

TRACING THE IDEAL WORLD AND IDEAL INDIVIDUAL IN THE CITIZENSHIP COURSE-BOOKS OF THE OTTOMAN STATE*

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Abstract

The Committee of Union and Progress promulgated the Second Constitutional Era on July 23, 1908 and once again put into effect the constitution and the parliament. With the promulgation of the Second Constitutional Era, values such as equality (müsavat), fraternity (uhuvvet), justice (adalet) and liberty (hürriyet) were introduced and the creation of a world around these ideals of the revolution was intended. The construction of the ideal individuals that would be placed in this ideal world that was to be created by the Constitutional monarchy regime was also put on the agenda. The modern state whose formation began starting with the end of the 18th century set out to implement the process of creating modern subjects that knew and were known around various political practices, education in particular. Education was specified as the fundamental method for the formation of the ideal individuals that would embrace the values of the revolution. In this context, the first stage of the Constitutional monarchy regime's project of creating the ideal individual consisted of the citizenship course that would be given in schools and the citizenship textbooks that would be used for this end. The citizenship course titled Malumat-ı Medeniye [Information on Civilization] was put into action starting with the primary schools (ibtidaiye), including the junior high schools (rüşdiye), high schools (idadi and sultani), Teacher's Training School for Boys (Darülmualimin) and Teacher's Training School for Girls (Darülmualimat).

Keywords: Ottoman State, Second constitutional era, Citizenship courses, Citizenship textbooks, Modern state, Modern subject

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OSMANLI DEVLETİ'NDE VATANDAŞLIK DERS KİTAPLARINDA İDEAL DÜNYA VE İDEAL BİREYİN İZİNİ SÜRMEK

Özet

23 Temmuz 1908'de İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti tarafından II. Meşrutiyet ilan edilmiş, anayasa ve meclis yeniden yürürlüğe koyulmuştur. II. Meşrutiyet'in ilanı ile birlikte gelen eşitlik, kardeşlik, adalet ve hürriyet gibi devrimin değerleri olan bu kavramlar etrafında bir ideal dünya yaratılması hedeflenmiştir. Meşrutiyet idaresi tarafından yaratılması planlanan bu ideal dünya içinde yer alacak ideal bireylerin inşası da gündeme alınmıştır. Daha 18. yy'ın sonundan itibaren oluşumu başlayan modern devlet, eğitim başta olmak üzere çeşitli siyasi pratikler etrafında bilen ve bilinen modern özneler yaratma sürecine girmiştir. Devrimin değerlerini benimseyecek ideal bireylerin oluşturulması için eğitim başlıca yol olarak belirlenmiştir. Bu bağlamda II. Meşrutiyet idaresinin yaratmak istediği ideal birey projesinin ilk ayağını okullar ve okullarda okutulacak vatandaşlık dersi ve bu ders için yazılmış ders kitapları oluşturmuştur. İbtidaiyeden başlayarak idadiler, sultaniler, Darülmualimin ve Darülmualimat'ı da kapsayacak şekilde malumat-ı medeniye adlı vatandaşlık bilgisi dersi yürürlüğe konmuştur.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Osmanlı Devleti, II. Meşrutiyet dönemi, Vatandaşlık dersi, Vatandaşlık ders kitapları, Modern devlet, Modern özne

Introduction

With the declaration of the Second Constitutional Era, the creation of a society and the members of that society embracing the ideals and achievements of the revolution such as equality, fraternity, justice, and liberty became one of the essential goals of the new constitutional regime. Starting point for the ideas of equality, liberty, and fraternity, the French Revolution was presented as the 'symbol of the ideal' in the Ottoman press in the aftermath of 1908. The example that will explain this situation in the best manner is as follows: In the magazines published in the wake of the Revolution of 1908, The Ottoman State was represented as a child while France was represented with the image of a mother facing this child. (Brummett, 2003, p.37) With the building of the Constitutional Revolution in 1908 on the idea of 'idealized society' as it was the case in the French Revolution, society and the individuals constituting this society were then accepted as an entity that needed to be controlled by an entirely new force and power (2003, p.159). For

this reason, the administration of the Constitutional monarchy put into practice citizenship courses in the curricula of the primary schools, junior high schools, high schools, and Teachers' Training Schools for Boys in an attempt to teach these new concepts to the individuals. The citizenship courses began to take their place in the curricula as independent courses in parallel with the process in which the public education became more regular and prevalent starting with the second half of the 19th century (Tunç Yaşar, 2018, pp. 314-315).

In this way, it is seen that the design of the planned society and its individuals was first initiated and implemented in the schools with the integration of the citizenship courses to the educational curriculum in the aftermath of the 1908 Revolution. A lot of research from different disciplines has been carried out with regard to the books that were used in the Citizenship courses in the Ottoman State. When the studies in the literature focusing on the Information on Civilization textbooks are looked at closely, we see the following analyses:

Üstel (2005) claims that the goal was to create the good citizen (makbul vatandaş) who was shaped in accordance with the mentality of the governments in power from 1908 till 1980s and she indicates that the most important instrument of this project was the Information on Civilization course and its textbooks. She states that the profile of the good citizen underwent certain changes since different governments attributed different meanings to the good citizen. Alkan (2008) claims that the political developments and the educational developments in the Ottoman state were intertwined. He is of the opinion that schools served as institutions through which formal ideology was effectively transferred. Fortna (2001) focuses on the education's effect on the social realm in the Ottoman State. On the basis of autobiographies, he claims that mass education brought into open political activists whose mentalities were markedly different from each other. Tunç Yaşar (2018) sets forth the change that took place in the content and agenda of the Information on Civilization course in time. She emphasizes that this course started as a didactic transfer of information and it later constituted an important part of the citizenship/civic education project. Açıkgöz (2012) argues that the conflict experienced between Islamist and secular policies during the Second Constitutional Era had an effect on the citizenship courses and textbooks in primary education, and she traces this process. Batır (2007) addresses the change in Ottoman State's primary education in detail through schools, books, and the

state of the teachers. She maintains that the Second Constitutional regime aimed to raise good citizens rather than obedient citizens. Kenan (2013) highlights the significance of ideology, the Ottomanism ideology in particular, in determining the educational policies in the Ottoman State.

Lastly, it can be concluded that, in these studies, citizenship education was reviewed in the light of the analysis of the citizenship textbooks that were used in primary and secondary school education during the Second Constitutional Era and of the curricula that were put into effect during different periods. In addition, these textbooks were appealed to while constructing the state's official ideology and addressing the modernization of society.

This study attempts to provide an analysis of the profile regarding the ideal world and ideal individual that were intended to be built around the revolutionary values such as liberty, justice, equality, and fraternity, which were introduced with the declaration of the Second Constitutional Era, by making a close reading of the textbooks that were employed in the citizenship courses. In this way, this study also aims to have a closer look at the mentality of the Constitutional monarchy regime through these textbooks.¹ This article will also address the issues of family and gender, which take an important place in the citizenship textbooks.

1. Modern State and the Construction of the Modern Individual/Subject

Before analyzing the citizenship textbooks that were written between 1908 and 1918 and that served as one of the principal instruments in the formation of the new society and individuals that the Second Constitutional Monarchy regime wanted to create, it would be appropriate to look at the background for the emergence of such a goal. In this connection, modern state and related concepts such as citizen, ideology, and subjectification should be examined.

¹ Moreover, it can also be observed that the process of building an ideal world and individual initiated in the schools was also supported with many theater scripts that were produced between 1908-1918. With the plays by the leading authors of the period such as Cenab Şehabettin, Ruhsan Nevvare, Fehime Nüzhet, Şehabettin Süleyman, and the plays of some authors who were formerly in the military like Dr. Kamil and Kazım Nami, there was an attempt to construct the individuals who would be living in a world that was to be shaped around the ideals of the revolution. It is understood that the process of creating an ideal world and individual was handled by the Constitutional monarchy regime as a bidirectional process that took place both in schools and theatres.

Comprising the next stage of modernism whose foundations were laid in the 16th century, the French Revolution and its repercussions led to the emergence of a great and modern public (Berman, 2013, p. 29). M. Foucault addresses the formation of modern state that came in view at the end of 18th century by using the concept ‘governmentality.’ M. Foucault thinks that the power during this period planned to achieve dominance over all the individuals. Starting with 18th century, the life and body became the object of power. In the past, there were only subjects for the state and power. Therefore, while there were previously subjects whose property and lives could be taken from them, starting with 18th century, the bodies began to be in the forefront and they were completely under the sovereignty of the power. The state developed various instruments so as to exert control over all the individuals. Modern censuses and geometrical urban arrangements were the leading instruments among these. In this way, the power began to make the individuals visible. The possibility for constant supervision, surveillance, qualification, judgment, and classification also emerged in this context. In particular, discipline presented itself as the most essential power mechanism and technique that allowed thorough supervision, down to the tiniest detail, and the power’s access to the individuals (Foucault, 2000, p.149). We see that these individualizing/subjectification disciplinary methods first came in sight in primary schools/schools (2000, p.149).

In this context, while M. Foucault emphasizes that the disciplinary mechanism in the subjectivation process of the individuals by the power is particularly important, L. Althusser thinks that subject/individual is a product of ideology since subject/individual does not use his/her mind and free will. Individual is the product of a structure, which works independently of the individual’s will and draws the boundaries of his/her individual behaviors. Ideology works by way of individuals and is carried out by them. It acquires tangibility in the social structure through various institutions. Therefore, there are certain institutions that establish the ideology. These institutions are divided into two groups, namely repressive state apparatuses and ideological state apparatuses. The direct instruments are the repressive institutions such as police, army, prisons, and courts that enable the establishment and workings of ideology through repression. The ideological apparatuses construct the individual and the subject in an indirect manner. Ideological apparatuses make the individual to ‘voluntarily’ surrender to the established/constructed order. Education, family, law, literature, and other branches of art could be listed among

the ideological state apparatuses (Althusser, 1978, pp.38-75). Moreover, the beginning of the production of published texts, which are ‘mass communication tools,’ and the development and expansion of modern institutions have been directly and closely related to these modes of communication. Since published materials can reach to many people at the same time, both the temporal and spatial borders can be easily surpassed. Therefore, one of the primary goals of the modern state is to bring the dynamic modern world in which everything happens quickly and uncontrollably under an orderly control (Giddens, 2010, pp.29-30).

2. The Emergence of the Concept of Citizenship and its Place in Education

Having discussed the influence of modern state and ideology on the emergence of the individual/subject, we can now look at the role of the citizenship concept during this process. In that regard, J. J. Rousseau’s *Social Contract* looms large in 18th century. This work addresses the thought about the formation of free individuals through the concept of citizenship. According to J. J. Rousseau, the fact that people voluntarily and mutually restrict their limitless rights that they have in the state of nature and preserve what they have through a contract shape the common good and political whole and lead to the emergence of state. And the people who come together around common interests thereby ensure the continuity of the social order by controlling themselves and the other individuals in the society. In that regard, people become free under the title of citizen by taking on certain obligations (Rousseau, 2014, pp.30-42). There are four pillars of the concept of citizenship. The first one of these pillars is equality. Everyone living in a state and legally not considered a foreigner has the equal status of citizenship. Secondly, all citizens have liberties. The Virginia Declaration of Rights accepted in the United States and the Declaration of the Rights of the Man and of the Citizen announced in the aftermath of the French Revolution are the first legal documents framing these rights and liberties. Thirdly, the political rights and liberties that ensure the participation of the citizens to the political life are safeguarded by constitutional documents. Lastly, social and cultural rights are included within the rights of citizens (Korkut, 2015, p.8). The concept of citizenship, ‘which is a socio-political identity’ is the acceptance of the individuals by the state in an entirely new order as subjects that are defined at legal and political levels (Heater, 2004, p.2). One can see that in this new order, citizens have been equipped with particular rights and duties (2004, pp.2-6).

When we trace how the concept of citizenship has been implemented and constructed in the education system as part of the curriculum, we see that the educational foundation of this was laid in France after the Revolution of 1789 (Üstel, 2005, pp.23-24). With the aim of raising a good citizen who embraces the ideals of the Revolution such as liberty, equality, and fraternity, the citizenship education began to replace the religious education in a planned and systematic way with the establishment of the Third Republic. During this period, the country needed citizens who were capable of respecting the laws. Therefore, with the addition of the citizenship course to the curriculum, the aim was to create a new spiritual/moral bond based on fraternity and justice among the individuals. Behind the interest shown for the citizenship education within the scope of the new curriculum, there lies the acceptance that science is the cornerstone of this new society and that the school, in a sense, constitutes a starting point for the dissemination of this new spirit (Mougniotte, 1991, pp.123-125).

In this regard, the new textbooks that would be prepared, which would have visuals and a narrative based on storytelling, would play an important role in providing the young minds with a good citizenship education. By making primary school education compulsory, the citizens' obligations toward the country, state, society, family, and themselves and their rights were clearly explicated. In accordance with the Ministry of Education's law that was passed in 1882, which made primary school education compulsory, the content of the citizenship course in the primary school was as follows:

Reading and writing, the language and elements of the French literature,

Geography, the geography of France in particular,

History, particularly the history of France up until now,

Some concepts about law and economy,

Music,

Gymnastics,

Military exercises for boys,

Tailoring, embroidery, needlework for girls.

The primary goal was to inspire love in the citizens with regard to the Republican ideology and its institutions. For the creation of the desired citizen and reaching that goal, the primary school education and then secondary school education were of great significance in the first instance. Within this direction, many books on citizenship education were ordered and written until 1914 under the control of the Ministry of Education so as to be used in primary and secondary school education. It can be thereby seen that with the use of citizenship courses and books, the aim was to ensure the rapid dissemination of the republican ideals throughout France (Mougniotte, 1991, pp.123-125).

3. The Analysis of the Content of the Citizenship Textbooks in the Context of the Second Constitutional Revolution and its Ideals

When we look at the practices of the Second Constitutional administration, it is understood that they took the French Revolution as an example and then followed the practices in France closely (Kansu, 2008, pp. 23-26). The greatest proof for this is the fact that from 1908 to 1918, the citizenship textbooks that were published to be used in primary schools, junior high schools, high schools, Teacher's Training School for Boys, Teacher's Training School for Girls and in high schools with the order of the Ministry of Education as it was the case in France were also used in the Ottoman educational system.² According to the Article 114 of the Constitution (Kanun-ı Esasiye), "The primary school education was made compulsory for all the Ottoman individuals" (Üstel, 2005, p.33).

With the influence of political modernization and liberalization during the Second Constitutional Era, an understanding of political-public realm came in sight. In this context, a transition process from a community to an integrated society began (Çetinkaya, 2009, p.21). While in the 19th century, the children's bodies, minds, and spirits became important and, in a sense, underwent a process of 'scientification,' the content of education was also expanded by the modern state with different disciplines and was arranged in accordance with age (Açıkgöz, 2012, pp.8-9). In the modern state where knowledge began to acquire power, it was inevitable that the children would be put in a position in which they would be made visible and tried to be controlled. Starting with 18th

² This aim is on the first page of the citizenship textbooks.

century, children became individuals that should be known and whose education mattered. For this reason, modern state started to be closely interested in education at a young age, in the education of the children so to speak (James, Jenks and Prout, 2007, p.78).

It was planned that the children, who were the individuals and the citizens of the future, would be equipped with the values of the revolution starting with the primary school education and continuing till and through high school education with citizenship courses. In this sense, the children were accepted as the citizens and individuals of the future by the regime of the Second Constitutional Era and citizenship textbooks began to be produced starting with 1908 for these courses in an attempt to raise the individuals of the future in line with the targets that were set (2005, p.31). In this context, it was apparent that in these books on citizenship, the Committee of Union and Progress wanted to create a new society embracing the ideals of the revolution and individuals that were part of this society.

The citizenship textbooks presented significant possibilities in terms of embodying the society and individual project that the constitutional regime imagined and wanted to create. In this regard, on the one hand these textbooks reflect the mentality of the constitutional regime and on the other hand they were the manifestations of this mentality. The textbook named *Sual ve Cevaplı Malumat-ı Medeniye* [Information on Civilization with Questions and Answers], which was prepared right after the declaration of Constitutionalism in 1908, provides a definition of state at the beginning after it is opened by saying bismillah. In this narrative, a quite inclusive world was created through the use of a language based on ‘us’. Sentences such as “our state is called the Ottoman State. All the Ottoman countries are our hometown” show that there was an effort to gather everyone living within the boundaries of the Ottoman State under the ideology of Ottomanism (Abdülkadir, 1324/1908, pp.4-5). The primary task of the individuals living in the Ottoman State was “to protect the Constitutional Monarchy and the Constitution at all costs’ due to the fact that the Ottoman individuals gained their rights for liberty, justice, fraternity, and equality thanks to Constitutionalism” (1324/1908, pp.6-7). Moreover, “the government which was called the sick man of Europe became stronger with Constitutionalism and the Constitution, and the Europeans were shown that the Ottomans were civilized” (1324/1908, pp.6-7). In this citizenship textbook, the concepts of liberty,

justice, equality, and fraternity, all of which are the ideals of the revolution, were explained in a quite detailed manner. With these four ideals and values of the revolution, the superiority of law and the requirement that everyone should obey the law were strongly emphasized. When viewed more closely, the further explication of the concept of justice and the process of preparing the laws were other subjects that were elaborated upon.

In this context, it was stated that the laws were prepared by the Parliament and these laws had to be organized and preserved for the common good of the individuals. Provided that someone realized that his/her right was not protected, s/he had the right to submit a petition to the Parliament. Another important duty that the citizens had to carry out was solely for the male individuals, with the exception of those who were excluded by the law, to 'brotherly' do their military service, something that was considered sacred, in order to protect the homeland from the enemies. Yet another substantial duty that the citizens had to carry out was to pay their annual taxes regularly, amount of which was determined by the parliament. It was particularly underlined that these taxes would be used for the common good. As can be seen, this citizenship textbook, which was prepared to be used in primary schools, employs a language based on 'us.' With this language continuing throughout the book, the ideology of Ottomanism, which was the ideology behind the revolution, was highlighted. In this book, one can observe that the first step was taken in the creation of a civilized society formed around the concepts of liberty, equality, and justice, and individuals who knew about their rights and obligations.

In 1909, two textbooks were produced on citizenship. In the first one of these books called *Malumat-ı Medeniyye* [Information on Civilization], the following questions were posed in quite a detailed manner: Where is one's homeland? What is homeland? Why should one love his/her homeland? Why does homeland matter? And the answer to each question was given in detail (Doktor Hazık, 1325/1909, p.11). In this textbook, the children were directly addressed: "Hey children! Love your homeland, hold your homeland in high esteem and have great ambitions for it" (1325/1909, p.13). As can be understood from these statements, it was pointed out that it was necessary to create individuals, who were profoundly attached to the state, starting from the earliest age and to establish a bond of love between the state and individuals. This duty of protecting the homeland, which was called "Memâlik-i Osmaniye" [Ottoman lands], was referred to as

the ‘sacred duty of the soldiers, the most noble sons of the country’ (1325/1909, pp.46-47). In this context, the taxes that each individual had to pay to the government for the common good were listed among one’s civic duties. Besides, although it was not an obligation, the individuals were strongly encouraged to make personal investments.

It draws one’s attention that in this textbook, the focus is on the importance of the concept of Constitutionalism rather than the explication and demonstration of the values of revolution. It could be said that the aim was to inculcate the concept of Constitutionalism into people’s minds. Under the title ‘The History of Our Revolution,’ the history of the process that ended with the Constitutional Revolution was presented. This history was told in the following manner: “During the reign of Abdulhamid, the real sons of this country, who loved their country and worked for its sake, had to go to foreign countries. They tried to awake the people by publishing newspapers and books there, and they were called Young Turks. In 1908, the people and the soldiers declared Constitutional Monarchy with the encouragement and direction of the committee. People attained the Constitution” (1325/1909, pp.21-31). For this textbook, it is possible to say that the formation of the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) and the process that ended with the revolution were presented to its audience by defaming and negating the reign of Abdulhamid II. After that, it was emphasized that “Constitutionalism was, without doubt, the best type of government’ due to the fact that Constitutionalism meant ‘self government by the nation/people” (Doktor Hazık, 1325/1909, p.20).

A quite striking metaphor and analogy can be found in this book: “Children! Obey your mothers, fathers, and elders. If one of you does not obey this order in which freedom and law prevail, you will be reproached by your mothers, fathers, or elders. Apart from this, everyone in the house has his/her rights and liberties. One’s right is his/her liberty. For example, it is your right to go to sleep at night. No one can prevent you from doing so. However, if you do not want to, you may not go to sleep. Or you may study a lot and go to bed late. You are free to exercise your right however you like. It is because this is your liberty” (1325/1909, pp.7-8). With this analogy, there is a reference to individuals’ obligations alongside their rights that they acquired thanks to the ‘freedom and law that the Constitutionalism granted’ through the example of family. The issues such as what are rights and liberties and what happens if the law is not followed were told in a simple and understandable language by using family and children as examples.

Another textbook that was written in 1909 was *Rehber-i İttihad* [Guide for Progress]. This book focused on the concepts of liberty and equality that came in view with the revolution, and particularly on the issues of homeland, patriotism, and citizenship. As was stated in the introduction of the book, the children should be educated with the values of the revolution so that the Ottoman country could have a bright future. Teachers had a huge responsibility in that regard. After that, children were advised to work night and day to be knowledgeable and to thereby serve their country, which awaited great things from them, and the necessity of extricating themselves from ignorance and working for the sake of their nation was highlighted. The children, who were seen as the future of the nation, were told about the concept of homeland and its importance more comprehensively with the following sentences: “Children, our beloved nation is largely located in Asia and some of its pieces are in Europe and Africa. The world’s richest lands, the most beautiful mountains, seas, and islands are all placed in our country. We love every inch of our homeland and sacrifice our lives for its sake since it is our homeland that nourishes us and makes us grow. You love all our citizens living in the lands of the Ottoman country” (Müstecabizade İsmet, 1325/1909, pp.2-3). With these statements, the concepts of Ottoman lands and Ottoman citizen were introduced. It is seen that this textbook, which was prepared for the primary school students, provided examples that directly addressed the children.

The textbook attempted to clarify who exactly was this Ottoman citizen with the following example: “Mehmet, Dimitri, Karabet, Salomon all went to the same school. They were like brothers because they learned well from their teachers that they were the sons of a single nation, and that they were all Ottomans. When they just sat on the grass and were about to eat the food they brought in their bags, a poor boy showing humility stood in front of them. The boy wanted a little bit of money for a bite to eat. All of the boys felt sorry for him. They gave him money and spared some of their food. They later gave him their toys and said things that would make him happy. Nothing else during that day made these children as cheerful as they were when they helped this kid” (1325/1909, pp.11-13). As can be seen, the different identities and belongings living in the Ottoman State were described through the concept of citizenship as individuals who had the same ideals and who walked on the same road. It is also understood that there was an attempt to try to bring together all the individuals and belongings living in the Ottoman State

under the common ground of Ottomanism, which was the principal ideology underpinning the revolution.

In the introduction of the other textbook that was produced in 1911 titled *Malumat-ı Medeniye* [Information on Civilization], the boundaries of the Ottoman State were specified and it was stated that the Ottoman State was governed with justice, freedom, and equality with the Constitution. It was once again strongly underlined that thanks to the Constitution, there was justice, freedom, and equality. As can be understood from the following sentence, “We are the subjects of the Ottoman State, we are the sons of the same homeland,” there is an effort to create a truth by once again employing a language based on us, on an inclusive discourse so to speak (Hüseyin Hıfzı, 1327/1911, p.76). The mutual expectations of the subjects and the state were also listed in detail. The state’s primary expectation from the individuals was as follows: “The primary duty is to obey the laws, then to make an effort for the development and protection of one’s nation, then to pay one’s taxes... and the most sacred duty of them all is to do one’s military service, which is one’s physical debt, and lastly to work for the development of agriculture, commerce, and industry” (Hüseyin Hıfzı, 1327/1911, pp.75-80). So, an individual’s obligation toward the state was explained as obeying the laws and the state, doing one’s military service, and paying taxes. In exchange for that, the individuals gained the right to make use of justice, equality, and liberty under the guarantee of the law. It was even indicated that the liberty of press was a right that was gained thanks to the Constitutionalism. This issue was articulated in the following manner: “Another right granted to the Ottomans was the liberty of publication and that everyone was able to publish the book they wrote. The only exception to this was the ban on the works that are against the law” (1327/1911, p.71).

One can claim that the society and the individuals were granted with the right of liberty, which was an important ideal of the revolution, by the new administration in terms of reaching information and disseminating information as long as these actions were not against the law. This is because the state tried to make use of the power of knowledge while turning the individuals into effective subjects who knew about their rights and duties, and who were obedient. As was the case in the previous books, the individuals who lived within the boundaries of the Ottoman state were gathered under the Ottoman umbrella. The continuity of the Ottomanism ideology and the process of state’s building

the new society went hand in hand. At the final instance, as can be understood from the following sentences, the readers were warned to be alert as regards the issue of voting in the elections since it presented the threat of despotism's return. "If people who are ignorant and unable to protect the law are elected as members of the parliament, the despotism will certainly come back one day. For this reason, individuals should be shrewd with regard to their votes, which will determine the members of the parliament" (1327/1911, p.74). After "experiencing disappointment" due to the Incident on March 31, 1909, it could be said that the new administration made this warning to make sure that the Constitutionalism would not be shaken with such a threat again (Zurcher, 2000, p.144). In other words, against the threat that the *ancient regime* might be restored, the individuals were reminded that they needed to remain alert through the concepts of liberty, parliament, elections, and the Constitutionalism in general.

Another textbook that was written in 1911, in the book titled *Malumat-ı Medeniye ve Ahlakiye* [Information on Civilization and Morality], Constitutionalism and its achievements such as the concepts of equality, liberty, justice, and fraternity were explained in the introduction as was the case in the previous books on citizenship. However, in this textbook it was stated in detail that the individuals had both public and personal duties. The primary personal duties of the individuals were not to commit suicide, not to be an alcoholic, to put into practice what is learned at school, and to be well behaved. With the use of 'us' discourse, it was emphasized that "We, the Ottomans, have to develop, have to improve ourselves" (Hakkı Behic, 1327/1911, pp.16-17). The public duties of the individuals included loving and protecting one's homeland above all. In this context, military service was the most sacred duty. The necessity for each individual to pay the determined amount of taxes for the common good was explained. The new administration strongly encouraged the investment of the individuals called personal enterprise without them waiting for the state. It was also stated that the personal investment was one of the indicators of the 20th century. Another difference that can be observed in this textbook was the fact that it fiercely emphasized that the foundations of a civilized society were laid in the family. In accordance with this, the family was tasked with raising the individuals to whom the ideals of the revolution were transferred. The tasks of the mothers and fathers in the family were separately and clearly explained. The men had to work and bring home the bread no matter what. And women had to be good

mother and wives, and do the housework regularly. It was emphasized that “the women had to be open-eyed in the 20th century but this had to be somehow limited” (1327/1911, pp.112-118).

As can be seen, the individuals’ duties had been elaborated upon by 1911 and family institution alongside school and army had been at the forefront for raising individuals that were equipped with the ideals of the revolution. Even though women and men had been given separate duties as mothers and fathers, they would essentially contribute to the flourishing of educated individuals who would be equipped with the values of the revolution and be obedient to the state. Before the school and army, family was, in a sense, presented as the primary institution that would instill the ideals of the revolution.

This textbook titled *Malumat-ı Medeniye ve Ahlakiye* [Information on Civilization and Morality], which was published in 1911, was different compared to the previous textbooks on citizenship given the fact that this textbook, in a sense, took on the function of presenting a dictionary offering the explanations of the concepts that were also included in the previous textbooks. On the basis of this, the definitions, scope, and content of the concepts such as state, homeland, Constitutionalism, and common good were provided in detail (Hakkı Behic, 1327/1911, pp. 12-30). In addition, the book particularly focused on the concept of liberty, and elaborated upon the idea that people’s rights for statement, thought, conscience, work, movement, and education were their liberties. The primary duty of the government was definitely specified as protecting people’s liberties. After that, individuals’ personal duties were addressed. The primary duty of the individuals was to protect their bodies from sickness. They were advised not to commit suicide. Individuals also had to attach importance to their moral upbringing. The textbook included the following words of the Western thinker Jibon on upbringing: “People receive two types of education; one of them is given to them, and the other one s/he acquires on his/her own” (1327/1911, p.80). Besides, the necessity of being moral, honest, and conscientious was also included among one’s personal duties. Among individuals’ social duties, patriotism and military service were listed. Another social duty of the individuals’ was to pay the determined amount of taxes so that the country could develop, the salaries of the public officials could be paid, hospitals and schools could be constructed.

Starting a family was also included among the individual's social duties, and the individuals were even reminded that this was a 'sacred social duty' since the civilized individuals were first raised in families. The family members principally had to know their rights and the law so that they could raise civilized individuals and not entrench upon each other's rights. The roles and duties of the spouses were separately listed. The men had to work for the happiness of their families and take care of them. It was stated that women's role was more important. Women were the real owners of the house and they should treat their husbands well. They should be a good mother and raise well-behaved children. "We are now living in the 20th century, women whose eyes are closed cannot be good mothers, good wives" (1327/1911, pp.116-117). As can be seen, while it was strongly underscored that women should be knowledgeable and educated mothers and wives, it still remained ambiguous what they should know and to what extent. Another social duty of the individuals was emphasized as making personal investments and it was stated that Britain should be taken as an example in that regard.

In the book titled *Terbiye-i Ahlakiye* [Morality Education] that was written in 1912 and prepared to be read in secondary schools, the primary issue that was focused on after opening the book by saying bismillah was serving one's country, which was placed under the title 'civic duties.' The most honorable of the patriotic deeds, military service and paying one's taxes, were among the primary obligations of the individuals. Thanks to the Constitution that came with the declaration of Constitutionalism, "all the Ottomans were free" (Ali Seydi, 1328/1912, pp.26-28). The concept of homeland was described in more detail with the following example: "There are two kinds of homelands. One is private and the other one is general homeland. Private homeland is the place, village, city, or town where a person is born. General homeland consists of the lands over which the government that one is subject to has dominance. This is the real homeland" (1328/1912, p.19). Based on this example, it can be said that the boundaries of the concept of homeland were drawn in clearer terms by 1912. Besides, the concept of equality that was the achievement of the Constitution was explained in the following manner through citizenship: "One should love his/her citizens in the same way that s/he does love his/her own sister and brother. When it comes to citizenship, religion or denomination should not be an issue because we are all sons and daughters of a homeland, thereby we are all brothers and sisters" (1328/1912), pp.33). Moreover, addiction to gambling, bribery,

lying, forgery, persecution, cowardice were all described as the primary vices that one should stay away from (1328/1912), pp.42-44). People were warned to stay away from these vices to become good citizens. From this point of view, the behaviors that the citizens should engage in were explained in detail, as was the case for their duties in the previous textbook. In this textbook, with an inclusive and integrating Ottomanism perspective, the importance of the achievements of the new regime was emphasized through the concept of citizenship. The concept of fraternity and the emphasis on togetherness draw one's attention. Given that Balkan Wars took place in 1912, the fact that cowardice was also considered a vice could be seen as part of a propagandist discourse so as to ensure the existence of people who would fearlessly fight for his fellow men in the war.

By 1913, in the textbook titled *Terbiye-i Ahlakiye ve Medeniye* [Morality Education and Civilization], which began with the address "Gentlemen!," not only the achievements of the revolution such as the parliament, constitution, and individuals' right to elect, which were also included in the previous books, but also individuals' liberties (such as liberties with regard to residence, conscience, transportation, education, and ideas) were also explained in detail in the form of question & answers (Ali Seydi, 1329/1913), pp.73-80). Throughout this book, it is said that 'Thanks to our Constitution, all the individuals that are the nationals of the Ottoman State are named Ottomans with no discrimination whatsoever. People are free in the eyes of the law. Freedom is a right granted to individuals' (1329/1913, pp.73-74). As can be seen, it was once again emphasized that all the belongings were accepted as 'one' under the banner of Ottomanism and this was guaranteed by law. It is understood that the students were individually presented with the fields that freedom, one of the values of the revolution, influenced and what the concept of freedom entailed. In this context, this book particularly focused on the concept of freedom as one of the values of the revolution. In addition to liberties, it was once again explained that individuals had personal and social obligations. In this sense, starting a family and raising children, who would be the informed, well-mannered, and well-bred children of the future, stand out as the primary social duties of the individuals. The textbook also focused on the fact that the social decorum rules would be acquired in the family as well. It was explained that "since eating and dressing nicely like the French do would not do harm to the Ottoman values, there is no problem in taking them as example"

(1329/1913, p.109). On the other hand, as one of the social duties, personal investment was encouraged. By referring to a particular verse in the Qur'an, it was strongly emphasized that Islam supported personal investments (1329/1913, p.80). It is apparent that the content and the scope of freedom were elaborated upon and the personal investment, which was encouraged before, was described as a social duty.

By 1918, it is seen that in the last book that was published and addressed in this article called *Malumat-ı Ahlakiye ve Medeniye* [Information on Morality and Civilization], the notion of homeland, which was defined in the previous books and the reasons as to why it should be loved were provided, is now at the forefront of the book. "Homeland is nothing more than a big family, and family is nothing more than a small homeland. The principal and the most sacred duty of each citizen is to be a patriot, and to serve his homeland until his last breath" (Muslihiddin Adil, 1334/1918, p.89). In the book, it is emphasized that the history and geography courses are of great importance in the emergence of these services for the country. Every individual who is able to hold a gun is obligated to protect this invaluable country. Military service is already one of the leading places where equality, one of the greatest indicators of civilized life, is embodied because there is no difference in terms of class or wealth in the military service. Moreover, it was emphasized that just like schools and families, army also took on the function of eradicating ignorance. It should be also kept in mind that with the First World War, the government also initiated the national identity building process through propaganda by using fictional works such as poems, novels, and stories (Köroğlu, 2004, pp.199-204). 'Freedom' that was seen among the rights that the government needed to provide was included in this book as a concept that was put forward so as to criticize despotism. "Freedom came in sight with the French Revolution. In our lands, the principles of freedom were declared with the Constitution announced in 1876. However, this constitution was removed soon after its declaration by the Sultan and the achievements of the freedom only became possible with the Revolution that took place on July 10, 1908. This Revolution took place thanks to the Committee of Union and Progress that was born in Rumelia, and freedom was gained. The love for freedom should penetrate into the deepest corners of our hearts and we should try to break those hands trying to encroach upon our freedom with a great courage" (Muslihiddin Adil, 1334/1918, pp.131-134). In this regard, the causality of the Second Constitutional Era was tried to be established by

defaming and bad mouthing the reign of Abdulhamid II. The citizens' regular payment of their taxes, and their respect and support toward the personal enterprises were described as social duties. It is quite important that this book emphasizes the development of civilization and the necessity of religion, issues that were not addressed in the previous books. "We have to work ceaselessly so as to reach the level of civilization in the West; however, this progress should be made by protecting the Islamic identity. Islam supports having respect for constitutionalism, science, morality, and law; it also does not allow an administration of a single person" (1334/1918, pp.125-127).

As can be understood, this book emphasizes that Constitutionalism and Islam are compatible. Therefore, Islam acts like a unifying mortar between the individuals in the society and is among the spiritual shareholders that are deemed necessary for the proper maintenance of the regime of Constitutionalism. Accordingly, having experienced the Counter Revolution and the First World War, the Committee of Union and Progress might have planned to utilize the unifying power of Islam. Besides, in this textbook the term 'Ottoman', unlike the previous textbooks, was generally replaced with individuals and citizens who served for their country. It could be claimed that this change was warranted by the fact that it was gradually understood that the Ottomanism ideology did not work anymore after undergoing the Balkan Wars and the First World War (Zurcher, 2000, pp.187-188).

When we look at all those books that are examined, we see that the ideology of Ottomanism was an important denominator for using a language based on 'us' and for the creation of collective consciousness till 1918 and by 1918 it was the Islamist ideology that was emphasized due to the conjecture. In this regard, the ideological subjectivation process pointed out by L. Althusser through a consciously preferred ideological discourse exists in these textbooks. On the other hand, these textbooks emphasize that "disciplining", one of the important practices of the modern state elaborated by M. Foucault, should actually start in the family before the schooling process begins so as to create ideal individuals. The knowledgeable, hardworking, and disciplined ideal subjects who are informed about their personal and public rights and obligations are required to act in accordance with the law. The existence of the modern state that would like to control every sphere of the individual's life is apparent from these textbooks. Besides, the modern state's desire to be involved with everything that is published as stated by A.

Giddens is included in the books themselves with the statement that ‘all the books that are not contrary to the law can be published.’ Based on all of these, it can be claimed that the mentality of modern state and subjectivation process manifest themselves in these books through the concepts and the discourse that are used.

4. Ideal Individuals: The Known and Knowledgeable Subjects of the 20th Century

Consequently, the ideals of the Revolution such as liberty, equality, fraternity, and justice were included in the citizenship textbooks in primary schools, high schools, and teachers’ training schools and these concepts were at times explained through the use of examples and metaphors in an attempt to make them more understandable. The establishment of the Constitutionalism, its workings, and its instruments, namely the parliament and constitution were described and explained in these books. Viewed closely, among the ideals of the Second Constitutional Revolution, the ones that were particularly focused on were freedom and justice.

On the basis of this, it is good to dwell upon the concept of justice, which was frequently referred to as one of the achievements of Constitutionalism. In other words, the French Revolution’s motto of equality, liberty and fraternity, which was essentially taken as example, was translated and adopted by the the Committee of Union and Progress into the Ottoman language as equality, freedom, and fraternity and the fact that the Committee of Union and Progress felt the need to add the concept of justice to this discourse is an issue that is worthy of attention. (Eldem, 2009, p.289) It is because the fact that there is a difference between the use of the concept of justice prior to the Revolution of 1908 and in its aftermath is apparent. Since the establishment of the Ottoman State, Sultan is the one who secures, protects, and dispenses the justice. Other than protecting the boundaries and Islam against the enemy, the Sultan was expected to be fair; however, with the declaration of the Second Constitutional Monarchy, justice, just like the values of freedom, equality, and fraternity, became a right that was safeguarded with the Constitution.

Since Tanzimat Era, especially during the reign of Abdulhamid II and the Second Constitutional Era, two of the most important elements of the official Ottoman ideology were modernization and the process of civilization (Alkan, 2008, p.12). One can see that

the new administration frequently lists the duties of the individuals whom it sees as subjects in every textbook. First of all, these individuals are expected to embrace and protect these values of the revolution. They are strongly encouraged to pay their taxes regularly in accordance with the new administration's wish, to do their military service to protect the nation, and to make personal investments. Now that a new power was exercising control and sovereignty on the body of the individuals, individuals were asked to take good care of their bodies and protect them. In this regard, suicide was accepted as one of the greatest vices. The new regime shaped the individuals as subjects that had both rights and obligations. It was also strongly underlined that these rights and obligations were safeguarded by the law. It was highlighted in these textbooks that school, army, and family were the primary institutions of the state with regard to the modern state's and power's subjectivation process. Army, schools (and textbooks), and family carried out this task of forming the society and the individuals that the new power aimed at by means of discipline and upbringing.

It is understood that the revolution did not just entirely change the political and legal realms but it also intervened in the daily life of the society. It was emphasized that the targeted new society and the individuals needed to be compatible with the civilization of the 20th century, be educated, and to make an effort to improve themselves. The family institution was presented in the textbooks as having a role as important as school and army in terms of creating the individuals who embraced the ideals of the revolution. The roles that the mother and father should take on in the family were described in detail. The family was, in a sense, considered as the smaller version of the state. The primary role in the formation of healthy, educated individuals who were deeply attached to the ideals of the state and revolution, who adapted to the civilization of the 20th century was given to the family. Besides, by emphasizing that Islam was following the same path with the Constitutional Revolution, the aim was to erase the traces of the Incident that took place on March 31, 1909 and to show that Islam would not be excluded in the newly designed society, that it would be, on the contrary, embraced and protected just like justice. Moreover, it is possible to say that the Second Constitutional Monarchy Regime wanted to create the same novelty and change that it initiated in the political, legal, and social life through citizenship course and textbooks in people's mentality as well. One of the striking points in these books is the fact that the reign of Abdulhamid II was defamed while the

causality for the Second Constitutional Monarchy Regime was established. In this regard, history and geography also contributed to this process as elements that would constitute the unifying mortar of the new society and individuals, which were aimed to be formed with knowledge of the common past and location, for the formation of the individual/subject that was able to adapt to the new order by having left the old one.

In the final analysis, if we are to build up a profile of the society and the individuals that these textbooks address, we can obtain the following picture. First of all, it is obvious that the new regime wanted to have educated and knowledgeable individuals. In other words, the administration wanted to create individuals who embraced the values of the revolution, who put the revolution and its values at the heart of his/her life. It is also possible to say that the new administration wanted to see the individuals that it wanted to have on the political and legal realms with rights and obligations as obedient subjects. For this reason, it can be observed that the project of creating a conscious society and individuals/citizens from the children at the age of primary school was initiated. It could be claimed that the Constitutional Monarchy regime wanted to create an ideal society and individuals whose content, boundaries, and scope it specified. What these knowledgeable individuals needed to know was, of course, articulated through the textbooks. These individuals identified by the modern state as the knowledgeable subjects were frequently reminded the values of the revolution along with their rights and obligations that they acquired thanks to the revolution.

Conclusion

The textbooks particularly drew attention to the fact that these subjects would be or should be raised within family/home with conscious mothers and fathers. While the responsibilities and rights of the women, men and children in the family were specified, the significance of being civilized was emphasized. Given the issues related to the individuals addressed by the administration such as military service, paying one's taxes, and voting, one can draw the conclusion that majority of these individuals were male. Considering the family institution, it should be said that women were also addressed. It was emphasized that the conscious children of the future would be shaped in accordance with their upbringing. The French thinker Jibon's words were even cited in one of the books with regard to his thoughts on the definition of upbringing and its significance. In

that regard, upbringing is another concept that was specifically emphasized and given weight to. With the emphasis that ‘the women’s eyes should be opened to a certain extent,’ it can be claimed that the women should be knowledgeable subjects; however, what else they needed to know was not indicated clearly. And the extent of this knowledge remains ambiguous. In this regard, it remains ambiguous as to what was meant by saying that women should be knowledgeable but her knowledge should be limited. It could also be said that the emphasis on unity that was shaped around the ideology of Ottomanism found in the books of the Ottoman State, which experienced the Balkan Wars and the First World War, was replaced with the idea of unity that was ready for war and militarist particularly through the emphasis on homeland, citizenship, and fraternity.

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