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Citizenship and Citizenship Education in France and Germany From the Perspectives of Borne and Kerschensteiner

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this study is to show comparatively how the processes related to civic education developed in France and Germany, the two central countries of Europe in the modern period, and how these processes affect each other relationally. In this direction, the conceptual and institutional developments of citizenship and the shaping of civic education in France and Germany, which were chosen considering that they could reflect the general story of Europe, were examined. Two core countries that are neighbours and rivals at the same time; France and Germany were chosen as examples due to these characteristics. At this point, the processes after the French Revolution of 1789, which naturally gave rise to the idea of nation and nationalism, were determinative for France, and for Germany, the processes experienced since the establishment of German unity, which was the turning point in the establishment of the nation state and carried out by Bismarck in 1871. In this direction, the formation of the nation and the state, which created the modern citizen, in the unique conditions of both countries has been evaluated. Developments in civic education in France were examined from the perspectives of Dominique Borne, and developments in Germany from the perspectives of Georg Kerschensteiner. In addition, traces of the developments examined in the aims of the French and German education systems were sought. As a result, with the help of these traces, the policies of France and Germany on the construction of the citizen through education and the intellectual backgrounds of these policies were tried to be compared and the reflections of these countries on the education systems were tried to be determined.

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Borne ve Kerschensteiner'in Bakış Açılılarıyla Fransa ve Almanya'da Yurttaşlık ve Yurttaşlık Eğitimi

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ÖZET

Bu çalışmanın amacı, modern dönemde Avrupa'nın iki merkez ülkesi Fransa ve Almanya'da, yurttaşlık eğitimi ile ilgili süreçlerin nasıl geliştiğini ve bu süreçlerin ilişkisel olarak birbirini nasıl etkilediğini mukayeseli bir şekilde ortaya koymaktır. Bu doğrultuda Avrupa'nın genel hikâyesini de yansıtabileceği düşünülerek seçilen Fransa ve Almanya'da yurttaşlığın kavramsal ve kurumsal gelişimleri ile yurttaşın eğitiminin şekillenmesi incelenmiştir. Komşu ve aynı zamanda rakip olan iki merkez ülke; Fransa ve Almanya bu özelliklerinden ötürü örnek olarak seçilmişlerdir. Bu noktada Fransa için pek tabii olarak ulus ve ulusçuluk fikrini güçlü bir şekilde doğuran 1789 Fransız İhtilâli'nden sonraki süreçler, Almanya için ise ulus devletin kurulmasında dönüm noktası olan ve Bismarck tarafından 1871'de gerçekleştirilen Alman birliğinin sağlanmasından itibaren yaşanan süreçler belirleyici olmuştur. Bu doğrultuda modern yurttaşı ortaya çıkaran ulusun ve devletin her iki ülkenin kendilerine özgü koşullarında oluşumu değerlendirilmiştir. Yurttaşın eğitimiyle ilgili Fransa'daki gelişmeler Dominique Borne'un, Almanya'daki gelişmeler ise Georg Kerschensteiner'in bakış açıları üzerinden incelenmiştir. Ayrıca incelenen gelişmelerin Fransız ve Alman eğitim sistemlerinin amaçlarında izleri aranmıştır. Sonuçta ise bu izler yardımıyla Fransa ve Almanya'nın, yurttaşın eğitim aracılığıyla inşasına dair politikaları ve bu politikaların düşünsel arka planları karşılaştırılmaya ve bu ülkelerin eğitim sistemlerine yansımaları tespit edilmeye çalışılmıştır.

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Introduction

Throughout history, the concept of citizen has been handled with different approaches. Finally, at the point where the understanding of citizenship has developed and reached, the issue of citizen education has naturally come to the fore. Today, the institution of citizenship and the education of the citizen have begun to be considered together. In essence, civic education has been among the aims of the education systems of the states, depending on the policies aiming at the good and harmonious citizen and the effort to realize this goal. In order to better understand this situation, it would be useful to consider the aims of the education systems of some European countries.

In this context, it is possible to see the emphasis on “responsible citizen” (p.24) in the objectives of the Portuguese education system, the emphasis on “citizenship” (p.48) in the aims of the Greek education system, and the emphasis on “citizenship awareness” (p.127) in the aims of the Italian education system (Erginer, 2007). Whether it is considered as a 'responsibility', a 'feeling' or a 'consciousness'; the citizen is at the focal point of the main objectives of the education systems of the countries.

Denmark is a remarkable country in terms of showing a different perspective and considering the student with higher values rather than a citizen emphasis. At this point of difference, the main purpose of compulsory education in the Danish education system is an important indicator: “To prepare students for rights and duties related to participation, taking responsibility, democracy and freedom. Education and training in schools should be based on freedom, equality and democracy” (Erginer, 2007:75). Apart from such exceptions, it is possible to multiply examples focusing on “citizen” in the aims of education systems. Thus, it can be seen how strong the tendency of the reflection of the idea of citizen education to the education systems of the countries has reached. In general, the identity of the citizen is already defined among the duties that must be fulfilled by the citizens (Heater, 2007). Good citizens are loyal to the state and are aware of their responsibilities to fulfil their duties. It is also possible that this approach will create problem areas in terms of the determinative authoritarianism of the state. This possibility requires suppressing the rising objections to this area, and this suppression situation produces many other problem areas. This brings up the education of the citizen in the context of citizen-state relations.

In order to have an idea about the concept of citizenship formed by the influence of the understanding of nationalism in Europe in the modern period and how civic education has been shaped with its development, and to see how these processes affect each other cyclically, sample countries from Europe have been examined. These examples are two neighboring and rival central countries, which are thought to contribute to a clearer idea of development in Europe; It has been studied through the processes in France and Germany. At this point, the processes after the French Revolution of 1789, which naturally gave birth to the idea of nation and nationalism strongly for France; For Germany, the processes experienced since the establishment of German unity in 1871 by Bismarck, which was the turning point in the establishment of the nation state, have been determinative. In this direction, the formation of

the nation and nation-state, which brought about the modern citizen, was evaluated in the unique conditions of both countries. The two European countries mentioned, France and Germany, the two founding and largest countries of the European Union, are also two important neighboring states that have been in competition with each other that resulted in great wars in the historical process. At the same time, these two states have gifted certain intellectual schools to modern Europe. Of course, the different aspects they have are also revealed when considering people, individuals and citizens.

In this study, it is aimed to examine how the intellectual backgrounds that build the citizen, which is discussed with the reasons listed, and the thought of citizen education and its reflection in practice develop in France and Germany and compare these processes. In addition, it has been tried to show how the differences between the two countries mentioned in the study, while defining the citizen, affect the educational studies and naturally the differences that arise at the end of the education.

Developments in civic education in France were mostly examined through the evaluations of Dominique Borne, and developments in Germany were examined through Georg Kerschensteiner's thoughts.

Methodology

This study has been prepared according to the general review model, which is a documentary review (document analysis) method (Çepni, 2007; Karasar, 2006). General scanning is also referred to as literature review. Documentary scanning (document review or analysis) can be used as a research method alone or in combination with other methods (Yıldırım ve Şimşek, 2005). Karasar (2006:77); defines the documentary review model as “a research approach that aims to describe a past or present situation as it is”. In the documentary review model; The event, individual or object that is the subject of the research is tried to be defined in its own conditions and as it is. The documentary survey researcher can do this by interpreting the data obtained by referring to various previously kept records. This includes finding, reading, taking notes and evaluating resources. In this context, the necessary data for the research, were collected through the existing records and documents by examining; from written sources such as books, journals, and articles with the general review/analysis technique, which is a type of documentary review/analysis technique that includes finding sources, reading, note-taking and evaluation (Karasar, 2006:183-184).

Findings

Idea of Citizenship and Its Historical Development

The Concept of Citizenship

The word "yurttaş" (citizen) is etymologically derived from the word "yurt" (cite) and means living in the same homeland. In Turkish, the word citizen is used in accordance with its

modern meaning. It continues to have the same content in the historical process in the European languages that form its origin as a concept, for example in English. Namely, the word 'citizen' in English, basically comes from the word 'city'. If we consider the past of this word, it is seen that the origin of the word city is met with the word 'civitas', which means "unity formed by citizens"(Oğuz, 2007) . When we look at the development of the same word in French, Bouineau (1998) makes the following statements:

Alain Ray reminds us that the word derives from 'cite' and is spelled initially as 'citeain' and then as 'citoien'. Until the 17th century, 'citoyen' was synonymous with 'citadin', that is, 'residing in a city'. It was during this period that it gained a more precise meaning as “member of a political community organized politically according to ancient models of citizenship and the Roman concepts of 'civis', 'civitas’”. Revisited by Rousseau and later by the French republic, the word became specific in the institutional vocabulary and gave rise to the “citoyenneté” derivative in 1783 (p. 109).

While Bouineau (1998) says that it is necessary to wait for the end of the modern period to see the emergence of the word 'citizen' as loaded with meaning, he expresses its first meaning in history as follows:

What emerges from a glance at history is that, for us today, 'citizen' is a member of a city in the political sense of the term. This then indicates that the concept could not have existed before the emergence of the site; indeed, no synonym for the word is found in ancient Egypt. This reveals that the word has difficulty in adopting itself, except for site regimes (p. 109).

With these definitions, citizenship has begun to express the relations between the state and the individual in the context of rights and responsibilities. Citizenship is determined by the nationality of the parents, the country in which they were born, and whether they meet the conditions required by law, and the identity that expresses which state or nationality they belong to (Demir and Acar, 2005). Citizenship basically defines its connection and relationship with the idea of the state, not with other individuals or groups. Citizen identity is included in the rights granted by the state, the duties performed by the citizens who are in equal status and autonomous individuals. Good citizen, loyal to the state, is aware of one's responsibility to fulfill one's duties. This means having the necessary skills for civic participation (Heater, 2007).

The Historical Course of Citizenship Idea

From time to time in history, ideas about citizenship have been put forward and discussed. Ideas about citizenship were expressed in ancient Greece, Rome, medieval Europe, and Renaissance cities. Although modern citizenship has been influenced by such antecedent ideas that emerged in history, it also has different aspects. Firstly, official citizenship almost everywhere means membership of the nation-state. Secondly, citizenship, which is an existence that consists of having the integrity of civil, political and especially social rights together with the aforementioned belonging, gains an almost ontological meaning and importance for human beings.

In both cases, a developmental process occurred during the 20th century, and especially since the Second World War, in which new questions were raised. Migration to Western Europe and America after the war led to a new citizenship policy, and in the following period, the issue of official citizenship gained a more central importance. At the same time, there has been an increase in the status of "dual citizenship", where immigrants continue to protect their citizenship rights in their own countries, despite efforts to reduce it through international efforts. Moreover, there is now a European citizenship among the citizens of the countries within the European Union (Bottomore, 2008). For today, the citizen, who is aware of everything, whose every step he takes can be followed, has transferred all his freedom rights to the system with a voluntary submission and has become nothing but stored data. There seems to be no obstacle in front of adding this situation as the last line to Heater's table, as a status of loyalty manifested in the form of statistical data, of the citizen who was at the peak of slavery.

Concerning the historical development of citizenship, Heater (2007) gives models of the history of citizenship in his table titled Distinctions between sociopolitical identities (Table 1), and here he presents the historical development of citizenship in an understandable way in terms of conceptual relations. It creates the context through commitment to a person, a land and an abstract concept:

Table 1. *Distinctions Between Sociopolitical Identities*

System	Land	Person	Main theme
Feudal	The basis of the relationship	Reciprocal ties	
Monarchical		Loyalty	
Tyrannical		Focus of the system	Religion/ideology
Nation	The land of the nation		Idealization
Citizenship			States/rights, duties

In Marshall's work, which was published in 1950 and became a classic, in which the gradual spread of civil, political and social rights across a nation is shown, developments in the position of citizenship expressing presence are analyzed. After 1945, major changes took place in Western Europe with the development of social rights and thus the emergence of the welfare state. These changes have resulted in the adoption of more cooperative and egalitarian principles and policies for the citizen. Thanks to these policies, the inequality-producing tendencies of the capitalist economy could be resisted up to a certain point. By contrast, the situation in Eastern Europe was different from that in the West. In this part of Europe, while communist regimes were trying to establish some social rights, they were seriously limiting rights such as civil and political rights. Opposition movements, which strongly emphasized the idea of citizenship as basic civil and political rights in these countries, and accordingly the

need for non-governmental organizations independent of the state, also led to the collapse of these regimes.

On the other hand, the relationship between the rights and duties of citizens raises another general problem. The ideas of citizenship that emerged with the Renaissance in Europe were largely based on the Roman citizenship model. The distinctive features of Roman citizenship were self-discipline, patriotism and public interest. These ideas have been important in the further development of citizenship in the last century, that is, in the twentieth century. "Patriotism" may have transmuted beyond the common sense of a national community, but also as greater participation of the people in the affairs of government in the sense of wider regional associations. Such participation, however, has been brought to the agenda to promote a substantial increase in social rights in order to enjoy an adequate level of general economic well-being, leisure and education (Bottomore, 2008).

As a result of these developments, new approaches to citizenship have emerged today and new approaches have been developed in this regard. Apart from the developments just listed, this situation is also a result of the unpredictable rapid development of science and technology and, accordingly, the change of society and the whole world. These approaches are examined under the headings of global citizenship, ecological citizenship, new republican citizenship, multicultural citizenship, European citizenship and radical democratic citizenship (Esendemir, 2006).

Reasons such as wars, economic problems, natural disasters etc. worldwide that led to migration flows which could not be stopped due to various reasons, reached a point where any nation-state could not cope with the classical definition of citizenship, which gave birth to the global citizenship approach. According to this approach, nation states in the global age have to determine the rights of differences from universal values for their development stability. Since national citizenship has not been successful at this point, global citizenship emerges with new developments. This shows that citizenship goes beyond the borders of the nation-state together with global citizenship.

In the global age we live in, nature is handled with great sensitivity in order to protect all living things and the environment against the threats faced by ecological problems. Along with this sensitivity, an interest in living things other than humans arose. Despite this situation, Van Steenbergen put forward the idea of ecological citizenship, which shows that citizenship should no longer remain in the classical dimension.

New republican citizenship, which is the development of the classical republican understanding inspired by communitarianism, has led to the perception that it identifies citizenship with a certain community, as it puts society in the forefront of the individual. However, this does not entitle him to equate it with classical republican citizenship, which is based only on a particular society. At this point, the formula developed to solve the problems faced by the communitarian and classical republican understanding is the new republican citizenship formula.

One of these approaches is multicultural citizenship, formulated by Kymlicka, which has come to the fore with globalization and is based on national minority rights. It can be said that it aims to keep different minority groups together under the same roof and with the same

rights. According to Kymlicka, minorities need to be free so that they can keep their culture alive.

The basis of the traditional understanding of citizenship is the opposition between those who are for us and those who are against us (friend/enemy). The radical democratic citizenship that removes this opposition envisages mutual negotiation by keeping the parties themselves. Another important point is this: Radical democratic citizenship recognizes differences but does not consider them in opposition.

European citizenship also shows how classical citizenship has changed both geographically/nationally and in terms of status (Esendemir, 2006).

European citizenship, as mentioned before, is one of the last points that Western Europe has reached in terms of citizenship. It can be said that the development of this citizenship mode, which emerged as a result of the European Economic Community's evolution into a political union, should be considered as a natural situation. In the early days of the EU, which emerged as an economic enterprise, it should be accepted as a very normal situation that individuals were perceived as workers rather than citizens. The instructions of the European Commission on this subject, the establishment of a case-law court by the European Court of Justice and the inclusion of the Social Chapter annex in the Maastricht Treaty, created a solid category of rights that can be considered as the social and economic rights of the citizens of the European Union. In addition, the eighth article of the Maastricht Treaty, which was put into effect in 1993, defined the political rights that would be valid for the citizens of the European Union (Heater, 2007).

Article eight of the Maastricht Treaty:

Article 8

1- Union citizenship has been established. Anyone who is a citizen of a member state is a citizen of the union.

2- Citizens of the Union benefits the rights envisaged by this treaty and are subject to obligations (Doğan, 2007, p. 380). The rights of European Union Citizenship formed according to this article are shown in Table 2.

Table 2. European Union Citizenship Rights (Heater, 2007, p.157)

Article	General Rights	Article	Election Rights
8a1	Every Union citizen has the right of free movement and residence within the territory of the Member States.	8b1	Every Union citizen residing in a Member State of which he is not a national has the right to vote and to stand for election in the Member State in which he resides.

8c	Every Union citizen is entitled to protection by the diplomatic or consular authorities of any Member State in the territory of a third country where the Member State of which he is a national is not represented.	8b2	Every Union citizen residing in a Member State of which he is not a citizen has the right to vote and stand as a candidate in elections to the European Parliament in the Member State in which he resides.
8d	Every Union citizen has the right to petition the Parliament. Any Union citizen can apply to the Ombudsman.		

Historical Development of Citizenship Education in France in the Light of Dominique Borne's Evaluations

The Formation of the Relationship between School and the Concept of Citizenship in France

In France, which experienced one of the most important developments in the history of the world, the Revolution in 1789, the bond between school and citizenship began to form during the Third Republic period. 'School' has historically been an element of the Republic in unity with republican citizenship (Borne 1998). It is related to their function of raising "virtuous and useful people, righteous souls, pure hearts, duty-loving citizens", which was inevitable for education and institutions where education was carried out before the 1789 Revolution (Ponteil and Bilhan, 2019:280). The schooling efforts fostered by this thought began in the 17th century. In 1833, Guizot established a primary school in each parish and developed the school to reach the general population of the country. Republicans made school compulsory and decided that it should be secular. In fact, the government of the Revolution even made a commitment in this regard; a free and secular education that anyone can attend (Türkoğlu, 2019b) . The political aim here is to win the peasants, who make up the majority of the population, to the republic as French citizens. Despite these efforts, research in France in the early 20th century has shown that most rural residents still do not identify as French (Ross, 2007). When we look briefly at what the 'republics' have gained in France, it will be seen that the first Republic gave land, the second the right to vote, and the third gave schools. The republicans of the 1880s had the idea of emancipation rooted in 1789. With the idea of Enlightenment, the republicans considered knowing as the condition of freedom. Thus, the priests, who were thought to restrict the freedom of the people, brought up the necessity of saving the people from those who hold local authority, such as large landowners (Borne, 1998). However, it should be noted that this approach also creates the privilege of those who know.

Borne (1998) states that the Republic, which was loaded with strong values and has centered secularism, has made an effort to create the aforementioned values in the physical structure of the villages. France, which has much more administrative units than Italy and Germany, has

the distinction of being one of the European countries with the highest number of smallest administrative units (approximately 36 000). The center of these units, namely the villages, was arguably the church, which was mostly surrounded by cemeteries. The Republicans consciously and systematically built the town hall in the center, which has at least two floors, the second floor has a balcony for the flag, which is indispensable for the nation-state, and for giving republican speeches, the girls' school on one side and the boys' school on the other. They also created a strong symbol by placing the boys' school. Thus, the very famous 'Municipality-School' emerged and the republic became embodied in the village. In France, cemeteries are also removed from the churches during this period. Thus, a serious competitor emerges against the environment created by the church. These developments can also be considered as important steps of the French administration and thus the secular structure of the education system.

In a republic where citizenship is individualistic, the essential thing is to gather individuals together. In this context, the republicans desire to give the peasants a new culture. This is because republicans do not classify the individual and the citizen into ontologically different fields (Kaya, 2012). It is a generally accepted situation that the modern individual and the modern citizen are already socially and legally a whole, and that the individual is bound to citizenship (Leca, 1998). The Declaration of the Rights of Human and Citizen, which does not confuse human and citizen, guarantees the rights of the individual, that is, human rights. A person can fulfill the requirements of his religion and speak the language he wants in the family environment. On the other hand, the language of the republic is French. So at school, French is spoken, which claims to be the language of all citizens. This situation is remarkable in terms of showing the nationality of education and the efforts of the Republic to gather the different elements that make up the nation under one language (Borne, 1998). But at the same time, this is a situation that feeds secularism and puts the French, and therefore the French nation, under the protection of secularism. Because the Church's use of Latin even when explaining a French text, that is, placing Latin in the center and ignoring French, has created such a sensitivity about language. In fact, this sensitivity to language is not a new situation for France, because, from the time of I. François, France has started to work on creating a unity through language (Ponteil and Bilhan, 2019). The French Academy, founded by Richelieu, also fed this purpose in the historical process. The French language played a major role in shaping the French nation, as it was able to melt local elements with different traditions and cultures in a single pot. France did not directly use assimilation against local languages, but followed a path that facilitated assimilation with a softer-looking indirect method, but with a determined and effective import policy (Özdemir, Bakan, 2016).

The school that emerged at the end of this process in France undertakes a dual task. The first is that the several centuries of struggle of the urban bourgeois for administrative freedoms and the serf for emancipation are shared with the history that connects them to the great emancipation in 1789, and this history is given to the citizens. The second is to enable people to have the ability and self-confidence to make free judgments. According to the understanding formed by the influence of enlightenment and later positivism, knowing liberates people. In this direction, people should be saved from the forces of the past with the

power of intelligence. Thus, the school succeeded in being at the center of citizenship, in short, the school became the environment that created the enlightened person (Borne, 1998). Ultimately, the mass public education systems that emerged in France helped to create a territorial unity that included a wider political culture (Özdemir, Bakan, 2016).

It is possible to say that the most important development in this process was the central role of the state in the French education system and its most distinctive structural feature being secular (Orkun et al. 2019). In today's France, the principle of "promoting secularism and rejecting all forms of violence and discrimination" has been determined as the first qualification in the reforms made to include all teachers and include the qualifications required for civic education, which shows the stability of this structural feature for more than two centuries (Europe Commission/EACEA/ Eurydice, 2017: 24).

Citizens' Congregation

In France, which was defeated by the Germans in 1870, while the citizen was built through the school, the important thing was to protect the Republic against internal (monarchist) and external enemies. For this purpose, in the first periods when school was made compulsory, peasant children were trained with wooden rifles. At that time, the secular republic was pursuing a militant path to prove itself in its citizenship approach (Borne, 1998). Borne (1998) expresses the current situation at this point as follows:

What children are taught nowadays is that the republic is unique, cannot be banned, sovereign and indivisible. These terms themselves belong to the realm of holiness. Unforgivable, sovereign, indivisible; they point to an almost religious vocabulary. The ideal citizen, then, is someone who, thanks to school, has absolute independence in judgment. It can be said that this blessing is meaningful if it leads to equality, especially in education (p.160). Ensuring equality in education should also be seen as a condition for the republic to be a community of citizens. However, equality in education should not be considered in the sense that everyone goes to the same schools, because the success of each student will be shaped according to their own abilities. But equality in education is a fundamental issue (Borne, 1998).

Two key points are strongly emphasized here for the republic to be a 'community of citizens'. The first is that the ideal citizen targeted is an independent individual in the judgment that emerges thanks to the school. The second is the issue of ensuring equality in the field of education as a fundamental step. This issue is among the aims of compulsory education in France today:

Being fair: The school has to eliminate inequalities. It is very important for every individual to benefit from educational opportunities equally (Erginer, 2007:165).

However, France, on the other hand, ignores the diversity in society in the abstract and relies on the principle of co-multiplicity in this respect. In other words, France emphasizes the similarities, not the differences. Therefore, in the French model, citizenship is treated as an element that unites the nation as a political community. Thus, cultural structures with

differences are transformed into a political community in the name of a common ideal. While doing this, the common principle is mind and nature (Kaya, 2012).

This implicit imposition, which includes enlightenment sensitivity reflected in the way citizenship is handled, can be considered excessive. The reasons for the formation of such a conservatism, the nation in France; It is possible to find it in the construction of the French elite together with the state and in the shadow of the state.

Developments after the 1950s: The Necessity of Questioning Practices

In the 50s, the rural population in France was then almost on the verge of extinction. When the regions that are more or less connected to cities are included in the calculation, the rural population is still less than 15% of the country's population. This population decrease is reflected in issues such as local elections and the survival of the school. These and similar changes weaken the citizen and citizenship as it is in daily life. Moreover, the population consists mostly of urban residents, and the urban population consists of wage earners to a large extent. This rate exceeds 80%. This refers to those who do not own the authority of land, property, a business, a stall, or a shop. It can be said that independent middle-class citizens are a thing of the past. In this context, the 50s are the period when discussions were made to directly transfer the forms of civic education that were common in the Third Republic period, and practices were questioned, even if not principles (Borne, 1998).

Towards the Present: Consent to the Law, Enlightened Judgment and Taking Responsibility

According to Borne (1998), on the basis of civic education today; there are three factors. First, consent to the law must take place, second, the acquisition of enlightened judgment and third taking responsibility.

It is primarily a matter of consent to the law. At this point, the state has important responsibilities. The state must guarantee the citizen's freedom of expression. If the citizen is not safe in this sense, if he cannot fulfill the requirements of his religion and cannot express his thoughts, then the person turns to different formations in which he will feel safe. These formations are groups such as the mafia and the community that have created their own laws, which is an indication that the state is inadequate and shares its authority. At this point, consenting to the law primarily emerges as one of the conditions of human freedom, of the freedom of the individual. This requires that civic education be based on humanistic values and these values are taught in school. Second, school should teach people to judge based on reason. A citizen, who can distinguish between personal opinion and value, takes his place as a value in the community of citizens and becomes a contributing citizen. The third orientation should be the ability to take responsibility. Because the issue is not only to bring the citizens to a point where they can fulfill their rights and duties with the declaration of rights, but also to ensure that the education of the citizen leads him to action, that is, to use his rights correctly. At this point, every student whether in primary or secondary school; can take

responsibility and take a place of his own in society as an individual. Thus, good citizens are also raised. It is possible to see the response of Borne's thoughts among the aims of the French education system:

Raising good citizens: The school not only has to teach human rights, but also how to use these rights. One of the most important aims of education is to provide civic knowledge and to raise good citizens by making this knowledge usable (Erginer, 2007:165).

This shows that, as in many modern countries, the focus of the French education system is not the aim of raising good people, but the aim of raising good citizens. At this point, it should be emphasized that what the definition of a good citizen is and that it may differ from state to state are separate and important topics of discussion.

History and Geography Subjects in Civic Education

Borne (1998) says that the fields of history and geography have their own specific roles in civic education. While the aims of history and geography teaching are directly related to citizenship on the one hand, they are related to culture on the other. Therefore, it would be appropriate to consider these courses as tools that feed the purpose and ground of "gaining social and cultural values", which has a dominant place among the aims of secondary education in the French education system (Orkun et al. 2019). According to Sakak (1918), it is possible to see the explanation of this understanding in the works of I. Carré and R. Liquier called "History Lessons in Schools in France". Carré and R. Liquier (1918) mention that learning history is important in terms of forming the mental structure and that it will strengthen the thought. The power of the relation of the knowledge of geography, which can be defined as the brother of the history field, with the national policies, is important in the French education system (Karakas, 2020). Thus, it would not be wrong to state that the design and construction of the French citizen is tried to be realized through the French culture via history and geography lessons at school in France.

The Common Values of History Subject and National Identity

According to Borne (1998), progress was the ultimate aim of History teaching in France until recently. The direction of history, which is the bearer of certain values, was directed towards the happiness that progress would bring. However, the values belonging to France were presented universally, citizenship was tried to be announced to the whole world through different missionary means.

It can be said that France, which is no longer a superpower, has moved away from such goals. However, the effort to create a common history and a common historical awareness still continues. Since history is not an objective data, what is important and difficult is what memory will be formed in the minds of students. Since there is no time to say everything, programs can be created according to the needs of the period. This is because there are moments when the society of one period needs a history and the society of another period needs another history. According to this idea, the problems in the Balkans before 1914 began

to be taught in history lessons in order to be able to comprehend what happened in the Balkans in the 1990s. History course, which has no fixed data, should reflect the needs and expectations of the society into the programs without prejudice to the independence of the school (Borne, 1998). In this context, Borne (1998) explains the history lesson-citizen relationship from the point of view of creating a national identity meticulously. According to him, the service of history in the formation of a national identity is great. However, while this identity is being created with the help of history, it is necessary not to be dragged into nationalism. In this sense, the nation is a heritage and students should adopt this heritage without any discrimination. That is, a person should know who one is, where one is, and what values one shares with others. Borne (1998) exemplifies this as follows:

I think we should tell children who became French recently, for example of Algerian or Moroccan descent, that now that they are French, Notre-Dame de Paris belongs to them (...) what students should embrace is a shared asset. Then can we teach them to distinguish between their specific identity and their citizenship (p.164-165).

Geography Subject and French Citizenship in the European Union Mandatory

Borne (1998) presents the positioning of France in relation to Europe as the problem of today's France and asks the following questions: "Should the school show a will about Europe?", "Should it create a European citizenship?" He also states that it is difficult to answer these questions and that the developments in this area are progressing at a very slow pace.

In France, the high school geography curriculum has been based on France since 1902. So it's France. But today (1997) the programs have undergone a name change, although they center on France; Like "France's position in Europe and in the world". France is now considered in three planes, namely the French plateau, the European plateau, and the world plateau, Borne (1998) meets this change as follows:

In my opinion, we should not dissolve national citizenship into a European whole. I think this is neither possible nor desirable today. Therefore, it is necessary to design these problems. The contribution of geography to civic knowledge at different levels also emerges here. Being a citizen of my school does not prevent me from being a citizen of my municipality, a citizen of my province, a citizen of the French nation, a citizen of Europe or even of the world. This is how civic responsibility is learned (p. 165).

According to him, a responsible citizen can exist on different planes. In a world that has become more interdependent, the future will be built on the idea of keeping these planes together. However, there are some points to consider at this point:

It is not a question of diluting the nation, and therefore of citizenship, by adding it to an indefinite whole, but rather that nations, which are communities formed by citizens, can establish bonds with other communities formed by other citizens in independence and solidarity (Borne, 1998:166).

Here, a different perception of European citizenship stands out. It is mentioned about a citizenship that should not be diluted by joining an indefinite whole, but that can establish bonds in solidarity with other citizens' communities. The reason for this cautious approach may be that the European Union (EU) tries to develop a European consciousness that includes all the members of the community and tries to create a new social identity in order to form a European synthesis that does not take into account local and national differences over time (Topsakal, Hesapçioğlu, 2001). In addition, this idea is important in terms of showing an implicit conservative and reactionary attitude towards situations that will weaken the French national consciousness.

As an indication that the control effort created by this implicit conservatism continues increasingly, France is the country where the most citizenship education is given in Europe today; 30 hours at primary education level and 28 hours at secondary education level can be shown (Europe Commission/EACEA/Eurydice, 2012).

Historical Development of Civic Education in Germany and Georg Kerschensteiner

At the beginning of the 19th century, the idea of nationalism began to develop among the Germans, a nation that was divided by the Congress of Vienna (1815), from the same date. Towards the end of the 19th century, German unity was just established in 1871, and its founder, Bismarck, tried to form the Pan Germanic bloc against the threat posed by the Russia-France alliance (Uçarol, 1985). This idea of Germanic unity will also manifest as a reflection of racial sensitivity in the following process (Armaoğlu, 1989). In the German understanding, there is a priority in favor of the state in the state-nation relationship. In other words, there is the state first, and then the nation is formed. Therefore, in this understanding, the state is at the center. In addition, the idea of bringing people of the same language, that is, people of the same race, under the flag of the state can be seen as a manifestation of German racial sensitivity (Kaya, 2012).

The political developments mentioned in this century made Germany feel obliged to devote more time to political and military problems than to issues such as education. However, on the other hand, with the idea of nation that consolidated after the formation of the union, it was possible to put forward thoughts about the practice of education.

The Necessity of Civic Education According to Kerschensteiner

Under these conditions, Kerschensteiner (1972) accepts citizenship education as a necessity of protecting and developing the state. He explains his thinking with the approach that it is even more important for the citizen to protect his state, by analogy with the motive of a family head to protect his home. Emphasizing the importance of the principle of 'starting from the child' while dealing with his citizen and his education, Kerschensteiner reaches 'state citizenship education' through the business school approach, which he proposes to do together with mind and hand training. According to him, the main task of schools is to “bring state-affiliated

mentalities". Thus, civic education also takes place as a great service to the state (Kerschensteiner, 1972).

Towards the 19th Century

Kerschensteiner (1972) says that at the beginning of the 19th century, almost all great men were engaged in the education of the citizen. "In those days, it was as if a strong faith, which has never been seen before, surrounded and filled the great minds from all sides," he says.

In Germany, Şiller was writing her brilliant letters on aesthetic discipline, Fihte was addressing the German nation, which amazes everyone and a baron named Von Stein and Wilihelmhumbolt were working for the civic discipline of the people by their words and deeds. In the same spirit and mentality, we find Pestalozzi, Herbart, Shlayermaher in action. Of course, the words of these people could not have passed unheard and without leaving a trace (p.27).

According to Kerschensteiner (1992), who emphasized national sentiments with these examples, the first major attempts at a general public education were made by some of the German governments in the early 19th century. This idea indicates that the idea of education of the citizen creates a determination for the existence and survival of the state. From this point of view, it should be said that these efforts at the point of citizen education are also noteworthy.

The Development of Civic Education Thought in Germany in the 19th Century

However, Kerschensteiner states that this interest did not turn into excitement for a long time. He identifies the important reasons for this as follows; the fact that education does not become a real need, and even small and large resistances are shown to this effort of the government, both for personal benefit and economic concerns. Thus, he expresses that there is a coldness and indifference on the part of the government. On the other hand, he finds that the government makes primary education compulsory and establishes a teacher's school. He also states that it is the right decision to replace night guards, retired soldiers and sergeants with teachers from these schools.

However, from the middle of the 19th century, this issue was re-emerging with the constructive regulation of direct teaching and education, no longer with the regulatory influence of the views of the old economists and philosophers. After the regulation, education and training became a general slogan everywhere. According to Kerschensteiner (1972), the point brought about by this was an exaggeration; as much learning and knowledge as possible. The curricula of primary and secondary schools were expanded, the course subjects were multiplied to an extreme extent, the learning life was prolonged, and the number of course hours increased. This is the point at which Kerschensteiner opposes this understanding, which he defines as the 'book school'. In other words, the school takes too much of the student's time. It proposes the 'business school' alternative to this traditional school. According to him, it is now time for the public education associations and popular folk books

to be born. In addition, he complains about the lack of ideas about the great education policy and adds:

(...) our most famous politician, Otto Von Bismark, was preoccupied with matters other than civic discipline. It was at the same time that the people, these older children, who had not yet been educated, had been granted all the freedoms and rights that a democratic liberalism deemed necessary: freedom of public election, freedom of marriage, freedom of business and art... it would lead us to the good use and exploitation of profits (Kerschensteiner, 1972:27). In the absence of the above-mentioned moves it can be said that due to the weakness of the German bourgeoisie, the inability to express its unique wishes, to create its demands, and thus to create the pressure it will create on the state, is effective (Özdemir, Bakan 2016).

Initiatives in the Second Half of the 19th Century

In this period, although the rate is low in Germany, it is seen that there is an awakening for educational activities everywhere. But, Kerschensteiner (1972) says, "it cannot be claimed that there is a clear and great purpose in these upbringing movements and undertakings, and that they are on a planned level" (p. 27-28), and he adds that this consciousness and plan is neither in the associations nor in the government. He also emphasizes that the Germanic Austrian opening art schools on the basis of the 1869 school law is an exceptional exception. Kerschensteiner (1972) evaluates the last thirty years of Germany in his book titled "The Concept and Practice of Citizenship Education", which he wrote in 1912 regarding the education of the citizen. These initiatives, which were undertaken in large numbers and with self-sacrifice, and which were classified into 6 groups by the state, township, local enterprises, and public education organization in Germany in the last 30 years, can be summarized as follows:

1. Organization of formal education,
2. Non-formal education organization,
3. Arts and entertainment organizations,
4. Organizations for physical education and health,
5. Social aid organizations,
6. National holidays and ceremonies (Kerschensteiner, 1972:28).

Kerschensteiner (1972) states that most of the organizations implemented here, with the exception of the old physical education associations established for the purpose of educating citizens, were born from the spirit and mentality that emerged in the second half of the 19th century.

In the 1870s and 1880s, the idea that primary school education alone would not be sufficient for the education life that was also needed by the governments began to develop. During this period, the first broad laws and instructions on general supply schools were enacted by governments to strengthen and supplement public school education. Accordingly, states such as Saxony, Baden, and Hescen have made these schools compulsory attendance, as in primary education. On the other hand, the states of Prussia and Bavaria left the decision on this issue, namely whether school attendance should be optional or compulsory, to the cities. By the early 1870s, labor education associations, public education associations, and public libraries and reading rooms had begun to develop widely.

In the same period, organizations made with the understanding of the economic and artistic values of fine arts museums, which were limited until then, were developing. Again, as a result of the proper and systematic work of the central committee of the commission, which was formed in 1880 for the protection and development of folk dances, it is seen that this field was expanded and strengthened with the establishment of folk-dance and gymnastics squares. Again in this period, the first apprentice and journeyman dormitories were established. The health protection organization has gained a suitable working environment, anti-alcohol societies and public health unions have been established. In 1890, higher public school associations were formed according to the British model. For the first time, meeting and improving the quality of entertainment and social life needs - in public chat nights - was seen as one of the most important services of civic education. In this context, the first qualified public concert was held in Vienna in 1892, and then 24 concerts consisting of classical pieces were given in 1895. This was followed by Munich, Goata, Frankfurt and other places (Kerschensteiner, 1972).

Contributions and Deficiencies of Studies Conducted within the Scope of Citizenship Education in Germany

According to Kerschensteiner (1972), the biggest reason for not being able to reach the desired point despite the efforts made with great sacrifices and increasing the idea of society in the last thirty years of the mentioned period is also the most important shortcoming of these studies: A conscious organization that takes citizenship education into account.

Kerschensteiner (1972) mentions two interests that he sees at the center of these works, which, with very few exceptions, are in the public interest. According to him, these two interests are; self-sufficient and only remaining in this field, intellectual and artistic education and economic interest. This should be considered natural to be in a period when scientific development is increasing, Germany is developing economically and the people are getting richer. And adds;

For this reason, we see that the state, local administrations and free associations organize the most important organization, especially vocational and supply schools, based on the two principles above. We are witnessing that increasing knowledge and acquiring skills are recognized as the most important issue (p.29).

Here, Kerschensteiner (1972) deepens the discussion by focusing on education and emphasizes that knowledge and skills can be meaningful with internalized values. At this point, he says that a person can use the acquired knowledge skills as self-sacrifice for others as well as negatively for selfishness, and states what needs to be done as follows:

And certainly, in the same schools, if we miss the opportunity to manage the views and feelings of the mass and the public for the public benefit, if we do not use the negligent knowledge and the appropriate education measures to bend the will of the individual's arrogance, to strengthen the feelings of togetherness and otherness, knowledge and skills will be used for more selfishness (p.29).

Another shortcoming of the modern education move, according to Kerschensteiner (1972), was the influence from outside the world of education. Trying too hard, but not getting results. So, in almost every city and at the same time, various units appeared for the same purposes. They had started several businesses at once in terms of motivation, determination to work, labor dimensions as well as financial opportunities, dispersed their activities and overtime, and did not do any substantial work.

However, some cities, such as Bazel, did not allow this disorganization and division of forces, and devoted all their time and effort to raising public education, gathered them in a large and single union that served the public interest for the welfare and happiness of the people and directed the work from here. However, as a result, the people of the village could not benefit from the studies carried out during the last 30 years. In the German village and countryside of the period, there were no public and worker education associations and no school organization related to arts and politics. Except for a few cities, the supply schools themselves did not find a significant development area. The associations that exist here are only firefighter and combatant associations. At the end of the 19th century, as at the beginning of the 19th century, the entire content of civic education in German villages consisted of a public school, or primary school, from a to z (Kerschensteiner, 1972).

Ultimately, Kerschensteiner strongly emphasizes the idea of an education that combines mental education, vocational education and upbringing, namely personality education. The traces of this thought are determinative in the modern German education system.

Kerschensteiner, who reached state citizenship education by taking the vocational school as the center, tried to ensure that the state citizenship course was included in German schools for the first time. According to him, the main issue of schools should be to gain a mentality attached to the state. According to Aytacı (2006), Kerschensteiner gathers them all together in three main points, which he considers as personality education:

- Assisting in career choice
- Moralizing professional work
- Moralizing the social order

It is seen that his aforementioned principle of helping the choice of profession is strongly reflected in both the German education system and the German Constitution: "Article 12: Guaranteeing the freedom to choose a profession and travel" (Doğan, 2020: 24).

Again, in this regard, as quoted by Aytacı (2006), Kerschensteiner says: "Our 'learning school' should be transformed into a 'vocational school' in a way that will constitute the continuation of the 'kindergarten' of the first childhood period" (p.99). Taken together with the ones mentioned above, this is also important in terms of showing the foundations of vocational education. Despite the fact that the focus on education in the world in the 20th century went beyond vocational training due to the changing importance of specialized employees in terms of showing how strong these foundations are, Germany has remained true to its traditions in education. According to Powel et al. (2009), this can be explained by the German school system and adherence to these principles, which have predetermined educational priorities and differentiated by the predominant goal of transferring vocational qualifications rather than general education. This dominance is again among the aims of education in the German

education system; It is clearly seen in the aim of "to provide a high quality vocational education in all branches" and "to keep academic professions and practical professions equal" (Türkoğlu, 2019a: 322).

It is seen that the use of play in childhood education in the German education system, and the reflection of this as an approach, have a place both in the aims of pre-school education and in the aims of education levels within the scope of compulsory education, in the form of shaping it similar to pre-school education according to play education (Erginer, 2007:250).

It is important to ensure the physical and mental development of children with appropriate games and other activities (Erginer, 2007:250). To increase their linguistic development and to be socialized they learn by having fun through games, (Doğan, 2020:25)

Kerschensteiner states that vocational school is also morally appropriate for education, and says that a good job, whether mental or manual, demands certain business virtues. He adds that the acquired character traits will emerge in another job, and the sooner a character trait is acquired, the more permanent it will be (Aytaç, 2006).

It is possible to see the traces of Kerschensteiner's approach that values will be gained more easily through vocational training in the aims of education levels within the scope of compulsory education in the German education system:

- To ensure the development of students' motor skills and social behaviors,
- To ensure the development of the child's personality traits, interests and imaginations,
- To ensure the socialization of students in the society (Erginer, 2007:250).

When considered as a whole, it is seen that the issues of providing linguistic development and socialization by having fun through games in pre-school, gaining basic knowledge and skills in primary school, orientation according to talent in secondary education, giving importance to vocational education and shaping upbringing in the German education system are seen to be progressing in a historical continuity and stability. It is clear that the importance given to vocational education in Germany today affects the shaping of education policies according to employment, and as a result, the decrease in the unemployment rate (Doğan, 2020).

Result and Discussion

Education is a functional tool for the state. Its function is to keep the society as a whole and to educate individuals with the equipment to rebuild society. In this respect, while the educational needs of the society are met, on the other hand, people who are suitable and compatible with the ideology of the state are revealed (Sarigül, 2020). For this reason, the task of raising citizens was given to the school. The school performs this task not only with the content of the teaching, but also by operating all the processes in it, in accordance with this purpose (Schnapper 1998). In the context of raising people who are suitable and compatible with the ideology of the state, it is seen that the understanding of nation of both countries examined in this study shapes the idea of citizenship and builds the citizen. In this direction, from the point of view of the two European countries examined in this study, according to Kadioğlu's (199:55-56) quote from W. Rogers Brubaker:

Expecting all citizens of utopia to speak the language of utopia and expecting to make all speakers of utopia citizens of utopia are two different things. Roughly stated, the first denotes French and the latter German nationalization. In other words, while France is trying to create the French nation by forcing them to speak the same language, Germany differs with the understanding that those who speak the same language naturally form the German nation, they do not force them. Moreover, German Romanticism deals with the nation with an intense racial emphasis (Uğuz, Saygılı, 2016) and brings race to the fore. The emergence process of the German nation-state proceeded from a heterogeneous structure in the form of homogenization on ethnic basis and then spreading with ideological motivation (Kürkçü, 2020). Its origins can be seen in the late founding of German unification. For this reason, these traces should be sought in the ethno-cultural understanding of meaning that the state attributed to the citizen and society with an understanding left from the Prussian Empire in Germany, which lacked a central authority until 1871, and in the late democratization of the idea of German nationalism due to the late strengthening of the bourgeois class due to this delay (Özdemir, Bakan, 2016). %

In France, which is considered to be one of the main centers of the development of the concept of citizenship and its practices, this development has followed quite painful and various struggles. However, it is obvious that the idea of training them began to emerge in almost the same chronological level as the concepts, and that this idea developed rapidly, especially after the two great wars, and reached its present form. It is seen that the formation story and function of the school, especially after the revolution, rose with the armor of secularism on the philosophical and political foundations of the French Revolution. This situation manifests itself as a natural result of the strong French philosophical tradition and the struggle with the church.

It is possible to consider citizenship as a political category in France, while ignoring religious, ethnic and linguistic forms of belonging as a result of this process (Kaya, 2012).

In Germany, a civic education idea was tried to be formed by focusing on the sanctity of the state, especially at the end of the 19th century. In addition, according to Kerschensteiner, in the mentioned period, the education of the citizen can be done not only through schools, but also through associations and other public organizations. Kerschensteiner thinks that the desired benefit cannot be obtained from the education that is based on knowledge and mental skills in schools, and those children should be trained by subjecting them to manual skills training and personality training along with mind training. In this sense, he also thinks that vocational education is a good tool for civic education. In addition, he states that knowledge and mental skills can be used alone in positive and negative jobs, internalized values are required to direct them to the right, and these values can be provided with vocational training. It is seen that this understanding influenced Germany's 20th century understanding of education. Germany, which was defeated in both major wars, recovered in a very short time with the strong sense of togetherness and strong industry it created thanks to this understanding of education, and according to the data of 1972, it is one of the five major industrial countries worldwide (Türkoğlu, 2019). The fact that it has managed to become the world's third largest economy (Doğan, 2020) is an indicator of this. In short, if a brief

definition of the citizen models aimed in both countries is attempted, this definition will be; In France, it can be done through the concepts of compliance with the state, that is, the authority, and obedience to the state, that is, the authority, in Germany.

Again, when we look at the realization of the educational goals of these countries, it is seen that while France considers its citizens and their education in a thought-based framework, through their official ideologies, they have determined the French ideal that they have established on their world of thought that was formed under the strong influence of the enlightenment, and they have realized this ideal. However, in the historical background, it is possible to say that the concern of modern thought that emerged with the enlightenment of the historical development, including the intellectual struggle that created the opportunities provided by the French Revolution, and the idea of nation that emerged as a result of this thought, determined the limits of the understanding of freedom in general practices and in the field of education. On the other hand, it is seen that the late attainment of German unity was also effective. And in the case of Germany, inherited from the Prussian Empire, where the extreme sensitivity to the race issue was greatly affected, it is noted that the educational goals including the design of a civilized and economically strong Germany in the western sense, through culture-based socialization and industrial development, were followed in the construction of the citizen.

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