

**MAKING GLOBAL CITIZENSHIP LESS UTOPIAN:
SUGGESTIONS FOR TURKISH SOCIAL STUDIES**

by

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ABSTRACT

This study claims that Citizenship education in Turkey is potentially leading Turkish youth to ignorance thereby weakening their awareness towards other nations and minorities in the country. As a suggestion to this problem, this study suggests that instead of placing too much stress on Turkish national identity, students should be educated as global citizens to improve their awareness and tolerance towards Non-Turkish people, which will contribute to a more peaceful, inclusive and secure world for future generations. This thesis is a theoretical and analytical study seeking answers for two main questions: What are some problems in Turkish citizenship education? How can Global Citizenship Education help us to create a safe, inclusive, and peaceful world for future generations of Turkey, and the world? In seeking answers to these questions, firstly, I aimed to define and conceptualize the term ‘global citizenship’. Secondly, I am analyzing some studies conducted in the Republic of Turkey revealing the state of citizenship education in the modern history of the country. After examining the state of citizenship education in the Republic of Turkey, I pointed out possible deficiencies. Finally, I provided suggestions for the implementation of global citizenship education. I will propose a revision of 7th grade Turkish Social Studies state standards, and three strategies for teaching global citizenship at grades four, seven, and the high school level.

JUSTIFICATION & INTRODUCTION

Citizenship education is crucial to creating healthily functioning democratic and inclusive societies, and failing to educate young people as good citizens may cause communities to remain unhealthy and anti-democratic for decades. The ultimate goal of Social Studies is to produce citizens who are capable of making "informed and reasoned decisions for the public good as citizens of a culturally diverse, democratic society in an interdependent world"(NCSS, 1992). Students who take social studies/civics courses should be able to respect other people's minds, have a peaceful living together, look at the problems in a critical way, express their own thoughts, and be sensitive to social issues (Kondu & Sakar, 2013).

Studies reveal that citizenship education in Turkey is exclusive, ignoring minorities and the diversity in the country, and placing too much stress on the collective national identity, "Turkishness". This hinders the potential of the emergence of global citizens in the country (İnce, 2012, p.126). Arguably, not only for Turkey but also for any other nations, reducing citizenship to a single identity may cause ignorance of "identities [that] are multiple and dynamic; traversing gender, religion, class, region and ethnicity" (İnce, 2012, p.129). Besides ignoring the diversity in the country, emphasizing nationalism and encouraging distrust toward minority identities, Turkish citizenship

education creates a "threat cult that promotes hostility towards the outside world (İnce, 2012, p.127)," and perhaps creates enemies in the eyes of the youth with no rational basis (İnce, 2012).

Global Citizenship Education, while not ignoring allegiance to a particular nation, promises to "empower learners to assume active roles to become proactive contributors to a more peaceful, tolerant, inclusive, and secure world" (UNESCO, n.d., para. 1). Furthermore, "for two hundred years citizenship and nationality have been 'Siamese' political terms" (Heater, 1999, cited in Davies & Evans & Reid, 2005, p.67). "A new form of education is necessary" (Davies & Evans & Reid, 2005, p.69).

In addition to the above reasons, chaotic places such as Turkey's neighboring country Syria keep me thinking about ways to help the next generation establish and maintain a more peaceful and livable world. Making this happen and benefitting from the potential of global citizenship education begins with research and continues in classroom practices.

Most educators agree that, "Global citizenship is a learned and nurtured behavior" (Tarrant, 2010, p.442). As the purpose of social studies is producing good citizens (Ayaaba, Eshun & Bordoh, 2014), my intention is to contribute to this aim via global citizenship education. I will focus on two educational tools for improving and fostering global citizenship: state standards, and classroom practices that can "guide students in establishing a balance between allegiance to nation and allegiance to

humankind” (Davey, 2011, p.4).

Studies have shown that people in today’s societies exhibit a tendency to label a person or a group as “other” when they are different in regard to race, religion, political view or nationality. The “other” and “otherness” are used in the humanities and social sciences as technical terms to describe the tendency of people to view others that are different, separated or dissimilar (Otherness, n.d.). While it can be used in a general way to strictly signify difference, otherness can also be used to express devaluation (Otherness, n.d.). “Otherness” in this work refers to a devalued identity. Therefore the "other(s)" may suffer from "otherness." Conflicts often occur within and among nations where there is "otherness" one example of which is Syria. One of the potentials of global citizenship is to eliminate "otherness," and promote inclusiveness, and appreciation for diversity. Global citizenship also has a potential to increase tolerance among culturally, ethnically or religiously different people. Citizenship education at a merely national level does not necessarily lead to an active citizenship in the globalized world, and it does not always promote an inclusive world. However, promoting global citizenship education, and raising a generation as global citizen may lead to reducing conflicts within, and among nations in future. Global citizenship education can also be a tool for Turkish citizenship education that will enable students to be effective local, national and global citizens and build a diverse, inclusive and globally aware community.

The first chapter of this study will focus on defining the key terms and concepts

that are important in understanding global citizenship education. I will make distinctions, point out similarities, and explain relationships between the terms by citing other scholars and interpreting the existing literature. I will provide working definitions of citizenship, global citizenship, and global citizenship education based on my analysis of the literature.

Chapter two will focus on the state of citizenship education in the Republic of Turkey. I will describe the unique aspects of citizenship education in the country while examining historical, geographical, and geopolitical issues that have shaped the way citizenship is perceived and taught. I will identify aspects of citizenship education in the country that may be problematic for tolerance among its people, especially with regard to non-Turkish peoples.

The final chapter of this study will provide ways in which global citizenship education could be implemented to address the deficiencies found in the citizenship education in modern Turkey. Firstly, I will propose a revision on 7th grade Turkish Social Studies standards as “an inexhaustive and non-prescriptive guide, merely to stimulate further thinking, discussion and planning” (OXFAM, 2015, p.8). Secondly, I will propose three strategies designed to teach and improve global citizenship.

Chapter 1

TERMS AND DEFINITIONS

Before addressing my research questions, it is necessary to examine the terms and concepts that are closely related to each other in the context of this work. These terms include nationalism, globalization, citizenship, and global citizenship. Although they have been already defined in different contexts and areas, these terms are still being debated among scholars. Therefore, I will discuss different ways that these terms have been defined, and then, based on my analysis I will provide my own working definition of global citizenship. These definitions will form the basis for the strategies proposed in chapter three for improving global citizenship education.

Nationalism

Nationalism is a multidimensional concept involving history, politics, culture, and economics. In general, nationalism is defined as an intense feeling towards one's nation. This feeling usually manifests as a desire to protect a nation's borders and seeing one's own nation as the most valuable. According to Ernest Gellner (1983), nationalism is a "political principle, and can be a sentiment or the feeling of anger aroused by the

violation of principle; or the feeling of satisfaction aroused by its fulfillment" (Cited in Dugis, 1999, p. 52). There are dictionary definitions of the term that overlap and reflect what is being presented here about nationalism. *Merriam-Webster* defines it as, "Loyalty and devotion to a nation; especially a sense of national consciousness exalting one nation above all others and placing primary emphasis on promotion of its culture and interests as opposed to those of other nations or supranational groups" (Nationalism, n.d.). *Merriam-Webster's* example sentence is remarkable: "Intense nationalism was one of the causes of the war." So, why is nationalism so powerful that it can cause war?

According to Benedict Anderson (1991), nationalism derives from "imagined communities" which describes groups in which members see themselves attached to each other by sharing similar interests. He also defines a nation as "an imagined political community - and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign" (p.6). This is true because "the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members or meet them or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their [community]" (Anderson, 1991, p. 6-7). With this idea in mind, people connect themselves to other members of the same community sharing similar values, attitudes, and interests, while estranging themselves from the members of other "imagined communities." This results in less tolerance among diverse groups. It is not necessary for these groups to live together for an imagined community to form. Rather, the sense of

community is often so powerful that most of the members of these imagined communities are willing to "die and kill" for each other, even if they do not live in the same physical community. This life or death mentality certainly has the potential to lead to war. Benedict Anderson writes:

It is imagined as a community because regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship. Ultimately it is this fraternity that makes it possible, over the past two centuries, for so many millions of people, not so much to kill, as willingly to die for such limited imaginings (Anderson, 1991, p.6).

The nationalism that can cause war is often confused with patriotism, and the two are often used interchangeably, despite there being considerable differences between them. Sydney J. Harris' (1953) famous quote is quite helpful to understand the difference between the two concepts:

The difference between patriotism and nationalism is that the patriot is proud of his country for what it does, and the nationalist is proud of his country no matter what it does; the first attitude creates a feeling of responsibility, but the second a feeling of blind arrogance that leads to war (p. 228).

In this study, nationalism takes two forms: "positive nationalism" and "negative nationalism" as categorized by Nursi (1932, p. 310). Positive nationalism refers to a sense of nationalism that discourages individuals of a nation from disparaging other nations while encouraging them to be loyal to their own (Nursi, 1932). In other words,

positive nationalism does not promote hate or violence toward other nations at any level. Positive nationalism can be intense, but it does not include a sense of superiority by which individuals may consider other countries to be less important. This kind of nationalism, can increase the solidarity among the members of a nation (Nursi, 1932). However, being loyal to one's country and improving solidarity within the country does not equate to being hostile to "others."

Negative nationalism, in this study, refers to a strong sense of nationalism coupled with the feeling of dislike toward other nations. Nursi (1932) says that this kind of nationalism is "fed by swallowing others" (p. 310), placing stress on its aggressiveness. In negative nationalism, an extreme nationalistic sentiment and a dislike of "others" go hand in hand. It is important to make it clear that extreme patriotism or nationalism alone is not regarded as a cause of negative nationalism. Negative nationalism cannot come into existence unless it is coupled with both the sense of dislike or superiority over other nations.

In short, a positive nationalist "expresses the emotion of love towards his/her country in a passive way; [while a negative nationalist] strives for independence and the interests and domination of a nation and expresses his/her love or concern for the country in an active political [often aggressive] way" (Prabhat, 2011, para. 10).

Does the ideology of nationalism fit today's globalized world where the interconnectedness and interdependence of nations are more pronounced than any

time in history? Globalization and nationalism are not easily reconciled, though globalization can provide a basis for a more broad and global perspective. Discussing more about globalization may help one answer this question.

Globalization

"If one man did not need another, each one would live on a mountain top"

(Turkish proverb)

Oxford Dictionaries defines globalization as "the process by which businesses or other organizations develop international influence or start operating on an international scale" (globalization, n.d.). *Dictionary* (dictionary.com) defines it as "the act of globalizing or extending to other or all parts of the world" (globalization, n.d.). "Globalization typically refers to the process by which different economies and societies become more closely integrated, [interconnected and interdependent]" (Noruzi, M.R., Irani, F.N.H.A, 2011, p. 216).

Social scientists and journalists usually consider globalization as a new trend that is a consequence of Cold War and boomed electronic communications (Northrup, 2005). In this regard, they argue that only the end of the 20th century can be referred as "the age of globalization" (Kronfli, 2011, p. 1). However, historians such as Geoffrey Gann and Robbie Robertson argue that the beginning of globalization dates back to the

fifteenth century, the period when European expansion started (Northrup, 2005).

Similarly, O'Rourke and Williamson (2004) argue that globalization "has evolved since Columbus" (p. 109). However, most scholars argue that "while globalization is not a new phenomenon, recent globalization has involved some real changes in terms of scale, speed, and cognition" (Abdulsattar, 2013).

"Globalization" is a concept that has become popular and has been discussed widely among scholars. Some see it as a "negative" process in which global powers – often considered to be developed countries and big companies – accumulate and exercise political and economic power to exploit undeveloped countries in a variety of ways. This power is seen to be doing "good" for the sake of "globalizing" world (Çolak, 2015). This view closely aligns with the idea of "neo-colonialism" as described by Kwame Nkrumah (1965). He argues that in today's world since it is not possible to colonize countries in the traditional way, imperialists use "neo-colonialism" as a new instrument for exploitation. Traditional colonialism refers to economic exploitation of a country by fully or partially occupying it with settlers. Neo-colonialism, however, does not include occupying a country with settlers while still exploiting it economically. This is where one can argue that globalization as a "negative process" is the new form of colonialism or neo-colonialism. Emmanuel Wallerstein, arguing for a "worlds system" explanation for the trajectory of world history, explains that in today's global economic system core (developed) countries exploit peripheral (underdeveloped) countries for their raw

materials, cheap labor and agricultural production (Cited in Elwell, 2013). Others, such as Çolak (2015), however, believe that globalization has potential to benefit humankind, and consider it to be a positive process that promises a more connected and peaceful world for future generations, as well as citizens of different nations (Çolak, 2015).

What is clear is that the transformation we are experiencing is a global transformation that affects nearly all aspects of our lives; we are exposed to a global process we cannot entirely understand but all feel its effects (Giddens, 1999). As Giddens points out, we feel globalization's concrete effects in everyday life, and we are exposed to its effects whether we understand it or not.

Most definitions agree that the scale of globalization broadens from the local scale. Its growth pervades many aspects of human life as stated above. However, sometimes it is perceived as merely economic. Manolică and Roman (n.d) provide an example of this tendency:

Nowadays teenagers are wearing Nike, regardless of their nationality, ladies use Channel, whether or not they are French, the men celebrate major events with Jack Daniel's all around the globe. Barriers raised by nationality, race, culture or religion are overshadowed by new consumer habits, tastes, and preferences which are becoming increasingly similar worldwide (p.756).

Giddens (1999) does not agree with this description, but rather argues that globalization is much more than an economic transformation. He notes that "globalization is political, technological and cultural, as well as economic" (p.2).

Despite varied definitions of the term, what is agreed upon is that globalization affects our everyday life. As the world is globalizes in many ways, should citizens think only within the bounds of their own nation or should they be globalizing too? Scholars such as Abdulsattar (2013) argue that their mindset at least should, because “globalization has diminished nationalism, through increased interdependence and weakening the national barriers between countries” (para. 8). While international borders are becoming blurrier, and open “fast flows of goods, services, finance, people and ideas” (WHO, n.d. para. 1), we must question how and to what extent the concept of citizenship at the national level fits into this globalizing world. In the increasing global interconnectedness, why do citizens continue to narrow themselves to their own imagined communities?

Citizenship & Global Citizenship

It is necessary to begin with the term "citizenship" before addressing the concept of "global citizenship." Citizenship generally refers to an allegiance to a nation or state and can be defined as a set of rights, and duties, which allow individuals to be legal members of a political system such as a state or nation.

As Lagos notes, "citizenship, as it has come down to us via the ancient Greeks and Romans, via the Enlightenment, and the American and French Revolutions, is tied into the emergence of members of a polity with specified privileges and duties" (Lagos,

2002, p. 1). The concept of citizenship consists of three dimensions (Cohen 1999; Kymlicka and Norman 2000; Carens 2000 cited in Leydet, 2014): legal status, a political agency, and a membership in an imagined political community (Leydet, 2014). According to Leydet, regarding legal status, citizenship provides social, civil, and political rights. With their legal status, the citizen is under the protection of the law and can act freely within the bounds of the law. Citizenship as political agency, Leydet continues, implies that a citizen plays an active role in political institutions of his/her society. The last dimension of citizenship is that an individual gains a discrete identity by being a member of a political community (Leydet, 2014). Lagos points out that “[lifting this] concept into the global sphere presents difficulties, not least of which is that global citizens are not legal members in good standing with a sovereign state” (Lagos, 2002, p.2).

Citizenship at the global level, or global citizenship, has been discussed and debated among scholars for quite a while. In the most recent times, however, the concept has become increasingly controversial, with both supporters and critics. The definitions below demonstrate varying opinions of scholars as well as the ambiguity and flexibility of the term.

Advocates of global citizenship mostly emphasize the interconnectedness and interdependency of a diverse world and argue that there is a common human destiny that necessitates the world to stand as one. On the other hand, the scholars who criticize and denounce the idea of global citizenship places stress on the virtual

“impossibility” of a world government that can govern “world citizens” in the way national governments do (Rapoport, 2013). Ronald C. Israel (2012) defines the term as the following:

A global citizen is someone who identifies with being part of an emerging world community and whose actions contribute to building this community's values and practices (Israel, 2012, para. 1).

This definition draws attention to an "emerging world community," referring to increasing number of individuals who consider themselves global citizens. Israel (2012) sees the emerging global community as something that global citizens can identify with. Israel's further discussion helps us understand the nascent values and practices of an emerging community of world citizens, how it is built, and what keeps them together:

Historically, human beings have always formed communities based on shared identity. Such identity gets forged in response to a variety of human needs— economic, political, religious and social. As group identities grow stronger, those who hold them organize into communities, articulate their shared values and build governance structures to support their beliefs (Israel, 2012, para. 3)

Similar to Israel’s definition, UNESCO (2014) places stress on the interconnectedness of a global community.

Global citizenship refers to a sense of belonging to a broader community and shared humanity. It emphasizes political, economic, social and cultural interdependency and interconnectedness between the local, the national and the global (p.14).

The human needs that yield interdependency and interconnectedness of the world regarding social, cultural, political, and economic are truly what global citizenship is about. The needs transcend the local and national level and reach international level while citizenship remains in the narrow national borders. Based on what Israel (2012) mentioned above, one can say that it is humankind's nature to form communities to meet their needs, and this can be at local, national, or international level. What global citizenship refers is to extend citizenship so it aligns with the concepts of global interdependency and interconnectedness. This extension is complemented by the rights, responsibilities, political agency and legal status of citizenship that I described earlier. This integration will yield a truly functioning global citizenship.

According to United World Schools (n.d.) "A global citizen cares passionately about others and the world they live in. An active global citizen takes action to support causes they believe in" (para. 11). This description of global citizenship certainly overlaps with the perspective of this work. Caring about others can be considered as an essential component of global citizenship. This could mean thinking about one's neighbor or even a member of another nation living far away. A similar kind of attitude is reflected in University of British Columbia Okanagan Academic Planning Team's (2005) definition:

Global citizens are willing to think beyond boundaries of place, identity, and category, and recognize all human beings as their equals while respecting humanity's inherent diversity. Within their own sphere of influence, global citizens seek to imagine and work towards a better world (para. 1).

This definition of global citizenship includes three essential aspects of global citizenship: thinking globally, appreciating common humanity without discrimination while recognizing the diversity in it, and aiming to create a more peaceful and inclusive world. Caring about others and seeing them as equals is one important aspect of global citizenship; being aware of the difference and seeing it as diversity and enrichment is another important part of global citizenship. Making an effort in one's own area to reach these three essential aspects is a critical component of global citizenship.

With international peace and security as its central mission, the United Nations advocates for global citizenship. According to the United Nations, "Global citizenship is an umbrella term for the social, political, environmental, or economic actions of globally-minded individuals and communities on a worldwide scale" (para. 1). One of the priorities of the UN Secretary-General's Global Initiative on Education is to "foster global citizenship." As creating and maintaining a peaceful world is also central to global citizenship, and an important part of global citizens' effort, the United Nations and global citizenship go hand in hand. "The UN does this by working to prevent conflict; helping parties in conflict make peace; peacekeeping; and creating the conditions to allow peace to hold and flourish" (UN, n.d., para.1). The components of the full mission

of the United Nations are to:

- Maintain International Peace and Security
- Protect Human Rights
- Deliver Humanitarian Aid
- Promote Sustainable Development
- Uphold International Law (para. 1-5)

While the definitions above provide a general sense of what global citizenship is, OXFAM (2015), provides characteristics that portray an ideal world citizen. Oxfam considers a global citizen to be someone who:

- is aware of the wider world and has a sense of her or his role as a world citizen;
- respects and values diversity;
- has an understanding of how the world works economically, politically, socially, culturally, technologically, and environmentally;
- is outraged by social injustice (p. 5).

Is globalization merely a utopian ideal that cannot be possible to be attained?

The criticism of global citizenship is mostly associated with the social and political aspects of the term (Rapoport, 2013). Some scholars denounce it because "the conditions for global citizenship do not exist" (Miller in Rapoport, 2013, p. 408). That is to say, the absence of a formal political world government that can govern global citizens in the way national governments do seems to be a non-starter for global citizenship. Similarly, Wood (2008) dismisses the idea of global citizenship and argues, "There are no formal political structures at the global level that citizenship could be a

part of" (Cited in Rapoport, 2013 p.408).

Some other critics focus on the terms associated with global citizenship, such as "global civil society" or "emerging global community." Concepts beginning with the word "global" have been around for only a few decades. "Civil society" with an added adjective of "global" has been in use beginning in the 1990s (Falk, cited in Scholte, 1999, p.7). These concepts, according to critics, are vague terms, and descriptions of them are poor. According to Taylor, for instance, attempts to theorize such ideas fail, and he argues that "current research into global civil society suffers from the weak description and inadequate theorization" (Taylor in Corry, 2006, p. 305).

In response to critics, Lagos argues that "since global citizens are not recognized legally, their existence may be best represented as associatively, [in other words] global citizenship is less defined by legal sanction than by 'associational' status that is different from national citizenship" (Lagos, 2002, p.4). A global citizen does not need to deny or forget their national identity to become a global citizen. A person can remain a citizen of their nation and at the same time can be a "true" global citizen. A global passport is not a requirement to achieve global citizenship. The perspective of this work stresses "inclusiveness," which is an important aspect of global citizenship and the prior condition for true global citizenship.

Having presented some supportive discourses and criticisms concerning global citizenship, I will attempt to define the term by drawing ideas from other scholar's

definitions that align with my subjective understanding of global citizenship. The foundation of my definition will be "the inherent diversity in the world". That is to say; a global citizen is aware of the differences among people, but does not discriminate.

Rather, they value the enrichment that diversity provides:

Global citizenship refers to individuals who see themselves both as members of their own nation, as well as members of a common humanity. They are aware the difference between the both, but they see the difference as an enrichment rather than a source of alienation.

Global citizenship and related concepts have been given much attention recently, and the number of works on clarification of these terms is growing. As the definitions above indicate, global citizenship values peace, diversity, thinking globally, and identifying oneself with a broader community. These values translate into a global citizenry that takes action to protect and uphold that broader community. According to OXFAM (2015) a global citizen:

- Participates in the community at a range of levels, from the local to the global;
- Works with others to make the world a more equitable and sustainable place;
- Takes responsibility for their actions (p. 5)

In the next section, the question of what global citizenship includes will be discussed in detail.

Essential Elements of Global Citizenship

As the definitions above indicate, global citizenship transcends national borders and allows people to appreciate the diversity of the planet. Below (see Table 1.1) are the key elements of responsible global citizenship as defined by OXFAM (2015).

The Key Elements for Responsible Global Citizenship		
Knowledge and Understanding	Skills	Values and Attitudes
-Social Justice and Equity -Diversity -Globalization and Interdependence -Sustainable Development -Peace and Conflict	-Critical Thinking -Ability to argue effectively -Ability to challenge injustice and inequalities -Respect for people and things -Co-operation and conflict resolution	-Sense of identity and self-esteem -Empathy -Commitment to social justice and equity -Value and respect for diversity -Concern for the environment and commitment to sustainable development -Belief that people can make a difference

Table 1.1: Key elements of a responsible global citizenship (Oxfam, 2015)

As discussed earlier, national citizenship is defined legally. National citizens have certain rights, duties, and responsibilities by law and are protected by the state. However, global citizenship is not recognized legally, therefore global citizens do not have legally defined rights. While it is difficult to provide a legal, political status to global

citizens, Lagos (2002) proposes that "these qualifications do not obviate the existence and influence of transnational [citizens] seeking new institutional forms in an interdependent world" (p.1). Global citizens, Lagos continues, are "active political, social, environmental or economic agents in an interconnected world in which new institutional forms beyond nations are beginning to emerge" (Lagos, 2002, p.1). Therefore, besides the knowledge, skills, and attitudes defined above, global citizens require rights and responsibilities to enable them to employ their philosophy.

The rights of global citizens are included in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which was created in 1948, right after the Second World War (Israel, n.d). These are fundamental human rights such as the right to life, liberty, security, travel, freedom of thought, and the right to take a part in government. These rights are intended to be universal. Teaching these essential human rights to students is vital for global citizenship education (Moon and Woo Koo, 2011). As discussed earlier, global citizenship is an extension of national citizenship, and so a global citizen must have his/her human rights provided and protected by his/her state. What constitute global citizenship rights? It is the combination of national citizenship rights and universal human rights. So, what makes a global citizen? It is the action they take as responsible citizens by employing the knowledge, skills, and attitudes defined above. In fact, a responsible national citizen is automatically a potential global citizen. Acquiring the mindset of global citizenship, which is achieved through education, will aid one in becoming a global citizen. There are

responsibilities that a person should fulfill to be qualified as a global citizen. As defined by Ronald C. Israel (2012), a global citizen has a responsibility:

- to understand one's own perspective and the perspectives of others on global issues
- to respect the principle of cultural diversity
- to make connections and build relationships with people from other countries and cultures
- to understand the ways in which the peoples and nations of the world are interconnected and inter-dependent
- to understand global issues
- to advocate for greater international cooperation with other nations
- for advocating for the implementation of international agreements, conventions, treaties related to global issues
- for advocating for more efficient global equity and justice in each of the value domains of the world community. (para. 9-17)

Besides the rights and responsibilities discussed above, and the key elements provided by Oxfam, three other elements may be advantageous for global citizenship. These are awareness of self and others, tolerance & inclusiveness, and multilingualism.

Awareness of Self and Others

Global citizens will never forget neither their own identity nor their allegiance to one's own nation, while appreciating the diversity of different peoples. Global citizenship requires awareness of self and others around the world on an empathetic

level. Those who consider themselves as global citizens should be able to put themselves in the shoes of members of other nations, and should be able to realize how others have values associated with their country as well. A fellow world citizen who is loyal to his nation should be conscious that members of other countries might be feeling a strong loyalty to their own nation as well. The idea here is more about not regarding one's nation as more important and/or superior to other nations. Regarding one's own nation as the center of the world, or seeing one's nation as superior to other communities around the world, will cause one to fail to achieve global citizenship.

Tolerance & Inclusiveness

Attitudes of tolerance make global citizenship possible. According to Bokova (2014) "Tolerance [is a] liberating act, whereby the differences of others are recognized as the same as our own and whereby the riches of another culture are taken as the wealth of all" (p. 2). Tolerance here is being "at least" passive to differences and not being aggressive at any level. Lack of tolerance is a serious roadblock for inclusiveness and for achieving global citizenship. A global citizen is tolerant of differences, and even excited to learn more about other countries and cultures in order to widen their perspective and become more aware of the diversity in the world. Likewise, global citizens are eager to share and introduce their own culture with members of different cultures as well

as the emerging global community. Conflicts arising from differences among global citizens, but can be resolved due to their shared philosophy of inclusiveness and tolerance. A global citizen may preserve and love his/her values adamantly, but this should not lead them to disrespect others.

The idea of global citizenship is also inclusive as it welcomes and embraces all of the human race with no exception. Daisaku Ikeda's quote overlaps with what is being presented here:

The differences between people need not act as barriers that wound, harm and drive us apart. Rather, these very differences among cultures and civilizations should be valued as manifestations of the richness of our shared creativity (Ikedaquotes n.d).

The inclusiveness of global citizenship does not allow a group of people or even a single person to be considered as "other." Diversity of race and nationality will enrich the global community and allow members to widen their perspective.

Multilingualism

Learning at least a second language may be necessary to make progress in global citizenship, as learning a second language brings numerous added benefits. Addressing global challenges is one of these added benefits, as Cherian notes:

Multilingualism is essential in an increasingly interconnected world. Having the ability and willingness to engage with many different kinds of

people can go a long way in better understanding and tackling global challenges like poverty and inequality (Cherian, 2016, para. 10).

Learning about another culture through its language may be truly helpful for developing the awareness of others. A Turkish proverb says, “One language [is] one person; two languages [are] two people” (Turkish Language Class, 2008). That is to say, when you learn [another] language, you also learn [its] culture, and that makes you another person” (Faruk, 2008, post. 2). In this context, being another person means being familiar with another culture, having the ability to speak their language and learn about their culture through that language. Learning another language will allow one to see his/her own language in a new perspective, which will even improve his/her understanding of people of other languages and perspectives. This will indirectly contribute to their understanding of other essentials of global citizenship, such as tolerance and inclusiveness.

How a Global Citizen Sees the World – A Subjective Discussion

A global citizen should not see the world on as divided by politically-defined borders. Rather, a global citizen should see the world as "one," ignoring the divisiveness while embracing diversity. Global citizens are those who think of their land, nation, and the entire world as equally important during a time of conflict or global threat. Global citizens never think of war as a way of solving national or international problems.

Global citizens see the earth as a single country of the human race, where there are no "others." Conflicts can occur among and within nations where many consider themselves as "others." One of the purposes of global citizenship is to eliminate "otherness," and promote inclusiveness and appreciation for diversity. Therefore, imagining the world as a single country may minimize the sense of "otherness" between nations. Here it is important to note that the earth as a single country does not refer to a single world government. Rather, it refers to a world that stands as one. In this study, global citizenship is a form of citizenship that appreciates diversity; what is harmful to diversity would be harmful to the idea of global citizenship as well.

What Global Citizenship is not?

Describing what global citizenship is not might help us understand the concept more sufficiently. As can be seen in previous discussions, criticism of the concept of global citizenship emphasizes the virtual impossibility of a global government. Some scholars have argued that the concept of global citizenship is a metaphor that will not easily come into existence, and it is difficult to be world citizens in the same way we are of a country (Davies, 2006 in Kronfli 2011). However, global citizenship is not an attempt to build a global political power in which people are considered its global citizens. A world government is not essential to allow people to be global citizens.

Similarly, global citizenship is not aiming to eliminate nation-states, or the

traditional concept of state citizenship. One's denial of allegiance to his/her own nation and merely adopting the idea of being a member of world community would indeed contradict the notion of global citizenship, as it will be harmful to diversity. Achieving the new form of citizenship while disregarding and ignoring the traditional form of citizenship is not the purpose of global citizenship. Global citizens continue loving their own country, culture, language, etc. while not disparaging other countries and their values. In other words, global citizenship is more about adding than diminishing and removing. Israel's thoughts on how global citizenship is preserving the traditional citizenship align well with what I attempt to present here:

Those of us who see ourselves as global citizens are not abandoning other identities, such as allegiances to our countries, ethnicities and political beliefs. These traditional identities give meaning to our lives and will continue to help shape who we are. However, as a result of living in a globalized world, we understand that we have an added layer of responsibility; we also are responsible for being members of a world-wide community of people who share the same global identity that we have (Israel, 2002, para. 5).

From Nation-States to a Nation-Planet: A "Real" Utopia?

Yes, it is a utopian ideal for the present especially considering the fact that only relatively recently did nationalism become widespread. Those who embraced nationalism consider themselves as a distinct community sharing certain values, and practices.

One challenge for global citizenship is the most current political trend in the world, especially in the United States and in Europe, namely populist nationalism. The Trump era in the United States is bringing about a process of pushing global citizenship and inclusive democracy away. Trump's discourse leans towards a populist and nationalist tendency that undoubtedly conflicts with the inclusive concept of global citizenship. According to Inglehart and Norris (2016), the populist discourse of Trump "typically emphasizes nativism or xenophobic nationalism, which assumes that the 'people' are a uniform whole and that states should exclude people from other countries and cultures" (p.7). According to Pazzanese (2017), Trump's surprise election to the presidency of the United States and Britain's decision to leave the European Union encourages other nationalist groups in Europe. Far-right political parties in Europe now embrace nationalism more tightly and use nationalism in their campaigns (Pazzanese, 2017). These trends instill fear of globalization, implying that it threatens social, cultural, and economic homogenization leading to the loss of culture and ethnic identity. These trends are now influencing other countries around the world (such as Philippines and Turkey), and are providing a basis for a "new nationalism" where conditions for an inclusive democracy and global citizenship worsen.

While current events provide many examples of killing and dying for "imagined communities" as a result of intensified nationalism, there are encouraging voices

regarding a more inclusive world that we need to listen to. Ikeda's quote says,

Earth is originally a green oasis with no need for national borders; it is the venue for the shared existence of humankind, the embodiment of our shared destiny. The times demand that we rethink the questions: to what end national identity? To what purpose national borders? (Ikedaquotes, n.d.)

Religious books point out the importance of diversity and peace in the world.

The Quran mentions differences among people, but stresses that this is so that we better know each other, and appreciate diversity rather than being hostile:

O mankind! We created you from a single (pair) of a male and a female and made you into nations and tribes, that you may know each other (not that you may despise (each other)). Verily the most honored of you in the sight of Allah [God] is (he who is) the most righteous of you (The Quran, 49:13).

The Christian Bible states that it is important for individuals or groups to take responsibility to keep the peace with all humans of the world:

“Do everything possible on your part to live in peace with everybody” (Romans 12:18).

A speech given by Barack Obama in 2008 before being elected as president of the U.S also encouraged his audience to feel more confident to talk about concepts such as nation planet, world citizenship. The mood in America currently is rather different than it was in 2008. Yet Obama's thoughts on global citizenship indicate that now at

least one powerful political leader is advocating global citizenship. Below are selected parts of Obama's speech that is relevant to the purpose of this work.

Tonight, I speak to you not as a candidate for President, but as a proud citizen of the United States, and a fellow citizen of the world. People of the world - look at Berlin, where a wall came down, a continent came together, and history proved that there is no challenge too great for the world that stands as one. The spread of information and technology reduced barriers to opportunity and prosperity. While the 20th century taught us that we share a common destiny, the 21st has revealed a world more intertwined than at any time in human history.

We cannot afford to be divided. Now is the time to join together, through constant cooperation, strong institutions, shared sacrifice, and a global commitment to progress, to meet the challenges of the 21st century. This is the moment to begin the work of seeking the peace of a world without nuclear weapons. This is the moment to stand as one. And this is the moment when we must give hope to those left behind in a globalized world (Obama, July 24th 2008, Berlin speech).

Obama emphasized that he considered himself not only a citizen of a particular nation, but also a citizen of the world – a global citizen. He advocated for global citizenship by mentioning the destruction of Berlin Wall, which once divided Berlin and its people. Obama pointed out that the Berlin Wall can be an example for the world on how to unify. It is not too difficult to progress to a world that comes together and stands as one, as Berlin did. While implying the globalization trend by mentioning the fast flow of information and the developed technology, he offered the 20th and the 21st centuries as a proof that humanity shares a similar destiny.

In his speech, Obama justified education for global citizenship by warning us that the world must unite as it "cannot afford to be divided". The world should cooperate

and even sacrifice together to overcome the problems of the 21st century, such as the existence of nuclear weapons, terrorism, and environmental issues. Obama also used the globalization trend as a justification for the unification of the world. As he says, in a globalized world, it is the time to stand as one and leave nobody behind.

While we should be hopeful, we must admit that global citizenship is a long-term goal. Global citizenship will not easily and quickly be achieved, and accepted, especially by nationalist political structures such as nationalistic governments. Global citizenship only will be achieved when the majority of members of the community on the planet see themselves as citizens of common human race, as citizens of the world, or members of the nation of the world earth. Nevertheless, connecting national citizenship to global citizenship, and acting as responsible global citizens are essential components of global citizenship that are far less utopian to be achieved. For instance, citizens can organize and vote against a racist leader and support minority rights in the country as a way of exercising global citizenship.

Global Citizenship Education

In the above discussion, I examined the concepts citizenship, nationalism, globalization and global citizenship. If the idea is to dismiss citizenship to achieve global citizenship, or perceive global citizenship exactly same as national citizenship, then it may be a challenge in achieving global citizenship. However, in this study citizenship is

considered as an opportunity for global citizenship, which means citizenship at the national level and global citizenship can co-exist. In other words, citizenship can remain as what it was, referring to a legal allegiance to a nation. However, "citizens" can be raised as "global citizens." As discussed previously, global citizenship is a "learned and nurtured behavior." Therefore, it requires education.

The question here should be what is global citizenship education, and why is it necessary? The questions such as what global citizenship means and what it can promote is yet to be answered (UNESCO, 2014). However, we know that "growing interest in global citizenship has [yielded] an increased attention to the global dimension in citizenship education, and the implications for policy, curricula, teaching, and learning" (UNESCO, 2015, p.14). Global citizenship education in this work is regarded not only as a necessity for the people of the globalizing world, but also and most importantly, as a need for a safe, peaceful, and inclusive world for future generations. As discussed above, globalization refers to interdependence and interconnectedness of the world which mostly emerged in the late 1900s (Coker, 2002). The process of globalization has many effects on culture, politics, economics. Undoubtedly, the process is influencing education as well. UN Global Education First Initiative justifies global citizenship education by stating that "it is not enough for education to produce individuals who can read, write and count; education must fully assume its central role in helping people to forge more just, peaceful, tolerant and

inclusive societies” (cited in Menten, 2015, para. 3). Andrzejewski and Alessio (1999), as a justification for the need of global citizenship education, ask, "who could deny the importance of a safer, healthier, more peaceful, more just and sustainable world in which to live?" (para. 45). UNESCO (2015) advocates global citizenship education by providing what it offers. It is important to note that the characteristics of a global citizen provided above, (in "Citizenship & Global Citizenship" section) focuses on attitudes while the list below focuses on skills and actions of a global citizen. According to UNESCO, the purpose of global citizenship education is equipping learners with skills that enable them to:

- develop an understanding of global governance structures, rights and responsibilities, global issues and connections between global, national and local systems and processes;
- recognize and appreciate difference and multiple identities, e.g. culture, language, religion, gender and our shared humanity, and acquire skills for living in an increasingly diverse world;
- develop and apply critical skills for civic literacy, e.g. critical thinking, peace building, and personal and social responsibility;
- recognize and examine beliefs and values and how they influence political and social decision-making, perceptions of social justice and civic engagement;
- develop attitudes of care and empathy for others and the environment and respect for diversity;
- develop values of fairness and social justice, and skills to critically analyze inequalities based on gender, socio-economic status, culture, religion, age and other issues;
- participate in, and contribute to contemporary global issues at local, national and global levels as informed, engaged, responsible and responsive global citizens (p. 16).

As I cited earlier, "for two hundred years citizenship and nationality has been Siamese political terms" (Heater, 1999, cited in Davies & Evans & Reid, 2005, p.67). "A new form of [citizenship] education is necessary" (Davies & Evans & Reid, 2005, pp.67-69). Since "global citizenship is a learned and nurtured behavior" (Tarrant, 2010, p.442), to produce global citizens we must adopt a global form of citizenship education. The ultimate answer to the question of why we need global citizenship education is that we need global citizens who will make the world a more inclusive, safer and peaceful place. Global citizenship education, while not ignoring allegiance to a nation, offers an opportunity of becoming active contributors to a more just, peaceful, and inclusive world for future generations.

Chapter 2

TENDENCIES IN CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION IN MODERN TURKEY

This chapter will review the literature on citizenship education and examine factors, such as nationalism and national identity, which have influenced trends in citizenship education in the Republic of Turkey since its foundation in 1923. The aim of this chapter is to discuss the general tendencies and traditions in citizenship education that have shaped the level of global mindedness of Turkish youth throughout the Republic's history. By discussing two important aspects of these tendencies and traditions (history and geopolitics), this chapter will look for an answer to the question of whether or not Turkey is prepared to produce globally minded citizens in our globalized world. In this chapter, I conclude that citizenship education in modern Turkey has had a tendency since the foundation of the Republic to not allow the inclusion of elements that align with global citizenship, as we know it today.

Scholars who examine the history of citizenship education in modern Turkey usually organize its history into several periods: The Single party period (1923-1946), the Democrat Party period (1946-1960), the first military intervention period (1960-1980), and the second military intervention period (1980 onward). In this chapter, I will follow the above order as laid out by İnce (2012).

Before examining some tendencies regarding citizenship education in the Republic, I will briefly discuss some major actors and events that were instrumental in the formation of the exclusionary and rigid nature of Turkish nationalism. These actors, ideas, and events include Pan-Turkism, Ziya Gökalp, Atatürk, the Treaty of Sèvres and the Sheikh Said Kurdish rebellion.

Pan-Turkism refers to the idea and the dream of unifying all Turkic people, culturally and politically. This notion emerged in the late nineteenth century, had support outside of Anatolia, and can be viewed as the prototype of Turkish nationalism. The two most vigorous theoreticians and early advocates of the idea were Crimean Tatar İsmail Gasıralı (1851-1914) and Tatar Turkish Yusuf Akçura (1876-1935) (Demirbağ , n.d.). Even more important for the development of Pan-Turkism was Ziya Gökalp (1876-1924), who promoted the Turkish language and culture, and who became known as the “father” of Turkish nationalism. Initially, Gökalp perceived nationalism as a force that would increase the power of the state (Yüner, 2009). Over time, however, he reformulated his ideas and began to espouse a rigid form of Turkish nationalism. Gökalp profoundly influenced the reformation process in the country carried out by the “father” of Turks, Atatürk (1881-1938) (Yüner, 2009). Atatürk, who founded the Republic in 1923 and shaped the nation with his ideas and actions, articulated the type of nationalism that is now included in the Constitution under the name “Atatürk Nationalism.”

Another key factor in the development of Turkish nationalism is the treaty of Sèvres. Signed by the allied powers—the French and the British—and the Ottoman authorities in 1920, the treaty marked the beginning of the partitioning of the Ottoman Empire. The Treaty of Sèvres lost its validity after Turkey declared victory in the War of Independence (1919-1923) and signed the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923. Yet it sparked intense nationalistic feelings among the Turks and created a trauma—that of foreign powers intent on dividing Turkey among themselves—that resonates until today.

Finally, another critical moment in the country's modern history that pushed the country to a more rigid nationalism is the Sheikh Said Kurdish uprising that broke out in 1925. The rebellion began as an Islamist movement against secular trends in the newly founded country. However, soon after the broke out, the rebellion took the shape of a Kurdish nationalist movement (Özoğlu, 2011). After they had suppressed it, the Turkish authorities used it as their main justification to prevent oppositional establishments in the country, including religious and leftist establishments, paving the way for a more nationalist country (Özoğlu, 2011).

These key factors are observed before and during the single party period, and their influence lasted throughout the history of modern Turkey, contributing to the persistence of Turkish nationalism until today. Having presented the above factors, below, I will examine how these and some other tendencies have influenced citizenship education in the country since the 1920s.

Turkish History of Citizenship Education

Single Party Period (1923-1946)

Modern Turkey, or The Republic of Turkey, came into existence on October 29, 1923, following the fall of the Ottoman Empire. According to Çayır (2015), “Turkish history [in this era] represents a painful transition from the multi-religious, multicultural and multi-lingual Ottoman Empire to the Turkish nation-state” (p. 523). This transition was multi-dimensional and rapid. Since, in developmental terms, the Ottomans had fallen far behind Europe before their empire collapsed, the Modern Turkish Republic aimed to line up with Europe and the modern world again. Citizenship education formed one part of this significant transition. Citizenship, nationalism, and national identity were among the most debated educational concepts in the newly founded country.

Nationalism was a new idea that rose along with the republic in Turkey. According to Keyder (2005) “Turkish nationalism emerged in the general context of ‘late-comer’ nationalisms following the German example, at a time when the Ottoman, Hapsburg and Czarist Empires collapsed after the First World War” (cited in Çayır, 2015, p.523). In this regard, Turkish nationalism can be viewed as a product of the complex conditions and developments unfolding during WWI. Turkishness (the state of being Turkish), which refers to an ethno-nationalistic perspective that excludes all non-Turkish people, was never regarded as a term that differentiates between identities until the end of WWI (Çayır, 2015). The concept of citizenship did not exist for the Ottomans; the

Empire was made up of *subjects* (tebaa) who were considered to be equals regardless of their race, culture, and language. What differentiated them, however, was religion. The Ottoman Empire was, first and foremost, a Muslim empire. Non-Muslims, Christians and Jews, the so-called People of the Book, were recognized as such and enjoyed a large measure of autonomy in running their own affairs. Yet they had to accept the supremacy of Islam and they were subordinated to a Muslim state that gave them fewer rights than Muslims. However, after the Empire was defeated in both WWI and the Balkan Wars (1912-22), and lost territory in both the Balkans and in the Middle East, the trajectory of the country was toward a Turkish nationalism led by the “modernizing elite” who later founded the Republic (Çayır, 2015).

The rise of nationalism in the early years of the Republic led to the categorization of people by their race, religion, and language, and altered the perception of citizenship in modern Turkey. During the period from 1923 to 1946, the only legal political party was the People’s Republican Party (CHP) (İnce, 2012). The CHP’s party line was based on principles called the Six Pillars: Nationalism, Republicanism, Populism, Secularism (adopted in 1927), Statism, and Revolution (added in 1935). These Six Pillars originated from Atatürk’s Six Principles. He defined these principles as the essentials that the nation should follow while working for the reconstruction and development of the country.

During the CHP era, the perception of a Turkish citizen was narrowly defined.

Citizenship was perceived “on the basis of a single religion (the Sunni sect of Islam) and a single language (Turkish), and the slogan of the period was ‘one language, one culture, one ideal’” (İnce, 2012, p. 119). People with different religions, such as Christians and Jews, and people with different languages, such as Kurds and Circassians, were categorized as Non-Turkish (Kadioğlu, 2007 in Çayır, 2015). This categorization yielded the practice of assimilation for these non-Turkish ‘others’; for instance, use of the Kurdish language or Kurdish names was forbidden (Çayır, 2015).

There was no description defining what constituted the Turkish nation in civic textbooks published during the first six years of the newly established country (İnce, 2012). While the 1924 Constitution stated that “all people of the country are considered equals regardless of their religion, race and ethnicity” (Polat, 2011, p.144), this declaration was not reflected in contemporary civic education textbooks.

The 1924 Constitution emphasized that every citizen is equal and everyone in the country has the same rights and responsibilities (İnce, 2012). However, these rights consisted of basic rights such as the right to education, health, and privacy. This Constitution failed to provide specific statements of protection of these rights (İnce, 2012). The duties and the responsibilities of citizens, however, were emphasized (İnce, 2012), and the purpose of citizenship education was understood as ‘teaching duties of citizenship’ (Emin, 1930 in İnce, 2012).

The Republic of Turkey, moving away from the Ottoman model socially,

culturally, and politically, began to narrow its conception of 'nation' very rapidly during its early years. On the other hand, when one considers the context in which this was happening, it may help us understand why CHP government made a sharp shift from the more inclusive Ottoman concept of 'tebaa' to a more restricted concept of citizenship. As nationalism was one of the most powerful motives behind WWI, it is easier to understand the motivation behind the Turkish nationalism of the CHP government. The nationalist atmosphere of this period pushed Turkey into a similar trajectory.

Civic education textbooks published after 1929 included definitions of Turkish citizenship (İnce, 2012). The most important citizenship education textbook in this period that can be regarded as the official citizenship book was *Vatandas icin Medeni Bilgiler (Civic Information for the Citizen)* (İnce, 2012). This text was written by Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, the founder of modern Turkey, although it was published under the name Afet İnan, Ataturk's adopted daughter (İnce, 2012). This textbook, which was published in 1931, was an important resource for forming and conceptualizing Turkish Citizenship in the early years of the Republic (Gürses, 2010). İnce (2012) points out that in this book the 'one language, one culture, one ideal' discourse was strongly emphasized; and according to the book a nation consist of a social and political community and is made up of citizens who share the same ideals, language, culture. İnce (2012) further argues that although these definitions in the book are presented as being "inclusive," Ataturk's thoughts on what constituted the Turkish nation seems to

contradict this fact. He defined Turkish nationhood as consisting of the following components:

- a) political unity; b) linguistic unity; c) territorial unity; d) racial unity; e) shared history; f) shared morality (Inan, 1931 cited in İnce, 2012, p. 119).

During the single-party period, the following headings were included in civics textbooks: *Democracy, Nation, the State, the Republic, Taxes, the Military and Military Service* (Üstel, 2005 cited in Çayır & Gürkaynak, 2007). These textbooks emphasized solidarity and national unity based on Turkishness (Çayır & Gürkaynak, 2007).

Turkish citizenship was first defined in textbooks after 1929. Regarding these definitions, "what was agreed upon [is that] despite [the] textual reference to a political notion of citizenship, practices during the nation formation process were exclusivist" (Çayır & Gürkaynak, 2007, p. 51). The concept of citizenship was defined narrowly, and therefore supported the formation of nationalist identities, ignorance of diversity, and the abandonment of inclusiveness. In fact, from the very beginning of the Republic, education was perceived as a tool that government could use to transform its citizens' lives to form an organic Turkish society (Parlak 2005; Üstel 2005 cited in Çayır, 2015).

Entering Multi-Party Democracy (1946-1960)

In 1946 a second successfully established party introduced to the county, the Democratic Party (DP). This year was immensely important in Turkey's politics, as it

marked the beginning of the era of “multi-party democracy”. After 27 years of single party (CHP) period in the Republic, the Democrat Party won the 1950 elections and ruled the country until 1960 when military intervention ended the party’s rule (İnce, 2012).

The first decade of Democrat Party rule brought significant and unprecedented changes. The Democrat Party not only liberalized certain laws regarding citizenship, but also altered how textbooks approached the concept of citizenship (İnce, 2012).

Textbooks published in this period highlighted citizenship rights and democracy more frequently than in the previous period (İnce, 2012). Some of the textbooks included the complete text of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and pointed out that these rights should be protected by the state (İnce, 2012). However, the same textbooks in this period mentioned martial law in a manner that implied limiting fundamental human rights in certain situations is acceptable (İnce, 2012).

One of the fundamental changes that promoted inclusiveness was the abandonment of the Six Pillars of the CHP (Polat, 2011). This change, particularly the abandonment of the pillar of nationalism, was an important indicator of how the perspective of the single-party period was changing towards more inclusive citizenship. According to Çayır and Gürkaynak (2007), the general liberalization and democratization trend of the multi-party period was represented through the entire educational system. This period (including post-1960s) saw a rapid process of liberalization in the country

before the coming of the 1980 coup.

Another remarkable development during the Republic's new era was the improvement in minority rights. After several unsuccessful attempts at establishing multi-party democracy during the single-party period, Turkey only managed to achieve it after the Second World War (Polat, 2011). Once there, Turkey began to consider minority rights more carefully (Polat, 2011).

Despite the increased emphasis on minority rights, citizenship rights, and democracy in textbooks, and despite the abandonment of a nationalist perspective in citizenship education during this period, problems concerning inclusivity still remained within the concept of nation. Between 1956 and 1960, textbooks defined the nation "as a community living in the same fatherland, speaking the same language and sharing the same historical connections, emotions, thoughts and ideals" (Aksan, 1952, cited in İnce, 2012, p. 122). Based on this definition, it is difficult to argue that this period adopted an inclusive approach, welcomed difference, and promoted diversity. The emphasis on "speaking the same language" could be interpreted as promoting exclusiveness. Karakılıç and Müjdecı (2014) conclude that the textbooks published during Democrat Party period essentially perpetuated the views and approaches expressed in the single-party period. Similarly, İnce (2012) argues that the definition of nation in this period appears to be very close to the conception of 'nation' and 'citizen' in the single party period. "The DP," he concludes, "which held power from 1950 to 1960, made no

revolutionary changes in educational policy, keeping the CHP's policies and education program intact" (İnce, 2012, p.122).

Between the Two Coups 1960-1980

In this period, improvements on citizenship rights and inclusiveness were made within the Constitution established in 1961. This Constitution brought a more liberal and inclusive understanding of citizenship, one that was also reflected in the curriculum and civic textbooks (İnce, 2012). However, after the memorandum in 1971, in which the military forced the government to resign by sending a letter, this development came to a stop, and after 1971 the themes of civics texts resumed to "emphasizing duties more than rights" (İnce, 2012, p.124). For instance, individual rights were defined as something given to citizens in return for fulfilling citizenship duties (Erdem & Konuk, 1972, in İnce, 2012). The military coup in 1980 marked a decline in inclusive democracy and liberalization.

The Constitution of 1961, which states that "*everyone who is attached to the Turkish state by his / her citizenship ties is Turk*, included the word 'everyone' in nearly all of its articles concerning the rights and freedoms of citizens" (Polat, 2011, p.152). Compared to the previous period, the state during this time seemed to be more responsive to citizens and their rights. The syllabus for citizenship education prepared by the Ministry of Education in light of the 1961 Constitution talked about the duties of

the state regarding respect for and protection of citizens' rights (İnce, 2012).

In one article of the Constitution, it was stated that privilege or discrimination was not given to anyone (Constitutional Court, 1993, cited in Polat, 2011). Turkishness was interpreted as an inclusive concept that included people from different races (Constitutional Court, 1993, cited in Polat, 2011). In this regard, Greeks, Jews or Armenians were considered Turks (Pazarlı, 1964, cited in İnce, 2012). In this Constitution, the 'one language, one culture' ideal was less emphasized, and its language seemed to be more inclusive. Moreover, according to Tanör (1992), in the 1961 Constitution, the word nationalism was disassociated from concepts like racism and aggression (cited in Polat, 2011). Additional evidence that the 1961 Constitution was more democratic was the fact that it promised a more democratic and free Turkey. It included a list of the rights and freedoms found in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights as well as in the European Convention on Human Rights (Tanör, 1992, cited in Polat, 2011).

Regarding education, the 1961 constitution emphasized critical thinking and participatory education (İnce, 2012). Active citizenship, for instance, was highly encouraged in the syllabus that was published in 1969 by the Teaching and Education Committee (İnce, 2012). Active citizenship can be a basis to improve inclusiveness and promote diversity, as it encourages the promotion of equality in the community through responsible action.

Nevertheless, the focus on homogeneity over difference, and ethnic division over diversity, did not fade away:

The textbooks published during this period gave the same definition of the nation as in previous periods, namely, unity in history, culture, the fatherland, language, and ideals. The basis of Turkish nationalism was described as 'Everybody and everything is for Turkey.' 'Every Turk,' said the texts, should carry the feeling of 'I am a Turk, and I am proud to be a Turk' (İnce, 2012, p. 123).

Similar to previous periods, emphasizing nationalism national pride in this period caused that generation to grow with a narrow perspective. Despite this, Üstel (2005) still argues that:

In the 1960s, still more of an embracing of democratic citizenship is seen in the textbooks; a more "rights-based" understanding of citizenship with its universal connotations and the understanding that democracy is a way of life are to be found in the content and the spirit of the texts (cited in Çayır & Gürkaynak, 2007, p. 52).

After the 1971 military memorandum and an amendment to the Constitution that same year, the fundamental rights and freedoms trend was interrupted by the growing state authority against individuals and society (Polat, 2011). The word "nationalism," which was abandoned in the 1961 Constitution, found its way into education after the 1971 memorandum. It was stated in the *National Education Basic Law* that:

The general aim of the Turkish national education is to develop a sense of

citizenship which protects and develops the national morality of the Turkish nation; which embraces the moral, human, spiritual and cultural values of the Turkish nation based on Atatürk's revolutions and Turkish nationalism (Polat, 2011, p. 153).

Beginning in 1970, the Ministry of National Education adopted Social Studies, which included History, Geography and Citizenship Education courses (Çayır & Gürkaynak, 2007). According to Çayır and Gürkaynak (2007) "the curriculum was still very eclectic, with remains of a nationalistic structure and a newly acquired spirit of freedom and solidarity found together in the texts" (p.52). This curriculum was the most democratic one in the history of the Republic and had potential to produce active citizens (Üstel, 2005). However, after the 1971 memorandum the emphasis on Turkish nationalism and moral values of the Turkish nation were again apparent in citizenship education (Çayır & Gürkaynak). Üstel (2005) points out the difficult situation the country experienced between the two coups:

This [post-1960s] is a period in which [the country tried to construct civilian citizenship] in an uneasy manner. There are references to democracy in the textbooks. However, it is impossible to speak of a willingness to internalize a democratic political culture in all its dimensions. Political elites had an unsettling stance between democracy and stability (para 27-28).

The government's fear of internal and external threats increased toward the end of this period. "Political elites" believed that diversity was causing internal conflicts, weakening the country against external threats. A more

nationalistic view was prescribed as a unifying factor for the country, and this was soon reflected in the education system. Consequently, “a religious streak seeped into the programs and through them into the newly named course textbooks: *National History, National Geography, and Citizenship*” (Çayır & Gürkaynak, 2007, p. 53).

1980 to Recent Times

In 1982, two years after the last military coup, with a new constitution the country again seemed to be declining in its view of inclusive democracy. This decline was sweeping away the positive developments of the 1960s and 70s. The new Constitution was different from the previous one in many respects, especially concerning citizenship rights. According to Kaynar and Ak (2017), in the 1982 Constitution citizenship rights were limited, the exercise of them was made difficult, and the rights lost their alignment with the universal human rights texts. Citizenship rights were modified to protect the state from individuals and movements in opposition to the regime (Kaynar and Ak, 2017). Polat (2011) argues that the 1982 Constitution “emphasized that the rights were primarily for the state while setting out the conditions that restrict the rights of the society and the individual and the citizen against the state” (p. 154). In other words, the state was considered more important than its citizens.

With the establishment of the 1982 Constitution, the country lost its more

democratic constitution that was effective from 1961 to 1982. This loss was inevitably reflected in civic education textbooks. The new textbooks argued that limiting citizens' basic rights in certain situations is one of the state's duties (İnce, 2012). At the same time, the textbooks indicated that the contemporary situation was ideal, and that criticizing the constitution or discussing the problems related to exercise of citizenship rights was improper (İnce, 2012). The reasoning behind this belief was that the conflicts which led to the coup stemmed from the 'excessive' rights provided by the previous Constitution. The state believed that limiting citizens' rights would provide a more safe and secure country by preventing internal conflicts like uprisings and civil strife. In order to avoid such problems, criticizing the Constitution was banned.

According to textbooks published after 1980, a nation represents the unity of history, culture, religion, and language (İnce, 2012). Within this definition an attempt at homogenization of the country was apparent, and where, according to İnce (2012), "the orthodox understanding of religion especially [had] begun to be counted among the basic characteristics of the nation" (p. 124).

This emphasis on religion, however, was not unique to the 1982 constitution. According to Kaya (2016), national education in Turkey has always placed stress on a Turkic/Islamic-based civic education. Those who are different than the majority of the country in terms of religion, culture, and race did not feel secure to publicly express their difference (Kaya, 2016).

During the 1980s and 1990s, despite the enthusiasm of the Republic to be part of the globalizing world, the curricula and textbooks seemed to particularize human rights (Çayır & Gürkaynak, 2007). On the other hand, broad themes within a nationalist and authoritarian perspective of citizenship education also existed (Çayır & Gürkaynak, 2007). In 1998, a *Citizenship and Human Rights* course was introduced to seventh and eighth grades as a required course emphasizing the importance of human rights (İnce, 2012). The general outline of this course for grade seven in 1998 was as follows:

1. **The common heritage of humanity** (with subtitles such as the concept of human; art, science, and literature as common heritage)
2. **The development of the notion of human rights** (the concept of right; history of human rights)
3. **Ethics and human rights** (ethical foundations of human rights; responsibilities of being human)
4. **Basic rights and freedoms** (definitions of basic rights; the role of the state in the implementation of human rights; children's rights) (Çayır & Gürkaynak, 2007, p. 53).

However, Gök (2003) argues that the real reason behind this change was not to improve Turkish citizens' rights. Instead, improving human rights were considered as "only a vehicle to promote Turkey's reputation and respectability on the international stage" (Cited in İnce, 2012, p.125). There were no changes in ethical or moral principles in the country, but only a desire to be considered a civilized country (İnce, 2012).

Üstel (2004) argues that in the 1980s, citizenship education became ethnocultural (cited in Kaya, 2016). The emphasis was not only on glorifying Turkish culture with a nationalistic perspective, but also was on recognizing the enemies of Turkey and its “great” culture and territorial integrity. Since its foundation, the Republic’s purpose was to bring the country to the ‘level of contemporary civilization’ (muasir medeniyetler seviyesi), which was identified as the nation’s ultimate goal by Ataturk. At the same time, defining the enemies in textbooks was regarded as a necessity so the youth could be aware of who desired to hinder the achievement of that goal. Çayır and Gürkaynak (2007) point out that textbooks in this era portray a Turkey that is “always under threat from both internal and external enemies because of its geopolitical importance” (p. 53). An analysis of the way the threats were presented in the textbooks indicates that the logic behind the Turkish education system was nationalistic and militaristic (Çayır & Gürkaynak, 2007). *Citizenship and Human Rights Education*, a textbook written and published Ministry of National Education in 1998, stated, “[from this book] you will better learn how our enemies aim at achieving their ends with destructive and divisive practices” (Bilgen et al. 2001, cited in Çayır & Gürkaynak, 2007, p. 53).

Internal threats were described as “separatist and reactionary” (Bilgen et al. 2001, cited in Çayır & Gürkaynak, 2007, p. 54). For instance, a conflict between Kurdish guerrillas and the Turkish Government has been going on for more than 40 years in the

southeast of Turkey (Çayır, 2015). The Kurdish people involved in the conflict are usually presented as the source of internal threats, and they are portrayed as wanting to take control over the state (Çayır & Gürkaynak, 2007).

Fear of external threats; however, have always been found in Turkish politics and education. Young citizens have always been reminded of external threats in the schooling process and are expected to be on the alert. In the 1980s and 1990s social studies-related curriculum and textbooks placed emphasis on the issue of external enemies. One mandatory course that encourages young citizens to keep an eye open is *Studies in National Security*. This course has been a part of the high school curriculum since 1926 until the AKP government removed it (Çayır & Gürkaynak, 2007). The textbook for this course depicted Armenia and Greece as claiming lands from Turkey for the creation of "Greater Armenia" and "Greater Greece" (Çayır & Gürkaynak, 2007). Similar to previous periods this textbook "created a phobia of 'the enemy' in the minds of young people" (İnce, 2012, p. 124). According to Çayır and Gürkaynak (2007) social studies-related textbooks in this period created suspicion and fear instead of widening citizens' perspectives. In an increasingly globalizing world of the 1980s, such curriculum encouraged Turkish youth "to be suspicious of all foreigners, particularly people from neighboring countries; to fear all differences" (Altınay, 2004, Cited in Çayır & Gürkaynak, 2007, p.55).

On one hand Turkey was concerned with national security and was suspicious of

foreigners during this period. However, the state was also improving its economy and integrating itself into the global free market as part of other reforms to be able to join the European Union (Çayır & Gürkaynak, 2007). Reforms were intensified with the beginning of the new millennium. Education was a part of widespread reforms implemented after the Justice and Development Party (AKP) won the elections in 2002. One educational reform of the AKP government was to exclude the course *National Security* (Milli Güvenlik), which was considered problematic due to its militaristic content (Altınay 2004, in Çayır, 2015). Another reform was the removal of the Turkish Student Oath that was recited by elementary and middle school students every morning before classes start. The oath included the controversial line “How happy is the one who says I am Turk” (Çayır, 2015, p. 525). The word “Turk” in this oath was perceived as referring to a particular ethnic identity, that of the ethnically Turkish people. Therefore, the oath was insensitive to other ethnic identities in the country, such as the Kurds and Armenians.

Another important step taken by the AKP in the name of meeting the needs and demands of minorities was to provide instruction in the Kurdish language. Constituting roughly 20% of Turkey’s population, the Kurds, denied by the government for a long time, had been asking for education in their mother tongue for decades (Çayır 2015). In an unprecedented move, the AKP introduced an elective Kurdish language course into the school curriculum (Çayır, 2015).

According to Çayır (2015), these developments symbolized “the opening of a Pandora’s box in Turkey” (p. 526).

Despite these attempts at reform, the 1982 Constitution is still in effect. Although there have been some partial revisions, it is perceived by many as being out of date. The descriptions of citizenship in both 1961 and 1982 constitutions have been criticized for reflecting a race-based and exclusive understanding of citizenship (Aybay, 2008 in Polat, 2011). However, despite this criticism, the Constitutional Court has ruled that the definition of citizenship in the Constitution should be interpreted as inclusive and unifying, and that it does not imply any privilege or discrimination for or against any ethnic group (Aybay, 2008 cited in Polat, 2011). There have been several amendments of the 1982 Constitution since its implementation; however, a satisfactory and inclusive understanding of citizenship is yet to be achieved (Polat, 2011). “The real issue is to liberate the political philosophy that constitutes the spirit of our constitution from anti-democratic and racist discourses” (Polat, 2011, p. 155).

Geographical & Geopolitical Influences on the History of Turkish Citizenship Education



Figure 2.1. Geographic position of Turkey
(*Wikipedia.org*)

How Turkey perceives citizenship and citizenship education is heavily influenced by both its geographical and (especially) its geopolitical location. Having lands within both Europe and Asia, being surrounded by three seas (Black Sea, Aegean Sea, Mediterranean), and being regarded as a 'bridge' between the West and the East, Turkey has always considered itself as one of the most strategically important lands in the world throughout history.

This belief contributes to current fears that neighbor countries such as Armenia and Greece seek to divide the country and acquire land from Turkey. This fear has affected Turkey's political relationship with other nations throughout its history and

currently influences citizenship education in a way that encourages young citizens to see foreigners as potential enemies.

The origins of such fears date back to the Ottoman Empire. Most of these neighboring countries, including Greece, desired to gain their independence from the Empire. The desire of these neighboring countries to be independent of the Ottomans before the dismantling of the Empire is another explanation for why neighbor countries continue to be perceived as potential enemies in modern Turkey.

The textbook *Citizenship and Human Rights Education* produced by Ministry of National Education (MONE) in 1998 emphasizes the existence of enemies surrounding the country. The excerpt below shows how neighbor countries are introduced as potential threats to Turkish youth:

Turkey has a critical geopolitical situation in the region and the world. Because of this, many countries have several aims on our motherland. That is why Turkey is a country always under risk. The places that harbor destructive terrorist organizations are neighboring countries, which we think are our allies (Bilgen et al. 2001, cited in Çayır & Gürkaynak, 2007, p. 54).

Textbooks depict these countries as potential enemies. On the other hand, they emphasize that Turkey has always wanted to keep peace with other countries, citing Atatürk's famous motto "*Peace at home, peace in the world.*" However, since, according

to these texts, there are threats to its territorial integrity, Turkey must be alert and be ready to fight and defend itself. This justification is not favorable among scholars, however, as most of them agree that these “textbooks promote prejudices and negative stereotypes towards Turkey’s neighbors” (Çayır & Gürkaynak, 2007, p. 54). Greece is one of the neighbors that is represented most as a potential enemy in the curriculum and textbooks. Greeks are depicted as having the "Megali Idea" (Great Idea). This idea involves establishing a “Greater Greece” in the future by claiming lands from western Turkey. The Turkish schooling process constantly warns the students that these are not true allies of Turkey, while revealing their ‘true aims’ (Çayır & Gürkaynak, 2007).

Turkey, though not a participant, was still influenced by the Second World War due to its geopolitical position (Taşdöven, 2013). During WWII, Turkey had to maintain readiness to defend its borders. Due to this, the government regulated the economy according to the real potential for involvement in the war, and constantly kept the army ready (Taşdöven, 2013). Armaoğlu (1994) describes what these years were like for Turkey:

Turkey's situation in the Second World War was [concerned with] the efforts of the Allies and the Axis to get Turkey involved in the war for their own benefits, and the pressures they placed on Turkey because of its strategic position. Turkey's policy towards these activities of the warring parties was to stay out of the war and to protect the country from the destruction of the war (cited in Taşdöven, 2013, p. 29-30).

Turkey's perception of its geopolitical importance is a central reason for why the government views their neighbors suspiciously. Considering that some of these countries impatiently searched for opportunities to gain their independence from the Ottomans, it is easy to understand why Modern Turkey represents them the in this manner in its education system. Turkey continues to be wary of a possible alliance of these countries and even believes that some of them, like Greece, desire Turkey's lands.

As mentioned above, Turkey is located between the continents of Europe and Asia, serving as a bridge between Western and Eastern traditions. Because of this status, both European and Asian traditions influence Turkey. These traditions have influenced Turkey's culture, politics, economy and education. For instance, Turkey's approach to ideas of citizenship and citizenship education is guided by both Western and Eastern tendencies. The major 2005 curriculum reform was a result of a Western and secular trajectory for the country, and the reform was heavily influenced by American and other Western models. However, after a decade, the influence from the West now seem to be in danger, and the current direction of Turkey seems to be away from such influences. One of the reasons for the shift may be Western criticism of Turkey's current internal affairs. Another reason behind Turkey's shift is the unstable political atmosphere in the region, which is closely related to geopolitics and geography. The current crisis in Syria, the so-called Islamic State, and the Kurdish conflict are other issues that are potentially influencing Turkish education and the future of social studies and global citizenship

education. The influence of these issues, combined with that of Western criticism of Turkey's current domestic affairs, is arguably pushing Turkey away from an inclusive concept of citizenship to a more nationalistic view. Such political views stemming from the geography and geopolitics appear to be obstacles to achieving peaceful global citizenship education in the country.

Discussion & Concluding Remarks

In this chapter, I reviewed past and present tendencies in citizenship education in the Republic of Turkey. As the literature shows, from its foundation in 1923 to the present Turkey has adopted a nationalistic approach in educating its youth. This approach, which reflects heavily in citizenship education and in textbooks, is a roadblock for the country to developing an inclusive form of education and welcoming diversity: essential features of a globally-minded state. There were both internal and external factors that pushed Turkey to adopt a homogenization strategy. The nationalistic atmosphere surrounding WWI and the general nationalistic sentiment around the world are two examples. Another factor was the tension in the country created by WWII that put the government on alert for years and drained most of its energy on vigilance. In such a world where a global conflict continues in the name of nationalism, it was difficult for Turkey to embrace a more inclusive concept of citizenship and promote diversity. In the post-WWII period, political instability in the country intensified between

the 1960s and 1980s, and continuing until the recent times. This is another factor that should be considered as an obstacle preventing the country from paying enough attention to global mindedness since the 1980s.

While the concept of 'global citizenship education' emerged during the 1970s and 1980s, Turkey was not prepared to talk about it until the 2000s. In this regard, it is not possible to examine global education or global citizenship in Turkey until the new millennium. Curriculum reforms in many parts of the world emerged in the 1990s as a response to the widespread influence of globalization and new structures like the European Union (Terra and Bromley 2012 in Çayır, 2015). Turkey also undertook comprehensive curriculum reform in 2005 under the AKP government. The reasons why a reform was necessary, as listed by the Ministry of National Education, include:

- The need to develop individual and national values within global values,
- The need for education that is sensitive to economy and democracy,
- Developments in teaching / learning, and the understanding in educational sciences (Kaymak, 2008, p.3)

The reform attempted to replace the traditional behavioral approach to instruction with the constructivist approach in the Turkish education system. This reform is significant for global citizenship education because, as opposed to behaviorism, in constructivism students are active in the learning process. This is highly valued in global citizenship education. The reform also introduced a theme into social

studies curriculum for 4th to 7th grades titled “Global Connections” (TTKB 2009b, 2009c, in Açıkalın, 2010). This theme was the first in the history of Turkish social studies to include the word ‘global’. This curriculum strove to integrate global perspectives in education and improve the global mindedness of Turkish youth. According to the Ministry of National Education (MONE), the necessity of this theme stems from the developments in science and technology that have enhanced the relationship between societies by blurring their boundaries and making them more accessible (TTKB, 2009). In such a world, students should be conscious of relationships between societies (TTKB, 2009). The description of this theme for each grade level provided by MONE is as follows. Students in the 4th and 5th grades will recognize the general characteristics of countries in other parts of the world while having the opportunity to compare these countries to their own (TTKB, 2009). Students in the 6th and 7th grades will recognize the importance of thought and art in international interaction while forming an opinion about the natural resources, economic situation, and economic relationships of other countries as well as their own. (TTKB, 2009). Also, students will understand the functions of international institutions, and develop ideas regarding issues concerning economy, politics, security, health, and ecology (TTKB, 2009). The units running through grades four through seven under this theme are, respectively:

- 4th Grade: My Far Away Friends
- 5th Grade: Our World
- 6th Grade: Our Country and the World
- 7th Grade: Bridges between Countries

The consideration of these themes in the actual curriculum, however, is not sufficient. Evaluating these units using global citizenship elements as criteria, Açıkalın (2010) concludes that although the most important elements of global citizenship are included in the new social studies curriculum and standards, they are not presented specifically. For instance, skills that a global citizen should have were not included. Açıkalın (2010) emphasizes three problems found in these units and their associated activities. First, the focus is merely on the economic aspects of relations between countries. Second, global issues in these units and activities are quite limited. For instance, international conflicts, war, terrorism, environmental issues, and global warming were never mentioned. Finally, despite the importance of multiple perspectives in global citizenship, none of the standards or activities in these units specifically include multiple perspectives.

With their pros and cons, the new curriculum/standards and the associated textbooks that were written and published according to the reform have been in use since 2005. The curriculum is still being developed and revised by the AKP government as part of the efforts in improving global mindedness in education (Açıkalın, 2010).

From 2002 through recent times, the AKP's efforts for fostering diversity, considering minorities' rights, and promoting inclusiveness cannot be ignored. These are, in fact, important factors for nurturing global citizens. Some scholars, however, are

still not satisfied. According to Çayır (2015), despite the improvements during AKP's government in recent years, presentation of issues such as national self and ethnic minorities in the textbooks still do not include any significant change from the previous periods. The curriculum seems to deny the existence of anyone whose language is not Turkish, while maintaining the national identity based on an ethnoreligious concept (Çayır, 2015). Textbooks and curriculum are still not at the point where they can provide Turkish youth broad perspectives or necessary skills to improve their global mindedness and become global citizens.

As I have shown throughout this chapter, citizenship education in modern Turkey has a tradition of not including elements that align with global citizenship education. There were times when Turkey made efforts to provide a more inclusive citizenship that was compatible with the idea of global citizenship; however, those efforts were hindered for various reasons. While the most recent efforts made in the AKP government are undeniable and promising, Turkey still has a long way to go to achieve true global citizenship education.

Chapter 3

SUGGESTIONS FOR TURKISH SOCIAL STUDIES

This chapter proposes methods for implementing global citizenship education in Turkish social studies courses. I am proposing a revision of seventh-grade Turkish social studies standards, and three specific strategies designed for teachers to practice global citizenship education in their classrooms. These proposals are intended to encourage more discussion, interest, and development for global citizenship education. Both the standard revision and the three strategies are proposed to address issues described in Chapter Two while aligning with the definition of global citizenship in Chapter One.

According to UNESCO the scope of global citizenship education is much wider than just social studies and its curriculum, and Ideally, global citizenship education should be part of the ‘ethos’ of education, “influencing senior management decisions, teacher practices and relationships between educational institutions and communities” (UNESCO, 2014, p. 23). In other words, while global citizenship can be taught as part of a subject, it can also be utilized more broadly. This could include other subjects as well as curriculum, school management, etc. Global citizenship is typically taught as an integrated part of an existing subject such as social studies and citizenship education (UNESCO, 2014). In the Republic of Korea, topics that are related to global citizenship

such as human rights and responsibilities, as well as respect for diversity, are included in textbooks (UNESCO, 2014). According to Oxfam (2015), another world organization advocating global citizenship, citizenship involves all areas of the curriculum with its “enrichment of everyday teaching and learning.” Global citizenship is not “an extra subject” or “just a focus for a particular day or week” (See Table 3.3). Global citizenship can be integrated into both obviously global-related topics as well as the topics that do not seem relevant at first glance (OXFAM, 2015).

My proposed revision of 7th grade Turkish social studies standards is designed to integrate global citizenship into the standards to help curriculum developers, and eventually textbook writers, to address the necessity of global citizenship by producing textbooks that can guide teachers in nurturing students as global citizens.

While the standards are revised, the learning domains are preserved, as they are in the current version of the standards that designed by the Turkish Ministry of National Education in 2005. My revisions are based on the premise that global citizenship should not be an extra subject but rather that it should be incorporated into all areas of the curriculum. Therefore, changes are made in every unit regardless of their relevance to global issues. For instance, I included elements of global citizenship even in local and national-related units like "Population in Our Country." Also, the revision does not replace the local perspectives with global perspectives in the standards. Rather, its purpose is to add an extra layer to the standards which connects the local and national

to the global in order to align them with elements of global citizenship. In other words, these revisions are including the global perspective while preserving local and national perspectives. Therefore, the ultimate goal is to provide a dual understanding of citizenship: at the local/national as well as the global level. During my revision of Turkish social studies standards, I have borrowed ideas from *National Curriculum Standards for Social Studies, A Framework for Teaching, Learning, and Assessment*; and *College, Career and Civic Life (C3) Framework for Social Studies State Standards*. Both are developed by the National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS). The current version of these standards was published in 2010 and provides a framework for what should take place in social studies classrooms from Kindergarten through 12th Grade (NCSS, 2010). The NCSS (2010) standards focus on ten original themes developed in 1994 (see Table 3.1), and provide deeper focus on them including global themes. The “ten themes” categorize knowledge and organize strands for social studies programs (NCSS, 2010). Development of the C3-Framework began in 2010, and was published in 2013. The purpose of the C3 Framework is to serve as a guide for U.S states for revising their social studies standards and curriculum in order to improve civic engagement of youth, as well as to equip them with 21st century skills (Loewecke, n.d.). The “Four Dimensions” of the C3 Framework are 1. Developing questions and planning inquiries; 2. Applying disciplinary concepts and tools; 3. Evaluating sources and using evidence; and 4. Communicating conclusions and taking informed action. Across these dimensions, C3

Framework emphasizes the connection between the local, national, and global. It also stresses the need for knowledgeable, active citizens who are aware of the constantly changing world and whose actions encourage the common good (C3 Framework, 2013). In this regard, the C3 Framework certainly advocates for global citizenship as well. For instance, according to the C3 Framework a college, career, and civic ready student should:

- Understand how human diversity is produced and shaped by local, national, regional, and global patterns.
- Become critically aware of ethnocentrism, its manifestations, and consequences in a world that is progressively interconnected.
- Understand how one's local actions can have global consequences, and how global patterns and processes can affect seemingly unrelated local actions (p. 79).

The Ten Themes	
1. Culture	6. Power, Authority, and Governance
2. Time, Continuity, And Change	7. Production, Distribution, and Consumption
3. People, Places, And Environments	8. Science, Technology, and Society
4. Individual Development and Identity	9. Global Connections
5. Individuals, Groups, And Institutions	10. Civic Ideals and Practices

Table 3.1: Ten Themes of Social Studies as defined by NCSS.

Table 3.2 shows some of the standards from both the NCSS (2010) and the C3 Framework (2013) which address global citizenship by placing stress on the importance of diversity and informed civic actions; connection between the local, national and the global; differences of perspectives; and conflict resolution at the local, national and global levels.

NCSS (2010), and C3 Framework (2013) Standards
1. Ask and find answers to questions about how to become informed and take civic action (NCSS, 2010, p. 122).
2. Identify and describe the role of citizen in various forms of government, past, and present (NCSS, 2010, p. 122).
3. Explain specific roles played by citizens (C3 Framework, p. 32)
4. Participate in the process of persuading, compromising and negotiating in the resolution of conflicts and differences (NCSS, 2010, p. 122).

5. Explore the causes, consequences, and possible solutions related to persistent, current, and emerging global issues, such as health, resource allocation, economic development, and environmental quality (NCSS, 2010, p. 118)
6. Explain how changes in transportation and communication technology influence the spatial connections among human settlements and affect the diffusion of ideas and cultural practices (C3 Framework, 2013, p.43)
7. Describe and give examples of the value of both cultural unity and diversity, within and across groups (NCSS, 2010, p.95)
8. Explain how trade leads to increasing economic interdependence among nations (C3 Framework, 2013, p.39).
9. Evaluate how data and experiences may be interpreted differently by people from diverse cultural perspectives and frames of reference. (NCSS, 2010, p. 94)
10. Ask and find answers to geographic questions related to regions, nations, and the world in the past and present (NCSS, 2010, p. 101)
11. Illustrate how holding diverse values and beliefs can contribute or pose obstacles to cross-cultural understanding (NCSS, 2010, p.95).
12. Assess options for individual and collective action to address local, regional, and global problems by engaging in self-reflection, strategy identification, and complex causal reasoning (C3 Framework, p. 62)
13. Identify biases that can influence a person's perceptions of other individuals, including individuals belonging to groups with different physical, social, or cultural characteristics (NCSS, 2010, p. 105).
14. Ask and find answers to questions about power, authority and governance in the region, nation, and world (NCSS, 2010, p. 110).

Table 3.2: Culled global citizenship-related standards from NCSS (2010), and C3 Framework (2013)

Besides the NCSS standards and the C3 Framework, I have also incorporated ideas from the key elements of education for global citizenship defined by Oxfam (See

Table 1.1), and from the table that differentiates what is and what is not global citizenship (See Table 3.3), as provided by Oxfam. Oxfam (Oxford Committee for Famine Relief) was established as an international organization fighting against poverty. *Oxfam Education* focuses on education and offers resources that support education for global citizenship. Their goal is to help students understand the world better and make positive changes globally (OXFAM, n.d.). I also used other scholars' ideas along with my own understanding of what global citizenship involves, as described in Chapter One, to guide my revision of 7th grade Turkish social studies. A description of the revised standards is provided after each unit. Although these revisions are made only for 7th grade Social Studies, most elements of global citizenship defined by OXFAM are embedded into relevant units.

Global Citizenship Involves...	Global Citizenship Is NOT...
Asking questions and critical thinking	Telling people what to think and do
Exploring local-global connections and our views, values, and assumptions	Only about faraway places and peoples
Exploring the complexity of global issues and engaging with multiple perspectives	Providing simple solutions to complex issues
Exploring issues of social justice locally and globally	Focused on charitable fundraising

Applying learning to real-world issues and contexts	Abstract learning devoid of real-life application and outcomes
Opportunities for learners to take informed, reflective action and have their voices heard	Tokenistic inclusion of learners in decision-making
All ages	Too difficult for young children to understand
All areas of the curriculum	An extra subject
Enrichment of everyday teaching and learning	Just a focus for a particular day or week
The whole school environment	Limited to the classroom

Table 3.3: What global citizenship involves and does not involve (OXFAM).

Proposed Revision of Seventh Grade Turkish Social Studies Standards

Below, I have incorporated concepts and ideas heavily from *National Curriculum Standards for Social Studies, A Framework for Teaching, Learning, and Assessment*; and *College, Career and Civic Life (C3) Framework for Social Studies State Standards* in my proposed revisions of 7th grade Turkish social studies standards throughout Units 1-7. As mentioned above, I also borrowed ideas from Oxfam and other scholars developing the revisions. My revisions are intended to add learning objectives that encourage teachers and their students to become effective global citizens and educators.

7 th Grade Turkish Social Studies Standards	
UNIT 1: COMMUNICATION AND HUMAN RELATIONS	
LEARNING AREA: INDIVIDUAL AND SOCIETY	
Current Version	Proposed Revision
<p>After completing this unit, students will be able to:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Recognize the attitudes and behaviors that affect communication positively and negatively and compares them with their attitudes and behaviors. 2. Recognize the importance of communication in positive relationships among people. 3. Discuss the role of mass media in human interaction. 4. Recognize the link between the right to receive accurate information, freedom of opinion, and freedom of mass communication. 5. Interpret the concepts of freedom of mass communication and privacy within the context of the relation of the two concepts. 6. Show evidence how Ataturk placed emphasis on communication. 	<p>After completing this unit, students will be able to:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Recognize the attitudes and behaviors that affect communication positively and negatively and compares them with their attitudes and behaviors. 2.Explain how changes in communication technology affect the diffusion of ideas and cultural practices at local, regional and global level. (Adopted from C3 Framework, 2013, p.43). 3. Discuss the negative and positive role of mass media in human interaction at the local, national and global levels. 4. Recognize the link between the right to receive accurate information, freedom of opinion, and freedom of mass communication. 5. Show evidence of how Ataturk and Mother Teresa placed emphasis on communication. 6. Discuss the causes and consequences of miscommunication and the importance of overcoming miscommunication.

Description of Proposed Revision in Unit 1: This unit is focused on “communication,” which is listed as a skill of global citizenship as defined by OXFAM (see Table 1.1). The skill of communication and its role in human relations is undoubtedly essential. The current standards provide some flexibility for curriculum developers to incorporate global aspects and connect them to the local and national levels. However, my revision provides more explicit standards with the hope that they may help curriculum developers to include global aspects. For instance, revised Standard #2, which is adopted from the C3 Framework, is designed to provide awareness of rapidly evolving communication technology. This revision describes how communication technology connects the local and national to the global, and how it helps spread ideas and cultural practices throughout the world. The revised Standard #3 enables students to evaluate mass media and understand both positive and adverse effects of mass media on human interaction. Mother Teresa is included in Standard #5 to make students aware that there are important/influential people in other parts of the world as important to their own people, and the larger world, as Ataturk is to the Turks. This revision encourages students to be more globally-minded and recognize and appreciate globally influential people for either their national or international contributions as well. Standard #6 is designed to provide students with the ability to avoid undesirable consequences of miscommunication by recognizing and avoiding the causes of miscommunication.

7 th Grade Turkish Social Studies Standards	
UNIT 2: POPULATION IN OUR COUNTRY	
LEARNING AREA: PEOPLE, PLACES, AND ENVIRONMENTS	
Current Version	Proposed Revision
<p>After completing this unit, students will be able to:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Discuss the causes and consequences of the distribution of the population in Turkey by using visual materials and data. 2. Comment on the characteristics of Turkey's population, using tables and graphs. 3. Relate the use of the right to education and work and the responsibilities of the state and citizen in this respect. 4. Discuss causes and consequences of migration through sample examinations. 5. Explain the freedom of settlement and travel. 	<p>After completing this unit, students will be able to:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Discuss the causes and consequences of the distribution of the population in Turkey by using visual materials and data. 2. Explain how local and global changes in population distribution patterns affect changes in land use in particular places. (Adapted from C3 Framework, 2013, p.44). 3. Comment on the characteristics of our country's population, using tables and graphs. 4. Explain how changes in transportation and communication technology influence the spatial connections between human settlements and affect the diffusion of ideas and cultural practices (C3 Framework, 2013, p.43). 5. Identify and interpret “push” and “pull” factors involved in the migrations of people in Turkey and other parts of the world (NCSS, 2010). 6. Explain the freedom of settlement and travel at the domestic level, and compare it to that of the international level.

Description of Proposed Revision for Unit 2: This is a unit that originally focused on the population of Turkey. However, it is still entirely possible to integrate global concepts that stimulate students to consider the "global" while also learning the "local" and "national." Revised Standard #2 is adopted from the C3 Framework (2013), and aims for students understand the effects of local and global population distribution changes, such as land use. Proposed Revision #4 is borrowed from the C3 Framework (2013), and provides both the local and global perspectives on how advanced communication and transportation help spread ideas and cultural practices (as a part of globalization). Proposed Standard #5 is adopted from NCSS (2010), and is revised to include Turkey. This revision is aimed at developing student understanding of the causes of migration at both the national and global scales. Proposed Standard #6 will help students to examine travel and settlement situations at the local, national and international levels.

7 th Grade Turkish Social Studies Standards	
UNIT 3: TRAVEL IN TURKISH HISTORY	
LEARNING AREA: CULTURE AND HERITAGE	
Current Version	Proposed Revision
<p>After completing this unit, students will be able to:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Evaluate the contribution of political struggles and cultural activities of the Turks during the ‘Seljuk period of Turkey’ to Anatolia and the Turkification process. 2. Explain the factors that influence the emergence of the Ottoman Empire as a political power based on evidence. 3. Evaluates the conquests and challenges of the Ottoman Empire with regard to the importance of trade and maritime. 4. Show evidence based on the importance of the idea of tolerance and coexistence in the Ottoman society. 5. Through city examination, show evidence of change and continuity in the understanding of Turkish culture, art and aesthetics. 6. Within the framework of Ottoman-European relations, notice the interaction in the understanding of culture, art and aesthetics. 7. Exemplify the elements belonging 	<p>After completing this unit, students will be able to:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Evaluate the contributions of political struggles and cultural contributions of the Turks to Anatolia during the Seljuk period. 2.Explain the factors that influence the emergence of the Ottoman Empire as a political power based on evidence. 3.Evaluates the conquests and challenges of the Ottoman Empire regarding the importance of trade and seas. 4. Show evidence of the importance of the concepts of tolerance and coexistence within Ottoman society. 5. Analyze how people’s perspectives influenced what information is available in the historical sources they created (Adapted from C3 Framework, 2013, p.47). 6. Within the framework of Ottoman international relations, identify the influence of interactions on the understanding of culture, art and aesthetics. 7. Analyze the elements belonging to Turkish culture based on [old] travel books. 8. In the context of Turkish history, use questions generated about individuals and groups to analyze why the Turks, and the developments they shaped, are seen as

to Turkish culture based on [old] travel books. 8. Inference about social and economic change in the Ottoman Empire based on the institutions emerged after the reform movements.	historically significant (Adapted from C3 Framework, 2013, p.46). 10. Show evidence of how the Turkish-Ottoman culture, art, and aesthetics interacted with other cultures throughout world history.
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Description of Proposed Revision in Unit 3: This unit, like the previous one, originally focused only on Turkish history. When a unit is entirely about Turkish history, opportunities to compare the local and national to the global are limited, and these revisions improve the awareness of students by opening their minds to these broader connections. In proposed Standard #1, the phrase “Turkification process” is abandoned since it indicates (perhaps encourages) "negative nationalism." Proposed Standard #4 is adopted from NCSS (2010), and slightly revised according to the context of the unit. Standard #4 will enable students to be tolerant towards non-Turks based on the inclusiveness and coexistence of different groups within Ottoman society. Standard #5 is adopted from the C3 Framework, and intends to provide opportunities for students to realize how we perceive information can change depending on one's perspective. This realization will help them to be tolerant of different perspectives. In proposed Standard #6, “Europe” is replaced with “World” in an attempt to include more pieces of “world history” as Ottomans, undoubtedly, had interaction with other parts of the world. Proposed Standard #8, which is adapted from the C3 Framework, is intended to help

students understand what makes a group and their development historically significant. Although it is in the context of Turkish history, students can apply it to non-Turkish contexts to understand what makes other nations' development historically and globally significant. Finally, Standard #10 is added for the same reason as Standard #6 in the context of cultural interaction.

7 th Grade Turkish Social Studies Standards	
UNIT 4: SCIENCE IN TIME	
LEARNING AREA: SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY, AND SOCIETY	
Current Version	Proposed Revision
<p>After completing this unit, students will be able to:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Give examples of contributions of first civilizations to scientific and technological developments. 2. Realize the usage areas of the writing and its importance regarding information transfer based on the first examples of writing. 3. Evaluates the contributions of scholars, raised in the Turkish and other Islamic states, to the scientific development process. 4. Recognize the influence of developments in Europe between the 15th and 19th centuries on today's scientific accumulation. 5. Associate freedom of expression and freedom of science with 	<p>After completing this unit, students will be able to:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Give examples of contributions of first civilizations to scientific and technological developments of humanity. 2. Realize the usage areas of the writing and its importance regarding information transfer based on the first examples of writing. 3. Evaluates the contributions of scholars, raised in the Turkish and Islamic states, and non-Turkish and non-Islamic states to the scientific development process. 4. Recognize the influence of developments throughout world history on today's scientific accumulation. 5. Associate freedom of expression and freedom of science with scientific developments in historical process.

scientific developments in historical process.	6. Discuss the role of science in creating a more just, peaceful, and livable world, as well as its potential danger to humanity.
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Description of Proposed Revision in Unit 4: This unit provides an appropriate basis for integrating elements of global citizenship. “Science in Time” can be a unit where students have the opportunity to not see themselves as members of a nation, but as members of a common humanity whose works in science spread around the world throughout history. In proposed Standard #1, “the world/common humanity” is added and emphasized in an attempt to improve the sense of belonging to the common human race by recognizing the contributions of world civilizations from ancient times to today. In proposed Standard #3, “non-Turkish and non-Islamic states” is added to combat feelings of superiority and to recognize the common heritage of scientific knowledge. Proposed Standard #4 aims to recognize other parts of the world for their contributions to scientific developments, and allow students to get out of the Eurocentric worldview that has dominated the Turkish education system. Finally, proposed Standard #6 enables students to understand the role of science and technology as both constructive and destructive. This standard alerts the students for the consequences of misused science and technology, while looking at way of utilizing it constructively to make positive changes for humanity.

7 th Grade Turkish Social Studies Standards	
UNIT 5: ECONOMY AND SOCIAL LIFE	
LEARNING AREA: PRODUCTION, DISTRIBUTION, AND CONSUMPTION	
Current Version	Proposed Revision
<p>After completing this unit, students will be able to:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Reveal the importance of land in production and management with historical examples. 2. Give examples from past and today on the importance of resources, products and trade routes for the development of states. 3. By giving examples from history and today, evaluate the effects of the developments in production technology on social and economic life. 4. Give examples from history and today to the work of foundations and its role in social life. 5. Throughout Turkish history, recognize institutions that play a role in gaining vocational and professional ethics. 6. By grasping the goal of education, getting a profession, plan for their professional preferences in the direction of their interests and abilities. 	<p>After completing this unit, students will be able to:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Reveal the importance of land in production and governance with local, national, and global historical examples. 2. Give examples from past and today on the importance of resources, products and trade routes for the development of states. 3. By giving examples from history and today at the local, regional, and global level, evaluate the effects of the developments in production technology on social and economic life. 4. Give examples from history and today at the local, regional and global levels of how economic foundations and organizations shape people's lives (Adapted from C3 Framework, 2013, p.32) 5. Throughout Turkish history, recognize institutions that play a role in gaining vocational and professional ethics. 6. Explain how trade leads to increased economic interdependence among nations (C3 Framework, 2013, p.39).

Description of Proposed Revision in Unit 5: As discussed in Chapter 1, “Globalization is political, technological and cultural, as well as economic” (Giddens, 1999, p.2). This unit is related to the economic aspects of globalization. Therefore, including global perspectives is relevant and essential. The current standards focus on the economy of the Turks throughout history, but mention economic activities in general without placing stress on the three levels of economy: local, national, and global. Proposed Standards #1 and #3 aim to include all level of economic activities for the given standards to ensure students' have a nuanced, globally-minded perspective. Proposed Standard #4 is adopted from the C3 Framework, and is intended to make students aware of the importance of the local, regional, and worldwide economic organizations that influence peoples' everyday lives. Proposed Standard #6, which is borrowed from C3 Framework, enables students to explain the processes of economic globalization through examples, which will make them aware of the interconnectedness of the world.

7 th Grade Turkish Social Studies Standards	
UNIT 6: LIVING DEMOCRACY	
LEARNING AREA: POWER, MANAGEMENT, AND SOCIETY	
Current Version	Proposed Revision
<p>After completing this unit, students will be able to:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Recognize the change and continuity in the way of management and sovereignty in the Turkish states in the historical process. 2. Give examples from the social life of the practices related to the qualifications of the Republic of Turkey in the second article of our Constitution. 3. Analyzes the management structure of the Republic of Turkey within the framework of legislative, executive and judicial concepts. 4. Discuss through examples how political parties, non-governmental organizations, media and individuals influence the agenda and decision-making processes of the administration. 5. Analyze the processes in educational and social activities they involve in regarding the 	<p>After completing this unit, students will be able to:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Develop questions and answers about how to become informed and take civic action (NCSS, 2010, p.122) 2. Recognize the change and continuity in the way of management and sovereignty in the Turkish states in the historical process. 3. Give examples from the social life of the practices related to the qualifications of the Republic of Turkey in the second article of our Constitution. 4. Explain how a democracy relies on individuals' responsible participation, and specific roles played by citizens (such as voters, jurors, taxpayers) (Adapted from C3 Framework, 2013, p.32). 5. Analyzes the management structure of the Republic of Turkey within the framework of legislative, executive and judicial concepts 6. Give examples and analyze countries around the world that have similar and different management structures from those of the Republic of Turkey. 7. Discuss through examples how political parties, non-governmental organizations, media and individuals influence the agenda and decision-making processes of the

principles of democracy.	administrations at local, national, and global levels. 8. Distinguish the responsibilities and powers of local, national, and international civic and political institutions (Adapted from C3 Framework, 2013).
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Description of Proposed Revision in Unit 6: This unit plays a crucial role in educating global citizens, as democracy is paramount in achieving global citizenship. Standard #1 is borrowed from NCSS, and summarizes the ultimate goal of social studies: taking informed actions as citizens. Proposed Standard #4 is adopted from the C3 Framework and enables students to be aware of the importance of individuals’ roles in building and maintaining democracy. To be able to act effectively and responsibly, citizens (or global citizen candidates) should master the body of knowledge about their political institutions. Proposed Standard #6 is intended to provide students the opportunity of comparing and contrasting the Republic of Turkey’s management structure to that of other nation states around the world, primarily to ensuring they are aware of and recognize the diverse political structures of the world. Current Standard #7 has enormous potential for raising global citizens, especially for discussing how non-governmental organizations and individuals influence the decision-making processes of authorities. It is important to reiterate that one of the characteristics of a global citizen is “taking [individual], informed and reflective action, and having their voices heard for

local, national, and global issues” (OXFAM see table). “Local, national and global levels” are added in proposed Standard #7 to make it explicit that individuals can have an influence on administrations and their decision-making processes at every level of governance. Finally, proposed Standard #8 is adopted from the C3 Framework and aims for students to know and differentiate between the responsibilities and powers of political institutions at the local, regional and global levels. This knowledge will help global citizens to act effectively and purposefully.

7 th Grade Turkish Social Studies Standards	
UNIT 7: BRIDGES BETWEEN COUNTRIES	
REVISED UNIT TITLE: OUR PLANET - OUR HOME	
LEARNING AREA: GLOBAL CONNECTIONS	
Current Version	Proposed Revision
<p>After completing this unit, students will be able to:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Relate the political and economic structure of the Ottoman and European countries at the beginning of the 20th century, and the causes and consequences of the First World War. 2. Relate the aims of international organizations with global problems. 3. Realize their personal responsibility in the realization of solutions to global problems. 4. Realize the responsibility of humanity to sustain thought, art and literature products, natural assets and historical heritage as common heritage items. 	<p>After completing this unit, students will be able to:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Discuss the causes and consequences of the First World War by considering relevant political trends, chronologies of transnational events, and the situations which led to its outbreak. 2. Relate the aims of international organizations with global problems. 3. Assess their individual and collective capacities to take action to address local, regional, and global problems, while taking into account a range of possible leverages of power, strategies, and potential outcomes (C3 Framework, 2013, p. 62). 4. Realize the responsibility of mankind to sustain thought, art and literature products, natural assets and historical heritage as common heritage items. 5. Discuss the idea of allegiance to common humanity, the concept of global citizenship, and its connection to local citizenship. 6. Relate the influence of cultural, social, and economic globalization to their daily life. 7. Discuss their own role in creating a more just, peaceful, and inclusive world.

	8. Illustrate how holding diverse values and beliefs can contribute or pose obstacles to cross-cultural understanding (NCSS, 2010, p.95).
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Description of Proposed Revision in Unit 7: This unit, along with the previous unit “Living Democracy,” can serve as inspiration for future citizens and politicians to contribute to efforts to make the planet “one world,” in which global citizens live in peace and make the idea of global citizenship seem less utopian. The consensus is that global citizenship should not be simply an extra subject, but should be included in all areas of the curriculum (Oxfam, 2015). In order to encourage students to “think globally”, global citizenship should also be taught as a culminating final unit in 7th grade. In my revision of this unit, the title of the unit is changed from “Bridges Between Countries” to “Our Planet, Our Home.” The idea behind the title of the unit is that one always wants peace in the place he/she considers as “home.” In proposed Standard #1, the objectives are for students to understand the important motives behind WWI, including nationalism, and important consequences such as globalization that were accelerated by the war. Revised Standard #3, which is adapted from the C3 Framework, encourages young citizens to take informed action. This standard intentionally comes in the last unit, “as student action should be grounded in and informed by the inquiries initiated and sustained within and among the disciplines” (C3 Framework, 2013, p.62). In proposed Standard #5, the goal is to enable students to discuss the concept of global

citizenship and its relation to local citizenship. This standard also helps students recognize common humanity and the fact that all humans live on one earth. Students are encouraged to embrace the idea of global citizenship while not denying local or national citizenship. Proposed Standard #6 enables students to recognize that the world has globalized in ways that impact them personally. This standard encourages students to consider the necessity of a global view of citizenship in addition to traditional citizenship. Proposed Standard #7 is intended to help students realize the potential they have (both as individuals and as a community) to take action and bring about change. Proposed Standard #8 is borrowed from the NCSS (2010), and enables students to recognize and demonstrate the importance of a diversity of values and beliefs in creating and dissolving boundaries between cultures.

Strategies for Teaching Global Citizenship

Most educators agree that "global citizenship is a learned and nurtured [form of] behavior" (Tarrant, 2010, p.442). According to Davey (2011), it is not only standards, curriculum, and textbooks that "guide students in establishing a balance between allegiance to nation and allegiance to humankind" (p.4). Concrete constructivist pedagogical practices to complement global curriculum must be utilized in the classroom (Jacobs, 2009 as cited in Davey, 2011).

A substantial revision of state standards, curriculum, and textbooks is essential to achieve this goal. However, the teacher is the key person delivering the curriculum (Çakıroğlu & Çakıroğlu, 2003). Therefore, I have proposed strategies for teaching global citizenship in social studies classrooms. Socrates says, “Education is the kindling of a flame, not the filling of a vessel”. In other words, education is a path towards a destination. Since education is continuous, the strategies are proposed at three levels (grades 4, 7, and high school) in order to meet the students’ developmental needs. The general idea of these strategies is to encourage teachers to include global aspects and elements of global citizenship in their teaching wherever possible at each grade level. The strategies are based on the definition of global citizenship in Chapter One, and are designed to align with one or more of the skills, values, and attitudes of global citizenship as described in the same section. The strategies intend to address deficiencies in Turkish citizenship education as described in Chapter Two. As previously discussed, these deficiencies include lack of inclusiveness, lack of awareness and tolerance to different perspectives, and a sense of superiority over other nations that derives from an ethnocentric view.

Strategy One – Exploring Perspectives through Maps – Grade Level 4

One way of exploring different perspectives is to examine various kinds of geographic and historical maps showing different features. Maps of a particular place that are interpreted differently by different parts of the world due to various political, cultural, and historical beliefs and values are especially useful. For instance, how North Korea presents the Korean peninsula on a map may not be same as how South Korea interprets it due to different political beliefs and the ongoing dispute between the two countries. Similarly, a historical depiction of a place from two or more different perspectives can also serve well in this strategy. This strategy may work best when teaching world history in social studies classrooms. For instance, the teacher can use the three types of world maps (see the sample lesson, “iMap”) as a tool to teach a lesson on multiple world perspectives. This strategy, when employed in this manner, will help students practice the following global citizenship skills, values, and attitudes described throughout Chapter One:

- Recognizing and examining beliefs and values
- Developing attitudes of care and empathy for others (UNESCO, 2015)
- Respect for people and things
- Empathy
- Value and respect for diversity (OXFAM, 2015)
- Awareness of self and others

This strategy, as provided in the sample lesson will enable students to be “perspective conscious” by examining three different versions of world maps: An

Australian world map (see Figure 3.1) that is upside down, a Chinese world map (see Figure 3.2) that puts China at the center of the world, and the Turkish world map (see Figure 3.3) that puts Europe as the center of the world. Seeing a world map in different perspectives will help to broaden their perspectives. This proposed strategy, aligned with the C3 Framework and NCSS standards, offers students practice for specific global citizenship elements left out of the current Turkish social studies standards, as pointed out by Açıklan (2010). As a result, this strategy can correct inadequate global citizenship practices in Turkish social studies classrooms.

Sample Lesson Plan 1

“iMap”

Description

This lesson involves map construction. The students will draw a map of their neighborhood and will explore the factors that influenced their map constructing process. They will compare the maps they created to the three different version of world map (Australian, Chinese, and the Turkish) in order to explore different perspectives. Although designed for grade level four, this lesson may be implemented in Social Studies and World History classes at various levels with modifications.

Goal of the Activity:

The goal of this activity is to help students to widen their perspectives to be able to see everyday objects, events, situations from a different viewpoint. This lesson will help students to recognize and understand different perspectives of Turkey, China, and Australia on how they see the world on a map. The activities in this lesson encourages students to be “perspective conscious,” which will help them to

appreciate how political, cultural beliefs shape perception of issues and events (Merryfield et al. 2008 cited in Girard and Harris, 2013, p. 445).

NCSS/ C3 Framework Standards Alignment (Global Citizenship-Related)

C3 Framework D2.His.6.3-5 : Describe how people's perspectives shaped the historical sources they created.

NCSS (2010) Standards: Evaluate how data and experiences may be interpreted differently by people from diverse cultural perspectives and frames of reference. (95)

NCSS (2010) Standards: Ask and find answers to geographic questions related to regions, nations, and the world in the past and present.

Materials Needed: Printed versions of Chinese, Australian and Turkish world maps. (30*40 size can be ideal)

Time: Two class sessions (80 mins.)

Instructions

1. Begin class with a brief class discussion regarding the importance of maps in understanding history and geography as well as places, people, and cultures.
2. After the discussion, ask them to individually draw a map (as a sketch) of their neighborhood including their homes on a standard size paper (photocopying paper).
3. After they finished drawings, ask how many of them put their homes in the center, and how many did not.
4. Let a few students explain the reason why they put their homes in the heart of the map. Do the same for those who did not. (Remind them their different perspectives as a possible factor).
5. Then show them the three versions of the world map (Chinese, Australian, Turkish), and ask them which one looks familiar, and what differences they see between the three maps.
6. Lead a class discussion on what connections they make between the three versions of world maps and the maps they drew.
7. Finish the lesson by briefly lecturing/discussing how perspectives differ between

individuals and nations on how they see the world.

Formative assessment

Divide the class into groups of 4-5 and ask them to prepare a three-minute presentation describing how the difference in perspectives may contribute and pose obstacles to cross-cultural understanding (NCSS, 2010).

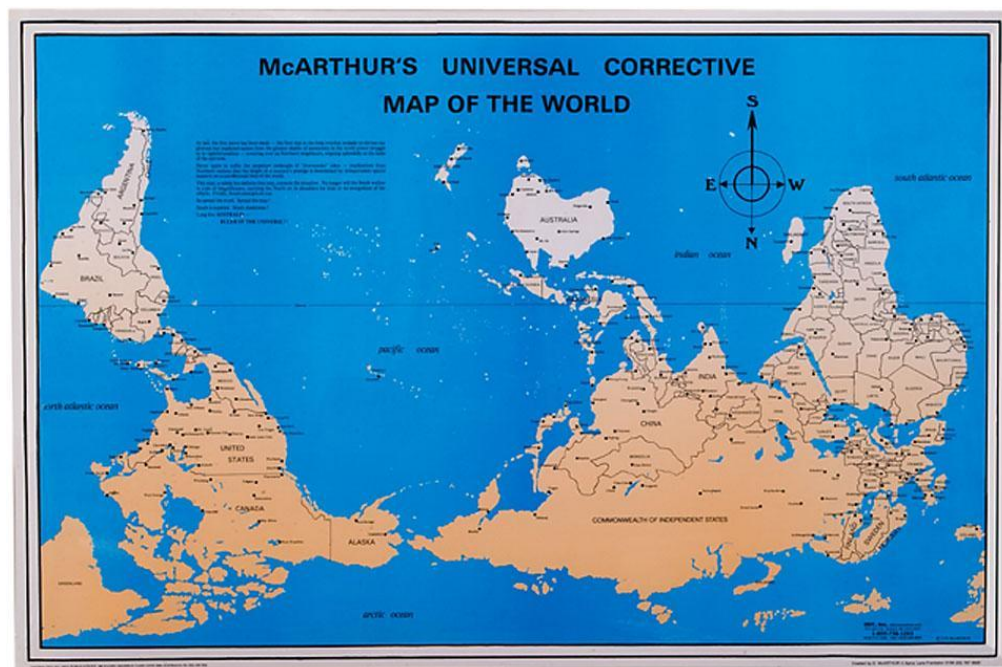


Figure 3.1: Upside-Down Australian World Map
(*flourish.org*)



Figure 3.2: Chinese Version World Map
(syurati.files.wordpress.com)



Figure 3.3: Turkish Version World Map
(cografyaharita.com)

Strategy Two - Difference Based Learning – Grade Level 7

Difference Based Learning is a strategy to teach global citizenship by placing stress on the differences between the familiar and unfamiliar. According to Merryfield (2002), a common trait among global educators is "their attention to students' learning about events and issues through multiple, usually conflicting, perspectives" (p. 2). For instance, seeing the difference between one's own culture and another culture regarding religious practices can be interesting and challenging. This strategy is developed to help social studies and world history/global studies teachers with addressing the skills, knowledge, and attitudes of global citizenship in 7th grade. This strategy, when implemented in a manner similar to the sample lesson plan "Stories of Flags," can adequately address some of the skills, values, and attitudes of global citizenship described in Chapter One:

- Critical and creative thinking
- Empathy
- Self-awareness and reflection
- Value diversity
- Commitment to participation and inclusion

This strategy can aid teachers in creating lessons that address the above elements of global citizenship, and enable young citizens to recognize misinformation while acquiring knowledge of complex global issues and cultural conflicts (Merryfield, 2002). This strategy equips students with the skills above because it is designed to enable them to develop and maintain tolerance towards "others" by recognizing

differences, to have a better understanding of group dynamics, and to see the world in different perspectives (C3 Framework, 2013). Examining diverse cultures will enable students to realize that all cultures and countries are important to the world community, and we should always reconsider our perspectives (BPL, 2017). Teaching a topic with this strategy can ameliorate current Turkish practices of global citizenship education in social studies by stressing "awareness of self and others" and "diversity and tolerance." For a better understanding of how this strategy would work in the classroom, a sample lesson plan is provided below:

Sample Lesson Plan 2

"Stories of Flags"

Description

When teaching about the Turkish flag, the teacher adds a layer to his/her class by including several foreign flags for students to examine. This inclusion will prevent students from developing feelings that will cause them to see the Turkish flag as the only "lovely" flag in the world, and see their nation, which fights for the flag, as the only country worthy of its people's pride. As they learn more about other nations flags and the stories behind them, the students will discover the importance of other nations flags to their people.

Goal of the Activity: This activity is based on the essential element "inclusiveness" and "awareness of self and others" that was described in chapter one. This activity aims at the student awareness of other nations' traditions and realize that each nation's history, culture, and values are equally important and should be respected.

NCSS/ C3 Framework Standards Alignment (Global Citizenship-Related)

C3 Framework Suggested Standards D2.His.5.9-12. Analyze how historical contexts shaped and continue to shape people's perspectives.

NCSS (2010) Standards: Evaluate how data and experiences may be interpreted differently by people from diverse cultural perspectives and frames of reference.

NCSS (2010) Standards: Find, select, organize and present information to compare various cultures according to specified aspects of culture, such as institutions, language, religion, and the arts.

Materials Needed: Access to a printer, Scissors

Time: Two class sessions (80 mins.)

Instructions

Before the class go to the [stories of flags](#) (Eren, 2014) web page where stories of some 23 different countries' flag are found. Print the page, and cut out each of the flags and their stories separately.

1. Begin the activity by asking students the significance of Turkish flag to Turkish nation and allow them to have a short discussion. Discussion initiator questions may include:

- Why do we have a national flag?
- What do the star and the crescent on the Turkish flag represent?
- How do you relate the colors of the Turkish flag to the Turkish nation?

2. After the short discussion, ask them if they know the story behind the Turkish flag. After a few responses from the students, review the story of the Turkish Flag.

3. Show them several foreign nations' flag and ask if any of them know the story behind them.

4. Divide the class into groups of 4 or 5. Provide two foreign country's flags to

each group.

5. Allow them to discuss in groups some features of the flags they are assigned such as color, patterns, figures.

6. After a short discussion ask one student in each group to summarize the discussion in the group and describe their initial thoughts about flags.

7. Provide the stories of the flags to the groups. Let them read, have a short discussion in their group and compare the stories of foreign flags to the story of the Turkish flag.

Formative assessment

Have them write a two-paragraph essay on what similarities and differences that they noticed between the stories Turkish and other nations' flags.

Strategy Three - Global Citizenship Through Historical Empathy – High School Level

This strategy involves teaching students how to use multiple perspectives (put themselves in others' shoes) when examining a historical event, situation, or experiences of a historical figure. Historical empathy is undoubtedly a central skill for historians and history learners (Barton & Levstik, 2004; Lévesque, 2008, cited in Girard and Harris, 2013), and "is closely related to the global citizenship skill of understanding multiple perspectives (also referred to as perspective consciousness)" (Girard and Harris, 2013, p. 445). Oxfam lists "empathy" as a skill that all global citizens should have (see Table 1.1). Historical empathy helps students to more accurately evaluate historical events by examining the perspective of historical figures in order to understand the complexity of past events. Furthermore, by considering multiple perspectives, students are also analyzing how history is written (Jensen, 2008). This skill enables students to "consider the actions, motivations, beliefs, customs, and values of a period, and this involves empathizing with the people living in those circumstances when they consider cause and effect or the reasons behind actions in historical events" (Yeager & Foster, 2001, as cited in Kohlmeier, 2006, p.36). Therefore, historical empathy can be a useful tool for a teacher who aims to educate his/her students as global citizens.

In current Turkish social studies standards and curriculum, historical empathy is often neglected. Historical empathy is only mentioned once under the descriptions in the fifth unit of 7th grade as a skill to be taught without any details about on how to do

it. The following lesson can serve as an example for how historical empathy can be utilized as a tool for improving global citizenship skills while teaching content.

In this strategy, historical empathy is taught in the context of the Industrial Revolution. Essential questions for teachers implementing this strategy include: How would a teacher with global citizenship perspectives, values, and attitudes integrate one or more elements of global citizenship into the teaching of the Industrial Revolution? What would the educator add to their teaching to equip young citizens with one or more of global citizenship skills, values, and attitudes? What goals and objectives would they expect the students to meet?

As discussed in Chapter One, in spite of varied definitions of global citizenship, they typically include “an awareness of the interconnected nature of the world, the ability to engage in inquiry around global issues, and an understanding and appreciation of multiple perspectives” (e.g., Merryfield, Lo, Po, & Kasai, 2008; Zhao, 2010 cited in Girard & Harris, 2013, p. 439). In the following strategy, understanding multiple perspectives (historical empathy), and applying this understanding to a different setting, is the objective. It is important to note that this strategy does not explain how to teach the Industrial Revolution or historical empathy; the aim here is to propose a way to integrate global citizenship education through historical empathy. The idea is to help teachers to make connections to global citizenship education whenever possible when

teaching various topics. A sample lesson plan/class activity for this strategy is provided below.

Sample Lesson Plan 3 **“I Empathize”**

Description

Illegal or inhumane use of children in industry or business, including the examples from industrialization process, go against universal values and attitudes of a global citizen. To be able to empathize with child workers as global citizens and act as responsible global citizens in this regard, one can look at both current and past examples. When the topic in a world history classroom is Industrialization, examining experiences of child workers in this period can be quite helpful in this regard. The teacher can spare part of the class to focus on the impacts of the Industrial Revolution on factory workers in eighteenth century in England.

Objective/Outcome

The objective of this lesson is to have students historically empathize and understand the working conditions in factories during industrialization in the 1800s, and have them understand how the conditions impacted individuals’ lives. The ultimate goal of this strategy is transferring historical empathy skills to empathize with the current child labor issues around the world as responsible global citizens.

Turkish Social Studies / C3 Framework Standards Alignment (Global Citizenship-Related)

C3 Framework Suggested Standards D4.7.9-12. Assess options for individual and collective action to address local, regional, and global problems by engaging in self-reflection, strategy identification, and complex causal reasoning.

Turkish Social Studies Standards (Grade 7- Unit 7): Realize their personal responsibility in the realization of solutions to global problems.

Time: Two class sessions (80 mins.)

Materials needed: Access to a printer. Printed version of Sarah Carpernter’s story for each student.

Instructions

1. Divide the class into groups of 4-5 and let them read the story of Sarah Carpenter (below).

2. After reading the Sarah Carpenter's account, let the students discuss what might be influencing the behavior of the figure(s) in the story on taking actions and making decisions in the particular period and event/situation. For instance, ask them what would be the reason why nobody followed Charlotte Smith when she decided to run away?

3. Ask each of students to describe a personally experienced situation (by writing two paragraphs or drawing) in which they had to make decisions and take actions that others might not understand unless they explain the complexity of the event/situation. In this activity the students will internalize the idea of how understanding "the motives, beliefs, and behaviors of people" (Kohlmeier, 2006, p.35) in a certain event can be challenging and crucial to judge them.

4. Let the students read Sarah Carpenter's story once more. Ask them to compare their thoughts about the actions/decisions and experiences of the historical figures in the story to their initial thoughts when they read the story for the first time.

5. Ask them to share (by writing/drawing/telling) with the class what changes they noticed in their thoughts regarding understanding "the motives, beliefs, and behaviors of people" (Kohlmeier, 2006, p.35) in the story.

Formative Assessment

Have them transfer the skill of historical empathy to current events/situations as responsible global citizens. Ask them to write a short essay describing individual responsibilities of a global citizen in dealing with current child labor issues. (According to UNESCO (2016) the estimated child labor around the world is 150 million)

.....

Below is a primary source that will be used for historical empathy exercise. The story is about Sarah Carpenter, a child labor during the industrial revolution in the first half of the 1800s in England.

Sarah Carpenter

Sarah Carpenter was the daughter of a glassblower. When she was eight years old, her father died, and the family had to go to the Bristol Workhouse. Sarah later recalled: "My brother was sent from Bristol workhouse in the same way as many other children were - cart-loads at a time. My mother did not know where he was for two years. He was taken off in the dead of night without her knowledge, and the parish officers would never tell her where he was."

(...)

A couple of years later she followed her brother to work in Cressbrook Mill: "Our common food was oatcake. It was thick and coarse. This oatcake was put into cans. Boiled milk and water was poured into it. This was our breakfast and supper. Our dinner was potato pie with boiled bacon it, a bit here and a bit there, so thick with fat we could scarce eat it, though we were hungry enough to eat anything. Tea we never saw, nor butter. We had cheese and brown bread once a year. We were only allowed three meals a day though we got up at five in the morning and worked till nine at night."

Punishment at the mill was extremely harsh: "The master carder's name was Thomas Birks, but he never went by any other name than Tom the Devil. He was a very bad man - he was encouraged by the master in ill-treating all the hands, but particularly the children. I have often seen him pull up the clothes of big girls, seventeen or eighteen years of age, and throw them across his knee, and then flog them with his hand in the sight of both men and boys. Everybody was frightened of him. He would not even let us speak. He once fell poorly, and very glad we were. We wished he might die."

(...)

Some of the children tried to run away: "We were always locked up out of mill hours, for fear any of us should run away. One day the door was left open. Charlotte Smith said she would be the ringleader if the rest would follow. She went out, but no one followed her. The master found out about this and sent for her. There was a carving knife which he took and grasping her hair he cut it off close to the head. They were in the habit of cutting off the hair of all who were caught speaking to any of the lads. This head shaving was a dreadful punishment. We were more afraid of it than of any other, for girls are proud of their hair."

Sarah Carpenter was interviewed by James Rayner Stephens in the summer of 1849. Sarah's account of her life as a child worker at Cressbrook Mill appeared in The Ashton Chronicle on 23rd June 1849.

CONCLUSION

This thesis argues that global citizenship education can contribute to a more inclusive and peaceful world. The first chapter defined concepts such as citizenship and global citizenship and advocated for the necessity of global citizenship. The second chapter analyzed the history of citizenship education in the Republic of Turkey. That chapter revealed that deficiencies in citizenship education in the country can be traced to unique historical, political, and geographic factors. These deficiencies do not align with the definitions of an inclusive concept of global citizenship, and also with the knowledge, skills, values, and attitudes of a global citizen as described in Chapter One. Given the deficiencies analyzed in Chapter Two, and based on the definitions in Chapter One, the last chapter attempted to contribute to the effort of raising global citizens by proposing revisions to 7th- grade Turkish social studies standards. I have also provided three strategies that can be implemented in social studies classrooms to encourage global citizenship.

In this thesis, global citizenship education is regarded as a necessity for the globalizing world, but also, most importantly, as a necessity for a creating safe, peaceful, and inclusive world for future generations. It appears that most criticism of global citizenship derives from the fact that it does not have a legal status. Being

legally recognized would provide rights that are similar to the rights of citizenship at the national level (for example, traveling between countries without a visa or passport). This obstacle is not an easy one to overcome, and is one of the reasons why global citizenship in this sense is considered utopian. However, it is entirely possible to foster the mindset of global citizenship by teaching future generations to see themselves both as members of their own nation and the common human race, who share common values and respect each other's differences.

Come, let us all be friends for once,
Let us make life easy on us,
Let us be lovers and loved ones,
The earth shall be left to no one.

Yunus Emre
(turkishculture.org)

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Appendix

PERMISSION LETTER FOR CITATION

7/12/2017

University of Delaware Mail - Permission for citation



Vahap Demir <vahap@udel.edu>

Permission for citation

3 messages

Vahap Demir <vahap@udel.edu>
To: taso@uw.edu

Thu, Dec 1, 2016 at 9:19 PM

Hello Dr. Lagos,

I am writing you to ask for your permission to cite your article titled "Global Citizenship - Towards a Definition" as it is written "permission to cite should be directed to the author" below the title of the article.

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Vahap Demir

Master's Student
Social Studies Education
Department of History
University of Delaware

PR at Global Language & Culture Partnership Program Student Organization
<https://studentcentral.udel.edu/organization/>
<https://www.facebook.com/groups/GLCPP.UD/>

Vahap Demir <vahap@udel.edu>
To: taso@uw.edu

Thu, Dec 1, 2016 at 9:21 PM

Hello Dr. Lagos,

I apologize for the previous, accidentally sent incomplete e-mail!

I am a MA student at the University of Delaware writing a thesis concerning about global citizenship education.

I am writing you to ask for your permission to cite your article titled "Global Citizenship - Towards a Definition" as it is written "permission to cite should be directed to the author" below the title of the article.

Thank you in advance for your consideration!

Sincerely,

Vahap

[Quoted text hidden]

Taso G Lagos <taso@uw.edu>
To: Vahap Demir <vahap@udel.edu>

Thu, Dec 1, 2016 at 9:59 PM

Permission granted. Good luck!

Taso

[Quoted text hidden]

<https://mail.google.com/mail/u/0/?ui=2&ik=459aa0554f8jsver=iufS2U4Cs3s.en.&view=pt&q=lagos&q=true&search=query&th=158bd796f77f34fc&siml...> 1/1