

The Place and Importance of the Maarif Colleges in Turkish Education System

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Abstract

In addition to the socio-economic change and industrialization experienced in Turkey in the 1950's, the course of the country's international relations increased the need for foreign language-speaking personnel. Some of the decisive reasons for the Ministry of National Education for opening the Maarif Colleges include the fact that foreign language education in secondary education institutions was not adequately efficient and the schools that teach foreign languages were inadequate in number and were located in certain centers. The Maarif Colleges, established in 1955, were public schools with paid boarding facilities that provided education in Turkish and English languages. In the first stage, the Maarif Colleges were opened in Istanbul, Izmir, Samsun, Konya, Eskişehir and Diyarbakır. Turkey's membership in NATO and its close ties with the United States after the Second World War also played an important role in the establishment and operation of the colleges. The Maarif Colleges became attractive educational institutions in a short period since they provided education in foreign language and generally high-quality education in other fields. The number of Anatolian High school built on the Maarif College experience has gradually increased over time and these schools have become the most common type of school in secondary education.

Key Words

Maarif Colleges • Anatolian High Schools • Education in Foreign Language • Secondary Education • Official Colleges

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Introduction

After the Second World War, Turkey's ties with the United States became closer as a result of the transition to multi-party life in Turkey in domestic politics and tense relations between Turkey and the Soviet Union in foreign policy. The treaty signed between Turkey and the USA in Cairo on 27 February 1946 was the most important step in the convergence of the two countries. With the treaty, the USA provided a loan amounting to 10 million dollars to Turkey for purchase of military equipment ([Resmi Gazete, 1946](#)). This treaty was followed by another treaty signed in Ankara on 6 December 1946 and the USA declared Turkey was in the protection zone under the Truman Doctrine, announced on 12 March 1947 ([Gevgilili, 1987](#); [Resmi Gazete, 1947](#)). This convergence, which started in the political, military, and economic fields, also manifested itself in the field of education. The Fulbright Agreement, signed on 27 December 1949, was the most significant understanding between Turkey and the USA in education. With this agreement, cooperation in the field of education between the two countries was envisaged, and a commission named the United States Education Commission was established in Turkey ([Resmi Gazete, 1950](#)). Thus, the legal infrastructure was created enabling the USA to influence the National Education policies of Turkey.

The developments following the Second World War have seriously affected foreign language education in Turkey. The increasing influence and power of the USA in the international arena led to the replacement of French with English as the international language. Turkey's alliance with the United States after the Second World War has formed the basis for turning towards English in foreign language lessons in schools. Turkey's membership in the UN and NATO, sending troops to Korea, its relations with the West, and industrialization have been effective in this tendency. In a period when higher education was not widespread, the need for people who could speak English in Turkey raised the topic of foreign language medium institutions at the secondary education level. As a matter of fact, the growing interest in English paved the way for the establishment of the Maarif Colleges. During this period, the USA made a special effort to influence the Turkish education system. The USA's effect on the Turkish education system has gradually increased through institutions such as the Rockefeller and Ford Foundation. This influence manifested itself in the form of establishment of the Maarif Colleges the efforts to implement the multi-purpose school model, which was applied in the USA from 1953 to 1959 at the secondary school level, the attempts for designing the higher teacher education schools as American-style colleges, and the establishment of METU and Atatürk University ([Güven, 2000](#)).

Method

Research Model

The documentation analysis method was used in this qualitative study.

Population and Purpose of the Research

This study covers Adana, Bursa, Diyarbakır, Erzurum, Eskişehir, Istanbul Kadıköy, İzmir Bornova, Konya, Samsun Maarif Colleges established in Turkey from 1955 to 1975. The purpose of the study is to show the place and importance of Maarif Colleges in the Turkish education system by examining the establishment, development and functioning of this institutions and their transformation into Anatolion High Schools.

Collection and Analysis of Data

The research was conducted in Istanbul University Central Library, Istanbul University Faculty of Letters Library, Beyazıt State Library, ISAM, Atatürk Library, Muş Public Library, Adıyaman Public Library, National Library, Boğaziçi University Library, Samsun Public Library and Gelenbevi Anatolian High School Library for extensive analysis of the subject. Within the scope of the research, the national press of the period, and the local periodicals in the provinces where the Maarif Colleges were opened were scrutinized. In addition, the TBMM (Grand National Assembly of Turkey) Minutes, the Official Gazette, and the Journal of Notifications were used, and the government and programs of the political parties were reviewed. Despite this, the desired level of information about the Maarif Colleges could not be obtained. In response, with the written permission of the Ministry of National Education, research was conducted in the archives, libraries and other departments of Ankara Atatürk Anatolian High School, Diyarbakır Anatolian High School, Eskişehir Anatolian High School, İzmir Bornova Anatolian High School, Kadıköy Anatolian High School, Konya Meram Anatolian High School and Samsun Anatolian High School, which replaced the closed Maarif Colleges. The student registration records, school museums, school albums, educational - learning materials, student files, teacher files, and a large number of written correspondences in the archives of these schools were examined.

In order to identify the foreign national teachers who had worked in the Maarif Colleges, their personal files, and employment contracts, Cabinet Decrees, correspondence between Maarif Colleges and school teachers' boards were reviewed. In addition, the associations and websites established in the USA by the Peace Corps who worked in Turkey were also looked into and, written interviews were held with graduates of the Maarif Colleges.

Findings

1. Establishment of the Maarif Colleges

The establishment of these schools, which are named Official Colleges by the Ministry of National Education, but more commonly known as Maarif Colleges, coincided with a period when the Democratic Party was in power and affirmative Turkish-US relations reached high levels in many areas. The preparations for the Maarif Colleges started in the middle of 1954 (TBMMZC, 1955; Yardımçı Amerika'ya ..., 1954). Even though it is not precisely known who brought up the idea for the first time for the establishment of these schools, it is highly likely that the idea of a school with a foreign language medium was given by American consultants. The fact that the Minister of National Education Celal Yardımçı stated Maarif Colleges were opened to meet the personnel needs of NATO and that Ataturk University was opened based on the USA model supports this approach (TBMMZC, 1954; Celal Yardımçı'nın Zafer Beyanati, 1954). It is also known that after the Fulbright Agreement signed on 27 December 1949; the USA provided many recommendations, suggestions, and propositions to Turkey in the field of education.

2. The Opening of the Maarif Colleges, Debates in Turkish Grand National Assembly and Public

The Ministry of National Education submitted a draft bill to the Turkish Grand National Assembly on 15 November 1954 regarding the Maarif Colleges providing education in foreign language (TBMMZC, Issue No. 76). In the draft bill of the Ministry, attention was drawn to the growing international relations of Turkey in many areas, and it was highlighted that there was a strong need for people specializing in varying fields who spoke foreign languages. However, it was reminded that the only school providing education for this purpose

was Galatasaray High School and that it could not meet the needs and it was also showed that there was a desire to establish such colleges with this purpose in Istanbul, Izmir, Konya, and Eskişehir in the academic year of 1954-1955 (TBMMZC, 1955b). The Ministry said that the population densities of the provincial centers and the demand for foreign schools were considered while determining these provinces (TBMMZC, 1954). The draft bill was first discussed in the National Education Commission. The Commission expressed its concerns and reservations about the Maarif Colleges, stating that the number and nature of such schools should not be in such a way that undermines Turkish culture. (TBMMZC, 1955b). The Minister of National Education Celal Yardımcı insisted on the speeches he has delivered at the Turkish Grand National Assembly and in his statements to newspapers and commissions that they would not allow the Maarif Colleges to weaken Turkish culture (Gündüz, 2017). After the National Education Commission, the draft bill was also reviewed by the Parliament Budget Commission. The Budget Commission supported the draft bill but requested the opening of colleges in each of the Black Sea and Eastern Anatolia regions (Yabancı Dilde Tedrisat, 1954).

After the draft bill was reviewed by the relevant commissions, it was submitted to the Turkish Grand National Assembly on 10 January 1955. In his speech, the Minister of National Education Celal Yardımcı declared they decided to open these schools because of the general interests of Turkey and its increasing international relations in every field, and that they did not rush into opening the schools and were making preparations (TBMMZC, 1955a). Antalya Deputy Burhanettin Onat stated many families wanted to send their children to foreign schools and claimed that the government opened these schools to meet the needs of the citizens (TBMMZC, 1955a). Erzurum Deputy Bahadır Dülger stated his views, which were similar to that of Onat, and said the existing schools failed to teach foreign languages. Dülger alleged there were foreign schools in the cities where the colleges would be opened and that the colleges would compete with these schools and offer alternatives (TBMMZC, 1955a). Ankara Deputy Mümtaz Tarhan, one of the deputies who supported the opening of the colleges, claimed that there would not be any activities damaging the national identity and Turkish language in the said colleges (TBMMZC, 1955a).

Tunceli Deputy Fethi Ülkü said that there was a great interest in the English language worldwide and the Maarif Colleges have come to the fore as an alternative to the inefficient national education system in the country. Ülkü requested that instead of opening these colleges, the language education in regular high schools should be strengthened with the available funds for the establishment of these schools and that the teachers working in regular high schools should be sent abroad for foreign language training. Fethi Ülkü also claimed that the opening of these colleges was rushed, and instead of opening these colleges, he suggested that the problems of the existing schools should be solved (TBMMZC, 1955a). Considering the speeches made by the deputies, it is seen that they mostly emphasize the positive sides of the colleges. Apart from Fethi Ülkü, we understand that the deputies generally supported the establishment of the Maarif Colleges, but they had different views about the qualifications and locations of these schools.

There were many news releases in the press regarding the establishment of the Maarif Colleges, and the issue was partially discussed by the public. Especially in the provincial local media where the opening of the colleges was planned, this topic was discussed widely on the news. The daily named Bafra announced in its issue dated 12 May 1955 to its readers that the Maarif Colleges were to be opened in Samsun (Samsun'da Kolej Açılıyor, 1955). Konya, which is another city where the college would be opened, and the idea of college opening had a

tremendous impact in the local press. In the newscast, the importance of foreign language was emphasized, and it was said that the college would serve as a bridge between Turkey and the West, that children would spell the “works of Shakespeare and Adam Smith” and that there would be no need to “dream about Europe anymore” (Beymen, 1955; Halıcı, 1955; Özal, 1955). The positive language used in the content of the news shows that the public had great expectations from the Maarif Colleges. Not only the general public but also official authorities nurtured the same expectations. As a matter of fact, the Board of Education defined the Maarif Colleges in its decision dated 27 February 1958 and numbered 57 as “the schools that apportion more time to foreign language studies and teach Science lessons in the same language in order to be able to accomplish a wider curriculum” (Tebliğler Dergisi, 1958).

There were also those who approached with reservations and opposed the opening of the Maarif Colleges, which were supported by the public. In fact, even after the Maarif Colleges were opened, the discussions on this subject did not end. In the Sixth Education Council, which convened on 18th through 23rd of March 1957, it was declared that Maarif Colleges were experimental schools, and the desire for opening experimental high schools with foreign language mediums besides the colleges was expressed (Altıncı Maarif Şurası, 1991). In the Council, Süleyman Kazmaz argued that there was no point in increasing the number of the Maarif Colleges and that with the opening of these schools, it was tacitly accepted that other schools could not teach foreign languages. On the other hand, the Undersecretary of National Education Nuri Kodamanoğlu objected to education in a foreign language, claiming that education in a foreign language hinders the development of the mother tongue (Altıncı Maarif Şurası, 1991). There were also those who considered the opening of the Maarif Colleges as an admiration for the West (Okçabol, 2005). In the Turkish Education National Commission Report published in 1960, it was asked to avoid increasing the number of the Maarif Colleges and to open new types of high schools that provided Turkish education and gave weight to language education with additional language lessons (Türkiye Eğitim Milli Eğitim Komisyonu Raporu, 1960). A similar approach was displayed in the 1960 National Education Preparation Plan and the Report of the Commission in Charge (Türkiye Eğitim Milli Eğitim Komisyonu Raporu 1960). Although it had been five years since the opening of Maarif Colleges, the ongoing debates have shown that concerns and reservations about the colleges still continued in the public and that the question marks about these colleges have not been fully settled.

3. Debates on the Location and the Language of Teaching in the Colleges

Although the opening of the Maarif Colleges was generally accepted, the location of these schools and the language of education caused gave rise to heated debates. The Minister of National Education Celal Yardımcı gave a statement to daily *Zafer* months before the draft bill on the Maarif Colleges submitted to the Turkish Grand National Assembly for debate and said that these schools would be opened in Izmir, Istanbul, and Ankara (C. Yardımcı Amerika..., 1954; Celal Yardımcı'nın Zafer Beyanati, 1954). In another piece of news in the same newspaper, we saw Eskişehir replaced Ankara (Türkçe-İngilizce Tedrisat..., 1954). The government proposed the opening of the Maarif Colleges in Eskişehir, Istanbul, Izmir, and Konya in the draft bill submitted to the Presidency of the Turkish Grand National Assembly on 15 November 1954. The National Education Commission, which discussed the draft bill on 13 December 1954, stated that it was not right for the colleges to be opened in Istanbul and Izmir in the initial stage since foreign language learning opportunities were plenty in the said cities. The commission proposed that one or two of these special high schools should be opened in the

Eastern region or on the Black Sea coast, “to serve the cultural development of the Eastern region, to provide a source close to the Atatürk University to be established, and consequently, to choose a region with priority in terms of need.” A similar request was made by the Budget Commission (TBMMZC, 1955b).

After the discussions in the committees, the draft bill was submitted to the General Assembly of the Parliament on 10 January 1955. In the General Assembly, there were heated discussions between Diyarbakır Deputy İhsan Hamid Tigṙel and the Minister of National Education Celal Yardımcı regarding the sites where colleges would be opened. Although Tigṙel, who also accused Celal Yardımcı of acting emotionally, wanted the opening of a foreign language medium high school in the Eastern region, because of insufficient sources, he made a proposal for opening one of the colleges in Ankara. Manisa Deputy Hikmet Bayur, on the other hand, said that it was very natural for every deputy to want these schools to be opened in the regions they represent and that the main thing was not the sites where the colleges would be opened. Diyarbakır Deputy Halil Turgut proposed to the Turkish Grand National Assembly for opening one more college in the Eastern region and the Black Sea, while desiring that the colleges are opened in any part of Anatolia. Istanbul Deputy Ḟuruzan Tekil claimed that despite the existence of schools providing education in foreign languages in cities such as Ankara and Istanbul, these schools were insufficient compared to the population ratio and suggested that colleges should be opened in metropolitan cities. Seyhan Deputy Mehmet Ūnaldı requested that one of the colleges should be opened in Adana.

Upon the receipt of many proposals and requests regarding the location of the colleges, the Minister of National Education Celal Yardımcı argued the draft bill was related to the budget allocation and that the Ministry of Education had the authority to determine locations of the colleges. The discussions on the draft bill, which was submitted to find the financial resources needed for the establishment of the schools, turned into authority debates made because of the opening sites of the colleges. Upon the prolongation of the talks, the Minister of Education Celal Yardımcı reacted, saying “If the opening of colleges is the right thing to do, the General Assembly will provide the funds to open them, otherwise, it will not...If you think it is unnecessary, you will not allocate any funds and we do not open the colleges. If you think, it is necessary and provide the funds, we open them.” Erzurum Deputy Bahadır Ḋulger, on the other hand, said that the colleges were not high schools that could be opened based on the authorities granted to the Minister of National Education by a specific law. Following heated discussions, the draft bill was rejected and sent back to the National Education and Budget Committee for reconsideration on 10 January 1955 (TBMMZC, 1955a). The commissions discussed the bill again, increasing the number of colleges from four to six, and in order to prevent the repetition of debates similar to those which were held on 10 January 1955, this time, the names of the cities where the colleges would be opened were not specified (TBMMZC, 1955b).

Although a decision was made as to where four of the colleges would be opened, since the location of the other two potential colleges was not determined, predictions were made about it. In its issue dated 22 January 1955, *Yeni Konya* newspaper said that the colleges would be opened in Istanbul, Izmir, Eskişehir, Konya, Adana, and Samsun (Konya Lisan Lisesine ..., 1955). On 22 February 1955, while the budget of the Ministry of National Education was discussed in the Turkish Grand National Assembly, Kastamonu Deputy Muzaffer Ali Ṁuhṫo asked for opening a college in Kastamonu (TBMMZC, 1955a). The newspaper named *Demokrat Eskişehir* announced to its readers that four new colleges would be opened in Adana, Ankara, Bursa and possibly

Kayseri, apart from Eskişehir, İzmir, Kadıköy, Konya, Diyarbakır and Samsun. In conclusion, the decision was given for opening colleges in Samsun and Diyarbakır in addition to Eskişehir, İzmir, Kadıköy and Konya colleges ([Şehrimiz Lisan Lisesini..., 1955](#); [Yabancı Dilde Tedrisat Yapan..., 1955](#)).

Apart from the debates about the opening locations, another matter of discussions was the language of instruction. The Minister of Education Celal Yardımcı announced for the first time in September 1954 that the colleges would provide Turkish-English education ([Türkçe-İngilizce Tedrisat ..., 1954](#)). The National Education Commission, on the other hand, argued contrary to the opinion of the Minister in the report prepared on 13 December 1954 that it was wrong to provide education in English in all colleges, and instruction language should be German and French in some or should be German at least in one of them ([TBMMZC, 1955b](#)). Trabzon Deputy Halit Ağanoglu, in his speech at the Turkish Grand National Assembly on 10 January 1955, asked the Minister of National Education Celal Yardımcı to inform the Assembly because the language of instruction in the colleges was not specified in the justification. While Diyarbakır Deputy Halil Turgut requested that the language of instruction should be German in one of the colleges, Seyhan Deputy Mehmet Ünalı said that whether the language of education should be German or English in the schools to be opened was entirely at the discretion of the Ministry of Education ([TBMMZC, 1955a](#)).

In his speech at the Turkish Grand National Assembly on 10 January 1955, the Minister of National Education Celal Yardımcı emphasized that although the education in the colleges would be offered in a foreign language, they would give great importance to Turkish and that the main educational medium was Turkish ([TBMMZC, 1955a](#)). Even though the matter of discussion was rather about which foreign language will be used as the medium of instruction in the colleges, it is observed that most of the parliamentarians were not against these schools where the education was provided in other languages. Although mainly beneficial aspects of education in a foreign language were emphasized, it is seen that there is almost no emphasis on the damaging consequences of education in a foreign language. We understand that the discussions about the colleges were mostly carried out on pragmatic aspects.

4. The Opening of the Maarif Colleges

During the opening process of the Maarif Colleges, first of all, the school buildings were determined. The Maarif Colleges were opened in Eskişehir, İstanbul, İzmir, Konya and Samsun in the 1955-1956 academic year, and in Diyarbakır in the 1956-1957 academic year. Therefore, in the first stage, attempts were concentrated on meeting the building needs of the colleges opened in the 1955-1956 academic year. The Eskişehir Maarif College first started education in Eskişehir Maturation Institute. However, since this place was not built as a boarding school facility and there were no spaces for teachers and students to work comfortably, some annexes were made to the building ([Göç, 1967](#); [Eskişehir Kolejinde Kayıtlara Başlandı, 1956](#)).

The Konya Maarif College started teaching in Station Primary School building, whereas Samsun Maarif College started in the building of Old Samsun Museum ([Kolejin Binası, 1955](#)). The Samsun Maarif College subsequently continued teaching in the old Girls' Art Institute and the old Central Secondary School buildings (Kayak). The Kadıköy and İzmir Bornova Maarif Colleges started education in their own buildings. The Ministry of National Education purchased the buildings of the private Ege College for İzmir Bornova Maarif College and the buildings which belonged to Kapusen cult for Kadıköy Maarif College ([Emiroğlu, 1995](#); [1959-60 Echo](#)). Diyarbakır Maarif College started education in a school building constructed during the reign of

Abdülhamit II. The examination of the buildings where the colleges started education shows that these buildings could not fully meet the needs of the colleges despite great efforts exerted. Therefore, the founding staff had to struggle with great difficulties. New school buildings in a similar architectural style were built in later years for the colleges which provided education in temporary buildings.

After the school building issue had been resolved, albeit temporarily, the colleges were opened. The Ministry of Education planned to open the colleges in the 1954-1955 academic year but had to postpone the opening of the colleges to the next academic year due to the prolongation of the process as a result of the discussions in the Turkish Grand National Assembly. The press published the news in mid – July 1955 that the colleges would be opened in Eskişehir, Istanbul, Izmir, Konya, Samsun, and Diyarbakır and in early August that the teaching staff of the four colleges was determined ([Kollej Tedrisata Başlıyor, 1955](#)). The first Maarif College was opened in Eskişehir as late as 8 October 1955 ([Eskişehirde Yabancı Dil..., 1955](#); [Maarif Vekilimiz Celal Yardımcı..., 1955](#); [Eskişehir Koleji Törenle Açıldı, 1955](#)). In his speech, the Minister of National Education Celal Yardımcı said that Eskişehir College would be followed by Istanbul, Izmir, Diyarbakır, Konya, and Samsun Colleges. Minister Yardımcı defined the colleges as an expression of the Turkish nation turning its face to the civilized world and the determination of the national wisdom to take its share from the world culture ([Kolejimiz ve Çocuk..., 1955](#)). The public attended the opening ceremony, along with a large group of public officials. Celal Yardımcı, who had a great expectation from the Maarif Colleges, personally attended the opening of the colleges, showing the importance he gave to these schools. ([Gündüz, 2019](#)).

Following the Eskişehir Maarif College, Izmir Bornova Maarif College was opened on 22 October 1955 with a ceremony attended by the Minister of National Education Celal Yardımcı and a large group of public officials. In his speech, the Deputy Minister stated they opened the Maarif Colleges to imbue students the European culture and Turkish culture ([İngilizce Tedrisi, 1955](#); [İzmir Koleji, 1955](#)). The third college that was opened was Kadıköy Maarif College. The Kadıköy Maarif College has been opened again with a ceremony attended by the Minister of National Education Celal Yardımcı and Iraqi Minister of Education Halil Kenne on 4 November 1955 ([Dördüncü Kollej Kadıköy’de Açıldı, 1955](#)). After Kadıköy Maarif College, Konya Maarif College was opened on 11 November 1955, ([Celal Yardımcı Şehrimiz Kolejini, 1955](#)) and Samsun Maarif College was opened in the 1955-1956 academic year. Because of the lengthy preparation process, this college was opened on 8 December 1955. The Diyarbakır Maarif College was opened on 29 October 1956. The first five colleges were opened during the ministry of Celal Yardımcı and Diyarbakır Maarif College was opened during the ministry of Ahmet Özel. In addition to bureaucrats, teachers, and students, a large crowd of people also attended the opening ceremonies held at the ministerial level. The opening of colleges with senior-level participation shows the meaning and importance that the Government and the Ministry of National Education attributed to the Maarif Colleges. It is understood that these schools were expected to be culture bearers since the colleges were considered as bridges in transferring Western civilization. In addition to these colleges, new Maarif Colleges were opened in Adana, Ankara, Bursa and Erzurum in the 1970s, thus increasing the number of the Maarif Colleges to 10.

5. Education in the Maarif Colleges

5.1. Teacher Availability in Maarif Colleges

The way for meeting the need for teachers who would work in the colleges had been a matter of discussion before they were opened. It was not possible to find a sufficient number of Turkish teachers who could speak a foreign language for Mathematics and Science courses which would be taught in foreign language in the colleges. Therefore, the Ministry tried to resolve this problem with the teachers it brought from foreign countries, especially the USA and England. However, there were also reservations expressed in the Parliament against the appointment of foreign teachers from abroad. Ankara Deputy Muhlis Ete was one of those who said that foreign teachers did not know Turkish students and it was not right for them to teach without any preliminary works. (TBMMZC, 1955a). It was a problem for the Ministry of National Education to find teachers who can carry out the education envisaged for colleges not only when colleges were opened but also in the following years (Millî Eğitim Plânı, 1960). The Ministry made various attempts to find and train Turkish instructors with the sufficient qualifications (Okullarda Lisan Tedrisati, 1955). Teachers were sent abroad for this purpose, but since this method did not produce the intended result, the Ministry continued to meet the need for the foreign language speaking teachers to a great extent with the instructors sourced from abroad.

The Ministry of National Education covered the foreign-teacher needs from three different sources, which were contracted teachers, Fulbright scholarship holders and Peace Corps Volunteers. We understand that the teachers of the Maarif College were mostly sourced as follows: the contracted teachers served in the first few years following the opening of the Maarif Colleges, additionally the teachers who came through the Fulbright scholarship program served starting in early 1960, and the teachers who came as the Peace Corps Volunteers served to start in mid-1960s. The contracted foreign teachers who were brought from abroad were selected, and contracts were signed by the embassies and/or consulates in London, Washington, and New York through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs upon the request of the Ministry of Education. These teachers were able to work in Turkey with the permission of the Council of Ministers. The foreign instructors who were granted work permits were welcomed by Kadıköy Maarif College officials in Istanbul and the officials provided assistance to the teachers to reach the colleges where they were employed. The foreign teachers who came through the Fulbright scholarship program were assigned jointly by the Fulbright Turkey Commission and the Ministry of National Education within the framework of the agreement between Turkey and the USA. One reason the Ministry used the Peace Corps Volunteers as the third source in the selection of foreign teachers was the tendency to reduce the financial burden of the contracted teachers. (Kadıköy Maarif College Archive (KMKA), 1965).

In order to speed up the adaptation process of the foreign teachers, the directorates of the colleges sent them introduction letters about the school where they will work. In addition, accelerated courses were given to these teachers to enable them to adapt to the Turkish education system faster. While the contracted teachers who came in the first few years after the colleges attended an orientation training at Galatasaray High School, the teachers who came through the Fulbright scholarship program took part in a two-week orientation training at the American Girls' College in Arnavutköy (KMKA, 1961). On the first day of the orientation training held from 31 August through 11 September 1965, the General Secretary of the Turkey-USA Cultural Exchange Commission gave an opening speech, the participants were first given Turkish language lessons, and then they toured the campuses of Robert College and American Girls' College. On the second day, following the Turkish language

course, the participants visited Hagia Sophia, Sultanahmet, Süleymaniye, and Chora Mosques. On the third day, after the Turkish language course, Kadıköy College Director Vehbi Güney and Mrs. Vida Dugan each gave presentations on the Turkish Education System and on travel in Turkey, respectively. In the subsequent days, in addition to the Turkish language courses, information was given about the purpose and mission of Fulbright. In addition, the participants were informed about the standing of Turkey in the economic, sports, cultural and health fields (Gündüz, 2017). The Peace Corps Volunteers, on the other hand, received three weeks of training at the Gazi Education Institute in Turkey, after about three months of training in the USA. The Peace Corps Volunteers were given a 120-hour Turkish language course in the USA and also provided with detailed information about the geographical structure, history, the population structure, the form of government, education, culture, economy, and religious characteristics of Turkey (Gündüz, 2018).

The Ministry of Education tried to ensure that foreign teachers on contracts and the Fulbright scholarship-holder foreign teachers who will work in Maarif Colleges have the desired qualifications. Despite this, the emergence of some issues related to teachers' performances and teaching qualifications suggests that the necessary attention was not shown in the selection of the teachers. This was emphasized in the Report of the Turkish National Education Commission published in 1960, saying that most of the foreign teachers were "not selected or could not be selected with precision, not all of them put their heart and soul in their work" (Türkiye Eğitim Milli..., 1960). The Ministry of Education did not have the authority in the selection of the Peace Corps Volunteers who were appointed at the colleges in the 1960s. The fact that most of the Peace Corps volunteers were young and inexperienced, and did not have any teaching formation, decreased the quality of foreign teachers in the colleges. Diyarbakır Maarif College Director İbrahim Emiroğlu said that most of the Peace Corps Volunteers were generally inadequate and irresponsible than the contracted foreign teachers (Emiroğlu, Anadolu..., 1995). The college administrations kept detailed reports about the foreign teachers. Based on these reports, we understand they were satisfied with the foreign teachers despite the problems experienced, contrary to the Turkish Education National Commission Report.

Table 1

The Number of Teachers Working in Maarif Colleges from 1955 to 1974.

College Name	Classes of the Teachers																						
	Junior high school												Senior High School										
	Principal		Trainee		Assistant		Paid		Substitute		Total		Principal		Trainee		Assistant		Paid		Total		
E	K	E	K	E	K	E	K	E	K	E	K	E	K	E	K	E	K	E	K	E	K	E	K
Ankara	7	20	-	1	-	-	3	-	-	10	21	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bursa	7	11	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	7	14	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Diyarbakır	96	46	2	1	1	-	18	18	-	8	131	65	27	16	3	1	4	-	6	10	79	47	
Eskişehir	92	65	-	3	1	-	29	18	4	1	138	97	31	22	-	2	-	-	5	4	84	57	
Izmir	159	47	13	10	5	2	20	16	10	2	217	85	38	24	6	1	3	1	11	4	149	86	
Kadıköy	83	123	-	1	3	-	18	14	4	4	135	177	34	45	-	-	-	-	14	7	102	139	
Konya	71	58	-	3	-	-	26	18	-	-	108	88	24	12	-	2	-	-	14	1	94	54	
Samsun	112	32	1	5	8	-	17	12	8	-	158	57	33	16	-	-	-	-	5	3	98	46	
TOTAL	627	402	16	24	18	2	131	99	26	15	904	604	187	135	9	6	7	1	55	29	606	429	

Source: Gündüz, 2017.

Turkish teachers also worked in the Maarif Colleges in addition to foreign teachers.

5.2. Student Affairs and Procedures in the Maarif Colleges

The Ministry of National Education, which established the Maarif Colleges in line with certain objectives, was attentive and careful about the selection of students to be admitted to these schools. Selection examinations were held to determine the limited number of students who would attend these schools. In order to be admitted to Maarif Colleges, students had to be primary school graduates, pass the exam, agree to pay the annual boarding fee, and submit the necessary documents to the school administration. The first years, the exams were made within each college ([Şehrimiz Kolejinin Kayıt, 1955](#)); then the central system was implemented. In the examinations, the students took tests on Math, Turkish and Natural Sciences. The Ministry of National Education sent the exam booklets by inspectors to the provinces where the exam would be held, and after the exams were held, the booklets were brought back to Ankara to be graded ([Şehrimiz Koleji İçin İmtihanlar, 1955](#)). After the list of the students who passed the exam was announced, the students completed the registration documents and procedures and enrolled in the colleges.

Initially, single-stage college entrance exams were held, but it was organized as two-stage exams in 1970s ([KMKA, 1972](#)). Since the Maarif Colleges were boarding schools, the Ministry of National Education admitted only boarding male students to these schools in the first few years. The Ministry continued this practice until 1964. Admission of non-boarding daytime students and female students to colleges began in 1964-1965 academic year ([Emiroğlu, Anadolu, 1995](#)). In addition, the students who met the necessary criteria could transfer to and admitted by the Maarif Colleges. While the students from secondary education institutions where the language of instruction is Turkish could not transfer, students of the same type of schools and students returning to Turkey after studying in a foreign country were accepted to the colleges by way of transfer. The Maarif College students, on the other hand, were able to transfer to Turkish-medium schools without the right to return to the college ([Tebliğler Dergisi, 1970](#)).

5.3. Textbooks and Course Curriculum in the Maarif Colleges

The Maarif Colleges provided education for seven years, including one year of preparation, three years of junior high school, and three years of senior high school. Students attended English and Turkish lessons in the preparatory class, and after they passed the preparation year, attended the regular classes as per the curriculum. During the opening process of the colleges, some of the problems were about the curriculum to be applied and the textbooks to be used in these schools, and how these textbooks would be procured. When the Maarif Colleges were opened, English textbooks had not used in public schools. This led to the problem of choosing and procuring the English textbooks to be used in the Maarif Colleges. The foreign schools in Turkey were contacted to solve this problem. In particular, the practices of Arnavutköy American College for Girls were used for the curriculum to be applied and the textbooks to be used. The curriculum and textbooks recommended by the commissions became official after the approval of the Board of Education.

The Ministry asked the teachers, who were the practitioners in the field, whether the textbooks used were of the desired quality ([KMKA, 1960](#)). The teachers who taught in the classes reported their opinions about the books and sent them to the Ministry of National Education ([KMKA, 1961](#)). On the other hand, not every college had the same opportunity in terms of procuring textbooks. Since the Kadıköy Maarif College was located in Istanbul, it was able to get the books easier than the other schools. From time to time, other colleges asked for assistance from the Kadıköy Maarif College and the Ministry of National Education for their book-related needs.

Table 2

1956-1957 Weekly Lessons and Hours of the Prep Class and junior high school section of the Maarif Colleges

Lessons	Preparation Class		Junior High I	Junior High II	Junior High III
	1 st Grade Period	2 nd and 3 rd Grade Periods			
Turkish	4 (1)	4 (1)	6 (1)	4	4
History	-	-	2	2	2
Geography	-	-	2	2	2
Civics	-	-	1	1	1
Mathematics	-	-	5	5	5
Science	-	-	4	6	6
English	25	25 (2)	8 (3)	8 (3)	8 (3)
Drawing	1	1	1	1	1
Music	1	1	1	1	1
Physical Education	1	1	1 (4)	1 (4)	1 (4)
Business Knowledge	-	-	1 (5)	1 (5)	1 (5)
Total	32	32	32	32	32

Source: KMKA, 1956.

Students studied 32 hours a week in the junior high school and 36-37 hours a week in the senior high school section of the colleges. Although senior high school education included the science and literature departments that students should choose from as of the second year, most of the students preferred the Science department.

Table 3

1960-1961 Weekly Lessons and Hours of the Senior High School section of the Maarif Colleges

Lessons	1 st Year	2 nd Year Science	2 nd Year Literature	3 rd Year Science	3 rd Year Literature
Turkish Language and Literature	5	4	5	3	6
Psychology	-	2	2	-	-
Philosophy-Logic-Sociology	-	-	-	3	6
History	2	2	2	2	3
Art History	-	-	2	-	2
Mathematics	5	6	4	8	3
Geography	2	2	2	1	2
Biology	3	2	2	1	-
Physics	3	3	2	4	2
Chemistry	3	3	2	3	1
English	9	8	9	8	9
Physical Education	1	1	1	1	1
Military	1	1	1	1	1
Music	-	-	-	-	-
Drawing	-	-	-	-	-
Additional Foreign Language	2	2	2	1	1
Total	36	36	36	36	37

Source: KMKA, 1960.

5.4. Socio-Economic Status of the Families of Students Studying at Maarif Colleges

We understand that children from middle-and upper-middle-class families attended the Maarif Colleges. The reviews made on the student registration records of the Samsun Maarif College and Izmir Bornova Maarif College confirm this fact (Gündüz, 2017). In addition, similar results were obtained in a survey conducted on this subject (Duyuran, 1974). According to the aforesaid survey, the economic status of the families was middle and above the middle class, and the parents of the students were generally civil servants, merchants, officers, economists, engineers, doctors, teachers and self-employed, and there were also lawyers, judges, associate professors, and school of higher education principles among the parents.

In addition to the students who paid tuition to study in the Maarif Colleges, children of low- and middle-income families were accepted with free boarding. Although the students who have achieved great success in the government free boarding exam could not apply to the colleges directly, they have been placed in the colleges by the Ministry of Education.

Table 4

Number of Boarding Students in the Maarif Colleges from 1955 to 1973.

Name of Maarif College	Boarding Students											
	Junior high school						Senior High School					
	Paid		Free		Total		Paid		Free		Total	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Ankara	96		9		105							
Bursa	14	23	31	36	45	59						
Diyarbakır	1730		410		2140		510		107		617	
Eskişehir	2179		649	5	2828	5	702		312		1014	
Istanbul Kadıköy	2349		165		2504		899		62		961	
Izmir Bornova	4253		694		4947		1696		330		2026	
Konya	1785		315		2101		675		79		754	
Samsun	2019		232		2251		816		66		882	
General Total	14425	23	2505	41	16921	64	5298		956		6254	

Source: Gündüz, 2017.

While 14.99% of the boarding students in the junior high school section of the Maarif Colleges stayed at the dormitories for free, 85.06% of boarders paid for it. Of the students who paid for the boarding, 0.16% of students were female and 99.84% were male. On the other hand, of the students who did not have to pay for the boarding, 1.61% of the students were female and 98.39% were male. While 15.29% of the boarding students in the high school section of the Maarif Colleges stayed at the dormitories for free, 84.71% of boarders paid for it. There were no female high school boarding students in Maarif Colleges.

The Minister of National Education Celal Yardımcı said during the opening of the colleges that, the colleges would accept students from all over Turkey, and 25-30% of the boarding quota would be allocated for the students coming from deprivation regions. (TBMMZC, 1955a). However, looking at the data above, we understand that the 25-30 % target set by the Minister was not achieved.

5.5. Social, Cultural and Sports Life in Maarif Colleges

In the Maarif Colleges, great importance is attached to social, cultural, and sports activities in order for students to have an enjoyable school life outside the classroom and to develop their foreign language skills. Such activities in the Maarif Colleges were varied. The colleges established in different cities and regions were influenced by the geographical and cultural characteristics of the region and the country. Foreign teachers from different countries enriched this variety.

Activities in various fields such as football, basketball, volleyball, athletics wrestling, table tennis, scouting, pipes, and drums were organized in the Maarif Colleges (1963 Samsun Koleji...). Ceremonies were held in commemoration of important days. Official holidays and religious holidays were celebrated. In addition, the “Farewell Tea Party” and graduation ceremonies were held with the participation of senior students and teachers (1963 Samsun Kolej; 1963-1964 Diyarbakır Maarif Koleji...). Poetry, quiz, and debate competitions were held in the Maarif Colleges, and theater and performances a foreign language teaching tool. The plays which were staged include William Shakespeare’s Macbeth, Jules Irving’s the Magic Butterfly, the Grimm Brothers’ Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs, Joseph Kesselring’s Arsenic and Old Lace, Fernando Arrabal’s Picnic on the Battlefield, Arnold Ridley’s The Ghost Train, Molière’s the Miser and Refik Erduran’s the Rope Game (Diyarbakır Maarif College Archive (DMKA)).

Student clubs were greatly emphasized in the Maarif Colleges and student clubs were established in many different fields and subjects. These clubs include Manners, Literature / Culture and Literature, Science / Engineering, Drama, Boy Scouts, Boys’ Choir, Recitation, Photography, Newspaper, Travel / Travel Review, Aviation, Sister Village, Red Crescent, Culture, Librarianship / Library, Cooperative, English Speaking, Mandolin, Mathematics, Music, Music Branch, Schoolstore, Orchestra, Game House, Ping pong, Radio, Art, Sentinel, Sports Hall / Sports, Social, Agriculture, Debate, Theater Play Branch, Broadcasting, Green Crescent, and Walking Club.

Besides active student clubs, a school magazine, a school newspaper, and a school yearbook was published in the Maarif Colleges. A newspaper named *Voice of IK* was published in Izmir Bornova Maarif College, the magazines *Devinim 69 (Motion 69)*, *Evrin (Evolution)* and *Mevlana: Special Issue* were published in Konya Maarif College and a school newspaper named *Kılıçer*” was published in Kadıköy Maarif College. In addition to magazines and newspapers, the school yearbooks were issued with different names such as *Connect*, *Göç (Immigration)*, *Paradise*, *Echo* and *Ideal* (BAL’ın 50 Yılı, 2004; Devinim 69, 1969.; Evrim, 1968; Mevlana Special Issue; Yankı Echo 59-60).

Another important aspect of the Maarif Colleges was the school anthems. Each college had its own school anthem. It is noteworthy that these school anthems, which played an important role in students' acquiring their school identity referred to concepts such as science, homeland, Turkish, advance, light, flag, ideal, country, Anatolia, knowledge, perseverance, faith, and morality.

5.6. Numerical Data Regarding the Students at the Maarif Colleges

From 1955 to 1973, there were a total of 6066 students in the preparatory classes of the Maarif Colleges, and 5391 students were successful while 675 students failed their classes. In the same period, there were 7740 students in the first year of junior high school and 7222 of them were successful, while 518 students were

unsuccessful. There were 5496 students in the second year of junior high school where the number of successful and unsuccessful students was 5093 and 403, respectively. There were 4581 students in the third year of junior high school and 4068 of these students were successful and 513 of them were unsuccessful. In short, there were 23779 students in total in the preparatory and junior high school section of the colleges in the said period and 21718 of these students were successful while 2061 were unsuccessful (Gündüz, 2017).

Education and teaching continued in the senior high school section of the Maarif Colleges, with 344 classes from 1957 to 1973. During this period, 4489 students and a total of 2867 students passed the class in June and September, respectively. And, 243 students were allowed to pass the year with one course failed. The number of students who failed the class was 1017. While 88.20% of the students were successful, 11.80% failed their classes. From 1956 to 1973, a total of 4896 students, including 4295 males and 601 females, graduated from the junior high school section of the Maarif Colleges and received their diplomas. The ratio of the male and female graduates was 87.72% and 12.28% respectively. In senior high school, 2489 students graduated, including 220 females and 2269 males. The ratio of the male and female graduates was 91.16 % and 8.84% respectively. A total of 287 students, 261 males and 26 females, graduated from the Literature branch, and a total of 2202 students, including 2008 males and 194 females, graduated from the Science branch. The total number of students who dropped out of school for various reasons from 1955 to 1974 in the Maarif Colleges is 1148 (Gündüz, 2017).

6. The Conversion of the Maarif Colleges into Anatolian High school

With the National Education Fundamental Law, No 1739, it has become compulsory for secondary education institutions to be named as high schools (Resmi Gazete, 1973). Accordingly, the directors of the Maarif Colleges gathered at the Ministry of National Education on 7 April 1974 and discussed the issue of the name change to be made. At the meeting, names such as Hittite, Anatolia and Seljuk were considered as replacements for Maarif Colleges. İbrahim Emiroğlu said that the word Hittite would have a chauvinistic connotation and that the word Seljuk would cause confusion with Selcuk University, and thus it was decided that the word Anatolia would be more meaningful for Maarif Colleges. Upon the adoption of the name Anatolian by the Principals Commission, the Ministry of National Education has changed the name of Maarif Colleges to Anatolian High School with the consent of the Minister dated 1 July 1975 and numbered 14903 (Emiroğlu, 1995).

Conclusion

The opening of Maarif Colleges coincides with the 1950s, during which close ties between the USA and Turkey were maintained in every field. The most important factor in the opening of the colleges was the need for staff, which were fluent in foreign languages. The government decided to open the Maarif Colleges to meet this need and train young people who could benefit from scientific studies. The fact that the colleges were foreign language medium schools has brought along the concerns that they would harm the national values. In order to eliminate the concerns during the establishment process, the Democrat Party emphasized that the colleges would be national schools and intended to develop our national values. The relevant discussions were mostly held in the Turkish Grand National Assembly, but there were no serious arguments regarding this in the public. The issues related to the colleges were announced in short news in the national press, and in more comprehensive news in the local media in the provinces where schools were opened.

The Ministry of Education spent substantial funds for the Maarif Colleges, especially for school buildings and foreign teachers. Although high wages were paid to the foreign teachers invited from abroad during the period when the schools were opened, they came to Turkey on the condition that they would work in certain cities. This also influenced the selection of the provinces where the Maarif Colleges were established. Allowing the foreign teachers to decide the cities where they would be employed suggests that the Ministry of National Education was not in full control of the opening process of the Maarif Colleges.

The opening of the Maarif Colleges has constituted a different dimension of the education policies of the Democrat Party. The Maarif Colleges were opened, and the groundwork was laid for the creation of an elite group while trying to increase the schooling rates. Since the Maarif Colleges were paid boarding schools, they could not be turned into schools where every successful student could attend. The annual boarding fee paid to these schools was equivalent to 18 Republic gold coins at that time. Adding other expenses, the parents who wanted to have their children enrolled in this colleges had to pay a large amount of money. Therefore, we can say that the Maarif Colleges are not a practice that sufficiently takes equal opportunity in education into account. As a matter of fact, the Minister of Education Celal Yardımcı, who was aware of this issue, said that 25-30% of students would be admitted to Maarif Colleges free of charge, but the Minister's goal was achieved at around 15%.

The number of Maarif Colleges, which were opened with the effect of developing relations with the USA, was not increased for a long time to preserve the quality. The number of Maarif Colleges, which was 6 until the 1970s, increased to 10 by 1975. It is observed that the students at the Maarif Colleges are generally successful. The main reason for the achievement seen in the schools with special status such as Maarif Colleges is not that these schools provide education in foreign languages, but that students are admitted to the colleges by exams, and generally, students with high academic levels are selected. Some of these recently opened colleges were turned into Anatolian high schools before anyone could even graduate. The number of Anatolian high schools, which were established on the legacy of Maarif Colleges, have gradually increased, reaching 2434 in the 2016 - 2017 academic year, and has become the most common school type of secondary education.

A good evaluation of the conditions that led to the emergence of the Maarif Colleges and full and accurate confirmation of the effect of the USA on the Turkish education system and policies will help to better understand the developments in secondary education today. In fact, the establishment of the Maarif Colleges also means the government acknowledges the failure to teach foreign languages in its own schools. Therefore, in order to solve the problem of foreign language education, which still maintains its importance today, solutions should be developed considering the conditions of Turkey. It is important for the future of Turkey that Turkish is the language of education at all levels and that it is taught well. On the other hand, it is of course a necessity to teach at least a foreign language that will meet the needs of the age. However, taking into account the pedagogical and scientific facts, it seems appropriate to make efforts to improve foreign language teaching in existing schools instead of foreign language education.

Ethic

This research was conducted in accordance with the ethical standards of the institutional and/or national research committee and with the 1964 Helsinki declaration and ethical standards.

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This article was written with the joint contributions of two authors.

Conflict of Interest

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