

HISTORY EDUCATION AND FORMATION OF LARGE GROUP IDENTITIES:
PORTRAYAL OF TURKISH AND EUROPEAN IDENTITIES IN TURKISH
HIGH SCHOOL HISTORY TEXTBOOKS

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

BY

TUĞÇE KILIÇ

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF SCIENCE
IN
THE DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

SEPTEMBER 2022

Approval of the thesis:

**HISTORY EDUCATION AND FORMATION OF LARGE GROUP
IDENTITIES: PORTRAYAL OF TURKISH AND EUROPEAN IDENTITIES
IN TURKISH HIGH SCHOOL HISTORY TEXTBOOKS**

submitted by **TUĞÇE KILIÇ** in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of **Master of Science in International Relations, the Graduate School of Social Sciences of Middle East Technical University** by,

Prof. Dr. Sadettin KIRAZCI
Dean
Graduate School of Social Sciences

Prof. Dr. Ebru Boyar
Head of Department
Department of International Relations

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Zerrin Torun
Supervisor
Department of International Relations

Examining Committee Members:

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Şerif Onur Bahçecik (Head of the Examining Committee)
Middle East Technical University
Department of International Relations

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Zerrin Torun (Supervisor)
Middle East Technical University
Department of International Relations

Assist. Prof. Dr. Gülriz Şen
TOBB University of Economics and Technology
Department of Political Science and International Relations

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

Name, Last Name: Tuğçe KILIÇ

Signature:

ABSTRACT

HISTORY EDUCATION AND FORMATION OF LARGE GROUP IDENTITIES: PORTRAYAL OF TURKISH AND EUROPEAN IDENTITIES IN TURKISH HIGH SCHOOL HISTORY TEXTBOOKS

KILIÇ, Tuğçe

M.S., The Department of International Relations

Supervisor: Assoc. Prof. Dr. Zerrin Torun

September 2022, 121 pages

Social identity theory explains how identities form, how intergroup relations work and why out-group bias and in-group favoritism are observed. History is also pointed out as an indispensable ingredient of identity formation and identities are further strengthened with chosen glories and traumas. In this regard, history education offers an excellent platform that children can derive their identity, form long-standing mental representations of other nations and cultures, and legitimize certain social and political cultures. Several strands of research have already analyzed Turkish history textbooks; however, there is a lack of research on the latest textbooks. Grounding on the literature on history teaching and studies on social identity theory, this thesis aims to explore how Turkish and European identities are portrayed in 2021 Turkish History textbooks taught in high schools. To this end, this thesis will use Model of the Impact of History Education on Social Identity drafted by Karina Korostelina to determine whether the ascribed identities in the textbooks lay facilitate or hinder the establishment of culture of peace or culture of violence. In the hope that the findings of this thesis will help to

shed some light on the established beliefs of Turkish society about Europe, this thesis aspires to be a small bridge between disciplines.

Keywords: History textbooks, Turkish identity, social identity, peace and conflict

ÖZ

TARİH EĞİTİMİ VE BÜYÜK GRUP KİMLİKLERİ: LİSELERDE OKUTULAN TÜRK TARİH KİTAPLARINDA TÜRK VE AVRUPA KİMLİĞİ

KILIÇ, Tuğçe

Yüksek Lisans, Uluslararası İlişkiler Bölümü

Tez Yöneticisi: Doç. Dr. Zerrin TORUN

Eylül 2022, 121 sayfa

Sosyal kimlik ve sosyal kategorizasyon kuramları kimliklerin nasıl oluştuğunu, gruplar arası ilişkileri ve neden iç grup üyelerinin önceleyip dış grup üyelerine karşı önyargıyla yaklaştıklarını açıklamaktadır. Tarih de aynı zamanda kimlik oluşumunun vazgeçilmez bir parçası olarak gösterilirken, seçilmiş travma ve zaferler bu kimlikleri daha da kuvvetlendirmektedir. Bu kapsamda, tarih eğitimi, çocukların kimliklerini oluşturabileceği, diğer ulus ve kültürlerle ilgili uzun dönemli zihinsel temsiller oluşturabileceği ve belirli sosyal ve siyasi kültürleri bilinçsizce meşrulaştırabileceği uygun bir platform sağlamaktadır. Tarih eğitimine ilişkin literatür ve psikolojiden alınan sosyal kimlik kuramı ile seçilmiş travma ve zaferler kuramından faydalanan bu tez, en son 2021 yılında liselerde okutulan Türk tarih kitaplarında Türk ve Avrupa kimliklerinin nasıl tasvir edildiğini incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Bu doğrultuda, bu tez ders kitaplarında bulunan kimliklerin daha çatışmaya yatkın bir toplum oluşturup oluşturmadığını ya da barış kültürünün kurulmasını kolaylaştırıp kolaylaştırmadığını tespit etmek adına Karina Korostelina tarafından tasarlanan Tarih Kitaplarının Sosyal Kimliğe Etkisi modelini analitik çerçevesi olarak kullanacaktır. Tezin bulgularının

Türk toplumunun Avrupa'ya yönelik yerleşik inançlarına ilişkin bir iç görü sağlaması umuduyla, bu tez disiplinler arası küçük bir köprü olmayı amaçlamaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Tarih kitapları, Türk kimliđi, sosyal kimlik, barış ve çatışma

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PLAGIARISM	iii
ABSTRACT	iv
ÖZ.....	vi
TABLE OF CONTENTS	viii
LIST OF TABLES	ix
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	x
CHAPTERS	
1. INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1.Identity.....	4
1.2. History’s impact on identity	13
2. HISTORY EDUCATION	22
2.1. History education’s role in peace and conflict	22
2.2. Literature Review of History Textbook Research.....	33
3. ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK AND ANALYSIS.....	41
3.1. Model of the impact of history Education on Social identity	41
3.2. Turkish history textbooks taught in high schools in 2021.....	55
4. CONCLUSION	91
BIBLIOGRAPHY	99
APPENDICES	
A. TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKÇE ÖZET.....	110
B. THESIS PERMISSION FORM / TEZ İZİN FORMU	121

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. Model of the Impact of History Education on Social Identity.....	54
Table 2: Findings of analysis in relation to Culture of violence/peace.....	90

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CDRSEE	The Center for Democracy and Reconciliation in Southeast
Europe	
RPP	The Republican People's Party

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Identity permeates every aspect of life ranging from day-to-day social interactions, how an individual views him/herself, what deeply held convictions an individual possesses and how s/he approaches international matters. Even the core unit of mainstream international relations, i.e. the state is defined by the term nation, a kind of collective identity. Although identities are most of the time taken for granted during the normal course of life and most people live their lives without delving into their identities or the origins of their identities, behaviors, and attitudes of people are guided by their identities, whether consciously or unconsciously.

The past decade has seen an enormously growing interest in the research conducted on identity from different fields and many have tried to explain a variety of phenomena, such as how identity is manipulated by politicians and elites¹, nationalistic tendencies², and how identity fuels ethnic conflict. In line with the vast number of research, numerous definitions of the term and theories elucidating the formation of identity have been put forward. In the light of the abundance of definitions, identity can be simply defined as a dynamic social construct about the internalized perception of the self as a separate unique individual distinct from others, how individuals view their role in relation to their own environment, and how they conceive the group they live in³. A plethora of researchers from various fields also dedicated themselves to

¹ see William Bloom, *Personal Identity, National Identity and International Relations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993); John Hutcheson et al., "U.S. National Identity, Political Elites, and a Patriotic Press Following September 11," *Political Communication* 21, no. 1 (2004): pp. 27-50, <https://doi.org/10.1080/10584600490273254>.

² see John Hutchinson, *Nationalism: Critical Concepts in Political Science* (London: Routledge, 2001); Benedict R Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991).

³ Xénia Chrysochoou, "Studying Identity in Social Psychology," *Studying Identity: Theoretical and Methodological Challenges* 2, no. 2 (2003): pp. 225-241, <https://doi.org/10.1075/jlp.2.2.03chr>, 230.

theorizing the role of identity in determining and guiding the ideas, actions, attitudes, and behaviors of individuals and groups⁴. Identity has also spawned an enormous number of studies in the International relations and Politics field⁵ as it became a key instrument for explaining the actions of national masses and the relationship between the state and people and for linking the individual level of analysis with the state level of analysis.

In this respect, history narratives which are presented as factual truths throughout history education, and the role of history are particularly pointed out as one of the significant elements in identity formation⁶. History provides meaning, background, and foundation from which the identity can derive and consolidate certain norms, mental representation of others, and interpret the relations between the Self and the Other⁷. Due to the vast area of research it offered, the connection between identity, history, and collective action attracted the interest of ambitious researchers aiming to explain the relations between nations, to find out preventative measures for conflict-

⁴ Hart Blanton and Charlene Christie, "Deviance Regulation: A Theory of Action and Identity," *Review of General Psychology* 7, no. 2 (2003): pp. 115-149, <https://doi.org/10.1037/1089-2680.7.2.115>; Henri Tajfel, "Social Identity and Intergroup Behaviour," *Social Science Information* 13, no. 2 (1974): pp. 65-93, <https://doi.org/10.1177/053901847401300204>; Michael A. Hogg and John C. Turner, "Intergroup Behaviour, Self-Stereotyping and the Salience of Social Categories," *British Journal of Social Psychology* 26, no. 4 (1987): pp. 325-340, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.2044-8309.1987.tb00795.x>; Vamik D. Volkan, "Large-Group Identity, International Relations and Psychoanalysis," *International Forum of Psychoanalysis* 18, no. 4 (2009): pp. 206-213, <https://doi.org/10.1080/08037060902727795>; Karina Valentinovna Korostelina, *Social Identity and Conflict: Structures, Dynamics, and Implications* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2016).

⁵ See Sarah A. Radcliffe and Sallie Westwood, *Remaking the Nation: Place, Identity and Politics in Latin America* (London: Routledge, 1996); Christopher S. Browning, Pertti Joenniemi, and Brent J. Steele, "Vicarious Identity in International Relations," *Vicarious Identity in International Relations*, 2021, pp. 43-88, <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780197526385.003.0003>; Bloom, *Personal Identity, National Identity*.

⁶ Susanne Buckley-Zistel, "In-Between War and Peace: Identities, Boundaries and Change after Violent Conflict," *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 35, no. 1 (2006): pp. 3-21, <https://doi.org/10.1177/03058298060350010101>; Karina Valentinovna Korostelina, *History Education in the Formation of Social Identity: Toward a Culture of Peace* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2013); Vamik D. Volkan, "The Need to Have Enemies and Allies: A Developmental Approach," *Political Psychology* 6, no. 2 (1985): p. 219, <https://doi.org/10.2307/3790902>; Vamik D. Volkan, "Large-Group Identity, International Relations and Psychoanalysis".

⁷ James H. Liu and Denis J. Hilton, "How the Past Weighs on the Present: Social Representations of History and Their Role in Identity Politics," *British Journal of Social Psychology* 44, no. 4 (2005): pp. 537-556, <https://doi.org/10.1348/014466605x27162>, 537.

prone areas, and to cultivate mutual understanding, tolerance, and peace culture among communities⁸.

Accordingly, research on history education in Turkey also benefited from this large body of field since the 1980s⁹. Although many works have identified the common narratives underlying the Turkish identity and us-them axis through discourse analysis or content analysis methods,¹⁰ only a few examined textbooks by taking a particular social identity theory as their basis. Additionally, none of them systematically posited the findings related to the identity in a framework that predicts the nation's readiness for conflict nor grouped their findings within the framework of identity theories.

Within this framework, grounding on identity studies retrieved from psychology and literature on peace and conflict studies, this thesis aims to explore how Turkish and European identities are presented in the Turkish history textbooks taught in high schools in 2021. Since the most recent analysis found in the literature examined 2008 textbooks at the latest, this thesis strives for examining the latest textbooks from 2021. Although several studies have analyzed Turkish history textbooks in terms of identities presented in these textbooks, none of the studies systematically focused on whether the identities or narratives found in these textbooks increase readiness to engage in a conflict from the perspective of Social Identity Theory. Therefore, this

⁸ see Benedict R Anderson , *Imagined Communities*; Karin Tilmans et al., “Re-Framing Memory. Between Individual and Collective Forms of Constructing the Past,” in *Performing the Past: Memory, History, and Identity in Modern Europe* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2011), pp. 35-50; Denise Bontrovato, “History Textbook Writing in Post-Conflict Societies: From Battlefield to Site and Means of Conflict Transformation,” *History Education and Conflict Transformation*, 2017, pp. 37-76, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-54681-0_2; Buckley-Zistel, “In-Between War and Peace”; Karina Valentinovna Korostelina, “History Education and Social Identity,” *Identity: An International Journal of Theory and Research* 8, no. 1 (2008): pp. 25-45, <https://doi.org/10.1080/15283480701787327>; Vamık D. Volkan, “Large-Group Identity, Shared Prejudice, Chosen Glories, and Chosen Traumas,” in *Psychoanalysis, International Relations, and Diplomacy: A Sourcebook on Large-Group Psychology* (London: Karnar, 2014), pp. 17-31.

⁹ Eren Özalay - Şanlı, “Europe in Turkish History Textbooks: The Change in the Idea of the West in Turkish Education and Identity, 1929-2008” (dissertation, 2013)”, 36.

¹⁰ Kenan Çayır, “‘We Should Be Ourselves before Being a European’: The New Curriculum, New Textbooks and Turkish Modernity,” *Kuram Ve Uygulamada Eğitim Bilimleri / Educational Sciences: Theory & Practice* 9, no. 4 (2009): pp. 1681-1690; Eren Özalay - Şanlı, “Europe in Turkish History Textbooks”; Murat Bayram Yılar and İrfan Davut Çam, “Who Are We? and Who Are They? the Construction of Turkish National Identity in Textbooks within the Context of the Turkish War of Independence,” *Middle Eastern Studies* 57, no. 6 (2021): pp. 880-903, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00263206.2021.1885027>.

thesis attempts to explore how Turkish and European identities are presented in the Turkish history textbooks taught in high schools in 2021 by providing an insight into the ascribed identities framed in the textbooks and whether these ascribed identities lay the preconditions for a more conflict-prone environment or contribute to the establishment of a peace culture. A full discussion of whether these ascribed identities are acquired by the reader or society lies beyond the scope of this study.

As regards the structure, the thesis will first explore the meaning of identity, the theories of identity formation, the impact of identity on in-group and out-group relations, and the creation of bias, prejudice, and favoritism. Subsequently, it will address how history as collective memory and social representations affect the identity formation of societies and their attitudes towards other groups. In the second chapter, after briefly touching upon the importance of history textbooks, how history textbooks influence people's readiness for conflict and the relevant effects of identities ascribed by history education on peace and conflict will be set out. The chapter then goes on to address a review of literature on the analysis of history education both in the world and in Turkey. In the third chapter, the analytical framework based on a model developed by Karina Korostelina, a social psychology professor studying social identity, will be introduced in the same chapter and the findings of this research and their implication will be shared followed by the conclusion chapter where the shortcomings of this study will also be presented.

1.1.Identity

In this subchapter, the following main issues will be addressed: the definition of identity, the difference between the individual identity and large-group identity, how social/large-group identity is constructed cognitively, why people have an inherent need to form a social identity, what are the three essential outcomes of the social identity formation process and how individuals deal with the decrease in the status of their own group and with the threats presented against their social identity.

Important theorists of identity argue that identity is a dynamic social construct that is learned and organized through the perpetual social interactions of the individual

with her/his environment and often has emotional consequences for individuals¹¹. Although identity became an umbrella term to refer to an individual comprehension of himself/herself as an independent and separate entity, identity, as used by the literature today, was introduced for the first time by Erik Erikson, a psychoanalyst¹². Erikson (1968) defined that the conscious awareness of having a personal identity occurs when “the perception of the selfsameness and continuity of one's existence in time and space and the perception of the fact that others recognize one's sameness and continuity¹³” (3) are maintained simultaneously. In this respect, identity can be considered as a three-fold concept including the internalized perception of the Self, the knowledge about the Other, and the relation between the Self and Other¹⁴.

The sense of self develops according to the interactions of an individual with the world around him/her; in this respect, it can be said that identity is not a personality or traits belonging to an individual but roles and attributes of an individual emerging due to these interactions¹⁵. The identification process goes hand in hand with the difference; the same process produces the Self and the Other at the same time¹⁶. Every infant externalizes certain undesirable elements into an “Other” as a result of an intrapsychic process in order to develop his/her own separate individual identity and ensure the internalized feeling of persistent sameness and integrity¹⁷. This process enables the Self to be constructed through the comparisons made with the Other and based on the differences with the others. Without the presence of the Other as a point

¹¹ Sandra K. Tsang, Eadaoin K. Hui, and Bella C. Law, “Positive Identity as a Positive Youth Development Construct: A Conceptual Review,” *The Scientific World Journal* 2012 (2012): pp. 1-8, <https://doi.org/10.1100/2012/529691>, 1.

¹² Vamik D. Volkan, “Transgenerational Transmissions, 80.

¹³ Erik H. Erikson, *Identity: Youth and Crisis* (New York: W.W.Norton, 1968), 50.

¹⁴ Chrysochoou, “Studying Identity in Social Psychology,” 229.

¹⁵ Vamik D. Volkan, “The Need to Have Enemies and Allies”, 231.

¹⁶ Andreas Behnke, “NATO's Security Discourse after the Cold War,” 2012, <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203109328>, 2.

¹⁷ Vamik D Volkan, “Large-Group Identity: ‘Us and Them’ Polarizations in the International Arena,” *Psychoanalysis, Culture & Society* 14, no. 1 (2009): pp. 4-15, <https://doi.org/10.1057/pcs.2008.50>, 4.

of reference, the Self cannot be formulated cognitively¹⁸. Accordingly, the meaning of the Self becomes relative and comparative and would lose its meaning without the perceived differences from others¹⁹.

Considering that humans are social beings, group membership also plays a pivotal role in the identity of individuals in addition to personal identity. In this context, there is a consensus among social psychologists that two interlinked types of identity exist: personal identity and social (large-group) identity. In this respect, Marilynn B. Brewer differentiates two identities as such

personal identity is the individuated Self—those characteristics that differentiate one individual from others within a given social context. Social identities are categorizations of the Self into more inclusive social units that depersonalize the self-concept, where I becomes we²⁰.

Accordingly, an internalized view of the Self and the differences that make an individual unique from others are more emphasized in the personal identity while social/large-group identity arises from the membership in a group in which members share such similarities that gloss over the differences between individuals and puts more highlight on the role of an individual in this group²¹. Through social identity/large-group identity, numerous people feel a sense of belonging and emotional bond to several people even if they do not know or meet with each and every in-group member personally. Within this scope, emphasizing that large-group identities are constructed based on commonality, Vamik Volkan (2001) defines the

large-group identity - whether it refers to religion, nationality or ethnicity - as the subjective experience of thousands or millions of people who are linked by a

¹⁸ Michael A. Hogg, “Subjective Uncertainty Reduction through Self-Categorization: A Motivational Theory of Social Identity Processes,” *European Review of Social Psychology* 11, no. 1 (2000): pp. 223-255, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14792772043000040>, 22.

¹⁹ Vaughn P. Shannon, Paul A. Kowert, and Deborah Welch Larson, “How Identities Form and Change: Supplementing Constructivism with Social Psychology,” in *Psychology and Constructivism in International Relations an Ideational Alliance* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2014), pp. 57-75, 63.

²⁰ Marilynn B. Brewer, “The Social Self: On Being the Same and Different at the Same Time,” *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 17, no. 5 (1991): pp. 475-482, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167291175001>, 476.

²¹ Stephen Worchel et al., *Social Identity: International Perspectives* (London etc.: Sage, 1998), 3.

persistent sense of sameness while also sharing numerous characteristics with others in foreign groups²²

Additionally, the formulation of social identities is also dependent upon the relations with in-group members where the features of the social identities are embedded in social practices, traditions, and commonly accepted norms and code of conduct of the group²³.

Within this scope, Henri Tajfel, a prominent social psychologist who developed the social identity theory together with his colleague John Turner, proposed that social identity unfolds in three cognitive stages: social categorization, social comparison, and social identification²⁴. Firstly, the social categorization process enables people to categorize and classify information in order to process and simplify the infinite variability of information flow obtained from the environment and render the world more manageable and meaningful to avoid cognitive overload²⁵. Similar to the construction of the Self, the categorization process relies on the similarities and differences in comparison to the outer world²⁶. To simplify the information process, categorization exaggerates the differences between the groups and similarities within the group and creates an accentuation effect²⁷. As a result of this process, certain characteristic group features are selectively perceived more than others. In this respect, identity markers or common symbols of identification which refer to the elements such as language, traditional songs, stereotypes about a group, and historical events become significant in the construction of the identity of individuals²⁸.

²² Volkan, "Transgenerational Transmissions", 81.

²³ Korostelina, *Social Identity and Conflict: Structures*, 16.

²⁴ Lange Paul A M Van et al., "Social Identity Theory," in *Handbook of Theories of Social Psychology*, vol. 2 (London: SAGE, 2012), pp. 379-398, 381.

²⁵ Dominic Abrams and Michael A. Hogg, *Social Identifications a Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations and Group Processes* (Hoboken: Taylor and Francis, 1998), 18.

²⁶ Richard Jenkins, "Categorization: Identity, Social Process and Epistemology," *Current Sociology* 48, no. 3 (2000): pp. 7-25, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0011392100048003003>, 8.

²⁷ Worchel et al., *Social Identity: International Perspectives*, 4.

²⁸ Volkan, "Large-Group Identity, Shared Prejudice, Chosen Glories", 20-21.

However, these features do not take any meaning without comparisons with other reference points; they only differentiate one category from other categories. At this point, the social comparison process comes into play. Secondly, the social comparison process is the way how individuals interpret group features, assign a certain degree of value to these comparisons, and determine the worth of their own group relative to the other groups²⁹. Furthermore, individuals cognitively perceive categories as prototypes³⁰. Prototypes are mental representations of people about what typically exemplify stereotypical group members representing the most important and valuable features of the group in contrast to other groups. Prototypes enable in-group members to perceive the group as a homogenous entity sharing a common goal and attributes, affecting how in-group members feel, perceive, think, and behave³¹.

Thirdly, the social identification process means that “two or more individuals who share a common social identification of themselves or, which is nearly the same thing, perceive themselves to be members of the same social category³²”. In this regard, the perceived similarities of the individual and the other in-group members generate the perception of being a member of the relevant group. The individual who views him/herself as a member of this group develops a feeling of belonging that attaches emotional and value significance to the specified group³³. Cultural amplifiers, particular symbols, and signs affiliated with the group identity act as an enhancer and unifying factor for the said group identity, constructing a kind of affective bond between the individual and the group³⁴. This process attaches certain values to

²⁹ Van et al., “Social Identity Theory,” 381-382.

³⁰ Michael A. Hogg and Scott A. Reid, “Social Identity, Self-Categorization, and the Communication of Group Norms,” *Communication Theory* 16, no. 1 (2006): pp. 7-30, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2885.2006.00003.x>, 10.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Henri Tajfel and John C. Turner, “Towards a Cognitive Redefinition of the Social Group,” in *Social Identity and Intergroup Relations* (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 15-36, 15.

³³ Abrams and Hogg, *Social Identifications*, 7.

³⁴ Volkan, “Large-Group Identity: ‘Us and Them,’” 4.

particular features of the group and renders the individual to prefer value-attached group features and similarities over the uniqueness of his/her personal identity.

Nonetheless, the mere fact of being a member of a group does not automatically lead an individual to choose a certain social identity among multiple social categorizations available to him/her³⁵. Within this scope, social identity theory points to other motivational and cognitive factors such as satisfying the inherent need for distinctiveness from others, achieving a sense of continuity, providing validation from others, elevating self-esteem, ensuring cognitive coherence, and reducing uncertainty, for driving individuals to identify with particular groups and to accept in-group norms, beliefs, and values³⁶. The contradictory needs of both assimilation and differentiation from others comprise the tension explained by the theory of optimal distinctiveness. In line with the theory of optimal distinctiveness, social identity theory provides an essential framework for satisfying these two needs: the need for deindividuation along with a desire for validation, is fulfilled through membership in a group while the need for distinctiveness is satisfied through the comparisons with the out-group members³⁷. Moreover, the uncertainty reduction hypothesis, another hypothesis explaining why individuals retain an inherent need to form social identities, maintains that every individual seeks some degree of certainty, foreseeability in and control over their life, how to behave, and what to expect³⁸. Accordingly, in a bid to reduce uncertainty, individuals tend to identify with already existing groups with pre-defined borders, charters, and value sets on the basis of prototypes that guide individuals on how to behave, what to think, and what norms to subscribe to.³⁹

Furthermore, proponents of social identity theory argue that individuals also crave for positive self-evaluation and self-esteem through acquiring a social identity

³⁵ Brewer, "The Social Self", 477.

³⁶ Bloom, Personal Identity, National Identity, 36.

³⁷ Brewer, "The Social Self", 477.

³⁸ Hogg, "Subjective Uncertainty Reduction through Self-Categorization", 227.

³⁹ Ibid, 233.

and are motivated to protect and enhance their self-esteem⁴⁰. If an individual experiences low self-esteem in terms of his/her personal identity, s/he will seek to improve self-esteem through membership in a group. Positive evaluation of the in-group in relation to the out-group members based on comparative advantage will aid and comfort the individual with low self-esteem and be used as a reparative patch for the low individual self-esteem⁴¹.

These processes along with the emotional attachment developed for the group and the pursuit of the comparative advantage of the group to satisfy the need for positive self-esteem yields three outcomes essential for this study. Firstly, people actively modify and reshape their beliefs, norms, and values according to the contextual demands created by social identity due to the several cognitive and motivational factors explained above⁴². Individuals who are driven by the pursuit of self-esteem through validation, the need for belonging, and the cognitive need for reducing uncertainty, adopt the group's collective set of norms and values and re-shape their view of the world and their identity accordingly.

Secondly, social identity impacts the perception of intergroup relations. In this respect, in the early-development age, the infants differentiate between what belongs to their own environment and their large group and what does not. Similarly, unwanted and undesirable elements for the group, named by Volkan as suitable targets of externalization, are externalized and projected onto the other groups⁴³. Individuals who internalize the norms of the group also tend to allocate positive connotations to the in-group members and level the importance of these positive virtues that exerts

⁴⁰ Sarah E. Martiny and Mark Rubin, "Towards a Clearer Understanding of Social Identity Theory's Self-Esteem Hypothesis," in *Understanding Peace and Conflict through Social Identity Theory* (Springer International Pu, 2018), pp. 19-32, 20; Volkan, "Large-Group Identity, Shared Prejudice, Chosen Glories", 17.

⁴¹ Denise Bentravato et al., "Teaching about a Violent Past: Revisiting the Role of History Education in Conflict and Peace," in *History Can Bite: History Education in Divided and Postwar Societies* (Göttingen: V&R Unipress, 2016), pp. 15-30, 28.

⁴² Janet K. Swim et al., "Negotiating Social Identity," in *Prejudice: The Target's Perspective* (Amsterdam etc.: Elsevier, 2007), pp. 301-323, 301.

⁴³ Volkan, "Large-Group Identity, Shared Prejudice, Chosen Glories", 25-26.

superiority over the out-group members, resulting in in-group favoritism⁴⁴. The social identification process and the need for positive distinctiveness also lead to negative stereotypic beliefs about the other groups' attributes and attaching negative connotations to the out-group members. Tajfel and his associates found that "the mere awareness of the presence of an out-group is sufficient to provoke intergroup competitive or discriminatory responses on the part of the in-group⁴⁵". This favoritism and prejudice against out-group members eventually result in salient identities depicting groups as homogeneous identities of us vs them. Since the categorization process creates an accentuating effect to simplify the information process, the differences between the groups are automatically exaggerated in a bid to increase self-esteem. Accordingly, positive values such as good, civilized, and rational are perceived as only belonging to in-group members while inferior and negative connotations such as evil, aggressive, and barbaric are most of the time allocated to the out-group members⁴⁶.

Thirdly, established prejudice and bias formulated as a result of the social identification processes towards out-group members underpin the readiness of the group for a possible conflict and collective mobilization under certain circumstances with the aim of protecting and enhancing the positive status of the group⁴⁷. According to Tajfel, when the salient social identity with established prejudices towards the out-group is presented with a perceived or real threat to the core of the identity, the individuals may choose from three options: (1) individual mobility, (2) social

⁴⁴ Leonie Huddy, "From Social to Political Identity: A Critical Examination of Social Identity Theory," *Political Psychology* 22, no. 1 (2001): pp. 127-156, <https://doi.org/10.1111/0162-895x.00230>, 128-135.

⁴⁵ Sidanius et al., "The Social Identity Theory of Intergroup Behavior," 374.

⁴⁶ Henri Tajfel et al., "Social Categorization and Intergroup Behaviour," *European Journal of Social Psychology* 1, no. 2 (1971): pp. 149-178, <https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.2420010202>, 120; Henri Tajfel, "Social Identity and Intergroup Behaviour," 67.

⁴⁷ Timothy J. Owens et al., "Group Distinctiveness, Social Identification, and Collective Mobilization," in *Self, Identity, and Social Movements* (Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 2003), pp. 153-171, 2003; Elioth R. Smith, "Social Identity and Social Emotions: Toward New Conceptualizations of Prejudice," *Affect, Cognition and Stereotyping*, 1993, pp. 297-315, <https://doi.org/10.1016/b978-0-08-088579-7.50017-x>, 308.

creativity, and (3) social competition⁴⁸. First, individuals who cannot meet the need for self-esteem in their devalued group may choose to identify with a higher-status group through achieving upward social mobility. Second, certain individuals may resort to social creativity to redefine intergroup comparison for regaining the comparative advantage of the in-group⁴⁹. Within this context, social creativity of finding new ways to ensure comparative advantage may be achieved in three possible manners: finding new attributes for comparisons, including other groups in the intergroup comparisons, and changing the meaning assigned to the negative attributes associated with the group so that these attributes will be perceived as positive⁵⁰. Lastly and most importantly, group members may engage in direct competition with the out-group in order to regain their positive and superior value and change the status quo⁵¹. Volkan's findings within the scope of psychoanalysis theory, also substantiate the third option arguing that the individuals choose to enhance and protect their identity. Especially, when large groups are presented with a threat rocking the core identity of a group to its foundations, the individual differences lose their meaning in face of group identity and the emotional attachment and sense of belonging are triggered⁵². Individuals' rationality is blurred, and the Other/enemy began to be viewed as a conglomeration of every unwanted attribute and evil being stripped of its humane qualities. As a result, in-group members are compelled to defend the group's identity and to this end, they often resort to inhumane treatments against the out-group members⁵³.

⁴⁸ Jim Sidanius et al., "The Social Identity Theory of Intergroup Behavior," in *Political Psychology: Key Readings* (Vancouver, B.C.: Langara College, 2007), pp. 367-390, 382.

⁴⁹ Van et al., "Social Identity Theory," 383.

⁵⁰ Sidanius et al., "The Social Identity Theory of Intergroup Behavior," 381.

⁵¹ *Ibid*, 382.

⁵² Volkan, "Transgenerational Transmissions and Chosen Traumas: An Aspect of Large-Group Identity," *Group Analysis* 34, no. 1 (2001): pp. 79-97, <https://doi.org/10.1177/05333160122077730>, 83.

⁵³ Vamik D. Volkan, *Blind Trust: Large Groups and Their Leaders in Times of Crisis and Terror* (Charlottesville, Va: Pitchstone Pub, 2004), 107.

In this subchapter, the definition of personal identity and collective identity has been provided. It has been discussed that both the individual identity and large-group identity are constructed based on similarities within in-group members and differences from the designated Other. Through the cognitive processes of categorization, comparison, and identification, individuals form their sense of belongingness to a particular group and create their unconscious perception of the other groups and the relationship between their own group and the other groups. In addition to the cognitive processes, individuals are driven to construct large-group identities due to motivational factors such as the inherent need for distinctiveness from others, achieving a sense of continuity, providing validation from others, elevating self-esteem, ensuring cognitive coherence, and reducing uncertainty. Lastly, this subchapter listed three impacts of these processes and large-group identity significant for this paper: firstly, individuals form their beliefs, norms, and values according to their social identity; secondly, social identity posits an idea about the intergroup relationships in the unconscious mind of in-group members and develops varied prejudices and biases towards out-group members; thirdly, established prejudice and bias formulated as a result of the social identification processes toward out-group members underpin the readiness of the group for a possible conflict and collective mobilization under certain circumstances. The following section will address the importance of the past and history in the construction of the large-group identity.

1.2. History's impact on identity

This subchapter will explain why history is important for identity and how it affects the formation of identity and identity-related perceptions of society. In this respect, how history will provide a sense of continuity to the societies will be depicted. Subsequently, the impact of history on the self-identity of societies, and their perceptions about the identity of the Other will be briefly summarized. Secondly, how history forms particular kinds of social representations and cognitive frameworks that have charters mandating the identity and attitudes of the groups will be addressed. Thirdly, it will touch upon the connection between history and collective memories and the propellant power of collective memories to bind the group together, sustain

stereotypes, and intergroup polarizations and correlatively to increase the readiness of society for a possible conflict. In this connection, the concepts of “chosen glories” and “chosen traumas” of Volkan (2014) will be introduced.

Numerous researchers in identity studies have acknowledged that history is one of the main components for constructing and maintaining identities including personal identity and large-group / social identity⁵⁴. Within this scope, Hans-Georg Gadamer noted that identities are constructed in circular processes drawing on associations formed between past, present, and future⁵⁵. The very definition of identity also underlines the requirement of the sense of continuity of one's existence in time and space⁵⁶. This cognitive continuity consists of individuals' and his/her large group's past, present, and future. In this respect, information about the past experiences provides a background on which the essence of identity can rely; prescribes narratives about the individual's or large group's past; carves out the values and norms relevant to the identity; and depicts what future routes can be taken by the individual or large group in face of present challenges⁵⁷.

History is also pointed to as one of the elements developing particular kinds of social representations within a society that affects the identity of large groups and their perception of reality, which may lead to intergroup conflict. János László argues that the concepts of collective memory and social representation can be used interchangeably⁵⁸. History constructs certain forms of social representations that underpin constituent contexts that the core of the identities are based on, that prescribe perceptions about relationships between groups, that justify certain forms of social

⁵⁴ See Benedict R Anderson, *Imagined Communities*; Bentreovato, “History Textbook Writing in Post-Conflict Societies”; Buckley-Zistel, “In-Between War and Peace”; Tilmans et al., “Re-Framing Memory”; Korostelina, “History Education and Social Identity”; Jane Kroger, “The Role of Historical Context in the Identity Formation Process of Late Adolescence,” *Youth & Society* 24, no. 4 (1993): pp. 363-376, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0044118x93024004003>; Volkan, “Large-Group Identity, Shared Prejudice, Chosen Glories”.

⁵⁵ Buckley-Zistel, “In-Between War and Peace”, 3.

⁵⁶ Erikson, *Identity: Youth and Crisis*, 50.

⁵⁷ Liu and Hilton, “How the Past Weighs on the Present”, 537.

⁵⁸ László János, *The Science of Stories: An Introduction to Narrative Psychology* (London: Routledge, 2008), 159.

orders, and that provide justifications for conflict and inhumane treatment to the enemy⁵⁹. In this respect, social representation introduced by the works of Serge Moscovici, attempts to explain how common sense and social reality of a large group are formed and structured and how society makes sense of information. Social representation can be defined as “systems of opinions, knowledge, and beliefs particular to a culture, a social category, or a group with regard to objects in the social environment⁶⁰”. Within this framework, social representation manifests itself in the lives of people through two processes named objectification and anchoring: the former transforms abstract and unfamiliar ideas into concrete reality such as images, metaphors, or patterns⁶¹. The latter refers to the process of classifying something and allocating meaning to it in order to fit it into already-existing cognitive frameworks⁶².

In this respect, social representations of history envisage a charter that dictates the historical mission of the society, defines the values, rights, and obligations of the group, which may include values such as being militaristic and legitimizes kinds of intergroup relations including enmity relations⁶³. These charters draw the borders of a group, helping individuals to place themselves in a specific group through the process of self-categorization in line with the principle of self-esteem need that drives individuals to form large-group identities, the historical charters increase the positive distinctiveness of a group by illustrating which values ought to be considered as positive and what values the group has and what it does not⁶⁴. These charters also act as a guidebook for the society influencing how they react to present travails and what

⁵⁹ Jaspal and Breakwell, “Identity and Social Representation,” in *Identity Process Theory: Identity, Social Action and Social Change* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), pp. 118-134, 118.

⁶⁰ Lange Paul A M Van et al., “Social Representation Theory,” in *Handbook of Theories of Social Psychology* (London: SAGE, 2012), pp. 477-497, 489.

⁶¹ Eemeli Hakoköngäs and Inari Sakki, “The Naturalized Nation: Anchoring, Objectification and Naturalized Social Representations of History,” *Journal of Social and Political Psychology* 4, no. 2 (2016): pp. 646-669, <https://doi.org/10.5964/jsp.2016.4i2.664>, 648.

⁶² Jaspal and Breakwell, “Identity and Social Representation,” 120.

⁶³ Liu and Hilton, “How the Past Weighs on the Present”, 543.

⁶⁴ Richard M. Sorrentino et al., “Culture and Intergroup Relations: The Role of Social Representations of History,” in *Handbook of Motivation and Cognition across Cultures* (Amsterdam: Academic/Elsevier, 2008), pp. 343-368, 347.

and who should be perceived as a threat to the society by depicting similarities between the past patterns and contemporary events⁶⁵.

Commenting on the link between history and memory Weedon and Jordan indicated that history also can be considered a collection of carefully selected and documented memories of a particular society that relates to the present interests⁶⁶. Although some differences between the concept of history and memory exist⁶⁷ due to the objectivity of history for using documented facts, researchers recently began to acknowledge that especially the history teaching in today's world does not pursue objectivity but infuses the young citizen's mind with selected and omitted historical events that rely on interpreted facts; therefore history and memory can be perceived as two overlapping concepts⁶⁸. Within this scope, psychologists differentiate two different memories: semantic memory and episodic memory. Episodic memory only refers to individual-specific and autobiographical incidents that can be communicated to and shared with other people, but never could be reproduced and remembered by other persons⁶⁹. Semantic memory, on the other hand, mostly refers to collective memories, general knowledge concerning a specific group acquired by people via learning and memorizing⁷⁰. To achieve subjective experience linking thousands of people based on the persistent sense of sameness, the large group / social identities share the same memories, named collective memories, and the same history of the group that transcends an individual's life span⁷¹.

⁶⁵ Liu and Hilton, "How the Past Weighs on the Present", 551.

⁶⁶ Chris Weedon and Glenn Jordan, "Collective Memory: Theory and Politics," *Social Semiotics* 22, no. 2 (2012): pp. 143-153, <https://doi.org/10.1080/10350330.2012.664969>, 145.

⁶⁷ see James V. Wertsch and Henry L. Roediger, "Collective Memory: Conceptual Foundations and Theoretical Approaches," *Memory* 16, no. 3 (2008): pp. 318-326, <https://doi.org/10.1080/09658210701801434>.

⁶⁸ Peter J. Verovšek, "Collective Memory, Politics, and the Influence of the Past: The Politics of Memory as a Research Paradigm," *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 4, no. 3 (2016): pp. 529-543, <https://doi.org/10.1080/21565503.2016.1167094>, 532.

⁶⁹ Susan Sontag, *Regarding the Pain of Others* (New York: Picador, 2003), 86.

⁷⁰ Tilmans et al., "Re-Framing Memory", 37.

⁷¹ *Ibid*, 38.

The term collective memory was introduced in the literature for the first time by Maurice Halbwachs, however, since then a large and growing body of literature from different fields of social science has investigated and used the term in various closely associated meanings and forms⁷². The most generally agreed-upon definition of collective memory is that collective memory:

is a widely shared knowledge of past social events that may not have been personally experienced but are collectively constructed through communicative social functions. These social representations or shared knowledge about the past are elaborated, transmitted and conserved in society through both interpersonal and institutional communication⁷³.

Collective memories are constructed, reshaped, transmitted, and sustained as narratives by and on behalf of specific groups to bind the group through a sense of belonging, community, and the sense of persistent sameness⁷⁴. Notwithstanding, it is notable to point out that collective memories are filtered, interpreted, injected with meaning, and selectively transmitted by individuals within a society. Only memories that are deemed to be important and eminent for the status of the group and that touch upon the values and fears of the group are passed down from generation to generation⁷⁵. Collective memory is communicated to the successive generations through a complex social interaction process where the past is used as an interpretive tool for the present, and the present is used for making sense of the past⁷⁶. Consequently, narratives of collective memory and particular value sets relevant to identity are privileged over others while the narratives damaging to the self-esteem of the group fade away⁷⁷. This interpretive process changes individuals' memories and

⁷² Wertsch and Roediger, "Collective Memory", 318.

⁷³ Daniel Bar-Tal, Dario Paez, and James Hou_fu Liu, "Collective Memory of Conflicts," in *Intergroup Conflicts and Their Resolution: A Social Psychological Perspective* (New York: Psychology Press, 2011), pp. 105-124, 105.

⁷⁴ Weedon and Jordan, "Collective Memory: Theory and Politics", 143.

⁷⁵ Tilmans et al., "Re-Framing Memory", 38.

⁷⁶ Timothy B. Gongaware, "Collective Memory Anchors: Collective Identity and Continuity in Social Movements," *Sociological Focus* 43, no. 3 (2010): pp. 214-239, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00380237.2010.10571377>, 216.

⁷⁷ Sorrentino et al., "Culture and Intergroup Relations", 347.

results in “false memories of events even [people] never actually witnessed” to unite the community through drawing boundaries⁷⁸.

Social representations, and collective memories are often communicated through narrative forms of mythology, collective communicative symbols, and overall meaning frameworks to connect individuals on the basis of similarities and common objectives⁷⁹. Mythologies, legends and folktales are particularly important for the transmission of narratives as they often simplify the complex historical events, sticking in the minds of individuals⁸⁰. These mythologized forms of stories often refer to the past conflicts since the conflict generates strong emotions within society. It is also notable to underline that following three to four generational transmissions, only stereotype consistent information complying with prototype characteristics of a society sticks to the mind of the individuals while information contradicting with prototypes and perception of society about other groups are receded from the historical consciousness of the society⁸¹.

Most of the time, these narratives and stories would have “emotional undertones” to further enhance the cohesion of the group; the more a memory resonates within people for awaking strong feelings, the more vivid it will remain in the historical consciousness of the group members⁸². Accordingly, historical data consisting of stereotypical information about the Other charges individuals with emotions such as resentment, revenge and decreases logical thinking ability. As a result, this emotional thinking increases readiness to engage in a conflict and the possibility to transform these stereotypes and biases into action in the face of current threats to identity by drawing analogies from the past. Within this context, a collective understanding of a

⁷⁸ Verovšek, “Collective Memory, Politics, and the Influence of the Past”, 532.

⁷⁹ Gail Moloney et al., “A Narrative Theory of History and Identity: Social Identity, Social Representations, Society, and the Individual,” in *Social Representations and Identity: Content, Process and Power* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), pp. 85-108, 88.

⁸⁰ Buckley-Zistel, “In-Between War and Peace”, 6; Korostelina, *Social Identity and Conflict: Structures*, 34-35.

⁸¹ Moloney et al., “A Narrative Theory of History and Identity”, 93.

⁸² Mihai Rusu, “History and Collective Memory: The Succeeding Incarnations of an Evolving Relationship,” *Philobiblon* XVIII, no. 2 (2013): pp. 260-282, 267.

past event imbued with a strong emotional charge is often abused and manipulated by political elites to mobilize a society's already-existing stereotypes into action and to legitimize their political actions to present incidents through equating past events to present events⁸³.

As such, chosen glories and chosen traumas which are also essential ingredients in the identity formation for uniting the large groups can be shown as memories of past events that can evoke a highly charged emotional reaction in individuals in the face of manipulation. Volkan defines chosen trauma as "the shared mental representation of a massive trauma that the group's ancestors suffered at the hand of an enemy⁸⁴" and chosen glory as "the shared mental representations of a historical event and heroic persons attached to it that are heavily mythologized over time⁸⁵". Both chosen glories and chosen traumas are communicated to younger generations through transgenerational transmission in ceremonies, traditional practices, and educational settings mostly in mythicized and legend forms⁸⁶. Both also heavily contribute to sustaining intergroup polarizations⁸⁷. Chosen glories, in particular, serve to fortify the cohesion of social identity by increasing the self-esteem of in-group members and to delineate the values the large groups should adopt⁸⁸.

Once reactivated, chosen traumas, on the other hand, can lead to destructive attitudes and escalated conflicts among groups and evoke inhumane treatment towards out-group members when the group feels that their core identity is under contemporary survival threat⁸⁹. Furthermore, these historical events may cause a rise in the plausibility of suitable targets of externalization, the undesired values attached to out-group members based on stereotypes and biases, and as a result may amplify a

⁸³ Verovšek, "Collective Memory, Politics, and the Influence of the Past", 529.

⁸⁴ Volkan, "Transgenerational Transmissions", 79.

⁸⁵ Volkan, "Large-Group Identity, Shared Prejudice, Chosen Glories", 25.

⁸⁶ Liu and Hilton, "How the Past Weighs on the Present", 539-540.

⁸⁷ Volkan, "Large-Group Identity: 'Us and Them'", 11.

⁸⁸ Volkan, "Large-Group Identity, Shared Prejudice, Chosen Glories", 25.

⁸⁹ Volkan, "Transgenerational Transmissions and Chosen Traumas", 79.

society's readiness for a conflict in case of a threat as the other will be viewed as embodiment of dirty, undesired, condemned, and evil qualities⁹⁰. When a large group suffered immensely due to the injured self-definition and cannot process this suffering in their own generation, these shared traumatic events are transmitted to the succeeding generations through a process called depositing where these mental images are continuously infused into the unconscious mind of the children in the hope that the next generation will process and heal this trauma⁹¹. Chosen traumas, in particular, may be activated years and years later: when a stressful and threatening event occurs, a kind of time collapse in the mind of the large group happens and the group regresses. As a result of this regression and time-collapse, the current event is treated the same as the past event, the current conflict is escalated, the enemy is magnified as the evil being, the cruelty increases in the hope of seeking revenge and overall readiness of society for a conflict increases⁹².

To sum up, by forming collective memories and social representations in the unconscious mind of society, history yields important outcomes for constructing and maintaining the identity of large groups and guiding the attitudes of group members accordingly. Firstly, it provides a context from which identity can develop and preserves the positive distinctiveness of the group by underlining certain glories of the past. Secondly, it determines which values, norms and attributes should matter for the group. Thirdly, it enhances the sense of continuity of the group and prevents cognitive dissonance, and further boosts the coherence of the group. Fourthly, it provides a background about the stereotypes and biases towards other groups, which later form the basis of the resentment that might be mobilized in case of a conflict. Fifthly, it explains and legitimizes certain forms of intergroup relations including polarized form of relations. Lastly, it hastens the readiness of society for a conflict and the likelihood

⁹⁰ Vamik D. Volkan, *Psychoanalysis, International Relations, and Diplomacy: A Sourcebook on Large-Group Psychology* (Routledge, 2019), 27.

⁹¹ Volkan, "Transgenerational Transmissions", 88; Volkan, *Psychoanalysis, International Relations, and Diplomacy*, 21.

⁹² Volkan, "Transgenerational Transmissions", 89.

of a society being mobilized on the basis of stereotypes in case a threat is presented to the core identity of a group and the already-held emotions are re-activated⁹³.

In this subchapter, the impact of history on identity formation and how history affects perceptions and attitudes of individuals and large groups through the operation of collective memories and social representations were discussed. History has been shown as an inseparable ingredient of identity as it provided a continuum axis which identity can draw from for connecting past, present, and future. History constitutes particular forms of social representations and cognitive templates that guide the common sense, identity construction, and behaviors of society. The history of a group, in this respect, constructs, collective memories, and cognitive narrative templates in the minds of individuals uniting the group on the basis of commonly shared past and similar values that can be traced back to the distant past. Memories imbued with emotional undertones are also transmitted to successive generations as mythicized narratives depicting glories and traumas of the society in question. These chosen glories and traumas both unite the group and heavily contribute to the intergroup polarization and stereotype-driven attitudes towards out-group members that may be mobilized into conflictive behavior in the presence of a threat and hasten the society's readiness for conflict.

Drawing on the theoretical foundation explained in this chapter, the next chapter will focus on how history education helps to form particular social identities and biased perceptions of out-group members and how it can be used as a road for conflict or peace. It will briefly introduce the literature review of studies conducted on history education's impact on identity formation in the world and in Turkey as well. Afterward, the shortcomings of the research on history education's impact on identity in Turkey will be discussed followed by an explanation of the analytical framework of Korostelina, which the present research relies on for analyzing Turkish history textbooks.

⁹³ Bloom, *Personal Identity, National Identity*, 39.

CHAPTER 2

HISTORY EDUCATION

In light of the theoretical background on identity and history, this chapter firstly will focus on how history textbooks connect the two and how it places certain identities, ideas about the in-group and out-group members, and the relationship between the two and how it justifies particular kinds of hierarchies, social and political orders. This chapter will also discuss the possible effects of history education on peace and conflict as both an accelerator of conflict and a tool for establishing a peaceful culture in society through promoting particular kinds of social identity. In this respect, the first section/part will firstly focus on why history education is important for constructing a social identity and how it leaves such an imprint on the minds of young children lasting to adulthood. Secondly, this sub-chapter will focus on how history education can contribute to conflict or peace. The next sub-chapter will highlight the literature review for analyzing history education in the world and Turkey and stress the former research aims and areas of the relevant literature. Lastly, the difference of this thesis from the literature and the gaps in the literature will be pointed out.

2.1. History education's role in peace and conflict

As argued in the previous chapter, some researchers argue that the term collective memory and a group's past can be fundamentally placed in opposition to the social science of history for differing on some particular points⁹⁴. Comparing the formal history and collective memory, James V. Wertsch and Henry L. Roediger demonstrated that while formal history is open to criticisms and strives for being

⁹⁴ see Wertsch and Roediger, "Collective Memory"; Karin Tilmans et al., "The Performance of the Past: Memory, History, Identity," in *Performing the Past: Memory, History, and Identity in Modern Europe* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2011), pp. 11-34, 18.

objective based on documented facts and archived materials regardless of the identity of the society it studies, the collective memory, on the other hand, often consists of subjective interpretation of the individuals who communicate the memory to the successive generations and disregards counter-evidences for maintaining an established storyline with emotional undertones⁹⁵. Another party of researchers indicate that the purpose of history discipline is to capture and preserve the collective memories of societies and in this respect, two concepts overlap with each other⁹⁶.

Nevertheless, different from the ideal version of history discipline that seeks to be scientific and ethical, history education serves different functions. Unlike the history discipline, history textbooks are designed and written by real people to serve particular real interests and aims. The history textbooks of countries have a purpose to determine “what knowledge is of most worth”⁹⁷. Within this respect, history education is designed for an identity project to create the ideal citizens for the nations, enacting and transmitting the selective collective memories in the minds of the individuals in a society in line with the desired identity pursued by political elites⁹⁸. It homogenizes the society and emphasizes the privileged status of the nation and citizens through intentionally omitting, disregarding, or misnarrating historical events that are damaging to the status of the national identity or through exaggerating the victories of that society⁹⁹. History textbooks are portrayed as sourcebooks providing objective information independent of politics and identity and factual books that need to be memorized by the students in order for them to pass their tests and grades¹⁰⁰. For this

⁹⁵ Wertsch and Roediger, “Collective Memory”, 321.

⁹⁶ Verovšek, “Collective Memory, Politics, and the Influence of the Past”, 532; Rusu, “History and Collective Memory”, 265.

⁹⁷ Michael W. Apple, *Official Knowledge: Democratic Education in a Conservative Age* (Routledge, 1993), 46.

⁹⁸ Katrin Kello, “Identity and Othering in Past and Present: Representations of the Soviet Era in Estonian Post-Soviet Textbooks,” *Journal of Social and Political Psychology* 5, no. 2 (2018): pp. 665-693, <https://doi.org/10.5964/jspp.v5i2.737>, 669.

⁹⁹ Bentreto et al., “Teaching about a Violent Past”, 18.

¹⁰⁰ Daniel Bar-Tal, “The Rocky Road toward Peace: Beliefs on Conflict in Israeli Textbooks,” *Journal of Peace Research* 35, no. 6 (1998): pp. 723-742, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022343398035006005>, 727.

reason, history textbooks are often taken for granted and the students are expected to accept these textbooks as factual and objective sources. The students are often not expected to question the monolithic and authoritative narratives of truths provided by these textbooks¹⁰¹. In reality, however, far from being objective, these textbooks only reflect the dominant, official, and legitimate knowledge of the government strictly written according to guidelines defined by laws and regulations. In fact, the object of history education has long been to mold the citizens' minds and to nurture a kind of national identity in line with the desired views and vested interests of political elites. To this end, the history textbooks are manipulated by resorting to generalizations, and stereotypes and by cherry-picking certain historical events to polish the victories of the society and whitewash faults and cruelties of this society while omitting, silencing, demonizing, and othering the other groups' history and identity¹⁰². Hence, history education creates a social reality of the relevant society by determining which norms should be internalized by the citizens, what should be perceived as normal and common sense, what can be discussed, and what topics are accepted as taboo, which leads readers to comply with established standards of behaviors and norms¹⁰³.

Furthermore, as these mandatory textbooks are thought to the students throughout the country, they also reach a large part of the population. Thus, textbooks raise a society compromising thousands or millions of people possessing the same historical information. These books generally become the first sources of information about history and politics that children at an early development age encounter, creating early and rooted ideas and convictions about the historical relations in the minds of children. Furthermore, if the reader of these books does not prefer to read other books on history or is not interested in history or politics, these textbooks often remain the

¹⁰¹ Lynn Davies, "The Different Faces of Education in Conflict," *Development* 53, no. 4 (2010): pp. 491-497, <https://doi.org/10.1057/dev.2010.69>, 492.

¹⁰² Bentreovato et al., "Teaching about a Violent Past", 21.

¹⁰³ Bar-Tal, "The Rocky Road toward Peace", 727.

only sourcebook on history and politics that the students tapped into in their lifetimes¹⁰⁴.

In light of the above-explained information, by providing information about the past of the society along with defining the values and norms of that group, history education establishes the ground which the group identity can draw from. As the historical knowledge about the group's past increases and the positive distinctiveness of the group is more emphasized, the loyalty and identification of the children with the group identity and the common fate of that group also amplify¹⁰⁵. It is significant to note that identities became salient after being formed and established and once an identity became salient, challenging and changing the salient identity would require excessive efforts. Therefore, infusing the minds of children with selective and non-objective information that leads the readers to think in a particular manner at an early age, when the concept of identity, sense of self, and the idea about the identity of other groups have been still in the making, , has a longstanding effect on the perceptions, beliefs, norms, emotions, and identity of children, lasting even in adult age¹⁰⁶. In this respect, textbooks offer excellent interpretive frameworks about the past which help readers to interpret and understand the current events by drawing analogies from the learned historical data and to form an idea about the current events. They construct a particular context about past, present, and future and underpin mental representations narrating what particular elements should be perceived as threats to the identity and what values are so significant that they should not be abandoned and are worth fighting for. History textbooks also justify certain forms of social structures and hierarchies by defining the idea of justice through legitimizing myths and legends¹⁰⁷.

Furthermore, history education can both prepare the pre-conditions of a conflict by exacerbating divisions and predisposing people for possible mobilization

¹⁰⁴ Tobias Ide, Jakob Kirchheimer, and Denise Bentrovato, "School Textbooks, Peace and Conflict: An Introduction," *Global Change, Peace & Security* 30, no. 3 (2018): pp. 287-294, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14781158.2018.1505717>, 288.

¹⁰⁵ Korostelina, *Social Identity and Conflict: Structures*, 23.

¹⁰⁶ Ide, Kirchheimer, and Bentrovato, "School Textbooks, Peace and Conflict", 288.

¹⁰⁷ Korostelina, *Social Identity and Conflict: Structures*, 34-42.

attempts. At the same time, history education can also be used as a tool to implement pre-emptive measures for promoting a peace culture by alleviating resentment, nurturing mutual understanding, and mending the wounds of society¹⁰⁸. In this respect, having regard to the various effects of history education on identity and conflict, and peace, Korostelina has determined three functional levels of history education that may be used for stirring up conflict or urging a peace environment:

(1) establishment of connotations of in-group identity (norms, beliefs, and values), (2) justification of intergroup relations and social hierarchies, and (3) legitimization of power structure and mobilization of collective actions¹⁰⁹.

As to how history textbooks contribute to a conflict-prone environment within the framework of these three levels, it can be noted in relation to the first level that history textbooks may nurture such identities that are more tempted to mobilize and are intolerant of different cultures. Textbooks may emphasize the prevalence of particular meanings and elements in the meaning of in-group identity including ideological elements, patriotism, obedience to authority, and militaristic views. History education may highlight military achievements and violent acts of the given society while disregarding or downgrading the role of political reconciliations and compromises in the construction of the identity and the root of that large-group identity or society¹¹⁰. Textbooks may present manliness, violence, and the use of weapons as the virtues of a society that contributes to the positive self-esteem of the society. As a result, since the use of violence and use of weapons will provide self-esteem, appraisal, and acceptance from the large-group the individual is included, the readiness for a conflict of the individuals seeking to increase their self-esteem and aiming to gather the appraisal of its social identity group will also escalate. Additionally, obedience to authority, the danger of questioning, and authoritarianism may be other values privileged by the history textbooks. These values also underpin the readiness of society

¹⁰⁸ Benvolato et al., "Teaching about a Violent Past", 17.

¹⁰⁹ Korostelina, *History Education in the Formation of Social Identity*, 23.

¹¹⁰ Davies, "The Different Faces of Education in Conflict," 492.

for mobilization in times of manipulation by political elites, turning citizens into unquestioning pawns obeying every order of the authority¹¹¹. Lastly, by depicting the roots of the in-group identity and narrating its victories, textbooks may define the central role of the enemy for the maintenance of the in-group identity and therefore, it can contribute to the sustainment of tense and conflictive relations between groups so that the enemy, together with the core identity of the Self, can exist and the in-group individuals can escape from a possible identity crisis in case of the lack of enemy.

Secondly, history education may form ideas about the significant Other, and justify particular intergroup relations and social hierarchies. In this respect, two processes can contribute to this function: (1) By assigning certain values to the out-group members and in-group members, a history textbook may depict the other as the embodiment of what the in-group is not and all the negative connotations, creating a binary relation between the self and the other¹¹². (2) Textbooks may highlight generalizations and present a group as a sole entity comprising individuals sharing the same simplistic common aim and values and disregarding the complexity of the group's value system. This process, known as othering and marginalization of out-group members, nurtures the prejudices and stereotypes of the in-group. Excessive comparisons of the in-group members with out-group members based on differences that are portrayed as unchangeable and permanent may further fuel these stereotypes and resentments within the in-group and as a result, readiness for a conflict of a society can accelerate¹¹³.

Furthermore, these textbooks also have legends and mythologized memories about society, communicating simplified and exaggerated narratives about the relations between nations and large groups. These legends and mythologies, introduced to the children at an early development age, often cultivate stereotypes and bias about other groups, victimize and glorify the in-group to increase positive self-esteem and shared feeling of belonging, further contributing to the re-transmission of chosen traumas and chosen victories and associated high-charged emotions. In a bid

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² Korostelina, *History Education in the Formation of Social Identity*, 39.

¹¹³ Ibid.

to simplify, generalize and exaggerate the events, these myths often allocate positive connotations to in-group while depicting the other as evil, subhuman, and barbaric. Victimized the in-group in the face of cruel atrocities perpetrated by the adversary through the stories placed in history textbooks strengthens positive-we and negative-they binary perceptions, urges feelings of mistrust and fear and enhances the likelihood of in-group members' resentments to be manipulated into an action¹¹⁴.

Violence by omission, not learning about a group's wrongdoings, cruelties, and genocides in the past, is another matter that contributes to the maintenance and re-occurring of conflict as the young people are not provided with information and tools to assess that each party in a conflict inflict sufferings onto each other; instead, they are lead to think that the cruelties are only committed by the others while all the virtues and humane qualities belong to the in-group members who are the sole victims¹¹⁵.

Thirdly, history education may legitimize certain kinds of power structures, provide justifications for mobilization and collective actions, and as a result ease the transformation of these identity perceptions, emotions, biases, and stereotypes into actions. As mentioned in the previous chapter, a real or perceived threat to the identity is an essential prerequisite of a mobilized action. A threat to the core identity will result in both manners. Commenting on the threat to identity, William Bloom (1993) noted:

The form that the group reaction to a shared identity threat takes will be determined by a configuration of shared perceptions and commonly accepted communications about the nature of the crisis. ... when the sense of identity is threatened, the individual will either reinforce the already held identification or will actively seek to make a new identification¹¹⁶.

Accordingly, the social identity theory also foresees three routes the individuals may resort to (1) individual mobility, (2) social creativity, and (3) social

¹¹⁴ Bar-Tal, "The Rocky Road toward Peace", 724.

¹¹⁵ Davies, "The Different Faces of Education in Conflict," 493.

¹¹⁶ ; Bloom, Personal Identity, National Identity,40.

competition. The first and the second routes serve for enhancing and reinforcing the already-held identification, while the third route is to form a new identification¹¹⁷.

In this respect, the history textbooks may construct the perception of what should be accepted as a threat to identity by defining the core values, meaning, and content of the identities¹¹⁸. For instance, the illustration by the history textbooks of the laicality(laicism/secularism) as the core value of a large-group identity and religions as the total opposite of the definition of this value, will lead individuals to interpret any image or sign of religion as a threat to the social identity. Similarly, if the common language and common ethnicity are repeatedly shown as the prerequisites for the unity and strengths of social identity, individuals will eventually perceive different ethnicities and people speaking different languages as threats, even if in reality, there is no intention of harm on the part of the people from a different ethnic background.

History textbooks also employ multiple justifications, sources that may legitimize particular types of power relations and mobilize actions by putting high emphasis on the requirement of social competition for the survival of social identity and encourage particular behaviors towards out-group members by providing analogies from the past¹¹⁹. The over-emphasis on the violent acts of the other parties also reinforces the feeling of constant threat and the individual's readiness for vengeful actions towards out-group members¹²⁰. The feeling of constant threat, in turn, enhances a psychological and emotional investment in the in-group and amplifies people's tendency to exhibit favoritism towards in-group members and derogate out-members and the deviants¹²¹.

¹¹⁷ Van et al., "Social Identity Theory," 383.

¹¹⁸ Korostelina, *History Education in the Formation of Social Identity*, 39.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 153.

¹²⁰ Denise Bontrovato et al, "Teaching about a Violent Past: Revisiting the Role of History Education in Conflict and Peace," in *History Can Bite: History Education in Divided and Postwar Societies* (Göttingen: V&R Unipress, 2016), pp. 15-30, 24.

¹²¹ Fabio Sani, Marina Herrera, and Mhairi Bowe, "Perceived Collective Continuity and Ingroup Identification as Defence against Death Awareness," *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology* 45, no. 1 (2009): pp. 242-245, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2008.07.019>, 242.

Furthermore, if the value expectations created by the over-emphasis on the values, high virtues, and status of the group in the history textbooks do not match with the value capabilities of the group and the group began to believe that it has less than it deserved relative to the others which were portrayed as unworthy for being cruel and inferior, the in-group members will begin to feel a relative deprivation. Accordingly, this will eventually lead to the formation of resentful feelings and justifications for aggressive action in the face of mobilization¹²². In addition to this, history textbooks may narrate stories of inequalities further contributing to the resentment due to the relative deprivation and provide justifications for the unequal systems.

Although history textbooks can be used as a tool to accelerate conflict and prepare the pre-conditions for a conflict environment, history textbooks also can serve as means to establish a culture of peace in a country by promoting peaceful coexisting and tolerance and by providing a context where peaceful identities can draw from. As previously indicated, history education has three levels that affect the establishment of peace culture from the perspective of identity.

Firstly, the roots of social identity can be presented as independent from other groups and relations with other groups, decreasing the central role of the enemy in the formation of large-group identity¹²³. The roots of identity can be emphasized as composed of multiple cultures or an objective historical narrative explaining the causes and effects of the particular social identities including the identities of other groups can be presented in a way that it urges students to question and reflect upon the roots of different identities without marginalizing them¹²⁴. The prevalence of particular elements in the meaning of social identity also plays an essential part in establishing a peace culture. As previously explained, the specific values and norms constructing the identity determine the behaviors and perceptions of the individuals sharing the same social identity. If core values and virtues of social identity are illustrated by the history

¹²² Kerry Kawakami and Kenneth L. Dion, "Social Identity and Affect as Determinants of Collective Action," *Theory & Psychology* 5, no. 4 (1995): pp. 551-577, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0959354395054005>, 566.

¹²³ Korostelina, *History Education in the Formation of Social Identity*, 48.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*

textbooks as tolerant, peaceful, understanding, democratic, giving importance to human rights, and multicultural; the individuals living in that society will exhibit behaviors and attitudes towards out-group members accordingly, further downsizing the formation of stereotypes and bias and the possibility of conflict-prone attitudes¹²⁵. In this regard, the terminology adopted in the history textbooks and explicit descriptions of atrocities and cruelties of out-group members used to narrate the legends and roots of social identity, which is pointed as an indispensable part of that identity, should be paid particular regard¹²⁶. Usage and positioning of adjectives and words for defining the identity of the Self and the Other or narrating the event such as cruel, militaristic, liberation, and occupation should be analyzed in detail and employed in such a way that it promotes the formation of a peace culture in a society¹²⁷. Furthermore, the depiction of peacefulness and tolerance as the essential virtues of identity and positive connotations attributed to the identity without referring to clear-cut comparisons with out-group members that highlights supremacy, status, and power, will foster positive social identity and enable individuals to fulfil their self-esteem needs without the need to make comparisons with out-group members¹²⁸.

In relation to the second function, the history textbooks also pay particular attention to stories and themes explaining the relations between the in-group and out-group members. In addition to the adjectives, exaggerations and simplistic narratives that further reinforce stereotypes and bias should be challenged and avoided¹²⁹. Since dehumanization and demonization of the designated enemy and detailed and explicit stories about the cruelties, and atrocities pointing to the enemy as the only source of evil will only fuel intergroup conflict and feelings of revenge, these stories should be re-written in an objective and humane manner¹³⁰. Within this context, the complex

¹²⁵ Ibid, 154-155.

¹²⁶ Benvolante, "History Textbook Writing in Post-Conflict Societies", 41.

¹²⁷ Korostelina, *History Education in the Formation of Social Identity*, 176.

¹²⁸ Ibid, 179.

¹²⁹ ¹²⁹ Bar-Tal, "The Rocky Road toward Peace", 724.

¹³⁰ Ibid.

stories that narrate the wrongdoings and cruelties of the in-group members together with the stories about out-group member's wrongdoings and reflect the idea that the out-group members are also a victim of cruelties should be included in the textbook to cultivate a mutual understanding and peaceful coexistence in intergroup relations¹³¹. As the value gap between in-group members and out-group members, that is to say, the gap between the positive connotations attached to in-group and the negative values allocated for out-group members grows and are depicted as unbalanced, stereotypes and biases and the readiness of in-group members for transforming their established beliefs into behaviors increase¹³². The balanced view of the virtues and adjectives used for defining in-group and out-group identities will advance “ an appreciation of the values and beliefs of the group, an understanding of its roots and sources, as well as the role of a group in society”¹³³. Avoiding generalizations of a group as a sole unity acting in unison, including narratives about the complex nature of society and depicting a social group as composed of different individuals with different opinions, goals, and ambitions will also help in-group members to empathize with the out-group members on individuals basis, will facilitate finding common ground between intergroup identities and will prevent simplistic and generalized stereotypes from forming, an element for readiness for conflict¹³⁴. Accordingly, another way to resort may be creating a higher umbrella identity uniting two different group identities under one inclusive identity similar to the European identity to further encourage peaceful behaviors¹³⁵.

Thirdly, the history textbooks may help to promote peaceful coexistence while depicting why certain concepts of identity lead to illogical conflicts. Initially, it may provide alternative histories and local histories explaining the historical conditions and

¹³¹ Korostelina, *History Education in the Formation of Social Identity*, 178.

¹³² *Ibid.*

¹³³ Korostelina, *Social Identity and Conflict: Structures*, 28.

¹³⁴ Daniel Bar-Tal and Yona Teichman, *Stereotypes and Prejudice in Conflict: Representations of Arabs in Israeli Jewish Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 323.

¹³⁵ Michael Karlberg, “Discourse, Identity, and Global Citizenship,” *Peace Review* 20, no. 3 (2008): pp. 310-320, <https://doi.org/10.1080/10402650802330139>, 312.

why some identities emerged while others faded into history. As a result, the students may be encouraged to question the sources of the identity and the taken-granted-of nature of identities, eventually developing understanding and decreasing judgmental views towards other identities¹³⁶. In relation to defining what is a threat to identity, history textbooks may portray prejudice, discrimination, inequality, and violence as threats to society so that individuals will further seek to combat these qualities that promote conflict on their own to increase their self-esteem and obtain appraisals and acceptance from the in-group members¹³⁷.

In this subchapter, the importance of history textbooks for the formation of historical knowledge, identity, and perceptions about intergroup relations in children at the early development years and their long-term rooted effects on the worldview of children have been discussed. It has been underlined that history education can both serve for accelerating and preparing the pre-conditions for the conflict-prone environment and for establishing a tolerant peace culture. Subsequently, it has been shown that history education impacts three levels in different ways to either nurture a culture of violence or culture of peace: the conception of the meaning and roots of the large-group identity, the perception and justification of inter-group relations, and providing legitimization and ground for mobilization turning already-held perceptions into collective actions. After introducing these three levels, this subchapter separately examined how history education contributes to conflict and peace on the basis of these three levels. The next-sub chapter will touch upon the literature on history textbook research both in the world and in Turkey and identify traditions, study areas, and common findings of the literature. It will also point out the gaps in the literature in Turkey and explain how this thesis can contribute to the existing literature.

2.2. Literature Review of History Textbook Research

This section begins by discussing the literature on history textbook research, traditions of the literature, study areas of the literature, methodology, and methods. It

¹³⁶ Michalinos Zembylas, *Teaching Contested Narratives: Identity, Memory, and Reconciliation in Peace Education and Beyond* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 223.

¹³⁷ Korostelina, *History Education in the Formation of Social Identity*, 155.

will then go on to the history textbook research in Turkey. Finally, the next sub-chapter will touch upon the gap in the history textbook research in Turkey and how this thesis can fill this gap.

Textbook research and revision have a long and extensive multidisciplinary tradition worldwide and it is a rapidly growing dynamic field as more textbooks from several countries became accessible to researchers around the world. In this regard, Stuart Foster indicates that the field of textbook research and revision has two distinct traditions: the first tradition deals with the revision of textbooks through collaborative studies and negotiations conducted by nations and international organizations, while the second tradition is mostly interested in more “specific, critical and analytical textbook research conducted by independent academics or institutions”¹³⁸.

As the first tradition, textbook revision supported by non-governmental organizations and international organizations, in particular, became a traditional tool of the international peace movement for establishing a mutual understanding with the former enemy states in line with desired political and normative norms. In this regard, the shattering impact of the First World War on the nations has revealed the emergence and requirement of analyzing and revising the textbooks as the nations’ governments used the textbooks for nurturing prejudices and stereotypes that were manipulated into conflict.¹³⁹ Although some attempts have been made previously to eliminate and combat ethnocentric ways of thinking and pro-stereotype education previously, 1937 marked a turning point in the research and revision of history teaching. In 1937, the Declaration Regarding the Teaching of History (Revision of School Text-Books) was signed by twenty-six states and these states agreed among others to teach the history of other nations and eliminate unjust prejudices against other nations¹⁴⁰. Despite the setback caused by the Second World War, the international attempts and support from several intuitions including UNESCO, the Council of Europe, and the Center for

¹³⁸ Stuart Foster, “Dominant Traditions in International Textbook Research and Revision,” *Education Inquiry* 2, no. 1 (2011): pp. 5-20, <https://doi.org/10.3402/edui.v2i1.21959>, 7.

¹³⁹ Eckhardt Fuchs and Annekatrin Bock, “Introduction,” in *Palgrave Handbook of Textbook Studies*, ed. Eckhardt Fuchs (Palgrave Macmillan, 2019), pp. 1-11, 9.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid*, 10.

Democracy and Reconciliation in Southeast Europe (CDRSEE) for textbook research have continued more determined¹⁴¹. In this regard, the most known textbook revisions in the literature took place in Japan and Germany, the states that were viewed as undemocratic at that time, following World War II. This tradition has been still continuing to insert its influence over the textbook research literature by focusing on countries recently emerging from ethnic conflicts or civil wars.

As for the second tradition, the second tradition especially differentiates itself from the first tradition for being objective and scientific and for not pursuing a political and normative agenda¹⁴². However, it is noteworthy to mention that most academic studies had not pursued systematic research until the 1970s¹⁴³. In relation to the academic field of second tradition, Peter Weinbrenner classifies three different categories: process-oriented, product-oriented, and reception-oriented research¹⁴⁴. While product-oriented research focuses mostly on analyzing the content of the textbooks, process-oriented research is more interested in how the textbooks are prepared, marketed, and, distributed. The reception-oriented textbook, on the other hand, is dealing with how the textbooks are used and received in the classrooms¹⁴⁵.

As regards the study areas, theoretical and methodological approaches, since the research on textbooks is conducted by researchers from different disciplines for different purposes, the study areas, theoretical and methodological approaches will be also broad and complex¹⁴⁶. In terms of study areas, the textbook research mostly focuses on either one country or multiple countries for conducting comparative research, notably the newly established nations or nations recovering immediately

¹⁴¹ Özalay - Şanlı, "Europe in Turkish History Textbooks", 33.

¹⁴² Annekatrin Bock, "Theories and Methods of Textbook Studies," in *Palgrave Handbook of Textbook Studies*, ed. Eckhardt Fuchs and Annekatrin Bock (Palgrave Macmillan, 2019), pp. 57-71, 29.

¹⁴³ Kathrin Henne and Eckhardt Fuchs, "History of Textbook Research," in *Palgrave Handbook of Textbook Studies*, ed. Eckhardt Fuchs and Annekatrin Bock (Palgrave Macmillan, 2019), pp. 25-57, 28.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid*, 29.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid* 29.

¹⁴⁶ Bock, "Theories and Methods of Textbook Studies," 58.

after a conflict to complement the political reconciliation processes¹⁴⁷, to explore how the national identity is represented, how the former conflict is addressed, how the sustainable peace can be maintained, how the former enemy is presented or different social groups are portrayed or whether they included in the history textbooks or not.¹⁴⁸ Similarly, human rights representations and the portrayal of different ethnic groups and immigrants have been one of the traditional research areas of textbook research¹⁴⁹. Another branch of textbook research examining the representation of genders in textbooks is also increasingly becoming prominent in the textbook research field as gender studies prove itself among other disciplines¹⁵⁰. Furthermore, a vast amount of researchers also dedicated themselves to discovering the identity representation in textbooks and construction of identity via the history textbooks and their effects on peace and conflict in light of concepts borrowed from several psychological and sociological theories¹⁵¹. In terms of methodologies used by the textbook researches,

¹⁴⁷ see Elisabeth King, "From Data Problems to Data Points: Challenges and Opportunities of Research in Postgenocide Rwanda," *African Studies Review* 52, no. 3 (2009): pp. 127-148, <https://doi.org/10.1353/arw.0.0295>; Pilvi Torsti, "How to Deal with a Difficult Past? History Textbooks Supporting Enemy Images in Post-War Bosnia and Herzegovina," *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 39, no. 1 (2007): pp. 77-96, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00220270600765278>; Hercules Millas, "History Textbooks in Greece and Turkey," *History Workshop Journal* 31, no. 1 (1991): pp. 21-33, <https://doi.org/10.1093/hwj/31.1.21>; Elie Podeh, "History and Memory in the Israeli Educational System: *the Portrayal of the Arab-Israeli Conflict in History Textbooks (1948-2000)*," *History and Memory* 12, no. 1 (2000): pp. 65-100, <https://doi.org/10.2979/his.2000.12.1.65>.

¹⁴⁸ Foster, "Dominant Traditions in International Textbook Research and Revision," 9.

¹⁴⁹ see Millas, "History Textbooks in Greece and Turkey"; Frauke de Kort, "Human Rights Education in Social Studies in the Netherlands: A Case Study Textbook Analysis," *Prospects* 47, no. 1-2 (2017): pp. 55-71, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11225-018-9431-3>; John W. Meyer, Patricia Bromley, and Francisco O. Ramirez, "Human Rights in Social Science Textbooks," *Sociology of Education* 83, no. 2 (2010): pp. 111-134, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0038040710367936>; Önder Cetin, "Migration and Migrants between the Favorable and the Problematic," *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 12, no. 2 (January 2020): pp. 77-104, <https://doi.org/10.3167/jemms.2020.120204>; Hanna Schissler, Soysal Yasemin Nuhoglu, and Rainer Ohliger, "Privileged Migrants in Germany, France, and the Netherlands: Return Migrants, Repatriates, and Expellees after 1945," in *The Nation, Europe, and the World: Textbooks and Curricula in Transition* (Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2005), pp. 35-54.

¹⁵⁰ see Michelle Commeyras, "Reading about Women in World History Textbooks from One Feminist Perspective," *Gender and Education* 8, no. 1 (1996): pp. 31-48, <https://doi.org/10.1080/713668481>; Benjamin Rifkin, "Gender Representation in Foreign Language Textbooks: A Case Study of Textbooks of Russian," *The Modern Language Journal* 82, no. 2 (1998): pp. 217-236, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4781.1998.tb01195.x>.

¹⁵¹ see Korostelina, "History Education and Social Identity"; Bentravato et al., "Teaching about a Violent Past"; Jan Germen Janmaat, "History and National Identity Construction: The Great Famine in Irish and Ukrainian History Textbooks," *History of Education* 35, no. 3 (2006): pp. 345-368, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00467600600638434>; Mario Carretero, Mikel Asensio, and Maria Rodriguez-

the textbook research literature also enjoys a variety of methodological approaches due to its multidisciplinary nature. The qualitative analytical investigation, discourse analysis, and content analysis have always been prominent research methods while data analysis and sociological and psychological analysis have been gaining ground in the literature¹⁵².

In this respect, research on history education in Turkey also benefited from this large body of field since the 1980s¹⁵³. Although the textbook research has been attracting the interests of many researchers in Turkey aiming to explore the history education of different periods, the history education research in Turkey has been dominated by product-oriented research¹⁵⁴. Following the establishment of the Republic of Turkey, a new education system was introduced promptly for the purposes of primarily familiarizing the society Latin alphabet and increasing the overall literacy in the country¹⁵⁵. To this end, most of the textbooks taught in the schools in the early Republic were only translated and remained as transliterated versions of the books from Ottoman times with minor changes¹⁵⁶. The year 1931 marked a turning point in the history education system as the new high-school history textbooks began to be written under the guidelines of the ruling party, the Republican People's Party (RPP), to serve the desired national identity goals and political interests¹⁵⁷. Since then almost every ruling party changed or revised history education in line with its ideology and political interests. As a result of this environment, the academic researchers aiming to

Moneo, *History Education and the Construction of National Identities* (Charlotte: IAP - Information Age Publishing, 2014).

¹⁵² Henne and Fuchs , "History of Textbook Research," 64.

¹⁵³ Eren Özalay - Şanlı, "Europe in Turkish History Textbooks", 36.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid, 35.

¹⁵⁵ Arnd-Michael Nohl et al., "Adult Literacy Campaigns and Nation Building," in *Education in Turkey* (Münster: Waxmann, 2008), pp. 175-194, 177.

¹⁵⁶ Eren Özalay - Şanlı, "Europe in Turkish History Textbooks," 36.

¹⁵⁷ Başar Ari, "Religion and Nation-Building in the Turkish Republic: Comparison of High School History Textbooks of 1931–41 and of 1942–50," *Turkish Studies* 14, no. 2 (2013): pp. 372-393, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14683849.2013.805057>, 372.

discover the covert meanings, narratives, frames, and identities presented in these textbooks, have begun to analyze textbooks of 1931 and the following years.

Accordingly, the overwhelming body of literature has investigated the early Republic period between the years 1930 and 1950, famously named the Turkish History Thesis pioneered by Atatürk¹⁵⁸. Following the establishment of the Republic of Turkey, a new Turkish identity was required to be constructed to mark a rupture from the Ottoman Empire and mold a new unifying identity as a part of nation-building efforts. To this end, the Turkish History Thesis aimed to separate Turkishness and Islam and create a secular Turkish identity roots of which lie in Asia¹⁵⁹. In this period, Turkish identity was aimed to be depicted as connected to the European identity, and Turkishness was associated with Europeanness through the narratives arguing that Turkish tribes have founded the European civilization and by depicting the European Hun people as Turks¹⁶⁰.

Other parts of the literature demonstrated the increase in the role of religion in historical teaching since the 1950s, which transformed into a ideology named Islamic synthesis¹⁶¹. With the transition to a multi-party system in 1946, the Turkish educational system also witnessed the appearance of emphasis of Islam in the history textbooks¹⁶². In the wake of the Cold War, the government programs pursued to “protect the national and traditional values against the perceived threat of foreign ideologies” to combat communism, and within this context, the Islamic tendencies in education have become more apparent¹⁶³. This aim was accomplished with the increase

¹⁵⁸ see Ari, “Religion and Nation-Building in the Turkish Republic”; Yılar and Çam, “Who Are We? and Who Are They?; Etienne Copeaux, *Tarih Ders Kitaplarında (1931-1993): Türk Tarih Tezinden türk-islâm Sentezine* (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2006).

¹⁵⁹ Ari, “Religion and Nation-Building in the Turkish Republic”, 373.

¹⁶⁰ Özalay - Şanlı, “Europe in Turkish History Textbooks”, 202.

¹⁶¹ Arnd-Michael Nohl et al., “The Turkish Education System and Its History-An Introduction,” in *Education in Turkey* (Münster: Waxmann, 2008), pp. 15-48, 35; Özalay - Şanlı, “Europe in Turkish History Textbooks”; İsmail Kaplan, *Türkiye’de Milli Eğitim İdeolojisi ve Siyasal Toplumsallaşma Üzerindeki Etkisi* (Istanbul: İletişim, 2009).

¹⁶² İsmail Guven, “The Impact of Political Islam on Education: ‘the Revitalization of Islamic Education in the Turkish Educational Setting,’” *International Journal of Educational Development* 25, no. 3 (2005): pp. 193-208, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijedudev.2004.08.001>, 193.

¹⁶³ Kaplan, *Türkiye’de Milli Eğitim İdeolojisi*, 237.

in Islam's emphasis in history education while Turkish identity with two main components of Turkishness and Muslimness began to be pumped into the minds of students¹⁶⁴. Furthermore, contrary to the coups of 1960 and 1971 which had the claims of saving the secular democratic order, the military coup in 1980 further reinforced the institutionalization of Turkish-Islamic synthesis in the education system with the increase in Islamic civilizations part of history textbooks and imposing the mandatory courses related to religion¹⁶⁵.

Recent researches, on the other hand, focalize their interests on either human rights and gender representation in textbooks¹⁶⁶, the representation of particular countries such as Greece as the Other,¹⁶⁷ or the curriculum changes of 2005 implemented in line with the efforts of integrating the country with the global economy¹⁶⁸. In terms of methodologies, many works identify the common narratives underlying the Turkish identity and us-them axis through discourse analysis or content analysis methods accompanied by quantitative data¹⁶⁹. However, only a few examined Turkish History Textbooks taking particular psychological (social psychology) identity theories as their core. Additionally, none of them systematically posited the findings related to identity in a framework that predicts the nation's readiness for conflict nor grouped their findings within the framework of identity theories. Within this framework, to fill this gap in the literature, this thesis will attempt to analyze 2021

¹⁶⁴ Özalay - Şanlı, "Europe in Turkish History Textbooks", 147, 177.

¹⁶⁵ Guven, "The Impact of Political Islam on Education", 195.

¹⁶⁶ see Çayır Kenan, *Who Are We? - Identity, Citizenship and Rights in Turkey's Textbooks* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı, History Foundation Publ, 2014); Ebru Bağ and Yasemin Bayyurt, "Gender Representations in EFL Textbooks in Turkey," in *Gender Representation in Learning Materials: International Perspectives* (ROUTLEDGE, 2018), pp. 64-85.

¹⁶⁷ see Hanna Soysal Schissler, Vasilina Lilian Antoniou, and Yasemin Nuhoglu Soysal, "Nation and the Other in Greek and Turkish History Textbooks," in *The Nation, Europe, and the World: Textbooks and Curricula in Transition* (Berghahn Books, 2005), pp. 105-121; Özalay - Şanlı, "Europe in Turkish History Textbooks".

¹⁶⁸ Çayır, "We Should Be Ourselves before Being a European".

¹⁶⁹ see Ibid; Kenan, *Who Are We?*; Özalay - Şanlı, "Europe in Turkish History Textbooks"; Yılar and Çam, "Who Are We? and Who Are They?".

history textbooks by taking Social Identity Theory as its theoretical core and Korostelina's model on the impact of history education on social identity and its relevant effects on nurturing the culture of peace or culture of conflict.

In this subchapter, the literature review on textbook research has been presented. Firstly, the two distinct traditions of textbook research, one conducted by international or non-governmental organizations within the framework of moral and political interests and the other conducted by the academic field pursuing to be objective and scientific, have been introduced. Within this context, the academic field has been also classified into three categories: process-oriented, product-oriented, and reception-oriented research. Following the overview of the trending and highly studied research areas and methodologies used in the literature, this subchapter went on to introduce the literature review on history textbook research in Turkey. Touching upon that most research in the country revolves around product-oriented research, the common findings and study areas of literature in Turkey have been explained. In conclusion, the gap in the field and how this thesis can help to fill this gap have been highlighted. The next chapter will address Korostelina's Model of the impact of history Education on Social identity, which will be used for analyzing 2021 history textbooks taught in high schools in Turkey to uncover the identity types presented in relation to Turkey and Europe and whether these identity types will be more inclined to the culture of peace or peace of violence as predicted by Korostelina within the context of Turkish-European relations. Subsequently, the findings of the analysis conducted on Turkish history textbooks will be presented.

CHAPTER 3

ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK AND ANALYSIS

The overall structure of chapter three takes the form of two sub-chapters. In the first sub-chapter, Korostelina's model of the impact of history education on social identity that predicts a social identity group's readiness to engage in conflict will be introduced. The levels of the model and the specific forms, modes and concepts of the identity and the terms of social boundary and collective axiology related to the social identity will be explained in detail. Subsequently, the next sub-chapter will share the findings of the analysis conducted on 2021 Turkish history textbooks taught in high schools based on this model.

3.1. Model of the impact of history Education on Social identity

As mentioned above, Korostelina is a social psychologist who dedicated herself to the connection between social identity, conflict, and peace, and the role of history in conflict and peace¹⁷⁰. Drawing from social identity theory and other psychological and sociological findings, in her book *History Education in the Formation of Social Identity: Toward a Culture of Peace*, Korostelina formulates a model on the impact of history education on social identity demonstrating that particular social identity definitions and narratives lead to the establishment of either culture of violence or culture of peace. In the same book, she also analyzes history education and social identities portrayed throughout the history education of several countries including the German Democratic Republic, Russia, Armenia, China, Spain, Northern Ireland, Armenia, China, Ukraine, Australia, France, Greece, and Serbia¹⁷¹.

¹⁷⁰ "Karina Korostelina," Jimmy and Rosalynn Carter School for Peace and Conflict Resolution, accessed June 14, 2022, <https://carterschool.gmu.edu/profiles/ckoroste>.

¹⁷¹ Korostelina, *History Education in the Formation of Social Identity*.

The table depicts which kinds of identity and identity-related depictions encourage a culture of violence and nurture a culture of peace. The table is separated into their levels: Level 1: Establishment of the connotation of in-group identity which relates to the definition of the self; Level 2: Justification of intergroup relations and social hierarchies which deals with the relation between the self and the other; and Level 3: Legitimization of power structure and mobilization of collective actions, which implicitly defines the concept of threat to the identity and presents legitimizations for collective actions.

The first level is separated into two different categories as forms of identity and modes of identity. The forms of social identity -the cultural, reflected, and mobilized forms- mainly refer to the roots of the self-identity and the idea and the importance of the Other or enemy in the development of the self¹⁷². In the cultural form of identity daily routines, ethnic symbols, traditions, and customs are emphasized in the definition of the essence of the identity. This identity is molded through two mechanisms: firstly the traditions and cultures have to be prescribed as given and indispensable and significant elements for society without presenting their relevance to values, beliefs, and attitudes; secondly, these traditions and cultures have to be delineated as universal and timeless without any reference to the historical conditions that the traditions have emerged ¹⁷³. Therefore, individuals raised in an educational setting instructing a cultural form of identity generally assume that their way of living is the only way of living and often do not question the universality of their values or roots of values and traditions. These individuals are also simply not aware of the possibility of alternate ways of living. This form also presents traditions and cultures as the ultimate values that must be protected at all costs¹⁷⁴. In this regard, the cultural form of identity can both ease the formation of a culture of violence or contribute to the development of a culture of peace¹⁷⁵.

¹⁷² Korostelina, *History Education in the Formation of Social Identity*, 44.

¹⁷³ *Ibid*, 69.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid*.

¹⁷⁵ Korostelina, "History Education and Social Identity", 28.

The mobilized form of identity, on the other hand, does not deal with traditions, values, or other cultural features of the Self¹⁷⁶. It is defined through the emphasis on power and status, notably in comparison to other identities. As a result, the mere goal of the in-group is transformed into the increasing status, power, and positive evaluation of the group¹⁷⁷. According to Korostelina, this form of identity can be formed through four mechanisms: firstly, similar to the cultural form of identity, it portrays the aims and values as the only possible way of thinking; secondly, it highlights the loyalty and submission to the leader who is regarded as impeccable and the only possible savior of the nation; thirdly, it presents the Other as the ultimate and permanent evil enemy that must be opposed and devastated to liberate the group while the in-group's identity is presented only as a victim to atrocities and invasions committed by the vicious enemy; fourthly, the in-group identity is portrayed as virtuous in all matters and as a nation that achieved great accomplishments in history and the sole group that can lead others to the rightful way of living¹⁷⁸. This kind of identity and constant comparison to enhance the positive evaluation of the group for self-esteem needs prompt the perception of competition¹⁷⁹ and the feeling of relative deprivation,¹⁸⁰ which is known to contribute to conflictive behavior and readiness for conflict. Moreover, as the essence and attributes of the identity are defined through power and status without reference to traditions and other values, the individuals resort to social competition with conflictive behaviors, instead of social creativity for increasing the comparative advantage of the group¹⁸¹. Furthermore, individuals with blind loyalty to the rulers and with a mindset that does not recognize a living space for other identities would be easier to be mobilized and be ready for a conflict. Therefore, the mobilized form of

¹⁷⁶ Korostelina, *History Education in the Formation of Social Identity*, 48.

¹⁷⁷ Korostelina, "History Education and Social Identity", 28.

¹⁷⁸ Korostelina, *History Education in the Formation of Social Identity*, 70.

¹⁷⁹ Korostelina, "History Education and Social Identity", 28.

¹⁸⁰ Kawakami and Dion, "Social Identity and Affect as Determinants of Collective Action", 566.

¹⁸¹ Korostelina, *History Education in the Formation of Social Identity*, 176.

identity is placed by Korostelina in the category of identities contributing to the culture of violence.

The reflected form of identity, however, rests on an advanced understanding of intergroup relations and the roots of the in-group and out-group identities. In this form of identity, in-group members acknowledge their own shortcomings and appreciate the positive values and characteristics of both the in-group and the out-group in line with mutual understanding, while comparing the in-group with the out-group to establish a comparative advantage¹⁸². Three mechanisms can help to construct such an identity. Firstly, historical knowledge about roots and sources of group identities and the objective history narration of inter-group relations can be increased. Secondly, the mutual history and shared goals of in-group identity and out-group identity can be included in the history textbooks. Lastly, the meanings and roots of cultural traditions and beliefs and how they were constructed in the historical conditions can be described¹⁸³. Accordingly, this form of identity paves the way for the formation of culture of peace by presenting a more balanced perception of inter-group relations and hamper the development of exaggerated stereotypes about the Other and emotional-charged mobilization by cultivating mutual understanding.

The modes of identity - Ideological, Relative, Historic, and Depictive- concern the importance of particular elements such as ideology and history in the meaning of the Self. The modes are also illustrated by the prototypes, the ideal person image representing the overall similarities, desired values, and behaviors of the in-group to highlight the prevalence of specific elements in the meaning of the identity¹⁸⁴.

In this regard, ideology plays a pivotal role in the ideological mode of identity. In this mode, the inter-group relations are also viewed and explained through the perspective of ideology. The ideological mode of identity does not leave room for maneuvering to establish mutual understanding and find a common ground with other

¹⁸² Ibid, 48.

¹⁸³ Ibid, 69.

¹⁸⁴ Michael A. Hogg, "Social Identity Theory," in *Understanding Peace and Conflict through Social Identity Theory* (SPRINGER INTERNATIONAL PU, 2018), pp. 3-17, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-29869-6_1, 8.

groups having different ideologies. Accordingly, two mechanisms help the development of this mode of identity in the minds of people. Firstly, as it presents other ideologies as threats to the existence of the in-group identity, this mode of identity fosters the culture of violence in the society and increases the readiness of the group for a conflict¹⁸⁵. Secondly, it presents history in such a way that the individuals believe that the groups do not exist beyond ideologies while the cultural and intellectual history is completely wiped out from the textbooks, further increasing the polarized thinking towards intergroup relations¹⁸⁶. Additionally, by decreasing the importance of elements other than ideology such as culture and individual differences, it promotes loyalty and subordination to the leader and the importance of public agency and civic abilities are decreased¹⁸⁷.

The relative mode of identity is dominated by the enemy images and the relations of the out-group members lie in the definition of this mode of identity. It is a negative identity, meaning that the essence of the self cannot be defined without a tense intergroup relation, comparisons, and referring to the exaggerated versions of the negative connotations of the Other. This kind of identity is marked by the significance of chosen traumas, where the in-group is constantly victimized in the face of past atrocities of the inherently aggressive and cruel enemy¹⁸⁸. Similar to the mobilized form of identity, this kind of identity and constant reminding of chosen traumas also ignite the feeling of relative deprivation,¹⁸⁹ increasing conflictive behavior and readiness for conflict.

The history of the group and its relations with other groups are the most prominent elements in the historical mode of identity¹⁹⁰. This mode of identity can cause the establishment of a culture of violence or ignite the culture of peace depending

¹⁸⁵ Korostelina, *History Education in the Formation of Social Identity*, 98.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁹ Kawakami and Dion, "Social Identity and Affect as Determinants of Collective Action," 566.

¹⁹⁰ Korostelina, "History Education and Social Identity", 35.

on how it was communicated to the in-group members. If this kind of identity presents patriotism as a blind subordination to authority and focuses on the narratives depicting the victimization of in-group members, it will automatically increase the readiness of the society for a conflict¹⁹¹. However, if this mode of identity narrates a balanced view of history where comparisons and contradictions with the other are avoided, a peaceful culture will be created. Korostelina maintains that this mode of identity is constructed by two distinct types of mechanisms: reflective and empowering mechanisms¹⁹². Both types of mechanisms have three components. The reflective type of mechanisms aims to push the students to question the historical development processes and nurture the ability to understand and acknowledge the history and culture of others. Highlighting the cultural history while decreasing the importance of ideology as a threat, comparative representation of history, and appreciating tolerance for different views and differences of other groups are among the reflective type of mechanisms. The empowering type of mechanisms, on the other hand, empowers individuality and their responsibility and accountability to humanity. The empowering type of mechanisms include: decreasing the significance of the state to the people while enhancing the agency of individuals and civic responsibility; depicting patriotism as not a blind loyalty without any questioning but as an accountability and responsibility for the people and the country; emphasizing the significance of reconciliation, forgiveness and mutual understanding instead of victimization and detailed descriptions of chosen traumas¹⁹³. As a result of these mechanisms, the historic mode of identity encourages the development of a culture of peace in the overall society.

The features of in-group members along with traditions, values, and practices come to the fore in the depictive mode of identity, which promotes a culture of peace. This kind of identity can be promoted through two mechanisms: by stressing the achievements of a society in cultural, humanities, science, and political fields of all the groups in the country regardless of their ethnic origin or beliefs of the individuals and by praising the achievements and efforts to promote peace and positive international

¹⁹¹ Korostelina, *History Education in the Formation of Social Identity*, 177.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, 99.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*

relations¹⁹⁴. Lastly, the prototypes that represent the desired ideal identity can be depicted as artists, writers, educators, and people coming from diverse cultures instead of military leaders, which are associated with violence. These processes will lead to an identity that will acknowledge and appreciate the strengths of the other groups and identities and that will create a space where in-group members could sympathize and even take an example of members of out-group members without losing their own identity.

Different from the first level, which defines the meanings and roots of identity along with the prevalence of enemy in the meaning and development of the in-group identity, the second level concerns the narratives that explains the value commitments of in-group and out-group members and the distinctiveness of the group from others. These narratives often underpin and serve as justifications for relations between the in-group and out-group members and social hierarchies¹⁹⁵. The second level is also separated into two different categories as *social boundary* and *collective axiology*.

As for social boundaries, Charles Tilly argues that group identities are separated and defined by boundaries. He maintains that the social interactions and relations within an identity group and relations of this group with other identity groups are carved out by the social boundaries¹⁹⁶. Accordingly, the social boundary contains stories and descriptions of the in-group and out-group, the demarcations between them, and explains intergroup relations,¹⁹⁷ which can be complemented by the “chosen traumas and glories” concept. Boundaries help social identities to maintain their uniqueness from others by defining who should be considered as others and satisfy their need for belonging by drawing the lines of the in-group. If the in-group perceives that these boundaries are endangered, it will be interpreted as a threat to the uniqueness of the social identity and it will be easy to mobilize social identities in this case¹⁹⁸.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid, 44.

¹⁹⁶ Charles Tilly, *Identities, Boundaries & Social Ties* (London: Routledge, 2016), 7.

¹⁹⁷ Korostelina, *History Education in the Formation of Social Identity*, 44.

¹⁹⁸ Anthony P. Cohen, *The Symbolic Construction of Community* (London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2015), 105.

Accordingly, clear-cut and strict boundaries will facilitate mobilization and escalate violent behavior that might lead to conflict by urging black and white thinking and obstructing communication that will lead to mutual understanding and resolution¹⁹⁹. In this regard, the permeability of borders, which means that the ability of in-group members to shift from one social identity to another, affects whether a social identity will be prone to conflict or peace²⁰⁰. If the boundaries are permeable, the social identities will be less salient and the ability of the in-group members to accept different individuals as their equals and appreciate their strengths will increase²⁰¹. Within this context, in addition to determining the frontiers of groups, the boundaries can draw the line between the culture of peace and peace of violence depending on how the boundaries between the two groups are depicted. Boundaries could be divisive that put excessive emphasis on distinctiveness of the group from another group or be inclusive where the sameness of the individuals is more in the spotlight regardless of their social groups²⁰².

According to Korostelina's model, divisive boundaries can be established and reinforced by the history textbooks through six main mechanisms: omitting the history of positive relations and shared living of two different societies; depicting differences as permanent and vital problems and understating the role of similarities; depicting the out-group members as inherently aggressive, violent and determined to inflict sufferings onto the in-group; whitewashing the atrocities of the in-group and only presenting the in-group as the innocent victim of the aggressive out-group; depicting the two groups as distinct groups with different past, values, and aims; highlighting supremacy of in-group over the out-group and disregarding the rights of the out-group

¹⁹⁹ Louis Kriesberg and Bruce W. Dayton, *Constructive Conflicts: From Escalation to Resolution* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2012), 12.

²⁰⁰ Naomi Ellemers, Russell Spears, and Bertjan Doosje, "Sticking Together or Falling Apart: In-Group Identification as a Psychological Determinant of Group Commitment versus Individual Mobility.," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 72, no. 3 (1997): pp. 617-626, <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.72.3.617>, 622.

²⁰¹ Korostelina, *History Education in the Formation of Social Identity*, 103.

²⁰² *Ibid*, 123.

members²⁰³. Similarly, the inclusive boundaries that will enable the promotion of the culture of peace and positive relations between groups, are also created and maintained by the history textbooks through six mechanisms: allocating more place to the common history narratives and similar historical experiences in the textbooks; creating a platform where in-group members could sympathize with the views of out-group members; narrating history based on major concepts about society and politics by having regard to the views of different groups; promoting positive relations instead of omitting and hiding them; delving into the roots, misunderstandings, and causes of conflicts in such a way that it depicts the disputed nature of history instead of narrating one-single truth; relying on a balanced narration of history that urges critical thinking and based on multiple perspectives²⁰⁴.

Collective axiology, on the other hand, is interested in the attribution of values to in-group members and out-group members. It offers a moral and value system that acts as a guidebook for in-group members by prescribing them how to perceive and treat both members of in-group and out-group members²⁰⁵. Collective axiology composes of two elements: axiological balance and collective generality.

The balance refers to the balance of attributed virtues to the groups. If this axiology is presented as unbalanced, meaning that only positive virtues such as morally pure are attributed to the in-group while the negative attributes such as evil and vicious are viewed as only belonging to the out-group members and the gap between the positive and negative values are enormous, the black and white thinking and diminished capacity for independent thought will be prevalent in the society and the relevant groups will be more prone to conflict²⁰⁶. In this respect, history education can promote peaceful culture by establishing balanced axiology based on 4 mechanisms: depicting both positive and negative actions and values of the in-group along with recognition of the in-group's faults; detailed explanations of negative

²⁰³ Ibid.

²⁰⁴ Ibid.

²⁰⁵ Daniel Rothbart and Karina V. Korostelina, *Identity, Morality, and Threat: Studies in Violent Conflict* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2006), 4.

²⁰⁶ Korostelina, *History Education in the Formation of Social Identity*, 126.

events and their political and social causes; depicting aggressive and cruel actions of both in-group members and out-group members; diminishing the biased and stereotypical representation of out-group members²⁰⁷. History textbooks can also present unbalanced axiology that lays the foundations of a culture of violence based on two mechanisms: illustrating the out-group as evil and cruel while depicting the in-group only as peace-loving, morally superior, and victim at the hands of the evil out-group; and delineating intergroup relations based on victim-aggressor relation²⁰⁸.

Collective generality, on the other hand, concerns how individuals categorize in-group members and out-group members, how they view these categories in terms of their generalized qualifications, and how they simplify categories²⁰⁹. As the generality increases, the individuals will begin to view groups as a homogenous entity acting as one and composed of individuals sharing uniform beliefs values, and aims. This point of view also reduces the ability to sympathize with individuals, as the in-group's members will fail to find a common ground on an individual basis, instead they will filter out out-group individuals from the same stereotypical lenses. However, if the collective generality decreases, the in-group members will be able to perceive individuals as only individuals having different and unique qualities regardless of the social group that they belong to. This will also enable individuals to establish peaceful intergroup relations based on sympathizing and mutual understanding. In this respect, the history textbooks can act as an instrument to establish a culture of violence in the society through two mechanisms: avoiding mentioning possible differences within groups and depicting the groups as only one and homogenous entity with uniform stereotypical qualities; and describing the permanent nature of the intergroup conflict²¹⁰. Similarly, history textbooks can also contribute to the culture of peace through two mechanisms: highlighting the individual differences and diversity of opinions, the existence of supporters of peace within both groups; and presenting

²⁰⁷ Ibid, 151.

²⁰⁸ Ibid.

²⁰⁹ Ibid, 126.

²¹⁰ Ibid, 152.

conflicts as historic periods that arose from specific causes instead of arising from the core feature of the groups such as aggressive nature of the groups²¹¹.

Lastly, Korostelina emphasizes that history education establishes and reinforces certain conceptualization of national identity which in turn creates the perception of what should be qualified as a threat to identity, legitimize certain structures, affect the attitudes of in-group members towards other individuals having different social identity both within the in-group and towards other groups and facilitate the mobilization of collective actions²¹². In this respect, she categorizes three concepts of in-group identity: Ethnic, Multicultural, and Civic.

The ethnic national identity creates the perception that the nation is composed of individuals coming from the same ethnic root and speaking the same language. Accordingly, this kind of ethnic identity sees their own group as superior for possessing positive values and attributes and views other ethnic groups and individuals speaking different mother tongues as a grave threat to the nation and the social identity. Therefore, this ethnic concept of national identity will be less tolerant of other cultures and identities, be more likely to exhibit discriminative, unequal, and violent attitudes towards other cultures, and be more prone to conflict²¹³. In terms of how history education can create such a concept of national identity, Korostelina maintains that two sets of mechanisms can contribute to the establishment of an ethnic concept of identity: the first set of mechanisms mainly views the nation as homogenous while the second set of mechanism focuses on delegitimizing equality of minorities²¹⁴. The first set of mechanisms includes excessive stress on language similarities and common ethnicity of the nation; designating one common ancestor; presenting prototypes having certain desired values as only belonging to the main ethnic group while denying such prototypes may exist in different ethnic groups; attributing positive values and norms to the only in-group members that have the desired ethnicity, and defining the

²¹¹ Ibid.

²¹² Ibid, 153.

²¹³ Ibid, 154.

²¹⁴ Ibid, 170

national identity on the basis of ethnicity²¹⁵. Similarly, the second set of mechanisms also comprises five mechanisms: denying ethnic differences; disregarding and hiding the existence of natives or other habitants of the national territory in the textbooks; celebrating the submission of minorities for assimilating into the majority; presenting different ethnic groups as invaders or guests who do not share the same rights as the majority; and depicting different ethnicity and languages as a threat to the nation and core identity²¹⁶.

The multicultural concept of national identity cultivates a culture of peace by promoting tolerance toward different cultures and ethnicity, depicting different groups and minorities as equals in terms of morality, and acknowledging each culture's differences and faults²¹⁷. This concept will decrease a society's tendency to engage in conflict in case of conflict of opinions. This concept of national identity is promoted by history textbooks through two different sets of mechanisms designed for two different types of society, polyethnic society, and traditionally monoethnic society. These two sets of mechanisms also separated within themselves for establishing and maintaining the multicultural concept of national identity through descriptive and normative mechanisms²¹⁸. The first set of descriptive mechanisms designed for polyethnic societies depicts the nation as a group composed of immigrants and people coming from different cultures and includes narratives about their cultures and histories in history textbooks; while illustrating prototypes of the nation for nurturing desired values, additionally stresses the importance of the multicultural origin of the prototypes along with other values; highlights the contribution of individuals with different ethnic background or diverse cultures in textbooks instead of omitting them. Normative mechanisms designed for polyethnic societies can highlight the importance of equal rights for minorities and individuals with different cultural backgrounds; appreciate the cultures, traditions, and values of other groups in the textbooks; and

²¹⁵ Ibid.

²¹⁶ Ibid.

²¹⁷ Ibid, 154.

²¹⁸ Ibid, 171.

depict tolerance and cooperation among groups as core values of identity and society so that a tolerant peace culture can be developed²¹⁹. The second set of descriptive mechanisms designed for traditionally monoethnic societies can eliminate the perception that different cultures and languages pose a threat to the core identity and survival of the major ethnic group and promote the idea that the majority can coexist with different cultures and groups without compromising on their own culture and identity; can include descriptions about other cultures and lifestyles to depict that the world exists beyond the culture of majority and in return, promote tolerance towards this diversity. The second set of normative mechanisms designed for traditionally monoethnic societies can foster empathy for new members and different groups by narrating their lifestyles and emotional experiences; can highlight tolerance as a value of identity and society and depict prejudice as the utmost threat to the identity of society²²⁰.

For the civic concept of nationality identity, on the other hand, ethnicity and cultures are insignificant compared to the multicultural concept of national identity. The civic concept, instead, focuses on the citizenship concept which prescribes that the relation between the citizen and state is a contract where two parties share different rights and obligations regardless of the ethnicity or cultural background of the citizens and view all citizens as equals in front of the law who must obey by the rule of law and integrate into the established structure²²¹. Through nurturing civic responsibility and obligations, cooperation, and acknowledging equal rights, this concept heavily contributes to the establishment culture of peace and decreases the readiness of society for a conflict²²². Within this framework, the history textbooks can help the creation of such a concept through descriptive and normative mechanisms: highlighting the importance of institutions, rule of law, and civic nature of the society that bases on an individual-state contract; depicting the concept of citizenship, respect for law and

²¹⁹ Ibid.

²²⁰ Ibid.

²²¹ Ibid, 155.

²²² Ibid.

human rights, freedom and peaceful coexistence as the core values of the social identity; and depicting how history can be manipulated for promoting prejudices, discrimination, and violence within the society²²³.

Table 1. Model of the Impact of History Education on Social Identity

Culture of Violence	Culture of Peace
Level 1: Establishment of connotation of in-group identity	
1. 1. Forms of identity	
Mobilized, Cultural	Cultural, Reflected
1.2. Modes of identity	
Ideological, Relative, Historic	Historic, Depictive
Level 2: Justification of intergroup relations and social hierarchies	
2.1. Social boundary	
Divisive	Inclusive
2.2. Collective axiology	
Unbalanced	Balanced
High generality	Low generality
Level 3: Legitimization of power structure and mobilization of collective actions	
3.1. Concepts of national identity	
Ethnic	Multicultural, Civic

Source: Karina Valentinovna Korostelina, *History Education in the Formation of Social Identity: Toward a Culture of Peace* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 43.

In this sub-chapter, Korostelina's model of the impact of history education on social identity that predicts a social identity group's readiness to engage in conflict was explained. This model will be used in the next sub-chapter for analyzing 2021 Turkish history textbooks taught in high schools. According to this model, history education can contribute to the establishment and maintenance of certain social identities that can accelerate or impede the engagement of conflict of society. In this respect, history education can affect social identities on three levels: Level 1: Establishment of the connotation of in-group identity; Level 2: Justification of intergroup relations and social hierarchies; and Level 3: Legitimization of power

²²³ Ibid, 172.

structure and mobilization of collective actions. The first level relates to the definition of the self while the second level deals with the relation between the self and the other and the third level implicitly defines the concept of threat to the identity and presents legitimizations for collective actions. Under these levels, different forms, modes, concepts of social identities, social boundaries, and collective axiologies either promote or prevent the establishment and maintenance of a culture of peace and violence. Accordingly, the next sub-chapter will share the findings of the analysis conducted on 2021 Turkish history textbooks taught in high schools based on this model.

3.2. Turkish history textbooks taught in high schools in 2021

In this chapter, the Turkish history textbooks taught in high schools in 2021 will be analyzed in order to explore how Turkish identity and European identity is presented to the students and whether these identities facilitate or hinder the construction of the peace culture or violence culture and whether they increase or decrease the overall readiness of society to engage in conflict in light of a perceived or real threat to the identity. To this end, as mentioned above, social identity theory of psychology introduced by Henri Tajfel and John Turner is taken as the theoretical framework while Korostelina's Model of the Impact of History Education on Social Identity is taken as an analytical framework. In this respect, this sub-chapter firstly introduces all four textbooks and their general content. Secondly, it conducts a comparison of the pages allocated to the units within the textbooks in order to determine which subjects are highlighted more. Thirdly, this sub-chapter shares the findings in relation to the general narratives and the identities as specified in Korostelina's model presented in each history textbook separately according to their grades.

In Turkey, there are four grades (9, 10, 11, and 12 grades) in high school education and four different history textbooks taught in these grades. Although the title of textbooks of the first three grades are labeled as "history," the 12th-grade textbook has been named "History of Reforms of the Republic of Turkey and Atatürkism," which covers the history of the time period beginning from the immediate before of

the foundation of the Republic of Turkey until 21st century and which therefore could be considered as a history textbook. Within this framework, four different textbooks taught in the 2021-2022 academic calendar year have been analyzed according to the Model of the Impact of History Education on Social Identity drafted by Korostelina to uncover which identities were presented in these textbooks and whether these identities can be used as a tool to form a culture of violence or culture of peace. The level of analysis of this study is the texts found in the history textbooks for high schools. The particular paragraphs, words, and general narratives introduced in these textbooks have been analyzed as well as the contents of each textbook to determine which subjects occupy more pages and therefore, more attention is given during the education. Europe will be taken as a multifaceted concept and in the broadest sense possible.

Accordingly, the textbooks proceed in chronological order starting from the first ages to our current century. The 9th-grade book consists of 6 units: History and Time; the first eras of humanity, the world during the Middle Ages, the Turkic world in the first and Middle Ages, the rise of Islamic civilization; and Turks' embracement of Islam and the First Islamic Turkic States²²⁴. The pages allocated for the units are respectively, 10, 31, 19, 34, 42, and 33. As can be observed from the page number the most weight was given to the unit of the rise of Islamic civilization followed by the Turkic world in the first and Middle Ages and later and Turks' embracement of Islam and the First Islamic Turkic States.

The 10th-grade book consists of 7 units: Turkey of Seljuk during the period of settlement and becoming a state; Ottoman Politics: from Beyliks to State (1302-1453); Warriors and soldiers during the period of becoming a state; Ottoman Culture: from Beyliks to State; the world power: the Ottoman Empire (1453-1595); the Sultan and the Ottoman Central Government; and Ottoman Societal Order in the Classical age²²⁵. The pages allocated for the units are respectively 29, 22, 15, 18, 40, 12, and 24.

²²⁴ Erol Yüksel et al., *Ortaöğretim Tarih 9 Ders Kitabı*, ed. Mehmet Ali Kapar (Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Yayınları, 2021), 7.

²²⁵ Erol Yüksel et al., *Ortaöğretim Tarih 10 Ders Kitabı*, ed. Erol Yüksel (Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Yayınları, 2021), 7.

Accordingly, although the whole textbook is dedicated to the history and culture of the Ottoman Empire, the unit of world power: the Ottoman Empire (1453-1595) occupy the most pages by landslide followed by the units of Turkey during the Seljuk Empire is this a correct depiction? during the period of settlement and becoming a state and later Ottoman Societal Order in the Classical age.

The 11th-grade book consists of 6 units: the Ottoman Politics in the face of transformed balance in the world; Europe and the Ottoman Empire in the transformation age (1595-1774); the balance of power in the international relations (1774-1914); State-society relations at the age of revolutions; Capital and Labour; and the transforming daily life at the 19th and 20th century²²⁶. The pages allocated for the units are respectively 31; 33; 25; 61; 16 and 17. In light of this information, it is observed that enormous attention according to the page numbers was given to the unit of State-society relations at the age of revolutions while only half of this number were reserved for the pages of the following units of Europe and Ottoman in the age of transformation (1595-1774) and The Ottoman Politics in the face of changing balance in the world.

The 12th-grade book consists of 8 units: Ottoman State and World in the early 20th century; the Turkish War of Independence; Atatürkism and Turkish Reforms; Turkey and the World between the two wars; Turkey and the World during World War II; Turkey and the World aftermath of World War II; Turkey and the World during the societal revolution age; and Turkey and the World at 21st century²²⁷. The pages allocated for the units are respectively 32, 40, 34, 20, 11, 17, 26, and 41. As can be seen, the most pages were allocated to the unit of Turkey and the World during the societal revolution age; and Turkey and the World at the 21st century followed by the unit of Atatürkism and Turkish Reforms with one page of difference and later by the unit of Turkey and the World between the two wars.

²²⁶ Erol Yüksel et al., *Ortaöğretim Tarih 11 Ders Kitabı*, ed. Özgür Bağcı and Ferhat Bildik (Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Yayınları, n.d.), 7.

²²⁷ Akif Çevik, Gül Koç, and Koray Şerbetçi, *Ortaöğretim Türkiye Cumhuriyeti İnkılap Tarihi Ve Atatürkçülük 12 Ders Kitabı* (Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Yayınları, 2021), 14.

As to the 9th-grade history textbook, overall narratives in relation to the Turkish identity presented by the textbook with the specific examples from the textbook are as follows:

-Turks have an ancient history and nomads coming from Central Asia;

Turks who are one of the ancient nations in history, ...²²⁸ Scientists researching the Turks, who were first seen in Eurasia, searched for the name of this ancient nation in the oldest historical sources.²²⁹ ...First cultural traces of Turkish communities are encountered in a vast geographical area including ... notably Central Asia.²³⁰

-Turks have strong family relations;

Despite the dispersal of the Turks all over the world, the preservation of their existence is due to the importance they attach to the family structure.²³¹ ...Shall not come between the son and the father...²³²

-Turkish army is strong compared to other states on the grounds that the Turks are highly disciplined and are not dote upon comfort and pleasure;

Both Turkish and Mongolian soldiers were very disciplined and fought with great courage.²³³ ... [China] sent luxury goods ... and make Huns accustomed to comfort and pleasure. This weakened the fighting skills of the Turks²³⁴

-since the Islamic tones are very prominent throughout the textbook, the nomadic Turkish identity presented in the early pages of the textbook later is transformed into an Islamic Turkish identity with the emphasis that Turks shared almost the same norms with Islam and it was natural for Turks to accept Islam as their religion.

²²⁸ Yüksel et al., Ortaöğretim Tarih 9 Ders Kitabı, 104.

²²⁹ Ibid, 94.

²³⁰ Ibid, 91.

²³¹ Ibid, 94.

²³² Ibid, 57

²³³ Ibid, 80.

²³⁴ Ibid, 100.

The great likeness between the principles and norms of the religion of Islam and the belief system and principles adopted by the Turks affected their view of Islam. ... However, since the conversion of the Turks to Islam was in harmony with their own spirit and character²³⁵ ... Our religion, Islam, attaches great importance to the land of the motherland, freedom, unity, and togetherness and sees these as indispensable elements of sustaining the faith.²³⁶

In relation to the identities modeled by Korostelina in the Model of the Impact of History Education on Social Identity, multiple identities can be detected in the 9th-grade textbook. Initially, the textbook begins with an explanation that why history is important for the construction of social identity and how identity is constructed through norms, the history of its own society, and language²³⁷. Although the overall text seems to present a reflected form of identity for Turkish identity for increasing awareness of history, roots, and the sources of the in-group²³⁸; in the same pages some images and phrases (examples provided below) defining what the identity should be and stating what particular elements should be prominent for identity indicate that ethnic concept of national identity is dominant in the early pages of the textbook. For instance, the images of Atatürk with the quote of “ As Turkish children get to know their ancestors, they will find the strength in themselves to do great things.²³⁹” was included as the first phrase before the introduction of the explanations of what is history and what is the identity of society. Presentation of such phrase before the reflective paragraph stating how identities are formed will lead students to form the idea that common ancestry is one of the most prominent elements of identity. Another example would be the phrase of

Language is the main factor in the formation of national and social identity. In addition, historical unity, religious beliefs, state structures, geographical unity, unity of music and ideals are also important in the formation of this consciousness.²⁴⁰

²³⁵ Ibid, 181.

²³⁶ Ibid, 188.

²³⁷ Ibid, 18.

²³⁸ Korostelina, History Education in the Formation of Social Identity, 176.

²³⁹ Yüksel et al., Ortaöğretim Tarih 9 Ders Kitabı, 18

²⁴⁰ Ibid.

This phrase identifies language and linguistic similarities as an indispensable part of identity and disregards the societies that share multiple languages while maintaining their own identity. Since the emphasis on linguistic similarities and common ancestry are one of the mechanisms of ethnic national identity, these pages present a mild ethnic national identity²⁴¹. In summary, the earlier pages of the textbook present weak type of reflective form of identity, which more tends to form a culture of peace, and a mild form of the ethnic concept of national identity, which is more inclined to construct a culture of violence supported with images.

The following pages present types of identities that are more helpful for establishing a culture of peace. For instance, the 19th page indicates:

In addition, [historical] comparisons with other societies and nations not only help individuals gain self-confidence but also enable them to empathize with other nations. This empathy nurtures a person who understands the heritage of the world as an individual who is at peace with himself and his environment.²⁴²

This phrase urges an inclusive social boundary and balanced view of collective balance, necessary ingredients for peace culture, for urging students to understand the views of out-group members and other nations by learning their history critically²⁴³. Furthermore, the 20th page points out that slavery does not suit the honor of humanity and includes some of the articles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights²⁴⁴. This part of the textbook also presents the importance of individuality regardless of state, race, ethnicity and nationality and the significance of the universal norms over norms limited by the state borders. The 41st and 42nd pages, highlight the diversity of civilizations around the world and that each civilization has a different contribution to humanity²⁴⁵ while the following pages include history of Rome and Greek civilizations. Therefore, this part of the textbook employs mechanisms that both urge

²⁴¹ Korostelina, *History Education in the Formation of Social Identity*, 179.

²⁴² Yüksel et al., *Ortaöğretim Tarih 9 Ders Kitabı*, 19.

²⁴³ Korostelina, *History Education in the Formation of Social Identity*, 178.

²⁴⁴ Yüksel et al., *Ortaöğretim Tarih 9 Ders Kitabı*, 20.

²⁴⁵ *Ibid*, 41-42.

the depictive mode of identity and the civic concept of national identity, both of which contribute to the establishment of the peace culture²⁴⁶.

The following pages of the 9th-grade textbook until Unit 5: the Rise of Islamic Civilization are dominated by identities appropriate for creating a culture of violence. These pages often depict relative identity, unbalanced axiological balance, and mobilized identity on the ground that they illustrate the in-group as superior compared to out-group members; urge the submission to and ultimate rightfulness of the leaders and the state; praise the leaders as the only capable persons to lead the nation; present out-group members as uncivilized and unjust while the in-group members are depicted as peaceloving²⁴⁷. For instance, the people living in the Arabian Peninsula before Islam were referred as “uncivilized, ignorant, and blind²⁴⁸.” Additionally, in several pages Turkic army is praised for being strong compared to the European army for being “resilient, disciplined, harmonious and continuous [and] more than a scattered crowd... [and having] a structure where everyone knew what to do and when and helped each other²⁴⁹.” On the other hand, European armies are criticized: “European armies were generally weak in terms of discipline as powerful vassals opposed the king's authority at every opportunity²⁵⁰.” Within this context, both the Turkish armies or Ottoman are depicted as superior compared to the European army, which is a sign of relative identity, and the strongness adjective is defined through submission to the authority, which is a sign of mobilized identity²⁵¹. Another superiority example will be the depiction of Turkish culture as peace-loving while the out-group members are portrayed as oppressive towards their own society and determined to abolish Turkish culture through treacherous plots, creating an unbalanced axiological balance, which leads to the formation of the culture of violence. For instance, according to the texts

²⁴⁶ Korostelina, *History Education in the Formation of Social Identity*, 177.

²⁴⁷ *Ibid*, 176.

²⁴⁸ *Ibid*, 133.

²⁴⁹ Yüksel et al., *Ortaöğretim Tarih 9 Ders Kitabı*, 82.

²⁵⁰ *Ibid*, 80.

²⁵¹ Korostelina, *History Education in the Formation of Social Identity*, 176 and 179.

of the textbook, the Turkish tribes lost their power as a result of “several schemes” of China and other out-group members that “wants to put Turkish states in a difficult position²⁵².” However, the Turkish tribes on the other hand are praised for being peace-loving. In this respect, the following paragraph explicitly depicts the ultimate superiority of the Turks:

It is not natural behavior for every nation to flow towards unknown horizons even as a result of necessity, to be ready to face the dangers at any moment, and to live in an uninterrupted life-and-death war. ... Each military victory led to a new political goal and stimulated the Turks' desire for conquest. This situation gave birth to a philosophy of conquest aiming to bring peace and tranquility to the world over time, and to an ideal of world domination to put into effect the just and egalitarian Turkish customs everywhere.²⁵³

Furthermore, several passages in the textbook put a mild emphasis on the ultimate rightfulness of the leaders and the state, which are the signs of the presence of the mobilized identity²⁵⁴. Within this scope, the Turkish leaders are also presented as “just to their own people²⁵⁵” and “attaching great importance to ensure justice in their country,²⁵⁶” while the European leaders “forced their people to obey clergy²⁵⁷.”

Although relative identity, unbalanced axiological balance, and mobilized identity that tend to form the culture of violence are dominant throughout the pages, few examples of peaceful identities can be encountered. For instance, on 83rd, 84th, and 85th pages, the examples of early legal texts both from the European part of the world and from Turkic states are provided and it was emphasized that both sides contributed to the development of law²⁵⁸. Moreover, the legitimacy of the state was based on “the acceptance of those who obey the order” and the states without acceptance, were

²⁵²Yüksel et al., *Ortaöğretim Tarih 9 Ders Kitabı*, 95 and 102.

²⁵³ *Ibid*, 108.

²⁵⁴ Korostelina, *History Education in the Formation of Social Identity*, 176.

²⁵⁵ Yüksel et al., *Ortaöğretim Tarih 9 Ders Kitabı*, 101.

²⁵⁶ *Ibid*, 104.

²⁵⁷ *Ibid*, 71.

²⁵⁸ *Ibid*, 83.

accepted as “null” and “oppressive²⁵⁹.” These two examples provide a balanced narration of historical events by providing the history and contributions of both sides and depict history revolving around major concepts of politics such as the legitimacy of the states. Therefore, it can be said that these few passages encourage the formation of inclusive social boundaries, another element of peaceful culture²⁶⁰. In addition, the phrase “Especially the Uyghur khans used their political and military power as a means of pressure in order to sell more goods to China²⁶¹” and the following paragraph on the 123rd page portray that even the in-group leaders and members can use oppressive methods against the out-group members and out-group members can be a victim as well. In this respect, as aggressive actions of in-group members are also depicted along with the cruel actions of out-group members and these negative actions of in-group members are not omitted and whitewashed, mutual empathy and understanding are nurtured. Additionally, the perception that both groups can inflict suffering on each other and both groups can be a victim is created. This presentation would lead to the formation of a balanced axiological balance, which is on the side of the culture of peace²⁶². Yet, despite the presence of some identities of peace culture, relative identity, unbalanced axiological balance, and mobilized identity that tend to establish a culture of violence dominate the first four units of the 9th-grade history textbook.

Similar themes are also prevalent for the following units, but these units are pumped with religious tones. In the following pages, the rise of Islam, the history of Islam and Islamic states and Islamic culture are narrated in detail. The next and the last unit introduce the Islamic and Turkic states without any mention of other Turkic and non-Islamic states. This narration creates the perception that only Islam is “suitable for Turkish spirit and character²⁶³” and the other Turkic states that refused to accept Islam religion, lost their spirit while the ones accepting Islam retained their character. The

²⁵⁹ Ibid, 95.

²⁶⁰ Korostelina, *History Education in the Formation of Social Identity*, 178.

²⁶¹ Yüksel et al., *Ortaöğretim Tarih 9 Ders Kitabı*, 123.

²⁶² Korostelina, *History Education in the Formation of Social Identity*, 178.

²⁶³ Yüksel et al., *Ortaöğretim Tarih 9 Ders Kitabı*, 181.

Turkish identity is pieced together with Islam, and Islam is presented as an inseparable part of Turkish identity. Another explicit example of the conjunction of Islam with Turkish identity can be seen on the 188th page, where Islam is referred to as “our religion²⁶⁴,” disregarding possible diversities within the society and generalizing the in-group. In a bid to unite Islamness and Turkishness, the same page also similarize Turkish identity with Islamic culture on the grounds of core values of two identities as follows: “Motherland is an important concept for the Turkish nation. Our religion, Islam, attaches great importance to the lands of the motherland, freedom, unity, and togetherness and sees these as indispensable elements of sustaining the faith²⁶⁵.”

In this respect, although the model of Korostelina does not refer to religion, the presentation of religious tones in textbook shares great similarities to the mechanisms of particular identities, notably ethnic national identity and ideological mode of identity, that increases a nation’s readiness to engage in a conflict. Within this context, even the fact that textbook ceased to refer to Turkic nations that refused to accept Islam as Turkish shows that the different religious beliefs pose such a threat to the identity that the core “Turkishness” adjective for that group lost its relevance without Islam. Presenting different ideologies or ethnic groups (in this context different religions) as a threat to the identity is shown as one of the mechanisms that urge the formation culture of violence in both the ethnic concept of national identity and ideological mode of identity²⁶⁶. Therefore, this presentation in the textbook can be interpreted to urge the construction of a culture of violence. Additionally, the generalization of the religion of an in-group with the emphasis given by the phrase of “our religion, Islam²⁶⁷” disregards the differences in views, urges black and white thinking style and defines a nation based on the religious identity of the majority, a sign of ethnic concept of national identity (in this case, religion concept of national identity). According to Korostelina’s model, this way of thinking will increase

²⁶⁴ Ibid, 188.

²⁶⁵ Ibid.

²⁶⁶ Korostelina, *History Education in the Formation of Social Identity*, 177 and 179.

²⁶⁷ Yüksel et al., *Ortaöğretim Tarih 9 Ders Kitabı*, 188.

collective generality and decrease the degree of tolerance by amplifying the likelihood of stirring the highly charged emotions and readiness of society to engage in a conflict in case of an insignificant threat to the identity.

Furthermore, in several pages, the superiority of Islamic culture in terms of morality and development is emphasized, while people of the relevant region before the rise of Islam and non-Islamic out-group members after the rise of Islam are depicted as uncivilized, unmoral, unjust, aggressive, vicious and perverse people with bad habits²⁶⁸. For instance, the age before the Islam is “the age of ignorance (Cahiliye dönemi)” and the people living in the Arabian Peninsula before Islam are qualified as “uncivilized, ignorant, and blind²⁶⁹.” These people also do not attempt to protect the vulnerable people and “seized the goods of the weak people²⁷⁰.” The people before Islam also had “numerous bad habits such as worshipping cult statutes, fortune-telling-witchcraft, blood feuds, extortion, drinking alcohol, adultery, financial interest and ill-treatment of women, which became a part of daily life²⁷¹.” Islam, on the other hand, has always been a significant “knowledge civilization²⁷²” and the Muslims are “a highly civilized²⁷³.” Moreover, the people of Islam have never attempted to “cast people believing in other religions away, expelled them, or have resentment towards these people²⁷⁴” or “has never responded back with similar ways against all the atrocities²⁷⁵” they had suffered. Furthermore, although the others chose to inflict atrocities²⁷⁶ upon the Muslims on the basis of their beliefs, the Muslims only aimed “conquest of countries and regions that are thought to provide benefits to the Islamic

²⁶⁸ Yüksel et al., *Ortaöğretim Tarih 9 Ders Kitabı*, 131 and 142.

²⁶⁹ *Ibid*, 133.

²⁷⁰ *Ibid*, 134.

²⁷¹ *Ibid*, 135.

²⁷² *Ibid*, 161.

²⁷³ *Ibid*, 190.

²⁷⁴ *Ibid*, 136.

²⁷⁵ *Ibid*, 135.

²⁷⁶ *Ibid*.

community... After the conquests, freedom of religion and worship was granted to people, and the policy of forced Islamization was not implemented²⁷⁷.” On the following pages, it is stated that the Muslims had great contributions to the Western World’s development²⁷⁸ since intellectual activities were forbidden in the Western world²⁷⁹. However, there is no mention of the Western contributions to the Islamic world, further reinforcing the perceived superiority of the Islam world.

As can be seen from the examples provided below, on many occasions, favorable comparisons with the out-group members have been provided to increase the positive value of the in-group identity (a sign of relative mode of identity and ethnic concept of national identity)²⁸⁰ and contradictions with out-group members adopting different beliefs have been pointed out (a mechanism of the ideological mode of identity)²⁸¹. As defined by Korostelina, the multitude of these mechanisms in the history textbooks will lead to the formation of certain types of social identities that will lay the foundations of the culture of violence. Similarly, in several pages, the in-group members are depicted as victims of the aggressive out-group members constantly targetting them while the out-group members are referred to as uncivilized, vicious, and unjust. These two components are a sign of the divisive social boundary which often amplifies the readiness of a nation to engage in a conflict²⁸². Furthermore, the in-group members are portrayed as peace-loving while the out-group members are shown as contrary to all of the qualities of the in-group, presenting an unbalanced axiological balance that leads to a conflict-prone environment²⁸³.

In conclusion, the earlier pages and the few examples in the later pages of the 9th-grade textbook urges the establishment of a culture of peace through the

²⁷⁷ Ibid, 143.

²⁷⁸ Ibid, 163 and 166.

²⁷⁹ Ibid, 152.

²⁸⁰ Korostelina, *History Education in the Formation of Social Identity*, 177 and 179.

²⁸¹ Ibid, 177.

²⁸² Ibid, 178.

²⁸³ Ibid.

presentation of the depictive mode of identity and the civic concept of national identity. However, the overall text of the history textbook provides an appropriate interpretive environment that enables students to form specific identities such as relative mode of identity, ethnic concept of national identity, ideological mode of identity, and mobilized form of identity. In addition to these identities, as mentioned above, the 9th-history textbook also presents divisive social boundaries, unbalanced axiological balance, and high collective generality. Therefore, according to the Model of the Impact of History Education on Social Identity, it can be said that the 9th-grade textbook generally increases the likelihood of the students forming prejudices towards out-group members and engaging in a conflict in case of a threat in terms of identities it depicts.

As to the 10th-grade history textbook, it can be said that similar themes are also followed in this textbook but with more moderate tones. The overall narratives found in the 10th-grade textbook in relation to the Turkish identity presented by the textbook with the specific examples from the textbook are as follows:

-Turks have been tolerant and just to other cultures and brought peace to the region;

The peaceful environment provided by the Seljuks in Anatolia enabled different religions and tribes in the region to live in harmony and a common culture to emerge²⁸⁴. ... The Christians who did not leave their homes after the conquest and stayed in the city were treated with justice²⁸⁵.

-Turkish are a strong army nation for being disciplined, obedient, and brave; In this respect, the whole 3rd unit is decated to the explanations regarding the system of army and soldiers²⁸⁶. An axample include:

The Turks have excellent skills at war for three reasons. First, they are very obedient to their commanders... Second, they fearlessly sacrifice themselves to death while fighting, ... Third, they serve without the need for bread and wine, and are often content with just rice and water, without meat, and when they have nothing, they survive on salty meat powder of their own making²⁸⁷.

²⁸⁴ Yüksel et al., Ortaöğretim Tarih 10 Ders Kitabı, 27.

²⁸⁵ Ibid, 58.

²⁸⁶ Ibid, 7.

²⁸⁷ Ibid, 91.

-Ottoman Empire has been a multicultural state;

The Ottoman State is a state in which peoples from various ethnic and religious backgrounds maintain their commercial, social, cultural, religious and scientific activities²⁸⁸. ... Society of the Ottoman Empire is made up of people having different origins of religion, language, and race²⁸⁹.

In relation to the identities presented in the model of Korostelina, it is seen that the themes detected in the 9th-grade textbook are also prevalent in the 10th-grade textbook. Despite the presence of few peace-prone identities, it is observed that the majority of the identities presented in the textbook facilitate the formation of the culture of violence. Within this scope, throughout the textbook, Turkish states including Seljuk Empire and Ottoman Empire, and leaders are explicitly depicted as saviors of the regional people from their own states²⁹⁰. For instance, the people in the Byzantine empire had fed up with “the injustice in the tax system, the poor administration of Byzantium and occasional rebellions²⁹¹” and the local Byzantine governors in Anatolia “started to inflict cruelties onto their people²⁹².” As a result of these hard conditions, the people in the region

began to see the Turks as a solution. ... Especially, the Armenians, who were subjected to great oppression and torture by Byzantium, due to their sectarian differences, had never resisted the Turkish excursions²⁹³.

This narration that the regional people welcomed the Turks has been emphasized in the following pages as well. It is indicated that the non-Muslims under the Byzantine rule were suffocated under the oppression of the Byzantine empire “were content to

²⁸⁸ Ibid, 109.

²⁸⁹ Ibid, 187.

²⁹⁰ Ibid, 16-62.

²⁹¹ Ibid, 16

²⁹² Ibid.

²⁹³ Ibid.

live under Turkish rule²⁹⁴.” Another example was provided on the 50th page with the sentence:

Tired of the throne fights in Byzantium, the arbitrary practices of the administrators, the turmoil and heavy taxes, the people took against Byzantium. As a result, the people living under Byzantine rule in Anatolia accepted Turkish sovereignty without resistance²⁹⁵.

As can be deduced from the examples, it can be said that the Other has been presented as vicious and unjust even towards their own people while the Turkish states are depicted as the savior of these people due to their peace-loving qualities. Thus, the Other and the Self social identity have been positioned on the opposites poles, creating an unbalanced axiological balance and amplifying the contributions to the establishment of a culture of violence²⁹⁶. Furthermore, these perceptions are achieved through favorable comparisons with the out-group members. These mechanisms both form a relative mode of identity, that increases the likelihood of the formation of a culture of violence.

Accordingly, it is noteworthy to mention that the advancement of the Turkish states into other regions was often qualified as “migration²⁹⁷,” “excursion²⁹⁸” or “search for homeland (yurt edinme),²⁹⁹” downplaying the possible consequences of the reality of the conquest. Nevertheless, the advancement of the other parties is referred to as “invasion³⁰⁰” and “looting³⁰¹.” Moreover, the leaders of the Turkish states are depicted as persons that always exhibited “just³⁰²” and “good³⁰³” behavior

²⁹⁴ Ibid, 27.

²⁹⁵ Ibid, 50.

²⁹⁶ Korostelina, History Education in the Formation of Social Identity, 177 and 178.

²⁹⁷ Yüksel et al., Ortaöğretim Tarih 10 Ders Kitabı, 50.

²⁹⁸ Ibid, 16.

²⁹⁹ Ibid, 17 and 63.

³⁰⁰ Ibid, 38.

³⁰¹ Ibid, 31 and 38.

³⁰² Ibid, 58.

³⁰³ Ibid, 62.

towards the regions they later possessed. For instance, the Seljuks Empire's "fair behavior has shown positive effects on the local population³⁰⁴" and they have "provided a peaceful environment,³⁰⁵" while the Ottomans

treated the people of the conquered region with decency and protected them, provided freedom in their beliefs, ensured the safety of life and property, aimed to win their hearts and offered convenient taxes to them³⁰⁶.

On the other hand, the Byzantine was "oppressive³⁰⁷" and "cruel³⁰⁸" towards their people. Similarly, 31st and 32nd pages of the textbook also present a detailed description of atrocities committed by the Crusaders along with the picture depicting the "Crusader massacre in Jerusalem³⁰⁹." The relevant passages are as follows:

The Crusaders displayed unprecedented brutality and killed all the Muslims in the city. ... Blond warriors scattered in the streets slaughtered men, women, and children, looted houses, plundered mosques...The remaining thousands of people lay dead on the thresholds of their homes or around mosques. ... The Muslims carried their dead relatives on their shoulders, piled the dead bodies on empty fields, they did not even dig a grave for their deads and then they waited to be slaughtered or sold into slavery³¹⁰.

This East-West and Christian-Muslim axis based on the opposition of the two poles is also clearly underlined several times in the following pages³¹¹. For instance, the sentence on the 34th page "The struggle between the Eastern world and the Western world did not start with the Crusades³¹²" implicitly creates the perception that such opposition is constant and timeless.

³⁰⁴ Ibid, 27.

³⁰⁵ Ibid.

³⁰⁶ Ibid, 62.

³⁰⁷ Ibid, 27.

³⁰⁸ Ibid, 16

³⁰⁹ Ibid, 32.

³¹⁰ Ibid 31-32.

³¹¹ Ibid, 34 and 151.

³¹² Ibid, 34.

In light of the examples provided above, a favorable comparison of the in-group with the out-group members with the aim of ensuring a positive identity and excessive emphasis on the contradictions with the out-group members can be observed in this part of the textbook as well. The in-group members are always presented with reference to the out-group members and the in-group members' superiority is achieved by providing the moral high ground to the in-group members. This will lead to the formation of the strong relative mode of identity and increase the possibility of the formation a culture of violence in the minds of the students³¹³. Furthermore, the in-group members and out-group members are continued to be depicted as two distinct groups on the opposite sides, especially in terms of morality. The similar experiences of both groups are completely overlooked. Within this scope, the in-group members are depicted as peace-loving, just, and victims of atrocities of the out-group members while the out-group members are demonized and not a single example of the unjustness of the in-group is provided. Notably, the detailed description provided with the image of the "Crusader massacre in Jerusalem³¹⁴" shows that a chosen trauma is created and deposited into the unconscious minds of the students as explained by Volkan³¹⁵. As a result, in case of a threatening event occurred in the current time, this trauma can be reactivated and the students' may equate the current event with the past event and act on highly-charged emotions created by this event with magnifying the negative qualities of the current out-group members³¹⁶. In this respect, the above-mentioned mechanisms are signs of the presence of divisive social boundary and unbalanced axiological balance. Both divisive social boundaries and unbalanced axiological balance are shown by Korostelina as the contributors to the formation of culture of violence and elements increasing overall readiness of society for a conflict³¹⁷. Moreover, the textbook also draws the attention of the readers to the fact

³¹³ Korostelina, *History Education in the Formation of Social Identity*, 177.

³¹⁴ Yüksel et al., *Ortaöğretim Tarih 10 Ders Kitabı* , 32.

³¹⁵ Volkan, "Transgenerational Transmissions", 89.

³¹⁶ *Ibid.*

³¹⁷ Korostelina, *History Education in the Formation of Social Identity*, 178.

that there is a permanence of the conflict between the groups with the reoccurring examples of West-East conflict and Christian-Islam world conflict. This perception will lead to high collective generality, which in turn also increases the establishment of a culture of violence³¹⁸.

Furthermore, in some parts of the textbook, being disciplined and submission to the leader are praised. For instance, the 70th page explains rebellions against the Ottoman Empire, which at first seems an unproblematic historic fact. However, the accompanying sentence that almost resembles a warning for current world problems is attention-grabbing:

Considering the general character of such revolts, it is seen that the leaders of the revolts have clear and secret aims rather than the people they gather around, regardless of their course and outcome. ...During crisis times, the rebels, who said that they would rescue the people from the grievances, gathered supporters ... [In fact, they] aimed to seize the political power by promising that they would establish a social order dominated by an egalitarian understanding³¹⁹.

This sentence implicates that despite the promises of equality, the revolts against the rulers will always have secret aims and will always aim to seize political power. Therefore, one should not trust the promises of equality and follow revolters; instead, they should submit to the existing rulers. The obedience emphasis is also repeated along with the above-mentioned passages explaining the success of the Ottoman. The significance of obedience was highlighted once again on the 199th page, but this time the intellectual activities are pointed as more relatively important compared to obedience:

Sultan was very cautious in managing scholars' whims, moodiness, meticulousness, disagreement and, even their jealousy. This tolerant understanding of his was the greatest service to the freedom and honor of science. ... Although the scholars had to obey the rules of protocol when entering the sultan's presence, some scholars like Hatibzade did not kiss the sultan's hand and did not bow down in front of the Sultan. Fatih, too, would not have react to these acts by tolerating all of the acts [of disrespect] Fatih would not hesitate to

³¹⁸ Ibid, 179.

³¹⁹ Yüksel et al., Ortaöğretim Tarih 10 Ders Kitabı, 70.

make any sacrifices... in order to realize this divine aim [of helping the development of the intellectual sphere]³²⁰.

As can be observed from the examples, submission to leadership is mildly praised in various pages of the 10th-grade textbook. According to Korostelina's model, this praise will lead students to form a mobilized form of identity, which increases the readiness for a conflict. However, it should be noted that the mobilized form of identity is not dominant.

Despite the presence of identities prone to nurturing a culture of violence, it is possible to observe a few examples that cultivate the culture of peace in the 10th grade textbook. For example, a passage on the 174th page warns that

... historical information should be evaluated according to the conditions of its own period. It will not be appropriate to assess an event that happened in the past with today's point of view and value judgments³²¹.

This passage aims to increase the awareness of the history and roots of particular traditions. Therefore, it can be said that a reflected form of identity, a contributor to the establishment of the culture of peace, was aimed to be presented³²². Another example of identities of the culture of peace can be observed on pages of 109th and 187th pages where the multicultural nature of the Ottoman Empire is emphasized³²³. Although the multicultural concept of national identity urges the establishment of the culture of peace³²⁴, a few examples supporting the presence of this identity and the lack of other mechanisms for multicultural identity to be formed reveals that the effect of this identity on the establishment of the culture of peace will be faint.

In summary, the 10th-grade history textbook continues the trend of the 9th-grade textbook to nurture identities that increases the likelihood of formation of the culture of violence and amplify the readiness of the society to engage in a conflict. The

³²⁰ Ibid, 199.

³²¹ Ibid 174.

³²² Korostelina, *History Education in the Formation of Social Identity*, 176.

³²³ Yüksel et al., *Ortaöğretim Tarih 10 Ders Kitabı* , 109 and 187.

³²⁴ Korostelina, *History Education in the Formation of Social Identity*, 180.

overall identities presented in the 10th-grade textbook includes a strong relative mode of identity, mild mobilized form of identity, a weak multicultural concept of national identity, a weak depictive mode of identity. The divisive social boundaries, unbalanced axiological balance and a high collective generality are strongly present throughout the textbook. Accordingly, the Model of the Impact of History Education on Social Identity predicts that the 10th-grade textbook generally increases the likelihood of the students forming prejudices towards out-group members and their readiness for a conflict in case of a threat in terms of identities it depicts.

Regarding the 11th-grade history textbook, similar themes are also observed throughout the textbook. Nevertheless, the narratives helping to form peaceful identities are encountered more compared to the 9th and 10th-grade textbooks along with the increase in the mere explanations of political and social developments. The overall narratives found in the 11th-grade textbook in relation to the Turkish identity can be summarized as follows:

-The Ottoman state/empire lost its former power due to the deterioration of its several systems, organizations, and social corruption;

Since the 17th century, the classical structure of the Ottoman Empire deteriorated due to political, social, economic and cultural reasons and as a result, the Ottoman Empire lagged behind [the West]³²⁵. ...The reasons for the deterioration of the Timar system are as follows: ... Sipahis' desire to live ostentatiously and their ambition to earn enormous amount of money³²⁶.

-The Turks lagged behind the West for failing to catch up with the recent developments in the World;

Although the superiority of the West has been accepted since the Tulip Era, ...³²⁷
Another reason why the Ottoman Empire could not industrialize is that it could not follow the innovations developed in the West.³²⁸

³²⁵Yüksel et al., Ortaöğretim Tarih 11 Ders Kitabı, 151.

³²⁶ Ibid, 63.

³²⁷ Ibid, 141.

³²⁸ Ibid, 195.

In relation to the identities presented in the 11th-grade history textbook as drafted in the model of Korostelina, multiple identities can be detected. In this respect, the victim mindset and seized mentality narrative depicting the in-group as the victim and the out-group members as vicious and treacherous Other are still present throughout the textbook. Within this context, both Russia and Europe are depicted as aggressive³²⁹, greedy³³⁰ and cruel³³¹ in several pages. For instance, Russian aim to engage in conflict with the Ottoman Empire is associated with Russian greediness on the grounds that “[Russia] did not find the places it had acquired with the Istanbul Treaty sufficient ...³³²” Nevertheless, the 24th page of the textbook qualifies the failure of the Ottoman Empire to engage in a conflict with Europe when the European states were waging war against each other as a failure to grab an opportunity: “the Ottoman Empire did not even consider to utilize the War of Succession and the Seven Years’ War between the European states in order to keep the peace³³³.” Similarly, the Russian aim for acquiring more territories was referred to as “expansionist policy³³⁴” in the 11th-grade textbook while similar acts of advancement of Turkish states were qualified as “migration³³⁵,” “excursion³³⁶” or “search for homeland (yurt edinme)³³⁷” in the 10th-grade textbook. The Europeans, on the other hand, “aimed to terminate the existence of Turks³³⁸” and “brutally abused the privileges granted by the Ottoman Empire to the Europeans ...³³⁹”, which lead to the Ottoman Empire being dependent on Western

³²⁹ see *ibid*, 41.

³³⁰ see *ibid*, 36.

³³¹ see *ibid*, 65.

³³² *Ibid*, 36.

³³³ *Ibid*, 24.

³³⁴ *Ibid*, 41.

³³⁵ Yüksel et al., *Ortaöğretim Tarih 10 Ders Kitabı*, 50.

³³⁶ *Ibid*, 16.

³³⁷ *Ibid*, 17 and 63.

³³⁸ *Ibid*, 96.

³³⁹ *Ibid*, 65.

Europe in terms of policy and economy. In one case, the textbook presented only the numbers of Muslims that had lost their lives during the 1877-1878 Ottoman-Russian war and the numbers of the dead of the other parties were not provided³⁴⁰. This one-sided number statistic creates the perception that the war was a massacre of Turks and other sides did not lose any people nor suffered. Therefore, this perception reinforces the victim vs. evil Other mindset. Additionally, the promotion of local nationalist tendencies were qualified as “incitement” used by other states to weaken the Ottoman Empire on many occasions³⁴¹.

As can be observed from this paragraph, throughout the textbook, intergroup relations are always presented in terms of the “in-group victimization- out-group aggression axis.” The out-group members including Russia and European states were demonized and depicted as willing to destroy the in-group. The in-group members, on the other hand, are portrayed as peace-loving victims that were abused for providing privileges, and the victimization of the in-group is reiterated in numerous pages. As a result of these mechanisms, violence-prone identities are generated in the 11th-grade textbook. In this respect, emphasis on the victimization of the in-group will lead to the formation of a violent-prone historic mode of identity³⁴². Similarly, these mechanisms, delineating the out-group members and the in-group members as the two distinct groups that sit on two different poles, and the implication of the permanence of the conflict between two sides will contribute to the establishment of divisive social boundaries and unbalanced axiological balance and high collective generality³⁴³. According to the Korostelina’s model, these components will increase the readiness of the society to engage in a conflict.

The relative superiority of the two groups is another theme emphasized throughout the pages. Multiple times, the 11th-grade textbook indicates that Ottoman Empire’s system began to deteriorate and the Empire lagged behind the West as a

³⁴⁰ Yüksel et al., *Ortaöğretim Tarih 11 Ders Kitabı*, 215

³⁴¹ *Ibid*, 127 and 128.

³⁴² Korostelina, *History Education in the Formation of Social Identity*, 177.

³⁴³ *Ibid*, 178.

result of various reasons³⁴⁴. According to the textbook, “since the 17th century, the classical structure of the Ottoman Empire deteriorated due to political, social, economic, and cultural reasons and as a result, the Ottoman Empire lagged behind³⁴⁵.” This sentence points out that the Empire lagged behind because of particular vague reasons, not because the core of the classical structure of the Ottoman Empire was not suitable for the new age requirements and conditions in light of the recent developments. Likewise, the Ottoman Empire failed to keep up with the new developments occurring in the West,³⁴⁶ and as a result, “the superiority of West was [explicitly] accepted³⁴⁷.” In addition to the failings of the structure of the Empire, one of the reasons for the deterioration of the Timar system was designated as “Sipahis' desire to live ostentatiously and their ambition to earn enormous amount of money,³⁴⁸” which hints that the decline in the submission of the Sipahis to the leadership based on mere ambitions. Although the emphasis on submission to the leadership is one of the mechanisms contributing to the formation of the violence-prone mobilized form of identity (weak mobilized identity in this case), the main narrative that is transmitted seemingly is that the core values and system of the Empire was not problematic and was not the main cause of the relative superiority of West. In fact, the deterioration of such systems and values was the real cause of the Ottoman’s failure to catch up with the West. The narrative of the relative superiority of the West, at first sight, may create a feeling of relative deprivation on the grounds that the value expectations created by the over-emphasis on the values, and status of the group do not match with the value capabilities and the group began to believe that it has less than it deserved relative to the others which were portrayed as unworthy for being cruel and inferior. Accordingly, this feeling of relativity may lead to the formation of resentful feelings

³⁴⁴ Yüksel et al., *Ortaöğretim Tarih 10 Ders Kitabı*, 42, 63, 101, 141. 151

³⁴⁵ *Ibid*, 151.

³⁴⁶ *Ibid*, 195.

³⁴⁷ *Ibid*, 141.

³⁴⁸ *Ibid*, 63.

and justifications for aggressive action in the face of mobilization, increasing the readiness of people to engage in a conflict³⁴⁹.

Nevertheless, in a bid to compensate for the loss of positive value of the in-group and comparative advantage, the history textbook resorts to social creativity by redefining intergroup comparison based on the superiority of the values of the in-group to regain the comparative advantage of the in-group³⁵⁰. As can be seen from the examples, the decline in the superiority of the Empire was associated with the deterioration of its core values and systems. Moreover, from 218th to 220th pages the textbook attempts at increasing the comparative advantage of the group by comparing the cultures of the Ottoman and the West based on morality. Within this scope, page 218th states that as religion and morals were important, Ottomans were cautious to avoid extravagancy in consuming and pursued modesty in their consumption³⁵¹. In this sentence, avoiding extravagance and modesty in consuming was associated with morals and religion, implicating that consuming more than what you need should be considered as unmoral. Although at first, there seems to be no issue with this sentence in terms of identity, the following pages explaining the popular culture which is designated as a foreign culture emerged with the rise of consumerism, criticize the popular culture in terms of morality:

Popular culture, which promises freedom from the outside point of view, places people in a new dilemma and depression based on the greed of consumption. ... The aim of the popular culture is to uniformize thoughts and behaviors³⁵².

This narration of designating the out-group values and culture as inferior and greedy while portraying the values of the in-group as morally superior, will decrease the tolerance and understanding of the society towards different cultures. As modeled by Korostelina, this situation will also lead to the formation of a mild form of a cultural form of identity and will contribute to the establishment of divisive social boundaries

³⁴⁹ Kawakami and Dion, "Social Identity and Affect as Determinants of Collective Action," 566.

³⁵⁰ Van et al., "Social Identity Theory," 383.

³⁵¹ Yüksel et al., *Ortaöğretim Tarih 10 Ders Kitabı*, 218.

³⁵² *Ibid*, 220.

and high collective generality³⁵³. In return, these components will contribute to the formation of a culture of violence and boost the readiness of society to engage in conflict³⁵⁴.

In addition to the multitude of violent-prone identities, the 11th-grade textbook presented peace-prone identities on multiple occasions. Between the pages of 123 and 139, the history of Europe has been explained in detail and the historical developments of the major concepts about society and politics such as the movements of nationalism, the concept of liberalism, and Marxism were presented from both in-group and out-group perspectives³⁵⁵. How the nation-states have emerged was explained and the loss of power of certain empires including the Ottoman Empire in light of these developments was explained as follows: “However, multinational states' implementation of this system [compulsory military service] within their own bodies has not been as easy as nation-states³⁵⁶.” In this respect, the roots of military service, one of the elements of patriotism, was also associated with the rise of nationalism³⁵⁷. According to the textbook, with the rise of the nation- state-building process, “military service has begun to be interpreted as a service to the country³⁵⁸”. Likewise, the 56th and 57th pages concentrate on the representation of the history of thoughts and ideas and intellectuals of the out-group members by presenting brief summaries and important achievements of Western intellectuals such as Copernicus, Machiavelli, Kant, and Jean Jacques Rousseau³⁵⁹. Within this context, particular unique contributions of different groups were not omitted or downsized, but highlighted. For instance, the textbook explicitly states: “It is certain that those who established the first printing houses in the Ottoman Empire were non-Muslims. Among the non-Muslims,

³⁵³ Korostelina, *History Education in the Formation of Social Identity*, 176.

³⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 123 and 139.

³⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 139.

³⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 56 and 57.

the first group to use the printing press is the Jews³⁶⁰.” Even, the textbook drew attention the existence of the prejudices between Europe and the Ottoman Empire and pointed out that “in both Europe and the Ottoman Empire, prejudices against each other in past ages began to break down, albeit slowly³⁶¹.”

In light of the above-mentioned examples, a peace-prone historic mode of identity was formed through the mechanisms of representing the history of thoughts and ideas of the out-group members and of designating patriotism as a service to the country³⁶². Since the awareness of history and of roots of both in-group members and out-group members was raised in the 11th-grade textbook and the common history of nationalism and their effects on both groups were provided, a reflective form of identity is presented by the textbook. This form of identity increases the possibility of the formation of the culture of peace³⁶³. In this respect, efforts of decreasing the prejudices and biased representation of the out-group members, highlighting their contributions to society, and depicting major concepts about society and politics from the view of both the in-group and the out-group will also lead to inclusive social boundaries and balanced axiological balance, which in turn amplify the culture of peace³⁶⁴.

In summary, the 11th-grade textbook both contributes to the formation of peace and violence culture almost equally. In terms of violence culture, the 11th-grade textbook presents strong violent-prone historic mode of identity and establishes divisive social boundaries, unbalanced axiological balance, and high collective generality on the grounds that it highlights the victimization of the in-group multiple times, presents the out-group members as evil and the in-group members as peace-loving victims, and imply that the conflict between two sides is permanent. Furthermore, the textbook also contributes to the mild form of a cultural form of

³⁶⁰ Ibid, 80.

³⁶¹ Ibid, 76.

³⁶² Korostelina, *History Education in the Formation of Social Identity*, 177.

³⁶³ Ibid, 176.

³⁶⁴ Ibid, 178.

identity, an identity increasing the readiness of a society to engage in a conflict by delineating in-group cultural values as superior compared to the values of the out-group members. In terms of peace culture, contrary to the 9th-grade and 10th-grade textbooks, it is observed that the mechanisms nurturing the construction of peace-prone identities increased throughout the textbook. In this respect, the 11th-grade textbook, from time to time, presents the history and the contributions of the out-group members and points out the positive sides of the out-group members. Accordingly, the mechanisms of a peace-prone historic mode of identity and the reflective form of identity can also be observed along with the inclusive social boundaries and balanced axiological balance.

As regards to the 12th-grade history textbook with the title “History of Reforms of the Republic of Turkey and Atatürkism,” the overall narratives in relation to the general Turkish identity presented by the textbook can be summarized as follows:

-Turks are brave and self-sacrificing in the pursuit of the liberation of their country;

In the face of the epic written by the heroic struggle of the Turkish soldier ...³⁶⁵
Despite all kinds of poverty, Turkish people have shared everything they have with their army with great sacrifices and displayed a great example of solidarity³⁶⁶.

-Turks need to be a part of modern civilizations;

... in order to ensure that the new Republic of Turkey has a strong place among the world nations and to establish a strong legal system ...³⁶⁷ Since its foundation, the Republic of Turkey has closely followed international developments in the pursuit of reaching the level of modern civilizations³⁶⁸.

-Turks' character is most suitable for the Republican form of governance;

³⁶⁵ Çevik, Koç and Şerbetçi, Ortaöğretim Türkiye Cumhuriyeti İnkılap Tarihi Ve Atatürkçülük 12, 38.

³⁶⁶ Ibid, 85.

³⁶⁷ Ibid, 112.

³⁶⁸ Ibid, 240.

... the Turkish nation has adopted the republican form of government that conforms best to its national character³⁶⁹. ... The most suitable administration for the inherent nature and customs of the Turkish nation is the republican administration [a quote by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk]³⁷⁰

- The Islamic identity established in the previous textbook, notably the 9th-grade textbook, was united with the civilized and laic identity and it was emphasized that these identities exist in harmony.

Secularism and democracy are auxiliary elements for the formation of a freer religious sphere. The principle of secularism is an idea that will contribute to the strengthening of democracy by making the best use of the values set out by Turkish state tradition and Turkish culture³⁷¹.

-Several foreign powers are aiming to undermine Turkey due to its geopolitical importance; for instance a sentence states “Some states desire to destabilize and weaken Turkey, which has a very important geopolitical position in the world³⁷².”

In relation to the identities presented in Korostelina’s Model of the Impact of History Education on Social Identity, it is observed that the theme narrated by the 11th-grade textbook that the Turkish state lagged behind the modern West still continues throughout the textbook. However, similar to the 11th-grade textbook, the textbook continues to highlight the moral superiority of the in-group in multiple pages (another theme prevalent in all four textbooks) in order to redress the loss of positive value of the in-group and comparative advantage due to the superiority of the West in terms of development and modernity. Likewise, the cruel out-group members vs. peaceful in-group identity theme can be also detected in several pages³⁷³. Accordingly, although these themes contributing to the establishment of a culture of violence are present in the history textbook, contrary to the previous textbooks, a notable increase in

³⁶⁹ Ibid, 101.

³⁷⁰ Ibid, 102.

³⁷¹ Ibid, 104.

³⁷² Ibid, 234.

³⁷³ See Ibid, 28, 35, 57, 85, 102, 118, 193, 208.

mechanisms that pave the way for the formation of the culture of peace through the presented identities is observed in the 12th-grade history textbook.

Within this scope, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and his contribution to the state are highlighted throughout the textbook. Even the name of the 12th-grade textbook is dedicated to Atatürkism and reforms implemented under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. Furthermore, several pages designate Mustafa Kemal Atatürk as an important figure that can be considered as a prototype, the ideal person image representing the overall similarities, desired values, and behaviors of the in-group to highlight the prevalence of specific elements in the meaning of the identity³⁷⁴. In this respect, the character qualities and values that are desired to be implemented as a part of the social identity is conveyed through the presentation of Mustafa Kemal as a glorified prototype. In this respect, Atatürk is referred as “innovative and open-minded³⁷⁵.” Moreover, multiple pages include relevant quotes from Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, which will be provided below together with other examples, to highlight particular values of social identity.

As mentioned above, the superiority of the West in terms of development and modernity and the efforts of Turkey to catch up through implementing various reforms, is prevalent throughout the textbook. For instance, the 19th page explains that the states that achieved to keep pace with scientific, technical, social and cultural developments of age is considered “modern (çağdaş)” while those which fail are qualified as lagging behind³⁷⁶. The same page points out that Turkish society remained isolated from the innovations and developments of the age since the 19th century and despite the various and reform efforts of the Ottoman Empire to catch up with the modern nations, the situation could not be remedied³⁷⁷. Similarly, the desire of Turkey to “reach the level

³⁷⁴ Hogg, “Social Identity Theory,” 8.

³⁷⁵Çevik, Koç and Şerbetçi, *Ortaöğretim Türkiye Cumhuriyeti İnkılap Tarihi Ve Atatürkçülük* 12, 23.

³⁷⁶ *Ibid*, 19.

³⁷⁷ *Ibid*.

of modern civilizations³⁷⁸” and “be part of the modern world power³⁷⁹” were emphasized and the inferiority of the Turkish state in terms of the developments of the age was highlighted. Within this respect, the emphasis on the superiority of the enemy while pointing out the excessive “backwardness” of the in-group may produce feeling of relative deprivation and inferiority complex as the value expectations created by the over-emphasis on the values, and status of the group do not match with the value capabilities of the in-group. This results in the in-group belief that the group cannot receive what it deserved relative to the others. Therefore, relative deprivation feeling may lead to aggressive actions toward the out-group members³⁸⁰. In addition to these points, emphasis on contradictions with the out-group members will lead to the formation of relative mode of identity for prompting the perception of competition³⁸¹. The relative mode of identity will also facilitate the formation of the culture of violence and increase the readiness of the society to engage in a conflict according to the model of Korostelina³⁸².

Accordingly, as presumed by the Theory of Social Identity, due to the inherent need of the individuals, the in-group members will seek to compensate for the loss of positive value and comparative advantage of the in-group³⁸³. In this respect, it is observed that similar to the 11th-grade history textbook, the 12th-grade history textbook, makes use of social creativity³⁸⁴ by redefining intergroup comparison. To compensate for this situation, the 12th-grade history textbook presents the in-group as having the moral high ground and points out the epic efforts and sacrifices of the innocent and victim society to save their own country from the hands of the surrounding enemies while vilifying the out-group members which are considered

³⁷⁸ Ibid, 240.

³⁷⁹ Ibid, 105, 112 and 121.

³⁸⁰ Kawakami and Dion, “Social Identity and Affect as Determinants of Collective Action,” 566.

³⁸¹ Korostelina, *History Education in the Formation of Social Identity*, 70.

³⁸² Ibid, 177.

³⁸³ Sidanius et al., “The Social Identity Theory of Intergroup Behavior,” 380.

³⁸⁴ Van et al., “Social Identity Theory,” 383.

modern and civilized. In this respect, the Independence War is narrated as a chosen glory of the social identity, mythologized narratives of the shared mental representations of a historical event³⁸⁵. For instance, the 38th page describes the fight of the Turkish soldier as an “epic” struggle catching enemies by “surprise”³⁸⁶. The 58th and 59th pages provide the brief stories of the efforts of ordinary people including women who were not expected to participate in war at that age, during wartime in order to reinforce the chosen glory qualification of the Independence War³⁸⁷. The 85th page, once again, points out that this epic struggle was achieved by the society “with great sacrifices and solidarity despite the poverty”³⁸⁸. Interrelatedly, in addition to the stories of the ordinary people and the emphasis on the sacrifices of the people to protect their homeland, the utmost importance of defending one’s homeland is emphasized explicitly with a quote of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk: “There can be no more important and glorious task than the duty of defending the homeland”³⁸⁹. In opposition to the sacrifices and victimhood of the in-group, the out-group members are portrayed as evil and cruel. For instance, the 35th page indicates “In the face of the attacks and massacres by the Armenians, the Ottoman Empire had to take some measures”³⁹⁰. The 57th page also refers Greeks’ actions as “the Greek persecution, massacres and robberies”³⁹¹ and this narrative continues on the 88th-page as “The fleeing Greek army was burning Turkish villages and towns, and people were being slaughtered”³⁹². The innocent and ethical in-group vs. cruel and evil out-group narrative of polarization can be observed in the following pages irrelevant of the chosen glory of the Independence War. In this respect, the humanity and modesty of Turkish people even in wartime

³⁸⁵ Volkan, “Large-Group Identity, Shared Prejudice, Chosen Glories”, 25.

³⁸⁶ Çevik, Koç and Şerbetçi, *Ortaöğretim Türkiye Cumhuriyeti İnkılap Tarihi Ve Atatürkçülük* 12, 38.

³⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 58.

³⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 85.

³⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 28.

³⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 35.

³⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 57.

³⁹² *Ibid.*, 88.

were another subject that is used to highlight the moral superiority of the in-group. This superiority was exemplified by two different stories, the story of Korean little girl Ayla during the Korean war and the story of Zeynep Süngü who nursed 5 years old little Greek girl during the Cyprus Peace Operation³⁹³. The humane values of the Turkish people were also re-emphasized with the sentence accompanied with a photo: “Examine the picture above and interpret the humane and national values that the Turkish soldier kept alive even during the war from the story of the little Korean girl Ayla.” on the 193rd page³⁹⁴. The superiority of the Turkish people in other areas is also another point highlighted by the 12th-grade textbook. For instance, the 102nd page indicates “Therefore, according to Atatürk, the Turkish nation is the most cherished entity³⁹⁵.” Similarly, the 118th page shares a quote by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk that depicts the Turkish language as the most beautiful, richest and easiest language in the world³⁹⁶.

As exemplified above, the in-group superiority is achieved through favorable comparisons of the in-group with the out-group members to achieve a positive identity and to allocate the moral high ground to the in-group members. As a result of this process, the relative mode of identity will be formed and a suitable environment for the formation culture of violence that will also increase the likelihood of society to engage in a conflict will be created³⁹⁷. Furthermore, similar to the themes in the previous history textbooks, the in-group members are continued to be portrayed as peace-loving, just, and victims of cruelties of the out-group members while the out-group members are vilified. Accordingly, no example of the unjustness of the in-group is provided throughout the textbook. The similar experiences of both groups are completely disregarded. As modeled by Korostelina, this situation will contribute to the establishment of mild violent-prone historic mode of identity, divisive social

³⁹³ Ibid, 193 and 208.

³⁹⁴ Ibid, 193.

³⁹⁵ Ibid, 102.

³⁹⁶ Ibid, 118.

³⁹⁷ KarKorostelina, *History Education in the Formation of Social Identity*, 177.

boundaries, unbalanced axiological balance and high collective generality, which will also contribute to the formation of a culture of violence and boost the readiness of society to engage in conflict³⁹⁸.

Weak ethnic concept of national identity, and mild mobilized form of identity can be also observed in some pages of the 12th-grade history textbook. Within this context, the over-emphasis on the language for being a “main element in the construction of the nation” and designating Turkish language as the only language of the Turkish nation³⁹⁹ on the 118th page will lead to the formation of ethnic identity⁴⁰⁰. As mentioned above, the militarization of the society especially with the quote of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk: “There can be no more important and glorious task than the duty of defending homeland⁴⁰¹” and emphasis on ordinary people’s sacrifices and the over-emphasis on the army, will lead to the construction of a mobilized identity⁴⁰². Additionally, the 234th-page creates a seized mentality:

Some states desire to destabilize and weaken Turkey, which has a very important geopolitical position in the world. States that want to prevent the formation of a strong Turkey instruct terrorist organizations against Turkey in line with their own interests and even use these terrorist organizations as a foreign policy tool⁴⁰³.

This phrase does not refer to any historic event or name of the organization but provide only generalized idea perception about an unknown but dangerous enemy that wants to destroy Turkey. This creates the perception of constant threat, points out the need for staying in constant alert, even though there is no real danger at the present and presents an evil and vicious unknown enemy while urging to unite against this enemy.

³⁹⁸ Ibid, 176 and 179.

³⁹⁹ Çevik, Koç and Şerbetçi, Ortaöğretim Türkiye Cumhuriyeti İnkılap Tarihi Ve Atatürkçülük 12, 118.

⁴⁰⁰ Korostelina, History Education in the Formation of Social Identity, 179.

⁴⁰¹ Ibid, 28.

⁴⁰² Ibid, 176.

⁴⁰³ Çevik, Koç and Şerbetçi, Ortaöğretim Türkiye Cumhuriyeti İnkılap Tarihi Ve Atatürkçülük 12, 234.

As a result, the mobilized form of identity is formed, further increasing the readiness of society to engage in a conflict.

As regards to the peace-prone identity, the 12th-grade textbook exhibits an increase in the presentation of civic concept of national identity. In this regard, the 102nd page indicates:

The fundamental approach of Atatürk's nationalism is that both the Turkish nation and other nations live freely and equally in their own lands ... [It] desires the continuation of law, freedom and justice, and international peace and security⁴⁰⁴.

Likewise, the 103rd page explains that everybody is equal and vulnerable groups need to be protected⁴⁰⁵. Similarly, the 110th page re-emphasizes that the importance of the law and justice and the relationship between the state and individuals as follows:

The situation of the legal order in a state is also an indicator of the viability of that state. States with well-functioning legal order... live long and healthy. ... justice is the most important need of the citizens of a state.... Constitution is the legal document that reveals the responsibilities that the state expects from its citizens, the rights it grants to its citizens and the duties of state institutions⁴⁰⁶.

As can be observed, the multiple pages of the textbook promoted respect for the rule of law, freedoms, justice and equality. Moreover, by highlighting the fact that both the state and the citizens have their own responsibilities and obligations towards each other, the 12th-grade textbook explains the civic nature of the society and positions the idea of citizenship as central to the society. According to the Korostelina model, these mechanisms will contribute to the consttution of the civic concept of national identity and this identity will pave the way of the establishment of the culture of peace while hampering the readiness of society to engage in a conflict⁴⁰⁷.

In summary, the 12th-grade history textbook continues the trend of previous history textbooks to cultivate the polarization identities that enhance the formation of

⁴⁰⁴ Ibid, 102.

⁴⁰⁵ Ibid, 103.

⁴⁰⁶ Ibid, 110.

⁴⁰⁷ Korostelina, *History Education in the Formation of Social Identity*, 180.

the culture of violence and amplify the readiness of a society to engage in a conflict. The overall identities presented in the 12th-grade textbook includes a strong relative mode of identity, mild violent-prone historic mode of identity, weak ethnic concept of national identity, and mild mobilized form of identity. Additionally, this textbook also heavily contributes to the formation of divisive social boundaries, unbalanced axiological balance, and high collective generality. As regard to the culture of peace, contrary to the previous textbooks, a notable increase in the peace-prone identities are observed in the 12th-grade textbook. In this respect, a strong form of the civic concept of national identity is established in several pages of the textbook.

In conclusion, firstly this sub-chapter has looked into the number of the pages dedicated to the units in each history textbook to determine which subjects are deemed more important. Secondly, general narratives transmitted to the students by each grade's textbook were also found. Thirdly, it has analyzed the social identities drafted by Korostelina's Model of the Impact of History Education on Social Identity. Within this scope, this sub-chapter has explored whether these identities in the textbook facilitate or hinder the construction of the peace culture or violence culture and whether they increase or decrease the overall readiness of society to engage in conflict in light of a perceived or real threat to the identity. As a result of this analysis, it has been found that the themes of evil other vs the victim self-identity are prevalent in all four textbooks. It is also observed that all four textbooks have transmitted the narrative that the in-group members have high moral connotations such as peaceful, just, understanding, brave, and modest in opposition to the out-group members who are vicious, cruel, unjust, and aggressive. In this respect, the 9th-grade textbook contributes to the establishment of a strong culture of violence and mild culture of peace. Therefore, although the 9th-grade textbook urges the establishment of a culture of peace in the early pages and in some pages afterward, it can be said that the overall narratives presented in the 9th-grade history textbook generally increase the likelihood of the students forming prejudices towards out-group members and engaging in a conflict in case of a threat in terms of identities it depicts. The 10th-grade history textbook continues the trend of the 9th-grade textbook to nurture identities that increases the likelihood of the formation of a culture of violence. In this respect, according to the model, the effect of the 10th-grade history textbook in forming a

culture of violence is strong while it helps to constitute a weak culture of peace. The 11th-grade history textbook, on the other hand, includes more mechanisms nurturing the construction of identities that lead to the formation of the culture of peace compared to the previous history textbook. Within this scope, it is determined that the 11th-grade history textbook presents a strong culture of violence and mild culture of peace. Lastly, the 12th-grade history textbook also includes similar themes of polarization. Therefore, it provides a suitable environment for the establishment of strong culture of violence. However, the 12th-grade textbook contributes to the establishment of a strong culture of peace through the presentation of a strong form of the civic concept of national identity. In this respect, the findings of analysis regarding identities that each textbook include which predicts the formation of culture of peace or culture of violence (classified as strong, mild or weak) can be summarized in the Table 2 as follows:

	Culture of Violence	Culture of Peace
9th-grade textbook	Strong	Mild
10th-grade textbook	Strong	Weak
11th-grade textbook	Strong	Mild
12th-grade textbook	Strong	Strong

Table 2: Findings of analysis in relation to Culture of violence/peace

In this sub-chapter, the findings of the analysis conducted on the Turkish history textbooks taught in high schools in 2021 were presented. To this end, after introducing brief information on all four textbooks, this chapter conducted an analysis on the page numbers, the general narratives, and identity types presented in the textbooks in line with Korostelina's model.

CHAPTER 4

CONCLUSION

This thesis set out to fill the gap in the Turkish textbook research literature. Although several works have been completed as regards to the research on the Turkish textbook from the point of view of identity and narratives, none of them systematically posited the findings related to identity in a framework that predicts the nation's readiness for conflict nor grouped their findings within the framework of identity theories. To fill this gap, this thesis analyzed the 2021 history textbooks taught in Turkish high schools in order to discover how Turkish identity and European identity is presented to the students. To this end, social identity theory of psychology introduced by Henri Tajfel and John Turner is taken as the theoretical framework while Korostelina's Model of the Impact of History Education on Social Identity is taken as the analytical framework. The identities determined by this model and the mechanisms that lead to the formation of these identities guided this research. Another main purpose of this study was to explore whether the social identities outlined by the model in the textbook facilitate or hinder the construction of the culture of peace or culture of violence and whether they increase or decrease the overall readiness of society to engage in conflict in light of a perceived or real threat to the identity.

Within this scope, the thesis first focused on identity theories. In this respect, 1.1 identity subchapter has explored the definition of the personal and collective identity and how the personal and collective identities are constructed. In this respect, the identities are formed based on similarities while the different elements are externalized as the Other. As a result of cognitive processes of categorization, comparison, and identification, the self and the other are formalized in the conscious mind. Due to the sense of feeling similar, the inherent need for distinctiveness from others, achieving a sense of continuity, gaining validation from others, elevating self-

esteem, ensuring cognitive coherence, and reducing uncertainty; individuals are withdrawn to form social identities by identifying themselves with a group of individuals who are deemed by the individual to share similarities with him/herself. The large-group identities also yield significant effects on the individuals: individuals begin to shape their own beliefs, norms, and values according to their social identities; the idea of individuals about how the inter-group relations was/ is/it should be is formed and certain beliefs, prejudices, and biases towards out-group members are produced; and thirdly social identity provides certain narratives and justification that can be turned into action and collective mobilization under circumstances.

In the next subchapter titled 1.2. History's impact on identity subchapter, the impact of history on the identity and on the perceptions and attitudes of individuals and large groups has been discussed. Within this framework, the terms of collective memories, cognitive templates and social representation theory was also introduced. This sub-chapter has shown that the identities both personal identity and social identity are constructed based on the relationship between past, present, and future. In this respect, history guides the common sense, and behaviours of the society by uniting the individuals based on shared past and similar values. The history also has significant impacts on the perception of individuals about inter-group relations and out-group members. In this respect, chosen glories and traumas contribute to the individuals' readiness in the face of possible mobilization attempts.

In a bid to connect history education and identity, the next sub-chapter titled 2.1. History education's role in peace and conflict explored how official history education both introduces historical knowledge about the society and other groups and prescribes particular elements for the formation of the identity to the children in the early development years. Pointing out that history education helps individuals to form their first rooted worldviews that last until adulthood, this sub-chapter depicted that history education can be a tool both for facilitating the escalation of conflict or for preparing preconditions for peace culture due to its impact on three levels. In this regard, three levels in relation to history education's impact on peace and conflict were introduced as the formation of meaning and the roots of large-group identity; the creation of perception of inter-group relations, and providing legitimizations for collective actions. Subsequently, this sub-chapter discussed under which specific

circumstances history education can contribute to the development of conflict or peace on three levels.

Before presenting the analytical framework and the analysis conducted by this thesis, the next sub-chapter titled 2.2. Literature Review of History Textbook Research subchapter provided a literature review on textbook research. Within this scope, the traditions and types of textbook research in both the international sphere and in Turkey have been explained. Trending and highly studied research areas and methodologies used in the literature have been also highlighted. Lastly, the gap in the literature, notably in Turkey has been pointed out and how this thesis can redress this gap has been explained.

Subsequently, after introducing Korostelina's model of the impact of history education on social identity that forecasts a social identity group's readiness to engage in conflict, the findings of the analysis conducted on 2021 history textbooks taught in Turkish high schools has been shared. To this end, the page numbers of the units within 4 different textbooks, the general narratives as regards the Turkish identity in the textbooks, and the specific identities of Korostelina's model were assessed. According to the distribution of pages of the units overall all four textbooks, it is observed that the Turkish identity is built on five different components: nomad ancient Turkishness, Islam, Ottoman, Kemalism (secular and modern), and ethnic Turkishness. The general narratives constituted by the history textbooks are as follows: Turks have an ancient history and had been nomads coming from Central Asia; Turks have strong family relations; Turkish army is strong compared to other states on the grounds that the Turks are highly disciplined and are not dote upon comfort and pleasure; Turks have been tolerant and just to other cultures and brought peace to the region; Turks are strong an army nation for being disciplined, obedient, and brave; the Ottoman Empire lost its former power due to the political, social, economic and cultural reasons and deterioration of its morals and systems such as Timar system, and social corruption; the Turks remained behind the West for failing to catch up with the recent developments in the World; Turks are brave and self-sacrificing in the pursuit of the liberation of their country; Turks need to be a part of modern civilizations; Turks' character is most suitable for the Republic form of governance; The Islamic identity established in the previous textbooks notably the 9th-grade textbook was united with

the civilized and laic identity and it was emphasized that these identities exist in harmony; and several foreign powers are aiming to undermine Turkey due to its geopolitical importance.

In terms of the model of Korostelina, the textbooks generally revolve around the themes of evil other vs the victim self-identity and the in-group members that have high morals such as being peaceful, just, understanding, brave and modest in opposition to the out-group members who are vicious, cruel, unjust, and aggressive.

In this regard, the 9th-grade history textbook mildly encourages the formation of the culture of peace through the presentation of an inclusive social boundary and balanced view of collective balance for urging students to familiarize themselves with their history and providing examples of contributions out-group members and examples of some cases of in-group cruelty. The textbook also contributes to the culture of peace through the depiction of the depictive mode of identity and the civic concept of national identity for introducing the importance of individuals, laws, and the concept of human rights. Nevertheless, the overall text of the history textbook provides an appropriate interpretive environment that enables students to form specific identities, which facilitate the establishment of the culture of violence. Within this context, the 9th-grade textbook depicts ethnic identity, relative identity, unbalanced axiological balance, high collective generality, divisive social boundaries, and mobilized identity for excessive emphasis on the importance of knowing your roots and ancestors; illustrating the in-group as superior compared to out-group members based on favorable comparisons; encouraging the submission to and ultimate rightfulness of the leaders and the state; praising the leaders as the only capable persons to lead the nation; presenting out-group members as uncivilized and unjust while depicting the in-group members as peace-loving. Therefore, it can be said that the 9th-grade textbook contributes to the establishment of a mild culture of peace and a strong culture of violence.

The 10th-grade history textbook continues the trend of the 9th-grade textbook, to nurture identities that increases the likelihood of the formation of a culture of violence and amplify the readiness of a society to engage in a conflict. In this respect, the 10th-grade textbook creates an unbalanced axiological balance for positioning the out-group members and the in-group members on the opposite poles and presenting

out-group members as vicious and unjust even towards their own people while depicting Turkish states as the savior of these people due to their peace-loving qualities. This textbook also creates divisive boundaries for not providing a single example of the unjustness of the in-group and maintaining the narration of victim and innocent in-group vs. demonized out-group members. High collective generality is also created by the 10th-grade textbook due to the presentation of the West-East conflict and Christian-Islam world conflict as permanent in the reoccurring examples. The 10th-grade history textbook leads to the strong relative mode of identity due to excessive emphasis on the contradictions with the out-group members and the inclusion of favorable comparisons with the out-group members to achieve a positive identity. As submission to leadership is mildly praised in various pages of the 10th-grade textbooks, Korostelina's model predicts that a mild mobilized form of identity will be established. In addition to the violent-prone identities, a few examples of identities that cultivate the culture of peace can be found in the textbook. In this regard, a mild reflected form of identity is formed as some examples from the textbook aim to increase the awareness of the history and roots of particular traditions. Furthermore, a weak multicultural concept of national identity is also formed on the grounds of emphasis on the multicultural nature of the Ottoman Empire in a few examples. In summary, the 10th-grade textbook forms a strong culture of violence and a weak culture of peace.

The 11th-grade textbook continues to promote the establishment of divisive social boundaries and unbalanced axiological balance and high collective generality for delineating the out-group members and the in-group members as the two distinct groups that sit on two different poles, and for implying that the conflict between two sides is permanent. Strong violent-prone historic mode of identity is established by the 11th-grade textbook due to the depiction of intergroup relations in terms of the in-group victimization- out-group aggression axis. Additionally, the textbook portrays strong relative mode of identity based on the relative superiority of two groups. Within this scope, the superiority of the West in terms of development and modernity is highlighted while moral and cultural superiority is allocated to the in-group, creating a strong form of relative identity. It also creates a weak mobilized form of identity through the emphasis on the importance of submission to the leadership. The 11th-

grade history textbook also employs few mechanisms such as decreasing the prejudices and biased representation of the out-group members, highlighting out-group members' contributions to society, and depicting major concepts about society and politics from the view of both groups. These mechanisms lead to mild inclusive social boundaries and balanced axiological balance. A mild form of reflective form of identity is also promoted through the provision of the common history of nationalism and nationalism's effects on both groups. In summary, 11th-grade history textbook presents a strong culture of violence and mild culture of peace.

Similar to the previous history textbooks, the 12th-grade history textbook contributes to the formation of divisive social boundaries, unbalanced axiological balance and high collective generality for continuing to transmit the theme of peace-loving and victim in-group members and evil out-group and for not providing any similarity of the two groups. Similarly, a mild violent-prone historic mode of identity is also created by the 12th-grade textbook due to history telling mainly revolving around the victimization of the in-group. Due to the themes of the relative superiority of the West in terms of modernity and development and the in-group's need to catch up to modern states in opposition to the moral and cultural superiority of the in-group, the 12th-grade history textbook presents a strong relative mode of identity. Multiple pages of the 12th-grade history textbook also emphasize the role of language and Turkish ethnicity in the construction the identity, which helps the creation of a mild ethnic concept of nationality. In addition, as the seized mentality and the need for staying in constant alert due to evil and vicious unknown enemy against which must be united is presented in some part of the textbook, a mild mobilized form of identity is constituted by the 12th-grade textbook. In terms of peace-prone identities, a strong civic concept of national identity is promoted in this textbook on the grounds that it underlines the importance of respect for the rule of law, freedoms, justice, and equality and it describes society as civic based on reciprocal responsibilities and obligations of citizens and the state towards each other. In summary, the 12th-grade history textbook continues to include identities that lead to the establishment of a strong culture of violence while also contributing to the establishment of a strong culture of peace.

Considering all four textbooks together, it can be deduced that Turkish history textbooks taught in high schools in 2021 generally revolve around the themes of

morally superior, peace-loving, victim in-group members in opposition to evil and cruel out-group members. In light of the other identities found in each textbook, it can be deduced according to the Model of the Impact of History Education on Social Identity as outlined by Korostelina that all four textbooks generally nurture the prejudices and stereotypes of the in-group towards the out-group members and provides a suitable environment for the establishment of a strong culture of violence. As a result, the overall readiness of society to engage in a conflict in case of a real or perceived threat to the identity increases. Nevertheless, it is important to note that all four textbooks also contribute to the formation of mild peace culture. In a bid to decrease the mechanisms that lead to the culture of violence and increase the likelihood of the formation of culture of peace, Korostelina advises the following: the common and comparative history of each group and meanings and roots of the cultures and values should be provided; reconciliation efforts and approaches to forgiveness should be emphasized while mutual understanding between the two groups should be developed; positive relations along with the history of conflict should be included in the textbooks; the similar experiences and diversity of the perspectives and cultures should be pointed out; history should be explained around major concepts of society, politics, and international relations based on two groups' perspectives; the negative results of destructive events and aggressive actions should be explained; the fact that the out-group members may also suffer at the hand of the in-group members should be shown; the failures and the atrocities of the in-group should not be whitewashed or omitted; stereotypes and biased representation of the out-group members should be reviewed; the conflicts between two groups should be depicted as temporary and situational; unique contributions of the out-group members and minorities within the in-group should be added to the textbook; tolerance should be designated as a desired value while the unjustness and discrimination should be pointed as a threat to the identity; civic nature of the society and importance of responsibilities and obligations of the individuals and the states towards each other should be indicated; the patriotism should be presented as an accountability to your own country; and lastly respect for the rule of law, law, human rights, freedoms, cooperation should be emphasized.

Nevertheless, it is important to keep in mind that the textbooks will be not the only determinant factor in the development of a culture of peace or violence. Within

this scope, the presentation of specific identities also does not necessarily lead to the identification of the students with these identities. A further and comprehensive study must be conducted in order to determine whether these ascribed identities are acquired by the readers and whether the identities presented by the textbooks influence an individual's views and actions and if it does, to what degree. In this respect, the textbooks may not be necessarily taken as sourcebooks by some teachers in classrooms. Teachers may prefer to base their lessons on other books and resources while teaching official history classes. It is also notable to be aware that not only Turkey but all countries around the world resort to the textbook, specifically history textbooks, in order to strike the roots of the desired social identity along with the desired values in line with the political interests. Due to the inherent need of individuals to feel self-esteem based on positive evaluation and comparative advantage, many nations praised and continue to praise their own nation while depicting the out-group members as the aggressors in their own history textbooks to different degrees. Although particular nations, notably European nations have exerted serious efforts to eliminate narratives that lead to prejudices and to the formation of violent-prone identities in the textbooks⁴⁰⁸, it is observed that the textbooks generally tone down the tone of the polarization or changed the country or region that is designated as the Other⁴⁰⁹

⁴⁰⁸ see Korostelina, *History Education in the Formation of Social Identity*, 97; Patricia Bromley and Julia Julia, "Human Rights as Cultural Globalisation: The Rise of Human Rights in Textbooks, 1890–2013," in *Palgrave Handbook of Textbook Studies* (New York: PALGRAVE MACMILLAN, 2018), pp. 345-356, 351; Özalay - Şanlı, "Europe in Turkish History Textbooks", 33.

⁴⁰⁹ Melissa F. Weiner, "Colonized Curriculum: Racializing Discourses of Africa and Africans in Dutch Primary School History Textbooks," *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity* 2, no. 4 (August 2016): pp. 450-465, <https://doi.org/10.1177/2332649215628037>, 451-452; Luigi Cajani, "The Image of Italian Colonialism in Italian History Textbooks for Secondary Schools," *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 5, no. 1 (January 2013): pp. 72-89, <https://doi.org/10.3167/jemms.2013.050105>, 81.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abrams, Dominic, and Michael A. Hogg. *Social Identifications a Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations and Group Processes*. Hoboken: Taylor and Francis, 1998.
- Anderson, Benedict R. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso, 1991.
- Apple, Michael W. *Official Knowledge: Democratic Education in a Conservative Age*. London: Routledge, 1993.
- Ari, Başar. "Religion and Nation-Building in the Turkish Republic: Comparison of High School History Textbooks of 1931–41 and of 1942–50." *Turkish Studies* 14, no. 2 (2013): 372–93. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14683849.2013.805057>.
- Bar-Tal, Daniel, and Yona Teichman. *Stereotypes and Prejudice in Conflict: Representations of Arabs in Israeli Jewish Society*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- Bar-Tal, Daniel, Dario Paez, and James Hou_fu Liu. "Collective Memory of Conflicts." In *Intergroup Conflicts and Their Resolution: A Social Psychological Perspective*, edited by Daniel Bar-Tal, 105–24. New York: Psychology Press, 2011.
- Bar-Tal, Daniel. "The Rocky Road toward Peace: Beliefs on Conflict in Israeli Textbooks." *Journal of Peace Research* 35, no. 6 (1998): 723–42. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022343398035006005>.
- Bağ, Ebru, and Yasemin Bayyurt. "Gender Representations in EFL Textbooks in Turkey." In *Gender Representation in Learning Materials: International Perspectives*, edited by Sara Mills and Abolaji S. Mustapha, 64–85. Routledge, 2018.
- Behnke, Andreas. "NATO's Security Discourse after the Cold War," 2012. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203109328>.
- Bentrovato, Denise, Karina Valentinovna Korostelina, Martina Schulze, and Denise Bentrovato. "Teaching about a Violent Past: Revisiting the Role of History Education in Conflict and Peace." In *History Can Bite: History Education in Divided and Postwar Societies*, edited by Denise Bentrovato, Karina V. Korostelina, and Martina Schulze 15–30. Göttingen: V&R Unipress, 2016.

- Bentrovato, Denise. "History Textbook Writing in Post-Conflict Societies: From Battlefield to Site and Means of Conflict Transformation." *History Education and Conflict Transformation*, 2017, 37–76. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-54681-0_2.
- Blanton, Hart, and Charlene Christie. "Deviance Regulation: A Theory of Action and Identity." *Review of General Psychology* 7, no. 2 (2003): 115–49. <https://doi.org/10.1037/1089-2680.7.2.115>.
- Bloom, William. *Personal Identity, National Identity and International Relations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- Bock, Annekatrin. "Theories and Methods of Textbook Studies." In *Palgrave Handbook of Textbook Studies*, edited by Eckhardt Fuchs and Annekatrin Bock, 57–71. Palgrave Macmillan, 2019.
- Brewer, Marilynn B. "The Social Self: On Being the Same and Different at the Same Time." *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 17, no. 5 (1991): 475–82. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167291175001>.
- Bromley, Patricia , and Julia Julia . "Human Rights as Cultural Globalisation: The Rise of Human Rights in Textbooks, 1890–2013." In *Palgrave Handbook of Textbook Studies*, edited by Eckhardt Fuchs and Annekatrin Bock, 345–56. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018.
- Browning, Christopher S., Pertti Joenniemi, and Brent J. Steele. "Vicarious Identity in International Relations." *Vicarious Identity in International Relations*, 2021, 43–88. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780197526385.003.0003>.
- Buckley-Zistel, Susanne. "In-Between War and Peace: Identities, Boundaries and Change after Violent Conflict." *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 35, no. 1 (2006): 3–21. <https://doi.org/10.1177/03058298060350010101>.
- Burke, Peter J., and Hogg A. Michael. "Chapter 5 Social Identity Theory." In *Contemporary Social Psychological Theories*, edited by Peter J. Burke, 112–38. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2018.
- Cajani, Luigi. "The Image of Italian Colonialism in Italian History Textbooks for Secondary Schools." *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 5, no. 1 (2013): 72–89. <https://doi.org/10.3167/jemms.2013.050105>.
- Carretero, Mario, Mikel Asensio, and Maria Rodriguez-Moneo. *History Education and the Construction of National Identities*. Charlotte: IAP - Information Age Publishing, 2014.
- Cetin, Önder. "Migration and Migrants between the Favorable and the Problematic." *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 12, no. 2 (2020): 77–104. <https://doi.org/10.3167/jemms.2020.120204>.

- Chrysochoou, Xénia. "Studying Identity in Social Psychology." *Studying Identity: Theoretical and Methodological Challenges* 2, no. 2 (2003): 225–41. <https://doi.org/10.1075/jlp.2.2.03chr>.
- Cohen, Anthony P. *The Symbolic Construction of Community*. London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2015.
- Commeyras, Michelle. "Reading about Women in World History Textbooks from One Feminist Perspective." *Gender and Education* 8, no. 1 (1996): 31–48. <https://doi.org/10.1080/713668481>.
- Copeaux, Etienne. *Tarih Ders Kitaplarında (1931-1993): Türk Tarih Tezinden türk-islâm Sentezine*. Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2006.
- Çayır Kenan. *Who Are We? - Identity, Citizenship and Rights in Turkey's Textbooks*. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı, History Foundation Publ, 2014.
- Davies, Lynn. "The Different Faces of Education in Conflict." *Development* 53, no. 4 (2010): 491–97. <https://doi.org/10.1057/dev.2010.69>.
- de Kort, Frauke. "Human Rights Education in Social Studies in the Netherlands: A Case Study Textbook Analysis." *PROSPECTS* 47, no. 1-2 (2017): 55–71. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11125-018-9431-3>.
- Ellemers, Naomi, Russell Spears, and Bertjan Doosje. "Sticking Together or Falling Apart: In-Group Identification as a Psychological Determinant of Group Commitment versus Individual Mobility." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 72, no. 3 (1997): 617–26. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.72.3.617>.
- Erikson, Erik H. *Identity: Youth and Crisis*. New York: W.W.Norton, 1968.
- Fearon, James D., and David D. Laitin. "Violence and the Social Construction of Ethnic Identity." *International Organization* 54, no. 4 (2000): 845–77. <https://doi.org/10.1162/002081800551398>.
- Foster, Stuart. "Dominant Traditions in International Textbook Research and Revision." *Education Inquiry* 2, no. 1 (2011): 5–20. <https://doi.org/10.3402/edui.v2i1.21959>.
- Fuchs, Eckhardt, Annekatrin Bock, and Annekatrin Bock. "Introduction." In *Palgrave Handbook of Textbook Studies*, edited by Eckhardt Fuchs, 1–11. PALGRAVE MACMILLAN, 2019.
- Gamson, William A., and Erving Goffman. "Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience." *Contemporary Sociology* 4, no. 6 (1975): 603. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2064022>.

- Gongaware, Timothy B. "Collective Memory Anchors: Collective Identity and Continuity in Social Movements." *Sociological Focus* 43, no. 3 (2010): 214–39. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00380237.2010.10571377>.
- Guven, Ismail. "The Impact of Political Islam on Education: 'the Revitalization of Islamic Education in the Turkish Educational Setting.'" *International Journal of Educational Development* 25, no. 3 (2005): 193–208. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijedudev.2004.08.001>.
- Hakoköngäs, Eemeli, and Inari Sakki. "The Naturalized Nation: Anchoring, Objectification and Naturalized Social Representations of History." *Journal of Social and Political Psychology* 4, no. 2 (2016): 646–69. <https://doi.org/10.5964/jspp.v4i2.664>.
- Henne, Kathrin, and Eckhardt Fuchs. "History of Textbook Research." In *Palgrave Handbook of Textbook Studies*, edited by Eckhardt Fuchs and Annekatrin Bock, 25–57. PALGRAVE MACMILLAN, 2019.
- Hogg, Michael A. "Social Identity Theory." In *Understanding Peace and Conflict through Social Identity Theory*, edited by Shelley McKeown, Reeshma Haji, and Neil Ferguson, 3–17. SPRINGER INTERNATIONAL PU, 2018. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-29869-6_1.
- Hogg, Michael A. "Subjective Uncertainty Reduction through Self-Categorization: A Motivational Theory of Social Identity Processes." *European Review of Social Psychology* 11, no. 1 (2000): 223–55. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14792772043000040>.
- Hogg, Michael A., and John C. Turner. "Intergroup Behaviour, Self-Stereotyping and the Salience of Social Categories." *British Journal of Social Psychology* 26, no. 4 (1987): 325–40. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.2044-8309.1987.tb00795.x>.
- Hogg, Michael A., and Scott A. Reid. "Social Identity, Self-Categorization, and the Communication of Group Norms." *Communication Theory* 16, no. 1 (2006): 7–30. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2885.2006.00003.x>.
- Hogg, Michael A., Dominic Abrams, Henri Tajfel, and John Turner. "An Integrative Theory of Intergroup Conflict." In *Intergroup Relations: Essential Readings*, edited by Michael A. Hogg and Dominic Abrams 33–47. Philadelphia, PA: Psychology Press, 2001.
- Huddy, Leonie. "From Social to Political Identity: A Critical Examination of Social Identity Theory." *Political Psychology* 22, no. 1 (2001): 127–56. <https://doi.org/10.1111/0162-895x.00230>.
- Hutcheson, John, David Domke, Andre Billeaudeau, and Philip Garland. "U.S. National Identity, Political Elites, and a Patriotic Press Following September

- 11.” *Political Communication* 21, no. 1 (2004): 27–50.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/10584600490273254>.
- Hutchinson, John. *Nationalism: Critical Concepts in Political Science*. London: Routledge, 2001.
- Ide, Tobias, Jakob Kirchheimer, and Denise Bentrovato. “School Textbooks, Peace and Conflict: An Introduction.” *Global Change, Peace & Security* 30, no. 3 (2018): 287–94. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14781158.2018.1505717>.
- Janmaat, Jan Germen. “History and National Identity Construction: The Great Famine in Irish and Ukrainian History Textbooks.” *History of Education* 35, no. 3 (2006): 345–68. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00467600600638434>.
- Jaspal, Rusi, and Glynis M. Breakwell. “Identity and Social Representation.” In *Identity Process Theory: Identity, Social Action and Social Change*, edited by Rusi Jaspal, and Glynis M. Breakwell 118–34. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016.
- Jenkins, Richard. “Categorization: Identity, Social Process and Epistemology.” *Current Sociology* 48, no. 3 (2000): 7–25.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0011392100048003003>.
- Kadioğlu, Ayşe. “The Paradox of Turkish Nationalism and the Construction of Official Identity.” *Middle Eastern Studies* 32, no. 2 (1996): 177–93.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/00263209608701110>.
- Kaplan, İsmail. *Türkiye’de Milli Eğitim İdeolojisi Ve Siyasal Toplumsallaşma Üzerindeki Etkisi*. İstanbul: İletişim, 2009.
- “Karina Korostelina.” Jimmy and Rosalynn Carter School for Peace and Conflict Resolution. Accessed June 14, 2022.
<https://carterschool.gmu.edu/profiles/ckoroste>.
- Karlberg, Michael. “Discourse, Identity, and Global Citizenship.” *Peace Review* 20, no. 3 (2008): 310–20. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10402650802330139>.
- Kawakami, Kerry, and Kenneth L. Dion. “Social Identity and Affect as Determinants of Collective Action.” *Theory & Psychology* 5, no. 4 (1995): 551–77.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0959354395054005>.
- Kello, Katrin. “Identity and Othering in Past and Present: Representations of the Soviet Era in Estonian Post-Soviet Textbooks.” *Journal of Social and Political Psychology* 5, no. 2 (2018): 665–93. <https://doi.org/10.5964/jspp.v5i2.737>.
- King, Elisabeth. “From Data Problems to Data Points: Challenges and Opportunities of Research in Postgenocide Rwanda.” *African Studies Review* 52, no. 3 (2009): 127–48. <https://doi.org/10.1353/arw.0.0295>.

- Korostelina, Karina Valentinovna. "History Education and Social Identity." *Identity: An International Journal of Theory and Research* 8, no. 1 (2008): 25–45. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15283480701787327>.
- Korostelina, Karina Valentinovna. *History Education in the Formation of Social Identity: Toward a Culture of Peace*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.
- Korostelina, Karina Valentinovna. *Social Identity and Conflict: Structures, Dynamics, and Implications*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2016.
- Kriesberg, Louis, and Bruce W. Dayton. *Constructive Conflicts: From Escalation to Resolution*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2012.
- Kroger, Jane. "The Role of Historical Context in the Identity Formation Process of Late Adolescence." *Youth & Society* 24, no. 4 (1993): 363–76. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0044118x93024004003>.
- Latif, Dilek. "Dilemmas of Moving from the Divided Past to Envisaged United Future: Rewriting the History Books in the North Cyprus." *International Journal for Education Law and Policy* Special Issue (2010): 33–43.
- László János. *The Science of Stories: An Introduction to Narrative Psychology*. London: Routledge, 2008.
- Liu, James H., and Denis J. Hilton. "How the Past Weighs on the Present: Social Representations of History and Their Role in Identity Politics." *British Journal of Social Psychology* 44, no. 4 (2005): 537–56. <https://doi.org/10.1348/014466605x27162>.
- Malešević Siniša. "The Contemporary Sociology of Organised Violence." In *The Sociology of War and Violence*, edited by Siniša Malešević, 54–85. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- Martiny, Sarah E., and Mark Rubin. "Towards a Clearer Understanding of Social Identity Theory's Self-Esteem Hypothesis." In *Understanding Peace and Conflict through Social Identity Theory*, edited by Shelley McKeown, Reeshma Haji, and Neil Ferguson, 19–32. SPRINGER INTERNATIONAL PU, 2018.
- McCully, Alan. "History Teaching, Conflict and the Legacy of the Past." *Education, Citizenship and Social Justice* 7, no. 2 (2012): 145–59. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1746197912440854>.
- Meyer, John W., Patricia Bromley, and Francisco O. Ramirez. "Human Rights in Social Science Textbooks." *Sociology of Education* 83, no. 2 (2010): 111–34. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0038040710367936>.
- Millas, Hercules. "History Textbooks in Greece and Turkey." *History Workshop Journal* 31, no. 1 (1991): 21–33. <https://doi.org/10.1093/hwj/31.1.21>.

- Moloney, Gail, Iain Walker, James H. Liu, and János László. "A Narrative Theory of History and Identity: Social Identity, Social Representations, Society, and the Individual." In *Social Representations and Identity: Content, Process and Power*, edited by Gail Moloney, Iain Walker, 85–108. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.
- Nohl, Arnd-Michael, Arzu Akkoyunlu-Wigley, Simon Wigley, and Arnd-Michael Nohl. "The Turkish Education System and Its History-An Introduction." In *Education in Turkey*, edited by Arnd-Michael Nohl, Arzu Akkoyunlu-Wigley, and Simon Wigley, 15–48. Münster: Waxmann, 2008.
- Nohl, Arnd-Michael, Arzu Akkoyunlu-Wigley, Simon Wigley, and Sema Taşçı Günlü. "Adult Literacy Campaigns and Nation Building." In *Education in Turkey*, edited by Arnd-Michael Nohl, Arzu Akkoyunlu-Wigley, and Simon Wigley, 175–94. Münster: Waxmann, 2008.
- Owens, Timothy J., Sheldon Stryker, Robert W. White, Marilyn B. Brewer, and Michael D. Silver. "Group Distinctiveness, Social Identification, and Collective Mobilization." In *Self, Identity, and Social Movements*, edited by Sheldon Stryker, Timothy J. Owens, and Robert W. White, 153–71. Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 2003.
- Paulson, Julia. "Whether and How?' History Education about Recent and Ongoing Conflict: A Review of Research ." *Journal on Education in Emergencies*, 1, no. 1 (2015): 115–41. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.17609/N84H20>.
- Pingel, Falk. "Can Truth Be Negotiated? History Textbook Revision as a Means to Reconciliation." *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 617, no. 1 (2008): 181–98. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0002716207313087>.
- Pingel, Falk. *UNESCO Guidebook on Textbook Research and Textbook Revision* (version Second Revised and Updated Edition). Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 2010. <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0011/001171/117188e.pdf>.
- Podeh, Elie. "History and Memory in the Israeli Educational System: *the Portrayal of the Arab-Israeli Conflict in History Textbooks (1948-2000)*." *History and Memory* 12, no. 1 (2000): 65–100. <https://doi.org/10.2979/his.2000.12.1.65>.
- Radcliffe, Sarah A., and Sallie Westwood. *Remaking the Nation: Place, Identity and Politics in Latin America*. London: Routledge, 1996.
- Rifkin, Benjamin. "Gender Representation in Foreign Language Textbooks: A Case Study of Textbooks of Russian." *The Modern Language Journal* 82, no. 2 (1998): 217–36. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4781.1998.tb01195.x>.

- Rothbart, Daniel, and Karina V. Korostelina. *Identity, Morality, and Threat: Studies in Violent Conflict*. Lanham: Lexington Books, 2006.
- Rusu, Mihai. "History and Collective Memory: The Succeeding Incarnations of an Evolving Relationship." *Philobiblon* XVIII, no. 2 (2013): 260–82.
- Sani, Fabio, Marina Herrera, and Mhairi Bowe. "Perceived Collective Continuity and Ingroup Identification as Defence against Death Awareness." *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology* 45, no. 1 (2009): 242–45.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2008.07.019>.
- Schissler, Hanna Soysal, Vasilina Lilian Antoniou, and Yasemin Nuhoglu Soysal. "Nation and the Other in Greek and Turkish History Textbooks." In *The Nation, Europe, and the World: Textbooks and Curricula in Transition*, edited by Hanna Schissler and Yasemin Nuhoglu Soysal 105–21. Berghahn Books, 2005.
- Schissler, Hanna, Soysal Yasemin Nuhoglu, and Rainer Ohliger. "Privileged Migrants in Germany, France, and the Netherlands: Return Migrants, Repatriates, and Expellees after 1945." In *The Nation, Europe, and the World: Textbooks and Curricula in Transition*, edited by Hanna Schissler and Yasemin Nuhoglu Soysal 35–54. Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2005.
- Shannon, Vaughn P., Paul A. Kowert, and Deborah Welch Larson. "How Identities Form and Change: Supplementing Constructivism with Social Psychology." In *Psychology and Constructivism in International Relations an Ideational Alliance*, edited by Vaughn P. Shannon and Paul A. Kowert 57–75. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2014.
- Sidanius, Jim, John T. Jost, Henri Tajfel, and John C. Turner. "The Social Identity Theory of Intergroup Behavior." In *Political Psychology: Key Readings*, edited by John T. Jost and Jim Sidanius 367–90. Vancouver, B.C.: Langara College, 2007.
- Smith, Elioth R. "Social Identity and Social Emotions: Toward New Conceptualizations of Prejudice." *Affect, Cognition and Stereotyping*, 1993, 297–315. <https://doi.org/10.1016/b978-0-08-088579-7.50017-x>.
- Sontag, Susan. *Regarding the Pain of Others*. New York: Picador, 2003.
- Sorrentino, Richard M., Susumu Yamaguchi, James H. Liu, and Denis J. Hilton. "Culture and Intergroup Relations: The Role of Social Representations of History ." In *Handbook of Motivation and Cognition across Cultures*, edited by Richard Sorrentino and Susumu Yamaguchi 343–68. Amsterdam: Academic/Elsevier, 2008.

- Suls, Jerry M., Ladd Wheeler, and Michael A. Hogg. "Social Identity and Social Comparison." In *Handbook of Social Comparison: Theory and Research*, edited by Jerry Suls and Ladd Wheeler, 21–48. New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers, 2000.
- Swim, Janet K., Charles Stangor, Kay Deaux, and Kathleen A. Ethier. "Negotiating Social Identity." In *Prejudice: The Target's Perspective*, edited by Janet K. Swim and Charles Stangor, 301–23. Amsterdam etc.: Elsevier, 2007.
- Tajfel, Henri, and John C. Turner. "Towards a Cognitive Redefinition of the Social Group." In *Social Identity and Intergroup Relations*, edited by Henri Tajfel, 15–36. Cambridge, a.: Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- Tajfel, Henri, M. G. Billig, R. P. Bundy, and Claude Flament. "Social Categorization and Intergroup Behaviour." *European Journal of Social Psychology* 1, no. 2 (1971): 149–78. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.2420010202>.
- Tajfel, Henri. "Social Identity and Intergroup Behaviour." *Social Science Information* 13, no. 2 (1974): 65–93. <https://doi.org/10.1177/053901847401300204>.
- Tilly, Charles. *Identities, Boundaries & Social Ties*. London: Routledge, 2016.
- Tilmans, Karin, Frank van Vree, J. M. Winter, and Aleida Assmann. "Re-Framing Memory. Between Individual and Collective Forms of Constructing the Past." In *Performing the Past: Memory, History, and Identity in Modern Europe*, edited by Karin Tilmans, Frank van Vree, and Jay Winter, 35–50. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2011.
- Tilmans, Karin, Frank van Vree, J. M. Winter, and Chris Lorenz. "Unstuck in Time. Or: the Sudden Presence of the Past." In *Performing the Past: Memory, History, and Identity in Modern Europe*, edited by Karin Tilmans, Frank van Vree, and Jay Winter, edited by Karin Tilmans, Frank van Vree, and Jay Winter, 67–104. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2011.
- Tilmans, Karin, Frank van Vree, Jay M. Winter, and Jay M. Winter. "The Performance of the Past: Memory, History, Identity." In *Performing the Past: Memory, History, and Identity in Modern Europe*, edited by Karin Tilmans, Frank van Vree, and Jay Winter, 11–34. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2011.
- Torsti, Pilvi. "How to Deal with a Difficult Past? History Textbooks Supporting Enemy Images in Post-War Bosnia and Herzegovina." *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 39, no. 1 (2007): 77–96. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00220270600765278>.
- Tsang, Sandra K., Eadaoin K. Hui, and Bella C. Law. "Positive Identity as a Positive Youth Development Construct: A Conceptual Review." *The Scientific World Journal* 2012 (2012): 1–8. <https://doi.org/10.1100/2012/529691>.

- Van, Lange Paul A M, Arie W. Kruglanski, E. Tory Higgins, Naomi Ellemers, and S. Alexander Haslam. "Social Identity Theory." In *Handbook of Theories of Social Psychology 2*, edited by Paul A. M. Van Lange, Arie W. Kruglanski and E. Tory Higgins 2:379–98. London: SAGE, 2012.
- Van, Lange Paul A M, Arie W. Kruglanski, E. Tory Higgins, Patrick Rataeu, Pascal Moliner, Christian Guimelli, and Jean-Claude Abric. "Social Representation Theory." In *Handbook of Theories of Social Psychology*, 477–97. London: SAGE, 2012.
- Verovšek, Peter J. "Collective Memory, Politics, and the Influence of the Past: The Politics of Memory as a Research Paradigm." *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 4, no. 3 (2016): 529–43. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21565503.2016.1167094>.
- Volkan, Vamik D. *Blind Trust: Large Groups and Their Leaders in Times of Crisis and Terror*. Charlottesville, Va: Pitchstone Pub, 2004.
- Volkan, Vamik D. "Large-Group Identity, International Relations and Psychoanalysis." *International Forum of Psychoanalysis* 18, no. 4 (2009): 206–13. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08037060902727795>.
- Volkan, Vamik D. "Large-Group Identity, Shared Prejudice, Chosen Glories, and Chosen Traumas." In *Psychoanalysis, International Relations, and Diplomacy: A Sourcebook on Large-Group Psychology*, 17–31. London: Karnar, 2014.
- Volkan, Vamik D. "Large-Group Identity: 'Us and Them' Polarizations in the International Arena." *Psychoanalysis, Culture & Society* 14, no. 1 (2009): 4–15. <https://doi.org/10.1057/pcs.2008.50>.
- Volkan, Vamik D. *Psychoanalysis, International Relations, and Diplomacy: A Sourcebook on Large-Group Psychology*. Routledge, 2019.
- Volkan, Vamik D. "The Need to Have Enemies and Allies: A Developmental Approach." *Political Psychology* 6, no. 2 (1985): 219. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3790902>.
- Volkan, Vamik D. "Transgenerational Transmissions and Chosen Traumas: An Aspect of Large-Group Identity." *Group Analysis* 34, no. 1 (2001): 79–97. <https://doi.org/10.1177/05333160122077730>.
- Volkan, Vamik D., and J. Christopher Fowler. "Large-Group Narcissism and Political Leaders with Narcissistic Personality Organization." *Psychiatric Annals* 39, no. 4 (2009). <https://doi.org/10.3928/00485713-20090401-09>.
- Weedon, Chris, and Glenn Jordan. "Collective Memory: Theory and Politics." *Social Semiotics* 22, no. 2 (2012): 143–53. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10350330.2012.664969>.

- Weiner, Melissa F. "Colonized Curriculum: Racializing Discourses of Africa and Africans in Dutch Primary School History Textbooks." *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity* 2, no. 4 (2016): 450–65. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2332649215628037>.
- Wertsch, James V., and Henry L. Roediger. "Collective Memory: Conceptual Foundations and Theoretical Approaches." *Memory* 16, no. 3 (2008): 318–26. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09658210701801434>.
- Worchel, Stephen, J. Francisco Morales, Dario Paez, and Jean-Claude Deschamps. *Social Identity: International Perspectives*. London etc.: Sage, 1998.
- Yılar, Murat Bayram, and İrfan Davut Çam. "Who Are We? and Who Are They? the Construction of Turkish National Identity in Textbooks within the Context of the Turkish War of Independence." *Middle Eastern Studies* 57, no. 6 (2021): 880–903. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00263206.2021.1885027>.
- Yüksel, Erol, Mehmet Ali Kapar, Özgür Bağcı, Ferhat Bildik, Kazım Şahin, Leyla Şafak, Murat Ardıç, and Süleyman Yıldız. *Ortaöğretim Tarih 9 Ders Kitabı*. Edited by Mehmet Ali Kapar. Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Yayınları, 2021.
- Yüksel, Erol, Mehmet Ali Kapar, Özgür Bağcı, Ferhat Bildik, Kazım Şahin, Leyla Şafak, Murat Ardıç, Süleyman Yıldız, and Yasemin Ardıç. *Ortaöğretim Tarih 11 Ders Kitabı*. Edited by Özgür Bağcı and Ferhat Bildik. 2021. Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Yayınları, n.d.
- Yüksel, Erol, Mehmet Ali Kapar, Özgür Bağcı, Ferhat Bildik, Kazım Şahin, Leyla Şafak, Murat Ardıç, and Süleyman Yıldız. *Ortaöğretim Tarih 10 Ders Kitabı*. Edited by Erol Yüksel. Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Yayınları, 2021.
- Zembylas, Michalinos. *Teaching Contested Narratives: Identity, Memory, and Reconciliation in Peace Education and Beyond*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.
- Çayır, Kenan. "Preparing Turkey for the European Union: Nationalism, National Identity and 'Otherness' in Turkey's New Textbooks." *Journal of Intercultural Studies* 30, no. 1 (2009): 39–55. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07256860802579436>.
- Çayır, Kenan. "'We Should Be Ourselves before Being a European': The New Curriculum, New Textbooks and Turkish Modernity." *Kuram ve Uygulamada Eğitim Bilimleri / Educational Sciences: Theory & Practice*, Autumn, 9, no. 4 (2009): 1681–90.
- Çevik, Akif, Gül Koç, and Koray Şerbetçi. *Ortaöğretim Türkiye Cumhuriyeti İnkılap Tarihi Ve Atatürkçülük 12 Ders Kitabı*. Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Yayınları, 2021.
- Özalay - Şanlı, Eren. "Europe in Turkish History Textbooks: The Change in the Idea of the West in Turkish Education and Identity, 1929-2008," 2013.

APPENDICES

A. TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKE ÖZET

Bu tez, birbiri ile bağlantı dört ana çalışma alanından faydalanmaktadır. Bunlar, sosyoloji ve psikoloji alanındaki kimlik çalışmaları, tarih bilimi, tarih öğretimi ve barış ve çatışma çalışmalarıdır. Bu alanlardan faydalanan bu tez, Türk ve Avrupa kimliklerinin en son 2021 yılında yayınlanan ve liselerde okutulan Türk tarih kitaplarında nasıl temsil edildiğini ve temsil edilen bu kimliklerin okuyanlar açısından çatışma veya barış kültürünün oluşması için daha elverişli bir ortam sunup sunmadığını tespit etmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Türkiye’de bu alanda yapılan çalışmalar her ne kadar içerik ve söylem analizi metotlarını kullanarak Türk tarih kitaplarında Türk kimliğine ya da biz/onlar söylemine ilişkin anlatı ve çerçeveler bulmuşsa da çalışmalardan hiçbiri herhangi bir psikolojik ve sosyolojik teoriyi temel almamıştır. Ek olarak, hiçbir çalışma kimliğe ilişkin bulguları barış ve çatışma ile ilişkilendirmemiştir. Bu nedenle, bu tez literatürdeki bu eksikliğı gidermeyi de amaçlamaktadır.

Bu kapsamda, bu tez ilk olarak bireysel kimlik ve toplumsal kimliğin oluşum sürecini, gruplar arası ilişkileri ve neden iç grup üyelerinin bu gruptaki bireyler tarafından öncelenip dış grup üyelerine karşı önyargıyla yaklaştıklarını incelemiştir. Benzerlik ve devamlılık algısı üzerine çevre ile sürekli olarak etkileşim halinde kurulan benlik algısı kendisinden farklı olanları dışsallaştırarak bir öteki yaratır. Artık “Ben”, Ötekini referans alarak kendini tanımlar. Öteki olmadan Ben var olamaz⁴¹⁰. Sosyal Kimlik Kuramı, grup kimliklerinin bireysel kimliğin oluşmasına benzer bir

⁴¹⁰Michael A. Hogg, “Subjective Uncertainty Reduction through Self-Categorization: A Motivational Theory of Social Identity Processes,” *European Review of Social Psychology* 11, no. 1 (2000): pp. 223-255, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14792772043000040>, 22.

şekilde bir süreç sonucunda oluştuğunu öne sürer. Buna göre, birey dünyayı kategoriler şeklinde algılar ve kendi ile benzer olarak algıladığı bireylerle kendini özdeşirir. Bir bireyin, kendini bir grubun parçası olarak tanımlamasının ardında, onay ihtiyacı, özsaygısını mukayese üstünlük ile sürdürmesi ihtiyacı, belirsizliğin giderilmesi bilişsel ihtiyacı ve bilişsel tutarlılığın sağlanması ihtiyacı yatmaktadır. Bu ihtiyaçlarını gideren birey, kendini özdeştiirdiği gruba karşı duygusal yakınlık ve aidiyet hissi hissetmeye başlar⁴¹¹. Özdeşirme oranı arttıkça bireyin duygusal bağlılığı daha da artar. Ayrıca, Sosyal Kimlik Kuramı, grup kimliğine karşı grubun görece olumlu statüsüne zarar veren gerçek ya da algılanan bir tehdit sunulduğunda bireylerin üç yoldan birini seçeceğini öngörmektedir. Böyle bir durumda bireyler, (1) statüsü daha yüksek bir grup ile kendini özdeşirmeye başlayabilir, (2) sosyal yaratıcılığı kullanarak aidiyet hissettiği grubun tekrar daha üstün konuma sahip olması için karşılaştırma kriterlerini değiştirebilir ya da karşılaştırdığı referans grubunu değiştirebilir, veya (3) kaybolan statüsünü geri getirmek için karşı grup ile direkt bir yarışmaya /çatışmaya girişebilir⁴¹². Bu bağlamda, bireylerin aidiyet ve duygusal bağımlılığının yüksek olması, bireyleri kendi gruplarına bağlı kalmaya ve bir tehdit karşısında birinci seçeneği kullanmamaya itecektir. İlgili sosyal kimliğin tanımına göre ise de bireylerin ikinci veya üçüncü seçeneği seçme olasılığı değişecektir. Ayrıca, kimlik oluşum süreci bu tez açısından üç önemli sonuca yol açmaktadır. Öncelikle, sosyal kimlik oluşum süreci, bireylerin kendileri hakkındaki inançlarını, etiklerini, değerlerini ve dünya hakkındaki görüşlerini etkileyip şekillendirmektedir⁴¹³. İkinci olarak, kimlik oluşma süreci bireylerin grup dışı kişiler ve Öteki hakkındaki fikirlerini ve inançlarını etkilemekte dolayısıyla gruplar arası ilişkiler hakkındaki yerleşmiş düşünceleri de etkilemektedir. Bu etkilerin bir sonucu olarak ise, bireyin karşı gruplara karşı önyargıları ve basmakalıp fikirleri türemekte ve karşı grubun bireylerine karşı

⁴¹¹ Lange Paul A M Van et al., "Social Identity Theory," in Handbook of Theories of Social Psychology , vol. 2 (London: SAGE, 2012), pp. 379-398, 381.

⁴¹² Jim Sidanius et al., "The Social Identity Theory of Intergroup Behavior," in Political Psychology: Key Readings (Vancouver, B.C.: Langara College, 2007), pp. 367-390, 382.

⁴¹³ Janet K. Swim et al., "Negotiating Social Identity," in *Prejudice: The Target's Perspective* (Amsterdam etc.: Elsevier, 2007), pp. 301-323, 301.

tutunduğu tutum ve sergilediği davranışlar da değişmektedir⁴¹⁴. Üçüncü ve son olarak ise, bu süreç ile yaratılan önyargılar ve bazı değer yargıları, yukarıda da bahsedildiği gibi, bazı durumlar altında kimliğe yönelik bir tehdit ile karşı karşıya kaldıklarında bireylerin toplu hareket etmesine ve bir çatışmaya girmesine yol açabilir⁴¹⁵.

Bağlantılı olarak, kimlikler aynı zamanda geçmiş, şuan ve gelecek arasında ilişkiler kurarak bir devamlılık algısı üzerinde kurulurlar⁴¹⁶. Bu nedenle, geçmiş hakkındaki bilgiler kimliğin özünü oluşturur. Bu anlamda tarih ve geçmiş hakkındaki bilgiler bir bireyin ya da bir sosyal gurubun ne olduğu, neye değer vermesi gerektiği, kimler ile arasının iyi olduğu ve nelere dikkat etmesi gerektiği gibi konularda bilgi verir. Geçmişe ait bilgiler genellikle nesilden nesle efsaneler, hikâyeler, bilinen semboller ve anlam çerçeveleri şeklinde iletilir⁴¹⁷. Bu efsaneler içerisinde seçilmiş travma ve seçilmiş zafer hikayeleri de bulunur. Bu tür hikâyeler, grupları kimlik olgusu üzerinde birbirine kenetlemeye ve öz güven arttırmaya yararken bir taraftan da gruplar arası kutuplaşmaları arttırmaktadır. Ek olarak, tarih ve geçmiş sosyal kimliğe benzer olarak hem bir kişinin değerlerini, inançlarını, hem öteki hakkındaki fikirlerini ve ötekilere karşı tutumlarını ve davranışlarını etkiler hem de bireylerin belirli şartlar altında toplu hareket edebilmeleri için gerekli temellendirmeleri sunar.

Tarih eğitimi de benzer etkiler yaratsa da tarih eğitimi, tarih bilgisini objektif şekilde aktarmayı amaç edinen tarih biliminin aksine gerçek şahıslar tarafından belirli çıkar ve amaçlara hizmet etmesi için tasarlanmıştır⁴¹⁸. Tarih eğitimi, objektif tarih

⁴¹⁴ Sidanius et al., “The Social Identity Theory of Intergroup Behavior,” 374.

⁴¹⁵ Timothy J. Owens et al., “Group Distinctiveness, Social Identification, and Collective Mobilization,” in *Self, Identity, and Social Movements* (Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 2003), pp. 153-171, 2003; Elioth R. Smith, “Social Identity and Social Emotions: Toward New Conceptualizations of Prejudice,” *Affect, Cognition and Stereotyping*, 1993, pp. 297-315, <https://doi.org/10.1016/b978-0-08-088579-7.50017-x>, 308.

⁴¹⁶ Susanne Buckley-Zistel, “In-Between War and Peace: Identities, Boundaries and Change after Violent Conflict,” *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 35, no. 1 (2006): pp. 3-21, <https://doi.org/10.1177/03058298060350010101>, 3.

⁴¹⁷ Jaspal and Breakwell, “Identity and Social Representation,” in *Identity Process Theory: Identity, Social Action and Social Change* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), pp. 118-134, 118.

⁴¹⁸ Michael W. Apple, *Official Knowledge: Democratic Education in a Conservative Age* (Routledge, 1993), 46.

bilgilerini deęil resmi olarak tanınan meşru tarih bilgilerini seçerek öğrencilere aktarmaktadır. Tarih eğitiminin amacı siyasi elitlerin çıkarları doğrultusunda istenilen kimliği inşa etmektir. Bu amaç doğrultusunda tarih eğitimi belirli tarihsel olayları müfredattan çıkararak, abartarak ya da küçümseyerek ilgili bilgileri okuyuculara sunar. Buna rağmen, tarih kitapları genellikle objektif ve tarafsız bilgi sunan kaynaklar gibi lanse edilir. Tarih eğitime tabi tutulan öğrencilerden ise bu bilgileri sorgulamamaları ve ezberlemeleri beklenirken bir taraftan da öğrenciler bu bilgileri yeterince özümseydiğine dair sınavlara tabi tutulurlar⁴¹⁹. Ayrıca, ülke bazında okutuldukları göz önünde bulundurulduğunda, tarih kitapları çok geniş kitlelere hitap ederek çok küçük yaşta verilen bilgileri çocukların kafasına yerleştirir. Çok küçük yaşta belirli bilgilere sahip olan çocuklar ileride yeni kaynaklar araştırmayı seçmezse genellikle bu tarih eğitimi tarihsel bilgilerin verildiği ilk ve tek kaynak olarak kalır. Tarihin, tarih eğitiminin ve kimliğin birbiri ile etkileşimi düşünüldüğünde, tarih eğitiminin de kimliğin üç sonucuna etki eder. Bu bakımdan, tarih eğitimi bireylerin inançlarına, fikirlerine; başkaları hakkındaki fikirlerine ve başkalarına karşı davranışlarına etki edecek ve bireylerin bazı durumlarda harekete geçmesi için gerekli meşrulaştırıcı unsurlar sağlayacaktır.

Bu kapsamda, bir psikolog olan ve barış ve çatışma çalışmaları araştırmacısı olan Karina Korostelina kimlik ve tarih eğitimi unsurlarını birleştirerek tarih eğitiminin kimliğe etki ederek nasıl çatışma kültürünün bir toplumda yerleşmesine ya da barış kültürünün gelişmesine yol açabileceğini incelemiştir. Korostelina'ya göre tarih kitapları bazı mekanizmalar nedeniyle okuyarlarda belirli tür kimliklerin oluşmasını kolaylaştıracaktır. Tarih kitaplarında bulunan bazı kimlik türleri ise bireyleri daha çatışmaya hazır hale getirebilecekken bazı türler ise barış kültürünün oluşması açısından daha elverişli olacaktır. Bu bağlamda Sosyal Kimlik Kuramı ve diğer başka psikolojik ve sosyolojik kuramlardan faydalanan Korostelina bu incelemelerini Tarih Eğitiminin Sosyal Kimliğe Etkisi Modeli isimli tablosunda

⁴¹⁹ Lynn Davies, "The Different Faces of Education in Conflict," *Development* 53, no. 4 (2010): pp. 491-497, <https://doi.org/10.1057/dev.2010.69>, 492.

modelleştirmiştir⁴²⁰. Bu tablo üç seviyeden oluşmakta ve bu seviyeler kimlik oluşum sürecinin üç önemli sonucunu temel almaktadır. Buna göre, birinci seviye grup içi kimlik ile alakalı, ikinci seviye grup içindeki öteki algısı ve öteki gruplar ile ilişkiler hakkında iken; üçüncü seviye ise toplu eylemler için gerekçelendirmelerin sağlanması ile alakalıdır.

Birinci seviye kendi içinde kimlik formları ve kimlik modları olarak ikiye ayrılmaktadır. Kimlik formları, bir kimliğin kökü ve kimliğin gelişiminde düşman algısının kapladığı yer ile alakalıyken; kimlik modları belirli unsurların kimlik için ne kadar önem arz ettiği ile ilgilidir. Üç kimlik formu bulunmaktadır bunlar: kültürel, yansımış ve seferber kimlik formlarıdır. Eğer gelenekler ve kültürel öğeler kimliğin gelişimi ve anlamı için çok büyük yer kaplıyorsa ve tarih eğitimi başka kültürlerle ve ötekinin geleneklerinden hiç bahsetmiyorsa, kültürel kimlik formu oluşacaktır. Kültürel kimlik formu çatışma kültürünün oluşmasını kolaylaştıran bir kimlik türüdür. Seferber kimlik formu, sosyal kimlik grubunun yaşayış biçimini ve değerlerini tek olası yol olarak gösterilmesi, aidiyet grubunun diğer gruplardan her anlamda üstün olduğunun vurgulanması ve lidere karşı kayıtsız itaatın övülmesi ile oluşmaktadır. Bu kimlik formu da şiddet kültürü için elverişli ortam sağlamaktadır. Yansımış kimlik formu ise, ancak tarih bilinci ve tarihsel köklerinin öteki gruplarla beraber verilmesiyle ve ortak tarih ile ortak amaçların vurgulanmasıyla oluşturulabilir. Yansımış kimlik formu diğer iki kimlik formunun aksine barış kültürünün oluşmasını kolaylaştıracaktır. Kimlik modları ise ideolojik, görelî, tarihsel ve betimsel olmak üzere dörde ayrılmaktadır. Ideolojik kimlik modu, farklı ideolojiye sahip düşman ile aidiyet gurubu arasındaki farklara aşırı odaklanması ve ideolojik farklılıkların bir tehdit olarak gösterilmesi ile oluşmaktadır. Bu kimlik modu da şiddet kültürüne yönelten kimlik türlerindedir. Görelî kimlik türü ise aidiyet grubunun özgüven ihtiyacını gidermesi için öteki grup ile sürekli olarak aidiyet grubunun üstünlüğü sağlanacak şekilde karşılaştırma yapılması, öteki gruplar ile farklılıkların aşırı vurgulanması ve askeri ve savaşçıların önemli şahıslar olarak sunulması ile oluşmaktadır. Görelî kimlik türü de şiddet kültürünün oluşmasını kolaylaştırmaktadır. Tarihsel kimlik modu oluşturulma

⁴²⁰ Karina Valentinovna Korostelina, *History Education in the Formation of Social Identity: Toward a Culture of Peace* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 43.

şekline bağlı olarak ise hem şiddet kültürünün hem de barış kültürünün oluşmasına yardımcı olabilir. Korostelina'ya göre eğer vatanseverlik ulusal hükümete kayıtsız şartsız boyun eğme ve bağlılık duyma olarak lanse ediliyor ve aidiyet grubu sürekli olarak bir mağdur olarak lanse ediliyorsa tarihsel kimlik modu daha şiddet kültürüne eğilimli olacaktır. Ancak, eğer düşünceler tarihi karşılaştırmalı bir şekilde sunuluyor, vatanseverlik insanların ülkesine yaptıkları bir hizmet olarak anlatılıyor ve uzlaştırma ve karşılıklı anlayış kavramlarının önemi vurgulanıyorsa tarihsel kimlik barış kültürünün oluşmasına olanak sağlayacaktır. Betimsel kimlik modu ise devletin bireylerin üstündeki etkisinde azaltılması, bireyselliğin vurgulanması, devlet içinde yaşayan her türden insanın kültürel ve siyasi başarılığının vurgulanması ve tolerans ile barış için mücadele eden insanların övülmesi ile oluşmaktadır. Betimsel kimlik modu da barış kültürünün gelişmesine katkı sağlamaktadır.

İkinci seviye de sosyal sınırlar ve toplu değerler öğretisi olmak üzere kendi içinde ikiye ayrılmaktadır. Sosyal sınırlar, aidiyet grubu ile öteki grup hakkındaki hikâye ve tasvirler ile alakalıyken, toplu değerler öğretisi ise aidiyet grubu ile öteki gruplara atanan değerler ile ilgilidir. Sosyal sınırlar bölücü ya da içerici olabilir. Öteki gruplarla olan olumlu ilişkilerin tarih eğitimlerinde hiçbir şekilde yer verilmemesi, gruplar arası benzerliklerin kalıcı ve çözülmez olarak yansıtılması, öteki gruplar agresif olarak yansıtılırken aidiyet grubunun bu agresif grubun masum bir mağduru olarak atanması daha bölücü sınırlar çizecektir. Ancak, tarih eğitiminin gruplar arası ortak özellikleri sunması, karşı grubu anlayabilecekleri bir ortam yaratılması, tarihin sosyal ve siyasi genel geçer kavramları etrafında anlatılması, çatışmaların kökenine inilmesi ve öteki tarafın görüş ve perspektiflerine yer verilmesi daha içerici bir sosyal sınır yaratacaktır. Bölücü sosyal sınırlar şiddet kültürüne eğilimliyken içerici sosyal sınırlar da barış kültürüne eğilimlidir. Toplu değerler öğretisi ise kendi içinde dengelilik ve genellik olmak üzere iki farklı unsur ile değerlendirilebilir. Dengelilik açısından, aidiyet grubu ne kadar masum, barış sever, ahlaki olarak üstün gösterilir ve öteki grup ne de bunun tam tersi olarak düşman, ahlaki olarak çökmüş ve agresif olarak gösterilirse genel denge o kadar bozulacak ve kimlik o kadar şiddet kültürünü oluşturmaya yakın olacaktır. Daha dengeli bir genel değerler öğretisi dengesi kurmak adına, aidiyet grubunun hem kötü hem iyi özelliklerinin ve eylemlerinin anlatılması gerek hem de öteki grubu tasvir ederken olabildiğince basmakalıp ifadelerden

kaçınılmalıdır. Genellik bakımından ise, grupların tek bir vücut halinde hareket ettiği ve grup içindeki bireylerin hepsinin aynı kalıp özellikler, amaçlar ve fikirler taşıdığı yönünde bir algının oluşturulması ve gruplar arası çatışmaların kalıcı olduğunun belirtilmesi ile yüksek genellenen bir değer öğretisi oluşturulacak ve bu da şiddet kültürünün oluşmasını kolaylaştıracaktır. Ancak, eğer tarih kitapları aidiyet grubu ve öteki grubun içinde de farklı özelliklerin ve görüş farklılıklarının mevcut olduğunu hem aşırı tutumların hem de daha toleransa yönelik ılımlı tutumların olduğu vurgular ve öteki grubun saldırganlık özelliklerinin tarih boyunca kalıcı olduğu vurgusundan kaçınırsa, genellilik oranı düşük olacaktır. Böylelikle, barış kültürünün yeşermesi için elverişli bir ortam yaratılacaktır.

Üçüncü seviyenin ise tek bir alt başlığı bulunmakta ve bu alt başlık ulusal kimlik konsepti ile ilgilenmektedir. Buna göre üç farklı ulusal kimlik konsepti bulunmaktadır: etnik, çok kültürlü ve vatandaşlık-merkezli. Bu kapsamda, tarih kitaplarının dil benzerliklerini aşırı vurgulaması, bir devletteki herkesin aynı atayı paylaştığının vurgulanması, tek bir etnik grubun diğer etnik gruplardan üstün olduğu algısının yaratması ve diğer etnik grupların aşağı olarak pozisyonlandırması sonucunda şiddet kültürüne yakın olan etnik ulusal kimlik konsepti oluşacaktır. Çok kültürlü ulusal kimlik konsepti ise bir toplum göçmenlerden oluşuyorsa bunun vurgulanması, tüm vatandaşlara etnik kökeninden bağımsız olarak aynı hakların verildiğinin ön plana çıkarılması, farklı etnik grupların sırf farklı olmasından dolayı bir tehdit unsuru olmadığını anlatılması, tüm grupların deneyimlerinin anlatılması ve toleransın önemi vurgulanırken ön yargının topluma en büyük tehdit teşkil ettiğinin gösterilmesi ile oluşmaktadır. Bu ulusal kimlik konsepti ise barış kültürünün oluşmasını kolaylaştırıcı bir kimlik türüdür. Son olarak vatandaşlık merkezli ulusal kimlik konsepti ise, vatandaşlık kavramının devlet ile birey arasındaki ilişkinin merkeze konması ile oluşturulmaktadır. Bu kapsamda, devlet ve bireyler birbirilerine karşı hem sorumluluklar hem de görevler bulundurmaktadır. Bu ulusal kimlik konseptinde aynı zamanda, kurumların, hukukun, özgürlüklerin, insan haklarının ve işbirliğinin önemi ön plandadır. Vatandaşlık merkezli ulusal kimlik konsepti barış kültürünün oluşması için elverişli bir ortam yaratmaktadır.

Bu tez gerekli analizlerini yürütürken daha önce de bahsedildiği gibi teorik çerçeve olarak sosyal kimlik kuramını kullanmakta ve analitik çerçeve olarak ise

yukarda bahsi geçen Korostelina'nın Tarih Eğitiminin Sosyal Kimliğe Etkisi Modeli isimli tablosu kullanılmaktadır. Bu bağlamda, Türk ve Avrupa kimliklerinin nasıl temsil edildiğini ve temsil edilen bu kimliklerin çatışma veya barış kültürünün oluşması açısından nasıl bir etki bıraktığını bulmak amacıyla 2021 yılında Türkiye liselerinde okutulan dört adet tarih kitabının her birini (9, 10, ve 11. Sınıf tarih kitapları ve 12. Sınıf Türkiye Cumhuriyeti İnkılap Tarihi ve Atatürkçülük kitabı) incelemiştir. Bu kapsamda, dört aşamalı bir inceleme yürütülmüştür. Birinci aşamada her kitabın üniteleri belirlenmiş ve her üniteye ayrılan sayfa sayısı tespit edilmiştir. Bu aşamada, ünitelerin önem sıralarının ayrılan sayfa sayılarının çokluğu ile ilişkilendirilerek hangi konuların kimlik açısından daha fazla yer kapladığı tespit edilmeye çalışılmıştır. İkinci aşamada ise, kitapların her birinde genelinde yaygın olan Türk kimliğine ve Avrupa kimliğine ilişkin anlatılar tespit edilmiş bu anlatılara örneklerle sıralanmıştır. Üçüncü ve dördüncü aşamada ise Korostelina'nın ilgili modeli kullanılmış; Türk kimliğinin modelde hangi kimlik türleri kapsamında sunulduğu tespit edilmiş ve sonuç olarak ise bu kimliklerin genel olarak barış ya da çatışma kültürünün oluşturulmasına yardım edip etmedikleri incelenmiştir.

Analiz sonucunda, sayfaların sayfa numarası dağılımına göre Türk kimliğinin beş farklı elementten oluştuğu tespit edilmiştir. Buna göre Türk kimliği; Orta Asya'da yaşayan göçebe kadim Türk milleti, dini İslam, Osmanlı kültürü ve geçmişine sahip, Kemalist (seküler ve modern) ve etnik açıdan Türk'tür. Türk kimliğine ilişkin olarak tespit edilen genel anlatılar ise şu şekildedir: Türkler çok eski bir tarihe sahip olup Orta Asya'dan gelen göçebelendir; Türkler güçlü aile ilişkilerine sahiptir; Türkler zevke ve rahata düşkün olmayıp disiplinli olduklarından dolayı Türk ordusu diğer devletlerin ordularına göre daha güçlüdür; Türkler hep başka kültürlerle karşı toleranslı olmuş ve fethettikleri bölgelere barış getirmişlerdir; Türkler disiplinli, cesur ve itaatkâr olmasından dolayı bir ordu devletidir; Osmanlı Devleti Tımar sistemi gibi bazı sistemlerin bozulması ve ahlakın çökmesi ile siyasi, sosyal, ekonomik ve kültürel nedenlerden dolayı eski gücünü kaybetmiştir; Türkler dünyadaki son gelişmeleri yakalayamadıkları için Batı'nın gerisinde kalmışlardır; Türkler, ülkelerinin kurtuluşu yolunda cesur ve fedakar davranırlar; Türklerin modern uygarlıkların bir parçası olması gerekir; Türklerin karakteri en çok Cumhuriyet yönetim biçimine uygundur; 9. sınıf ders kitabı başta olmak üzere önceki ders kitaplarında oluşturulan İslami kimlik,

medeni ve laik kimlikle birleştirilmiş ve bu kimliklerin uyum içinde var olduğu vurgulanmıştır; ve birçok yabancı güç, jeopolitik önemi nedeniyle Türkiye'yi güçsüzleştirmeyi hedeflemektedir.

Korostelina modeli kapsamında ders kitapları incelendiğinde, genellikle öteki zalim, adaletsiz ve saldırgan olarak resmedilirken aidiyet grubunun kimliği barışçıl, adil, anlayışlı, cesur ve mütevazı gibi yüksek ahlaklı olmaya ilişkin sıfatlarla anıldığı tespit edilmiştir.

Bu kapsamda, 9. sınıf tarih kitabı, öğrencilerin tarih ile ilgili farkındalıklarının arttırması, öteki grubun katkılarına ilişkin örnekler sunması ve aidiyet grubunun zalim eylemlerine ilişkinde örneklere yer vermesi dolayısıyla içerici sosyal sınırlar ve dengeli bir genel denge sunmaktadır. Bu anlamda, 9. sınıf tarih kitabı orta derecede barış kültürünün oluşumunu teşvik etmektedir. Ders kitabı ayrıca, bireylerin, yasaların ve insan hakları kavramının önemini tanıtarak betimsel kimlik formunu ve vatandaşlık merkezli ulusal kimlik konseptini oluşturmakta ve barış kültürünün gelişmesine katkıda bulunmaktadır. Ancak, 9. sınıf tarih ders kitabının genel metni, öğrencilerde şiddet kültürünün yerleşmesini kolaylaştıran kimlik türlerine daha genel olarak yer vermektedir. Bu bağlamda 9. sınıf ders kitabı, bir bireyin köklerini ve atalarını bilmenin önemine aşırı vurgu yaparak, sadece aidiyet grubunu üstün çıkaracak şekilde karşılaştırmalara yer vererek, liderlere ve devlete boyun eğilmesinin gerekliliğini belirterek; grup dışı üyeleri medeni olmayan ve adaletsiz şahıslar olarak sunarak, grup içi üyeleri barışsever olarak tasvir ederek etnik kimliğin, görelî kimliğin, dengesiz ahlak öğretisi dengesinin, yüksek genelliğin ve bölücü sosyal sınırların oluşmasına katkı sağlamaktadır. Dolayısıyla 9. sınıf ders kitabının orta bir barış kültürünün ve güçlü bir şiddet kültürünün gelişmesine katkı sağladığı söylenebilir.

10. sınıf tarih ders kitabı, 9. sınıf ders kitabında da olduğu gibi şiddet kültürünün oluşma olasılığını artıran ve bir toplumun çatışmaya hazır olma durumunu güçlendiren kimliklerin oluşmasına sebebiyet veren mekanizmaları içermektedir. Bu açıdan 10. sınıf ders kitabı, grup dışı üyeleri ve iç grup üyelerini karşıt kutuplara yerleştirmekte ve dış grup üyelerini kendi halkına karşı bile zalim ve adaletsiz davranan bireyler olarak sunarken, aidiyet grubunu ise barışsever nitelikleri nedeniyle öteki gruba üye insanların kurtarıcısı olarak atamaktadır. Bu dengesiz bir toplu değerler öğretisinin oluşmasına sebep olmaktadır. Bu ders kitabı aynı zamanda, aidiyet

grubunun sergilediği adaletsizliklerden tek bir örnek dahi vermemekte ve kurban ve masum aidiyet grubu ile şeytanlaştırılmış grup dışı üyeler şeklindeki anlatımını sürdürerek, bölücü sosyal sınırlar yaratmaktadır. Batı-Doğu çatışması ve Hıristiyan-İslam dünyası kalıcı olduğunun defalarca bahsedilmesi nedeniyle 10. sınıf ders kitabı da yüksek genellik sunmaktadır. Bu ders kitabı, pozitif bir kimliğe ulaşmak için grup dışı üyelerle çelişkilere aşırı vurgu yapmakta ve grup dışı üyelerle, aidiyet grubunu üstün çıkaracak şekilde karşılaştırmalara yer vermektedir. Bu nedenle güçlü bir görelî kimlik modu oluşmaktadır. 10. sınıf kitabı, şiddete meyilli kimliklerin yanı sıra barış kültürünü besleyen birkaç kimlik örneğine de yer vermektedir. Bu bağlamda, ders kitabından bazı örnekler, belirli geleneklerin tarihi ve kökleri hakkında farkındalığı arttırmayı amaçladığından, betimsel bir kimlik formu da oluşturmuştur.. Ayrıca, birkaç örnekte Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun çok kültürlü doğasına yapılan vurgu dolayısıyla da zayıf çok kültürlü ulusal kimlik kavramı da oluşturulmuştur. Özetle, 10. sınıf ders kitabı güçlü bir şiddet kültürü, zayıf bir barış kültürü oluşturmaktadır.

11. sınıf ders kitabı, grup dışı üyeleri ve grup içi üyeleri iki farklı kutupta konumlanan iki ayrı grup olarak betimleyerek ve iki taraf arasındaki çatışmanın kalıcı olduğunu vurgulayarak bölücü sosyal sınırları ve dengesiz değerler ve yüksek genelliği teşvik etmektedir. Güçlü şiddete meyilli tarihsel kimlik modu da, 11. sınıf ders kitabı tarafından gruplar arası ilişkilerin mağduriyet-zulüm ekseninde dönmesi nedeniyle oluşturulmaktadır. Ek olarak, Batı'nın gelişmişlik ve modernite açısından üstünlüğü vurgulanırken, ahlaki ve kültürel üstünlük aidiyet grubuna atanmış ve bu şekilde güçlü görelî kimlik formu öğrencilere sunulmuştur. Ayrıca, liderliğe boyun eğmenin önemine vurgu yaparak, bu kitap zayıf bir seferber kimlik formu da yaratmaktadır. 11. sınıf tarih ders kitabında, ayrıca, öteki grup üyelerine karşı önyargıları azaltmak, grup dışı üyelerin topluma katkılarını öne çıkarmak, toplum ve siyasetle ilgili temel kavramları her iki grubun gözünden anlatmak gibi birkaç mekanizma da kullanılmaktadır. Bu mekanizmalar orta derecede kapsayıcı sosyal sınırlara ve dengeli değer örüntüsüne yol açmaktadır. Milliyetçilik kavramının üzerinden ortak tarih bilgilerinin verilmesi ve milliyetçiliğin her iki grup üzerindeki etkilerinin anlatılması aracılığıyla bu ders kitabı zayıf derecede yansımış kimlik formunu da teşvik etmektedir. Özetle 11. sınıf tarih ders kitabı güçlü bir şiddet kültürü ve orta derecede bir barış kültürünün oluşmasını sağlamaktadır.

Önceki tarih ders kitaplarına benzer şekilde, 12. sınıf tarih ders kitabı, barışsever ve mağdur aidiyet grubuna karşı kötü ve zalim öteki temasına devam etmektedir. Bu nedenle, 12. sınıf tarih ders kitabı bölücü sosyal sınırların, dengesiz değerler öğretisi dengesinin ve yüksek genelliğin oluşturulmasında katkıda bulunmaktadır. 12. sınıf tarih ders kitabı, Batı'nın modernite ve kalkınma açısından görece olarak üstün olduğunu anlatırken bir taraftan aidiyet kimliğinin ahlaki ve kültürel Batı'dan daha üstün olduğunu tasvir etmektedir. Bu tasvir de daha önce bahsedildiği gibi şiddetli bir görece kimlik modu oluşturmaktadır. 12. sınıf tarih ders kitabının birçok sayfası da kimliğin inşasında dilin ve Türklük etniğinin rolüne vurgu yaparak, orta derecede bir etnik milliyet kimliği konseptinin yaratılmasına yardımcı olmaktadır. Barışa eğilimli kimlikler açısından, bu ders kitabı hukukun üstünlüğüne, özgürlüklere, adalete ve eşitliğe saygının önemi vurgulanmış ve devlet ile birey arasındaki ilişkiyi vatandaşlık ilişkisi çerçevesinde tanımlanmıştır. Dolayısıyla, bu ders kitabı güçlü bir vatandaşlık-merkezli ulusal kimlik konseptinin gelişimini de teşvik edilmektedir. Özetle, 12. sınıf tarih ders kitabı güçlü bir şiddet kültürünün yerleşmesine yol açan kimliklere yer vermeye devam ederken, aynı zamanda güçlü bir barış kültürünün yerleşmesine de katkı sağlamaktadır.

Dört ders kitabı birlikte değerlendirildiğinde, 2021 yılında liselerde okutulan Türk tarih ders kitaplarının genel olarak kötü ve zalim öteki grup üyelerine karşı ahlaki açıdan üstün, barışsever, mağdur grup içi üyeleri temaları etrafında döndüğü sonucuna varılabilir. Bu bulgular ışığında Korostelina'nın oluşturduğu Tarih Eğitiminin Sosyal Kimlik Üzerindeki Etki Modeli'ne göre, dört ders kitabının da genel olarak aidiyet grubunun ötekilere ilişkin önyargılarını ve klişelerini beslediği ve dolayısıyla güçlü bir şiddet kültürünün kurulması için uygun bir ortam sağladığı sonucu çıkarılabilir. Bu durumda, kimliğe yönelik gerçek veya algılanan bir tehdit sunulması halinde toplumun bir çatışmaya girme konusundaki genel hazırlığı artmaktadır. Bununla birlikte, dört ders kitabının da ılımlı barış kültürünün oluşumuna katkıda bulunduğunu belirtmek önemlidir.

B. THESIS PERMISSION FORM / TEZ İZİN FORMU

ENSTİTÜ / INSTITUTE

- Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü** / Graduate School of Natural and Applied Sciences
- Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü** / Graduate School of Social Sciences
- Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü** / Graduate School of Applied Mathematics
- Enformatik Enstitüsü** / Graduate School of Informatics
- Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü** / Graduate School of Marine Sciences

YAZARIN / AUTHOR

Soyadı / Surname : Kılıç
Adı / Name : Tuğçe
Bölümü / Department : Uluslararası İlişkiler / International Relations

TEZİN ADI / TITLE OF THE THESIS (İngilizce / English): HISTORY EDUCATION AND FORMATION OF LARGE GROUP IDENTITIES: PORTRAYAL OF TURKISH AND EUROPEAN IDENTITIES IN TURKISH HIGH SCHOOL HISTORY TEXTBOOKS

TEZİN TÜRÜ / DEGREE: Yüksek Lisans / Master Doktora / PhD

1. **Tezin tamamı dünya çapında erişime açılacaktır.** / Release the entire work immediately for access worldwide.
2. **Tez iki yıl süreyle erişime kapalı olacaktır.** / Secure the entire work for patent and/or proprietary purposes for a period of **two years.** *
3. **Tez altı ay süreyle erişime kapalı olacaktır.** / Secure the entire work for period of **six months.** *

** Enstitü Yönetim Kurulu kararının basılı kopyası tezle birlikte kütüphaneye teslim edilecektir. / A copy of the decision of the Institute Administrative Committee will be delivered to the library together with the printed thesis.*

Yazarın imzası / Signature **Tarih** / Date

Tezin son sayfasıdır. / This is the last page of the thesis/dissertation.