

Looking at the Policies of National Identity Construction in the Democratic Party Era

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Abstract

Identity is a concept that describes the characteristics of an individual. Nations, as well as individuals, have identities. When the ruling parties accede, they try to build a national identity in line with their own views and identities of nations are tried to be shaped by governments. When the Democratic Party came to power, it tried to build an identity within its own views and organized its educational and social activities within this framework. The aim of this study is to reveal what kind of identity was tried to be built by examining the educational and social activities during the Democratic Party era. In the study, the important educational and social activities of the period were examined, and the necessary literature was scanned. In this context, it is evaluated that they tried to build an identity that was respectful to religious values, conservative and familiar with Western culture.

Keywords: Identity, Identity Construction, Democratic Party, Education, Social Activities.

Demokrat Parti Dönemi Ulusal Kimlik İnşası Politikalarına Bakmak

Öz

Kimlik, bireyin özelliklerini tanımlayan bir kavramdır. Bireyler gibi ulusların da kimlikleri vardır. İktidar partileri başa geldiklerinde kendi görüşleri paralelinde bir millî kimlik inşa etmeye çalışırlar. Ulusların kimlikleri hükümetler tarafından şekillendirilmeye çalışılır. Demokrat Parti de iktidara gelince kendi görüşleri dahilinde bir kimlik inşa etmeye çalışmış, eğitim ve sosyal faaliyetlerini bu çerçevede düzenlemiştir. Bu çalışmanın amacı Demokrat Parti dönemindeki eğitim ve sosyal faaliyetleri inceleyerek nasıl bir kimlik inşa edilmeye çalışıldığını ortaya koymak olmuştur. Çalışmada dönemin önemli eğitim ve sosyal faaliyetleri incelenmiş, bunun için gerekli literatür taranmıştır. Bu bağlamda dini değerlere saygılı, muhafazakâr ve bir o kadar da Batı kültürüne aşina bir kimlik inşa etmeye çalışıldığı değerlendirilmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kimlik, Kimlik İnşası, Demokrat Parti, Eğitim, Sosyal Faaliyetler.

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Introduction

Social identity is a concept that is compatible with people having a better future, ensuring collective mobility, and producing alternative norms and values by creating sub-categories within society (Reicher, 2004: 934). Political party identities can also be evaluated within this scope within national identity. When the Democrat Party (DP) period in Türkiye is considered, the process of articulating the political party identity with the national identity was particularly important in terms of analyzing the national identity construction of the period. Political party leaders tend to create distinct group identities depending on the values and goals of their parties and give messages that they will improve the current conditions of society in line with these values (Özdemir and Özkan, 2020). DP, which ended the single-party era in Türkiye, set out with the promise of improving the conditions in line with the national values of the society and governed the country between 1950 and 1960.

The aim of this study was to investigate what kind of national and social identity the government tried to create during the DP period. In this context, Hobsbawm's invented identity approach to identity construction is taken as basis. Since Hobsbawm's understanding of identity construction is based on the institutions created by governments, the educational activities, and social activities they carry out, these are also included in the study. An examination was made of the party's statutes and activities, and the relevant literature was scanned.

A Conceptual Framework: Identity, National Identity and Its Construction

The Oxford English Dictionary defines "identity" as "the state of being a person or thing that is not someone or something else, individuality, personality." (Oxford Dictionary of English, 1998).

Personality or belonging to a person or the integrity and continuity of one's unique characteristics are emphasized in all classical definitions of the concept of identity. However, although the concept of identity strongly emphasizes uniqueness and sameness, an identity can never be defined in isolation. We always consider it by comparing it with others (Martin, 1995: 20). It has two dimensions: descriptive and defined. While the individual defines himself as "I", society defines him as the other (Bilgin and Oksal, 2018: 82).

From the moment the individual is born, he/she is cared for, protected, and cared for by other people. Therefore, identity starts from family, friends,

religious beliefs, culture, history and traditions. It is shaped by social life. Our ideas about our identity are also largely a reflection of what others think about us (Browne, 2012: 12).

At the point of definition of identity, Sarup mentions two types of approaches: The traditional approach that imagines identity as given and more static one accepting the existence of a consistent and holistic structure in the context of class, race and gender. The other approach accepts it as a dynamic and constructed phenomenon. In this context, especially the relations of political powers with national identity, the constructible feature of identity is emphasized. National identity is variable, the result of the subject's power conflict with 'others'. Occurs and this conflict continues constantly (Sarup, 1996: 14).

As a tool of being a nation-state, a national identity is a tool of the modern age. More accurately, in this process, the identity of the state and citizens began to match. Before the nation –states, the empires did not need to define themselves with a common identity. Political systems in the modern period became in need of nourishment with as widespread mass loyalty as possible (Yıldız, 2007: 18).

After the French Revolution, a national self-consciousness emerged in Europe. People who came together with certain common ideals had a demand for self-government and this increased national identity awareness all over the world. Consciousness of national identity is more than an ethnic affiliation. It expresses the unity of country, homeland, culture, and identity (Aron, 2005: 17). National identity is a person's feeling of belonging to a state or a nation (Şengöz, 2022: 279). National identity as a collective phenomenon, can be a combination of national symbols, daily life of individuals such as language, history of the nation, national consciousness, and cultural monuments etc. and these refer to the "common points" in their lives (Kelman, 1997: 171).

According to Hobsbawm, the nation is a social construction project. The nation, according to him, is a product of social engineering. The most important phenomenon that needs to be investigated and clarified in this process is invented traditions. Hobsbawm defines 'invented tradition' as defined the accepted rules, directed as a ritual or symbolic character, evoking a natural continuity with the past. It refers to a set of practices that try to instill certain values and norms of behavior based on repetition. Hobsbawm, who associates nation building with the desire to control the people and integrate them into the system, emphasizes that a censure is carried out in three ways: Creating new institutions (festivals, sports, unions), creating new inventing systems of status and systems of socialization (hierarchical education system

or royal ceremonies) and creating communities (e.g., nation) that determine and symbolize the integrity of different groups. According to him, nationalism takes existing cultures and transforms them into nations and reinvents them (Hobsbawn, 1996: 1065).

The Period of DP

The crisis of hegemony and representation experienced by the Republican People's Party (CHP) is a significant determinant in ending the single-party regime and, accordingly, in the transition to a multi-party-political regime. As Özçelik stated, the regime changes in Türkiye and the birth of the Democratic Party on this axis took place relatively smoothly under the combination of both internal dynamics and external conjuncture (Özçelik, 2010: 165-169).

The Democrat Party was founded on January 7, 1946 by Adnan Menderes, Celal Bayar, Fuat Köprülü and Refik Koraltan. At first, there was no significant difference between DP and CHP in terms of party statutes. However, in the party program created later, the concepts of democracy and liberalism would be the two main elements symbolizing the identity of the party (Çavdar, 1983: 2064).

The period when DP came to power in 1950 and received the support of the majority of the people can be considered a turning point in the history of democracy in Türkiye. In the first years of its rule, it seems that the party was trying to construct an identity that adopted the liberal-democratic management approach. In the construction of DP's party identity, this discourse of unity, equality and people's decisions was revealed in the light of democratic principles.

During the opposition period (1946-1950), the Democrat Party based its legitimacy and ideological discourse mainly on democracy (Özçelik, 2010: 171). The "Freedom Pact" (Hürriyet Misakı) was accepted at the first congress of the DP in 1947. Zürcher sees this as a reference to the "National Pact" (Misak- Milli) that became famous in the 1920s (Zürcher, 2001: 321). In other words, DP saw itself as the new political movement that would complete what Atatürk had started.

The First Article of the Democratic Party Program dated 1949 is as follows: "Believing that our political life should be governed by parties that mutually respect each other, the Democratic Party was established with the aim of serving the realization of democracy with a broad and advanced

understanding in the Republic of Türkiye and the conduct of public politics with a democratic view and mentality (Democrat Party Programme, 1949).

DP stated that it sees democracy as the dominance of the national will and the interests of the people, citizens having all personal and social rights, and legal equality among citizens (Bingöl and Akgün, 2005: 3). According to Kapani, the concepts of national sovereignty and national will, which is its basis, are concepts that greatly affect the attitudes of political powers and the functioning of the political regime in Türkiye. DP is a clear example in this regard. This frequently mentioned concept of “national will” has been seen as a magical formula and a kind of “credo” of democracy (Kapani, 2015: 86).

The DP government desired to establish firmly all kinds of economic, political and cultural ties with the USA. Sending troops to Korea and thus paving the way for membership in NATO is also a result of the DP’s meticulous attention to its relations with the USA.¹ “What Turkish soldiers did in America became a legend, we were spoken of with admiration as an important nation that had a say in the fate of the free world” was an indication of the closeness felt towards the liberal ideology (Yalman, 1971: 240).

When DP came to power in 1950, it left its mark on Türkiye’s political life as a new social and political force. The Menderes government systematically emphasized its traditional ideas in its programs and emphasized the modern Turkish society it wanted to construct. In connection with this, Hobsbawm’s statement that “Traditions are not limited to traditional societies, but also take place in modern societies” draws attention. According to him, the most important feature of traditionalism in modernity is that traditions are deliberately created in the service of new social and political forces. (Hobsbawm, 1992: 4).

The Nation Construction of the Democrat Party

The essence of Hobsbawm’s “nation construction” approach is based on the desire to control the people and integrate them with the system. It is argued that this control will be possible by creating new institutions, new status systems-socialization systems and communities symbolizing real/artificial integrity. Based on this construction approach, DP’s policies and contributions

¹ In 1950, the DP government officially applied for membership in NATO. Menderes knew that some NATO countries, especially the Scandinavian countries, opposed the membership of Greece and Türkiye on the grounds that they were neither Atlantic countries nor democratic. Despite this, Menderes thought he had a trump card: When the UN sent an international force to Korea to respond to the invasion from the north, Türkiye was one of the few countries that immediately offered troops. The first brigade of 5,000 people was sent in October, and approximately 25,000 Turkish soldiers fought throughout the war. This gave T a lot of credibility within NATO governments. Türkiye became a full member of NATO on February 18, 1952 (Zürcher, 2001: 341).

to nation building are examined under 3 headings: (1) Education, (2) Union activities, (3) Culture and Art. (Hobsbawm, 1992: 4).

Educational Activities

In Hobsbawm's nation-construction approach, a nation is built as a product of "social engineering" within the framework of rules, rituals and determined norms. It is clear that there are different areas and different sectors in identity construction. Education also constitutes an important mechanism of such a social construction process (Hobsbawm, 1992: 5).

The nation that the DP wanted to build had to be a nation with an anti-communist and pro-US attitude, and for this reason, changes in education were envisaged. In other words, the perception of communism as a threat in foreign policy throughout the period and the development of relations with the USA affected not only the political agenda but also social and cultural life in the country (Akça, 2023: 379.). Westernism and traditionality were the two basic principles that guided the DP's education policies. During this period, foreign aid was received, especially from America, for the development of education. The American model was adopted in the party as a result of the policy of political and cultural rapprochement (Tangülü, 2012: 405).

DP pointed out the importance of primary education, stating that academic success starts from the very foundation and that the values in society will be equipped through education. In the party program of the DP, it was emphasized that all primary school teachers should have the same spirit and the same level of knowledge (Democrat Party Programme, 1946).

When the National Education Council convened, issues such as problems at various levels of primary education, pre-school education, health issues in primary schools, special education in primary school programs and teacher training were being discussed comprehensively (Akça, 2023: 380). DP's diligent and sensitive efforts on primary education have not been able to show any stability. As Tangülü stated, the only work in the field of primary education was limited to the Primary Education Bill, which could not be passed by the parliament and become law (Tangülü, 2012: 394).

As a natural extension of DP's traditionalist policies, national and moral values have always been at the forefront in the party's identity. The issue of religious education was widely included in party and government programs during the Democratic Party government. Raising the people and the youth with humane and spiritual values has been seen as the guarantee of living as

a free and independent nation (Kantarcioglu, 1990: 44). According to the education program in the Party's charter, the aim of national education is not only to provide future generations with scientific and technical education, but also to inspire all national and religious values (DP Charter Program, 1946: 25).

Menderes government explained their approach to religion as follows: "We understand true secularism as religion having nothing to do with state politics and no religious thought being effective in the regulation and implementation of laws. In this respect, we are determined to quickly take the necessary measures both in terms of religious lessons and the training of clergy and the activation of higher institutions" (Öztürk, 1968: 363).

The importance of the issue of religious education also left its mark on the discussions held at the Fifth National Education Council. In this context, emphasis was placed on the content of the religion course curriculum, the selection of course materials that would be of interest and moral value to children in religious education, the place of religious education in primary education, and staying away from dogmatism. According to the Report of the National Education Commission of Türkiye, the decisions taken regarding religious education are as follows: "Teaching the basic religious knowledge and basic principles of religion required for citizenship is required. Being free to fulfill the requirements of religion regarding worship is necessary. The principles of worship should be taught in practice only in institutions that provide religious education" (The Report of National Education Commission of Türkiye, 1960: 110).

Within the scope of the education policies of the DP period, 7 Imam Hatip Schools were opened in Adana, Ankara, Isparta, Istanbul, Kayseri, Konya and Kahramanmaraş (Tangülü, 2012: 398). In 1953, Imam Hatip Schools were opened in Antalya, Elazığ, and İzmir, Trabzon, Çorum, Yozgat and Erzurum. In 1959, four-year Islamic Institutes were opened to train teachers for these schools, and then these institutes were moved to regional centers such as Konya, Erzurum, Kayseri and Izmir (Tekeli, 1983: 668).

The following suggestions have been presented for the solution of the problems in Imam Hatip Schools: "Making these schools boarding, curricula to be organized in coordination by representatives of the ministry, the Ministry of Religious Affairs and universities to train only clergy and sending the graduates to the Faculty of Theology of Ankara University or the Department of Classical Oriental Languages at Istanbul and Ankara Universities". "Providing the opportunity to attend their departments, classification and

promotions among religious service personnel according to their education” (Democrat Party Programme, 1946).

In the party program, it was stated that the Theology Faculties within the universities should be autonomous. The only Faculty of Theology during the DP period was affiliated with Ankara University. The aim of this faculty, which was established in the 1949-1950 academic year, was to examine the subject of religion according to scientific principles and to train clergy with professional competence (Akça, 2023: 387). Since the graduates of the Faculty of Theology worked in other positions in the Ministry of Religious Affairs, it became necessary to train teachers who would teach religious courses through other channels. Taking this into consideration, DP accepted the law allowing the establishment of the High Islamic Institute in Istanbul with the law dated 17 November 1959 (Okutan, 1983: 422).

In the Education and Training Regulation issued in 1955, it was deemed appropriate to continue the sub-field application in education, art, physical education and foreign language departments. The conditions to be applied to the recruitment of assistants to the institutes were determined, and accordingly, the assistant was required to study primary school teaching for at least two years, to defend a work he prepared in front of a commission within 3 years, and to give a trial lesson to the members of the commission (Duman, 1991: 97). The Ministers of National Education of the period expressed the inadequacy of the Higher Teacher Training School as an institution that trains teachers for secondary education and emphasized that this school should be opened in Ankara as well (Katoğlu, 2008: 431). In 1955, the Trade Teacher Training School was opened in order to train vocational teachers for Trade High Schools (Eşme, 2003: 156).

During the DP period, many developments were achieved in the field of higher education. During the 10-year DP rule, new universities and faculties were opened. A cultural construction process was aimed during this period, when the foundations of Türkiye’s most established universities were laid. The DP government emphasized that quality should be given importance in higher education. For the party, universities should have scientific and administrative autonomy. In the party program, it was planned to transform the Eastern Anatolia Region into a cultural center by opening faculties and institutes. It was envisaged that a university to be opened here would develop the region in educational, social and economic terms (Democrat Party Programme, 1946).

During this period, with the law no. 6594, Karadeniz Technical University started education with two faculties; Ege University followed this by opening the faculty of medicine and the faculty of agriculture with law no. 6595. In 1957, with the law no. 6990, Atatürk University in Erzurum started education by opening the faculties of science, literature and agriculture. Atatürk University sent many faculty members to the USA following the protocol signed between the USA and the University of Nebraska (Korkut, 2003: 186).

When DP came to power, it highly criticized the Village Institutes and the burden of education placed on peasant citizens and argued that Village Institutes were nothing but confining the peasants to the village (Tangülü, 2012: 400). The activity of demolishing village institutes, which was started in the last period of the CHP government, was completed by the DP government. DP transformed the institutes into classical primary school teachers' schools in February 1954 (Karakök, 2011: 97).

The Menderes Period was interpreted and evaluated as black and white by segments of society with different ideological views. However, when looking at the numerical expressions in the field of education, there is no doubt that serious breakthroughs have been made. While the share allocated to National Education from the general budget in the 1940s was around 6-7%, during the DP period, this rate doubled and reached over 13% (Karakök, 2011: 97).

The changes in education policies that the Democratic Party made during its rule demonstrate that it has a combination of Western and traditional approaches, and that this approach is compatible with the identity that is tried to be built. Developments such as the opening of different types of schools and the increase in the number of universities and departments also showed that they were aware of the importance of raising educated individuals.

Union Activities

According to Hobsbawm's constructivist approach, the most important feature of invented traditions is that they are new and conscious structures. That is, invented traditions are actually modern developments and are often based on deliberate and always innovative exercises in social engineering (Çakı, 2021: 98).

The extent of the political activities of the unions is compatible with the democratic character of the political regime in the country. In countries where pluralistic democracy is functional with all its institutions, the political activities of unions are allowed without restrictions (Atatürk Encyclopedia, 2021). When DP came to power, it was stated in the government program that the

right to strike would be recognized, provided that it did not disrupt the economic and social order. The right to strike has been one of the most important elements in the government's relations with unions (Mahiroğulları, 2004: 352).

With Labor Law No. 3008 dated 1936, workplaces requiring at least ten workers per day and the workers and employers working there were included in the scope. With the amendment to law no. 5518 dated 25.01.1950, smaller workplaces were also able to benefit from the Labor Law. The DP government used this authority provided to the Council of Ministers effectively. With this new law, basic articles of the Labor Law such as definitions, working conditions, employment contracts, termination conditions, severance pay and worker representations were amended (National Assembly of Türkiye, 1950).

When DP came to power, most workers in Türkiye were still not organized, even in industrial companies. In 1950, about 78,000 out of 375,000 workers were union members. In the years between the 1947 Trade Union Law and the 1950 elections, most unions were closely affiliated with the CHP through the CHP's Labor Bureau. While competing with the CHP to gain workers' support, the Democrats' most powerful weapon was the promise of workers' right to strike (Zürcher, 2001: 330).

In the 1951 government program, the article regarding business life was arranged as follows: "In regulating business life, efforts will be made to realize the goals of the Democratic Party program towards social justice. Efforts to protect the rights of our workers and ensure their future, and to establish a fair and satisfactory order in employee-employer relations will be continued rapidly. The law project prepared for the realization of the principle written in our party program regarding paid graduation or paid weekend holidays will soon be presented to the Grand Assembly." (Menderes, 1992: 61).

DP executives preserved the ban on politics included in the Law No. 5018 on Workers' and Employers' Unions and Trade Union Unions, which was adopted during the CHP period. According to this law, employee and employer unions cannot engage in politics, political propaganda and political broadcasting activities, and cannot act as an intermediary for the activities of any political organization. Trade unions were defined as national organizations, and any activity that might be contrary to nationalism and national interests was prohibited (Official Newspaper, 1947). By overcoming the actual obstacles in the national defense sector, unions were established within the Ministry of National Defense since 1951 (Koç, 2010: 218).

Despite the draft dated 1951 regarding the right to strike, the right to strike was not granted. The reason for this is based on the fact that the economic and social order in general may deteriorate. The Ministers of Labor of the period claimed that when the right to strike was given, the employer should also be given the right to lock out, so the financial power of the unions would not be able to handle this, and the workers would be in a difficult situation. For these reasons, it has been stated that there should be no rush for the right to strike (Sagan, 2014: 108.). Due to the ideological and social climate of the period, the strike was considered as conceptually linked to communism (Koç, 2010: 217.). The right to strike, which was a promise in the program of the first DP government established in 1950, was not included in the party program of 1951.

One of the most important union activities of the Menderes period was the establishment of the Confederation of Turkish Trade Unions (Türk-İş). This union confederation, founded in 1952, received the material and moral support of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU). It is observed that Türk-İş, Türkiye's strongest worker community, prefers to follow a non-partisan and impartial policy. Due to its mixed structure that includes different political tendencies, Türk-İş has not demonstrated a clear attitude towards supporting a particular political party (Buğra, 2008: 163).

The Menderes government touched upon the developments in business life in the first four years of its rule as follows: The great economic development that our country has achieved in the last four years and the increase in business volume have made employee-employer relations much safer compared to the times before our government. For this reason, in the coming periods, particular care and attention will be paid to the regulation of employer-employee relations through law and order in accordance with the principles of social justice (Zürcher, 2001: 330).

While trade union developments during the Democratic Party period may be considered as part of the construction of a Western identity, restrictions imposed with the notion of disruption of the social order also point to the existing conservative structure.

Cultural and Artistic Activities

Before looking at the cultural and artistic activities that took place during the Democratic Party Period, it is necessary to look at the culture and art policy of the Party. Article 13, 14, 15 under the title of General Provisions and Government Affairs in the Democratic Party Program which included 88 items, are

important in this context. These items are as follows:” We believe in the unity of culture and ideals brought about by the common history among citizens. Our party considers all citizens, regardless of religion and race, as Turks and believes that being a Turk means having all rights of citizenship. We will carry out our education and training activities based on such an understanding of nationalism. Our party does not perceive the principle of secularism as an anti-religion, and regards freedom of religion as sacred, like other freedoms. Religious education and training of functionary are particularly important. The establishment of religious schools affiliated with the Ministry of National Education and the establishment of Faculties of Theology will be among our party activities. The aim of our party is to adapt our country to the changing world and new conditions, to get rid of harmful habits from the past and to adapt our country to the dynamism of changing conditions (TBMM, 1947).

All governments have cultural and artistic policies as well as economic and social policies, and they are all really essential. DP is expected to apply policies compatible with social values. Although there was no detailed approach regarding culture and arts in the government program, religious and traditional values were given particular importance. In addition, establishing art institutions such as theaters and conservatories was one of the main priorities of the state (Yilmaz, 2023: 2181).

When we look at the cultural and artistic activities during the Democratic Party period, we see that religious motifs shone out. For instance, from the radio stations in Ankara and Istanbul, it was decided to broadcast Quran performed by famous hafizes (Seyhanlioğlu, 2020: 1369). After Adnan Menderes came to the power, one of his first actions was to ensure that the call to the prayer (ezan), which was recited in Turkish, was recited in Arabic (Uzun, 2024).

In addition to Western music, classical Turkish music was also played on the radio. Thus, both the folk, traditional Turkish music and Western music took their place on the radio. Istanbul Radio, which ceased broadcasting in 1938, started transmitting again in 1949. It was removed from the obligation of inspection with an amendment made in 1950, and in 1953 it was transferred as a state broadcaster (Ahıska, 2018: 19). Instead of Moscow or BBC radio, Turkish people started to listen to Istanbul, Ankara or Izmir radio. In Izmir in 1950, radio broadcasting was started, and Izmir Radio became a state radio in 1953. With the introduction of new radio stations, the number of state radio stations in this period was increased. At the same time, many local singers performed on the radio broadcast. Because it was desired to convey the musical atmosphere in Istanbul to the people in other cities, they

provided the broadcast of football competitions, as well. The expectations and appreciation of the public were taken into account by enriching the programs (Macit and Altuncuoğlu, 2023: 1266-1281).

In addition to the Conservatory Law enacted in 1940, as a part of the State Conservatory, Folk Compilation Studies and Folklor Archive were established. Famous composer Bela Bartok, Gerek Bartok and Western experts such as Hindemith supported folk compilation studies. They gave reports on this issue. Within the framework of these reports, music from 1937 to 1952 folklore archive was created. During this period, Muzaffer Sarısözen, Halil Bedii and Mahmut Ragıp Gazimihal, compiled some important masterpieces. Hindemith even brought the necessary tools and equipments from Germany on music (Alaner, 2002: 324).

The Opera within the State Conservatory established its own orchestra after 1951. The orchestra had an independent structure and employment opportunities were also increased. When ballet school was first founded, it had only students. The school had its first graduates in 1957 and its first ballet show. Under the direction of Conductor Halil Onayman (Alaner, 2002: 327.).

During the Democratic Party period, there were also some developments in religious music. In July 1950, the ban on religious programs on radio was removed. And thus, the broadcasting of both spoken and instrumental religious music programs on the radios were broadcasted. During this period, a remarkable one was first started in Izmir. Quran was recited on Izmir Radio for 20-30 minutes every day (Ahmad and Ahmad, 1976: 2). The Presidency of Religious Affairs also sent Hafız Ali Osman and Hafız Ali Güran to Ankara Radio to read the Quran in the radio broadcasting. A genre of religious music called "Mawlid", became famous in the radio stations and began to be delivered to the public through live broadcasts during this period, as well. To commemorate the Turkish soldiers who were martyred in the war of Korea in December 1950, a mawlid was performed in Süleymaniye Mosque by the government. In terms of the history of radio broadcasting in Türkiye, a first was achieved and this mawlid, which was supported by the state in the Süleymaniye Mosque, could be listened from the radio stations (Büyükduman and Turgay, 2020: 281).

In the year 1949, in accordance with the Law No. 5441 on the Establishment of the State Theater and Opera, the State Theater was established under the name of "State Theater and Opera" under the Ministry of National Education and Muhsin Ertuğrul was appointed as General Manager. Goethe's work "Faust" was performed at the Grand Theatre. Between the years of 1949 and 51, 83 theatre plays were performed, some of which were for children

(General Directorate of State Theaters, 2024). Also in these years, world-class works such as “Cyrano de Bergerac”, “Rigoletto”, “Fidelyo”, “Tosca Opera” were staged and the theater’s budget was increased (Arslan, 2013: 2).

In addition to the Vahi Öz Operetta, which was founded in 1950, “Raşit Rıza Topluluğu” and “Saat 6 Tiyatrosu”, which was also established in 1950, was among the important theater communities of the period. They aimed to redound new writers to Turkish Theatre. They can be considered the pioneer of private theaters today. Also, “Küçük Sahne” was founded in Istanbul in 1951 with the initiative of Muhsin Ertuğrul and the support of Yapı ve Kredi Bank. Küçük Sahne did not limit itself to just theatre, but also expanded from opera to musicals and children’s cinema (Ergün, 2010: 9).

Within the scope of Ankara University, Faculty of Languages, History and Geography, Department of Theatre, a Theater Institute, which was the first institution providing academic theatre education was opened. With the initiatives of İrfan Şahinbaş, a Theater Institute was established, which treats theater as a branch of science, conducts research and provides education on this subject (Ankara University, 2024).

Perhaps the most appropriate definition for the situation of Turkish Cinema in the 1950s was made by Giovanni Scognamillo: “The enthusiasm that emerged with the combination of the new and the old, the new patterns and the old patterns”. The ten-year period between 1950 and 1960 is of great importance for Turkish social realism. Between 1948 and 1959, concrete foundations began to be laid for Turkish national cinema. The concept of cinema other than cheap melodramas and theater plays was formed for the first time in these years (Scognamillo, 1987: 13).

Before 1950, there was a stagnant structure in cinema in Türkiye, dominated only by theater actors. DP, as in other fields, also overcame this stagnant structure in the cultural field. At this point, it should be said that Turkish cinema transitioned to a new era under the name of “Sinemacılar”. Especially with the legal regulation that came to the fore in 1948, a process that would have significant effects on Turkish Cinema in the following years began. (Sucuoğlu, 2018: 52).

With the discount made in the field of entertainment, which was essentially an economic regulation, the establishment of many new production companies in a short time accelerated and a quantitative increase was achieved in the number of films shot. Additionally, discounts were given to Turkish movies in cinemas. Although it was an economy-oriented legal regulation,

it had a structural structure that appealed to a wide range of people in terms of its reflections and coverage areas. In this period, where important examples of the transition from the dominant understanding and language of theater to a more cinematographic expression were given under the leadership of Muhsin Ertuğrul, stories written from a social perspective were included. Thanks to the highway policy implemented by the government in these years, films could be taken to villages and towns, and the number of the audience increased (Sucuoğlu, 2018: 55).

During the DP's years, the legal structure in the field of cinema was based on the 1930s. "The Police Duties Law" numbered 2559 involved the control of movies. According to the law, the inspection of films imported from abroad and the production of films within the country must be carried out by the police. Then, with an amendment, the control of the films was under the responsibility of the Department of Home Affairs (Lüleci, 2020: 28). There were also some films shot during this period that were censored because they were thought to be making communist propaganda. The movie "Karanlık Dünya" directed by Metin Erksan was one of them. The actors of the film were arrested of making a communist propaganda and the film turned into a political problem (Özgüç, 1976: 23).

As we turn to the developments in culture and art during the Democratic Party period, we see a very western-oriented approach. Bringing world-famous cinema and theater works to the country, on the other hand, developments in Turkish cinema may be another indicator that efforts are being made to blend Western and traditional identity.

Conclusion

The national identity that the Democratic Party desired to create was a combination of Western and traditional. This identity was a versatile one, but it can be said that it was primarily based on religious foundations. The opening of Imam Hatip schools in the country and increasing their number are the most important indicators of this. Establishing the Faculty of Theology for the first time in the country in order to make religious education more scientific by carrying it to higher education is another issue for this purpose. It tried to spread religious freedoms to the social life as well. Making religious programs on radio, teaching the Quran and spreading these radios to all the country can also be considered in this context. While trying to build an identity based on religion, the party did not neglect to have relations with the West and Western culture. Some innovations in the artistic field, the bringing

of some works common in the West to the country, especially the entry of cinema into a brand-new era with financial support and its dissemination to the public, also support the formation of a Western identity.

The increase in non-governmental organizations, especially labor unions, and unionization in the country has also been an indicator of modern developments. It is clear that the Democrat Party brought differences to the country during its rule. Identity policies based on religious and national values also brought some freedoms in the social field. Furthermore, taking an active part in the developments of the West in the field of culture and arts and carrying out studies in this direction, while not being indifferent to the country's own heritage in this field, was an indicator of the Western and tradition-bound identity that was tried to be created.

In short, the understanding of identity that the Democrat Party was trying to build was an identity that was both respectful of religious values, conservative, and familiar with the Western. For this reason, significant changes and versatile developments occurred in education, culture, arts and similar fields.

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