the opinions, the teacher summarized students' responses. It was an effective activity to increase awareness of the children about their responsibilities in school, home or in general, in the society.

When teachers were asked if they need a training to teach HRCd, teacher L-S1 and L-S3 stated that they do not need since the content is quite basic regarding

the concepts inside. In other respects, teacher L-S2 indicated that she is already interested in and research about human rights, and democracy teaching; however, it would be good to get training that includes academic information. Teacher L-S2 further added that she found human rights education very important and according to her it should be started from pre-school; while teacher L-S3 found the content quite heavy and complicated for 4th graders. According to him, HRCD course should have started to be given in 7th or 8th grade.

As it is indicated, two out of three interviewed teachers were observed during HRCD course, and their different teaching styles and understandings were tried to be presented through the observation notes. During the interviews, it was realized that they also have diverse opinions about the textbook of the HRCD course. For instance, teacher L-S1 found the textbook well-prepared since the texts are short and brief, yet he also added that there should be more visuals such as pictures, videos to attract students' attention. Teacher L-S2, on the other hand, found the textbook insufficient; she thought that only information-giving is targeted that is why she tries to find additional activities to make students understand and internalize the concepts. Finally, teacher L-S3 agreed with teacher L-S2, she also thought that the textbook should be more activity based. Besides these, all of them reported that they hold exams to assess students, and only teacher L-S2 indicated that she holds exams to give students opportunity to assess themselves, she does not grade students based on their exam grades only.

National Pride. In classroom L2, in the end of a lesson about claiming rights, teacher requested from students to write up stories on human rights and claiming rights. In general students wrote about animal rights and three students preferred to write on refugee rights. An observation note was written after listening students' stories:

Especially in the stories about refugees and patriotism, some words and sentences used by students drew my attention. For instance, a student used the word "our cognates" by referring students from Iraq, Syria, Azerbaijan and Cyprus. A student who wrote on patriotism (the story was about a Turkish student's feelings, who had to go to Europe as her father had to work there) stated in her story that how much she missed the waving of the Turkish flag in every street, and how much she took pride of it. She also wrote in the story that she came to Turkey for holidays and she was proud to feel the pride again. The student was so emotional and the story was about pride of being Turk. Expressions such as Allah protect our homeland were

also used in the story. When a story about human rights was asked to be written, some of the discourses and expressions that reflect the adult world were taken my attention. (November 27, 2018)

Similar discourses were observed in classroom L1. During the second in-class observation, class president election was performed and before starting teacher explained the meaning of voting. Teacher started from the meaning of 29th October by which the regime was changed and first men, later women had right to elect and to be elected. He emphasized that we owe the right to elect and be elected to Atatürk and his friends; highlighted the importance of elections, and remarked that otherwise he chooses the class president without asking. He also linked the class president elections to daily life “*today you are going to elect the class president, but one day you will elect the people who govern the country, make right choices, otherwise unpleasant things might happen*”.

These examples showed the effect of official discourses and their reproduction in classrooms. In the first example from the classroom L2, the exact discourses used in the textbooks about national pride, Turkish flag, being Turk were used by a 4th grade student. She was asked to right about human rights and the importance of claiming rights; however, she preferred to write on national pride while explaining the despair of refugees. In the second example from classroom L1, class president election was grounded on the Proclamation of the Republic. By this way, an analogy was made between classroom and the state; and the national symbols such as Atatürk, the Republic, and their importance were reproduced through the analogy.

Students’ Perceptions About Syrians. In the HRCD textbook, there was a text about a Syrian child (p. 32) who had to leave his home because of the war. Related to this text, there were several questions that aimed to make students think empathetically. I share a conversation below, which was noted during the fourth observation while this text was being discussed in the classroom L1.¹⁰⁵ The conversation, to some extent, shows the students’ perceptions on refugees.

¹⁰⁵ To remind, there was not any Syrian or refugee student in classroom L1.

Teacher L-S1: If you had to leave your home [*country*] what would you feel? I want more detailed explanations, not brief answers.

Student A: I would be sorry to leave my friends and home.

Student B: I would be sorry if I was in such a situation, I would cry.

Teacher L-S1: So you went to a new place, how do you think the people's perspectives will be about you in there? Let's ask this question to the girls.

Student C: They can exclude us because they have different cultures, we have different cultures.

Students D: They can glare at us; they don't want to talk with us.

Student E: They can glare at us, we speak different languages, our languages, our foods are different, and they can discriminate us.

Teacher L-S1: In short, you tell that we encounter problems where we go. So, are there such people around you? (*At this time, all girls are deprived of the right to respond the question, since a female student respond without asking permission.*)

Student F: Syrians have come to our country, we don't like them, they look dirty, we leer at them, we glare at them, and we exclude them.

Teacher L-S1: I wonder why do we exclude them? Why do we glare at them?

Student B: They speak a different language, we don't understand, maybe they speak about us.

Student G: Maybe they can cause a war in our country too.

Student J: We can't get along because they come from different countries.

Student H: Maybe they have some diseases so.

Students directly gave examples about the possible discriminative behaviors and attitudes, such as discriminating someone for having a different culture and language, staring at them, or ignoring them. In addition, they stated that they also discriminate refugees, since they are 'strangers', their language and culture are different, they could carry some diseases, or they could be dangerous. These discourses are quite prevalent in the society, and observing them in a classroom without a warning from the teacher might cause the reproduction of these discourses through education. On the other hand, about the same content, teacher L-S2 preferred to invite three refugee students to the board by asking their permission, and ask them to explain their feelings and tell their stories to their friends. Again, diverse perspectives, diverse understandings, and their impact on instructional styles of the teachers; and their possible effect on the characteristics and the development of the students were observed clearly. Each teacher raised citizens based on their standpoints.

Rights and Responsibilities Reminded. In both classrooms, students were reminded their responsibilities to their environment. Teacher L-S1 highlighted responsibilities to the nature, while teacher L-S2 emphasized disable people's rights, and others' responsibilities to ease their life. She, moreover, mentioned about animal

rights through an example from the school. Some students used violence towards a cat, and teacher L-S2 stated that *“Being stronger does not mean that you can hurt a creature that is less strong than you. Show your power with your brain. That cat could be less strong than you physically but its contribution to the nature is more.”* On the other hand, teacher L-S1 had a different perspective about animal rights; he glorified human being compared to animals:

Human beings have responsibilities towards themselves, their family, those around them, and creatures in nature. We need to act decently. If we do not act like a human, not like an animal. If we spit on the ground, or trip up, we will behave like animals ... We have responsibilities for animals, we feed, love, care; as human beings we need to care of them as, if we will think like that, we won't hurt.

As a final point, observations about gender discrimination are shared. There was not any observed point in classroom L2 about gender discrimination; however, teacher L-S1 reproduced some prejudices about men and women. For instance, during the class president elections, to console the ones who were not elected, he stated humorously that *“do not worry, I had not been elected as a class president throughout my education life, but I am the president of my home now”*. Moreover, while students were rehearsing the play they prepared for the parent's meeting, the teacher told a joke *“Once, a teacher complained about a female student to her father about her talking a lot; and her father said that you should also see her mother, she has not stopped talking since we got married.”* Results of teacher survey also showed how much teachers were insufficient about gender issues, since they could not realize the inequalities in the textbooks. This example supported this finding, as the teacher L1 had low awareness about gender equality.

4.3.4. One of the Most Culturally Diverse Schools that Visited

It was one of the most culturally diverse schools that visited for interviews and observations. ‘Cosmopolitan’ was the used adjective to define school X, by the psychological counselor. There were ethnically diverse 1102 students including Turkish, Syrian, Kurdish, local Arabic, Iraqi, Afghan, and Turkmen children. As reported by the counselor, there used to be non-Muslim students in the past.

There were around 255 refugee students during my first visit; however, the number was rapidly increasing, since I saw new enrolled students in early

November. As far as the manager indicated, refugee students' acceptance takes time, thus they, sometimes, start school with two months of delay.

The school used to be quite popular before; yet the counselor indicated that it is known as one of the problematic schools in the district. Diversity of the population was shown as the first reason by all of the interviewees. According to the counselor, parents' low socio-economic status was also an important cause. Especially, refugee students were living in inadequate conditions. Sometimes, two-three families lived together. This affected refugee students' education negatively. As reported, parent participation was quite low in general; and there were conflicts due to ethnic, and cultural differences. Those points can summarize the general profile of the school.

Besides these, the school building was under construction during my visits. They were in another building temporarily in which conditions were quite inadequate. Classrooms, and the school garden were quite small. Further, as it was understood from the manager's statements, they had difficulties about refugee population. Teachers did not want them in their classroom, since educating children who do not know Turkish was a challenging task. Therefore, the management had to convince teachers each time after a new enrollment.

The school was visited eight times for interviews and observations. One teacher (X-S1), one manager (X-Y1), and one counselor (X-R1) were interviewed; the classroom X1 was observed 8 class-hours. In the following sections, all findings relevant to citizenship, human rights, democracy education, cultural diversity, differences, gender, and HRCD course are shared by considering the school profile.

“We Have Problems Due to Cultural Diversity”. This statement belongs to the school counselor. By cultural diversity, just as the other interviewees, she highlighted the existence of refugee students. Other 'local' cultural groups were not mentioned. Conflicts among culturally diverse students, the language differences-based communication problems with students and parents were some of the problems; though, teachers' difficulties and low parental involvement of refugee students were highlighted more. As reported by the counselor, teachers had to deal with challenging tasks due to refugee students in their classrooms:

For instance, a child who needs to be in 3rd grade is enrolled to 1st grade as s/he

does not know any word in Turkish. This is a huge problem for the teachers. It takes time to adapt culturally different children who are illiterate, do not know Turkish, and have so many traumatic experiences because of the war.

Counselor's and manager's statements showed that teachers accept refugee students' school registration involuntarily. Students' not knowing Turkish, or their being vulnerable psychologically gave teachers a hard time. On the other hand, as well as teachers' difficulties, low parental involvement of refugee parents was considered as the most important problem by the counselor:

Our only problem is inadequate parental involvement. We even try not to differentiate refugee and local parents, and we make common meetings with all parents. For instance, in the seminars about effective studying, behavioral problems, or school health and hygiene, two Syrian parents out of 11, come to the meeting in a 40-student classroom. Those two parents requested translator. We were willing to arrange a translator, as long as we communicate. But, only two parents participated.

Refugee parents were defined as unconnected to the school, despite the efforts of school counseling service. The counselor told an anecdote to explain how much the refugee parents were uninterested in their children's education. As she remarked, the school gives effort to find donations for school uniform. Although the uniforms were found and delivered to refugee children, they keep coming with their daily clothes rather than wearing the uniforms. She stated that, they even cannot make progress about such a simple issue, let alone behavioral problems.

On the other hand, the counselor highlighted that parental involvement is also low for local parents. According to her, there are four pillars of an effective schooling process: management, parents, teachers, students. Teachers and students can catch the feeling to be a team in classroom or in school. However, the parent is one of the most important pillars, and this falls short in their school:

Since, we always lack parents' involvement, all the information we convey is something we temporarily attach to children. When they go home after a while, they pull out the school information, hang it, and continue their lives. Because parents do not support us at home. Not only about these issues, but also they do not support the school financially, emotionally, or sociologically. We fall short here, that is why we cannot access to all students. That is why, the experiences or what we do here cannot develop. That is why projects and targets do not end as desired.

What she tried to emphasize was tremendous parent impact in education. School cannot achieve its targets concerning students' development without parental involvement. So far, issues about two pillars of schooling were explained -

low parental involvement and the challenges that make teachers burnout-concerning cultural diversity. However, there were other challenges.

“The Language and Cultural Differences Cause Conflicts Between Students”. Conflicts among parents and among students due to cultural differences complicated the process. Although the school was already culturally diverse with Turkish, Kurdish, and local Arabic students; mainly local people are in conflict with refugees. According to the interviewees, there were two causes of these conflicts; first language and cultural differences, then prejudices of local citizens against refugees.

An anecdote of the counselor showed the effect of prejudices on students’ world:

One day one of my students said ‘*Teacher, I am learning Syrian language, is it bad?*’ No, it is not, s/he is learning your language, too. Children’s perception is negative; we need to change this. Students can easily learn each other’s culture, language, religion, standpoints, traditions, and customs compared to adults. This, actually, richen them, but they avoid, why? Because of their parents’ prejudices. We try to normalize these differences as natural and beautiful, these are individual differences. We try to support the thought that if a friend’s wearing glass does not make her/him different; it does not make one different either to speak another language.

According to the counselor, differences make students enriched; however, parents’ prejudices had a negative impact on students and hindered students’ positive communication. Manager’s and the teacher X-S1’s statements confirmed counselor’s experiences. The teacher X-S1 indicated that first local students did not want to sit near refugee students; or the manager reported conflicts between refugees and local students due to language, and cultural differences. The teacher stated that her accepting refugee students enabled local students to accept their refugee peers. On the other hand, explaining the unjust suffering of refugees and the importance of bearing a hand were presented as solutions by the school manager:

Our teachers explain refugee students’ difficult situations to our Turkish students. Teachers tell that this situation may happen to us, refugee students have the same rights with us and refugee students also victims of a situation they do not desire. Students are explained that refugees are also victims and it is a necessity and good to bear a hand.

Two points needs to be elaborated in the context of the above statement to discuss in the next chapter in detail. All culturally diverse local students were

defined as ‘Turkish’ by the manager. This attitude might reproduce the ignorance and deepened the problems due to country-level cultural differences. However, both survey and interview results demonstrated that the majority of educators preferred to reproduce this, while there were a small number of educators making the diverse ethnicities visible.

Secondly, right to seek asylum is a human right, and it should not be depended to lending a helpful hand. Everybody has a right to seek asylum and refugees ‘existence’ should not be based on others’ conscience, acceptance, tolerance, or helping hand. This could create a hierarchy among different groups of students from multiple dimensions.

In addition to these, the manager mentioned about the Syrian support personnel and their support to solve the conflicts among students, or sometimes among parents.

“In 5-6 Years, No One Will Be Able to Distinguish Whether They Are Syrian or Not”. This statement, *“In 5-6 years, no one will be able to distinguish whether they are Syrian or not”*, belongs to the teacher X-S1. She specifically told me that refugee students will not able to be distinguished from Turks in 5-6 years. For her, this was a success. Refugee students already could not be distinguished from their local peers, and according to her, it will be impossible to distinguish in the near future. She further mentioned about one of the refugee parents who requested her child to be seated near a Turk, as she cared about her child’s learning Turkish. As the teacher narrated, the parent told that *“we probably cannot go anywhere, and this war will not probably end. It is best for my child to learn Turkish and adapt here. S/he already knows Arabic.”* The teacher indicated that, she seated children mixed after this request; and after that any person from outside the classroom could not realize that they were Syrian.

The above observation showed a teacher’s perspective about integration. She thought that the success is to make the refugee students invisible concerning their differences; and how fluently they speak Turkish is one of the elements. The counselor, on the other hand, emphasized her belief to secure ‘our’ children’s future by educating refugee students. In other words, she thought that if she can reach and educate the refugee students today, her child will live in a safe environment in the

future. However, she further emphasized the other side of the coin; according to her refugee students also have promising lives, it is never late to change something. That is why; small contributions can change the future.

Interviewees were asked whether they take an in-service training about working in culturally diverse schools. The results showed that the manager and the teacher took in-service training as a part of PICTES project, while the counselor did not. As reported by the teacher, she attended the in-service training, after she had taught refugee students for four years. Thus, she had to find solutions by herself. At this point, she mentioned about her experiences in the early years of her profession.

When I became teacher, I was appointed to Ağrı. Students also had different culture. There were no Syrian students, but I came across students who could not speak any Turkish. Without such training, I was directly assigned to a school that students speak no Turkish. The children did not understand what I was speaking at all and I did not understand what they were speaking at all, but did I succeed? I tried as hard as I could. Then I worked in Diyarbakır for ten years, again, the children could not speak any Turkish. Before I taught how to teach reading and writing, I was showing the meaning of words. I was drawing pictures.

She worked in more than one school in the different regions of Eastern Turkey; and she had to find her own solutions to communicate with or to teach how to read and write to Kurdish students. This was a need in the past, and this is still a need for teachers to learn about practices they apply in multilingual and multicultural classrooms. However, as she reported, she got training after four years of personal efforts. During the data collection process, I had so many observations that manifested the challenges that teachers had and their needs while teaching in culturally diverse schools. Why teacher candidates have not been equipped with skills to be able to teach in multicultural and multilingual classrooms; or why there has not been any educational policy to equip teachers with skills was the biggest question in my mind. The teacher X-S1's experiences supported me to make the needs of the teachers concrete by considering the multilingualism of the country regardless of refugees' existence. On the other hand, thanks to the refugee population, teachers have started to be trained about this issue.

Characteristics of The 'Good' Citizen. Educators' perceptions about the 'good' citizen may indicate their understanding about education and schooling. School X's educators had both common and different opinions. For instance, the

teacher X-S1 used so many adjectives to define the ‘good’ citizen. According to her, a good citizen should be ethical, honest, reliable, patriot, and should love family and friends, pay taxes, go to military service, and should not harm the people around. Thus, her emphasis mainly corresponded to traditionally accepted citizenship roles. The manager highlighted different points, as well as some common ones. He stated that a ‘good’ citizen should have improved empathy skills. S/he should respect oneself, as well as others’ rights; and if s/he will learn to empathize, s/he can be more respectful to others’ rights. He further claimed that a ‘good’ citizen obeys the rules and regulations and respects the limits set by the state and the school. This was the point where the manager’s and the teacher’s opinions intersected. The conventional citizenship was dominant in the discourses of the interviewees.

On the other hand, the counselor remarked that a student should experience all the citizenship rights s/he has, in the school. For instance, according to her, school council elections provide a great opportunity for students to experience the right to vote, and democracy. They, as the school counseling service, cared about school council elections, and they undertook the task to promote democratic behaviors of the students. However, as far as understood from the manager’s expressions, the management considers school council as an intermediary between the management and the students. Thus, the management acts as a service-provider, and student representative acts as a consumer representative:

The school representative is elected, as a result of the election; the school representative participates in the board meetings. S/he establishes a bridge between his/her friends and the administration; s/he voices students’ requests. We also try to fulfill their requests within the school facilities. Anyway, our aim in education is to enable children to receive a better education in a better, hygienic, and safe environment ... This is what they want, and we try to meet their demands as long as our financial means allow.

The manager defined school council as a mediator between management and students; rather than as a space for students’ internalizing their voice, their rights and their power as members of the school. In parallel with that, the following paragraph shows that students of school X were quite uninformed about their rights.

“We Realize That Children Do Not Know Their Rights”. The school counseling service made a research about children’s knowledge about claiming their rights, within the context of April 23 National Sovereignty and Children’s Day. The

research results manifested that children did not know their rights, as well as the meaning of April 23. In other words, they were performing demonstrations on April 23 without knowing what it is about. On the other hand, when the manager was asked about how they support students to internalize democracy, and their rights, he only specified that they cared about the special events and celebrations such as children's day, human rights week, or children rights day. However, as the counselor remarked this was not enough to raise democratic children who are aware of their rights.

By considering the research results about children's inadequate knowledge on their rights, the counseling service conducted an activity. They took children to the courthouse since they realized that children had no knowledge about what a courthouse is, what a lawyer or judge does, and how to claim rights. By getting all necessary permissions and taking the needed precautions, children were met with lawyers, judges, and prosecutors and asked them questions. As reported by the counselor, it was an effective activity to show students how to claim their rights. The counselor was the most sensitive educator about students' learning their rights as children, citizen, and from a broader perspective as a human being. And according to her, this can be achieved by creating environments for students to experience democracy, and their rights. Besides, she was the only person who reported that she would be happy if there will be an in-service training about human rights, and democracy education. The teacher stated that the textbook would be enough for her with some additional activities to teach the relevant concepts; and the manager did not consider this training as a need.

a) A classroom in which conventional citizenship was promoted

In classroom X1, there were 41 students; however, three of them were not attending. The rest of the population constituted of 19 female and 19 male students. Besides, one of the students was a special needs student (inclusive student).

The school was quite multicultural with Turkish, Kurdish, local Arab, Syrian, Turkmen, Iraqi, and Afghan population. Earlier, families in the neighborhood were mainly local people of Mersin. However, they mainly started to move to other districts such as Mezitli, meanwhile the region started to receive

migration especially people from east, southern east, and central Anatolia; as well as Syria, Iraq, and Afghanistan. The classroom reflected this diversity, and it involved students with diverse backgrounds, there were Kurdish, Turkish and Syrian students inside. Eight of them were Syrian; however, five of them were attending actively to the school while three of them were not attending. In addition, the socio-economic level of parents was quite low. Mothers were not working, while fathers were working as a janitor or security staff.

The classroom was small; there were five rows and four desks in each row. In each desk, two students were sitting together. Although the school was using another building temporarily, and classrooms were quite small physically; there were a smart board and an air conditioner.

The teacher had 40 years of experience in classroom teaching. She was graduated from an education institute in 1979. Since then, she had been working in schools in different regions. During the pre-interview, her concern to be observed drew my attention. She explained the insufficiency of the textbook and stated that the HRCD lessons were quite boring -even she was bored- due to the insufficiency of the instructional materials. Eight hour in-class observation was made and findings are shared in the following sections.

Teacher Had Difficulties to Teach The HRCD Content. From the beginning to the end of the observation process, I observed similar patterns about teacher's instructional style and could not hear the children's voices. She was dominant and did not let students think or discuss. Besides, she was quite confused, always digressed from the subject which eventually had negative impact on students' comprehending the concepts. She did not have comprehensive knowledge of HRCD content, which affected students learning process negatively in the context of HRCD lessons.

My field notes of the first day observations explicitly showed the reasons of above claims:

It was observed that the questions that asked by the teacher were generally closed-ended and she asked questions to be approved. It was noticed that the aim of the teacher was to pass the subject by getting approval rather than discussing and making the students think. For example, there were pictures of children eating and drinking junk food in the images in the textbook; she tried to have a student approve

the question by asking ‘you are not eating junk foods, do you?’ The child said that he does not eat but he drinks coke, and then the teacher ended the conversation by saying that do not drink from now on, okay, you will not drink. (First observation field note, 01.11.2018)

The first observed lesson was about the relationship between freedom, and responsibilities (HRCD textbook, p. 26). There was a text about a boy who wants a dog but he also needs to take the dog’s responsibility, if he decided to get one. The aim was to make students understand the link between freedom and responsibility. First of all, when the subject of the lesson was taken consideration, the question was out of the subject; however, the teacher saw a picture which reminded her healthy/unhealthy foods and asked an irrelevant question. Further, she also made the student approve herself without creating an environment to discuss by including the whole class. In other words, a teacher might ask an irrelevant question to the discussed subject if s/he thinks that is important to be discussed; but not giving time and space to students to discuss the ‘prioritized’ question would decrease the meaning of the prioritized issue.

The teacher was not well-equipped to make students think and discuss. For instance, some questions that asked during the first observation are shared below:

- Is freedom doing whatever you want, when you want?
- When you are trapped somewhere, is your freedom taken away?
- But do you have the right to play as a child?
- Is it right to go out in the morning and play games until the evening prayer?
You also have responsibilities like doing homework.
- Ali wants to have a dog, but also thinks of his responsibilities. Who should decide?
- If you want to get a dog, should we take the responsibility of the dog, or should it be our parents?
- Although Ali wants to have a dog, to whom he does not trust?

Similar observations were made throughout the whole eight class hours. For instance, I highlighted similar points during the last observation:

The teacher asked students to interpret the illustration about equity and equality (HRCD textbook, p. 48-49) and without leaving them time and space to explore the meaning of the pictures; she asked guiding questions that contained excessive information about the pictures. She usually asks closed-ended questions that direct the students to the correct answers in her mind. Eventually, there is no space left for the students to discuss on the questions. She just follows the textbook quickly, and does not question whether the activity has reached its goal or not, or does not evaluate or conclude the activity. (Fourth observation field note, 22.11.2018)

The below illustration was taken from the HRCED textbook:



Figure 4.37. Illustration from HRCED textbook, p. 48.

The teacher first asked students to interpret the meaning of the above illustration; however, without giving time to think she made some additional explanations such as '*the plate is not proper for the stork, the amounts of soups are equal but the plate is not proper for the stork*'. Thereby, she jumped to the conclusion without any discussion or any interaction between students.

To be more explicit, I summarize the fourth observed lesson. The lesson started with a video. The video supposed to be about the difference between equity and equality which was the topic of the course; however, she showed a video from EBA (Educational Information Network) which was a dramatization of a conflict between Fatih Sultan Mehmet and an architect, they went together to kadi to request a conciliation and decision about their problem. Thus, the video was not about the difference between equity and equality, besides she did not focus on this through the video, she explained the benefits of being ruled by the Republic. Then she jumped to the textbook to discuss some pictures about the concepts of equity and equality. Yet, students were not let to think, interpret or discuss; the explanations were made by the teacher. She opened a page on EBA in which there were questions and answers of the relevant text (on equity and equality) in the textbook. Students were requested to read first the questions then the answers from the web-page. Without concluding the topic, she jumped the other topic on differences, and asked

students to fill the open-ended survey. The survey was about the favorite color, favorite food, favorite movie, favorite song of the students, etc. While students were filling the survey, she requested from a student to sing his favorite song. Meanwhile she searched the Internet to find a slogan about equity and equality. She shared the slogan with the students: *“The state is not governed by religion; the state is governed by justice, equality and respecting human, nature and animal rights.”* Right after, she asked a question about animal rights: *“do you respect animal rights?”* Then, students started to share their responses about their favorite food, song, movie, and others. This was the end of the first class hour.

As can be followed from the above summary, the teacher was quite unequipped; kept jumping from one subject to another; kept asking close-ended questions without creating an environment to discuss; and guided students through the answers in her mind. The teacher was quite incompetent to teach HRCD and there was no alignment between the done tasks during the observed lessons. Similar patterns were observed in every class hour without an exception. This is why; I had no chance to hear the opinions of the students. They mainly stated what expected to be stated, which may affect the development of their independent, and critical thinking skills negatively. For instance, during the six-thinking hats technique, whole class form a response for each hat altogether by the guidance of the teacher. The students were not given time to form their own responses. Besides as I noted down during the second in-class observation; even the teacher let students express themselves, she gave the floor to the same students. In other words, she did not try to involve whole class.

According to the teacher, the activities, visuals and resources were inadequate; and MoNE should prepare additional materials. She emphasized this point almost four times during the interview and unrecorded conversations. That is why she tried to use additional videos and power point presentations; yet the problem was, sometimes the used additional materials were not about the subject of the class. For instance, in the first observed class, she used a power point presentation. Although the subject of the class was the relationship between freedom and responsibility; she opened a power point presentation -the presentation did not belong to her- in the middle of the class hour which included a collection of sayings

about children's rights. To conclude, she was not well-equipped to teach HRCD content. On the other hand, she also indicated that she does not need training about how to teach HRCD course.

Conventional Citizenship was Promoted. The teacher's teaching style was the first element that promoted conventional citizenship. Students were expected to talk how much the teacher wants, or to tell what the teacher wants to hear. A creative, and open environment was not provided for them to think critically, and independently; rather they were expected to accept and memorize teacher's ideas. The limits of the classroom were set as regards to teacher's perspective.

She had similar understandings while doing her duty as the hall monitor. When we first met for the first observation, it was the break time, and she was doing her duty as the hall monitor. She evacuated the whole building and forced students to play in the school yard. Actually, similar practices were observed in three of the observed schools (School X, V, and E). Educators based their practice to the benefits of students' taking fresh air, and their need to play. However, by doing this, they have a claim about knowing the best for students as adults. This understanding contradicts the key understanding of the national curriculum that highlights raising active citizens who have conscious of their rights.

This was not the only element that coincided with conventional citizenship understanding. National symbols were constantly reminded, and the students were invited to feel the national pride. The importance, and value of the Republic and the greatness of Atatürk were highlighted regardless of the subject being taught. For instance, in the middle of the first class hour during the first observation, while the relation between freedom, and responsibility was spoken over a text; the teacher asked a female student to read the poem that she learned by heart. The teacher's aim was to show that memorizing the poem was the student's responsibility and she did. The teacher linked the concept of 'responsibility' to one of the student's responsibility, and an emotional poem about the nation and national history. Or in another example, while talking about freedom of expression, she asked to the students that "*who gave us the freedom of expression, to whom we owe if we can think freely today?*" and students responded all together as "*Atatürk*". Further, the similar questions were asked, and the same answer was given while talking about

the concepts 'equity and equality'. On the other hand, one of the examples was striking to see the place of Atatürk for a child. When students were asked to exemplify the color of 'blue' with a symbol, one of them told that '*it is the color of Atatürk's eyes*'. Thus, Atatürk was materialized and these kinds of materializations may cause a superficial understanding about Atatürk and his perspective on democracy, and rights.

As well as the symbols of national pride, the teacher had a state-centric perspective. She explained the rights as something 'given' by the state, rather than basing them on the universal human rights or as something taken or claimed:

- 1- Teacher X-S1: Every child has the right to education, our state has opened primary and secondary schools, you come here, you use the free desks, and teachers were appointed by the state to public schools...
- 2- Teacher X-S1: Every child has the right to receive health care, have you ever been to a city hospital? Has anyone said stop when you were trying to get in?
Students: No
Teacher X-S1: Because you have the right to health
- 3- Teacher X-S1: Can you use your right to play? The state has built playgrounds.

As seen in the three of the narrations, the state was given the central role to explain the rights. Students were told that they have right to free education, health or play thanks to the state. The state was glorified while individuals were made powerless, which eventually promoted conventional citizenship understanding.

Differences were Explained Over a Limited Number of Factors. The teacher directly used the content in the textbook to discuss about the differences. As it was explained in document analysis, differences were based to individual differences such as physical differences, characteristics, or disability status. In the classroom X1, the content on differences was discussed over the same factors, as well as the Syrian refugees. During the interview, the teacher was asked about the perspective of the textbook on differences, and she indicated that, mainly Syrians were mentioned in the relevant parts of the textbook.

On the other hand, contrary to her previous understanding about the rights, she clearly highlighted refugees' right to education regardless of any condition. Her inclusive perspective was quite distinct, since refugee students seemed accepted and happy in the classroom. The teacher created a classroom environment for them in which they can express their feelings and experiences about being a refugee during

the relevant content. She was sensitive about refugee students. Besides, she was proud of their speaking Turkish fluently and as good as local students.

As a final point, I share only one observation about gender issue in the classroom X1. During the first observation, they were talking about children's right to rest, and the teacher asked the students their spare time activities. Three students were given the floor. The girl stated that she looks after her younger brother, studies and rests; while the boys told that they rest, play, and study. These responses showed two intersected inequalities: first, there are huge gaps between low and high socio-economic status students' spare time activities; secondly, the girl living in low socio-economic conditions is more disadvantaged compared to same status boys. Thus, when low socio-economic status intersects with gender, girls fall into the bottom regarding their rights.

4.3.5. A Kurdish-dense School in a Migration-receiving Neighborhood

The school was located in a Kurdish-dense area of the city. Parents were mainly internal migrants from the Eastern part of Turkey; more specifically, from the cities Siirt, Şırnak, and Hakkari. Even the school counselor stated that she feels like she is working in East Anatolia, not in the Mediterranean region. It was the most crowded school that I visited for the observations, with 1818 students. As reported by the school counselor, there were approximately 100 Syrian students and they were all enrolled in the last five years.

The school had three buildings, one small, one medium and one big. There were only 1st graders in the medium building, while the other grades' classrooms were in the big one; and pre-school classrooms were in the small one. I mainly made the observations in the big building which had three floors. The building was quite colorless both from inside and outside; that was the first observation that I made. Further, it looked old, just like the desks, boards and tables inside; but it was clean. Besides, the school had a big school garden without any facilities inside. In other words, there were three buildings and a very big garden without any facilities. Once, when I went for the in-class observation, it was a rainy day, and a part of the garden was covered with mud. There were not any construction going on, but there were big hollow parts in the garden which narrowed down children's playground.

Parents were generally illiterate and some of the mothers also could not speak Turkish. They were families having more than one child and with very low socio-economic status. 90% of the mothers did not have a steady job and they were mainly housewives; fathers were working in low-paid jobs such as porter, janitor, seasonal worker, or construction worker.

The number of school personnel was also very high. There were four managers including deputy managers, four counselors, and 55 primary school teachers. However, I could not reach any of the managers, some of them were busy, and the others did not volunteer. One of the counselors and three of the teachers were volunteered to participate; and five hour in-class observation was made in one of the teacher's classroom.

“Students Grow Up in a Very Limited Area Physically, and Socio-Culturally”. This observation, about *students' growing up in a very limited area physically, and socio-culturally*, belonged to the teacher E-S3. Once, during one of the social studies classes, she asked students to create their chronological charts by filling it with their life experiences. As she reported, in the Social Studies textbook, there was an example chart of a student including her birthplace, visited cities, first movie experience, first theatre experience, and others. When her students shared their chronological charts, she realized that all of them just write their birth place and the place they live in. They did not visit any cities, any places, did not go to a theatre or cinema, even many of them did not go to the city center which was only five km away to the school neighborhood. Thus, she thought that the textbooks only considered the middle or high socio-economic status children's lives, experiences, and needs. This point is quite related to the Pierre Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital, since Bourdieu (1986) argues that schools represent the culture (such as linguistic structures, knowledge, behavior, dress, habit or codes) of elites thus the social and cultural resources of students determine their school achievement. In other words, a student who has middle class parents will be more prepared to the school process compare to a student who has working class parents. This point is deepened in the discussion chapter.

Besides this, during an unstructured 10-minute conversation with a 3rd grade

teacher¹⁰⁶, he talked about the needs of students to hold on to life. According to him, they need to be encouraged through sports or social activities to be motivated towards life; since they are prone to be dispersed due to their life conditions. He told that they are skilled in football playing or running fast; these skills can be used to motivate them. Otherwise there was no way out for those students to experience something regardless of their circumstances.

“Parents Cause So Many Challenges”. The education process was quite challenging in school E from many aspects. Students were growing up with very inadequate conditions. They were mainly living in one-room houses, and the school also could not offer anything due to its insufficient conditions. As the counselor reported, there were only some individual efforts of very small number of teachers who were trying to create a democratic, and social environment in their classrooms, by considering children’s rights.

On the other hand, according to the counselor, parents did not ease this process; rather they constituted the important part of the problem. To explain her opinions, she mainly talked about parents’ narrow-mindedness. Several times, emphasized that she constantly tries to convince parents about their children’s needs, such as sending them to nursery class before primary education or sending them to a special-ed class when needed. However, parents did not take into consideration her opinions. Besides this, she told that parents are prone to blame teachers when their children could not succeed academically. However, according to her, a child needs to be supported at home to be successful, and parents cannot support their children academically.

Also, if a child is inadequate academically, s/he should definitely be supported at home. Of course, due to economic conditions, s/he may not attend private lessons or go to the study center, but at least the mother can support her/him in some way if she can read and write. But, the mother is also illiterate, so 90% of the mothers are illiterate. Fathers do not care about children in any way. They don’t even see the faces of the children, they leave in the morning, before the sun rises, and come in the evening. So, they cannot provide any support to children about the school. We have a lot of academic difficulties.

¹⁰⁶ I was waiting the teacher E-S3 for the interview in the teachers’ room. The 3rd grade teacher asked some questions about my purpose to be there. After I explained, we talked approximately 10 minutes during the break time.

Contrary to teacher E-S3, the counselor did not mention about inadequate conditions of students, and their disadvantages. She based the problems on parent profile, their lack of education, and narrow mindedness. According to her, they had stereotyped attitudes towards the school, which affect their attitudes towards the teachers. In other words, she based parents' narrow-mindedness to their stereotyped attitudes which stem from parents' ethnic identity.

Kurds feel more excluded and more isolated. As you can guess; they hear from the news, from here and there, a little hearsay, because the literacy rate is also very low, there is a little bit of herd psychology as well. Therefore, there are too many polarizations. Some groups are excluded them [*Kurds*] too much, they too much turn to some groups. So I think it's completely politically oriented actually. You know, of course, people know very well that such discrimination will not be made if they really improve themselves, but it is completely herd psychology and lack of education. I think that the leaders directed people like this. Otherwise, there is no particular discrimination here. There are those who do a lot of Turkish nationalism, there are also those who do a lot of Kurdish nationalism. As such, everyone affects the people in their own clan, of course, and because of this, there is conflict.

She talked about Kurdish parents and their prejudices about being discriminated. According to her, they are not discriminated, they just believe so; because they are lack of education and they act like a 'herd'. Thus, they are believed that they are excluded from the society through hearsay information; eventually, they begin not to trust the teachers. As emphasized by the counselor, parents were attached to their community more than the teachers. She attributed the roots of many problems to parents' stereotypes stemming from their ethnic identity, their lack of education; while positioning herself as 'excluded' in the school.

Researcher: I think there are Syrian students too, right?

E-R1: Yes, we have, for the last 5 years; we have over 100 Syrian students, the population increased in the last 2 years. ... since there is always Kurdish-density, I sometimes feel like I feel excluded, or how can I say, I feel like I cannot respond to their requests or communicate with them. Because we have a lot of language problems, I mean I cannot apply the communication skills we were taught at university.

The language difference was mentioned as a difficulty; however, the biggest problem was considered as parents' closing themselves to communication:

Sometimes they feel excluded, sometimes superior; thus, each parent has a different understanding. But, I have difficulties with the ones even who can speak Turkish. They have some stereotyped ideas; it is not possible to change.

In brief, the counselor used the same concepts to define a main issue.

According to her, parents cause so many challenges due to their stereotyped opinions, and attitudes. These stereotypes become an obstacle for the teachers, which eventually have a negative impact on students' schooling process. And she thought that this is because of their ethnic identity.

Cultural Diversity Based Challenges. The counselor emphasized cultural diversity based challenges several times, and she based the problems to parents' lack of education, narrow-mindedness or stereotyped understanding. Further, she indicated the language difference as the challenge to work in a culturally diverse school setting. On the other hand, the teacher E-S1 also considered their biggest challenge as the language difference with Syrian students; even she did not have any Syrian students:

Teacher E-S1: The biggest problem we faced was the language problem we had with Kurds and our Kurdish citizens before. Because we spoke Turkish, they spoke Kurdish at home. There was a conflict over language. The children could not understand us because they spoke Kurdish at home. Now we overcame it. The new generation knows Turkish.

Researcher: Can the new generation speak Kurdish?

Teacher E-S1: They cannot, since they do not speak at home. When I first came in 2005, I could not communicate with the parents. They were always speaking Kurdish. I was asking a support of friends who spoke Kurdish. Likewise, we cannot communicate with Syrian children now. I think before we should teach Turkish to adults who come here [*the neighborhood*].

She considered Turkish as the main language hierarchically, which was consistent with the official discourse; however, she normalized people's forgetting their mother tongues, or did not feel inadequate for not being able to manage a multilingual classroom as an educator living in a highly diverse country.

A similar understanding was observed in the counselor's and the teacher E-S1's discourses, this time about Kurdish youth's political demonstrations. Only two of them emphasized this point while talking about parent profile. As reported by them, there were political and violent demonstrations in the past, students were apt to throw rocks at the police because of their parents' negative impact. When teacher E-S1 asked to the students the reasons of these violent demonstrations, they responded that they were feeling excluded and discriminated. They were feeling like a second-class citizen.

“Previously Kurdish Students Feel Excluded, Now Syrians”. This point is significant, since in Kurdish-dense schools, teachers often highlighted the conflict between Syrian, and Kurdish students, and their parents. As the teacher S1 reported, since Kurds thought that they have been discriminated and they have been considered as second-class citizens, they used to organize violent protests. After refugees settled in the neighborhood and enrolled in the school, Kurds felt discriminated again, and they started to feel like second-class citizens, this time compared to Syrians.

During the observations, I observed from the testimonies that Kurdish people do not warmly welcome Syrians. And the shared reasons by the participants were; Syrians’ speaking their language freely, their having Syrian teachers, their receiving aids¹⁰⁷ or their being free culturally, compared to them. Therefore, more conflicts were reported from Kurdish-dense schools than Turkish-dense schools regarding refugee students’ existence. The teacher E-S1 agreed with Kurdish people:

Syrians have come, and they make us a second class citizens in our country. This is a real event; a Turkish youth applying for a job advertisement is rejected by the Syrian employer saying that “I do not give a job to a foreigner”. We have to learn lessons from this. How can ‘we’ defined as foreigners in our country? What difficulties did the country overcome during its foundation years? What did Atatürk do?

Her nationalist emotions were sensed from the discourses and rhetorical questions she asked. Besides, she was against Syrians’ receiving aid in front of local students, since local students also need that aid. Actually, she had similar feelings about Kurdish people, since throughout the interviews she mentioned about Kurds being violent, and their being tamed; however currently Syrians were the issue. This point reminded me one teacher’s opinion from School V. He specifically told that *‘our latest trend is Syrians; there is an antipathy against them’*. The teacher E-S1’s perspective was quite coherent with his opinion. The teacher E-S2 viewed this issue from a different standpoint:

For years, in this neighborhood, they were saying that, *‘aren't we the children of this country, why are they treating us as second class citizens’*. Now they are doing

¹⁰⁷ There are several non-governmental organizations that have been financially supporting refugee children to protect their rights. Thus, these organizations such as UNICEF (United Nations Children’s Fund) sometimes support refugee families by providing clothes, bags, stationery equipment etc.

the same against Syrians. In the classroom, there are situations such as not wanting to sit next to Syrians. *'Why did they come, we do not want them, they are illiterate'* we come across sentences like that.

She emphasized the discourses that Kurds used to exclude Syrians, which were once used for them. On the other hand, the third interviewed teacher (E-S3) did not report any conflict in her classroom, yet she stated that she was hearing from other teachers. When I asked the attitude she had to overcome the conflicts between Syrians and Kurds, she explained how much she underlines empathy to develop empathy skills of the students:

One of my students started in the second semester of the first grade. He came from Kobani. I did not have any problems throughout the first grade either. He is already assimilated, in other words he got used to here. I don't know, is it because there are many newcomers or because they have neighbors... I explain to students constantly that everybody is similar, this [*being refugee*] can happen to everybody, it is not something we can control. I talk when things like that happen, and if I can't cope, I request support from the counselor service. We can overcome it [*solve the conflicts*] by talking now, we haven't done anything else. We've talked about empathy a lot. Now they know about empathy from social studies course. When I say 'empathize', they control themselves.

Developing students' empathy skills was presented as a solution to overcome conflicts between students.

"Syrian Students Oppress Not to Be Oppressed". As reported by the counselor, there were groupings among students ethnically; however Syrian students were more organized and more prone to gang up against Kurdish students, in the school. From her perspective, this might be because of being minority, and protecting themselves not to be oppressed:

I'm trying to answer by putting myself in their shoes. Turks in Germany, perhaps may not be that close in Turkey, but is it because they are alone in Germany, or they have the same ethnic identity, they are always together; compared to Germans, they are more united, I feel the same in here. The number of Syrian students is less than our other students. Maybe those students will not come together in Syria. They have very different personalities, characteristics and they have very different understandings of play; but is the due to the fear of being alone here, or the fear of being oppressed, very different children come together just because they have the same ethnic identity. They oppress not to be oppressed. So it's a very different psychology. And the only thing they use to gain the upper hand is violence.

This was a good observation to understand refugee students' psychology which also highlighted by the participants from other schools. In some schools, refugee students gang up against local ones to protect themselves.

“In the Textbooks, Individual and Country-Based Differences Were Mentioned Regarding Diversity”. Consistent with the results of document analysis, interview findings showed that only individual and country-based differences were included in the content on diversity. The teacher E-S2 stated that individual differences, such as physical appearance, were mentioned to explain diversity; as well as country-based differences. Japan or Turkic Republics were given as examples to explain country-based diversity. On the other hand, as she highlighted culture is defined as a national element over ‘national culture’.

The teacher E-S3 indicated the content on Syrians by emphasizing the textbooks’ inclusive perspective towards refugee children. She was asked about the existence of Kurdish children in the textbooks. She did not answer my exact question; rather she explained how children of that region were neglected in the textbooks socio-economically. According to her, the textbooks do not consider low or lower-middle class students’ needs and conditions.

On the other hand, the teacher E-S1 had no idea about the perspective of the HRCD textbook on cultural diversity. She explained that she did not look over the textbook. However, she used several discriminative discourses during the interview that can be followed through the next section.

“We are Losing Our Culture Because of Syrians”. According to teacher E-S1 *“We are losing our culture because of Syrians”*. Besides, she had stereotyped opinions against Syrians. She blamed Syrian students to be so hyperactive, she thought that they are bothering teachers, and other students. Further, according to her Syrians captured ‘our’ country and ‘we’ are losing ‘our’ culture because of them.

When we look at Mezitli¹⁰⁸, I cannot walk freely in my own country. I look at the beach, everywhere is in rubbish. Who did it? Syrians...We have to stop this. I do not say why we accept them. We accept them, because we came from ancestors who do not sleep when their neighbors are hungry...We are losing our culture; we are losing our youth.

I made this interview in-between the in-class observations, and I already realized her nationalist perspective and her prejudices, or stereotypes that she has been reproducing in the classroom. As far as she indicated, she got an in-service

¹⁰⁸ Mezitli is a district in Mersin, in which Syrian population is high.

training on Syrians' education and integration. She thought she started to think mildly after the training.

The teacher E-S2 and the counselor stated their need of in-service training to be able to manage cultural diversity based challenges; while the teacher E-S3 has already taken but could not reap the benefit of the training. She expressed her opinions about the training's being quite superficial and fruitless since the trainers were not qualified, and they did not share something new.

“Citizen Is the One Who Born, Grow Up and Marry in This Land”. The teacher E-S1 set the boundaries of citizenship and as regards to these boundaries, an individual should be born, grow up and marry in this land to be a citizen of this country. She specified these boundaries to segregate Syrians. She did not have an objection to the ones born in here; however, it was not acceptable to acquire citizenship without being born in this country. The counselor made a point which adds an additional factor to be a ‘good’ citizen; not prioritizing ethnic identity:

So I think the identities should be completely erased; I mean, for example, Kurdish, Turkish, or Alevi, Sunni identities should be secondary. I think that people should be treated according to their morals, manners and rules in general or they should be educated accordingly. Here, we experience something like this; “we are Kurds, here we are, we are like this”, they [*parents*] can always highlight themselves with their ethnic identity. I think this should not be shown... All human beings are equal, that such identities are in the second place, what matters most is citizenship regarding the manners, morality, national duties.

The counselor considered citizenship as a supra-identity. According to her, ethnicities should not be prioritized; and she criticized Kurds to prioritize their ethnic identity. This way of thinking is coherent; yet I think this logic is a production of unidimensional thinking. In other words, from her side, there is no problem to object Kurds' prioritizing their ethnic identity; on the other side she neglects the existence of the majority culture and ethnicity and its effects on the boundaries of citizenship, in the country. As a Turk teacher, she does not need to prioritize her ethnic identity, since it is already prioritized in the curriculum and textbooks; on the walls of the building; in the classrooms by the teachers; in brief, by every component of education system. These were invisible for her; however, she was realizing every discourse or acts of Kurds, since she became a ‘minority’ in the borders of the school.

I had very valuable observations in the school E. For instance, in many of the schools, teachers mostly did not use the word ‘Kurds’, if Kurds were in the minority. Interviewees in School E explicitly defined their students as Kurds. While the counselor explained the source of the many challenges through parents’ ethnic identity-grounded stereotypes, the teacher E-S1 was uncomfortable because of Syrians’ existence. Two similar understandings regarding the concept of citizenship, nation or homeland; yet two different focuses were realized. Secondly, Kurds’ feeling uncomfortable about Syrians, and their reproducing the similar discourses, which were used for them previously, was an essential observation.

The other teachers (E-S2 and E-S3) did not use strong discourses as the counselor and teacher E-S1 did. For the teacher E-S3, ‘good’ citizens respect others’ rights, aware of their rights, and protect their homeland through their rights. The teacher E-S2, on the other hand, criticized the citizenship understanding of the curriculum. As she remarked, citizenship is defined over responsibilities such as paying tax, doing military service; however, according to her, it should be based on rights, rather than responsibilities.

Teachers Have Diverse Instructional Perspectives on HRCD Content.

Continuing from the previous paragraph, teachers’ being different from each other, and their having quite diverse opinions, perspectives, or instructional approaches need to be highlighted. Just as they differed in understanding of citizenship or cultural diversity; they had different understandings about the instruction of HRCD. As the counselor reported, some were caring HRCD content, while some others did not. Some only focused on academic achievements of children, while some others prioritized social and psychological development. When the counselor was asked the practices of teachers who cared HRCD content; she indicated that they placed emphasis on special days and celebrations such as April 23 Children’s day, or human rights and democracy week.

I had an observation during the celebration of the Red Crescent week. I was at the school for the in-class observation and went early to be able to observe the ceremony. I share the notes that I have taken after watching the ceremony:

...Five students read poetry to celebrate the Red Crescent week. There were one teacher, one manager, and five students on the rostrum. The teacher announced, and

the children took turns reading their poems. Neither teachers nor other students were interested or listened to what was read. It was like an activity just to be done.

I remember what I observed in that day while watching students and teachers. Their apathy and memorized movements of duty teachers and students, as well as other's not listening their peers; even teachers' not caring about the ceremony made me think about the aim of the special days and celebrations. On the other hand, as observed in another school, the national days are celebrated with more enthusiasm and more preliminary preparation. However, this time, students might get tired and 'used' as objects of the ceremonies. This reminded me, the counselor of school X's emphasis about April 23. Once, they asked the meaning of April 23 to the students, and they realized that students mainly could not explain the importance of the day.

In brief, the counselor indicated that caring about special day celebrations can be an indicator to define a teacher as mindful about raising students with human rights, citizenship, and democracy consciousness. However, as observed, enhancing national pride and promoting national consciousness were targeted through special day celebrations, since the boards and walls were filled with poems, drawings, pictures, or compositions that emphasized the greatness of being a nation. Although observing one celebration and one rehearsal would not be enough to reach a result; by also considering the boards those prepared for the special day celebrations, I can say that special day celebrations I observed were not the tools to promote democratic citizenship or human rights understanding. They mostly become something practiced traditionally.

Further, holding classroom president and school council elections were emphasized as important practices to enhance students' democracy culture, by the counselor. However, she remarked that they were not considered important in school-wide. She exemplified the school council elections which have not been hold in the last few years, since they were seen as drudgery. Thus, school president had been chosen by a council. In other words, she only showed the school council and class president elections as practices to enhance democracy, which were not attached importance by the majority of the teachers and managers.

The counselor cared about promoting living together culture through HRCD. She explicitly underlined the importance of teaching equality regardless of religion, language, race, or denomination to all students. Also, when she was asked her needs about getting training on HRCD content, she agreed on the necessity of training to be aware about rights.

HRCD course was considered important by three of the interviewed teachers. They agreed about students' realizing and learning their rights through the content of the course. For instance, as the teacher E-S2 reported, children learned to be an individual, form sentences which start with 'this is my right...', and at least they took these concepts into their lives. She indicated that the course is enjoyable and useful for children, yet the only problem is students' not being able to understand some rights and concepts such as freedom of religion and conscience. She indicated that freedom of religion was quite far to their world since they were not aware of 'other' religious beliefs' existence; everybody was Muslim in their world.

Teachers E-S2 and E-S3 also mentioned about the abstractness of some concepts that confused students such as justice, equity, conscience, or freedom. Therefore, the teacher E-S3 suggested enriching the textbook and instructional methods by adding activities, visuals, or videos. Teacher E-S2 and E-S3 were adding supplementary exercises for children to make the concepts concrete, such as giving examples directly from students' lives, or using short cases to make children interpret the behaviors and attitudes of characters inside; while the teacher E-S1 liked the textbook and using drama additionally. Further, although their needs were realized to manage HRCD lessons, three of the teachers told that they did not necessarily need in-service training on teaching HRCD.

a) A Classroom in Which Inequalities are Reproduced

There were 25 students in the classroom E1. The majority of the students were Kurdish, with a very small number of Turkish students. There were also Syrian students in the school, however there were not any Syrian children in the classroom. There were two Syrian children in the last academic year, however, one of the

children's family moved to Gaziantep, and the other family was trying to move to Sweden, thus the student did not continue to his education.

The socio-economic status of the parents was very low. Mothers were mainly housewives; they were doing housework and looking after their children. Fathers, on the other hand, were working in low-paid jobs as a stallholder, construction worker, carrier, electrician or taxi driver. Only very few of them were self-employed and owned their own business such as local grocery store and local furniture shop. There was only one father who was a civil servant and working in the post office. Families were mainly extended; and some families lived with their family elders. Since housing conditions were very inadequate, some children had to sleep in the same room with their parents.

As well as housing conditions, the classroom had very limited facilities with a few books in the bookcase and without any technological tools. Although the teacher tried to create a playground, a kitchen and a handcraft corner, the classroom looked quite messy with so many handiworks on the walls, carpets on the bottom of the playground, lots of glasses, cups in one of the corners, pickle jars in the kitchen part, and some stones around for future use in some handcraft projects. Students were not allowed to enter the classroom with their shoes, so they were bringing their slippers every day.

The teacher has 13 years of working experience as a classroom teacher. However, the department she graduated was handcraft teaching which explained the handicrafts on the walls.

Students were sitting in cluster order. There were six clusters, and each had a name (bees, wolfs, dogs, etc.). Cluster's name was written on a paper and put in the middle of the desks; besides each student was wearing a name tag which also specified their cluster. It was written 'do not speak without permission' on the wall above the board.

The classroom was observed five class hours, three hours less than planned since the data was saturated. The teacher was quite unequipped to teach HRCD course. I observed so many stereotyped discourses that reproduced wrong attitudes and opinions. In the middle of the third observation, I decided to stop observation process, since the instructional process did not let me to observe what I needed to.

Still, the findings from classroom E1 constitute an important part of the data. Following sections include the results of five-hour in-class observations that made in the classroom E1.

“All Teachers Should Learn Scouting as Scouts Are Half Soldiers”. The students started each day with gymnastic exercises. Everyday, they were doing the same exercises in the school garden, before going into the classroom. Each day one of the students was charged to be done the exercises. This practice was related to the teacher’s interest in scouting. She was a member of Scouting and Guiding Federation of Turkey; and according to her, every teacher should join the federation:

I want all teachers to get scouting from the federation and become scout teachers. Why, because scouting is half military service. In the scout oath, it says that I will love my homeland, love my nation, respect the elder, dear to the younger, be ethical, be honest, follow the tradition of scouting for my duties towards God and my homeland; and I will keep himself strong, with sound mind, and will do my best to keep myself morally honest. I want all teachers to learn the meaning of scout oath and instill it to children.

She attributed a nationalist meaning to being a scout. On the other hand, there are scout clubs in all over the world and there are international activities of scouts to develop leadership skills or pro-social behaviors of youth. Thus, her vision is not consistent with the international meaning of scouting. On the other hand, her interest to scouting and the meaning she ascribed were consistent with her behaviors and opinions. Her nationalist discourses drew my attention during the interview; besides she was behaving like soldiers to the students. The day starts with gymnastic exercises; however, it was not like an activity to share a moment, or a physical exercise to make students feel more motivated. It was like a part of an order, even the teacher did not share the moment with students. She was doing something else while the students were doing morning exercise. There were strict rules in the classroom and the teacher gave orders to the students whenever there was a task to do. For instance, in the first observation, when we entered the classroom altogether, she realized the messiness of the playground, and gave command to female students to organize the playground corner.

Religious Emphasis During HRCD Course. It was the second month of the academic year, when I started the observations in classroom E1. Though, they had no progress about the content of HRCD. They were still in the first topic of the first unit. The first observed class hour started with the topic on characteristics of human beings. Based on the ability of react (one of the characteristics of human beings) she asked the below questions and this was the first student-teacher interaction on the content of the course:

Teacher E-S1: Who created the animals?

Students: God.

Teacher E-S1: Well, who created the human beings?

Students: God.

Teacher E-S1: Are the animals beaten?

Students: No.

Student A: Because the creature created by God is not beaten.

The above conversation was not relevant to the topic of the class which was ‘the common characteristics of human beings’. She, somehow, might have established a connection with ‘the ability of react’ and ‘beaten animals’; however, from all aspects, the above conversation did not make any sense concerning the topic discussed. Besides, she started with a religious emphasis that caused a digression from the subject. After they talked about common characteristics of human beings such as growing up, breeding, moving, feeding, breathing, and aging, and then the below interaction was observed:

Teacher E-S1: What happens next?

Students: Dying

Teacher E-S1: What is death?

Student A: Death is the order of God.

Teacher E-S1: It is inevitable that, we will all die.

Student B: If we do evil, God send us to the hell.

Teacher E-S1: Where will you go if you will do goodness?

Student C: To the heaven.

Teacher E-S1: So why does evil happen, and everyone kills each other?

Students D: Because the devil is getting inside us.

The teacher approved all the responses, and even continued the religious-based conversation in the above example. Throughout the in-class observations, she continued to giving reference to Islam and Prophet Muhammed:

There are no conditions or limitations to have fundamental rights. All human beings have fundamental rights just because they are human, regardless of any discrimination such as religion, language, race, gender, nationality, etc. (HRCD textbook, p.15). In the time of our Prophet, daughters were buried alive. Why?

Didn't those children have a right? Now, in the mother's womb -for a certain period of time- it is not legal to take even what is in the womb; even that baby has a right. Nobody can take his/her life. She has right to life.

In the above example, she was talking about human rights. After reading a statement from the textbook, she concluded the statement through a religious example to explain 'right to life'. Concluding HRCD content by religious references and examples was not also effective to promote students' critical thinking skills and to raise active individuals who are aware of their rights to claim.

In other respects, the Islam emphasis, and marginalizing the other religions were not consistent with the content of HRCD course, yet it was one of the experiences that students had during the second observation. To exemplified freedom of religion and conscience, she, again, referred to Islam as 'our' religion:

Teacher E-S1: What is our religion?

Students: Islam

Teacher E-S1: Let's say you become Christian; do you have a right to become Muslim? Or you were born as a Muslim right, can you change your religion?

[One of the students told Nihat Hatipoğlu's answer to this question which was it is possible to change religion.]

Teacher E-S1: In your new ID's, no space reserved for religion. Why? Because nobody has to know anyone's religion.

'Our' religion discourse was consistent with the official discourse which defines the citizenship through Islam.

Memorization of the Content Aimed More Than Enhancing Critical Thinking. Teacher E-S1 was quite unequipped to teach HRCD content. For instance, in the middle of first class-hour's observation, after giving so many references to Islam about common characteristics of human beings, students were requested to write the first paragraph of page 13 to their notebooks. She asked early finishers to tidy up and clean the classroom. Asking students to write the texts in the textbook, or underline some of the statements were some techniques she used during HRCD course. On the other hand, I have not observed any discussion throughout five class-hours. The impact of this instructional style could be observed from the students' responses; they could not think critically or independently, they were given memorized responses to their teacher's close-ended questions. These observations supported me to understand diverse characteristics of students

depending on the instructional understanding and style of the teachers; which eventually influence students' opinions, attitudes, and behaviors, as citizens.

“Once, Your Older Brothers and Sisters Threw Stone at Police”. The statement, *“Once, your older brothers and sisters threw stone at police”* belonged to the teacher, by which she blamed all students and their families for being violent against the state:

Teacher E-S1: Your older brothers-sisters used to throw stone to the police. The police were giving balls, they were giving balloons, they were ordering dinner; and then your brothers-sisters were going home, I do not know whether the parents emboldened but they were stoning the police again. Who is responsible from us until the age of 18?

Students: Our parents.

She was explaining ‘who is child?’ and the differences between a child and an adult regarding responsibilities as regards to page 18 of the HRCD textbook. By digressing from the subject, she started to criticize students' own parents to raise rebellious children against the state. Since they were Kurdish, they were coded as rebellions by the teacher, and this stereotype was reproduced in a Kurdish-dense classroom. This part of the study (ethnography) aims to analyze the lived experiences of students and educators; as I observed classroom E1, I saw the teacher's unacceptance and blaming of Kurdish people due to their ethnic identity, while talking about human rights regardless of any discrimination.

Furthermore, on the same day while discussing about children rights, a student wanted to talk about an incident that he experienced while working in summer. The teacher interrupted him, and reminded one of the children rights about right not to work. To connect this with the students' parents, she stated that *“your parents are obliged to look after to you. They should not make that much babies if they cannot look after”*. After criticizing the parents, she asked some of the students the number of siblings they had. She directly set a boundary between her and the students' families which reminded ‘others’ vs ‘us’ concepts. She thought that she had a right to tell whatever she wanted about students' parents. She also blamed parents while talking about children's rights without mentioning anything about the state's responsibilities, in a school in which equal conditions were not created for the students compared to a ‘richer’ neighborhood.

“Rich Countries Can Help Africa for African Students’ Rights”. I observed so many inequalities throughout the observation process since I visited schools with different socio-economic levels. From the beginning to the end, it was clearly observed that students in the School E lack conditions or facilities to support children’s development from many aspects. For instance, as three of the interviewees mentioned, girls’ drop out after primary school and early marriage among girls was prevalent. However, the teacher E-S1 preferred to explain rights to life, education, nutrition, housing, and free development over African children:

Teacher E-S1: What rights do children in Africa have?

Students’ responses: Education, housing, nutrition, free development, life

Teacher E-S1: We help as a country, but there are much richer countries and they can help.

By neglecting all the inequalities that her students’ had, or children in Turkey had, she based the existence of universal human rights on the aid of rich countries.

“In the child protection institution, they beat me with a hose, where you slap the rose grows”. The statement, *“In the child protection institution, they beat me with a hose, where you slap the rose grows”*, belonged to the teacher E-S1’s one of the previous students. She narrated this statement to explain right to protection from violence which is one of the children’s rights:

Teacher E-S1: Is there anybody who is beaten by her/his parents? (*After waited a while, she softly slapped a student from his face*) Is this violence?

Students: It is a slap.

Teacher E-S1: Well, if I beat Ali (*Ali was one of the students*) with a wooden stick?

Students: This would be violence.

After this conversation, by narrating one of her previous student’s statement, she made a distinction between slapping and beating with a wooden stick or hose. As she told, one day she slapped a student, and he stated that *“teacher, in the child protection institution they beat me with a hose, where you slap the rose grows”*.

Slapping was not seen as violence by the students which showed their perception towards violence and their normalization of violent behaviors. Besides, the teacher normalized her violent behavior by making a distinction between a slap and beaten by a wooden stick or hose

While continuing the topic of right to protection from violence, the teacher gave another example:

Teacher E-S1: her husband beats your sister, she called you, and what do you do?
[here, she specified the severity of the violence, not just a slap, he beats with hose,
or skewer.]

Student A: I call police.

Student B: We can solve it among ourselves

The teacher, again, opened up a subject that reproduced gender inequality, and caused normalization of violence against women. Besides, making a distinction between a slap and beating with a hose and skewer, and soften slapping, might give a wrong message to the children, especially while talking about right to protection from violence. In addition, the teacher's not reacting when the student told that "*we can solve it among ourselves*"; she, to some extent, approved the response by staying silent.

As a final point, this was not the only example about the teacher's reproducing traditional gender roles in or outside the classroom. During the interview, when explaining why she does not accept Syrians existence, she told that Syrian women visit their neighbors after 5 pm, which is the time period that a woman should be at home, cook dinner, and wait for her husband. On the other hand, during the same interview, she criticized her students' parents' about setting bad examples and being negative role models to their children concerning gender equality. She stated that fathers' do not cook, and mothers' do not work in general which causes the reproduction of traditional gender roles among her students.

4.3.6. A School Located in a Neighborhood Defined as "Stepping stone" for the Immigrants

School H was one of the low socio-economic level schools, located in Akdeniz district of the city. The number of students in the school was 1100. The majority of the students were Kurdish; additionally, there were a limited number of Turkish, local Arabic, and Syrian students. The socio-economic level of the parents was considered as a challenge by the school counselor. Parents' being 'uneducated' and 'poor' brought so many challenges that needed to be overcome.

The neighborhood was one of the in-migration areas in the city. One of the interviewed teachers (H-S2) defined the area as a 'stepping-stone'. Migrated people first come to this area since it is more possible to find affordable houses. And once

established an orderly life; they move relatively better parts of the city. As she claimed, their student profile has been gradually decreased regarding socio-economic status of the parents. However, she found themselves ‘lucky’ due to the low number of the refugee population.

When I compared the school conditions, and socio-economic level of the parents, the School H had better conditions from many aspects compared to the School E. Their students’ profiles were similar, yet students had better conditions physically and socially in the School H.

I interviewed with two teachers, one manager (one of the deputy managers) and one counselor; as well as the five hour in-class observation. The summary of the findings is shared in the following sections.

“Domestic Violence Is Our One of the Important Problems”

“...some of the mothers come with a tone of problems they accumulated. They need to express themselves, their problems. Later, they even talk about the specific problems they had with their husbands. The main problems are violence; let me say that there are many women like this.”

These were the school counselor’s words. She indicated the domestic violence that had negative impact on the students. This emphasis reminded me the percentage of the divorced parents (21.4%) in the observed classroom (H1). The manager highlighted the same point. Parents’, sometimes, act impulsively and use violence to solve the ‘problems’:

Lately, there are such kind of problems... there is a problem that two children experience among themselves, the class teacher does not even know about it; one of the student tells it to her/his parents, what do the parent do? They even do not come to the school, they find the family of the other child before they come to school, some even find their home, and threaten them.

To put it another way, both the manager and the counselor thought that witnessing violence in their families causes violent behaviors among students regardless gender. Even, the plays of the students could be violent. On the other hand, as the manager remarked, cultural differences cause the growth of these kinds of problems between parents. She referred to ‘Syrians’ while talking about cultural differences; and according to her experiences, if a Syrian and a Kurdish or Turkish student got into a fight, the problem between their parents gets bigger compared to

the problem between two Kurdish parents. This point brings us to the challenges regarding cultural diversity.

“They Come to Our Home, They Benefit from Us”

There are also conflicts with Syrian students; but I consider them [Syrians] as children and as human beings. Unfortunately, [local] children can be cruel sometimes; they don't look at things like we do. There are those who accept and those who do not; I think that these are caused by adults; they think that they [Syrians] came to our home and they benefit from us, of course they will (H-Y1).

As the manager (H-Y1) indicated, some local parents thought that Syrians come to ‘our home’ (homeland), and they benefit from our resources. She highlighted the prejudices of parents against refugees. On the other hand, at one point of the interview, she exemplified her eight-year-old daughter’s prejudices against Syrians:

Syrians are given aid; local students think that ‘*why we are not provided, why the state is helping them...*’ In the simplest of all, my daughter thinks like that, while I defend refugee people, and say that ‘*no, my daughter, they are our siblings, and we could have experienced such a thing*’. The child [my daughter] is probably impressed by her peers. Even she states for example ‘*dirty Syrians, why did they come*’.

She was not the only interviewee who made this point about parents’ negative impact on their children regarding Syrians’ existence. The teacher H-S1 and the counselor (H-R1) also stated this point, which eventually affected local students’ attitudes against their refugee peers:

Frankly, if we talk about Syrian students in particular, there are many factors affecting the behavior of [local] children in the classroom and the attitude towards them. The first is about parents’ attitudes because it is a topic that is always on the agenda politically. The perspective of the parents and their opinions on refugees directly affects [local] children’s approach. This is the first factor and it is one of the most fundamental factors (H-R1).

The counselor listed many factors that affect local students’ attitudes and behaviors against Syrian children, yet the most influential factor was defined as the prejudices of parents and their reflection on the students. She also indicated the prejudices and negative attitudes of some teachers, and the general attitude of the school management. Although she did not report any overt discrimination, she told that the political processes concerning this issue sometimes affect the approach of the school management and some of the teachers’ attitudes. According to her, even

though these prejudices-based attitudes were not observed directly, local students might sense them in the classrooms.

I came across some stereotyped opinions of the manager such as “*Syrians being self-indulgent and their smoking their water pipe’s freely in the sea coast*”.¹⁰⁹ She compared Syrians and Turks, and tried to explain that they still can smoke pipe or be self-indulgent after experienced a war. She referred their being so ‘comfortable’ in ‘our’ country while there has been a ‘war’ in ‘their’ country.

Not only about Syrians, the manager shared some stereotyped opinions about Kurdish people. In the beginning of the interview, the manager highlighted her husband’s being Kurd and Alevist; and their having problems in the past as regards to cultural differences. By mentioning about her husband’s ethnic and religious identity, she emphasized her being open-minded towards different cultures, and defined the conditions of the Kurdish families living in the neighborhood.

The state really does whatever can be done. They came from East. The environmental conditions of the school here are bad. The people from the East have left their lives... they could not carry their previous life here, they could not adapt to the life here. When I observe, their economic situation is very bad, they are working as agricultural laborer, or we have students who have to work.

This narration explains the financial challenges of immigrants which negatively influences the schooling of the Kurdish students that living in the neighborhood. Nevertheless, her being distant to Kurds, setting a boundary between ‘them’ and ‘herself’, and blaming them about being violent were distinct in her further statements:

...But, for example, when the state supports them, when the state makes paving stones in their neighborhood, the children break the stones. When you think logically, that is your neighborhood and that is your street, it would be more beautiful, you would have better conditions, but unfortunately it is due to the grown-ups...

According to her, the state supports Kurds, while they are destroying what have been done. Besides, they could not adapt to city life. The manager also criticized Kurds about begging for financial help; she told that they beg for help

¹⁰⁹ Normally, smoking wibe cannot be a stereotyped opinion since it may define a domestic custom. However, the manager’s tone made me consider this as a stereotyped opinion since I have been hearing such discourses with similar tones from many people living in Mersin who use such statements to define their uncomfortableness.

while women were wearing gold wristbands and men were smoking Marlboro. Her generalizations about Kurds were apparent. She had certain stereotyped opinions about Kurds, and reproduced them constantly. On the other hand, the data from this interview is important to analyze the discriminative perspectives of an educator. Therefore, this point is deepened in discussion chapter over the needs of teacher education programs.

Challenges of Refugee Children. Other than conflict, and some discriminative discourses that reproduced sometimes by parents, or students, teachers or managers; language difference of Syrian children was highlighted as a challenge they experienced. As the counselor reported, if the child starts the school from the first grade without losing a year, there is not any problem. However, if the child starts from 2nd, 3rd or 4th grade by also losing a year, two difficulties experienced by the child: First, s/he could not learn Turkish rapidly, since the teacher cannot separate enough time; second, because of being older than the rest of the class, s/he might feel bad psychologically which eventually affects his/her motivation to continue.

Some practices were mentioned to overcome the challenges that affect refugee students' schooling process. For instance, the counselor reported that she meets with all refugee students in the first weeks of each academic year, to understand their conditions and needs, as well as to introduce refugee students each other not to feel alone. In one respect, she created an environment to orient and to support the adaptation process of refugee students; and to assess their needs. She further added, in case of conflicts, the conflicted cohorts (either students or parents) are called to individual or group counseling sessions to resolve the conflict; or the teacher is guided to solve the conflict.

“The Curriculum Grounded Differences to Country-Based Differences”. The teacher H-S2 claimed that cultural differences were depended on the country-based differences such as differences between Japan and Turkish or Indian culture. This claim was consistent with the findings of the document analysis. On the other hand, she found the content on cultural diversity quite insufficient:

It is not enough; I can even say that it is very, very incomplete. Are they all represented at the same level? 70-80% of our school is Kurdish students. There is no content on their culture. Also, not everyone coming from Eastern Anatolia is Kurdish, there are also local Arabs.

According to her, every cultural or ethnic component living in the country should be represented in the textbooks; the students should find themselves in the curriculum. Besides, the counselor's statements showed that the curriculum in practice also neglects some ethnicities or cultures. When she was asked about cultural diversity she directly started to talk about Syrian students; and while giving examples about how 'local' students got closer to their refugee peers, she used the similar content such as differences on food culture, education system, their country's characteristics, and others. Being culturally different reminded the refugee people to many of the participants.

When the interviewees were asked about their need of an in-service training on working in culturally diverse schools; they gave diverse responses. The teacher H-S1 liked the idea; while the teacher H-S2 stated that she does not need since she is interested in this content, and she self-improved herself. The counselor got 8-day training, yet it was still insufficient regarding the content. Finally, the manager specified her experiences and how she learned by doing throughout the years that she worked in culturally diverse schools.

“In Our Country Kurdish, Laz, Circassian, Everyone Lives Together”

Researcher: How the citizenship defined in the curriculum?

Teacher H-S2: Let's stick to the content of the textbook, since my opinions are different. Everybody, who is patriot, loves his/her flag, or pays taxes, is inside the definition of citizenship. Yet, my perspective is different.

Researcher: How you define citizenship?

Teacher H-S2: First of all, in our country, Kurdish, Laz, Circassian, everyone lives together. It bothers me that the love of homeland is under someone's monopoly. When the argument reaches that point, I get uncomfortable and become more Turkish than anyone else. However, I am not a Turkish nationalist. I look more universal. This is how I feel as a person of Kurdish and Alevi origin. To the outside, yes, I am Turkish, but I never deny anything [*my ethnic origin*]. Maybe we have the definition on paper as well, but to what extent it is applicable, that is doubtful.

These were a Kurdish and Alevist teacher's statements. First she told the definition of the textbook, and then by emphasizing her origins she criticized the citizenship understanding of the curriculum. She was uncomfortable about

patriotism's attributed to being Turk. She had a wide 'Turkish' definition and she did not hesitate to define herself as Turkish without denying her ethnic origin. She also claimed that on paper, everyone lives in this land is defined as Turkish citizen, however citizenship has a narrower definition in practice, since she sometimes felt excluded about being Kurdish and Alevist.

When I analyzed the manager's and the teacher H-S2's opinions together, I realized their thoughts being consistent to each other. The manager set the boundaries of 'us' by excluding Kurds, even by criminalizing the ones in the schools she worked; while the Kurdish teacher (H-S2) were explaining how she felt herself excluded and be defined as someone who does not love her homeland as much as Turks. These people were working in the same school which had a Kurdish-dense population. On the other hand, according to the manager students' grow up without learning their culture, their ancestors:

I think we do not fully describe our culture. Our history is completely closed, I think our history should come in sight, these children should know from what kind of ancestors they came from, and act accordingly. When I look at the past, 13-14-year-old children, such the conqueror Sultan Mehmet took responsibility, like all sultans, present children are not like that.

The manager referred to Ottoman Empire to describe 'our' culture, and she referred to Ottoman sultans as 'ancestors'. On the other hand, throughout the data collection process, it was observed that some educators referred to National Struggle, and the Republic as the history and national struggle heroes as the ancestors. A tension was observed between two historical periods and ancestors of two different eras. By addressing to Ottoman Empire to remind the origins, she was explaining characteristics of 'good' citizens, who need to role model their ancestors about being responsible.

Besides these points, the manager also highlighted the importance of character development more than academic success of the students. In other words, she thought that teachers have to care about academic success due to the competitive nature of the education system. However, students' character development needs to be considered first. The counselor highlighted the same point, yet she believed that it was considered by the teachers:

At first, when we talk to teachers, the principal and management in general, what the school wants is not academic success. The part that comes before is about

personality. Children, who are tied to their country, respectful of their elders, beloved towards their little ones, behave very well, and can take correct approaches to behavior, are targeted. So behavior is much more important, I think our teachers focus more on it.

There was a discrepancy between the counselor's and the manager's claims. In addition, a 'good' citizen was defined through patriotism, being aware of rights and responsibilities, and respecting others' rights by the teacher H-S1. A common emphasis was observed during the analysis. Being patriot and loyal to the country were seen as important characteristics of all interviewees. However, the Kurdish teacher had criticism as she thought that this is under someone's monopoly while people living all together from different ethnicities.

“HRCD Course Is Important for The Development of the Children”. All the interviewees indicated that the content of the HRCD course is important to promote the character development of the children; yet they had diverse perspectives. For instance, according to the manager students should learn to be respectful to the elders and to love the little ones. She criticized today's perception about raising self-confident individuals. She remarked that yelling to elders is perceived as self-confidence; however, children can be self-confident and respectful at the same time.

The counselor focused on a different point; students should learn their rights and responsibilities through the content of HRCD course. She specifically stated that these rights and responsibilities should be related to their lives, and their needs. In other words, she emphasized that the content should be taught by considering their conditions. This point was confirmed by the teacher H-S2. She told that when the content is exemplified according to the students' daily lives, they become more interested in to the discussed subject. Although the teacher H-S2 liked and considered the HRCD course as important to have; she criticized the textbook as being distant to the daily lives of students. She thought that the concepts remain abstract for the students when she only used the textbook. She further mentioned about the difficulty of transforming knowledge into behavior. She exemplified this with an example about 'littering'; the students know the wrongness of littering, yet they continue to litter during the breaks. Or they are taught to listen respectfully while someone speaks; yet, they still interrupt their friends.

The teacher H-S1 also cared about the HRCD content by highlighting the difficulty of behavior development. She also emphasized a similar point with the teacher H-S2; students could memorize the content of HRCD course in cognitive level without practicing many of them in their daily lives. For instance, once the school principle went to the classroom H1, and while talking with the students, he asked the meaning of ‘empathy’. As the teacher H-S1 claimed, they all correctly defined ‘empathy’; however, they have continued not showing empathy to their peers during the breaks.

Diverse reasons were voiced by the interviewees about the failure to transform knowledge into behaviors. The counselor and teacher H-S2 emphasized parents’ being unsupportive. They claimed that it is not possible to develop students’ behaviors without parents’ promoting similar points in the house. Thus, parent trainings were suggested.

Secondly, the textbook’s being insufficient was remarked by the teachers. They had to prepare additional activities to concretize the concepts and to link them with the students’ daily lives. The manager, on the other hand, criticized the majority of the teachers for not caring the HRCD course due to students’ age level. She told that there were teachers who cared; yet the majority did not, since they thought that the concepts were heavy for students’ age level.

When the interviewees were asked about their need of an in-service training to develop their knowledge and skills on HRCD education; the teacher H-S2 and the counselor stated that they did not necessarily need in-service training, they found themselves sufficient to support students in this respect. On the other hand, the teacher H-S1 and the manager indicated that, it would be good to get in-service training to improve themselves about handling the process regarding HRCD more effectively.

“Nothing Can Be Done to Enhance Human Rights and Democracy by The Management Because of Heavy Workload”. During the interviews, I asked the participants the school-wide practices that applied to enhance human rights and democracy culture. In the School H, this was considered as the task of teachers and counselors due to the work load of the management:

H-Y1: ...we do not attend classes; we see the students in the queue in the mornings and while they are leaving from the school... We talk with the parents, if something special happens; the counselor also talks. And as the administration, we are out of the process. Because our responsibilities are too many, too much is being requested from us. This responsibility [*enhancing democracy and human rights culture*] is actually on the shoulders of counselors and classroom teachers in general.

Researcher: Did I understand it correctly, as the workload of the administration is too much, developing a culture of human rights and democracy stays in the backstage for you?

H-Y1: Yes...

Without creating a culture starting from the management, it might not be possible to create a democratic school culture. However, during the data collection process, I clearly observed that managers mostly were prone to see themselves only as managers who do the paperwork, manage the personnel or handle the parents when needed. Except one (the School V's manager), I did not come across a manager who defined their job as being an educator as well as a manager. And, according to H-Y1, this was because of the heavy workload that the management had.

“The Management Asked Me to Hold School Council Elections”. When the counselor was asked about practices to enhance democracy and human rights culture, she told that there are school council elections. And she was the one who was tasked with these elections by the management. She explained the last experienced process explicitly, and some points were taken my attention. First, they did classroom representative elections, then the most successful and self-confident students among the classroom representatives became candidates for school presidency. After elections, the school president visited the school principal through the guidance of the counselor, and the below points were discussed with the school president and school principal:

After the election, we also visit the principal. Our president of the school council said I will have demands from you which I have to fulfill. He said I had promises; I have to do them. The manager said okay, we will discuss; first prepare a report. The child liked it very much ... We will visit the principal again together. If the school council is carried out very actively in schools, it is actually an activity that enables children to internalize democracy.

As far as the counselor narrated, the style of communication between the school president and the principal was quite official. The discourses such as ‘pledge,

promises' or 'demands' were used to describe the communication between the school president and the school manager. I further asked the candidates' 'pledges', their promises to be the school president; since I remembered the pledges in school L which were 'a swimming pool in the school garden' or 'giving chocolate to every student'. The counselor listed the pledges which were; doing a contest to select the cleanest classroom with a nice award; colorful drawings in the school walls and in the corridors; colorful drawings on the floors and stairs such as some cartoon characters; some social activities such as graduation ball; or every week, discounts on one product in the canteen. Besides, as she reported some of the candidates got support from the teachers while determining their pledges:

For example, one of the candidates promised 'a hello summer party'. On the one hand, this candidate did not prepare his/her speech, and the teacher was trying to help, at that time I went to the classroom, they said what we can write...As an average idea, I said 'hello summer party', they wrote that too.

The pledges were more realistic in the School H, compared to the School L; still basing the school council elections to the 'pledges' or 'propaganda speeches' and the adult effect during this process were some findings that emerged from the analysis.

In addition to the school council elections, the counselor mentioned about 'the suggestion box' to exemplify practices to enhance democracy. According to her suggestion box is an important practice to take students opinions, suggestions and to give them a floor to speak up.

a) An Unequipped Teacher's Classroom in Terms of Teaching HRCD

The neighborhood of the School H was mainly comprised of Kurdish, Turkish and Syrian population, and the classroom population projected the diversity. The majority of the students were Kurdish; however, there were Turkish students, as well as one Syrian student. The classroom size was 28, with 14 female and 14 male students. However, the teacher emphasized the constant changing of classroom size, which might show the high rates in the flow of migration.

Parents' education and economic levels were generally low. The vast majority finished elementary school and did not continue their education. 21.4% of

the families were broken, and most of the mothers were working as cleaner, thus they did not have a steady job. Fathers were also working in low-paid jobs.

The teacher had 29-year experience in classroom teaching, and she was graduated from faculty of education, primary school teaching department. She was quite excited to be observed. As far as understood from her explanations, she was not happy about the academic level and behaviors of the students. Thus, she needed to explain the general profile of the classroom before I started to observe.

The classroom was clean and organized with three rows of desks, five desks in each row, a teacher desk, a board, and a bookshelf with limited number of books. I could not finish eight-hour observation in this classroom; I made only five class-hour observation. The teacher could not manage the classroom effectively. This hindered the instructional process; eventually, observing classroom H1 became ineffective as regards to the aim of the study; in other words, the data saturated quite rapidly. Now, I share the collected data from classroom H1 in the below paragraphs.

Teacher could not manage the instructional process of HRC D course.

During each observed class-hour, the students easily lost their attention, and the teacher gave up managing the process after a while. The teacher was constantly warning the students, while they were not listening. The content could not be discussed or concluded in each observed class-hour. The classroom was always noisy but the noisiness was not due to constructive discussions, the majority of the students were doing something else.

The teacher tried to follow the textbook. For instance, she applied six-thinking hats technique which was on the textbook about a text on the relationship between freedom and responsibility (p. 26). She prepared all the materials and resources before the lesson such six colorful hats. However, she could not apply the technique effectively. She asked to six volunteered students to produce ideas regarding the color of their hats. Students' responses caused a digression from the subject; and the teacher did not guide students to focus on the topic. She gave additional cases to apply six thinking hats such as '*your friends pencil was lost; s/he is sad*'. However, the additional example was not a relevant case to apply six-

thinking hats¹¹⁰, since there was not a need for a decision. Besides, the activity was ended without a conclusion. There was one more point that attracted my attention; the teacher could not fill the class hour. As she could not start and continue a discussion, all the activities ended rapidly; and she asked students to fill the exercises in the textbook during the class hour.

In brief, the teacher's skills were insufficient to manage the instructional process and teach the HRC content. This showed the necessity of in-service training to support teachers about improving their knowledge and skills to be able to teach HRC.

In addition to the above findings, two points were taken my attention during the observation of classroom H1. When I analyze my observation notes, I realized that singing songs about Atatürk was the only activity that the students could do synchronizedly through the request of the teacher. While talking about human rights, the below dialog was noted:

Teacher H-S1: How did we get our human rights and freedoms?

Students: Ataturk brought us in.

Teacher H-S1: What are these rights?

Students' responses: Right to liberty, right to vote

Teacher H-S1: What about the right to think?

After this brief question-answer process, the teacher asked some students to go in front of the board and guide their friends to sing songs about Atatürk. They sang 'Yaşa Mustafa Kemal Paşa' and 'Atam sen rahat uyu.' This observation showed that they actually could do a common activity altogether without losing their attention, since they all participated.

The second important point that needs to be highlighted was about traditional gender roles and their reproduction in the classroom. In the first observation, while comparing children and adult responsibilities, some of the students indicated that mothers do housework, or fathers go to work; or some female students remarked that they help their mother for housework. The teacher did not start a discussion to discuss gender roles. Since discourses on gender were quite apparent in many of the

¹¹⁰ The aim of the six thinking hats technique is supporting students' decision-making process to make thorough decisions by thinking pros, and cons from different angles.

observed classrooms and conducted interviews; I decided to cluster the discourses on gender under a theme.

4.3.7. The Most Common Discourse in Six Schools: Girls are More Responsible, Successful, and Easy-going Compared to Boys

I decided to cluster the discourses on girls' being more successful, easy-going and responsible; as the same discourse was manifested itself in every school I visited during ethnography. To recall, similar discourses was found from the survey findings.

The participants, without any exception, defined girls more responsible than boys. They indicated that when girls are given responsibility, they do whatever they are asked for to do; while boys say they forget or do not care taking responsibility. Besides, some teachers further added that girls' listening abilities are improved compared to boys they can focus on the lesson; yet boys are prone to be more active even during the lessons.

Although all of them agreed girls' being more responsible, I could not hear critical perspectives that explain the possible reasons of this observation except some critical analysis from a few of the participants, such as teacher V-S1:

Well, now it starts in the family, how boys and girls are involved in the education process. According to the patriarchal structure, the boys should actually suppose to be dominant, always the ones who have to manage. Girls should be responsible, that is, responsible for what; such as housework; such perception is so dominant right now. I have a girl, what? She helps me and so on. But how is it at school? Its reflections are clearer. Male students are far from responsibility consciousness. Girls have more responsibilities because they think they should be.

As he argued, the reason of girls' being more responsible is due to the impact of gender on traditional childrearing. Girls and boys are behaved differently in the family, since parents have different expectations from children regarding gender such as, expecting more responsibility from girls, while giving more space to boys to act freely. Similarly, teacher L-S1 stated that girls' being more responsible is probably due to their mothers' giving them responsibilities at home, according to him, that is why girls are doing their homework more responsibly.

Not only being irresponsible, boys were also defined as 'spoiled' by some of the participants. The counselor E-R1 was found girls as successful, hardworking,

trustable, motivated, and responsible compared to boys; and she defined boys as spoiled. She also thought that these differences were because of traditional upbringing style. Parents were prone to tolerate boys, and girls had to be more responsible about everything.

In a similar manner, the negative impact of the traditional upbringing style was highlighted by the manager (H-Y1) as the reason of boys' being spoiled. The teacher H-S2 gave an example which shows the possible impact of parents' understanding on the students' gender perception:

Let me give an example, a child was arguing with his friend, he said which I dislike the most, "*You even cannot be a wife*" I was shocked. He was a successful student that I did not expect at all. I directly thought that how his father treated his mother at home and what he saw from him. He was a student with exemplary behavior. He despised the woman's place so much ... I was very sad, affected. It was something I didn't expect. [*Make the analysis*] Analyze according to this [*example*], what is the place of men and women, in this neighborhood.

She indicated through the example that children learn and internalize traditional gender roles in their families. Women are seen like second class human beings.

On the other hand, according to the counselor E-R1, teachers are also prone to reproduce the gender roles at school:

Many of the qualities that a teacher wants to see in a student such as good manners and ethics are present in female students. Since they present in female students, any responsibility for school or class is automatically given to female students.

Thus, girls are expected to behave responsibly not only at home. Some of the educators at school or in classroom promote and reproduce their being responsible by giving the tasks, such as reading poem during a ceremony or cleaning the classroom, to girls rather than boys.

During the observation process, once, I was in the school corridor (in school V) when students were in the break, and a group of boys were running fast in the corridor, meanwhile a group of girl were trying to go to their classrooms. The hall monitor (a woman teacher) warned the girls to wait till the running group of boys were passing through the corridor; this made me think that the boys' being energetic is internalized and tolerated, while girls need to keep pace with these roles, and learn to be compatible. In the same day, I noted a second related observation:

During the school V's observation, another point was attracted my attention. There

was a dominance of boys in the school building. The school garden was almost like a playground of boys. Boys moved by running all together, and in this way, there was a dominance of boys in the corridors as well (October 26, 2018).

Girls were defined as more responsible and easy-going since they are taught to be and they were motivated to be, and the traditional gender roles are prone to be reproduced at schools. For instance, a teacher defined her classroom as ‘exhausting’ due to male students’ population since according to her, the number of female and male students in a classroom determines the classroom climate. She has 23 male and 10 female students in her classroom:

I have a lot of male students. They are very irresponsible. I am generalizing, of course, but half of them are irresponsible. Three out of four girls are responsible. Only one of the 10 girls is not responsible, except her, they are backbone of the class ... If the number of girls in a classroom is high, the teacher is actually comfortable. Since I have a large number of male students, there are [*bad*] incidents.

Being more energetic, active or problematic were some other adjectives to define boys’ behaviors at schools. Since girls were defined as more responsible and easy-going, they were also defined as more successful compare the boys. However, the explanations of the participants about girls’ being more successful changed in terms of the socio-economic level of the neighborhood that the school located in. For instance, according to the teacher AC-S1, parents’ being educated and mothers’ having a job affects parents’ understanding, that is why the parents were supportive about their daughters’ education which eventually positively affects girls’ self-confidence to succeed. Therefore, in the school AC, parents’ being conscious about girls’ education in connection with their socio-economic level was seen a reason of girls’ academic success.

On the other hand, in the school H which is located in low in-come and migration-receiving region, the counselor stated that mothers wants their girls’ receiving a good education since they want an independent and better life for their daughters. Mothers wanted their daughters to finish their education since their not working causes challenges such as being dependent economically and being exposed to domestic violence.

Thus, these two examples manifested that explaining girls’ education over parents’ education level could only scratch the surface of the issue, the analysis need to be deepened. On the other hand, the participants from school E shared some

cultural and social factors that cause girls' dropout in time. For instance, the teacher E-S2 shared her observation about a decline in girls' sedulity in time:

We can say that girls are more hard-working; but as they get older, we see a decline in their sedulity as they give up hope [*of being educated*]. As far as I have followed, when they move into secondary school, the moment they realize that they are not going to continue their education, a setback begins. During primary school, that difference is not much. As long as girls and boys know his responsibility, they can be at the same level.

As far as understood from the statements of the teacher, girls do not have a hope about continuing their education in school E, and although it is not felt in primary school too much, they stop to make effort in secondary education. The gap between girls' and boys' academic life increases as they get older. Besides this, as reported by the counselor (E-R1) early marriage is quite prevalent among girls; and there are not so many female students who finish 8th grade. The counselor's statement confirmed the teacher E-S2's claims about girls' being hopeless about their schooling process in time.

The counselor remarked that girls also do not want to continue their education after primary school, since they start dreaming of marriage in primary school:

They start dreaming of marriage in primary school. We have parents who oppose, but we also have parents who are very supportive. Some parents take their children by saying "Well, teacher, what will she do even she continue her education?" For example, I ran into a former student in the past weeks. I asked that, don't you have to be in middle school right now? She said "I will not go to school, it is unnecessary, I do not want."

In other words, according to the counselor (E-R1), not only parents block girls' education process, girls do what they see. Since, their mothers are illiterate and married at early ages, they emulate marriage, and start dreaming of even in primary school. The counselor thought that they were role-modeling their mothers. The same issue was also raised by the teacher E-S1, she indicated the same point about children's role modeling their parents. Thus, girls were prone to domestic works, while boys were let to be outside.

Similarly, the counselor of school L had observations about minority students and their behaviors regarding gender. She indicated that female students

*migrated from the Eastern part of the country*¹¹¹ are more introvert and silent compared to the local female students; on the other hand male students from the East are more dominant, violent and energetic. According to her, this difference is because of the internalized traditional gender roles that people from East still slightly have. She further added that, when there is no effect of being from East as a factor, there is no a general attitude of local families regarding gender; she attributed the changes among local families to the characteristics of parents such as their education level, or parenting style.

From another dimension, the schools located in low socio-economic regions are lack of providing extracurricular activities for the students to widen their understanding or to discover themselves. In school E, students did not have any social activities other than playing in an empty school yard or playing outside after school. Thus, again, boys were free to play outside after school, while girls were not. On the other hand, there were more options for students for socializing and discover themselves in some other observed schools which were located in middle or upper-middle SES regions. Thus, these differences in terms of capabilities, facilities or activities among state schools in different socio-economic regions need to be considered while discussing this issue. This point needs more discussion and is discussed in the following chapter.

Although there are differences between students or more specifically girls' experiences from low, middle or upper-middle schools. There are still commonalities among the social experiences of girls. For instance, in the school AC, teacher AC-S2 remarked that she observed some differences between boys and girls regarding their social life and the social activities they attend. She stated that boys participate in more activities than girls, and girls' social life is about going to a mall or a cinema with their parents. Thus, boys are freer in terms of attending some social activities compare to girls even in a school where parents were mostly educated.

On the other hand, traditional gender roles were not only reproduced through parents' attitudes and behaviors; very few of the participants criticized the role of textbooks on students' internalizing traditional gender roles, such as women's doing

¹¹¹ This is her definition; she preferred to define as people from east rather than using their ethnicity.

housework, or men’s doing outside jobs. There were small number of educators who could make sociological analysis or who developed projects to overcome gender inequality such the counselors from school X planned. The counselor (X-R1) indicated that the activities of boys and girls were diverged concerning their gender. Further, they were prone to play with friends of their own sex. She was not sure about teachers’ awareness about this issue, yet the counseling service developed an Erasmus project to improve students’ preferences about plays and activities. The project has not implemented yet, but the counselors targeted to search the differentiation of plays and activities among students regarding gender; and they further aimed to show students the joy of playing together regardless of gender.

4.3.8. Summary of Findings from Ethnography

In this part, I briefly summarize the findings that reached through ethnography, since it could be difficult to grasp the emerged findings while reading them in its own context. Findings from six schools with diverse student profiles provided a rich data that enable a comparative analysis. As I discuss the findings with a broad perspective in the next chapter, I just show a brief, yet broad outlook before synthesizing all the data through a rich discussion. The first table below (Table 4.6) summarizes the interview findings and the data from the field notes from each school, while the second table (Table 4.7) summarizes the classroom observation notes:

Table 4.6

Summary of the findings from interviews and field notes

Schools	Main findings
A ‘high-status’ school in a ‘high-status’ neighborhood (School AC)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - According to the manager and counselor, an academic achievement-oriented and exam-oriented education system hinder raising conscious citizens aware of their rights and responsibilities. - According to the counselor, a democratic school culture could not be created due to curriculum load, teachers' low salary and motivation, and lack of cooperation and communication. - Teachers teach regarding their democracy and citizenship understanding. There is no common understanding in school, and both managers and teachers do not try to build a shared understanding. - The manager reported no challenges regarding cultural differences due to parents' higher socio-economic status. Cultural differences

Table 4.6 (cont'd)

	<p>are defined over country-based, regional or individual differences by teachers.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - There are 35 Syrian students, and as reported by the manager and counselor, teachers mostly feel uncomfortable about refugee students' existence in school. One of the interviewed teacher's opinions verified this observation.
<p>A school in a middle SES neighborhood that receiving migration rapidly (School V)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The manager was knowledgeable in participative school management and was trying to practice by including all school members in the decision-making process as much as possible. - The manager criticized academic achievement and exam-oriented education system. According to him, a good citizen should be well-behaved before her/his academic success. - Nationalist inputs from the counselor's interview transcript and slightly statist inputs from the manager's interview transcript were distinct. - Teacher V-S1 was quite a critical teacher, and according to him, students are educated to become 'objects' rather than 'subjects'. - Cultural diversity was mainly defined over country-based differences by three interviewed teachers. Only teacher V-S1 criticized the nationalist aim and content of citizenship education that ignored Turkish citizens' ethnic, religious, and cultural differences.
<p>A school with mostly middle or lower-middle class students (School L)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The manager highlighted the importance of being democratic to teach democracy and criticized teachers in this context. According to him, teachers are not well-knowledgeable about democratic education and do not want students who claim their rights. - The counselor and one of the interviewed teachers criticized management for constructing private (special) classrooms where higher socio-economic status children are placed. Thus counselor criticized school management for not behaving fair and equitable. Therefore, according to the counselor, students experience injustices even at school. - The manager highlighted their vision to raise well-behaved children sensitive to the environment. On the other hand, the counselor emphasized that both teachers and parents considered academic success more than behavioral development. - Counselor and teacher L-S1 highlighted the importance of teaching patriotism and responsibilities in the context of citizenship education. On the other hand, teacher L-S3 remarked that HRCDC content cannot be taught solely at school by emphasizing the tremendous parent effect. - Cultural differences were not defined over country-based differences and Syrian students' existence. Teachers criticized ignorance of other cultures in the textbooks. The manager suggested separating and distributing minorities into the city and the schools for integration.
<p>School</p>	<p>Main findings</p>
<p>One of the most culturally</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - There were ethnically diverse 1102 students, including Turkish, Syrian, Kurdish, local Arabic, Iraqi, Afghan, and Turkmen children. Conflicts between diverse students, low parental involvement, and

Table 4.6 (cont'd)

diverse schools with mostly low SES students (School X)	<p>teachers' difficulties in managing multilingual classrooms were highlighted.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Characteristics of the 'good' citizen were stated as ethical, honest, reliable, patriot, respectful, and empathetic. A Good citizen should pay taxes, go to military service, and not harm the people around. Finally, a good citizen should learn their rights, and school is a suitable place to teach students democratic participation and citizenship rights. Nevertheless, as the counselor reported, they realized that children do not know their rights.
A Kurdish-dense school in a migration-receiving neighborhood (School E)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Students grew up in a minimal area physically and socio-culturally in school E. According to the counselor, parents cause many challenges since they resist changing or listening to what the counselor suggests. - There were conflicts between Kurdish and Syrian students; Syrian students ganged up against Kurdish students not to be oppressed. - Teachers affirmed that, in the textbooks, individual and country-based differences were mentioned regarding diversity. Moreover, one teacher specifically emphasized the ignorance of low SES students' needs and conditions in the textbooks. - Teacher E-S1 had negative attitudes towards Syrians. - HRCD course was considered necessary by three of the interviewed teachers. They agreed about students' realizing and learning their rights through the content of the course. Teachers have diverse instructional perspectives on HRCD content.
A school located in a neighborhood defined as a “stepping stone” for the immigrants (School H)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Domestic violence was defined as one of the critical problems in School H. Participants reported conflicts among parents and students due to cultural differences. Local students' and parents' prejudices towards Syrian students were significantly emphasized. - As reported by the manager, nothing can be done to enhance human rights and democracy by the management because of the heavy workload. - As teacher H-S2 stated, cultural differences depended on country-based differences in the textbooks. According to her, every cultural or ethnic component living in the country should be represented in the textbooks. Teacher H-S2 was a Kurdish-Alevist citizen, and she expressed her discomfort about patriotism's attributed to being Turk in the textbooks. - Interviewed teachers remarked on the importance of the HRCD course for children's development.

Table 4.7

Summary of the findings gathered through classroom observations

Classrooms	Main findings
A classroom with self-confident, cared and considered	The most distinct finding was the influence of socio-economic level on students' human rights understanding and their self-expression competencies. Students were quite confident and could express themselves clearly. However, they constantly digress from the subject, and the teacher could not manage the process. Although he was pretty

Table 4.7 (cont'd)

students (School AC)	experienced with 36 years of teaching experience, he was unequipped to teach HRCD content.
A classroom in which students were promoted to think critically (School V)	The teacher shared his religious identity as an Alevist citizen of Turkey, and he mentioned his being raised with a fear of being discriminated. Therefore, according to him, all students with diverse backgrounds culturally, ethnically, or religiously should feel that they are considered in the classroom and school. He provided a space for students to ask, critically think, discuss, create, cooperate, share, and self-express themselves.
One school, two classrooms, two perspectives (School L)	Two classrooms were observed in School L, which provided a profound perspective since their citizenship understanding, democracy understanding, instructional and classroom management styles differed completely. Teacher L-S1 asked close-ended questions, caring about the order in the classroom in terms of students' participation, their seating arrangements, and others. There was a ritual for every action to protect the order in the classroom. On the other hand, teacher L-S2 promoted students to discuss, talk, think and ask. She asked open-ended questions and gave students feedback about their thoughts and responses. There was an interaction in classroom L-S2, while there was a technical process in classroom L-S1).
A classroom in which conventional citizenship was promoted	Teacher X-S1 was quite an experienced teacher with 40 years of teaching experience in diverse regions of Turkey. However, she had difficulties teaching the HRCD content. She could not provide a critical and open classroom environment to ask and discuss HRCD content and could not conclude the discussion topics. She mainly promoted conventional citizenship (a statist and authoritarian perspective emphasizing nation and national history). She explained differences over a limited number of factors such as Syrians' existence or individual differences (physical difference, characteristics, and others).
A classroom in which inequalities are reproduced	In this classroom, memorization of the content was aimed rather than enhancing critical thinking. There was a religious emphasis based on Sunni-Muslim culture and some direct prejudiced opinions that were directly shared with students. Teacher E-S1 was not equipped to teach HRCD content.
An unequipped teacher's classroom in terms of teaching HRCD	Teacher H-S1 could not manage the instructional process of the HRCD course. She was unequipped to manage discussions on HRCD content.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION and CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I comparatively discuss the key themes presented in the previous chapter by considering the relevant theories and studies. I start with discussing the critical results about the citizenship understanding of the documents and the participants. Through the results, some citizenship understandings have emerged that are interrelated to each other. A schema arose that reproduces the barriers to accepting differences in terms of citizenship.

In the second section, I continue the discussion with the theme of understanding on differences. The influence of citizenship boundaries, the narrow perspective to differences, and the prejudices towards 'different' groups, were discussed through the results. However, some themes strongly manifested themselves, such as the effect of gender and class differences on students' school experiences as citizens; hence, the results pertaining to these two categories were discussed separately.

The following section is about the role of citizenship education and the position of teachers. In this section, the discussion is grounded on being or becoming 'subjects' as active citizens. Teachers' position and preferences, either consciously or due to lack of competencies, are discussed while teaching HRCD content, providing insights for practical and theoretical implications. In this part, I also engage with what I learn throughout the research process, which helped me strengthen the discussion on future practices and research.

Finally, all these discussions bring the subject to the conclusion and implications, including further research suggestions.

5.1. Schema based on the most Dominant Patterns on the Understanding of Citizenship Education

The results obtained from documents, survey forms, interviews, and observations disclosed some patterns. As I examined the patterns, a schema of citizenship education understanding in the sub-districts of a Southern Region in Turkey appeared in relation to the reasons of barriers towards acceptance of differences. Although, the journey of this research study started by focusing on the shifts from modern to post-national citizenship conceptualizations and how these discussions and practices illuminate the discussions in terms of citizenship education, as there are issues identified in this context, findings provided me to deepen my perspective for understanding of the citizenship concept regarding differences and diversity.

Findings, in other terms, uncovered the necessity of a deepened perspective. This perspective does not solely question the need for a horizontal extension of the citizenship concept by including all people, groups, and identities living in the country. Transformation of citizenship understanding in terms of the acceptance of differences and diversity requires more than a multicultural, global or cosmopolitan, post-national, intercultural citizenship approach; it requires a *deepened* and *qualitatively transformed* (Hoffman, 2004) perspective to examine the effects of statist, nationalist, authoritarian and duty-based citizenship understandings on curriculum as a phenomenological construct. Hence, the discussion begins with examining the patterns on citizenship understanding in the results. I define the model of intersecting patterns that manifested themselves through the findings, through the concept of schema. I am intentionally using the term 'schema' by referring to Piaget's concept of cognitive schema.

Piagetian concept of schema indicates *the building blocks of knowledge acquisition* (Kibler, 2011, p. 382). According to him, human beings create structures (or build blocks) while understanding and adapting to the world (Meadows, 2006). Furthermore, these structures (schemas) increase whenever a piece of new information is learned. He also defined two more terms -assimilation and accommodation- to explain the knowledge acquisition process (Kibler, 2011; Meadows, 2006). Whenever new information is gained, we either assimilate it and

put it in our existing schemas, or if the information does not fit into the existing schema, we need to alter or create a new one; that is how we learn and cognitively improve ourselves.

As the documents repetitively reproduced the patterns, and the participants, this made me think that there is a schema, a robust understanding of citizenship. Although new concepts are introduced through the curriculum, they did not create new structures; instead, the new terms were assimilated into the existing schemas. Moreover, when I considered the existing literature on citizenship understanding, the findings and discussions showed the existence of the same patterns from past to present (Arslan, 2014; Bağlı & Esen, 2003; Bora, 1997; Bora, 2003; Çapar, 2006; Caymaz, 2008; Çayır & Gürkaynak, 2007; Çayır, 2016; Gök, 2003; İnce, 2012; Keyman & Kancı, 2011; Üstel, 2014). That is why I think this analogy quite fits the context. There is a specific schema about citizenship understanding, and this schema assimilates every new concept, and the understanding is still fundamentally and dominantly existent.

What are the elements of this schema, then? The following sub-titles examine the elements of the schema on citizenship understanding from past to present, which - statist, authoritarian, nationalist, and duty-based citizenship - were repetitively manifested themselves.

5.1.1. Statist Perspective and Its Reflections on Citizenship Education

As it is explicitly presented in the previous chapter, various elements are utilized to raise the 'good' citizen, such as emphasis on rules and responsibilities rather than leaving spaces for children to critically engage in the issues, problems, and experiences in everyday life. This understanding has a danger of promoting statism rather than active citizenship, or democracy, in the context of citizenship education.

Statism is defined as the substantial centralized control of the state over economic and social affairs (Burnell, 2009). From another definition, statism or statist perspective refers to the political practices or institutions by which executive authority monopolizes the varieties of power (Kimball, 2016). The findings from the document analysis disclosed how the state is discursively constructed as the responsible, central, and most potent foundation to solve the problems of its citizens.

These findings verify the findings from several other research studies that illustrate the dominance of positive and powerful representation of the state through the textbooks, from the past to the present (Çayır & Gürkaynak, 2007; Çayır, 2008; Çayır, 2014; Polat, 2011; Sen, 2020; Üstel, 2014).

It is a fact that traditionally citizenship has been a statist concept (Hoffman, 2004). On the other hand, the state-centric citizenship has been criticized through post-national theories or post-modern theories that aim to transcend the national, the state-centrism, and the traditional conceptualizations of citizenship that prioritize duties over rights, or state over private sphere (Sassen, 2002; Soysal, 1994). There have been shifts in citizenship education from state-centered to globalism or cosmopolitanism oriented in most countries (Banks, 2008; Bashir, 2015; Kennedy, 2012; Osler & Starkey, 2018; Zhao, 2013). However, alongside all the discussions and developments, there are discussions in the literature that remark the existence of a neo-statist understanding that reduces citizenship to voting, focuses on national security and concerns with the information giving on the constitution, state institutions, the parliament, as well as exposing a sense of belonging (Bashir, 2015; Kennedy, 2012).

As revealed, there is a continuity in the Turkish context, as the statist perspective has been observed in the official documents from the past to the present. Furthermore, the state-centric understanding continues to affect the understanding of citizenship education. As the findings manifested, it causes the weakened of the citizen and her/his power compared to the state, which is quite paradoxical in terms of the active citizenship understanding since it is one of the aims of the current national curriculum, raising active citizens (MoNE, 2018a, p. 4). However, glorifying the state's existence has two dangers, passivizing the citizens and blocking the paths to have a critical perspective towards the state.

In the textbooks, citizenship duties are emphasized more than the rights of the citizens. The traditional citizenship duties such as obeying the law and rules, paying taxes, voting, and doing military service (for men only) are still prominent. Yet, the problem exceeds raising conventional citizens with traditional roles. Children as citizens are also invited not to criticize but rather comply with and compromise the authorities' laws, regulations, and rules. The authority is sometimes

the state, sometimes the school management, sometimes the teacher, or sometimes the parents. They all are hierarchically above the student, sometimes as the child at home, sometimes as the student at school, sometimes as the citizen in the state. Thus, the paths for being an active citizen, critical thinker, or problem solver are closed by discursively locating the authority to the top.

Although it is not stated in words, raising obedient citizens is observed as a hidden message in the documents. For instance, obeying the school rules without indicating any criticism is advised to students to reach quality education since if they do not obey the rules, such as entering the class on time, they cannot benefit from their right to education. Linking the benefitting from the rights to obeying the rules has an authoritarian tone again. Because, in that case, the order is reminded while the citizen is expected to abide by the order to reach his/her rights; that is why sanctions are reminded in the absence of following the rules.

The statist perspective of the textbooks also became concrete in the discourses of the participants. While explaining how they teach citizenship in the classroom, some of the teachers defined the citizen as the one who benefits from rights provided by the state. At the same time, the majority emphasized the duties of the citizens -such as awareness of duties, obeying the laws and rules, paying taxes, voting- towards the state rather than rights they have. During the school visits, the state-centric perspective was observed sometimes through a definition in which 'good' citizen was defined as the one who respects the limits set by the state. Or sometimes through a discourse of a school manager who strongly indicated his stance towards the government's refugee policy by emphasizing his role as a governmental official because he believed that he should stand behind the state policy without questioning. However, it was observed chiefly from the hierarchical relationship that the educators built with the students.

The observed teachers mostly created a classroom environment where students were expected to memorize the ideas, knowledge, and opinions that the teachers shared. Memorizing the given information in the textbooks without criticizing and expecting students to accept what is told in the school or classroom; this cycle was explicitly observed through the educators' discourses, behaviors, or attitudes. In most cases, the school and classroom limits were being set regarding

the managers' or teachers' perspectives, like evacuating the buildings during break times, setting school or classroom orders without asking students, and expecting obedience. The analogy between "adults know best for the children" and "the state knows best for its citizens" were quite distinct and has a danger of blocking the development of students' critical thinking skills, which eventually might cause an obstacle to raising active citizens.

On the other hand, very few participants were concerned about this raising critical and active citizens. They indicated the failure of the education system to raise active and conscious citizens who are aware of their rights and responsibilities. To remind, one of the counselors marked that he is not sure about the aim of the education system in terms of citizenship education: are we aiming to raise vassals or citizens? Another teacher also criticized the state-centric perspective of the textbooks by emphasizing their bureaucratic and theoretical tone. He further accused all the components in the education system for aiming to raise 'objects' rather than 'subjects' since primarily teaching obedience is prioritized, and not critical thinking. He was working in the school, which I observed as the most democratic one -in terms of inclusion of all school members to decision making process- among the visited schools in terms of the school manager's understanding.

However, the most striking data about this issue was recorded in school L where I observed two classrooms. The teachers had completely adverse understanding and style in terms of education, teaching, and instructional methods. One was trying to create a democratic classroom environment by promoting critical thinking, while the other built an order with full of rules and instructions. The latter classroom was known as the best classroom with silent students while the former was criticized and students labeled as being 'problematic' were given to that classroom. The management appreciated the second teacher and defined him as a successful teacher who created order and raised 'silent' students, defined as being 'respectful'. On the other hand, during the observations, I noted the first one as more creative whom supported her students to think critically and be democratic.

There are two rhetorical questions that I want to voice in this point; why is being silent promoted and equalized to being respectful? And how is it possible to raise democratic and active citizens while their being silent is promoted? The

answers are pretty hidden in the title of this section. This brings the issue to democracy understanding of the educators.

5.1.2. Possible Threats of Equalizing Democracy to Voting

Education in a democratic society should support, perpetuate, enlarge and strengthen the democratic way of life (Mursell, 1955). How can education achieve this? Or, more clearly, what are the needs and necessities to provide a democratic school culture that enriches students' democratic competencies?

According to Council of Europe's latest model of competences for democratic culture (CDC), there are four dimensions –values, attitudes, skills and knowledge and critical understanding- and 20 competences to ensure a democratic school culture and raise democratic citizens namely valuing human dignity and human rights, valuing cultural diversity, valuing democracy, justice, fairness, equality and rule of law, openness to cultural otherness and other beliefs, world views and practices, respect, civic-mindedness, responsibility, self-efficacy, tolerance to ambiguity, analytical and critical thinking skills, skills of listening and observing, empathy, flexibility and adaptability, linguistic, communicative and plurilingual skills, co-operation skills, conflict-resolution skills, knowledge and critical understanding of the self, knowledge and critical understanding of language and communication, and knowledge and critical understanding of the world (CoE, 2018). Thus, democratic citizen needs to internalize democratic values and attitudes, have skills to practice democracy, and have a critical understanding of the self and the world from many dimensions. This requires extended knowledge, understanding, and skill more than voting.

As discussed in the previous sub-title, promoting the statist perspective more than a critical one might negatively influence democratic education, which may be an obstacle to developing students' democratic competencies. These are quite linked to each other.

As previously discussed in the textbooks, glorifying the state and the acts of the state without questioning has a danger of giving a hidden message about not criticizing the powerful. The powerful is the source of 'goodness', the 'helping hand', the 'owner of the rules', the 'organizer', or the 'controller'. Furthermore, I

observed the reflections of the authoritarian understanding at schools since there were vertical relations between managers and teachers or teachers and students. I observed unmotivated teachers about not being able to participate in school decisions, or students who were expected to follow the instructions from the teacher without questioning.

Besides these, the discourses from the participants showed that democracy mainly was reduced to elections such as school and classroom representative elections or class president elections. The right to vote was considered as the most essential democratic right and the most important practice to enhance democracy at school. Whenever I asked a question about the practices to enhance democracy, the participants mentioned about the school or classroom-wide elections or student clubs' activities. As Sant's (2019) comprehensive review uncovers, democracy has diverse conceptualizations. And, although the liberal democracy has gained a wide currency within the shifts in world politics and structure; democracy discussion is gaining new dimensions through the discussions on globalization, post-nationalism, cosmopolitanism, multiculturalism, post-structuralism, or critical theory (Alvarez, 2011; Apple & Beane, 2011; Biesta & Lawy, 2006; Block, 2020; Buck & Geissel, 2009; Collins et al., 2019). Regardless of their political stance, common educational pedagogies are offered -such as participatory practices, communicative skills, practices that require action or critical understanding- to foster students' critical understanding of themselves, their society, and the world. Therefore, from this perspective, equalizing democracy to voting cannot enhance students' understanding and skills to critically interpret their environment or everyday life issues they experience.

The findings also disclosed a neoliberal democratic perspective to education that reduces being citizenship to being a consumer in the society and consumer of the educational institutions; as well as promoting competitiveness (Wilkins, 2018). There were signs of neoliberal democratic understanding.

Textbooks emphasize the duty of citizenship as being conscious consumers. Managers mostly had a narrow democratic perspective. They either likened the student representative to a consumer representative by defining their role as being a service provider, and reduced the democratic competence to asking for quality

service in terms of hygiene or safety (in school X); or the pledges of the students for the school council elections showed the reduced role of the student representatives as their promises were concentrated on advancing material conditions rather than participating the decisions more. Even false promises were made to convince their peers. By considering the impact of teachers on students' pledges, the promoted promises might give an idea about the promoted values, behaviors, and attitudes in terms of citizenship which reflect a neoliberal democratic stance. Another manager defined his democracy understanding through not hesitating to do repair or modification works at school as a manager who can order anybody whenever he wants (in school L). Thus, instead of ordering, doing hand labor was a sign of being democratic according to the manager. On the other hand, in the same school, teachers were complaining about forming selective classrooms without asking teachers, and labeling some teachers as 'successful' while some others as 'unsuccessful' by basing their claims to the test scores of the students or 'silence' of the students during the class hours.

This issue needs further consideration, and according to the schema analogy, I can say that neoliberalism has a notable influence on citizenship education which extends the schema of citizenship understanding in this context. However, within this study's purpose and key concepts, the neoliberalism discussion is beyond the limits. Yet, Sen's (2020) paper provides a deep understanding of neoliberal effects on citizenship education in the context of Turkey.

Only one manager (school V) emphasized the importance of teachers', students', and parents' democratic participation to enhance democracy and ensure a democratic school environment. He was the only manager who defined himself as an educator as well as being manager, yet had a quite statist perspective by putting rules and regulations to the top without allowing any stretching. This seemed quite paradoxical in terms of democratic management.

While school council elections -namely classroom representative and school representative elections- were the most cited practice to enhance democracy, the interviews with diverse members of the schools illustrated their superficiality. They mainly were practiced to perform 'the duty'. On the other hand, in the schools that the school council elections have taken seriously, the elections were performed by

modeling the national elections. According to the participant statements from those schools, the candidates prepare their pledges by adding their promises and demands and read those in front of all school members to convince them. The most striking moments were hearing the empty promises given by the candidates to be elected, such as making a swimming pool, distributing chocolate every day, or their communication style with the school manager. The educators tended to practice democracy through their perspective, which may sometimes be limited to modeling the democracy culture in the country.

Teachers' were also prone to teach through their democracy understanding; some exemplified the class president elections to explain the practices implemented to enhance democratic classroom culture. On the other hand, a few of them defined a democratic classroom environment through acceptance of every individual and their feeling safe while expressing their opinions.

There are two interrelated issues as emerged from the category on democracy understanding of the school members. First of all, how do managers position themselves at schools, and how do teachers position themselves in classrooms? And, as an umbrella question, how managers, teachers or members of the schools are positioned in terms of the curriculum development and the decisions given about educational policies is essential to examine the democracy education practices at schools.

As the findings revealed, there was a line of hierarchy from the educational authorities to managers to teachers and finally parents and students. Only a few of the participants had a deep democracy understanding that highlights the importance of participation in decision-making, feeling safe in the classroom, and expressing the identity or opinion freely. For Dewey (2001), democratic education is an associated way of living among the close relation of school and society. Both teachers and students should participate in the decision-making processes, and it is the way of enhancing democratic education (Dewey, 1903). Fostering democracy requires voice and being heard; that is why studies that acknowledge the participation and action of teachers and students are increasing (Apple & Beane, 2011; Block, 2020; Collins et al., 2019; Wales & Clarke, 2005). And, as Darling-Hammond (1996) remarks, building knowledge and capacity of school in terms of

democratic education, "*constructivist relationships between research, policy, and practice that allow reciprocal learning to occur*" (p. 14).

On the other hand, as indicated previously, the most important practices (student clubs and school councils) to enhance democracy and construct the democratic school or classroom culture -either successfully implemented or not- were abolished in 2017 and 2019, respectively.¹¹² I wonder about the responses of educators to the question about the practices to enhance democracy at present.

In the context of this study, I have a responsibility to recall the inclusion of all diverse groups, all students regardless of their ethnic, religious, national, gender, class identities to the decision-making process to ensure democracy and foster democratic education (Apple & Beane, 2011). As Darling-Hammond (1996) reminds through the words of Maxine Greene, schools should open up space for people to be themselves to hear multiple perspectives and explore new languages if we want to create a public space for democracy. At this point, we need to examine the boundaries of citizenship that are drawn through citizenship education.

5.1.3. The Nationalist Perspective: The Boundaries of Citizenship

Citizenship has embedded a meaning about the division of people into who belong and who do not (Phillips, 2000). On the other hand, a universal and equal meaning is attributed to citizenship rather than defining it in terms of differences and inequity (Arnot, 2006). However, modern citizenship produces and reproduces both equalities and inequalities simultaneously (Yeğen, 2005). It has a promise about providing equality while producing inequalities through the boundaries of constructed national identity.

Citizenship education has traditionally aimed to raise the loyal, obedient, patriot, responsible citizen and construct a unitary national identity (Bromley, 2009;

¹¹² For the student councils, there was an amendment in 2019 and through this amendment the student councils were abolished from the curriculum. (https://mus.meb.gov.tr/meb_iys_dosyalar/2019_04/19144837_Demokrasi_EYitimi_ve_Okul_Mec_lisleri_Projesi_YYnergesinin_YYrYIYkten_KaldYrYlmasY.pdf). Student clubs' activities are requested to be done after school through the change in the regulation on June, 2017 (http://ogm.meb.gov.tr/meb_iys_dosyalar/2017_06/08095142_Yeni_Microsoft_Word_Belgesi.pdf)

Leung & Print, 2002). It is possible to define this 'old' perspective in a framework of traditional citizenship education with authoritarian, statist, and nationalist components. I preferred to use the concept of conventional citizenship to define the traditional perspective while sharing the results of the study in the previous chapter. Conventional citizenship refers to the minimal citizenship activities such as voting, joining a political party, showing respect to the government representatives, or knowing the country's history (Amadeo et al., 2002). From the conventional perspective, citizenship refers to participating in the country's governing at a basic level. It does not refer to citizens' critical and active participation in politics and public affairs or any of the supra-national or post-national citizenship perspectives that extend the boundaries of the national. Thus, taking a side with conventional citizenship is open to authoritarian, nationalist, and statist conceptualizations and practices of citizenship since participation remains at the most traditional, national, and basic level.

In the previous sections, the statist stance was followed through the discourses in the textbooks, yet mainly from the participants' opinions, attitudes, and behaviors. Glorifying the state without questioning or criticizing appeared as a gate for building hierarchical relationships from 'top' to 'down' which eventually could be observed in the discourses or behaviors of the managers and teachers as it was observed in this study. These appeared as two essential pillars of the conventional citizenship perspective. However, another pillar manifested itself much more dominantly compared to statist and authoritarian perspectives: nationalism. The conventional notion of citizenship education tends to assume the existence of a largely homogenous community that refers to an imagined 'us' (Bashir, 2015).

Findings disclosed that, in the textbooks, the boundaries of citizenship were drawn over the 'us' discourse that grounded on being Turk and Sunni-Muslim. As it was thoroughly shared and briefly discussed in the previous chapter, although Turkish citizen was given a national meaning, the roots of being Turkish were grounded on pre-Islamic times and Turks ethnically; besides, Sunni-Islam was considered as the religion of the nation. Neither diverse ethnicities or races, nor diverse sects or religions were included as the components of the nation or country. On the other hand, Turkic countries were given a special place. Thus, while other

ethnicities (Kurd, Zaza, Arab, Cherkes, Tatar, Laz, etc.) living in Turkey as Turkish citizens are not mentioned in the textbooks as the distinct presence of the null curriculum, it is possible to see Turks living in other countries with other nationalities. This distinction does not seem coherent with the claim that being Turk or Turkish refers to nationality rather than ethnicity.

There are several studies from Turkey revealing the nationalist perspective of the citizenship education textbooks (Çapar, 2006; Caymaz, 2007; Çayır & Gürkaynak, 2007; Çayır, 2014; Çayır, 2016; İnce, 2012; Keyman & Kancı, 2011; Sen, 2020; Üstel, 2014); which is verified through the findings of this study. Moreover, several studies are showing the partially existence or dominance of traditional understanding to citizenship in different countries of the world (Akar & Albrecht, 2017; Banks, 2009; Bromley, 2009; Leung & Print, 2002; Otsu, 2000; Ramirez et al., 2007; Soysal & Szakacks, 2010). Thus, besides the shifts and developments in citizenship education within the context of changing world structure and political understanding, the nationalist discourses still have a place. Besides, lately, nationalism has been acknowledged as a risk generating hatred, discrimination, and violence and hindering a citizenship understanding that transcends the borders of nation-states (UNESCO, 2018).

'Us' vs 'them/others' duality, which is often associated with an authoritarian perspective, reproduces the existence of a superior group (us as citizens), and perceives the others' (minorities, migrants) existence as a 'threat' against the unity of 'us' (UNESCO, 2018). Yet, the 'us' discourse was not the only appeared element of the nationalist citizenship education; the commonalities were emphasized, such as culture, values, religion, history, destiny, future, language, customs, clothes, and religious and national festivals. These commonalities were also signifiers of the 'us' since by setting boundaries through the discourses about common language, culture, customs, religion, or festivals; the textbooks explicitly stress the included and excluded ones to the nation. The shared history was narrated over the national history by emphasizing national victories, heroes, pride, and sorrows. Therefore, history was observed in the textbooks as one of the decisive elements to establish a bond between people. In addition, national symbols and rituals were constantly revisited to strengthen the individuals' bonds to their nation. As Smith (2001) argues,

national symbols "*constitute an essential force for social solidarity... they appear to be necessary for the establishment of social cohesion, the legitimization of institutions and of political authority, and the inculcation of beliefs and conventions of behavior* (p. 522).¹¹³

The Impact of Textbooks Cannot Be Assessed in Isolation from Classroom Practice

... Although many studies have been undertaken on textbook content, we must admit that textbooks play a fairly limited formative role as compared to teachers or “parallel” education (family, media, etc.) ... It is true that it is easier to study a set of textbooks than to try and ascertain what goes on in classrooms. However, the impact of textbooks cannot be assessed in isolation from classroom practice. (Koulouri, 2000)

As Koulouri (2000) reminded, what goes on in classrooms is quite valuable to discern an educational issue. Besides, curriculum as a phenomenological construct refers to everything that goes on in the classroom and school within the experiences of the school members (Pinar et al., 2002). The discourses from participants were valuable in this context.

Findings manifested the reproduction of citizenship boundaries from a nationalist perspective. Commonalities were emphasized such as values, culture, flag, history, ideals, destiny, heritage, anthem, or emotions; yet, some of the indicated commonalities -common language, common religions- also referred to the boundaries of citizenship while binding the past and future of the nation together. For instance, the ties among the citizens were linked to the Central Asian Turks, or sometimes to the National Struggle.

The in-depth data primarily verified the existence of nationalist citizenship understanding, which directly or indirectly influences the citizenship understanding of the students. The stress on the 'national' was quite apparent in the discourses of the participants. For most of them, education should inculcate the importance of

¹¹³ To remind my field note from the schools E and L, the special day ceremonies were done. I observed the apathy and memorized movements of duty teachers and students and others' not listening to their peers; even teachers' not caring about the ceremony made me think about the aim of the special days and celebrations. Yet, they have a purpose of bonding the citizens to each other and strengthening the nation.

being a part of a nation and respecting the history, flag, anthem, or national heroes. A discourse about being proud to be a part of the Turkish nation was observed almost in all visited classrooms. A nationalist perspective to citizenship education could be quite a common theme that was traced both in the documents and from the discourses or lived experiences of the educators. Besides, the hidden curriculum was in parallel with this nationalist perspective since the walls of the schools were mainly full of the historical narratives of the nation, the pictures of the national heroes, the sayings of the important national leaders, or national symbols. In other terms, the nation's past, present, and future were tied together on the walls of the schools through a historical narrative on the nation. Consequently, the nationalist discourses could be observed in the visited schools and classrooms, sometimes through a composition written by a student, through an emotional poem read by heart or waved national flags during special day celebrations, sometimes through an answer of a question in which all of the students were shouting out names of national heroes, or sometimes through memorized poems or songs told by students in unison.

As the constructivist theorists to citizenship claim, these all are manifestations of modern and nationalist citizenship education that seek to construct and constantly reproduce a nation and national identity (Anderson, 1995; Gellner, 1992; Hobsbawm, 1990; Renan, 2016). What are the inclusion and exclusion criteria of Turkish citizenship in the discourses of participants, then?

Most of the educators defined Turkish citizenship over the 'us' discourse without excluding any minority group. However, I observed a similar attitude with the documents, making the minorities invisible inside the 'us' definition. Even in some of the educators' discourses Kurdish, local Arabic or Roman people became 'them', and a boundary was set between 'us' and 'them'. These findings were in parallel with the findings from several reports and studies that consist the lived experiences of minority students in Turkey (Alp & Taştan, 2011; Akkan et al., 2011; Can et al., 2013; ERG, 2019; 2021a; Gözoğlu, 2013; Karan, 2017; Kaya, 2007; Yazıcı, 2015).

On the other hand, in some of the educators' discourses, nationalism was quite dominant. They had fears of losing 'our' culture or values, such as strongly respecting the National Anthem or behaving along with 'our' cultural codes, due to

the effect of either the Syrians existence and their effect on 'our' culture or the generation gap. In this point, the observed difference between educators needs to be emphasized. While mentioning the national history, national heritage, or national culture, I realized the differences between the reference points of some educators. Some expressly referred to the Republic or the National Struggle, while others referred to the Ottoman Empire. This showed the reflections of the politics on the discourses. They indicated different origins to the nation. This might be considered as a political separation among teachers, which reflects their understanding as educational professionals. Thus, considering the massive polarization that exists in the society (Keyman, 2014; KONDA, 2019; TurkuazLab, 2020), I several times thought that further research is needed to analyze the patterns of educators who support different political parties and the effect of their political stance on the discourses they reproduce at schools. Since, as revealed in the results chapter, ideological-based discourses that relate to the discourses of some political parties were observed several times.

On the other hand, even though the majority discourse aligned with the official discourses, a few participants criticized the citizenship understanding of the curriculum. They highlighted how the curriculum limits citizenship in the name of nationalism by stressing commonalities or oneness through ethnicity, language, or religion. However, according to them, children need to be provided a space to think freely and critically about themselves, the country, and the world to be conscious citizens regarding rights and responsibilities rather than memorizing the discourses on the nation.

There were also Kurdish and Alevi teachers who shared their feelings about having a different ethnic or religious identity compared to the majority. They criticized the citizenship understanding of the curriculum and textbooks by being nationalist and not including all the country's cultures, ethnicities, or religions. Moreover, they indicated that they feel excluded because of the narrowed definition of 'nation' in the curriculum.

5.1.4. Who is the ‘Good Citizen’ then?

The ‘good citizen’ metaphor includes all the accepted, aimed, and expected characteristics of the individuals in the context of citizenship education. And, as it reviewed comprehensively, in the literature review chapter, there is a spectrum of ideas from the past to the present and among the countries about who the good citizen is and what characteristics good citizenship consists of (Amadeo et al., 2002; Heater, 2002; 2004).

Previously, in Turkey, the essential expectation from the good citizen was doing the expected duties for the nation and country while being loyal and patriotic in a nationalist context that prioritizes the national compared to the universal (Arslan, 2014; Caymaz, 2007; Çayır, Gürkaynak, 2007; İnce, 2012; Sel & Sözer, 2018; Üstel, 2014). Although the discourses have been changing as the characteristics of the good citizen in time, glorifying the nation is still on the agenda; yet, the good citizen, at present, needs to be active, democratic, entrepreneur, respectful to differences besides fulfilling the responsibilities (MoNE, 2018a). At this point, a paradox was found when compared to the discourses in the written curriculum and textbooks or the ones produced at schools and classrooms.

Active citizenship, intercultural competencies, critical thinking, and problem-solving skills are emphasized in the national curriculum (MoNE, 2018a, p. 4). In other terms, a good citizen is expected to be an active, critical thinker and problem solver alongside being competent in communicating with people from diverse cultures and being respectful to differences. Coherently, teachers are guided for focusing on students’ high-cognitive skills and skill-construction rather than knowledge-gaining by recalling the relation between everyday life and school knowledge (MoNE, 2018a).

Quite contrarily, the textbook analysis revealed the conventional citizenship perspective. Eventually, the good citizen is still charged with various citizenship duties and nationalist codes that need to be memorized and felt from the hearth. There have been four traditional duties of the Turkish citizen; obeying the law, paying taxes, participating in elections, and serving in military (Üstel, 2014). These duties are still on the agenda of good citizenship phenomenon. Having tax consciousness, obeying and compromising on the rules, laws, and regulations,

watching other citizens about the observance of the rules, doing best for the country, or being beneficial for the country are the definers of good citizenship.

As discussed in the previous section, nationalist discourses are dominant in the textbooks. The good citizen is loaded with characteristics and duties such as being patriotic and loyal to the country and the nation. Even in some of the narratives, the tone of patriotism is quite strong, and the good citizen is described as the one who risks death for the country's sake. Similar findings were reached in previous studies that analyze the textbooks (Çayır et al., 2012; Gemalmaz, 2003). Considering the age characteristics of the primary school students -or regardless of the age characteristics, for all school-aged children-, promoting death might give wrong messages, and block a critical perspective towards war conversely legitimizes war and killing for the sake of the country, which is defined as the 'sacred being' (Gemalmaz, 2003). In other terms, presenting a justification for killing over the love of country (the sacred being), legitimates killing as an action that can be performed to protect the valuable beings for us. These are the narratives in which the discourses on patriotism and military-nation nests together since dying for the country is glorified, or even sometimes killing for the country is legitimized. The discourses on Turkish blood, martyrs, or sacrificing oneself on the one hand, and the discourse on bringing dutiful children to the country and the nation on the other hand reveal the expectations from the good citizen which is not pedagogically proper, understandable or defensible. Besides, consolidating 'us' by putting a 'threat' opposed to 'us' in the context of narratives consisting of victories, sorrows, anger, or heroes that mostly murdered, and glorifying death while pointing the 'threats' to unity, sovereignty or democracy might reproduce martial feelings which might be a barrier on social cohesion in divided and polarized societies with a loaded history (Staheli & Hammett, 2010). Although there are wars in the history of the World or Turkey, there are also peaceful moments or events. Research shows that promoting the 'threat' discourse which reproduces the existence of external and internal threats against the nation and the country, increases the students' feeling of powerless as a citizen and human being (Çayır et al. 2012).

Of course, there are coherent discourses with the aims of the curriculum, such as being aware of citizenship rights, human rights, and rights of other people.

Therefore, from this perspective, the good citizen is expected to be conscious about his/her rights and respect other people's rights and the disadvantaged people's rights, such as the rights of disabled individuals, women, and older people. Besides, the good citizen is also defined as the one who is actively engaged in public affairs and protecting his/her rights by being aware of the state's responsibilities. However, these are not dominant discourses and are not given enough space in the content to be critically discussed. Therefore, it is nothing but mostly a basic level of information-giving on citizenship rights or active citizenship. In other terms, a child cannot understand or develop skills on being an active citizen who has an awareness of citizenship rights through this content without the teacher's support. Yet, the majority of the educators were prone to reproduce the discourses related to the good citizenship.

Being a patriot, being loyal to the nation and country, sacrificing oneself for the country, paying taxes, obeying laws and rules, respecting the limits set by the state, doing military service or doing useful things for the country; in most of the times, reading or listening the discourses from the educators was like hearing the echo of the official discourses.

However, there were educators -yet, very few- that voiced the importance of respecting human rights, democracy, and diversity or differences -including racial, ethnic, religious, linguistic or cultural differences- more potent than the textbooks. Some of these educators criticized the uniform understanding of the curriculum and textbooks to raise active, critical, and democratic citizens.

In addition to these, the educators considered some characteristics that need to be improved through citizenship education, such as being ethical, respectful, tolerant, honest, reliable, empathetic, democratic, and well-behaved. Some educators remarked that behavioral development needs to be prioritized for increasing the impact of the school on raising well-behaved citizens. However, there were diverse opinions about not being able to raise well-behaved good citizens.

Lack of School Culture to Support Students' Development as Active Citizens

During my school visits, one of the most prominent observations was the uniform understanding of most school members. Managers were caring about financial

issues more than the educational or instructional ones, since they are charged with finding budget to fulfill the needs of the schools. In Turkey, primary and secondary schools do not have budgets allocated by the Ministry. The heating, lighting, water, and telephone expenses of these schools are covered by the budgets of special provincial administrations. Other than these, there is no budget that can be used for other expenses that may occur during the education and training process or for operating the expenses of schools (Aslan, 2021). And as Aslan (2021) discusses this is perceived as one of the most important challenges for managers that they have to overcome. Findings of this study uncover that they become financial carriers more than educators since they have to find financial sources to fulfill the physical needs of schools including the educational or instructional needs of students and teachers.

On the other hand, teachers were mostly not critical and not motivated to discuss educational issues. As revealed by several studies, lack of motivation and occupational burnout is increasing among teachers (Aktaş-Salman, 2020; Seferoğlu et al., 2014). As Aktaş-Salman (2020) reported deeply, the centralized education system and being ‘objects’ or feeling as ‘objects’ in the system negatively effects their motivation, eager or enthusiasm towards their profession.

In addition to the negative influences of challenged issues that managers and teachers cope with, the standardized structure of school buildings and standardized content of the pictures, poems, or sayings on the walls was another parameter that blocks the flourishing of an authentic school culture. The walls were full of bulletin boards including some poems, compositions or pictures to celebrate some special days such as the Republic day or the Red Crescent week. Other than these, it was hard, even, in most of the cases, not possible to feel the culture, creativity, opinions, or feelings of students in their schools.

The only difference between schools was related to parents' socio-economic status, which directly had an impact on the school buildings in terms of the facilities inside and the students' self-confidence. In other terms, schools lacked creating an authentic school culture that meets the needs of their students in terms of citizenship education. This issue needs deep consideration since regardless of the parents' educational, social and economic status, educators were complaining about the ineffectiveness of the schooling process to provide a behavioral change of the

students. Why are schools ineffective about raising conscious, active, and responsible citizens while there is a strong nationalist discourse and good citizenship duties in the curriculum are referred to from multiple dimensions?

This question does not belong to me; educators were not satisfied with the outcomes of the education they gave in terms of the characteristics of students as citizens. Some criticized the exam-oriented education system and its effects on parents' expectations and teachers' preferences about concentrating on academic development more than behavioral development. Some of the teachers blamed parents' insufficiency and claimed that character development starts at home; they shared how they are powerless to change the behaviors and attitudes of the students. On the other hand, according to the ecological systems theory of Bronfenbrenner (1979), in the microsystem of a child, both family, school, and peer groups are quite influential. Although the family or parent affect cannot be overlooked as a meaningful factor that has a tremendous effect on child development from all angles; the culture of schools and classrooms is also quite influential since they reside in the microsystem of the child. In contrast to teachers' views, some managers and counselors criticized teachers' inadequacy and their not being good role models for students. The issue of not being able to raise 'good citizens' is quite multi-dimensional and needs to be analyzed and discussed meticulously.

First of all, the statist perspective that feeds the hierarchical and vertical relationship perception causes an authoritarian school culture where teachers feel 'objects' rather than 'subjects', which eventually causes motivation loss. The teachers interviewed or observed did not have the motivation to participate in a research study or share their opinions. Some of them felt like the 'mimes' of the educational authorities. Even the teachers who were the most open to improving themselves and had a critical perspective voiced their being unmotivated.

As the educators reported, there are so many paper works and most of the tasks are expected to be done without considering educators' opinions. One of the managers told how they were loaded with so many tasks and did not have time to think about improving democratic school environment and student participation. This finding is in parallel with the latest study of ERG (Aktaş-Salman, 2020), which

revealed how teachers feel unconsidered, voiceless and as 'objects' of the education system.

The reasons for lack of motivation were also based on teachers' working conditions and their low salaries. Due to low salaries, some of the teachers had to work in additional jobs, and consequently, this had a negative impact on their commitment to their job, which showed the continuity of the problem since earlier studies reached similar findings (Barlı et al., 2005; Gündüz & Can, 2011). The Eurydice report (2020) on manager and teacher salaries showed that educators in Turkey earn less than most European countries and earn slightly better than the teachers from Bulgaria, Hungary, Albania, and Bosnia Herzegovina, North Macedonia and Serbia.

On the other hand, the exam-oriented system feeds the hierarchical relationship between teachers and students since education was mostly considered a one-way knowledge giving process. While the burden on teachers to prepare students for the national exams is an important parameter determining children's educational experiences, the centralized curriculum and standardized understanding also limit the educational decisions given by teachers, as it was also found in another study (Aktaş-Salman, 2020). Therefore, the education system designs the relationship between the components from top to down. That eventually causes a uniform understanding and standardized school cultures regardless of student needs in citizenship education.

These findings confirmed the findings from several studies that discussed the problems of the Turkish education system (Özdemir & Kaplan, 2017; Saylık et al., 2021; Taşdemir, 2015; Yılmaz & Altınkurt, 2011). As the findings revealed, the participants of these research studies -teachers and teacher candidates- criticized the education system for standardizing students through knowledge and exam-oriented education.

All these issues manifested themselves as the obstacles to creating a school culture through which students are supported to experience being active citizens who have citizenship consciousness and who are competent in problem-solving and thinking critically.

5.1.5. What about Rights?: Is Memorizing the Rights without Gaining a Critical Perspective Enough?

The statist perspective carries hidden messages that passivizes the citizens while glorifying the existence of the state. Another manifestation of this was observed over the perspective of rights.

Human rights education has been on the agenda of international organizations since the 1970s.¹¹⁴ And, it has become an important issue to be discussed by international organizations and states within the international agenda (Bajaj, 2011; Ramirez et al., 2007). These developments affected the policies of Turkey, as well as the increasing number of reports and research studies on human rights education.¹¹⁵ Several projects were developed, the textbooks were reviewed in terms of human rights perspective, or NGO's actively produced materials to enhance the content and instructional methods of human rights education (Çayır, 2008). However, the textbook analysis that aims to review the official documents, by considering the nation-wide given importance to human rights education, showed the problematic perspective to human rights (Çayır, 2008; 2014; Çotuksöten et al., 2003; Tüzün, 2009). According to these reviews, regardless of the extension of citizenship content towards a human rights perspective starting from the mid-1990s, the content of the textbooks was still reproducing a nationalist and statist understanding by reminding duties more than rights and limiting rights over the

¹¹⁴ One of the preliminary international documents on human rights education is the '*Recommendation concerning Education for International Understanding, Co-operation and Peace and Education relating to Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms*' (UNESCO, 1974). Council of Europe has a working group producing recommendations about the content and instructional method of human rights education since the mid-1970s (Kuçuradi, 1999). The most concrete step regarding the development in human rights education was due to the UN's declaration of the decade between 1995 and 2004 as the '*United Nations Decade for Human Rights Education*'.

¹¹⁵ Based on the UN's recommendations, content on human rights and democracy were added citizenship education, and the name of citizenship education was changed as 'Citizenship and Human Rights', and a selective course titled 'Democracy and Human Rights' was added to secondary education curriculum (Kuçuradi, 1999). Furthermore, after the UN's declaration, a committee (National Committee for the Decade of Human Rights Education) was established in 1998 in Turkey under the presidency of Professor İonna Kuçuradi, and the decade between 1998 and 2007 was declared as the '*Turkey Decade for Human Rights Education*' (Kuçuradi, 1999).

'national'. The findings of this study demonstrated the existence and reproduction of the similar understanding.

Although human, children, or citizenship rights are included content-wise, they were included at the level of information-giving. Yet, human rights education requires the development of skills and attitudes besides cognitive level information sharing (Flowers, 2007; Tibbitts, 2005). Furthermore, human rights or children's rights are discussed over the issues in far countries or the world. Or, right violations in Turkey are presented as the causes of an individual or parental choices or issues such as right violations of children due to child labor. How do children become active citizens while discussing the problems over the statistics from far countries or the world, instead of developing a critical perspective about the problems or controversial issues in their neighborhood, city, or the country?

In the context of this study, the dimension that includes the discourses of the educators is vital since there have been several large-scale studies on textbooks and criticizing textbooks in the human rights education context (Çayır, 2014; Çotuksöten et al., 2003; Tüzün, 2009).

Teachers were most prone to ground human rights on equality, freedom, and human dignity. However, the nationalist perspective was observable in their human rights definitions since some of them limited human rights through the country's borders by attributing a national meaning. In that context, it is possible to see the reflections of official discourses within the discourses from the participant educators.

On the other hand, very few participants voiced the ineffectiveness of human rights education by criticizing the gap between school knowledge and everyday life experiences in terms of rights. These educators manifest inequalities, injustices, and right violations that children are directly or indirectly exposed to in their everyday lives. They directly experience socio-economic inequalities that affect their opportunities at school or in life or the gap between their lives and the narrated lives in the textbooks. Or, some of them are exposed to discrimination at schools or in society due to their class, gender, ethnic identity, or nationality differences. For instance, some of the educators indicated the existence of 'selected classrooms' at schools for the higher SES parents' children or the children with better

academic grades. Furthermore, as discussed in the following titles, children with different culture, ethnicity, nationality, or gender, compared to the majority culture, are directly or indirectly exposed to discrimination or ignorance at schools. In this point, the readiness level of teachers or prospective teachers can be discussed. In Turkey, the research on culturally responsive teaching focuses on exploring the opinions, feelings, attitudes or perceptions of teachers or prospective teachers (Demircioğlu & Özdemir, 2014; Karataş & Oral, 2015; Karataş & Oral, 2019; Kotluk & Kocakaya, 2018; Özüdoğru, 2018). The findings showed the positive attitudes and opinions towards culturally responsive teaching. Yet, they mostly feel inadequate or scholars discussed the inadequacy of teachers or prospective teachers and the need to prepare them to teach in multicultural environments. Culturally responsive teaching is about using experiences, cultural characteristics or perspectives of students from diverse cultures since when experiences or reference frames of all students are considered while teaching, the taught subject will be more meaningful and learned more easily and thoroughly (Gay, 2000, 2002; Krasnoff, 2016). Since there is a literature that uncovers the positive attitudes of teachers and teacher candidates to be able to teach culturally responsive and their self-evaluation that shows their feeling of inadequacy; the future research concentrate on the ways to improve teacher education programs and teachers' knowledge and skills. In this respect, using action research would be meaningful to discuss on how to improve competencies of teachers or prospective teachers as Tuncel (2017) did through her study.

Some educators testify the intervention towards the individuals who are struggling for their rights in society or the authoritarian attitudes of the managers and teachers at school and in the classroom. The participant educators gave these examples. I came across some discussions in some of the classrooms (classrooms V, L, and AC which had middle or upper-middle SES students) on human rights issues. I realized students' relating human rights to their everyday life experiences. And, they found some inconsistencies, sometimes through the guidance of their teachers or sometimes by themselves, between what they were told in the textbooks and their everyday life experiences. Besides, I observed the effectiveness of teacher guidance on students' critical thinking skills in terms of rights. Therefore, discourses

from some of the educators and some observation notes showed the effective way of human rights education, guiding them to relate the issues on human rights to their everyday lives and providing students a free and safe space to think, criticize and discuss. Çayır and Bağlı's (2011) study with secondary school students also showed that students need to relate human rights issues with the events, or issues in their daily lives not to find the human rights content 'unnecessary', 'unimportant' or 'boring'. However, as Schur's observation, in a classroom in Turkey, showed both teachers and students might hesitate to discuss human rights violations in Turkey (Kesten, Schur & Gürsoy, 2014). That is why glorifying the state and passivizing citizens have a danger of blocking the development of active citizens who have the right consciousness.

Another hinder to an effective human rights education was the hierarchical and vertical relationship between students and teachers in most of the classrooms I observed. Some of the teachers admitted that they do not allow children to seek their rights by using their status in the classroom; this was quite observable during the school and classroom visits since in most cases, the teacher was the 'hegemony' of the classroom.

On the other hand, this is incompatible with the philosophy and methodology of human rights education. As the studies strongly claimed, a human rights pedagogy should be grounded on participatory learning methods, a safe and free environment to share action-oriented components as well as cognitive, emotive, and attitudinal ones (Bajaj, 2011; Flowers, 2010; Flowers et al., 2000; Tibbitts, 2002; 2005). As national or international research studies showed participatory learning activities, transformative learning process, and action-oriented or project-based learning methodologies can enhance students' knowledge, understanding, skills, and attitudes in terms of human rights education which intersects also with citizenship education (Altan, 2012; Apple & Beane, 2011; Çayır & Bağlı, 2011; McLeod, 2014). Therefore, being a human rights educator requires advanced skills to ensure a participatory and transformative learning environment. Human rights educators need advanced training to gain awareness and challenge their own settled discourses, manage the classroom discussions, or guide students' by supporting the advancement of their critical thinking (Kuçuradi, 2004; Nazzari et al., 2005).

Teachers' inadequacy has emerged through the research studies with teachers or students (Çayır & Bağlı, 2011; Ersoy et al., 2017; Karaman-Kepenekçi, 2005).

Another discussion point was related to the visual impact of children's socio-economic status on their understanding of rights. While the data from the visited schools revealed children's lack of knowledge on rights and competencies on claiming their rights, it was more distinct in the schools in low socio-economic regions. This is an apparent relationship that was discussed and verified through some studies. For instance, Ersoy (2011) found a relationship between children's SES and their understanding of rights. Students with lower and middle SES have a basic understanding based on fundamental rights. In comparison, students with higher SES have awareness about the right to participate in school decisions and in the family. A study by Ron et al. (2014) conducted in four countries also revealed a close relationship between human rights understanding and SES; in other terms, SES manifested itself as a meaningful statistical predictor of human rights awareness and understanding.

While the lower SES students have a limited environment to feed their critical understanding in terms of rights, the school knowledge that based on the culture, codes, lifestyle of the dominant class, as some teachers voiced it, becomes another hinder on students in most of the cases. Consequently, low SES children have limited opportunities to become conscious and critical human beings in terms of their rights. The disconnection of the given information from their reality is an obstacle to their development as critical and active citizens who have self-knowledge and developed self-expression skills. As found in the context of this study, even in the classrooms with students living in limited housing and schooling conditions, human rights were discussed over African children.

Like I discussed the necessity of a democratic school and classroom environment for raising democratic citizens; it is also a necessity to respect the rights of students at school and in the classroom, and discuss right violations or problems related to rights over children's own experiences, testimonials or problems to be able to raise active citizens who are conscious about their and others' rights. Tibbitts (2002) classified three models to define human rights education practice: values and awareness, accountability, and transformative. As she claimed, a transformative

human rights education practice is needed to change students' understanding and skills to actively engage in the issues related to their and others' rights for the transformation of society. However, as observed, the visited schools lacked awareness of human rights, let alone being participative or transformative to enhance students' experiences in terms of rights.

5.2. The Barriers to ‘Accepting’ Differences

While writing the introduction chapter of the study, I mainly based the purposes on the consequences of having a strict citizenship definition in terms of cultural, ethnic, religious diversity; and shared the studies criticizing the essentialist understanding of citizenship education (Çayır & Gürkaynak, 2007; Çayır, 2014; Çotuksöken et al., 2003; Gök, 2003; Keyman & Kancı, 2011; İnce, 2012; Tüzün, 2009; Üstel, 2014). On the other hand, the need to analyze the essentialist understanding by envisaging curriculum more than a written text and considering the lived experiences of the school members were recalled.

The results showed the multidimensionality of the issue since the statist perspective that blocks the paths to think critically, the authoritarian perspective that hinders the development of democratic competencies, the nationalist perspective that glorifies the nation while setting the boundaries through inclusion/exclusion criteria, and the uniform understanding as the outcome of the centralized and standardized education system are feeding each other and causing the barriers on accepting differences. In other terms, the results revealed that discussing the problem solely through the essentialist, traditionalist, or nationalist understanding towards citizenship and its effects on citizenship education and examining it through official discourses are not enough to comprehend the issue from multiple perspectives.

This is quite an old discussion that starts with the question of what citizenship education is for. Is it for transmitting the knowledge, values, culture, and attitudes; or supporting children to understand themselves, people, and the world from a critical perspective to empower them to transform themselves and society in terms of the changing structures and needs (Bashir, 2015)? The uniform understanding has a danger of perceiving every difference as a threat, while the

authoritarian and statist perspectives are causing a hierarchical relationship from 'top' to 'down' and blocking every channel from thinking critically.

Thus, there are several barriers to develop an understanding of the 'normality' and even 'necessity' of differences. As revealed, the boundaries around the concept of citizenship were the first one. Due to the limits set around citizenship, and the strong entity of the 'us' discourse, the cultures other than the one defined as 'our' culture, the languages other than the one that defined as 'our' language, and the religion or ethnicity other than the ones that defined as 'ours' were mostly neglected. Besides that, the results illustrated the narrow perspective to cultural diversity and the prejudices of teachers, parents, and consequently students towards differences. In the following sections, I discuss the findings regarding those two manifested barriers.

5.2.1. A Narrow Perspective to Diversity and Differences

While cultural diversity or differences between people and groups refers to myriad dynamic differences, the textbooks have a narrow perspective. The concept of difference has loaded a meaning that mainly refers to individual differences based on physical differences, characteristics, or disability status. Although there are very few examples of cultural or religious differences, they refer to the differences between countries by a majority. These findings are coherent with the findings of some recent studies (Aratemur-Çimen & Bayhan, 2018; Sen, 2020).

Some of the teachers' responses verified that textbooks concentrate on the country-based differences and do not consist of cultural, ethnic, religious differences among the citizens of Turkey. At the same time, most of the discourses sounded as the projections of the official discourses since they focused on country-based differences, regional differences in Turkey, or individual differences among people. However, the most distinct subject that manifested itself quite strongly in terms of differences or cultural diversity was about the existence of refugee students. In other words, the educators started to talk about refugee students when they were asked their opinions about cultural diversity. Some teachers did not define their classroom as culturally diverse if there were no refugee children in the classroom. Or, to exemplify the advantages or challenges of cultural diversity, the managers indicated

their positive or negative opinions about refugee students' existence; and they mostly had a negative standpoint by emphasizing the challenges more than advantages.

At this point, there are two important issues that need to be discussed while analyzing the outcomes of the narrow perspective to differences or diversity. First of all, the ethnic, religious or cultural groups living in Turkey were neglected in the textbooks or by the majority of the educators; secondly refugee students were the only group that were defined and accepted through the concept of cultural diversity, and their existence was mostly considered as a problem or challenge by the majority.¹¹⁶ Of course, the educational policies' deficiencies or the lack of effective solutions about the integration of refugee students should be considered (Beyazova & Akbaş, 2016; HRW, 2015).¹¹⁷ However, regardless of policy-based setbacks, there were three distinct attitudes, and the first two constituted the majority, considering refugee students' existence as a problem, the discourse of promoting helping hand based on a hierarchical relationship, and considering their existence as an opportunity for the development of intercultural dialogue. On the other hand, the most important finding was how the first two attitudes were observable for all components of the school, including students, teachers, managers, counselors, and parents.

As I emphasized several times, while reading the written statements of the educators or listening to them, it was mostly felt like I was hearing the echo of the official discourses. In the official documents, while the 'us' discourse did not cover the diverse cultures, ethnicities, and religions that are part of the Anatolian culture; the discourses on refugees were grounded on empathizing, tolerance, or giving a helping hand. While the right to seek asylum is a human right, it was found that the topic of refugees is included in the textbooks or was discussed in the classrooms by

¹¹⁶ There are studies that presents managers' negative attitude towards refugee students (Sakız, 2016), and challenges -language barrier, insufficient knowledge, and skills to teach in multilingual and multicultural classrooms, conflict resolution skills- of teachers about having refugee students in their classrooms, in Turkey (Arslan & Ergül, 2021; Erdem, 2017; Özenç & Saat, 2019; Sağlam & İlksen-Kanbur, 2017; Taşkın & Erdemli, 2018; Tunga et al., 2020).

¹¹⁷ A literature review study by Tunga et al. (2020) gives a perspective on the policies and their effectiveness. I do not discuss this issue by considering the limits of this study.

decontextualizing the issue and utilizing it to glorify the state and the nation through the discourse of 'lending helping hand'. However, “*human rights are not something that are donated or bestowed; they need to be recognized, protected and developed*” (Çotuksöken, 2012, p. 40). In other words, basing the 'positive' attitudes towards refugees through the 'lending helping hand' discourse in a human rights education course is quite paradoxical in terms of human rights philosophy. Rights should be recognized; they should not be dependent on the mercy of the 'host' community, especially while teaching human rights. Furthermore, according to Sen (2020), the discourse of the textbooks on refugees is about the state's 'opening its arms' or state's helping the refugees, which glorifies the state and reflects the statism.

Besides the lending helping hand discourse, the discourse of “tolerance” or “being tolerant towards refugees” needs to be considered and studied more, as tolerance is a very multidimensional phenomenon that includes “prejudice” as well (Hjerm et al., 2020). According to UNESCO’s *Declaration of Principles on Tolerance* (1995), “*tolerance is respect, acceptance, and appreciation of the rich diversity of our world's cultures, our forms of expression and ways of being human...Tolerance is harmony in difference.*”. By grounding their study on the widely-accepted definition of tolerance, Hjerm (2020) examined the dimensions of tolerance and found that it is best understood as a three-dimensional phenomenon that consists of acceptance of, respect for, and appreciation of difference. When they analyzed the relationship between tolerance and prejudices, they reached another important finding which showed that only appreciation of difference has the potential of reducing prejudices compared to respect for or acceptance of diversity. During observations and interviews, the tolerance discourse sounded like it is carrying prejudices inside and a hierarchical perspective; yet, to analyze what tolerance refers in terms of diversity or difference in the context of Turkey, further research is needed.

In general, three attitudes were promoted as the perspective to differences: respect, empathy, and tolerance. However, since differences are included through a narrow perspective by mostly emphasizing individual differences, understanding the textbooks to proceed cultural differences is hard to examine. Besides, country-based differences, which is the most cited difference in terms of cultural differences,

are consisted over differences around traditional clothes, cuisine, songs, dances, etc. This understanding reminded me the 'museum approach' to the diverse cultures, which refers to exocitizing different cultures through a reductionist perspective by only using their clothes, cuisine, traditional dances or songs and viewing them as static, not dynamic (Ghosh & Abdi, 2004).

On the other hand, the document analysis was uncovered some hostile discourses towards some of the European countries and ethnic components of Turkey. Although these are included historically in the context of the National Struggle, Armenians are still a part of Turkey, which cannot be denied or overseen in the official discourses in education and needs to be carefully presented to promote an inclusive democratic culture for all existing cultures in a country. Considering the developments in citizenship education that promotes citizenship competencies by considering cosmopolitanism, cultural diversity, increasing migration, accusing some nations has a danger of reproducing the hostilized discourses or stereotypes in the society do not align with the terms human rights or civic rights. A new and multidimensional perspective is needed that clears of a superior understanding of 'us' while marginalization of 'others' as external or internal threats (Koulouri, 2000; Stradling, 2003). Since the research with Armenian students or adults demonstrated their negative educational experiences due to being hostilized through such prevailing discourses in textbooks and the society (Gözoğlu, 2013; Yazıcı, 2015).

Of course, there were educators who had a critical standpoint and were conscious of the dominant discourse that limited the perspective to differences and diversity. They voiced a lack of intercultural dialogue between diverse components of the city and society at large. Besides, they remarked how this lack of communication and dialogue is deepened with the arrival of refugees. The rooted problems between diverse components of society have been causing divisions.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁸ There are diverse minority groups in Turkey, yet the minority concept consists of Armenians, Greeks, and Jews since Lausanne Peace Treaty in 1923. On the other hand, there are other religious groups living in Turkey such as Caferis, Assyrians, Yezidis, Protestants, Bahais; and they have not been accepted inside "minorities" and they do not have rights to practice, to teach their religion and culture freely. For more detailed information, see Oran (2004) and Aktar (2009). On the other hand, there are Alevi citizens who make for roughly 20% of Turkey's population and approximately two-thirds of them speak Turkish, and the rest speak either Kurdish Kurmanci dialect or Zazaki (as Kurdish, a northwestern Iranian language). For more detailed information, see Dressler (2008), Karaosmanoğlu (2013), and Oran (2004). Besides these ethnic and religious groups, there are Laz,

Such a divided society with deep-rooted problems about accepting the 'differences' and considering the nation through a strict 'us' discourse is naturally having problems about the inclusion of newcomers. In other terms, they highlighted that as a nation, there are several historically rooted problems causing the divisions between components; therefore, without the development of a sound perspective towards the 'diversity' and 'differences' in the nation itself, it will be challenging to find solutions about social cohesion considering the refugee population in the context of education. As shared previously, some reports show the educational problems of minority groups in Turkey, such as discrimination and inequalities to reach or continue their education (Alp & Taştan, 2010; Kaya, 2007; ERG, 2021a).

Furthermore, as uncovered through the educators' narratives, from schools located in Kurdish-dense areas, Kurdish children feel excluded and as second-class citizens since they think that they are not given some rights such as speaking their mother tongue at school or being recognized through their ethnic identity. After refugees' arrival, they, again, feel excluded due to refugees who can speaking their mother tongue, and they are negatively reacting to refugees' existence. This narrow perspective to differences might affect the understanding of the individuals from minority groups as in the case of Kurdish-Syrian conflicts. This is one of the outcomes that needs further research to examine the motivation of anger from Kurdish to Syrian students.

Besides, the results revealed that Kurdish students cannot speak their mother tongue in some of these schools compared to the past. The perspective to differences might be an obstacle on minority students' learning their mother tongue.¹¹⁹ There

Abkhaz, Circassian, Kurdish, Arabic and Roman citizens (Kaya, 2007). As explained in the methodology chapter, Mersin has a mixed culture with Turkish, Kurdish, Arabic, Roman, Sunni, Alevi citizens, and refugees. The participants referred to the deep-rooted and historical problems between the majority groups and the officially accepted and officially non-accepted minority populations.

¹¹⁹ Since 2012 (MoNE, 2012), there are policy studies (Curricular letter no:37) on the teaching of local languages in secondary schools (5th to 8th grades) and in the case of 10 students stating their request through an application to the school management, an elective course on one of the local languages can be opened. However, this could not be effectively transferred into practice and there are several reasons for that, such as lack of teachers who can teach local languages; or sometimes in some regions and for some languages, such as Laz language or Georgian, it is difficult to find 10 students. See Bilmez and Çağatay's study (2021) for further information, they evaluated the elective course Living Languages and Dialects through the case of Laz language.

are research studies that indicate the destructive effects of monolingual education understanding and practices, such as difficulty in expressing oneself, difficulty in understanding the lessons, non-achievement of educational objects and consequently low self-confidence, discrimination, tendency to withdrawn, and school drop-outs (Ayan-Ceyhan & Koçbaşı, 2009; Coşkun et al., 2010; Yılmaz & Şekerci, 2016).

Another point that needs to be emphasized is the reported resistance of Kurdish and Syrian parents and students to change. The results showed the reaction of minority groups towards the dominant culture. Since they coded schools as state institutions, sometimes parents or students from minority groups resist change not to lose their culture. In the context of this study, the fear of diverse groups -Turks, Kurds, Syrians- about losing their culture might be a cause of the boundaries around citizenship and the narrow perspective to differences and diversity.

Official documents perpetuate to construct the nationalist discourses such as the strict 'us' definition or not recognizing the diverse cultural, ethnic, or religious groups in the country; and the educators at schools were reproducing these discourses. Consequently, including children, the majority of the society -even individuals from the minority groups- reacting the existence of different groups or identities other than their own. On the other hand, this may cause the resistance of minority groups against the dominant culture not to lose their culture. This causes a reproduction cycle of prejudices towards some groups and people; and anger and conflicts between diverse groups at schools and society.

5.2.2. Prejudices towards Differences

“Our latest trend is Syrians; there is an antipathy against them (V-S3).”
“...in the last few years, there has been a discrimination and lovelessness towards foreign students in our country, they are not wanted (26-54Y).”

These quotes from the participants have already been shared, yet I want to start the section with them since they have a pretty strong tone. During the school visits, several prejudices were determined through the lived experiences of educators. Not only the participated educators have prejudiced opinions towards different cultural groups such as Kurds or foreign students; their narrations or my observations

revealed the prejudiced opinions of the parents and students.

The educators' narratives disclosed the parents' prejudices and how their attitudes had an impact on their children's behaviors. Conflicts between local and refugee students were reported in most schools with refugee student populations. In most cases, these prejudices were causing discrimination against the refugee students, and as reported, these were causing refugees' forming groups and gangs to protect themselves. The boundary between local and refugee students was defined as an 'invisible' one by a teacher, yet the boundary was quite visible in most cases. Even in the schools with Syrian support personnel, there were visible boundaries between local teachers and Syrian support personnels.

The prejudices or stereotyped opinions of citizens towards refugees have been the subject or the outcome of some research studies (Kirişçi, 2014; Özden, 2013). Several studies found the prejudiced opinions and negative attitudes of local parents and consequently local students towards refugee children at schools (Arslan & Ergül, 2021; Beyazova & Akbaş, 2016; Kaysılı et al., 2019; Sakız, 2016).

On the other hand, not only the parents and the students but also the teachers' prejudices were also uncovered by educators' narratives in some of the schools. The educators who were dissentient to the government's refugee policy, considering refugee students as workload or burden, or describing 'assimilation' while talking about 'integration' of refugee students, the teachers who had difficulties to encounter the challenges due to refugee students' existence in their classrooms, or the ones who regarded refugee students as 'potential threats' in the future and supported their education to remove the danger, were prone to reproduce the prejudices in the schools. Considering the inadequacy of teachers to teach in multilingual classrooms and to manage the cultural diversity in multicultural classrooms, their not being able to manage the process might be the reason for the prejudices or negative attitudes, to some extent, as it is verified by several research previously (Başarır, 2012; Erdem, 2017; Gömleksiz & Aslan, 2018; Tunga et al., 2020).

However, some of the teachers' narratives disclosed that teachers' attitudes can hinder the prejudices against minority groups. If teachers do not allow prejudiced or stereotyped opinions or attitudes that can affect the classroom process,

parents and students can have a chance to face their prejudices. Otherwise, teachers or educators, in general, will be other causes of the reproduction of the prejudices, divisions, or conflicts at schools. Thus, regardless of educational policies, official discourses, or prejudices of parents and students, teachers can act as a transformative power to change the perspectives of parents and students. This is the last topic of discussion, yet, before that, I focus on the differences in terms of gender and class to expand the discussion about the differences and citizenship education.

Gendered Citizenship

There were so many hidden discourses on gender in the textbooks. Roles, tasks, plays, clothes, occupations, activities, and interests are gendered, while a gendered language was observed in some cases. Although a few illustrations or examples challenge the traditionally accepted gender roles, the dominant discourse is still gendered. Besides, the existence of the incoherent discourses, as seen in the example of ‘science-man vs science-human’, shows the superficiality of the steps taken to develop a gender-neutral language and gender-neutral citizenship understanding. Several studies found the reproduction of gender inequalities through the textbooks, and the results of this study verified the findings from the previous ones, which show the reproduction of gendered discourses through the official documents from the past to the present (Aratemur-Çimen & Bayhan, 2018; Carlson & Kancı, 2016; Dökmen, 1995; Esen, 2007; Kancı & Altınay, 2007; Kancı, 2007, 2008; İnce, 2018; Tanrıöver, 2003).

On the other hand, in this study, the curriculum was envisaged as more than a written text; that is why the teachers' discourses were essential to analyze the curriculum as a phenomenological construct. However, when the teachers were asked their opinions about the gender perspective of the textbooks, the vast majority could not realize the gendered discourses and reported no gender inequality. Even, some of the teachers continued to reproduce the gender inequality by their discourses, attitudes, or behaviors; or during the observations, it was found that teachers did not start a discussion to widen students' perspective whenever a discourse was reproduced by students related to gender inequality. Only a small portion of the teachers had a critical perspective and discerned the reproduction of

traditional gender roles through the textbooks. As it is discussed and criticized, teachers' reproducing the gendered discourses might cause their becoming another tool of orthodoxies (Banks, 2008; Baç, 1997; Freire, 2014; Streitmatter, 1994; Torun, 2002).

The deeper analysis also uncovered the rooted discourses that provide space and freedom for boys while laying a burden for girls. Girls were described as more successful, more motivated, obedient, more responsible, and harmonious. Besides these, there were some common descriptions such as girls' being compatible and mature while boys' being irresponsible and spoiled. Although gender intersects with class and ethnicity or nationality in some cases and determined the social and academic experiences of a girl from a low income and in-migration region and a girl from a middle or upper-middle SES family; the results disclosed the similarity of the 'expected' or 'perceived' social and academic behaviors or roles from a girl regardless of her class or ethnicity. Similarly, the descriptions for boys were also intersected among the educators working in socio-economically diverse regions. Findings revealed that regardless of class or ethnicity, the descriptions are similar for boys. There are similar findings reached through some other national or international research studies (Baba, 2007; Paechter, 1998). These findings illustrated the similar descriptions used for boys, such as naughty and disruptive. These binaries that reproduced to describe girls and boys seem to be motivating and liberating for girls. However, these should be considered thoroughly. Since having more expectations from girls and giving more responsibility to them while providing more freedom or space to boys by excusing their behaviors due to their being more 'energetic' have a danger of reproducing gender inequalities.

There was one crucial question in my mind about the gender issue while collecting and analyzing the data. Almost all of the educators' agreed about girls' being more successful and motivated; the question is at which point do girls break away from education and become less apparent in the working life. According to the gender statistics, men participate in the labor force 2.2 times more than women (TUIK, 2020). I do not consider education as a tool to participate in the labor force; however, I am questioning the parameters of being visible in society. What happens after school? From a different aspect, what I found was again contradicted with the

discourses about girls and boys; the managers were male primarily while teaching has been a women-dominant profession. Thus, schools were observed as the places where men and women perpetuated their "routine" tasks and roles. Furthermore, boys' dominance over the school gardens or halls was also verified by the findings of this study while it verifies some other study's results (Paechter, 1998). By considering the dominance of boys in the school garden and halls, their dominance during class hours, or the dominance of men over historical narratives on the walls of the schools, it can be claimed that the schools' hidden curriculum was gendered.

To return to the topic of intersectionality again, the results revealed the profound influence of the intersection of class, ethnicity, or migration on girls' academic and social experiences, as highlighted by several other studies previously (Ünal & Özsoy, 1999). Girls' living in low income and in-migration regions had more difficulties in terms of continuing their education. Yet, most educators were prone to blame the parents and their cultures. On the other hand, blaming parents can reproduce the common opinion, which claims that uneducated and uncultured parents who move from rural areas do not support girls' education.

To some extent, this might be a fact. There are studies which show the negative impact of traditional views of parents -such as considering girls' as helper to the housework, positive attitudes to early marriages, or concern for girls' chastity- (Caner et al., 2015; Carlson & Kancı, 2016; Rankin & Aytacı, 2006;). However, the nested facts should be taken into consideration, since blaming parents or their socio-cultural characteristics are not enough to discern the issue from multiple perspectives. The analysis needs to be deepened to develop effective educational and social policies and practices. On the other hand, as Paechter (1998) indicated 'hegemony' always finds a way to canalize the discussion by constructing and reproducing the hegemonic discourse through which social reality is explained. From this perspective, educators' blaming parents while not criticizing the deficiencies of the educational policies blocks the discussion and causes the reproduction of the hegemonic discourse.

For instance, deep structural inequalities were found between the social experiences of students from socio-economically low, middle, and upper-middle schools. While students from low income regions had quite limited opportunities,

even in some cases no opportunities to experience diverse social activities or sports, students from middle and upper-middle socio-economic schools had choices to develop or self-evaluate themselves in different social activities as well as being an outside social life. Again, boys from low income regions were freer than girls, and at least they could socialize outside the school with their peers. Eventually, girls from low income regions fell into the bottom line when class, ethnicity, migration status, and gender intersected. Considering the goals of Turkey's recent policy titled For a Stronger Tomorrow: Education Vision 2023¹²⁰ - reducing gaps between schools and improving school learning environments through a holistic and human-centered approach-, the findings revealed the deficiencies quite clearly.

The class appeared as a parameter that was affecting students' experiences, understandings, and self-confidence. Therefore, it requires a separate discussion.

The Effect of Class Differences on Students' School Experiences

The intersection of the class had a quite distinct character in the findings of the study. It was uncovered that students' school experiences change regarding their socio-economic class. In addition, the class difference was an essential determinant that affects the educators' experiences and creates a gap in terms of challenges they are encountering.

Before expanding the discussion towards the conditions of schools or opportunities provided to students with different socio-economic backgrounds, textbooks' or in general, the school knowledge representing the dominant class's knowledge needs to be briefly discussed. The *cultural capital* of the dominant class and dominant culture are reproduced through the official documents (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990). In other terms, higher class children's cultural and linguistic advantages can be observable. The curriculum and textbooks provide advantages in terms of their everyday life experiences since there was a coherence between the school knowledge and everyday life in the context of socio-economic class. In comparison, lower-class children have to comprehend the school knowledge, which may not reflect their realities. Therefore, as reported by a few participants, there is

¹²⁰ See the translated version from http://2023vizyonu.meb.gov.tr/doc/2023_VIZYON_ENG.pdf

a gap between the school knowledge and lower SES students' experiences which creates a disadvantage and causes the reproduction of inequalities.

The school and classroom facilities were changing in terms of the regions that the schools were located inside. The region of the schools was closely associated with the socio-economic status of the families which eventually determined the physical capacity of the schools and the classrooms. Findings from diverse cohorts that collected with diverse methods confirmed each other in this respect. Thus, the physical opportunities of the students that set the social and academic experiences of the students, the materials that teachers needed to deepen the learning process of the children, or the financial problems that the managers were dealing with were heavily changing through the financial, cultural and social potential of the parents. Consequently, poverty appears as a source of inequality (ERG, 2021a). Students with similar socio-economic backgrounds stack in the same schools and parents' SES has an essential impact on the quality of education in terms of hygiene contexts, resources, or opportunities for extra-curricular activities (ERG, 2021a).

Furthermore, the schools with low SES families mainly were located in migration receiving regions with a high percentage of Kurdish, local Arabic, Roman or refugee students. This finding needs further consideration since it revealed that the inequalities might deepen when class intersects with ethnicity or nationality.

The most striking point among these findings was to find that how some of the educators, working in low in-come regions, became blind to the inequalities and unequal conditions and criticized parents' being uneducated, and 'unconcerned'; while was not considering the unequal conditions of the students compared to their higher SES peers.

The class was observed as an essential factor that limits students' social experiences in terms of the relationship they had with their peers and teachers. Having a culturally diverse background, in the case of Kurdish or local Arabic students, did not have a meaningful impact on students' school experience in higher socio-economic background schools since the class has the power to make the ethnic or cultural differences invisible. In other terms, when class intersects with ethnic or religious difference, these differences become less visible in the schools with higher

SES students. However, being a refugee student was not invisible in each circumstance. Even they were accused of violating the local students' rights for not paying 'donations' in the schools in higher socio-economic regions or getting aids from international NGO's in the schools located in lower socio-economic regions. Although most Syrian students were exposed to prejudiced attitudes from their local peers or sometimes teachers, the school experiences of those living in low socio-economic regions were still worse than their socio-economically higher peers.

SES differences in the mixed SES schools were reported as one of the causes of conflicts among parents and students. Families that were better off financially had opportunities to organize educational or social activities. In contrast, families with low economic status not being able to attend were reported as one of the reasons for the conflicts among parents. Furthermore, SES differences were found to be one of the reasons of discrimination in the schools with mixed SES families.

Another distinct difference observed between the schools located in lower and upper socio-economic regions was about the students' self-confidence. Results uncovered that their SES might influence students' self-confidence; yet, further studies are needed for more detailed discussions. Not only in terms of self-confidence, students' understanding on rights, their vocabulary, or self-expression skills were related to the opportunities they were provided at home and school. On the other hand, the results also disclosed how effective were the teachers' being competent to teach HRCDC content on students' critical understanding which eventually has the power of enriching students' experiences even they had limited socio-economic opportunities.

5.3. Education as Reproduction vs Praxis: Teacher Competencies Discussed

As curriculum was envisaged more than a written text, students' classroom experiences with diverse backgrounds were considered important to evaluate the citizenship curriculum in terms of diversity. Findings uncovered teachers' knowledge, opinions, understanding, and attitudes about citizenship and diversity or differences. This also showed how their understanding and perspective can affect their competences to teach citizenship that consonant with students' pedagogical, social, and cultural needs.

Findings revealed that teachers were prone to use expository teaching methods by passivizing students and utilizing the methods and techniques - lecturing, giving examples, using visuals such a competencies picture, asking close-ended questions, solely following the textbook- that provide a classroom environment for rote learning. In other terms, they had quite a conservative approach, although the content -democracy, rights, active citizenship- required constructivist, creative, and interactive learning environments. Among 202 teachers, only one teacher emphasized the need for a democratic environment for students internalizing democracy in the survey forms. Among seven teachers that observed, only two of them ensured an interactive learning environment where students could learn critical thinking. These findings are consistent with the findings of previous research (Bağlı & Çayır, 2011; Karaman-Kepenekçi, 2005; Karakuş-Özdemirci et al., 2020).

As revealed previously, most of them had a nationalist citizenship perspective which can be regarded as both the cause and consequence of statist and authoritarian perspectives to citizenship. The lack of democratic attitude and the statist perspective could be discerned from the discourses they manifested. However, the observation findings, which affirmed the survey and interview findings, helped me deepen the analysis and closely examine the teacher attitudes, opinions, and competences.

There were two different instructional styles of teachers while teaching HRCD. One was prone to reproduce the official discourses without opening new paths for students to think, criticize, or discuss, while the other included a critical stance towards all of the established discourses. This finding is quite the same as what Bashir (2015) distinguishes between two ends of a continuum. One end has a reproductive and normalizing understanding, while the other refers to a transformative and critical pedagogy with a focus on differences and diversity on the basis of acceptance and accommodation.

The teachers who were prone to reproduce the official discourse, and had a more conservative citizenship perspective, had prevalent instructional styles, making up the majority. In those classrooms, teachers put themselves to the top hierarchically. Thus, these classrooms were hegemonic and authoritarian, and this

was more distinct in some classrooms than others in terms of the teachers' citizenship and democracy understanding. Thus, the level of hegemony or authoritarianism was even harsher in some of the classrooms. Yet, the dominance of the teachers was observable in all of them. These teachers focused on making students to memorize the content. They followed the textbook line by line without, in most of the cases, asking additional questions, opening up discussions or adding a different activity. The questions they asked were close-ended or they guided students through their questions, and eventually left no room for students to think critically. Since they closely and solely followed the textbooks, they mostly did not give feedback to students regarding their responses. These teachers did not have a repertoire to guide a discussion, ask open-ended questions, develop additional activities or find proper activities to implement, and discuss the concepts of democracy, human rights, and citizenship by considering the students' cognitive level. They were unequipped and some of them also had prejudices or stereotyped opinions which hindered the possibility of a sound learning environment for students with diverse backgrounds since a teacher with stereotyped opinions towards some cultural groups might have difficulties teaching democracy, human rights, or active citizenship. Therefore, the students in those classrooms were mainly lack of critical thinking skills. Even in the classroom AC, which was located in an 'high status' neighborhood, although the self-expression and vocabulary skills of the students were quite observable, due to teacher's lack of repertoire to teach HRC content, I could not observe a critical discussion throughout four-week observation process.

On the other hand, two teachers (L2 and V1) had a critical approach and their approach reflected their instructional style. Teachers were not hegemonic; rather, they were democratic; while students were freer, relaxed with high self-expression skills since the classrooms' climate allowed students' freely express themselves. Teachers tended to ask open-ended questions and additional questions to expand the discussion, and they cared to give feedback. Both of the teachers were creative and implemented additional activities such as 'free notebook', or 'silent walk'. They also cared about cooperative learning to provide students a classroom environment where they could learn from each other; thus, students were interacting

with each other during the classes. They related the HRCD content to everyday life issues and did not hesitate to be critical.

This finding is consistent with the findings of previous research uncovered the relationship between teachers particular views of citizenship and their choice of instruction (Gainous & Martins, 2016; Knowles, 2017). As Gainous and Martins (2016) found out liberal teachers who can provide an open classroom environment are better to teach civics consonant to a more democratic civic education approach. Knowles (2017) also discussed extensively how teachers' civic education ideology, in other terms their being conservative or liberal in terms of citizenship understanding, affect their instructional style. Conservative civic education ideology has a positive relationship with teacher-text instruction while liberal civic education ideology has positive relationship with collaborative-research based instruction activities.

Another striking point was about both classrooms' being quite multicultural. All the classrooms that I visited were multicultural, consisting of students with diverse ethnic, religious, cultural, and national backgrounds; however, during the observations, I repeatedly asked myself why I feel the cultural diversity in these two classrooms more than the others? The answer might be related to the safe environment created by these teachers to ensure students' freely share their identity without any hesitation.

Being critical was manifested itself as an essential attitude and understanding to enhance students' learning environment while teaching the content on HRCD. Moreover, one of the interviewed teacher's experience and background also took my attention that need to be considered. The teacher (V3) was lived and worked as a teacher in Germany. As an educator and father, he observed schools that considered cultural diversity and instructional approaches that allow students to experience active citizenship and democracy. Living and working in another country made him open to diversity and differences which could be distinctly observable. Thus, being open to new experiences, challenges, differences while being critical were found as essential attitudes for being an educator.

Although teachers had poor qualifications to teach HRCD content, they mostly reported not needing additional training to improve their competencies. And,

their justification was about the content's being 'so easy' and 'superficial'. Furthermore, those who reported no need of training and found the content easy were mostly found the textbook insufficient, yet they mostly continued to use it.

On the other hand, they voiced their need to get training on how to teach in or manage multicultural and multilingual schools or classrooms. Fortunately, the majority of them had a chance to participate in in-service training. However, they found the training quite insufficient. As they reported, the training focused on awareness-raising more than capacity development and was given by their colleagues -who attended the training of trainers- who were not experts on this issue. Hence, the training was not found effective in general. During the interviews, while talking about working in multicultural and multilingual classrooms or schools with the educators, I realized that the majority of them had an experience of working in culturally diverse schools with students with diverse ethnic, religious, lingual or cultural backgrounds. In this point, the question is, how do these educators still lack of competencies to practice their profession in multicultural and multilingual classrooms? While Turkey has been a multicultural and multilingual country, why do the educators, with more than 10-years' experience, not find themselves adequate to manage cultural and lingual diversity?

The studies that discuss teachers' competencies to teach HRCD content (Bağlı & Çayır, 2011; Karaman-Kepenekçi, 2005; Karakuş-Özdemirci et al., 2020; Şahan & Tural, 2018), or that examine the teachers' sufficiency to teach in multicultural and multilingual classrooms (Arslan & Ergül, 2021; Erdem, 2017; Özenç & Saat, 2019; Sağlam & İlksen-Kanbur, 2017; Taşkın & Erdemli, 2018; Tunga et al., 2020) found how unequipped teachers are.

On the other hand, this issue cannot be discerned just by discussing the lack of competencies of the teachers; the issue is bigger than that. Educational policies, teacher education policies, and the curriculum of teacher education programs need to be considered, as in such a centralized education system, teachers, sometimes, are not given choices to improve themselves. Another critical question is, are teachers the 'subjects' of the education system or are they only 'objects'? (Aktaş-Salman, 2020). Teachers might need to recall their power as educators to become 'subjects'. The results showed that this is essential to support students' development from

multiple dimensions and ensure a classroom environment for students to support them about being 'subjects' as citizens. Having a critical perspective towards self, other people, the city, nation or the world can open the paths for engaging with 'differences' without feeling fear or threat.

As I stated before, the research process was quite a meaningful learning process for me as the researcher and one of the participants of the study. Thus, I believe sharing my transformation provide insights in terms of the discussion of findings.

How I transformed?

As I indicated in the introduction and then elaborated on in the methodology chapter, I position myself as a critical researcher and the methodology I framed was based on the critical qualitative inquiry. That is why the methodology of this research emerged as more than a bunch of the data collection and analysis choices; the methodology was on the center.

I had a critical consciousness from the beginning, yet I can say that I gained the perspective to be a critical researcher during the research process. At first, I positioned myself as the expert who conducts the research, analyzes all the problems and challenges, and makes a conclusion and suggestions to improve. However, it did not take long to realize how this perspective contradicts with critical theory and critical research, which shaped the questions of this research study. Thus, I learned to position myself as a learner and one of the participants. That is the time I recalled the power of teachers to transform the classroom climate by creating a safe and free environment for the inclusion of every student to the learning process. That is when I start to consider teachers as citizens and educators and realized the necessity of being 'subject' to teach active citizenship, democracy or human rights. Thus, I learned to elude from the top to down perspective and recalled the necessity of grassroots actions.

I started this journey by reading about multicultural citizenship education. However, this learning experience that I gained while observing teachers' strength or their need to feel strong helped me get a critical perspective on all suggestions about managing diversity in the context of citizenship education. The data showed

me it is not about using a 'concept' and making your claims through that concept. I learned to hear the data and examine and discuss the paths through the data as a critical qualitative inquirer.

It was quite a comprehensive learning process, with mistakes, and self-criticisms, with a personal and citizenship dimension as well as an academic one; and with the new questions that emerged during the research process. However, I first conclude this one, to be able to continue to ask my further questions.

5.4. Summary and Conclusion

In this part, I close the discussions that I opened at the beginning of the study and that emerged through the findings. This is the section; I conclude the discussions in a framework that the results guided.

There are two main conclusions that I want to elaborate. The first one is about the schema of citizenship (Figure 5.1) that emerged, which blocks the paths to create a free and safe classroom environment and learning experience for all students with different ethnic, religious, cultural, socio-economic, or gender identity backgrounds that are not represented in the 'us' discourse. Yet, which also uncovers the border crosser teachers who create a free and safe environment for all and encourage students to criticize, discuss, ask and share openly.

CITIZENSHIP UNDERSTANDING IN THE CONTEXT OF CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION

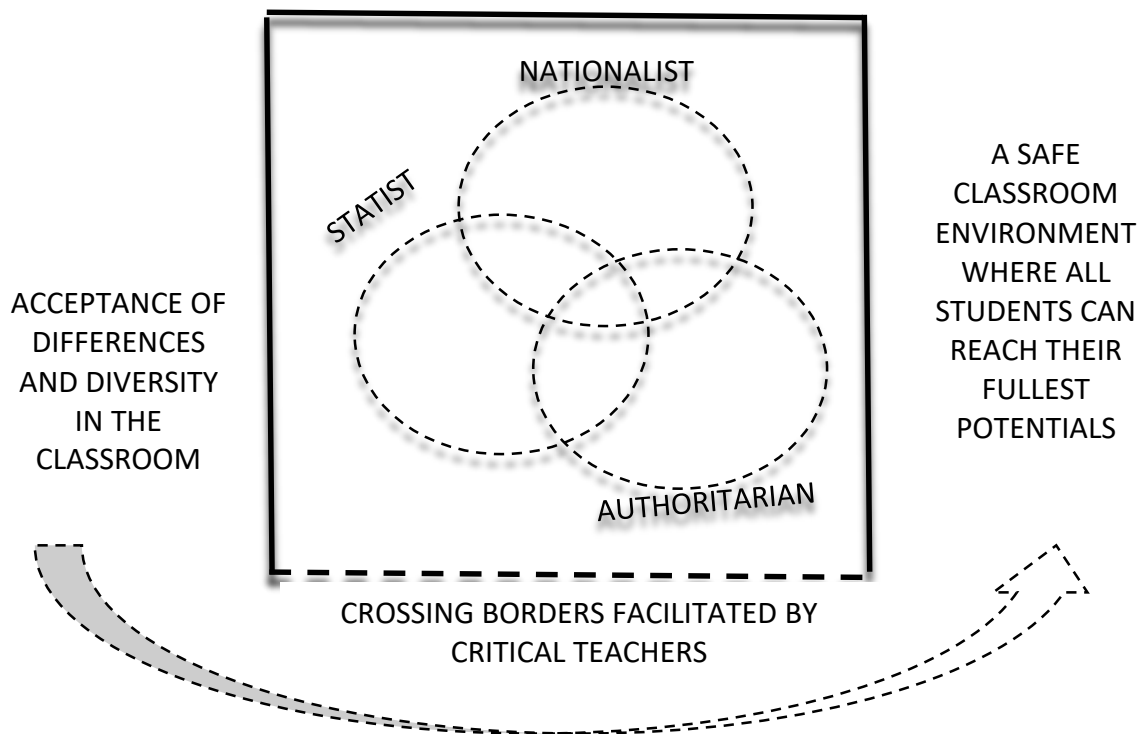


Figure 5.1 A Schema based on the Existent Patterns on the Understanding of
Citizenship Education

While I was seeking answers about how diversity and differences are considered in the curriculum as a phenomenological construct, the findings showed a more profound framework that needs to be considered to overcome the inequalities in the context of citizenship education. The statist, authoritarian and nationalist perspective to citizenship, in the educational context, become barriers to the acceptance of 'differences' that refers to the differences other than the dominant and accepted culture in terms of ethnicity, religion, or gender identity. As Hoffman (2004) discussed, to change the understanding on citizenship to make it more coherent with cultural diversity requirements, we need more than a horizontal extending by adding some diverse groups or cultures; the need is to deepen and qualitatively transform citizenship understanding. Therefore, rather than respecting cultural diversity as a concept in the curriculum and textbooks or adding some examples from diverse cultures of the world, new rationality is needed to ground the citizenship education, which can challenge the statist, nationalist and authoritarian

perspectives. However, as I told this top to down perspective is what I challenged throughout the research process.

Giroux's (1980) emancipatory rationality-based citizenship education grounded on critique and action; Giroux's general perspective to citizenship education and the role of teachers provide insights to transform the understanding of citizenship education. Evaluating the changing codes of the society, promoting historical critique by analyzing the past to overcome the problems related to the past, promoting critical perspective and social action are the specific set of assumptions and social practices of the emancipatory citizenship education. However, this requires critical teachers who are conscious about power, culture and knowledge relations and the enormous influence of the hidden curriculum; who have a critical perspective to transform themselves and who can ensure a free and safe space for all students by promoting their critical thinking to be critical citizens.

The findings revealed that the free and safe learning environment where students are themselves with their identities and express themselves promotes critical thinking. And, in those classrooms, the diversity of cultures and ethnicities could be observable compared to the classrooms where teachers tried to 'fit' the students into the existing culture through the dominant discursive framework.

The second topic to conclude is about the understanding of citizenship education that is comprehensively reviewed in the second chapter. I started to study this issue (citizenship education and diversity or differences) by reviewing the discussions on the post-national citizenship approach and its reflections on citizenship education. As shared, several concepts -multicultural, intercultural, differentiated, global, world, cosmopolitan, etc.- were emerged. The field is quite open to enrichment since global migration, anti-colonial movements of former colonial countries, the enriching identities and changing codes of the concepts such as culture and identity; these all affect the strict nation-state idea, as well as the robust definitions of citizenship and national identity. On the other hand, a critical literature emerged for each concept claiming to overcome the '*tragedy*' of the modern and national citizenship which is reproducing the equality discourse and the inequalities at the same time in terms of diversity and differences (Yeğen, 2005).

However, the critical understanding of citizenship education considers the structural inequalities and discusses the ways of going beyond the strict definitions of modern and national citizenship and its reflections to citizenship education. As the findings revealed the existence of structural inequalities, both historically and in the present in terms of ethnic, religious, gender, or national identity differences; discussing this issue through one of the widely-studied and narrowly-practiced post-national citizenship education concepts do not have a potential to provide strong insights to improve the experiences of students with diverse background in the context of citizenship education. As Staeheli and Hammett (2010) argued, it is not easy to create a 'new' kind of citizen in divided societies with deeply rooted problematic histories in terms of the relationship between different components of the nation, while there is a solid and increasing polarization in the society (Keyman, 2014; KONDA, 2019; TurkuazLab, 2020).

That is why top to down approaches to changing the context of citizenship education in terms of the newly emerged post-national concepts might become other reproduction tools. As Lister (2008) claims, citizenship education programs are far from overcoming marginalization and inequalities, and she defines this as endemic to all countries. Since, the identity that is the reason of marginalization is often accompanied by structural inequalities in terms of poverty, or gender.

On the other hand, there is a potential, that was disclosed also through the findings of this study, of teachers by transforming themselves, their understanding and the way they are teaching. According to Giroux (1991a, 1991b, 1991c, 1991d), by creating a classroom environment that is enriched by border pedagogy, students can learn to respect differences and have the opportunity to experience the multiplicity of democratic practices, and teachers have an opportunity to rethink the relationship between power and knowledge and its representations on the lives of different groups. Border pedagogy transcends the rigid borders of the 'us' discourse that reproduce the inequalities among citizens; it open paths for the reproduction of critical discourse by promoting critical thinking, asking, discussing, allowing historical critique and linking the school knowledge to the everyday realities in an open, free and safe classroom environment. Border pedagogy creates opportunities for both teachers and students to leave one-dimensional understanding to cultures,

and identities; rather, it encourages students to cross the borders for a mutual understanding. As I discussed before, the nationalist and one-dimensional understanding of citizenship does not only affect the marginalized; also, the 'superior' is exposed to develop an essentialist and one-dimensional citizenship understanding that hinders one's getting rich experiences in terms of differences and diversity.

The role of teachers is distinct for such a pedagogy (Giroux, 1991a, 1991b, 1991c, 1991d). However, as it was shared, the participant teachers lacked the repertoire to provide such a learning environment for students. They mostly became the tool of reproduction; or the 'objects' in such a centralized and standardized education system (Aktaş-Salman, 2020; ERG, 2021b). That is why discussing and challenging the emerged schema of citizenship understanding is essential. On the other hand, the action is quite valuable and has a rich potential to support transformation; thus, as the results of this study showed, being critical educators has a potential of enlarging spaces by challenging the official discourses and creating counter-discourses to transform and also provide students a space to transform in the context of citizenship education.

5.5. Implications for Theory, Methodology, Practice and Further Research

There are several implications of this study in terms of theory, methodology and practice. In this section, I indicate the implications by also considering their contribution to further research.

5.5.1. Theoretical Implications

The study confirms the influence of the nationalist view of citizenship education on the citizenship understanding of teachers, managers, counselors, and students. The nationalist perspective to citizenship draws boundaries around the citizenship phenomenon. It creates the 'us' discourse as it has been widely and scholarly discussed for decades in the context of modern citizenship understanding that blended with nationalism and constructs and reproduces a strict definition of national identity (Anderson, 1995; Gellner, 1992; Hobsbawm, 1990; Renan, 2016). From this point, the study verified the previous studies' findings and discussions on

the nationalist imagination of citizenship from the past to the present in Turkey (Çapar, 2006; Caymaz, 2008; Çayır & Gürkaynak, 2007; İnce, 2012; Keyman & Kancı, 2015; Sen, 2020; Üstel, 2014).

Besides the national imagination to reproduce the nation constantly, this study uncovered how statism and authoritarianism are blended with nationalism and all these together block the ways to accept any kind of difference since they promote standardization. This schema that emerged during the research process based on the findings calls to deepen the studies on 'managing' the diversity in the context of citizenship education. Although these hand in hand 'visions' and the relationship between them were indicated through several studies with large-scale data (Çayır, 2014; Çotuksöten et al., 2003; Tüzün, 2009; Üstel, 2014), they mainly analyzed the curriculum and the textbooks. On the other hand, as Koulouri (2000) reminded, what goes on in classrooms is quite valuable to discern an educational issue. By including the lived experiences of school members, the findings of this study open two paths to deepen the research. First of all, investigating the reproduction of official discourses directly by the teachers, managers, counselors, or even students can strengthen the discussions regarding the effects of authoritarianism and statism. Yet, analyzing textbooks and curriculum has a danger of unseeing the counter-discourses and practices to transcend the authoritarian, nationalist, and statist tone. That is why citizenship education studies that aim to examine the condition in terms of differences and diversity need to look at the classrooms to catch the possible ways to encounter. This is the second illuminating path for further research.

Thirdly, the study showed the inconsistencies in terms of citizenship understanding both in the curriculum and textbooks. Although some of the discourses in the official documents seem quite compatible with the recent discussions in the international literature such as raising problem solvers, active citizens and critical thinkers who respect cultural diversity; also showed how these brand new discourses are melted down or in Piagetian words 'assimilated' in the citizenship schema of the state and the people. Thus, the study disclosed that further research should concentrate on how to accommodate the discourse and how this can reflect the lived experiences of school members. Relatedly, the schema also manifested the essential relationship between citizenship, democracy, and human

rights concepts in the context of citizenship education; and, how the minimal interpretations of each concept can hinder a sound development of democracy, human rights and citizenship understanding in the context of differences and diversity.

The study also showed the intersection of identities, and a need of multidimensional perspective not to lose the links and to deepen the analysis. Thus, from the very beginning, my perspective to the concepts I studied helped me discern the intersections of class, gender, ethnicity, nationality, migration, and religion. Citizenship refers to multiple identities, and citizenship education studies should consider these multi-dimensionality and how dynamic are the concepts of identity, culture, difference, and citizenship.

Another implication of the study is about it's being the voice of the marginalized through the findings. Having a critical perspective and defining myself as a critical researcher helped me not to miss the inequalities and discriminative discourses that the different groups were exposed to. I constantly recall the power relations and their possible effect on the students with diverse backgrounds. Besides, as a curriculum research, placing the curriculum to a critical standpoint, expanded the way through which the continuing ignorance and discrimination were analyzed (Slattery, 2006).

Related to this, the transformative role of education as 'praxis' by citing Freire (2014), and the transforming role of discursive practice by acknowledging the literature on critical discourse analysis are regarded. In other terms, the unilateral relationship between the state and citizen, the curriculum and the citizen, education and the citizen, or discourse and the citizen are rejected which eventually provided to see the 'out there' possibilities. Therefore, acknowledging the bilateral and multidimensional relationships between the concepts theoretically can enhance further research in terms of a theory which ultimately can open new paths for practice.

5.5.2. Methodological Implications

There were several methodological implications of the study as well as the theoretical ones. The methodological implications are about the curriculum research and the opportunities of the critical qualitative inquiry.

As explained in the previous section, placing the curriculum to a critical standpoint extended my vision while studying on the core concepts. Because imagining the curriculum more than as a text, rather as a *living organism*, can change the perspective and the research becomes more open to new possibilities (Pinar, 1978, 2004; Pinar et al., 2002). This perspective helped me to realize the necessity of a transformation in the context of curriculum research. As Greene (1993) reminded, if we want to encounter with the marginalization of differences within the curriculum, we need more than adding to it, it needs a transformation. Thus, reading curriculum as a *living organism*, and seeing its potential to be transformed and transform open new ways for me as a researcher to enlarge my vision, in the context of curriculum studies. There are myriad ways to enhance the curriculum research by envisaging it more than a written document with a top-down perspective. Relatedly with this understanding, I realized the importance of action research and the importance of the relationship between universities and schools, between researchers and educators, which can extend the further research on citizenship education curriculum. Using teacher action research is quite an old discussion, and starting from 1950s there have been studies on how to use action research to improve the curriculum by promoting teacher action research (Burnaford, Beane & Brodhagen, 1994; McKernan, 1987; Saban, 2021). Furthermore, the same issue is also discussed in the context of teacher education programs and teacher-educators and their potential collaboration with the prospective teachers and teachers to improve the curriculum and curriculum research (Campbell, 2013; Simms, 2013). Besides these studies, there is a literature on claiming the need of participatory action research (PAR) in education by separating its rationale from action research (Jacobs, 2016). From the perspective of PAR, research should be participatory by including all the relevant members of the process that aim to be improved. In other terms, it challenges all the hierarchical relations between the researcher-teacher, teacher-student, or researcher-student in the context of educational research. As

there is lack of interest to enhance the field of curriculum research in terms of action or participatory action research in the context of citizenship education; in this respect, I, as an insider-researcher felt the need of improving the field.

Again, relatedly to these implications, defining myself as a learner in the context of critical qualitative inquiry provided me an insider perspective without forgetting my researcher role. However, at that point, I realized how I felt empowered in time as I realized the spaces that can be enlarged in terms of curriculum research in the context of HRCD education.

5.5.3. Practical Implications

After reviewing the theoretical and methodological implications of the study, I finally discuss the practical implications. However, as I tried to have a bottom-up perspective to the studied phenomena from the beginning, I keep this understanding while sharing the practical implications. Therefore, I both mention about practical implication in the context of policy-based reforms, and focus on the practices and actions of the educators and researchers.

The study has implications about the deficiencies of the curriculum in terms of the nationalist, authoritarian and statist perspective that become barriers to the development of a sound relationship with differences and diversity, as well as the ignorance of students with ‘different’ ethnic, religious, or nationality backgrounds, and their intersections with class and gender. Therefore, first of all, culturally responsive review is needed for the instructional materials before publishing or accepting any material as an instructional material. In addition, as it was shared in the results chapter quite detailed, gender-based reviews are also a critical need to prevent a gendered language and gendered discourses.

On the other hand, as it is justified throughout the study, curriculum is more than a text which brings the issue to teacher education. Teachers are lack of skills and they are unequipped to teach in multicultural and multilingual classrooms (Arslan & Ergül, 2021; Erdem, 2017; Özenç & Saat, 2019; Sağlam & İlksen-Kanbur, 2017; Taşkın & Erdemli, 2018; Tunga et al., 2020). Although they have positive attitudes and opinions about culturally responsive teaching, they find them inadequate to teach in multicultural classrooms (Demircioğlu & Özdemir, 2014;

Karataş & Oral, 2015; Karataş & Oral, 2019; Kotluk & Kocakaya, 2018; Özüdoğru, 2018). In addition, they are also unequipped to teach HRCD content (Bağlı & Çayır, 2011; Karaman-Kepenekçi, 2005; Karakuş-Özdemirci et al., 2019; Şahan & Tural, 2018). Therefore, teacher education institutions should review their programs to equip prospective teachers about teaching in multicultural and multilingual classrooms as well as teaching human rights, democracy and citizenship effectively.

Moreover, in the ministerial level, actively working teachers should also be equipped with, both teaching in multicultural and multilingual classrooms, and teaching HRCD content in a critical way to improve students' active citizenship and critical thinking skills; since improving students' active citizenship and critical thinking skills are one of the aims of the national curriculum in terms of citizenship.

As well as curricular reforms and some policy-based revisions or trainings, and even more importantly than these, research that based on the narrations of the marginalized and that brings the majority and minority students together to find ways to communicate, critical dialogue and transform can support both the practice to find the ways to learn to live together. To remind again, this might be possible through university-school collaboration and by teachers' increasing the networks to share their good examples with each other.

The study also manifested how the authoritarian tone to citizenship creates a vertical relationship between managers, teachers, counselors and students and eventually affects the school climate and causes the reproduction of a school culture that standardizes each component. Democracy education requires a democratic school environment (Dewey, 1903, 2001) and democracy is more than voting. Thus educators need to improve themselves in terms of democracy understanding. In this point, more research and closer university-school relationships can support the practice in terms of democratic education in the context of citizenship education; alongside of the improvements in teacher education programs that concentrated on teaching democratic instructional methods to prospective teachers.

The findings of the study revealed the importance of having a human rights understanding and a rich repertoire of skills and competencies to be able to teach human rights. Thus, again, participatory research with teachers and researchers studying human rights education can support teachers in gaining awareness and

improvement. Besides, not only teachers, counselors, and students can participate in the process.

A lack of critical awareness and a solid hesitation to talk about controversial issues and everyday life issues was found through the study's findings. However, education is not free from reality. This hesitation also causes a lack of dealing with controversial issues in classrooms, in the context of teacher competencies. Since dealing with controversial issues is not considered in the context of citizenship education, the research and practice can enlighten the ways to develop effective practices in Turkey. And there are already several studies that have emerged from the field (Can et al., 2013; Şahin-Fırat, 2010). As I already shared previously, I several times thought that further research is needed to analyze the patterns of educators who support different political parties and the effect of their political stance on the discourses they reproduce at schools. Since, as revealed in the results chapter, ideological-based discourses that relate to the discourses of some political parties were observed several times. And, this might cause some polarizations among teachers in the school which eventually might hurt the democratic culture. By also considering the increasing polarization among people of Turkey (Keyman, 2014; KONDA, 2019; TurkuazLab, 2020), it might be essential to create possibilities for prospective teachers and teachers to improve themselves about discussing controversial issues, otherwise they cannot find a base to manage a classroom discussion about controversial issues. Students' learning how to engage in peaceful dialogue with peers is critical in terms of democratic engagement to society at large (CoE, 2015). In increasingly polarized world, students need to be guided for critical and constructive dialogue about their opposing views regarding controversial issues which can be possible by equipping teachers and prospective teachers (Kawashima-Gingsberg & Junco, 2018). This also needs improving critical thinking, and democracy, active citizenship and human rights understanding of prospective teachers. Therefore, as it discussed previously, teacher education programs should aim to improve both knowledge and competencies of teacher candidates about critical thinking, and constructively discussing controversial issues as well as effectively managing the discussions. In addition, in the ministerial level,

actively working teachers also needs to be supported for developing themselves within this context.

As a final word, as already manifested, one of the most important implications of the study is seeing the existence of critical educators and how their pedagogy influences students' being critical and respectful to each other. Therefore, teachers need to recall their power as 'subjects' of the education system which eventually provides students' becoming 'subject' citizens. Thus, teachers need to feel empowered. This can be through participatory action research by building relationships between universities and schools or educators and researchers; or with the networks among teachers to share, create, discuss, and transform together. Of course, several suggestions can be indicated through the implications of the study; however, I found it meaningful to focus on the networks that were born in the field. These networks, research studies that touch the field and voice the people have the potential to transform the curriculum in the context of citizenship education.

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APPENDICES

A. APPROVAL OF THE METU HUMAN SUBJECTS ETHICS COMMITTEE

UYGULAMALI ETİK ARAŞTIRMA MERKEZİ
APPLIED ETHICS RESEARCH CENTER



ORTA DOĞU TEKNİK ÜNİVERSİTESİ
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

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Sayı: 28620810 / 123

08 ŞUBAT 2018

Konu: Değerlendirme Sonucu

Gönderen: ODTÜ İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu (IAEK)

İlgi: İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu Başvurusu

Sayın Doç. Dr. Hanife AKAR ;

Danışmanlığını yaptığımız Özge KARAKUŞ ÖZDEMİR' nin "*Çoğulculuk ve Yurttaşlık Eğitimi: Mersin ve Adana'da Çok Evreli Bir Durum Çalışması*" başlıklı araştırması İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu tarafından uygun görülerek gerekli onay 2018-EGT-002 protokol numarası ile 08.02.2018 - 30.03.2019 tarihleri arasında geçerli olmak üzere verilmiştir.

Bilgilerinize saygılarımla sunarım.

Prof. Dr. Ş. Halil TURAN

Başkan V

Prof. Dr. Ayhan SOL

Üye

Prof. Dr. Ayhan Gürbüz DEMİR

Üye

Doç. Dr. Yaşar KONDAKÇI

Üye

Doç. Dr. Zana ÇITAK

Üye

Yrd. Doç. Dr. Pınar KAYGAN

Üye

Yrd. Doç. Dr. Emre SELÇUK

Üye

B. APPROVAL OF THE MINISTRY OF NATIONAL EDUCATION



T.C.
MİLLÎ EĞİTİM BAKANLIĞI
Temel Eğitim Genel Müdürlüğü

ÖİDİB

Sayı : 70297673-605.01-E.5780747
Konu : Araştırma İzin Talebi

20.03.2018

ORTA DOĞU TEKNİK ÜNİVERSİTESİNE

- İlgi : a) Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi Öğrenci İşleri Daire Başkanlığının 08/03/2018 tarihli ve 54850036-300-1273 sayılı yazısı.
b) Millî Eğitim Bakanlığının 22/08/2017 tarihli ve 35558626-10.06.01-E.12607291 (2017/25) sayılı genelgesi

İlgi (a) yazıda belirtilen üniversiteniz Eğitim Bilimleri Anabilim Dalı Eğitim Programları ve Öğretim doktora öğrencisi Özge KARAKUŞ ÖZDEMİRCİ'nin öğretim üyesi Doç. Dr. Hanife AKAR'ın danışmanlığında yürütmekte olduğu "Çoğulculuk ve Yurtaşlık Eğitimi: Mersin ve Adana'da Çok Evreli Bir Durum Çalışması" konulu tez çalışmasına yönelik veri toplama izin talebi incelenmiştir.

Söz konusu araştırmanın eğitim ve öğretimi aksatmayacak şekilde gönüllülük esasına dayalı olarak uygulanması (sınıf içi gözlem vb. uygulamalarda bu hususa dikkat edilmesi), uygulamalarda sadece yazımız ekinde gönderilen mühürlü veri toplama araçlarının çoğaltılarak kullanılması ve veri toplama araçlarıyla elde edilen kişisel verilerin gizliliği hususuna dikkat edilerek araştırma sonucunda elde edilen raporun, basılı ve dijital ortamda Genel Müdürlüğümüze teslim edilmesi gerekmektedir. İlgi (a) yazı ve eklerinde yer almayıp söz konusu araştırmanın ilerleyen süreçlerinde geliştirilerek uygulanması planlanan her türlü materyal, program vb. için uygulama öncesi izin alınması gerekmektedir. Bu çerçevede araştırmanın Genel Müdürlüğümüze bağlı ilkokullarda yürütülmesinde bir sakınca bulunmamaktadır.

Bilgilerinizi ve gereğini rica ederim.

Yunus DEREKAYA
Bakan a.
Genel Müdür V.

EK:
Mühürlü Veri Toplama Araçları (20 sayfa)

Dağıtım:
Gereği:
Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesine

Bilgi:
Adana ve Mersin Valiliklerine
(İl Millî Eğitim Müdürlükleri)

DELGENİN ASLI
ELEKTRONİK İMZALIDIR

23.03.2018-5790

Adres: Atatürk Bulvarı 06648 Kızılay/ANKARA
Elektronik Ağ: www.meb.gov.tr
e-posta: teqm.izleme@meb.gov.tr

Bilgi için: Pınar DEMİRAY SATICI
Tel: 0312 413 27 20
Faks: 0312 417 71 08

Bu evrak güvenli elektronik imza ile imzalanmıştır. <https://evraksorgu.meb.gov.tr> adresinden 2540-b918-377a-b41d-9d94 kodu ile teyit edilebilir.

C. SAMPLE: TEACHER INTERVIEW FORM

Okul Kodu (*School Code*):

Cinsiyet (*Sex*):

Görüşme Tarihi (*Date of interview*):

Görüşme Süresi (*Duration of interview*):

Giriş Soruları (Introductory questions)

- 1- Şu anki görevinizden bahsedebilir misiniz? Ne zamandır bu görevdesiniz? Kaç yıldır bulunduğunuz okuldasınız? (*Could you tell us about your current job? How long have you been on this job? How many years have you been at this school?*)
- 2- Eğitim yaşamınızdan bahsedebilir misiniz? Hangi okullara gittiniz? Ne zaman mezun oldunuz? (*Can you tell us about your education life? Which schools did you go to? When did you graduate?*)
- 3- Eğitiminiz sırasında insan hakları, yurttaşlık ve demokrasi eğitimi/öğretimi ile ilgili bir ders aldınız mı? Hatırlıyorsanız bu dersten biraz bahsedebilir misiniz? İçeriği, işlenişi, kazandırdıkları, vb.? (*Did you take a course on human rights, civics, and democracy education/teaching during your education? If you remember, can you talk a little bit about this lesson? Its content, instruction process, contribution, etc.?*)
- 4- Mesleğe başladıktan sonra insan hakları, yurttaşlık ve demokrasi eğitimi/öğretimi ile ilgili herhangi bir hizmet içi eğitime katıldınız mı? Çalıştığınız ilçe ya da illerde bu kapsamda bir eğitim düzenlendi mi? (*After you started your career, did you attend any in-service training on human rights, civics, and democracy education/teaching? Has a training been organized in this context in the districts or provinces where you work?*)
- 5- Bu konuyla ilgili bir eğitime ihtiyaç duyuyor musunuz? Nedenlerini açıklayabilir misiniz? (*Do you need a training on this subject? Can you explain why?*)
- 6- Farklı kültürel grupların bir arada olduğu okullarda/sınıflardaki eğitime/öğretime yönelik bir eğitim aldınız mı? (*Have you received any training for teaching in multicultural or multilingual schools/classes where different cultural groups come together?*)
 - Kim/hangi kurum düzenledi? (*what institution organized it?*)
 - Ne kadar sürdü? (*How long did it take?*)
 - İçeriğine dair bilgi verebilir misiniz? (*Could you give some information about its content?*)
 - Mesleki açıdan nasıl bir katkı sağladı? (*How did it contribute professionally?*)
- 7- Söz konusu konuyla ilgili bir eğitime/desteğe ihtiyaç duyuyor musunuz? Nedenlerini açıklayabilir misiniz? (*Do you need training/support on the subject in question? Can you explain why?*)
- 8- Sınıfınızda kaç öğrenci var? (*How many students are in your class?*)
- 9- Öğrencilerinizden bahsedebilir misiniz? Yaşları? Cinsiyetleri? Sosyo-kültürel yapıları, ailelerinin eğitim ve iş durumu, vb.? (*Can you tell us about your students? Their age? Their gender? Socio-cultural structures, education and employment status of their parents etc.?*)

Temel Sorular (Main questions)

Şimdi size program kapsamında olan “İnsan Hakları, Yurttaşlık ve Demokrasi” dersinin işleyişi konusunda sorular yönelteceğim (*Now I will ask you some questions about the implementation of the "Human Rights, Civics and Democracy" course within the scope of the program*):

- 1- İlkokul programında “İnsan hakları, yurttaşlık ve demokrasi” dersinin olmasını nasıl değerlendiriyorsunuz? Neden böyle düşünmektesiniz? (*How do you evaluate the existence "Human Rights, Civics and Democracy" course in the primary school curriculum? Why do you think so?*)
- 2- “İnsan hakları, yurttaşlık ve demokrasi” dersi öğretim programı hakkında neler düşünüyorsunuz? (*What do you think about the curriculum of the "human rights, civics and democracy" course?*)
- 3- İnsan hakları, yurttaşlık ve demokrasi” dersi ders kitabı hakkında neler düşünüyorsunuz? (*What do you think about the textbook of the "Human Rights, Civics and Democracy" course?*)
- 4- Programa bağlı olarak yurttaş kavramını derste nasıl tanımlamaktasınız? (*How do you define the concept of citizen in the lesson, depending on the program?*)

Ek sorular (Additional questions):

- Program kapsamında ve ders kitabı içeriği doğrultusunda yetiştirilmek istenen yurttaşın sahip olduğu özellikler nelerdir? (*What are the characteristics of the citizen who wants to be raised within the scope of the program and in line with the content of the textbook?*)
 - Sizce yetiştirilmesi, kazandırılması gereken bilgi, beceri, tutumlar neler olmalıdır? Önerileriniz nelerdir? (*In your opinion, what should be the knowledge, skills and attitudes that need to be cultivated and gained? What are your suggestions?*)
- 5- Öğrencilerinizin demokrasi ve insan haklarını içselleştirmesi için ne tür yöntemler kullanıyorsunuz? (*What kind of methods do you use for your students to internalize democracy and human rights?*)
 - 6- Ders kapsamında söz konusu üç kavram: yurttaşlık, insan hakları ve demokrasi kavramları programda hangi ağırlıkta ele alınmaktadır? (*To what extent are the three concepts in question: citizenship, human rights and democracy concepts covered in the course?*)
 - 7- İnsan hakları, yurttaşlık ve demokrasi öğretim programında ve ders kitabında farklı kültürel grupların ele alınışı hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz? Ders içi yaşantılarınızdan örnekler vererek söz eder misiniz? (*What do you think about the approach towards different cultural groups in the human rights, civics, and democracy curriculum and textbook? Can you talk about your classroom life by giving examples?*)
 - Farklı kültürel gruplardaki öğrenciler arasında neler yaşanıyor? (*What is happening among students from different cultural groups?*)
 - Öğrenciler birbirine nasıl davranıyor? (*How do students treat each other?*)
 - Siz neler yapıyorsunuz? (*What are you doing?*)
 - 8- İnsan hakları, yurttaşlık ve demokrasi öğretim programında ve ders kitabında toplumsal cinsiyet açısından kız ve erkek çocuklar nasıl temsil edilmektedir? (kitapta kullanılan resimler, örnekler, karakterler, vb. açısından) [*How are girls and boys represented in terms of gender in the human rights, civics, and democracy curriculum and textbook? (in terms of pictures, examples, characters, etc. used in the book)*]

- 9- İnsan hakları, yurttaşlık, demokrasi dersinde sıradan bir dersin nasıl geçtiğini anlatır mısınız? (*Can you tell us what happens in an ordinary human rights, civics, and democracy lesson?*)
- Öğrencileriniz neler yapar? (*What do your students do?*)
 - Hangi konular önemsenir? Hangi konular daha çok ilgi çeker? (*What issues are important? Which topics attract the most attention?*)
 - Dersi nasıl işlemeyi tercih edersiniz? (*How would you prefer to teach the lesson?*)
 - Derste öğrenciler arası etkileşim nasıl olmaktadır? Öğrenciler birbiriyle nasıl iletişim kurar? (*How is the interaction between students in the lesson? How do students communicate with each other?*)
 - Öğrencileriniz neler sorar/yapar? (*What do your students ask/do?*)
- 10- Söz konusu dersin değerlendirmesini nasıl yapıyorsunuz? Örn., sınav, gözlem. (*How do you assess students in this course? E.g. exam, observation.*)
- 11- Bu derse yönelik önerileriniz nelerdir? (*What are your suggestions for this course?*)
- a. Amaç/kazanım açısından (*In terms of aims/objectives*)
 - b. İçerik açısından (*In terms of content*)
 - c. İşleyiş ve kaynaklar açısından (*In ters of instruction method and resources*)
 - d. Değerlendirme açısından (*In terms of assessment method*)

D. SAMPLE CODING

<p>-Önce giriş soruları var, sizinle ve sınıfınızla ilgili sonra dersle ilgili temel sorular var hocam. Giriş soruları ile başlıyorum. Ne zamandır öğretmenlik yapıyorsunuz? **19'uncu senemi çalışıyorum.</p> <p>-Kaç yıldır bu kurumdasınız? **14 yıldır.</p> <p>-Hangi bölümden mezun oldunuz? **Biyoloji eğitiminden mezun oldum ama hep sınıf çalıştım. 98'de mezun oldum ama 2000'de atandım devlete. 2 yıl özelde çalıştım.</p> <p>-Mesleğe başladıktan sonra konuyla ilgili hizmet içi eğitimi aldınız mı? **Hayır, almadım.</p> <p>-Bu konuyla ilgili bir eğitime ihtiyaç duyuyor musunuz? **Çok vakıf olduğum konular olduğu için temel eğitime ihtiyaç duymuyorum. Bu kavramlara önem veren biri olduğum için ihtiyaç duymuyorum. Bu kavramları, hayatına sokmayan birinin temel eğitimden de bir şeyler alacağını düşünüyorum. Tabii gene size kalmış, isterseniz temel eğitim de talep edin.</p> <p>-Farklı kültürel grupların bir arada olduğu okullara yönelik bir eğitim aldınız mı? **Var öyle eğitimler ama ben almadım. Kapsayıcı eğitimler... Bir kez almıştık. Terörle mücadele, afetlerdeki çocuklar, bu kadar şimdilik. 8 modülmüş, biz kapsayıcı eğitim kapsamında bu ikisini aldık.</p> <p>-Söz konusu konuyla ilgili eğitime ihtiyaç duyuyor musunuz? **Onların bir arada eğitimlerinde çok zorlanıyoruz. Biz kaynaştırsak bile, çocukların arasındaki inanılmaz bir uçurum. Burası göç alan bir bölge, daha önce Kürt çocukları itilip kakılıyordu, şimdi Kürt çocukları, bunlar Suriyeli deyip aynı şeyi yapıyor. O konuda desteğe ihtiyaç var.</p> <p>-Kaç öğrenci var sınıfınızda? **29 gözüküyor listede ama iki sürekli devamsızım var Suriyelilerden. 27 aktif olan.</p> <p>-Kaçı kız kaç erkek? **13 erkek 14 kız.</p> <p>-Genel olarak sosyokültürel ve sosyoekonomik yapıları... **Genel olarak sigortasız çalışan mevsim işçisi, inşaat işçisi ya da limanda, halde hamal olarak çalışan 3 çeşit var. Esnafım çok az örneğin. 2 esnafım var. Kültürel olarak da son 5 yıldır Suriyelilerin dâhil olduğu bir sistemiz. Eskiden sadece Kürtler vardı, Türk kökenli çocukların sayısı bile azdı; şimdi Kürt ve Suriyeli çocuklar var. 15'inci yılımdayım daha hiç Türk çocukla çalışmadım bu okulda.</p> <p>-Dersle ilgili olan sorulara, ilkokulda böyle bir ders olmasını nasıl değerlendiriyorsunuz? **Bence olması lazım, ben çok keyif alıyorum. Derslerde kendilerine dair şeyleri, birey kavramını öğrendiler. Haklar konusunda artık birbirleriyle şöyle cümle kurmaya başladılar, bu benim hakkım, yapamazsın... Ki biz 2'nci ayımızı bitiriyoruz ve bunun 2 haftasının aktif işlenmediğine de</p>	<p>Çalışma deneyimi: 19 yıl Bulunduğu okuldaki çalışma deneyimi: 14 yıl</p> <p>Mezun olunan bölüm: Biyoloji Mezuniyet yılı: 1998</p> <p>İHYD öğretimine yönelik bir eğitim almamış.</p> <p>İHYD konularına önem verdiğim için vakıfım, ihtiyaç duymuyorum.</p> <p>Farklı kültürlerin olduğu sınıflardaki öğretime yönelik eğitim almamış.</p> <p>Farklı kültürlerin olduğu sınıflardaki öğretime ilişkin, desteğe ihtiyaç var.</p> <p>Kürt ve Suriyeli öğrenciler arasında çatışmalar var.</p> <p>Daha önce Kürt çocukları itilip kalkılıyordu, şimdi aynı şeyi Kürter Suriyelilere yapıyor.</p> <p>Sınıf mevcudu: 29 (13E+14K) Devamsız:2 (Suriyeli öğrenciler)</p> <p>Profil: Alt sosyo-ekonomik düzey Kültürel profil: Kürt ve Suriyeli öğrenciler</p> <p>İHYD dersi olmalı. Birey olmayı kısa sürede öğrendiler. Hak kavramını en azından hayatlarına aldılar.</p>
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baktığımızda 6 haftalık bir süreçte bu kavramları en azından hayatlarına aldılar.

-Ders programınızda hangi gün ve saatler de yer alıyor?

**Cuma son 2 saat. Kendim yapmadım ama müdür yaptı verdi. Kendim yapsam cuma günü son 2 saate koymazdım. Değiştirme hakkımız var mı diye de sormadım ama. Sohbet halinde, verimli geçiyor gene de.

-Dersin içeriği, kazanımları ve ders kitabı hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz?

**Şu ana kadar 2 aylık bir süreç geçti. Daha somutlaştırılabilir. Bizimkiler, 4'üncü sınıflar somut dönemdelere ve bazen havada kalabiliyor. Bazı yerler de yapmışlar. Somut örneği karşısına yazmışlar ama din ve vicdan özgürlüğü gibi konularda çok soyut kalıyor. Oralarda somutlaştırın, küçük hikâyeler eklenebilir.

-Ders kitabında iyi bir yurttaş nasıl tanımlanmış?

**Onu daha işlemedik ve o kısımları incelemedim daha, keşke inceleyemişim. Yurttaşlık tanımı bu 2 ayda daha konuşulmadı. İsterseniz daha sonra inceleyip ekleyebiliriz bu kısmı.

-Başka ders kitapları içeriklerinden yola çıkarak da cevap verebilirsiniz hocam..

**Sosyal Bilgiler de devlete karşı vazifelerini yapmakla yükümlü olan kimse diye tanımlanıyor. Vergisini veren, askerliğe giden biri olarak tanımlıyor ama bizim yurttaş olarak haklarımız daha az veriliyor. Daha çok bizim sorumluluklarımız üzerinden tanımlıyor yurttaşlığı, böyle bir eksiklik var kanımca.

-Öğrencilerinizin demokrasiyi ve insan haklarını içselleştirmeleri için siz ne gibi uygulamalar yapıyorsunuz?

**Demin dediğim nokta, somutlaştırmalar eksikti, biz sınıfta onları hikayeleştirerek aktarıyoruz. Sınıfta hikayeleştirerek sorular soruyorum, bu onların kafasında daha çok kalmasını sağlıyor. Tartışmaları kendi hayatları üzerinden sorular sorarak yapıyorum. Anne ve babanın çok keskin rolleri var bu mahallede, sorularla bak annenin de şu hakkı var, anne de baba da insan. Roller farklı ama ikisinin de hakları var diyorum. Ev yaşantıları ve oyunlar üzerinden küçük hikâyeler, bunları tamamlayın veya hatayı bulun gibi şeyler yapıyorum.

-Ders programının kazanımlarına baktığımızda hangisi daha ağır basıyor? Kazanımlar hangisi ile ilgili daha çok?

**İnsan hakları.

-Ders kitabında farklı kültürlerin ele alınışı hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz?

**Öyle bir kısma gelmedik, acaba nasıl ele alınmış. Şu ana kadar olan yerlerde temel hak ve sorumluluklar anlatılırken hiç bu noktalara değinilmemiş. Farklı kültürel toplumların çocukları üzerinden bir örnek de yok hiç. Herhangi bir yazı da yazılmamış.

-Sosyal Bilgiler dersinde bu ayrıntılara yer veriliyor mu?

**Sosyal Bilgiler de ilk ünite de bireysel farklılıklar olarak işledik. Fiziksel özellik olarak işledik ama kültürel durumlardan bakılmadı. Geçen senelerden hatırladığım kadarıyla 4'üncü sınıfın Sosyal Bilgiler 'in son ünitesinde farklı kültürel özellikler veriliyor. Daha çok Türkiye Cumhuriyetleri veriliyor, araya Japonya'yı da katarak. İl iki ünite de milli kültür üzerinden anlatılıyor.

-Milli kültür derken, biraz açalım hocam?

**Bizim ikinci ünitemiz Kurtuluş Savaşı mücadelesi falan o dönemleri anlatıyor. Ondan önce sözlü tarih çalışması nasıl yapılır gibi kavramlar var. Sonra da milli kültür nedir? Milli

İHYD dersi Cuma günü son saat.

İHYD dersinin hangi gün olacağına müdür karar verdi.

İHYD ders kitabındaki konular daha somutlaştırılarak örnekler üzerinden sunulabilir.

Programdaki yurttaş tanımı: Geleneksel yurttaşlık.

Sorumluluk temelli yurttaşlık, hak-temelli yurttaşlığa göre daha baskın.

Sorumluluklar: vergi verme, askerlik görevini yapma.

Öğrencilerin hayatından örneklerle somutlaştırıyorum

Evlerde toplumsal cinsiyet rolleri baskın

İHYD dersinde insan hakları kazanımları baskın.

Programda farklılıklar nasıl tanımlanıyor:

Bireysel farklılıklar üzerinden

Farklı ülke kültürleri üzerinden

kültür tanımı yapılıyor ve gelenek-göreneklerimize gibi başlıklarla akıyor. Kültürü de yapmış ama hep milli kültür üzerinde giderek.
-Okulunuzda öğrenciler arasında farklı kültürlerden olmaları kaynaklı çatışmalar yaşanıyor mu?

Dediğim gibi, biraz önce vermek istediğim örnek buydu. Bu mahallede yıllarca, **biz bu vatanın evlatları değil miyiz, bize neden 2'nci sınıf vatandaş muamelesi yapıyorlar derken şimdi Suriyelilere kendileri aynılarını yapıyor. Sınıfta da Suriyelinin yanına oturmak istememek gibi durumlar yaşanıyor. Niye geldiler ki, biz onları istemiyoruz, okuma-yazma bilmiyorlar ki gibi cümlelerle karşılaşılıyor.

-Dersin programında kız ve erkek çocuklar toplumsal cinsiyet anlamında nasıl temsil ediliyor? Kullanılan görseller, örneklenen karakterler açısından?

**Bunu keşke biraz daha ileride yapsaydınız, farkına varamadım daha o konuların ama Hayat Bilgisi ve Sosyal Bilgiler kitaplarında kadının ve erkeğin rolleri daha keskin çizilmiş. Düzeltildi mi bilmiyorum, anne mutfakta yemek yapıyor, çocuğa bakıyor... Roller çok keskin çizilmiş, baba yardım eder pozisyona sokulmuş, öyle şeyler var.

-Kız ve erkek öğrencilerin, akademik ve sosyal yaşantıları farklılık gösteriyor mu?

**Bu mahallede çok daha farklı. Kızlar çok daha az gelecek hayali kuruyorlar. Okuyup üniversiteye gitme hayallerini daha az kuruyorlar burada. Ki eskiye, ilk geldiğimize göre azaldı. Kızlarımız da başka ne farklılıklar var, oyunlarda, beraber futbol oynatma gibi konularda zorlanıyoruz. Erkek kız ayrımı daha keskin bu mahallede.

-Kızlar daha başarılı ya da uyum açısından farklılıklar var...

**Kızların daha çalışkan olduklarını söyleyebiliriz ancak yaş ilerledikçe, bir şeylerden umut kesildikçe çalışkan kızlarımızda bir düşüş görüyoruz. Ortaokula geçince takip ettiğim kadarıyla, okutulmayacaklarının farkına vardıkları an bir gerileme başlıyor. İlkokul sıralarında o fark çok yok. Kızımız da erkeğimiz de sorumluluğunu bildiği sürece aynı derecede olabiliyor.

-İnsan hakları dersinde en çok hangi kavramlar öğrencilerin dikkat çekiyor, hak demiştiniz..?

**Evet, hak. Sorumluluk da biraz bozuldu önce bu benim sorumluluğum dediler. Sorumluluklardan çok hak konusunun üzerinde durdular. Yaşama hakkı konusunda özellikle önce kafaları karıştı. Yaşarız zaten hak mı bu dediler ama sonra eğitim hakkı, sağlık hakkı gibi daha somut olanlara geçince sahiplenmeye başladılar. Din ve vicdan özgürlüğünü zor oturtuyorduk, başka bir dine inanılabileceğini, onun da başka bir dine inanabileceği konularında, hayatlarında ilk kez bu kavramlarla tanışmışlar. Herkes Müslüman onlar için, öyle bir kavram yok belleklerinde. Sorunuzu netleştirirsek en çok temel haklar ilgilerini çekti.

-Öğrenci değerlendirmesini nasıl yapıyorsunuz hocam?

**Dönem başına 2 yazılımız var zaten. 1'inci yazılımızı yaptık, çok da başarılı oldular. Genelde sınıfta 4-5 kişi iyi not alır, bu sefer sınıfın yarısından fazlası iyi notlar aldı. Buna benim de çok önemseyerek ve somutlayarak anlatmamın payı olabilir. Bir de gözleme dayalı olarak, performansa dayalı olarak not veriyoruz. Başka proje çalışması yapmadık daha.

-Son olarak amaç-kazanım açısından şu önemli, içerikte şu eksik kalmış dediğiniz bir nokta ve önerileriniz var mı?

Kültür milli kültür üzerinden tanımlanmış

Daha önce Kürt çocuklar itilip kalkılıyordu, şimdi aynı şeyi Kürter Suriyelilere yapıyor.

Toplumsal cinsiyet: Önceki kitaplarda kadın erkek rolleri toplumsal cinsiyet rolleri açısından kesindi.

Kızlar eğitim açısından daha az hayal kuruyor.

Okulun bulunduğu bölgede cinsiyet rolleri keskin.

Kızlar daha çalışkan Ancak yaşları ilerledikçe umutları kesiliyor ve akademik açıdan gerileme başlıyor Kızlar da erkekler de aynı derecede sorumluluk sahibi.

En çok hak kavramı ilgilerini çekiyor. Haklar konusunda bilgili değillerdi, bazı haklar belleklerinde yoktu.

Öğrenci değerlendirmesi: 2 yazılı sınav + gözleme dayalı performans değerlendirme

İHYD dersine ilişkin öneriler:

<p>**Projeksiyonlarımız olsa göstererek ve yaşatarak vermiş oluruz çocuklara. Görselleştirme anlamında olabilir. Bir proje kapsamında hem Suriyeli çocuklara ve Kürt çocukların aynı haklara sahip olduğunu gösteren bir çalışma yapılabilir. O tip şeyler eksik. Yazı ve görsel üzerinden ilerliyor ders. Görsel de sadece resim, video yok. İzlemeler arttırılabilir. Sizin gibi bu konuyla ilgilenen kişiler getirilip sohbet edilebilir. Hiç öyle farklı bir şey konuşmamış. Zenginleştirilmemiş. Şu ana kadar çok eksikli bir şey görmedim ama ilk kez 4'üncü sınıf okutuyorum. İyi gidiyor, hak ve sorumluluk kavramının oturması gerekiyordu zaten benim için, oturdu.</p> <p>-Hep kitaptan mı ilerliyorsunuz?</p> <p>**Ben kendim ekliyorum ama başka bir kitaptan yararlanmıyorum. Sözlü alıştırmalar yapıyorum, hiç yazılı bir şeye dökmüyorum. Küçük küçük skeçler izletilebilir. Sorularla yapılan bir çalışma daha kalıcı olacaktır.</p>	<p>Farklı öğretim yöntem ve teknikleri dâhil edilebilir. Farklı materyaller (videolar) geliştirilebilir.</p> <p>İHYD dersi hak ve sorumluluk kavramlarını öğretmek için iyi oldu.</p> <p>Ders kitabı dışında kendi bulduğum farklı materyalleri kullanıyorum.</p>
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E. SAMPLE MEMO

Okul kodu → (C)

Yönetici → Erkek, 21 yıllık eğitimci deneyim.
Orta-Sosyal ekonomik düzeyde sınırlı
ailelerin yaşadığı bir bölgede okul.
Genelde mesinin yetisi aileler, ama
Bazılarında, sınırlı sayıda aileler de var
öğretmen

ya da son zamanlarda Suriye, Afganistan
gibi ülkelerden göç eden aileler de var.
NOT → Önemli konularda birisi,
demokrasi, insan hakları, kültür,
farklılık, eğitim almasını sağlamak
açısından.

- Öğretmen 1 → Erkek, 29 yıllık eğitimci
Mesinin yetisi ve bazılarında sınırlı
öğretmenler, karma bir yapıya sahip

- Öğretmen 2 → Kadın, 20 yıllık öğretmen
Bazılarında, sınırlı sayıda, çeşitli
öğretmenler var

- Öğretmen 3 → Kadın, 26 yıllık öğretmen
Karma kültürel yapı
Orta sosyal ekonomik düzey

- Bitolojik dârisma → 21 yıllık gâhincelik deneyimi

NOTLAR → Bu okulda 2 farklı sınıfta pörlen yapıldı, ve 2 farklı pörlen enlayısı ~~deneyimi~~ pörlenmiş oldu. Okul merin yerleşin yphlutta yprodıa bir bôpele, ~~02~~ sayıda kirt ve sınyeli pörenci var.

Ancak idare, pörlenler ve rehber pörlen de yapılan pörsmeler, ve 2 sınıfta yapılan pörlenler, okul iserisinde bir bütönlöün olmadıını, farklı derpelein oldıyınını, ve sınıflar pörenci derpeleinin de bu derpelede etkilerle yphıldıını pösterdi.

Mecele pörlen yphılm sınıflardan birinç pörlen "sorunlu" sâledile, pörencilerin Ona uerine ~~phılman~~ eplimi oldıyınını ve pörlen "base" edeki olmadıı isin buin kenduinie ~~phılman~~ kâbus oosını etkiledıını, ve cyphde - zaman iserisinde - bir pörenci probli oluştıyını sınıfta belirtti.

F. SAMPLE CONSENT FORM

EK-4: Görüşmeler için Gönüllü Katılım Formu

Merhabalar,

Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi, Eğitim Fakültesi, Eğitim Bilimleri Bölümü'nde doktora tez çalışmamı yürütmekteyim. Çalışmanın amacı, sizin değerli bilgi, deneyim ve gözlemlerinizi doğrultusunda 4. sınıflarda okutulmakta olan İnsan Hakları, Yurttaşlık ve Demokrasi dersi öğretim programını çoğulculuğa bakış açısı doğrultusunda değerlendirmektir.

Bu doğrultuda size, öncesinde belirlemiş olduğumuz bazı sorular yönelteceğim. Eğer araştırmaya katılmak için gönüllü olursanız ve izniniz olursa görüşme dâhilinde soracağım sorulara vereceğiniz cevapları, söylediğiniz hiçbir şeyi kaçırmamak için kaydetmek istiyorum. Bu noktada, aramızdaki konuşmaların gizli kalacağını, adınızın ve kurumunuzun adının hiçbir yerde kullanılmayacağını önemle belirtmek isterim. Görüşmeler sırasında verdiğiniz cevaplar sadece eğitsel ve bilimsel amaçlarla kullanılacaktır.

Görüşme esnasında görüşmeyi dilediğiniz zaman durdurup, çalışmaya katılmaktan vazgeçme hakkınız vardır. Görüşmemiz tahmini olarak 30-40 dakika civarında sürecektir. Bu formu doldurmanız çalışmaya gönüllü olarak katılmayı kabul ettiğiniz anlamına gelecektir.

Başlamadan önce, herhangi bir sorunuz olursa cevaplamaya hazır olduğumu bildirmek isterim. Ayrıca, araştırma ile ilgili sormak ya da belirtmek istediğiniz herhangi bir şey olursa ozge.karakus@metu.edu.tr mail adresinden benimle iletişime geçebilirsiniz.

Verdiğiniz cevaplar için ve bu çalışmaya ayırmış olduğunuz zaman için şimdiden çok teşekkür ederim. Katılımınız bizim için çok değerli.

Özge Karakuş Özdemirci

Yukarıdaki bilgileri okudum ve bu çalışmaya tamamen gönüllü olarak katılıyorum.

Ad Soyad

Tarih

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G. TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKÇE ÖZET

Giriş

Yüzyıllar boyunca filozoflar, politikacılar, aydınlar, akademisyenler veya aktivistler yurttaş yetiştirmek için gerekli olan değer ve uygulamaların neler olduğunu tartıştılar. Bu noktadan hareketle eğitim, kültür devriminin taşıyıcısı olarak devlet oluşumunun veya ulus inşasının merkezinde yer almıştır (Green, 1990). Ulusal dilin öğretilmesi; milli kültürü aşılıyarak milli bir kimlik inşa etmek; halka, hâkim sınıfların değerlerini, normlarını veya devlete ve millete karşı görevlerini öğretmek; dolayısıyla, “*sorumlu vatandaş, çalışkan işçi, istekli vergi mükellefi, güvenilir jüri üyesi, vicdanlı ebeveyn, saygılı eş, vatansever asker ve güvenilir ya da saygılı seçmen inşa etmek eğitimin amaçları haline gelmiştir* (Green, 1990, s. 80)”. Bu nedenle, bu çalışmanın konusu yeni değildir. Ancak son yıllarda bu eski tartışma, yani yurttaşlık eğitimi, yeni bakış açılarıyla sürekli olarak yeniden ele alınmaktadır.

Yurttaşlığın geleneksel anlayışları ve yurttaşlık eğitimine geleneksel bakış açısı, özünü ulusal tarih ve ‘bilinen’, ‘sabit’ ve ‘belirli’ kültür ve kimlik anlatısına dayandırırken; kültür, kimlik veya yurttaşlığa ilişkin sabit ve belirli tanımları ve yurttaşlık eğitiminin bilinen ve kabul edilen rollerini ortadan kaldıran farklı bakış açılarından oluşan ve giderek genişleyen bir alan yazın vardır (Halualani, 2010). Peki, ne değişti? Neden yeni bakış açıları ortaya çıktı? Köklü kavramları ‘yapı söküme’ tabi tutmanın veya yurttaşlık eğitimine farklı açılardan yeniden bakmanın nedeni nedir?

Özellikle II. Dünya Savaşı'ndan sonra siyasi ve ekonomik değişimler yurttaşlığın anlamını değiştirmiştir. Uluslararası göç, ulusların çeşitliliğini artırmış; küreselleşme, ekonominin yönünü değiştirmiş ve nihayetinde ulus devletlerin siyaseti ve kültürünü etkilemiştir. Ayrıca insan haklarındaki gelişmeler ve uluslararası toplulukların gelişimi de modern yurttaşlık kavramının dönüşümünü tetiklemiştir (Marshall & Bottomore, 2000; Balibar, 2016). Diğer bir deyişle modern yurttaşlık kavramı, ulus devlet düşüncesi ve ulusal kimlik üzerinden “birey”in tanımlayıcısıdır (Kadioğlu, 2007). Ancak dünya siyasetindeki değişimler ve

uluslararası hareketler bireyin kimliğini deęiřtirmiřtir. Tek boyutlu kimlik tanımı, çok boyutlu tanımlara dönüşmüřtür. Bu süreçte insanlar, bir ulus devletin üyesi olmanın ötesine geçmiş ve farklılıklarıyla birlikte var olabileceklerini ve yaşayabileceklerini anlama noktasında gelişim ve deęişim içinde olmuşlardır. Bu deęişimler, yurttaşlık kavramının çeşitlilik açısından yeniden tanımlanmasını sağlamıştır (Sassen, 2002). Bu bağlamda, ırk, etnik köken, din, sınıf, cinsiyet ve dięer açılardan yurttaşlar arasındaki eşitlik veya daha da önemlisi adalet kaygısına ilişkin vurgular giderek artmaktadır; çünkü bu vurgular, haklar ve eşitlikçi toplumlar için mücadele eden aktivist hareketler sayesinde daha yüksek sesle ve daha güçlü bir şekilde dile getirilmeye başlanmıştır.

Eđitim açısından bakıldığında ise, bu deęişiklikler yeni soruları tetiklemiş veya bazen eğitim ve daha özel olarak yurttaşlık eğitimi açısından çoęulcu bakış açılarını hatırlatmıştır. Okullar farklı sınıf, din, etnik köken, ırk, yetenek veya cinsiyete sahip öğrencilere eşit fırsatlar sağlıyor mu? Eğitim programı, tüm kültürel, dini, etnik ve cinsiyet gruplarını göz ardı etmeden veya ayrımcılık yapmadan herkesi eşit olarak temsil edebiliyor mu? Yoksa okullar egemen kültürün bilgisini yeniden mi üretiyor? Eğitimciler etnik, ırksal, dini veya cinsiyet kimliğine bakmaksızın her öğrenciye eşit yaklaşabiliyor mu? Öğretmen yetiřtirme programları toplumun deęişen ihtiyaçlarına nasıl cevap veriyor?

Davies'e (2004) göre tüm dünyada eğitim, etnik veya sınıfsal farklılıkları vurgular ve erkek egemen ve militarist sembolik řiddeti sürdürerek cinsiyet eşitsizliğini yeniden üretir. Bu şekilde, insanlar arasındaki çatışmalar eğitimin kendisi tarafından yeniden üretilir. Örneđin, “*Routledge Çokkültürlü Eğitimde Uluslararası Ortaklıklar (The Routledge International Companion to Multicultural Education)*” kitabı, dünyanın farklı bölgelerinden maruz kaldıkları ayrımcılık açısından, farklı kültür, etnik köken, ırk veya dinden gelen azınlık öğrencilerinin - örneđin Fransa veya İngiltere'de Müslüman bir öğrenci, Almanya'da bir Türk öğrenci, Yeni Zelanda'da bir Maori, veya Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'ndeki (ABD) bir Meksikalı-Amerikalı öğrenci olmak gibi- okul deneyimlerini sunar (akt. Banks, 2009).

Kültürel, cinsiyete dayalı, etnik ve dini grupların uğradıkları ayrımcılıklar hala mevcut olsa ve bu ayrımcılıklar ders kitaplarının içeriđi veya bu grupların

yaşanmış deneyimleri üzerinden izlenebilse de; yurttaşlık kavramının yapı sökümü nihayetinde yurttaşlık eğitiminin felsefesini ve içeriğini de etkilemiştir. Yurttaşlık eğitiminin amacı, 1960'ların ve 1970'lerin etnik kimlik hareketlerinden bu yana dönüşmüştür. Mücadeleler ve siyasi, ekonomik ve kültürel değişimler sonucu çeşitliliğin gerekli olduğu anlaşılmış ve farklılıklara ilişkin kabul edici bir yaklaşım geliştirilmiştir. Bu doğrultuda, yurttaşlık eğitiminin de mono-kültürel bir bakış açısından çok kültürlü bir bakış açısına doğru gelişmesi ve değişmesi gerekmiştir. Hatta, son zamanlarda hem yurttaşlık kavramının hem de yurttaşlık eğitiminin içeriğinin farklılıklar gözetilerek dönüştürülmesi bir ihtiyaçtan öte bir zorunluluk haline gelmiştir (Noddings, 2013). Bu bağlamda, Kanada (Hebert, 2002; Ghosh & Abdi, 2004), Amerika Birleşik Devletleri (Banks, 2008), Avustralya (Banks, 2008; Khan, 2013), Almanya (Zepp, 2010), ve İspanya (Lopez Serrano, 2010) gibi ülkelerde siyasi yönetime ve eğitime yönelik geliştirilen politikalar ve uygulamalar mevcuttur. Veya Avrupa'da yurttaşlık eğitimi üzerine yapılan araştırmalar Avrupa ülkelerinin çoğunluğunun her türlü ayrımcılığa karşı çoğulculuk, çeşitlilik ve cinsiyet eşitliği konusunda olumlu tutumlara sahip yurttaşlar yetiştirmeyi hedeflediğini göstermektedir (Eurydice, 2017).

Öte yandan, çok kültürlülüğün siyasi yönetim boyutunda kabul edildiği ve uygulandığı ülkelerde bile eğitimde ayrımcılığın aşıldığını söylemek zordur. Ayrıca, 'ötekileştirilen' kültürün sabit, durağan ve homojen olarak değerlendirilmesi tehlikesi vardır. Bu nedenle, çok kültürlü çabalar ya da temsil uğruna 'öteki'nin varlığını otantik kıyafetler, yemekler, ya da kültürel gelenekler gibi öğeler üzerinden vurgulayan her türlü çaba eşitsizlikleri yeniden üretme tehlikesi taşır (Davies, 2004). Bu eleştirel bakış açısına göre hiçbir şey sabit, durağan ve homojen olarak anlaşılmalıdır, bunun aksine her kimlik hibrit ve dinamik olarak tasavvur edilmelidir. Yurttaşlık, kimlik ve kültürün özcü ve tek tip tanımları yerine kimlikler arası, kültürlerarası ve bireyler arası diyalog, eleştirel düşünme ve dönüşüm teşvik edilmelidir.

Türkiye alan yazını da hem siyasi hem de eğitim alanında mevcut olan modern yurttaşlık tartışmalarından bağımsız değildir. Ancak, Türkiye'de modern yurttaşlığın geçmişten günümüze, farklılıklar ve çeşitlilik açısından dönüşümüne ilişkin nitelik olarak derin ama nicelik olarak sınırlı bir tartışmanın mevcut olduğunu

söylemek mümkündür. Eleştirel çalışmaların sayısı hızla artıyor olsa da, Keyman'a (2012) göre, modern yurttaşlığın değişen kavramsallaştırmaları ve kültürel grupların artan talepleri nedeniyle zorluklarla yüzleşmek ve bu zorlukların üstesinden gelmek için Türkiye'de daha fazla tartışmaya ihtiyaç vardır. Ayrıca milliyetçi değil demokratik ve hak temelli bir zemine ihtiyaç vardır.

Bu tartışmalar kapsamında, İçduygu ve Keyman (1998), çok kültürlü bir bakış açısıyla anayasal vatandaşlığı önermiştir. Kadioğlu (2007; 2012) ise Türkiye'de yurttaşlığın ulustan arındırılmasını önermektedir. Kadioğlu, ulustan arındırma ve ulus-sonrası yurttaşlık kavramları üzerinden, çoğunluk kültürü ve azınlıklar arasında eksik demokratikleşme süreci nedeniyle yıllarca görmezden gelinen çözülmemiş sorunlar olduğu için, ulustan arındırma kavramının Türkiye örneğinde yurttaşlık dönüşümünün doğasına daha uygun olduğunu savunmaktadır. Bunların yanı sıra kadınların (Arat, 1997, 1998; Tekeli, 1989; Sancar, 2014; Sayılan, 2012) insan ve yurttaşlık haklarına ilişkin büyüyen bir alan yazın bulunmaktadır.

Eğitim alanındaki tartışmalar siyaset bilimi alanındaki tartışmalardan bağımsız değildir. Türkiye'de, kültürel, toplumsal cinsiyet ya da sınıfsal gruplar arasındaki, birbiriyle yüksek oranda kesişen eşitsizlikleri gösteren raporlar mevcuttur. Örneğin, Eğitim Reformu Girişimi'nin (ERG, 2019) bir raporunda da paylaşıldığı gibi dolaylı ayrımcılık çocukları eğitimden uzaklaştırabilmektedir. Anadili Türkçe olmayan öğrenciler, çalışan çocuklar, kırsal kesimde yaşayan çocuklar; kız çocukları, mevsimlik tarım işçisi çocukları, Roman çocuklar, yoksul çocuklar veya aileleri zorunlu göçle Türkiye'ye gelen çocuklar kendilerini güvende hissetmedikleri ve buldukları eğitim ortamına ait hissetmedikleri için okul dışına itilebilmektedir. Eğitimdeki eşitsizliklere ilişkin bir başka rapor, cinsiyet, ırk, etnik köken, dil, yaş veya engellilik durumunun, ayrımcılığa ve dışlanmaya maruz kalma faktörleri olabileceğini ortaya koymaktadır (ERG, 2021a). Aynı raporda (ERG, 2021a), Avrupa Birliği tarafından hazırlanan 2019 Türkiye Raporu'nda, eğitimde kapsayıcılığın geliştirilmesi gereken bir alan olarak görüldüğü vurgulanmaktadır.

Türkiye'deki farklı kültürel, etnik, toplumsal cinsiyet ve diğer grupların eğitimi ve kapsayıcılığına ilişkin kapsamlı raporlar aracılığıyla yapılan bu genel incelemeden sonra, devam eden paragraflarda, eğitimde cinsiyet eşitsizlikleri,

yoksulluk, etnik farklılıklar, dini farklılıklar gibi konulara daha yakından bakılmasını sağlayacak bazı veriler paylaşılmıştır.

Eđitime eriřim veya okulu terk etme konusunda kız ve erkek çocuklar arasında hala eřitsizlikler mevcuttur (Candař ve Yılmaz, 2012; ERG, 2019; Kaya, 2007) ve bu fark ülkenin Güneydođu kesiminde daha belirgindir (ERG, 2019). Öte yandan, okullařma oranında kız ve erkek çocuklar arasındaki farkın azalması, ulusal istatistikler aracılıđıyla “büyük bir başarı” olarak sunulsa da; bu bakıř açısıyla toplumsal cinsiyet eřitliđine yönelik politika anlayıřı, okullařma oranı istatistiklerine indirgenmektedir (Aydagül, 2019; Cin & Walker, 2016). Aydagül'ün (2019) tartıřtıđı gibi, sadece sayısal verilere indirgenmeyen, anlamlı öğrenme ortamına ulařmak için eđitimdeki olanaklara veya fırsatlara eřit eriřimi ve hatta eřitliđe ulařmak için sorumlulukların, kaynakların ve gücün adil dađılımını ifade eden bir eđitimde cinsiyet eřitliđi politikasına ihtiyaç vardır. Dolayısıyla, cinsiyet eřitliđini, okullařma oranına yönelik istatistikler yoluyla tanımlamak konuya iliřkin en temel düzeydeki yaklařımdır. Toplumsal cinsiyet eřitliđini sađlamak için daha derin politika analizi ve uygulamalarına ihtiyaç vardır. Ayrıca, konuya daha derin bir perspektiften yaklařırken, sınıf, etnik köken ve göçün kesiřimi, bu kesiřimlerin kızların okullařma deneyimleri üzerindeki derin etkilerini veya aynı yařtaki erkeklere kıyasla okula gitmeme nedenlerini kavramak için göz önünde bulundurulmalıdır (Ünal ve Özsoy, 1999).).

Öte yandan, ulusal istatistiklerde (MEB, 2017; 2018; 2019; 2020) paylařıldıđı üzere, özellikle ilköđretim düzeyinde erkek ve kız çocukları arasındaki okullařma oranı farkı son yıllarda düşse de pandemi bu süreci olumsuz etkilemiřtir ve kızların erkeklere kıyasla eđitime eriřimleri veya okulu bırakma oranları bu süreçte daha fazla olmuřtur (ERG, 2021a). Ayrıca ders kitapları, kadın mesleklerini sınırlandırarak, kadınları anne rolüyle erkeklerin baba rolüne kıyasla daha fazla göstererek veya daha fazla erkek görseli kullanarak erkek egemen bir bakıř açısıya toplumsal cinsiyet eřitizliđini eđitim yoluyla yeniden üretmeye devam etmektedir (Aratemur-Çimen & Bayhan, 2018).

Eđitimde cinsiyet veya cinsiyet kimliđi açısından eřitizliklerin yanı sıra etnik farklılıklar da öđrenciler arasında eřitizliklere neden olmaktadır. Kaya'nın (2007) 'Türkiye Eđitim Sisteminde Azınlıklar' bařlıklı raporu, Türkiye'nin

imzaladığı uluslararası sözleşmeler ve tüm çocukların eğitim hakkını koruyan mevzuatlar ile okullardaki uygulamalar arasındaki tutarsızlıkları tartışmaktadır. “*Dil, ırk, renk, cinsiyet, siyasî düşünce, felsefî inanç, din, mezhep ve benzeri sebepler*”¹²¹ gözetilmeksizin herkesin eşit olduğu taahhüdü Anayasa ile güvence altına alınıp korunduğu, ve “*hiç kimse eğitim hakkından yoksun bırakılmayacağı*”¹²² halde, rapor Roman, Kürt, Ermeni, Alevi, Hıristiyan, Yahudi, ateist, agnostik ve diğer azınlık gruplarına mensup çocukların eğitimde maruz kaldıkları eşitsizlikleri ortaya koymaktadır. Bu raporun yanı sıra, farklı etnik, kültürel ve dini gruplara mensup çocukların sınıflarda ve okullarda maruz kaldıkları ayrımcılıkları ortaya koyan başka raporlar da mevcuttur (Akkan ve diğerleri, 2011; Alp & Taştan, 2011; ERG, 2021a; Gözoğlu, 2013; Gündem Çocuk, 2014; Karan, 2017).

Öte yandan, Cumhurbaşkanlığı On Birinci Kalkınma Planı (2019-2023) ve eğitime ilişkin önemli bir politika belgesi olan Türkiye'nin Eğitim Vizyonu 2023 politika belgesi de kimlikleri ne olursa olsun tüm çocuklar arasında eşitliğin sağlanması ve eşitlikçi bir yaklaşım ihtiyacını dikkate almakta ve vurgulamaktadır.¹²³¹²⁴ Ancak, politika belgelerinin amaçlarına rağmen, Türkiye'deki eğitim sisteminin, eşitsizlikleri yeniden ürettiği ve tüm yurttaşlarına eşitlikçi bir yaklaşım sağlayamadığı söylenebilir. Ayrıca, yurttaşlığın çoğunluk kültürü üzerinden nasıl inşa edildiğini ve farklı kültürel, etnik, toplumsal cinsiyet ve dini grupların yanı sıra düşük sosyo-ekonomik statüdeki çocukların haklarının ve temsilinin eğitim programı ve ders kitapları temelinde nasıl ihmal ettiğini gösteren çeşitli çalışmalar da vardır (Çayır & Gürkaynak, 2007; Çayır, 2014; Çotuksöken ve diğerleri, 2003; Gök, 2003; Keyman & Kancı, 2011; İnce, 2012; Tüzün, 2009; Üstel, 2014).

¹²¹ Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Anayasası, Madde 10.

¹²² Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Anayasası, Madde 42.

¹²³ Cumhurbaşkanlığı On Birinci Kalkınma Planı (2019-2023), Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi'nin 105. Genel Kurulu'nda kabul edilmiştir. <https://www.sbb.gov.tr/wp-content/uploads/2019/07/OnbirinciKalkinmaPlani.pdf>.

¹²⁴ Türkiye 2023 Eğitim Vizyonu. http://2023vizyonu.meb.gov.tr/doc/2023_EGITIM_VIZYONU.pdf.

Türkiye, yıllardır ülkenin farklı bileşenleri arasındaki sorunlar açısından 'bölünmüş bir toplum' olarak tanımlanabilir.¹²⁵ Türkiye'nin bölünmüş bir toplum olması, ağırlıklı olarak çoğunluğun kültürüne dayanan ulusal kimlik kavramının içeriği ile ilgilidir. Ayrıca toplumu birbirine bağlamak, 'vatan' ve 'millet' fikrini oluşturmak için farklılıklar tarih boyunca 'tehdit' olarak görülmüştür (Üstel, 2014; Çayır, 2016). Sadece azınlıklar değil, çoğunluk kültürü de kaygı yaşamakta ve kendi kültürlerini 'ötekilerden' korumaya çalışmaktadır. Böylece, kültürel gruplar arasında var olmuş olan tarihsel çatışmaların yükünü taşıyan bölünmüş toplumlarda, azınlık ya da çoğunluk her gruptan yurttaşlar demokratik bir toplumda bir arada yaşama deneyimleri açısından çok boyutlu bir bakış açısına sahip olma şanslarını kaybederler. Ghosh ve Abdi'nin (2004) iddia ettiği gibi, baskın grup dünyanın gerçekleriyle baş edemezken, dezavantajlı olanlar ezilecek ve nihayetinde her iki gruptaki insanların da demokratik ve aktif yurttaş olma şansı kalmayacaktır.

Öte yandan, durum eskisinden daha da karmaşık bir haldedir. Tarihsel sorunlar hala devam etmektedir, ayrıca yerel halk tarafından giderek daha fazla rahatsız olunan Suriyeli göçmenler mevcuttur. Erdoğan'ın (2014; 2017; 2020) üç yıl arayla yürüttüğü araştırmalar, Suriyeli göçmenlere yönelik artan olumsuz tutumları göstermektedir. Beyazova ve Akbaş (2016) tarafından yapılan bir başka çalışma ise okullardaki duruma işaret etmektedir. Araştırmanın bulguları, Türkiye'deki ebeveynlerin göçmen çocukların, çocuklarının sınıfında olmasına ilişkin olumsuz görüşlere sahip olduğunu ortaya koymaktadır. Öte yandan, resmi istatistiklere göre Türkiye'de yaklaşık 1,3 milyon okul çağında göçmen çocuk (çoğunluğu 1,2 milyon Suriyeli çocuk) bulunmaktadır (MEB, 2021). 2020-2021 eğitim öğretim yılında (MEB, 2021) yabancı uyruklu çocukların okullaşma oranı %67,98, Suriyeli çocukların okullaşma oranı %65,08'dir. Bu nedenle, gelecekte Suriyeli göçmenlerle ilgili daha derin sorunlarla karşılaşmamak için kabul, temsil ve kapsayıcılık temelli uygun politikalar oluşturulması gerekmektedir. Bu da Cumhurbaşkanlığı On Birinci Kalkınma Planında (2019-2023) belirlenen amaçlardan biridir (s.139).

¹²⁵ Staeheli ve Hammett'e (2011) göre bazı toplumlar, savaşları, nefreti, kaygıyı, çatışmayı, şiddeti veya asimilasyonu içeren derin sorunlu geçmişleri nedeniyle sosyal uyumu sağlamada başarılı olamazlar ve bu toplumlar 'bölünmüş toplumlar' olarak tanımlanabilir.

Yurttaşlık eğitimi ve çeşitlilik kavramına dayalı sorunlar açısından ülkedeki resmi söylem ve zorluklar yukarıda gösterilmeye çalışılmıştır. Delors ve diğerlerinin (1996) raporunda vurgulandığı gibi, birlikte yaşamayı öğrenmek 21. yüzyıl için en önemli zorluklardan biridir ve eğer politikalar sadece kâğıt üzerinde kalmadan derinlemesine oluşturulup uygulanabilirse eğitim, toplumlardaki bölünmelerin üstesinden gelmeye yardımcı olabilir. Bu nedenle, sınıflardaki, okullardaki ve genel olarak toplumdaki mevcut sosyal sorunları, çatışmaları, eşitsizlikleri insanlar ve gruplar arasındaki farklılıklar açısından ele alan yeni bir rasyonaliteye ihtiyaç vardır. Bu nedenle, tüm çocukların dünyayı çok boyutlu kavrama kapasitelerini geliştirebilecekleri bir yurttaşlık eğitim anlayışı geliştirmenin yollarını analiz etmek için böyle bir araştırma çalışması yürütmek önemlidir.

Çok kültürlü eğitim uygulamalarını iyileştirmenin yollarını tartışan ya da öğretmen, öğretmen adayları veya öğrencilerin algılarını analiz eden çok kültürlü eğitime ilişkin birçok çalışma bulunmaktadır (Damgacı & Aydın, 2013; Demir, 2012; Polat, 2011; Polat ve Kılıç, 2013; Tarman & Tarman, 2011; Taş, 2019; Tonbuloğlu ve diğerleri, 2016; Yılmaz, 2016;). Ancak çok kültürlü yurttaşlık eğitimi (Arslan, 2014; Bilge, 2019; Esen, 2009) ve küresel yurttaşlık eğitimi (Çolak, 2015; Göl, 2013; Sarıoğlu, 2013; Uydaş, 2014) konularında sınırlı sayıda çalışma bulunmaktadır. Türkiye'de AB politikalarının yurttaşlık eğitimine etkisini inceleyen de çok az çalışma bulunmaktadır (Som ve Karataş, 2015; Şahin, 2012; Yalnız, 2012). Yine, çok kültürlü eğitim politikalarının yokluğunda öğretmen yeterliklerini (Esen, 2009) veya gayrimüslim vatandaşların Türkiye'deki vatandaşlık eğitimine ilişkin görüş ve deneyimlerini (İbrahimoglu, 2014) inceleyen sınırlı sayıda çalışma bulunmaktadır. Öte yandan tarih eğitimi perspektifinden bakıldığında, vatandaşlık eğitimi açısından ulusal değerlerin, kültürün ve kimliğin küreselleşmeden ve olası tehditlerden korunmasının gerekliliği üzerinde durulmuştur (Safran 2008; Şıvgın, 2009). Ancak yurttaşlık eğitim programını çeşitlilik ve farklılıklar bağlamında çok yönlü değerlendiren bir çalışmaya rastlanmamıştır. Bu nedenle, mevcut çalışma, boşluğu doldurmayı ve konuyu çok boyutlu bir bakış açısıyla derinlemesine ve eleştirel olarak incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır.

Yöntem

Araştırma deseni olarak eleştirel çok katmanlı nitel çalışma yöntemi kullanılmıştır. Çalışmanın amacı, yurttaşlık ve çeşitlilik üzerine olan resmi ve okul içerisindeki gündelik söylemleri farklı perspektiflerden analiz ederek 4. sınıf eğitim programını değerlendirmektir. Analiz sırasında, alan yazın taramasında ortaya çıkan ve yurttaşlık ve çeşitlilik kavramlarıyla ilişkili ‘ulus, ulusal, kültür, etnisite, farklılıklar, cinsiyet, azınlıklar, haklar ve sorumluluklar’ gibi kavramlara ilişkin söylemlere odaklanılmıştır. Yurttaşlık eğitim programının çeşitlilik ve farklılıklara bakış açısını analiz etmek için bu kavramlara ilişkin söylemlerin çoklu perspektiflerden analiz edilmesi amaçlanmıştır. Bu noktada, çoklu bir bakış açısı ile kast edilen, 4. Sınıf düzeyindeki öğretim programları ve ders kitapları analizlerinin yanı sıra, öğretmenlerin, öğrencilerin, okul müdürlerinin ve okul psikolojik danışmanlarının görüşlerinin ve yaşanmış deneyimlerinin de analiz sürecine dâhil edilmesidir.

Çalışmanın ilk aşaması doküman analizini içermektedir ve yurttaşlık kavramına çeşitlilik ve farklılıklar açısından nasıl bakıldığına ilişkin resmi söylemi incelemeyi amaçlamıştır. İkinci aşama ile resmi söylemin “yankılarını” daha geniş bir alanda gözlemleyebilmek için önemli sayıda eğitimciye ulaşmak amaçlanmıştır. İkinci aşamayı takiben, üçüncü aşama, resmi söylemle olan ilişkisini de göz önünde bulundurarak, ikinci aşamadan elde edilen bulguları daha derinlemesine analiz etmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Başka bir deyişle, bu çalışma aşamalı bir şekilde detaylandırılarak derinleştirilmiştir. Bu aşamalara bağlı olarak araştırma sürecinde aşağıdaki adımlar gerçekleştirilmiştir:

1. 4. sınıf öğretim programları ve ders kitapları incelenmiştir;
2. 4. sınıf öğretmenleri, okul müdürleri ve okul psikolojik danışmanlarına açık-uçlu sorulardan oluşan bir nitel anket formu uygulanmıştır;
3. Derinlemesine veri toplamak için, 4. sınıf öğretmenleri, okul müdürleri ve okul psikolojik danışmanları ile yarı-yapılandırılmış görüşmeler, sınıf ve okul içi gözlemler yapılmış ve bu gözlemlere ilişkin saha notları tutulmuştur.

Bahsedildiği gibi, çalışma birbiriyle ilişkili üç katmandan oluşmaktadır ve genel olarak aşağıdaki araştırma sorularına cevap verilmesi hedeflenmektedir:

1. 4. sınıf İnsan Hakları, Yurttaşlık ve Demokrasi eğitim programında yurttaşlık ve insan haklarına ilişkin kavramlar nasıl sunulmaktadır?
 - a. 4. sınıf eğitim programında, “ulusal, ulus, yurttaş, kültür, etnisite, çeşitlilik, cinsiyet, farklılıklar, haklar ve sorumluluklar” gibi yurttaşlıkla ilgili kavramlara ilişkin mevcut söylemler nelerdir?
 - b. 4. sınıf ders kitaplarında “ulusal, ulus, vatandaş, kültür, etnisite, çeşitlilik, cinsiyet, farklılıklar, haklar ve sorumluluklar” gibi yurttaşlıkla ilgili kavramlara ilişkin mevcut söylemler nelerdir?
2. Yurttaşlık ve insan haklarına ilişkin söylemler Adana alt bölgesinde kültürel farklılıkların olduğu ilkokul ortamlarındaki okul üyelerinin uygulamalarına ve deneyimlerine nasıl yansımaktadır?
 - a. Yurttaşlıkla ilgili 'ulusal, ulus, kültür, etnisite, çeşitlilik, cinsiyet, farklılıklar, haklar ve sorumluluklar' gibi kavramlara ilişkin resmi söylemler, Adana alt bölgesinde kültürel farklılıkların olduğu ilkokullarda çalışan öğretmenlerin, okul psikolojik danışmanlarının ve okul yöneticilerinin anlatılarını ve söylemlerini ne şekilde etkilemektedir?
 - b. Yurttaşlıkla ilgili 'ulusal, ulus, kültür, etnisite, çeşitlilik, cinsiyet, farklılıklar, haklar ve sorumluluklar' gibi kavramlara ilişkin resmi söylemler, Mersin'in merkezinde yer alan ve kültürel farklılıkların olduğu ilkokullardaki öğretmenlerin, öğrencilerin, okul psikolojik danışmanlarının ve okul yöneticilerinin deneyimlerini ve söylemlerini ne şekilde etkilemektedir?

Araştırmanın Veri Kaynakları

Çok katmanlı eleştirel bir nitel çalışma deseni olan araştırmada her katman için farklı bir araştırma yöntemi kullanılmıştır. Araştırmanın veri kaynakları, 4. sınıf öğretim programları ve ders kitapları olan yazılı kaynaklar ile 4. sınıf öğretmenleri, psikolojik danışmanlar, okul yöneticileri ve gözlemlenen sınıflardaki öğrencilerden oluşmaktadır. Araştırmanın ilk aşamasında amaç yurttaşlık ve çeşitliliğe ilişkin resmi söylemi analiz etmek olduğu için, veri kaynakları, 4. sınıf düzeyi için

geliştirilen öğretim programları ve ders kitapları olmak üzere iki farklı türde belgeyi içermektedir.

Araştırmanın ikinci ve üçüncü aşamalarındaki katılımcıları belirleme süreci, Adana alt bölgesinde yer alan ve araştırmaya dâhil edilecek okulları amaçlı bir şekilde seçerek başlamıştır. Adana alt bölgesi, Adana ve Mersin illerini kapsamaktadır. Araştırmaya, kültürel farklılıkların yoğun olduğu okulları dâhil edebilmek amacıyla, çalışmanın evreni Adana ve Mersin'in merkez ilçelerindeki okullar olarak belirlenmiştir. Adana'nın merkez ilçelerinde 232 devlet ilkokulu (N=232), Mersin'in merkez ilçelerinde 137 devlet ilkokulu (N=137) bulunmaktadır. Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı'ndan gerekli izinleri alabilmek ve okul seçim sürecini kolaylaştırabilmek amacıyla, okulların yarısı IBM SPSS 22.0 kullanılarak rastgele seçilmiştir. Bu sadeleştirmenin, her iki ildeki tüm merkez ilçelerin etnik köken, dini inanç, sosyo-ekonomik sınıf gibi parametreler açısından nüfusun, farklı ortamlardan gelen çok kültürlü bir yapıya sahip olması nedeniyle, bilgi açısından zengin olan vakalar üzerinde olumsuz bir etkisi olmamıştır. Sonuç olarak, araştırmaya dâhil edilecek ve potansiyel olarak ziyaret edilebilecek, Adana'dan 116 ilkokul (N=116) ve Mersin'den 68 ilkokul (N=68) belirlenmiştir.

Araştırmaya dâhil edilecek okullar Adana ve Mersin'den iki eğitimcinin desteği ile belirlenmiştir. Öncelikle Adana (n=116) ve Mersin'den (n=68) rastgele seçilen okulların listesi eğitimciler ile paylaşılmıştır. Eğitimciler, listeyi inceleyerek bölge ve okul profilleri hakkında bilgi vermişler ve alt, orta ve orta-üst sosyo-ekonomik düzeye sahip bölgelerden kültürel açıdan farklılıklara sahip olan okulları seçmeme yardımcı olmuşlardır. Sonuç olarak, açık uçlu soru formlarının uygulanması için Adana alt bölgesinde bulunan -27'si Adana'da, 28'i Mersin'de olmak üzere- toplam 55 okul ziyaret edilmiştir.

Araştırmanın ikinci aşaması için, toplamda 390 eğitime -4. Sınıf öğretmeni (n=262), psikolojik danışman (n=64) ve okul yöneticisi (n=64)- açık uçlu soru formu dağıtılmış ve bunların %76,9'u (n=300) geri toplanmıştır. Açık uçlu soru formu geri dönüş oranı 4. sınıf öğretmenleri (n=202) için %77,1, psikolojik danışmanlar (n=43) için %67,2 ve okul yöneticileri (n=55) için %85,9'dur. Katılımcı profilleri, katılımcıların yarısından biraz fazlasının (n=154, %51,3) kadın, %46,1'inin ise erkek (n=140) olduğunu göstermiştir. Daha spesifik olarak,

öğretmenlerin ($n= 123$, %60.9) ve danışmanların ($n=24$, %55.8) çoğunluğu kadın, yöneticilerin çoğu ($n= 48$, %87.3) erkektir.

İkinci aşamada veri toplama sürecinde ulaşılan okul profilleri ve ilgili soru formundan elde edilen ön analiz bulguları göz önünde bulundurulduğunda, Mersin'de farklı kültürlerin bulunduğu okullara ulaşmanın daha kolay ve Mersin'in merkez ilçelerinin konumları açısından daha kompakt olması sebebiyle, araştırmanın üçüncü aşaması için sadece Mersin'deki okullar ($n=28$) örneklem seçimine dâhil edilmiştir. Bu aşamada da katılımcılar yerine öncelikle görüşmelerin ve gözlemlerin yapıldığı okullar, sosyo-ekonomik düzey açısından aile profilleri de dikkate alınarak, amaçlı bir şekilde seçilmiştir. Hem yarı-yapılandırılmış görüşmeler hem de sınıf gözlemleri için okullar ($n=6$) seçildikten sonra, bu okullardan gönüllü 4. sınıf öğretmenleri ($n=16$), rehber öğretmenler ($n=6$) ve okul müdürleri ($n=5$) ile görüşme yapılmıştır. Görüşme yapılan öğretmenlerin ($n=11$, %68,7) ve psikolojik danışmanların ($n=5$) çoğunluğu kadın iken, okul yöneticilerinin çoğunluğu ($n=4$) erkektir.

Yine aynı okullardan gönüllü olan 4. sınıf öğretmenlerinin ($n=7$) sınıflarında, İnsan Hakları, Yurttaşlık ve Demokrasi dersi sırasında, her bir sınıfta en az beş ders saati olmak üzere, toplamda 50 ders saati gözlem yapılmıştır. Sınıfı gözlemlenen öğretmenlerden dördü ($n=4$) kadın, üçü ($n=3$) erkektir.

Veri Toplama Araçları ve Süreci

6 Kasım 2017 tarihinde sunulan tez önerisinin ardından veri toplama formlarının oluşturulma sürecine geçilmiş ve veri toplama araçları, Kasım 2017 ile Haziran 2018 arasında dört aşamada geliştirilmiştir.

İlk adımda iki doküman inceleme formu, üç anket formu, üç görüşme formu ve bir sınıf gözlem formu yurttaşlık eğitimi ile ilgili alan yazına dayalı olarak ve yurttaşlık eğitim programındaki çeşitlilik veya farklılıklara ilişkin içerik dikkate alınarak hazırlanmıştır. Doküman analizi formları ve anketler ve görüşmeler için geliştirilen veri toplama formları içerik açısından paralellikler göstermektedir. Ancak bazı maddeler veya sorular veri kaynaklarının -öğretim programı, ders kitabı- amacına ve içeriğine, ya da katılımcı grupların -öğretmen, psikolojik danışman, yönetici- rollerine ve okul içerisinde pozisyonlarına bağlı olarak dâhil edilmiş veya hariç tutulmuştur. Örneğin, açık uçlu soru formunda ve görüşme formunda yer alan

sorular her bir katılımcı grubunun yani öğretmen, danışman ve yöneticinin görev ve rollerine göre düzenlenmiştir.

İkinci olarak, taslak veri toplama araçları tez danışmanın görüş ve önerileri alındıktan sonra revize edilmiştir. Üçüncü adımda, geliştirilen formlar, uzman görüşleri doğrultusunda görünüş ve kapsam geçerliliği amacıyla revize edilmiş ve pilot uygulama öncesi son geribildirim için tez danışmanına gönderilmiştir. Danışmanın önerileri alındıktan sonra bazı ilave değişiklikler yapılmış ve etik kurul onayı ve pilot uygulama öncesinde veri toplama formlarının son şekli verilmiştir.

Uzman görüşleri doğrultusunda revize edilerek etik kurul onayı alındıktan sonra veri toplama araçlarının pilot uygulamasına geçilmiş ve pilot uygulamaya 4. sınıf öğretmenleri ($n=4$), okul yöneticileri ($n=4$) ve psikolojik danışmanlar ($n=3$) katılmıştır. Sinop Üniversitesi'nden biri eğitim yönetimi ve planlaması ve biri psikolojik danışmanlık ve rehberlik bölümünden olmak üzere iki öğretim üyesi de ($n=2$) soruların anlaşılabilirliğini kontrol etmek amacıyla görünüş geçerliği için pilot çalışmalara katılmıştır. Pilot uygulama sürecinden elde edilen deneyimler ve pilot uygulama katılımcılarından alınan geri bildirimler dikkate alınarak anket ve görüşme formları revize edilmiştir.

Sonuç olarak, dört aşamalı bir geliştirme ve değerlendirme sürecinin sonunda ortaya çıkan veri toplama araçları şu şekildedir. Araştırmanın ilk aşamasında kullanılmak üzere geliştirilen Öğretim Programı Analiz Formu ve Ders Kitabı Analiz Formu, analizler sırasında yaşanan zorluklar sebebi ile kullanılmamıştır. Çünkü toplamda 24 belge bulunmakta olup, analiz bulgularının formlara kaydedilmesinin, öz ve tartışılabilir bulgulara ulaşmak için mümkün olmayacağı anlaşılmıştır. Bu nedenle belgelerin analizinde NVivo yazılımının kullanılmasına karar verilerek, belgeler indirilip, indirilen belgeler NVivo 12 Pro'ya yüklenmiş ve analiz edilmiştir.

Araştırmanın ikinci aşaması için geliştirilen açık uçlu sorulardan oluşan nitel soru formlarının amacı, katılımcıları ve bağlamı daha iyi anlamak için anlamlı bir sayıda 4. sınıf öğretmeni, okul psikolojik danışmanı ve okul yöneticisine ulaşmak olup; bu formlar iki bölümden oluşmaktadır. Birinci bölümde katılımcıya, sınıfa ve okula ilişkin demografik sorular yer alırken, ikinci bölümde vatandaşlık, demokrasi ve insan hakları eğitimi konularına yer verilmiştir.

Soru formlarının ikinci bölümünde, farklı gruptaki katılımcılara farklı sorular yöneltilmiştir. Örneğin, öğretmen formunda, öğretmenlerin kültürel çeşitliliğe ilişkin algıları ve öğretim programı ve ders kitabı hakkındaki düşüncelerine ilişkin sorular yer almıştır. Psikolojik danışman formunda, psikolojik danışmanların okullarının çok kültürlü profiline ilişkin düşünceleri ve deneyimleri hakkındaki soruları yer alırken; yönetici formunun ikinci bölümünde ise yöneticilerin kültürel çeşitliliğe sahip okullarda çalışmaya ilişkin düşünceleri ve algıları anlaşılmasına çalışılmıştır. Ayrıca, okul yöneticilerinin demokrasi anlayışına, demokrasi ve insan haklarını uygulama biçimlerine önem verilmiş, yöneticilere, okulda demokrasi kültürünü geliştirmek ve okul üyeleri arasında uyumu sağlamaya yönelik okul yönetiminin uygulamaları sorulmuştur.

Araştırmanın üçüncü aşamasında kullanılan yarı yapılandırılmış görüşme formları da demografik bilgiler ve ana bölüm olmak üzere iki bölüme oluşmaktadır. Katılımcı gruplarının rol ve pozisyonlarına göre özellikleri farklılık gösterdiğinden, üç paralel görüşme formu hazırlanmıştır. Yarı yapılandırılmış görüşme formlarının içeriği, açık uçlu soru formları ile paralellik göstermektedir ancak amaç analizi derinleştirmek olduğu için benzer içerikteki sorular katılımcıyı daha derin cevaplara yönlendirecek ek sorularla desteklenmiştir.

Araştırmanın en başında yapılandırılmış bir sınıf gözlem formu geliştirilmiştir. Geliştirilen gözlem formu beş bölüme oluşmaktadır: öğretmenin özellikleri; sınıfın fiziksel ve kültürel özellikleri; öğretim programı (hedefler, öğretilen içerik, kullanılan öğretim yöntemleri, kullanılan değerlendirme teknikleri); öğretmenin ve öğrencilerin hangi soruları sorduğu, ders sırasında hangi görsellerin kullanıldığı, öğretmenin ne tür geribildirimler verdiği veya öğrencilerin ne yaptığı gibi araştırmanın amacına yönelik sorular; ve öğretmenle kısa bir röportaj için dersten sonra sormak üzere hazırlanan sorular.

Ancak daha ilk gözlemlerde etkinliklere, tepkilere, duygulara, sorulara, geribildirimlere ayrı ayrı dikkat edilemeyeceği anlaşılmış ve zamanla öğretmenlerin teneffüslerde vakit ayırmaya hevesli olmamaları nedeniyle son görüşmelerin yapılamayacağı anlaşılmıştır. Bu saha deneyimlerine göre gözlem formu revize edilmiştir ve revize edilen form üç bölüme oluşmaktadır: öğretmenin profili; okulun fiziksel özellikleri ve sınıfın fiziksel ve sosyo-kültürel özellikleri;

gözlemlenen ders saatlerinde öğretilen konu ve tüm süreç. Başka bir deyişle, tüm spesifik sorular formdan çıkarılarak araştırmacı süreçte, araştırma amaçları ve üzerinde çalışılan olgu ve kavramlara ilişkin her ayrıntıyı yazmaya başlamıştır.

Veri Analiz Süreci

Araştırmada elde edilen veriler tümevarımsal bir yaklaşımla içerik analizine tabi tutulmuştur. İlk aşamada, 4. sınıf öğretim programları (n=12) ve ders kitapları (n=12), kültürel çeşitlilik açısından yurttaşlık inşasını incelemek ve bu konudaki resmi yaklaşımı vatandaşlık, insan hakları, kültürel çeşitlilik ve cinsiyet kavramlarına ilişkin resmi söylem üzerinden anlamak için analiz edilmiştir.

İkinci aşamanın amacı, resmi söylem ile katılımcıların incelenen olguya ilişkin görüş, tutum ve deneyimleri arasındaki bağlantıları daha geniş bir örneklemede görmek olduğu için, verileri nicelleştirme de veri analiz sürecinin amaçlarından biri olmuştur. İkinci aşama verileri, yine tümevarımsal bir yaklaşımla içerik analizine tabi tutulmuştur. Ancak veri düzenleme süreci, birinci aşama ile ikinci aşama verileri arasında, yani resmi söylem ile katılımcıların gündelik eylem, görüş ve deneyimleri arasında bağların kurulmasını da sağlamıştır.

Derinliği ve verilerin analizindeki bütüncül bakış açısına ilişkin ikinci aşamada verilerinden farklı olan üçüncü aşama verilerinin analizi için bu kez yorumlayıcı içerik analizi yine tümevarımsal bir yaklaşımla uygulanmıştır. Üçüncü aşama, veri analizi sırasında okulların portreleri oluşturulmuştur. Ziyaret edilen okullar, sadece katılımcılardan gelen anlatılar doğrultusunda değil, duvar veya panolardaki resimler, öğrenci ve öğretmenlerin tenffüslerdeki davranış ve tutumları da dikkate alınarak bütüncül olarak tanımlanmıştır. Diğer bir deyişle, okul ziyaretleri sırasında alınan gözlem ve alan notları genel portreyi tamamlamak için kullanılmıştır. Ayrıca, gözlemlenen sınıfların öğretmenleri ile yapılan yarı yapılandırılmış görüşmeler ve sınıf içi gözlemler sırasında alınan alan notları kullanılarak sınıf portreleri de oluşturulmuştur. Üçüncü aşama verileri analiz edilirken, okul ve sınıfların özgün portrelerinin oluşturulması için katılımcıların ifadelerinin kullanılması tercih edilmiş ve verilere müdahale edilmemiştir.

Güvenirlilik ve Geçerlilik

Tracy (2010) nitel araştırmanın geçerliliği ve niteliği hakkında sekiz noktayı kavramsallaştırmıştır: değerli konu (worthy topic), zengin titizlik (rich rigor), samimiyet (sincerity), güvenirlilik (credibility), yankılanma (resonance), önemli katkı (significant contribution), etik (ethical) ve anlamlı tutarlılık (meaningful coherence).

Araştırmanın değerinden hareketle, alan yazın bölümünde tartışıldığı gibi, kültürel çeşitliliğin hızla arttığı ve yurttaşlığın ulus temelli bir bakış açısıyla ele alındığı ve tanımlandığı bir ülkede bu tez kapsamında incelenen olgunun oldukça önemli olduğu iddia edilebilir. Bu anlayıştan hareketle, bu çalışma zamanında, ilgili, önemli ve üzerinde çalışmaya değer bir çalışma olarak kabul edilebilir.

Tracy'nin (2010) zengin titizlik kavramsallaştırması, veri miktarı, önemli verilerin toplanması için zamanın yeterliliği, örneklemin ve çalışma bağlamının araştırma amaçları açısından uygunluğu ve veri toplama ve verilerin analizi sırasındaki prosedürlerin uygunluğu ile ilgilidir. Zengin titizlik ile ilgili paylaşılan faktörler açısından mevcut araştırma, çalışılan bağlamın (Adana alt bölgesi) çalışılan olguya uygun olması sebebiyle, uygun olarak tanımlanabilir. Adana ve Mersin, kültürel çeşitlilik açısından çalışma amacına uygun bir evren oluşturmaktadır. Ayrıca okullar, daha zengin ve derin veriye ulaşabilmek için amaçlı olarak seçilmiştir. Bağlamın ve örneklemin tutarlılığı da katılımcıların ifadeleriyle teyit edilmiştir. Katılımcılar da, veri toplama sürecinde kendi okullarına ilişkin bilgi verirken, tüm okulların kültürel olarak çeşitliliğe sahip olduğu ve bu açıdan Adana ve Mersin'in çok kültürlü demografisini yansıttığını belirtmişlerdir. Dokümanlar, açık uçlu soru formları, görüşmeler ve gözlemler gibi zengin bir veri kaynağına sahip araştırmada, araştırma sürecinin her adımında katılımcılar araştırma amaçlarına göre amaçlı olarak seçilmiştir.

Tracy'ye (2010) göre, güvenirliliğin sağlanması için, üçgenleme (çeşitleme) ve ayrıntılı tanımlama gerektirir. Araştırma sürecinde çok çeşitli veri kaynakları (danışmanlar, yöneticiler, öğretmenler, öğrenciler, belgeler), çeşitli veri toplama yöntemleri (doküman analizi, görüşmeler, anketler, gözlemler) ve teorik çerçeveler kullanılmıştır. Bunlara ek olarak, araştırma süreci danışman tarafından denetlenmiş, kararlar danışmanla birlikte verilmiştir. Bu bağlamda, araştırmanın sistematik bir

incelemeye ve görüş alışverişine dayalı olarak ilerlediği ve bunun da araştırma sürecinin her adımında verilen kararların titizliğini ve güvenilirliğini olumlu yönde etkilediği söylenebilir. Ayrıca, iç geçerliliği artırmak için birden fazla veri toplama yöntemi kullanılmış ve birbirinden farklı katılımcı gruplarının görüşlerine başvurulmuştur.

Bulgular

Araştırma süreci, birbirini destekleyen ve giderek derinleşen ilişkili aşamalardan oluştuğu için, araştırma bulguları ilgili sırayla paylaşılmıştır. Ders kitapları ve öğretim programları analizinden elde edilen bulgular, aktif vatandaşlık içeriğinin oldukça sınırlı olduğunu göstermiştir. Zira söylemler, hak temelli ve aktif vatandaşlık yaklaşımlarına kıyasla daha çok geleneksel vatandaşlık anlayışını yeniden üretmeye eğilimlidir. Resmi söylem doğrultusunda inşa edilen yurttaşlık anlayışı, toplumdaki adaletsizliklere karşı mücadelede söz sahibi olan, kendisinin ve başkalarının haklarını eleştirel olarak bilen bir yurttaşlık anlayışından daha çok, yurttaşlık bilinci güçlü, yurttaşlık görevleriyle ilgili sorumluluk bilinci yüksek, vatani için canını feda etmekten çekinmeyen yurtsever yurttaşların yetiştirilmesini hedeflemektedir. Her ne kadar öğretim programlarında öğretmenlere demokratik bir öğrenme ortamı oluşturmaları tavsiye edilse de, ders kitaplarının öğrenme hedefleri ve içeriği bu açıdan öğretim yaklaşımıyla tutarsız görünmektedir.

Farklılıklar ve çeşitlilik söylemlerinde de geleneksel ve özcü yurttaşlığın baskınlığı fark edilmiştir. Farklılıklara ilişkin söylemlere yönelik bulgular, hak temelli ve aktif vatandaşlık yaklaşımlarına kıyasla geleneksel vatandaşlık anlayışına ilişkin söylemlerin gücünü ortaya çıkarmıştır. Her ne kadar hak temelli veya aktif yurttaşlığı teşvik eden ve eleştirel olmayı, başkalarının haklarının farkında olmayı, farklılıklara saygı göstermeyi veya birlikte yaşama konusundaki bilgi ve becerilerin önemini vurgulayan söylemler mevcut olsa da; bu söylemler, geleneksel yurttaşlık anlayışı doğrultusunda vurgulanan milli bilince sahip olma, vatanseverlik, düşmanları tanıma ve Türk milletinin bir parçası olarak güçlü yanları tanıma söylemlerinin yanında erimektedir. Öte yandan, hak temelli ya da aktif yurttaşlık yaklaşımlarının içeriğinin yüzeysel olduğu ve ders kitaplarının bu yurttaşlık anlayışlarına ilişkin içeriği geleneksel yurttaşlığa ilişkin söylemlerde olduğu kadar tutarlı bir şekilde desteklemediği de bulgularda ortaya çıkmıştır. Diğer bir deyişle,

hak temelli yurttaşlık, genel olarak İnsan Hakları, Yurttaşlık ve Demokrasi ders kitabında ya da aktif yurttaşlık Sosyal Bilgiler dersi içeriğinde yer alırken; geleneksel ve özcü yurttaşlık anlayışı unsurlarının her ders kitabında var olduğu gözlenmiştir. Bu açıdan, resmi dokümanlarda milliyetçi söylemlerin hâkim olduğu ve milli kimliğin özcü bir anlayışla tanımlanmış olduğu söylenebilir. Bunun yanı sıra, farklılıklar uzak ülkelerden örnekler verilerek dışsallaştırılmış ve iç farklılıklar yani ulus içerisinde yer alan farklılıklar ve çeşitlilik ihmal edilmiştir. Bu doğrultuda ülkedeki çeşitlilik göz ardı edilmiş ve katı bir ulus tanımı yeniden üretilmiştir.

Açık uçlu soru formu analizleri ve gözlem ve görüşme bulguları, resmi söylemin okul içerisindeki gündelik deneyim ve söylemlere sirayet ettiğini ortaya koymuştur. Resmi söylem, yurttaşlığı, 'biz' (içeridekiler/dışarıdakiler) söylemi üzerinden ve sınırlı bir perspektiften tanımlayarak; 'biz' söylemine gönderme yapan 'bizim' olarak tanımlanan ortak noktalara öncelik vererek; 'biz' ve 'ortak noktalarımız' söylemlerini inşa etmek ve güçlendirmek için ulusal tarihi, ulusal kahramanları, ulusal ritüelleri ve sembolleri kullanarak; asker-millet söylemini ve vatan sevgisinin büyük önemini vurgulayarak; ve yurttaşlık haklarından çok yurttaşlık sorumluluklarını hatırlatarak, esas olarak geleneksel ve milliyetçi bir bakış açısıyla tanımlamaktadır. Benzer bir anlayış, katılımcıların söylemlerinden de takip edilebilir.

Benzer şekilde hem dokümanlarda hem de açık uçlu soru formlarında, görüşmelerde ve gözlem bulgularında insan haklarının oldukça sınırlı bir şekilde tanımlandığı gözlenmiştir. Evrensel haklara yer verilmesi ya da değinilmesi söz konusu olduğunda, hem ders kitaplarında hem katılımcıların ifadelerinde insan haklarının evrenselliğine ilişkin söylemlere rastlamak mümkün olmuştur. Öte yandan, bu söylemler eleştirel bir analize tabi tutulduğunda, öğrencileri insan hakları ile ilgili günlük yaşamlarından edindikleri deneyimler hakkında eleştirel düşünmeye teşvik edebilecek içerik, yöntem ya da uygulamalara rastlanmadığı için bu söylemlerin yüzeyselliği göze çarpmıştır. İkinci ve üçüncü aşama verilerinin ilk aşama verilerini yankılıyor olmasına ilişkin kullandığım metafor, bu açıdan, sadece söylemlerin benzerliğini değil, aynı zamanda hem dokümanlardaki içeriğe hem de katılımcı ifadelerinin yüzeyselliğine ve her ikisinin de eleştirel bakış açısına sahip olmamasına işaret etmektedir.

Bir diğere benzerlik ise bu çalışmanın tam merkezinde yer alan kültürel çeşitlilik ya da farklılıklara ilişkin anlayışla ilgilidir. Dokümanlarda farklılıklar ağırlıklı olarak bireysel farklılıklar (kişilik, cinsiyet, karakter, göz-saç rengi, vb.) üzerinden tanımlanırken, kültürel, etnik veya dini farklılıklar ağırlıklı olarak göz ardı edilmektedir. Örneğin, Suriyeli mülteciler, empatinin veya kültürel farklılıklara hoşgörünün önemini anlatmak için yer verilen örneklerin ana konusu olmuştur. Katılımcıların ifadelerinin çoğunda da benzer bir anlayışa rastlanmıştır. Ağırlıklı olarak kültürel farklılıklar, ülkeler arası farklılıklara ve Türk ve mülteci öğrenciler arasındaki farklılıklara atıfla tanımlanmıştır. Toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliğini yeniden üretmeye meyilli olmaları açısından da, dokümanlardaki resmi söylemler ve katılımcıların ifadeleri birbiri ile uyumludur.

Öte yandan araştırma bulguları, hegemonik söyleme karşı bir karşı-söylemin varlığını da ortaya koymuştur. Katılımcıların bir kısmı ders kitaplarını kültürel çeşitlilik, toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliği, hak temelli yurttaşlık konularında yetersiz içeriğe sahip olması nedeniyle eleştirmiş; bazıları da demokrasi ve insan hakları açısından günlük yaşam deneyimleri ile dokümanların içeriği arasındaki tutarsızlıkları hatırlatmıştır. Ya da gözlemler sırasında eleştirel düşünmeyi teşvik eden, bu açıdan ders kitaplarına ilişkin eleştirel bir okuma yaparak öğrencilere farklı bir bakış açısı kazanabilecekleri alanlar açan öğretmenlerin varlığına da rastlanmıştır. Bu nedenle, katılımcı ifadelerinden ve gözlemlerden elde edilen bulgular resmi söylemleri yansıtsa da, bir başka açıdan “yankı” metaforu, okullarda resmi söyleme karşıt yankılar da var olduğu için eleştirel bir perspektiften de kullanılmıştır.

Tartışma ve Sonuç

Çalışmanın bulgularından ortaya çıkan ve detaylandırılmasının önemli olduğu düşünülen iki temel sonuç mevcuttur. Birincisi, farklı etnik, dini, kültürel, sosyo-ekonomik, ya da cinsiyet kimliğine sahip tüm öğrenciler için özgür ve güvenli bir sınıf ortamı ve öğrenme deneyimi yaratmanın yollarını tıkadığı bulgularla ortaya konulan yurttaşlık anlayışına ilişkin şemadır. Bu çalışma, fenomenolojik bir yapı olarak eğitim programında çeşitlilik ve farklılıkların nasıl ele alındığına dair cevaplar ararken, bulgular yurttaşlık eğitimi bağlamında eşitsizliklerin üstesinden gelmek için dikkate alınması gereken daha derin bir çerçeveyi göstermiştir.

Yurttaşlığa yönelik devletçi, otoriter ve milliyetçi bakış açısı, eğitim bağlamında, etnik köken, din veya cinsiyet açısından baskın ve kabul edilen kültür dışındaki 'farklılıkların' kabul edilmesinin önündeki engeller haline gelmektedir.

Hoffman'ın (2004) tartıştığı gibi, yurttaşlık eğitim anlayışını kültürel çeşitliliği göz önünde bulunduran bir yapı doğrultusunda geliştirmek için, bazı farklı grupları veya kültürleri ders kitaplarına eklemeyi temel alan yatay bir genişlemeden daha fazlasına ihtiyacımız vardır; ihtiyaç olan, yurttaşlık anlayışını derinleştirmek ve niteliksel olarak dönüştürmektir. Bu nedenle, eğitim programına ve ders kitaplarına, kültürel çeşitliliği bir kavram olarak eklemek veya dünyanın farklı kültürlerinden bazı yemek, kıyafet, dans örnekleri eklemek yerine, devletçi, milliyetçi ve otoriter bakış açılarından kopuk yeni bir rasyonaliteye ihtiyaç vardır.

Bu bağlamda, Giroux'nun (1980) eleştiri ve eyleme dayalı özgürleştirici rasyonalite temelli yurttaşlık eğitimi anlayışı yurttaşlık eğitiminin nasıl dönüştürüleceğine ve bu doğrultuda öğretmenlerin rolüne ilişkin derin tartışmalar sunar. Toplumun değişen kodlarını değerlendirmek, geçmişle ilgili sorunların üstesinden gelmek için geçmişi analiz ederek tarihsel eleştiriye teşvik etmek, eleştirel bakış açısını ve sosyal eylemi teşvik etmek, özgürleştirici yurttaşlık eğitiminin belirli varsayımları ve uygulamalarıdır. Ancak böyle bir uygulama, hegemonya, kültür ve bilgi ilişkilerinin ve örtük eğitim programının muazzam etkisinin bilincinde olan, kendini dönüştürmek için eleştirel bir bakış açısına sahip olan ve öğrencileri eleştirel birer yurttaş olmaya teşvik ederek tüm öğrenciler için özgür ve güvenli bir öğrenme alanı sağlayabilen eleştirel öğretmenlerin varlığını gerektirir.

Öte yandan bulgular, öğrencilerin kimlikleriyle kendileri olabildikleri ve kendilerini özgürce ifade edebildikleri güvenli öğrenme ortamlarının eleştirel düşünmeyi desteklediğini ortaya koymuş ve bu sınıflarda, kültürlerin ve etnik kökenlerin çeşitliliği, öğretmenlerin baskın söylemsel çerçeve aracılığıyla öğrencileri mevcut kültüre 'uydurmaya' çalıştığı sınıflara kıyasla gözlemlenebilmiştir.

Çalışmanın ikinci önemli sonucu, yurttaşlık eğitimi anlayışına ilişkindir. Bu tez konusu (yurttaşlık eğitimi ve çeşitlilik ya da farklılıklar) post-ulusal yurttaşlık yaklaşımına ilişkin tartışmaları ve bunun yurttaşlık eğitimine yansımalarını gözden

geçirerek incelemeye başlanmıştır. Alan yazının detaylı gözden geçirildiği ikinci bölümde paylaşıldığı gibi, yurttaşlık alan yazınında son 60 yıldır, ulus-ötesi alan yazını içerisinde gruplanabilecek çok sayıda yeni kavram -çok kültürlü, kültürlerarası, farklılaşmış, küresel, dünya, kozmopolit gibi- ortaya çıkmıştır. Öte yandan, çeşitlilik ve farklılıklar açısından eşitlik söylemini ve eşitsizlikleri aynı anda yeniden üreten yani yapısal eşitsizlikleri yeniden üretmeye devam eden modern ve ulusal yurttaşlığın 'trajedisini' aşma iddiasındaki her kavram için eleştirel bir alan yazını da ortaya çıkmıştır (Yeğen, 2005).

Tüm bunların ötesinde, eleştirel yurttaşlık eğitimi anlayışı, yapısal eşitsizlikleri dikkate almakta ve katı modern ve ulusal yurttaşlık tanımlarının ötesine geçmenin yollarını ve bunun yurttaşlık eğitimine yansımalarını tartışmaktadır. Bulgular, etnik, dini, cinsiyet veya ulusal kimlik farklılıkları açısından günümüzde yapısal eşitsizliklerin varlığını ortaya koymaktadır. Bu açıdan, konuyu son dönemde çokça tartışıldığı halde az sayıda pratik uygulamaya sahip ulus ötesi yurttaşlık eğitimi kavramlarından biri üzerinden tartışmak, vatandaşlık eğitimi bağlamında farklı geçmişleri olan öğrencilerin deneyimlerini geliştirmeye yönelik güçlü iç görüler sağlama potansiyeline sahip değildir. Staeheli ve Hammett'in (2010) iddia ettiği gibi, ulusun farklı bileşenleri arasındaki ilişki açısından köklü sorunlu geçmişleri olan bölünmüş toplumlarda, 'yeni' bir tür yurttaşlık tanımı yaratmak kolay değildir ki Türkiye toplumunda giderek artan bir kutuplaşmanın varlığı da bu durumu olumsuz etkilemektedir (Keyman, 2014; KONDA, 2019; TurkuazLab, 2020).

Bu nedenle, yeni ortaya çıkan ulus-ötesi kavramlar açısından yurttaşlık eğitimi bağlamını değiştirmeye yönelik yukarıdan aşağıya yaklaşımlar diğer yeniden üretim araçları haline gelebilir. Lister'in (2008) iddia ettiği gibi, istisnasız birçok ülkede, yurttaşlık eğitimi programları ötekileştirme ve eşitsizliklerin üstesinden gelmeye yönelik anlayış ve uygulamalardan uzaktır. Zira ötekileştirilmenin nedeni olan kimliğe sıklıkla yoksulluk veya cinsiyet açısından yapısal eşitsizlikler de eşlik etmektedir.

Öte yandan, bu çalışmanın bulgularıyla da ortaya çıkan, öğretmenlerin kendilerini, anlayışlarını ve öğretme biçimlerini dönüştürerek yurttaşlık eğitimini dönüştürme potansiyelleri vardır. Giroux'a (1991a) göre, sınır pedagojisiyle

zenginleştirilmiş bir sınıf ortamı yaratarak, öğrenciler farklılıklara saygı duymayı öğrenirken ve demokratik uygulamaların çeşitliliğini deneyimleme fırsatına sahip olurken öğretmenler de güç ve bilgi arasındaki ilişkiyi yeniden düşünme fırsatına sahip olurlar. Sınır pedagojisi, vatandaşlar arasındaki eşitsizlikleri yeniden üreten 'biz' söyleminin katı sınırlarını aşar. Açık, özgür ve güvenli bir sınıf ortamında eleştirel düşünmeyi teşvik ederek, sorarak, tartışarak, tarihsel eleştiriye izin vererek ve okul bilgisini gündelik gerçeklerle ilişkilendirerek eleştirel söylemin yeniden üretilmesinin yollarını açar. Sınır pedagojisi, hem öğretmenler hem de öğrenciler için kültürlere ve kimliklere tek boyutlu bir anlayıştan bakmayı bırakmaları için fırsatlar yaratır, öğrencileri karşılıklı bir anlayış için sınırları aşmaya teşvik eder. Daha önce de tartışıldığı gibi milliyetçi ve tek boyutlu yurttaşlık anlayışı sadece ötekileştirilenleri etkilemez; çoğunluk kültürü içerisinde yer alan bireylerin de, farklılıklar ve çeşitlilik açısından zengin deneyimler elde etmesini engeller.

Böyle bir pedagoji için öğretmenlerin rolü önemlidir (Giroux, 1991a). Ancak araştırmaya katılan öğretmenlerin ve eğitimcilerin genel olarak öğrencilere böyle bir öğrenme ortamı sağlayacak araçlardan (bilgi ve yetkinlik) yoksun olduğu görülmüştür. Bu nedenle ortaya çıkan yurttaşlık anlayışı şemasını tartışmak ve sorgulamak esastır. Öte yandan 'eylem' yani 'eyleme geçmek' oldukça değerli ve dönüşümü destekleyecek zengin bir potansiyele sahiptir. Dolayısıyla, bu çalışmanın sonuçlarının da gösterdiği gibi, eleştirel eğitimciler, resmi söylemlere meydan okuyarak söylem alanını genişletme ve dönüşüm için karşı-söylemler oluşturma potansiyeline sahiptirler. Ayrıca öğrencilere yurttaşlık eğitimi bağlamında dönüşebilecekleri bir alan sağlama potansiyeline sahip olmaları sebebiyle de eleştirel eğitimcilerin varlığı, yurttaşlık düşüncesinin çeşitlilik ve farklılıklara bakış açısından dönüşümü için önemlidir.

Öneriler

Araştırma sonucunda ortaya çıkan hem teorik hem de pratik bazı öneriler mevcuttur. Araştırma sürecinde bulgulara dayalı olarak ortaya çıkan ve genel olarak çalışılan okullar kapsamında yurttaşlık eğitime yönelik devletçi, otoriter ve milliyetçi anlayışı ortaya koyan şema, yurttaşlık eğitimi bağlamında çeşitliliğin 'yönetilmesi' üzerine yapılan çalışmaları derinleştirmeye çağırılmaktadır. Devletçi, milliyetçi ve otoriter anlayış ve bunlar arasındaki ilişki, büyük ölçekli verilerle yapılan çeşitli ders

kitabı ya da eğitim programı analizlerinde ortaya konmuştur (Çayır, 2014; Çotuksöten ve diğerleri, 2003; Tüzün, 2009; Üstel, 2014). Ancak, Koulouri'nin (2000) de hatırlattığı gibi, sınıflarda olup bitenler eğitime ilişkin bir olguyu, sorunu ya da durumu anlamak için oldukça değerlidir.

Çalışmanın bulguları, eğitim programında, farklılıklar ve çeşitliliğe ilişkin olumlu bir söylemin gelişmesine engel teşkil eden milliyetçi, otoriter ve devletçi bakış açısının varlığını göstermiştir. Aynı zamanda, bu bakış açısının, sınıflarda farklı etnik, dini ya da ulusal kökene sahip öğrencilerin yok sayılmasına sebep olduğuna ilişkin bulgular da mevcuttur. Bu nedenle, herhangi bir materyali eğitim materyali olarak yayınlamadan veya kabul etmeden önce, eğitim materyalleri için etnik, dini, sınıfsal ve kültürel farklılıkları dikkate alan kültürel olarak duyarlı bir inceleme gereklidir. Ayrıca, toplumsal cinsiyet temelli incelemeler de cinsiyetçi bir dilin ve cinsiyetçi söylemlerin önlenmesi açısından kritik bir ihtiyaçtır.

H. CURRICULUM VITAE

ÖZGE KARAKUŞ ÖZDEMİRCİ

EDUCATION

- 2015-2022 PhD- Graduate Education
Middle East Technical University, Graduate School of Social Sciences, Department of Educational Sciences, Curriculum and Instruction Program, Ankara/Turkey
- 2019 January to September Graduate Research Trainee
McGill University, Faculty of Education, Department of Integrated Studies in Education, Montreal (Canada)
- 2014-2015 Scientific Preparation-Graduate Education
Middle East Technical University, Graduate School of Social Sciences, Department of Educational Sciences, Curriculum and Instruction Program, Ankara/Turkey
- 2012-2013 MEd- Graduate Education
University of Bristol, Graduate School of Education, Psychology of Education Program, Bristol/UK
- 2012 January to July University of London, School of Oriental and African Studies, Academic English Program, London/UK
- 2004 - 2007 BS-Major
Ankara University, Faculty of Educational Sciences, Department of Psychological Counselling and Guidance, Ankara/Turkey.
- 2006 February to June Erasmus Student
University of Lodz, Lodz/Poland
- 2003 - 2004 BS-Major
Gazi University, Faculty of Education, Department of Psychological Counselling and Guidance, Ankara/Turkey
(After first year undergraduate transfer to Ankara University)

WORK EXPERIENCE

2020 September - 2021 January	Instructor (Part-time) TED University, Faculty of Education Ankara/Turkey
2019- Present	National Consultant Capacity Development Component of the Project on Strengthening Democratic Culture in Basic Education Council of Europe, Ankara (Turkey)
2019 February to April	Short Term Education Consultant Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ), Education Programme for Syrian Refugees and Host Communities in Turkey (BILSY), Gaziantep (Turkey)
2018 October to December	Short Term Education Consultant Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ), Education Programme for Syrian Refugees and Host Communities in Turkey (BILSY), Gaziantep (Turkey)
2018 March to September	Education Officer Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ), Education Programme for Syrian Refugees and Host Communities in Turkey (BILSY), Gaziantep (Turkey)
2014-2018	Instructor (Full-time) Sinop University, Faculty of Education, Department of Curriculum and Instruction, Sinop/Turkey
2011-2013	Official Scholarship Student Republic of Turkey, Ministry of National Education
2010-2011	Psychological Counsellor Maçka Akif Tunçel Technical and Vocational High School, Istanbul/Turkey
2009-2011	Gezgin Uçurtma Television Program for Kids, TRT 6 (a TV Channel in Turkey), Pedagogue, Istanbul/Turkey
2008-2010	Psychological Counsellor Fatih Primary School, Istanbul/Turkey
2007-2008	Psychological Counsellor Sinan Primary School, Diyarbakır/Turkey

RESEARCH AND PUBLICATIONS

Thesis

- Master's The Knowledge and Misconceptions of Primary and Secondary School Teachers about the Brain and Their Perceptions about Neuroscience in Education: A Mixed Methods Research to Analyse the Situation in Turkey in 2013. University of Bristol, UK.
- PhD Landscaping discourses of diversity and citizenship education through a multilayered critical qualitative study. Middle East Technical University.

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- Karakus Özdemirci, Ö., Aksoy, A. & Ok, A. (2020). Evaluation of Human Rights, Democracy and Civics Curriculum for 4th Graders through Eisner's Educational Connoisseurship and Criticism Model. Hacettepe University, Journal of Education.

Presentations at the International and National Professional Meetings

- Karakus, O. & Howard-Jones, P. (2014). Primary and Secondary School Teachers' Knowledge and Misconceptions about the Brain in Turkey. International Conference on New Horizons in Education, 25-27 June, Paris.
- Karakuş, Ö. (2015). Analyzing the 8th Grade Citizenship and Democracy Curriculum Regarding Multiculturalism on the basis of Democracy. International Conference on New Horizons in Education, 10-12 June, Barcelona.
- Karakuş Özdemirci, Ö. (2017). A Systematic and Critical Analysis of Research Studies on the Concept of Multicultural Education in Turkey. II. International Academic Research Congress, 18-21 October, Alanya-Turkey.
- Karakuş Özdemirci, Ö., Aksoy, A. & Ok, A. (2017). Evaluation of Human Rights, Democracy and Civics Curriculum for 4th Graders through Eisner's Educational Connoisseurship and Criticism Model. 5th International Curriculum and Instruction Congress, 26-28 October, Marmaris-Turkey.
- Yılmaz, M.T. & Karakuş Özdemirci, Ö. (2017). The Opinions of Trainee Teacher Candidates about Refugee Students in Public Elementary Schools (The Sinop Case). 1st International War and Culture Symposium, 17-19 November, Amasya-Turkey.
- Karakus Ozdemirci, O. & Akar, H. (2019). Gendered Citizenship: Educational Experiences of Boys and Girls as "Future" Citizens. American Educational Research Association Annual Meeting, 5-9 April, Toronto-Canada.
- Karakus Ozdemirci, O. (2020). Human rights education in the shade of refugee crisis: A phenomenological study in Mersin. Cross Border Perspectives on Refugee Education (Online Seminar), 21 September 2020.
- Mothes, P., Karakuş-Özdemirci, Ö., Cadiou, S. & Ürüç, R. (2021). Young Migrants and Schoolarization: Comparison Between France and Turkey. The Role of Universities in Addressing Societal Challenges and Fostering Democracy: Inclusion, Migration, and

Education for Citizenship, hosted online by the University of Akureyri, Iceland, March 25th – 26th, 2021.

RESEARCH INTERESTS

Civic education, human rights education, diversity in education, inclusive education, gender equality, migration and education, environmental citizenship, critical pedagogy, curriculum development, curriculum evaluation, constructing active adult learning environments

LANGUAGE(S)

English (Advanced)

COURSES TAUGHT

Introduction to Educational Sciences (Undergraduate Course)

Instructional Principles and Methods (Undergraduate Course)

Effective Communication (for teacher candidates) (Undergraduate Course)

Human Relations and Communication (for teacher candidates) (Undergraduate Course)

Educational Sociology (for teacher candidates) (Undergraduate course)

ATTENDED TRAININGS

II. Teacher Support Program for Refugee Children's Integration through Education (14-weeks Training from Citizens Assembly, in 2017).

Integration of Gender Dimension to Research on Human Rights (2-days Training from Raoul Wallenberg Institute of Human Rights and Humanitarian Law, in November 2017).

MAXQDA Training (One-day Training from Raoul Wallenberg Institute of Human Rights and Humanitarian Law, on 7th May 2018).

Human Rights Academy (14-Weeks training from Friedrich Naumann Stiftung Für die Freiheit, between October-November 2020).

AWARDS

Republic of Turkey, Ministry of National Education, Official Scholarship Student, 2011-2013.

First ranked student at the Department of Educational Sciences at Middle East Technical University, During PhD, 2015-2016 Academic Year.

Raoul Wallenberg Institute of Human Rights and Humanitarian Law, Human Rights Research Scholarship, 2017-2018.

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