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UMI®
DEMOCRATIC EDUCATION, THE VILLAGE INSTITUTES SYSTEM
IN TURKEY AND ITS ART EDUCATION COMPONENT

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
School of The Ohio State University

By
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The Ohio State University
2002

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ABSTRACT

The Village Institutes were intended to a) educate villagers, b) train village teachers and technical personnel, c) introduce villagers to new technologies and professions d) develop the economy and the cultural and artistic environment of the village. The main characteristic of the Village Institutes system was democratic and free education through work and artistic activities, which instilled in students such characteristics as honesty, courage, respect for human rights, and self-confidence.

The founder of the Institutes Ismail Hakkı Tonguç believed that art concerning the realm of human emotions and feelings and science concerning the shape of the universe constitute the two essential components of education. They are not ends in themselves, but means to foster creativity in children and to allow them to recognize the human qualities. In this sense, artistic and scientific studies need to go hand in hand. Productive work in educational setting involves aspects of both science and art and best fosters the creativity of the child.

This system designed primarily to train village teachers created in ten years a generation out of children that came from the most impoverished regions of Turkey: a generation interested in the arts, literature and science and able to build schools, canals, and bridges, and cultivate the soil. Ironically, their success caused the wrath of
certain power centers in Turkey, which looked upon the Institutes and their graduates with great suspicion from the beginning.

The political constituency supported by the remnants of the feudal structure and the fundamentalist religious and conservative circles came to power in 1950. This conservative and rightist political constituency immediately began to destroy one by one the achievements of the Turkish Republic. The revolutionary institutions of the Republic such as the Village Institutes and the People's Houses were to be their first target. Thus, the People's Houses and the Village Institutes were closed down in 1953, their belongings were confiscated; their libraries, studios, press machines, and archives were destroyed. However, 60 years later the Village Institutes system continues to intrigue Turkish educators and intellectuals with its unique and unconventional aspects and methods that gave unprecedented results.
Dedicated to my family
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I also would like to express my gratitude for my parents and my two brothers for their ongoing support during my studies in America. My father Ali Ihsan Korur’s broad knowledge on the issue has provided me a unique perspective to analyze my research data. I am also grateful to my countrymen who supported my studies abroad for years.
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Turkey is the first country in the Islamic world to demolish a thousand-year monarchy and its theocratic education, to end the religious prohibitions placed upon the arts, and to establish a democratic system with its laws and regulations. However, Turkish education at the turn of the 21st century is still struggling with problems that are rooted in history. From the elementary school to university, students go through an education that requires them to memorize textbook material and regurgitate it in exams. This education treats students not as subjects but objects to be filled with information and to be molded in the same way. It also disregards individual differences and discourages initiative and participation of the student. In such a system, critical thinking is out the window; instead a sense of obedience toward the authority is promoted in the image of the teacher/guardian to establish the order in the school-prison system. This hierarchical structure is reflected in the family and society as a whole.

I remember wondering in my middle school years why I had to memorize the name of every Ottoman Sultan and related dates in chronological order knowing well that I would forget them in a short time. Similarly, I never had a clear idea how and
in what context I was going to be able make use of the highly abstract concepts of math and other sciences because of the way they were taught.

These questions stemming from my somewhat naïve consciousness and criticism of the school system and lacking a deeper understanding and articulation gradually led to a feeling of complete frustration and detachment from everything that was taught in schools. It seemed that course subjects taught in the school were useless in real life situations and there was no point in learning them. There seemed to be a discontinuity between school and life separated by walls surrounding the school compound.

It was only after I entered the fine arts faculty to study painting that I begin to feel I was making something of myself and was being active. The studio environment where students were interacting with one another and with their teachers more closely and freely and where there were practical applications besides theoretical learning gave me a sense fulfillment. Thus, my extended studies in the arts and art education both in Turkey and in the USA made me realize further the great importance of creating a democratic learning environment for the full development of the individual. With such thoughts and considerations, I decided to do my dissertation study on a subject that would allow me to look into, and if possible, to understand the underlying historical causes of the problems of Turkish education and art education.

**General State of Education in Today's Turkey**

There seems to be a general consensus among Turkish educators, politicians and intellectuals today that there is a crisis in Turkish education at all levels and that
especially primary and secondary education are far from achieving their intended results. However, due to variety of reasons, this system does not seem to be able to correct itself from within. One reason for this is the fact that educational policies are heavily dependent upon political agendas and affected by the concerns of daily politics, which prevents the implementation and of an undisturbed long term educational plan and the following up of it. In *Our Educational System* Yahya Kemal Kaya (1981) identifies the problems and shortcomings of Turkish education as follows:

1) Equal opportunity to access education is only on paper.

2) Quality of education is very insufficient.

3) Education is based on the memorization of knowledge.

4) Educational programs and curricula are inflexible and do not take into account the individual characteristics, skills and talents of students.

5) Education is cut off from production and produces consumers rather than producers.

6) Only a small minority has access to higher education.

7) Assessment and grading system is primitive and unjust. As a result, many students pass their classes with court decisions.

8) Teachers are in general intolerant and strictly follow educational programs that do not have practical application in life. As a result, a great portion of the students, around 80%, fails their classes.

9) Educational tools and equipment are insufficient.
10) Physical and psychological development and well being of students are neglected.

11) Many educators and administrators regard physical education and art classes as unnecessary. For instance, swimming is not taught in schools, even in places near the water or sea.

12) Students regurgitate the course subjects without relating them to real life situations. For example, while they may recite a lot of information about the geographical conditions of a foreign country, they may not really aware of the geographical attributes of the place in which they live.

13) Education is disconnected from the society and economy.

14) Students are raised as lacking self-confidence and self-affirmation.

15) Students as well as teachers do not read much, thus are not able to renew and adjust themselves to changing conditions.

The core of these problems lay to a great extent with political causes. Each party or government that comes to power in Turkey attempts to make structural changes in education according to their political stance and interests, interrupting what the previous government has already started. This in turn shortcuts the process of a long-term planning, implementation and assessment of educational policies. One other related problem that seems to plague education is that those who are in the position of designing and implementing educational policies do not usually have a background in education. Bureaucrats who have to work with them, knowing that the next minister is going to start from scratch based on his or her own political agenda
cannot commit themselves to long-term projects to solve the fundamental problems of Turkish education.

Contrary to the constant change in the administrative structure of the ministry of education, one thing remains unchanged in the Turkish educational system, its being based on the memorization of knowledge transferred to student by the teacher. In this system, the main focus is on the grade and grading is used to discipline the student. Knowledge learned through not experience but the textbook is forgotten when it is of no use; that is, right after the exam is passed. This system does not at all foster understanding, critical reasoning and independent and free thinking of the student. Students are treated as if they are empty vessels to be filled information by the teacher who represents the authority to be feared and obeyed. Questioning is out the window, and those who question are regarded as troublemakers. Naturally, such an educational system which itself is far from being democratic will not and cannot foster a free and democratic society.

A more pressing and immediate issue concerning Turkish education has been the hegemony and the influence of far-rightists and religious conservatives in determining the organizational structure and the content of Turkish education, especially in primary and secondary levels. Because Turkish education has failed to establish a more dynamic and democratic education as the founders of the republic and the Village Institutes intended, those segments of the society that identified themselves more with the old regime and the religious traditions than the new republican ideas, have made systematic efforts and taken great strides to be influential especially in the organizational structure of Turkish education. This process has
accelerated and intensified since the 1950s, which coincides with the closing of the Institutes.

With the influence of this conservative and religious political constituency, the Village Institutes were accused of being a center for training communists, which was far from being true. They were replaced by the religious schools called Imam-Preacher schools with the claim that they would train individuals who love their country, respect their religion and the moral and ethical codes of the Turkish society. On the one hand, the individual of the Village Institutes, one that questions the information given, engaged in social criticism and interested in cultural and artistic activities, and on the other hand, that of the Imam-Preacher schools, one that obeys the authority, does not question the underlying causes of events and is non-sympathetic towards arts. Each government that came to power by the votes of this political constituency used as an indication of their successful conduct the increase in the number of Imam-Preacher schools during their rule.

The result of such policies and conduct has been a growing conflict between the founding principles of the republic - democracy, secularism, independence and etc.- and the aim of the current educational system that is supposed to strengthen and protect these principles. In other words, there is a deepening conflict between those institutions of the republic that see themselves in a position to defend those principles and those who defy them. This, in fact, has been the seemingly unsolvable dilemma of the intellectuals in Turkey who have aligned themselves mostly with the former, and the cause of social tension and unrest.
Such policies that caused this situation also prevented a thorough education of people in the countryside to become economically productive members of the society. This in turn resulted in a growing influx of emigrants from the villages to cities looking for job opportunities. The problem of emigration does not only have economic implications but also cultural and social consequences. This emigration has changed the face of the cities and influenced the cultural and social environment in Turkey. Now, cities have become big villages with bigger problems than those the Village Institutes intended to cope with. These emigrants, having been severed from their roots and traditions and unable to conform to the norms of life in the city, find themselves in a cultural and social isolation and vacuum. They have created a culture of their own, disengaged, alienated, rootless, inward and emotional. Fatalistic worldview that has existed in the culture of the countryside for centuries have been translated into an urban setting with conditions much harder to deal with than that of villages.

The problems of education in Turkey have cultural, social, political, economic and historical dimensions that are interconnected. In other words, any attempt to find a solution to the problems of Turkish education needs to be interdisciplinary. However, this interdisciplinary approach does not preclude having a common objective -- to create a free, democratic and civilized Turkey. The experience has shown us that in places where there is no democracy, freedom and civilization the Talibans and Khumeinies flourish, instead.
Statement of Purpose

The experiment of the Village Institutes, which took place during most of the 1940s and early 1950s, occupies a very influential and unique place in the entire history of Turkish education. The Village Institutes were created as a radical solution to the problem of the primary and secondary education in Turkey during the mid-twentieth century. From their conception in the early republic until now, discussions surrounding the Village Institutes have been centered mainly on this aspect of their creation.

These institutions have been studied in terms of their primary object of training most suitable village teachers to be employed in thousand of villages without schools. They have also been considered as an integral part of an extensive project aimed to develop the economy and culture of the most impoverished regions of Turkey and to bring Turkish education out of the darkness of the Middle Ages. One may appreciate the fact that it is not an easy undertaking in a country where a strictly religious and theocratic system prevailed for over 800 years. Thus, even today there remain many obstacles and difficulties to overcome in the structure of education and administration of Turkey.

The Village Institutes system, along with the People's Houses and Rooms, was designed to educate not only the school-age village children, but also the adults and elderly living in the countryside, and to bring to villages technology and civilization. Since the establishment of these institutions has generally been considered as a part of a broader economic and political modernization project of Turkey, the art education component of the Village Institutes system has received
relatively very little attention. However, I believe that given the success and productivity of the Village Institutes graduates in the arts both on national and international levels, the art education component of the Village Institutes system deserves a particular attention.

It has been claimed that the art education at the Village Institutes has produced very successful results, but factors underlying this success have not been articulated. I believe that in order to examine these factors, it is necessary to look into the educational ideas, influences and motivations of the founders of the Village Institutes and the basis of their applications. Thus, this study of the Village Institutes system intends to:

1. Draw the attention of educators and artists to the art education component of the Village Institutes System.

2. Discuss the traditions, customs and concepts underlying the artistic and cultural environment in which the Village Institutes were created.

3. Study the educational systems and cultural and artistic developments in Turkey from a historical perspective.

4. Discuss the current applications and methods used in art education in Turkey.

5. Examine the roots of the contemporary Turkish arts and literature.

Discussions surrounding the Village Institutes have never ceased from their conception during the early decades of the Republic up until now. To facilitate an understanding among young people in Turkey of the Village Institutes and of the conditions in which they were created, one needs to approach the issue carefully taking into consideration the negative as well as the positive factors involved in their
creation. It is hoped that this study of the Village Institutes and the underlying conditions will provide some guidance to today's Turkish educators and administrators in their search to better the Turkish educational system.

Four Essential Components of Culture: Language, Science, Art And Education

In the context of this study, the first question one needs to address is "what is education?" In its broadest sense, education can be defined as the process of transferring culture to next generations in a given society. Thus, the Dictionary of Turkish Language Institute (1969) defines education as the conscientious, purposeful and directed preparation and initiation process of the young members of the society into the existing culture. Since the definition of education is given here in relation to culture, one also needs to define culture. The same dictionary defines culture as the sum of a society’s integrated patterns of living, and intellectual, artistic and spiritual traditions, belief systems that make up the character of that society as a whole.

As a living and continuously changing entity, culture in a given society includes its administrative structure, laws, science, technology, arts, religion and belief systems, means of production and consumption, sports, fashion and language. In other words, it includes everything that human beings produce with a definite purpose. As humans create culture they also create themselves within a social context. (Hançerlioğlu, 1979)

The Village Institutes were proposed as a solution to the problem of social education and as a model in the search for educational systems. Above, I have defined education as the process of transferring culture to next generations. In order such
transfer to take place; a language of communication intelligible to every member of the society is necessary. A language that is incapable of such communication does not allow thought process to develop.

Language is the most important basis of civilization. Had speech not been developed, human beings would not have been able to communicate their thoughts and feelings and develop their ideas as easily and efficiently. Science, art and technology, the three most important components of civilization would not have developed. Language as the foundational element of thought finds its concrete form in words. Words express either that which is perceived through our sensory organs or abstract mental concepts. Words and concepts that are not used aptly confuse thinking (Gencan, 1979).

Language and thought are inseparable and develop by mutually influencing one another. In order for such a development to take place, thought has to be clear and language understandable. In other words, they both have to refer to an objective world. However, language and thought do not merely reflect or represent this objective world, but they also create it. The human mind, by gathering material from the world outside creates concepts, ideas, and theories. Through reasoning and abstraction it conceives of things that do not readily lend themselves to perception (Akyüz, 1992).

Unspoken Official Language, Ottoman

During the Ottoman Empire and the early republic, there existed two different languages in Turkey: a) Turkish spoken in the countryside and b) the official
language Ottoman made up of an artificial mixture of Arabic, Persian and Turkish. Only the Madrasa graduates understood and spoke this language and they greatly benefited from their privileged situation. For example, citizens who did not understand the language used in courts and in state offices, namely 90% of the population needed these madrasa graduates. Scientific and literature works were written in Arabic, Farsi or Ottoman. Those who did not know these languages did not stand a chance to get even a secondary education. Furthermore, there was not sufficient number of teachers who knew Ottoman to be able to establish public education.

Goals of Turkish Education

In his 1924 report on Turkish education, the American philosopher and educator John Dewey defined the primary objective of Turkish education as the creation of an independent and secular Turkey, a respected and competent member of the civilized international community (Ekmekci, 1996). In order to achieve this objective, Dewey maintained, schools should a) instill in students proper and practical ideas and habits, b) encourage students to take part in economic activities and develop their related skills and c) foster Turkey's national sovereignty, economic independence, development in the arts, free and scientific thinking, social collaboration and moral character of individuals. Dewey emphasized that it is not enough to create a few leaders, but every citizen should get an education to enable them to participate in the economic and cultural development of the country. In fact, Tonguç, who knew the educational ideas and applications of Dewey, carried out his
educational practices to a great extent in light of Dewey's ideas and suggestions in the steps of Turkey. In The Village Institutes In The Foreign Press, Ekrem Benli (1990) writes:

"Many things have been said and written about the Village Institutes and Tonguç. Here, I would like to end my words by two short but striking quotes, one from Dewey and another from M. Rauf Inan. While Dewey praises the Village Institutes saying that they are the schools of his dreams, Inan sees Tonguç as one of the three most important and influential educators of our time along with Dewey of America, and Kerschensteiner of Europe" (p.301).

Today in Turkey, education in general is based on the memorization of information, and hands-on learning has completely been abandoned. This system is being widely criticized by almost everyone, which indicates that a search for a new system has already started. In this sense, comparing the educational system of the Institutes with that currently being used will provide valuable information as to the implications of the experiment of Village Institutes for today's Turkish education. It will also help us determine whether Dewey's and Tonguç's educational ideas and applications bear any relevance in this new millennium.

In her comprehensive study on the Village Institutes, Kirby (2000) states that they were the first and the only universities of Turkey in the true sense of the word and that they could be applied in underdeveloped and agricultural countries by taking into account their peculiar historical and socioeconomic conditions. At the turn of the twentieth century, Turkey is mainly an agricultural country with a little industry concentrated in big cities such as Istanbul, Izmir and Bursa. The places where the Village Institutes were opened remain to be barren and impoverished 60 years after their closing. This in and of itself makes a study of the historical conditions underlying the impoverishment of these regions necessary.
Principle of Learning by Doing

Kirby (2000) states that traditionally economy and education had been disconnected in Turkey. Educated individuals became bureaucrats, thus having their share in an economy based on the labor of villagers working in agriculture. This gap between education and economy crippled the society. The founder of the Village Institutes Tonguç believed that education should not be disconnected from life. Nevertheless, education is life itself. Mere theoretical education could not prepare one for life, because, life above all was "work". If real life is "work", then an education separated from work is also separated from life. In Tonguç And The Village Institutes a graduate of the Village Institutes Türkoğlu (2000) writes

"The purpose of having students use tools and teaching them work techniques is not merely to make them skilled. By making objects producing art works they will get to know and desire civilization. Because, education through work in various professional fields involves the arts, technique and production, and is the alphabet of civilization (p. 76).

Tonguç’s principle of "education through work" had a second purpose. Students having been educated through work would introduce their families to various professions, thus to civilization. In fact, this system was rather for underdeveloped countries. Tonguç believed that children in developed countries did not need to be educated intensely in various professions. At every stage of their lives they are introduced to the products of civilization. Their education starts among educated family members. Many products of civilization surround them everywhere. Museums, libraries, concert and theater halls, movies and other products of civilization contribute to their education indirectly. They also need work education, but only to improve their hand skills and to foster their mental development.
Language And Literature Education in the Village Institutes

Tonguç saw education as a weapon against oppression. He believed that in societies where majority of people are illiterate, the control of the society and dealing with the most important issues remain in the hands of such individuals who hide their true opinions and change them according to daily politics. The profession of teaching could not be corrected with individuals without opinions and principles.

In the Institutes, a very effective and elegant method was used to encourage students to read and write: Limitless freedom of participation in discussions and in decision making processes in the administration of the Village Institutes, which honored, valued and motivated students. Through reflective discussions and debates about the books they had read, they learned about the important world literature. In such a democratic environment they expressed their opinions on issues from politics to art. Having realized the expressive power of their words they became more inclined to reading and writing. Indeed, Tonguç’s success in this respect was the success of democratic education.

The book discussion hours and the weekly meetings where every problem was discussed among the students, teachers and administrators were not to be found in traditional schools. The emphasis on the importance of reading and writing, self-learning, and the free and democratic environment fostered student’s determination to learn. From among those students came scientists, lawyers, professors, politicians and most importantly artists and writers (Demirtaş, 1993).

Besides the classes in the regular program of the Institutes, there were courses opened by the students themselves. At the end of these courses, students organized...
meetings, concerts, exhibitions that created an opportunity for them to demonstrate and display their talents. This, in turn, fostered their self-esteem.

The classes in the Village Institutes were not strict or monotonous but turned into joyful learning and living environments. Theatre along with the other activities in the arts helped determine the artistic inclinations and talents of the students. Students between the age of 12 and 17 given authority as well as responsibilities and doing everything by themselves and their lives in the Institutes were all a part of big "Drama" played out in the Village Institutes. These students were educated in life by staging and molding many aspects of their lives in their own hands. This accounts for the fact that the Village Institutes, in which education was only five years, produced many artists, art critics, writers, researchers and journalists. Almost all Institute graduates were closely interested in artistic and political activities and events.

Tonguç’s system was self-criticizing, thus, able to renew and develop itself. Throughout education mistakes and shortcomings were observed, corrected and improved. Such flexibility was achieved through the collaboration of teachers, students and administrators. In the Village Institutes, the guide teachers were not to direct or instruct the students, but rather they were to look for solutions to problems together with them. The main factors that set apart the Village Institutes from the other traditional educational institutions in Turkey were:

1. Interest and contribution of intellectuals, artists, and scientists.
2. Method of learning by doing, which developed students’ skills and talents.
3. Free studies besides mandatory classes in the form of master-apprentice relationship.
4. Studies on the local arts and cultures.

5. Giving great importance to language and literature education, which improved reading and writing skills of the students, and publishing their writings, research and articles in newspapers, journals and magazines.

6. Democratic life style, freedom of thought and speech, participation of students in the administration of the school at all levels.

7. Uncensored debates and discussions on science, culture, art and politics.

8. An administration open to criticism.

9. Giving students authority and responsibility from an early age (12-13).

10. Extra-curricular activities that helped break the monotonous school life.

11. Secular education and freedom of thought as oppose to dogma and theocratic philosophy.

12. Allowing students to follow courses, classes, conferences, concerts and other artistic, cultural and social activities outside the school.

13. And "theatre", a world we create next to the world to which we are born, a world that continuous to evolve changing and educating people along side.

**An alternative To Centralized Education**

All institutions that transfer culture and knowledge and foster the social, cultural and mental development of the individual in a particular society are part of its educational system. As in many other countries, the Turkish educational system is centralized under the Ministry of National Education. Such a centralized educational system tends to be intolerant towards different views (Toğrol, 1991). In order to be
beneficial, an educational system needs to be flexible and able to adopt itself to new developments and emerging conditions. Today in Turkey, students coming to universities are having difficulties to adjust themselves to academic environment. It seems that the primary and secondary education in Turkey fail to give students a sense of self-respect and self-esteem, a sense of clear purpose in life and to foster a strong interest in artistic and cultural activities. Thus, one important purpose of this study is also to try to find out what we can learn from the experiment of the Village Institutes to remedy this failure of the current Turkish educational system.

It has been claimed that the problem of Turkey is one of system and that in Turkey there is not a well-developed cultural and educational foundation. Timur (1998) states that Turkey has been experiencing a cultural identity crisis caused by an uncertainty about to which civilization it belongs. Turkey has made a drastic and steep transition from an Islamic monarchy to a secular and democratic republic only 78 years ago, which is a very short time in the history of any country. During this period, the Turkish Republic has established its civilized institutions and laws. These 78 years, I believe, has been a searching and testing period for Turkey in many areas.

Although the art education in Turkey has produced successful artists here and there, the art world has not been able to extend beyond a very limited circle of a few artists, art critics and the fine arts schools. This art network begins in the studios of the fine arts schools in universities and continues with private galleries and studios. Even the determination of specific talents is left to the entrance examinations to the fine arts faculties. Thus, there is a need to create an educational system that finds, directs and prepares talents for higher art education.
As mentioned earlier, one of the objectives of this study is to draw the attention of Turkish educators, artists, and intellectuals to the art education aspect of the Village Institutes system. This requires a historical understanding of the development of education and the arts in Turkey. In its basic sense, the art of painting be defined as a form of art done on a two dimensional surface. Although the word Nakkaş in the Ottoman language meant painter, it had a broader meaning. Decorative artists were also called Nakkaş. In the Islamic arts, ornamentation was meant to beautify an architectural structure such as mosques, tombs, graves, domes, arches, columns, windows, or other things such as books. In general, the constituting elements of an artwork can be called motifs. A shape of an animal or a plant used to decorate in the Islamic art would be a motif taken from nature. Thus, the Islamic art works are decorated with beautiful motifs.

In Islamic countries, due to the fact that painting and sculptor were prohibited, ornamentation arts and poetry were highly developed. The Eastern arts in general reflect a world where thousands of motifs and shapes spread and revolve in every direction at an incredible speed and communicate unrealistic messages. They do not refer to any specific time, space or reality. They are created for specifically ornamental purposes. The supernatural creatures of Sumerian, Hittite, Assyrian, East Asian and Chinese mythologies and legends have been developed into geometric shapes stylized over time. These shapes have created a geometrical and graphical understanding of style and composition. Thus, it is very difficult to find an asymmetrical part in the eastern art. In fact, these geometrical shapes and motifs are very suitable for the geometrical fabric of cloths, carpets and kilims.
The traditional art works in the East were not made to create a new beauty or as an independent work of art but served other purposes such as to beautify or glorify, say, a sultan or a staircase or a building. This in turn led to technical perfection and stylization that continued for centuries without change. In fact, there are differences between the East and the West in terms of the definitions and conceptions of art. For instance, while the term classic means in the Western art those works of art that do not lose their importance and value over time, in Islamic art it refers to methods, traditions, styles, notions and production techniques that have been passed down from one generation to another without much change.
CHAPTER 2

METHOD

Historical Research and The Role of the Historian

Over the ages there have been various definitions of what history is and what the task of a historian consists of. History is a creative interaction between the fragmentary evidence and the values and experiences of the historian, an activity part science part art. Although the evidence establishes some limits, writing history remains subjective to a considerable degree. Making generalizations, which are statements about larger structures and processes, is an act of creative interpretation. The process of collecting data does not simply provide isolated pieces of evidence existing on their own right. Rather, the questions raised by the researcher help him or her to decide what evidence to look for. The historian's values, influences, convictions, hunches, theories, tendencies, and temperament inform these questions.

History is not fixed and facts about a person's past, an institution or a society is not independent from a larger social context of relationships and structures that continue to evolve and change over time. The data that the historian looks for do not readily lend themselves to interpretation, but need to be extracted from this complex web of relationships and structures. In order to make sense of singular facts and
occurrences in the orderly fashion, which we call history, one also needs to look at the underlying socioeconomic, political and cultural dynamics. This is where creativity comes into play. Creativity does not mean a lack of any underlying structure, ideology or theory. In fact, the most creative interpretations of history have been those with a very strong ideological and theoretical basis.

The historian may start with a temporary selection and interpretation of certain facts previously considered and examined by other historians (Carr, 1999). As he or she goes along, this selection and interpretation develops and changes. The historian who lives in the present and his or her subject, which is of the past, is influenced by the concepts of reality formed in the present. Without facts the historian is rootless, and without the historian, the facts are meaningless and dead.

At this point the questions “What is history for?” and “What does the historian strive for?” arise. Such questions are as much pragmatic as they are ethical and philosophical. Ironically, we first say to the historian that he or she has a task at hand and then ask what that task is. Here I would like to mention R. G. Collinwood (1968) whose plain approach I think is closer to that of an educator than that of a historian. For Collinwood (1968), history aims at knowing who we are. Everyone would agree that to know oneself is an important virtue. However, it is not merely to know who we are, but also to know what it is to be human and the other. History teaches us who we are and what our potential is by looking into what we have already done.

In short, although there are a variety of definitions of history, we can say that history is what the historian writes. The modern historian is the one who reconsiders what the previous historians have written. This does not belittle the task of the
historian. On the contrary, it requires that the historian have an understanding of different fields as various as philosophy, art, sociology, psychology, anthropology and etc.

According to pragmatists, the knowledge that has a practical value and function in the society and helps us fulfill certain purposes is what matters insofar as its truthfulness goes. Although history as a discipline cannot make use of the methods of observation and experimentation, we believe that such an approach may inform historians. The past, by definition, implies that which we cannot change. However, what changes and evolves is our understanding of it. In this sense, we can say that history is a discipline that continuously changes in its quest to acquire a better and more useful understanding of the past.

**Historical Methodology and Data Gathering**

Historical research as a method of critical inquiry aims at a greater understanding of the present through scientific documentation, analysis and sound interpretation of the facts about the past events and the relationships between them. The historical researcher seeks to answer the question of what was then in order to make sense of what is now. Materials that can be used as data in a historical research vary and are gathered directly or indirectly. Historical data can be grouped under two major categories as documents and relics. In general, documents can be in the written form and are prepared for a purpose. Relics on the other hand are natural and historical remains. However, a document can sometimes be in the form of a relic. For
example, a piece of writing on a brick plate is a document while the tablet itself is a relic.

Among written documents are official letters, reports, institutional records, biographies, diaries, books, letters and so on. The selection, analysis and interpretation of documents and assessment of their reliability present a challenge to the historical researcher. If new studies and evidence contradict the old ones, the researcher may need to make adjustments, corrections, or changes in his or study (Kaptan, 1993).

In comparison to other research methods, historical method can be said to be the most subjective one, because, due to his or her own biases, values, beliefs and prejudices, the researcher may not always be objective in the selection and interpretation of the historical data. In any research, data are gathered either directly or indirectly. Since in historical study one does not have the opportunity to observe the events as they enfold, the researcher has to gather data indirectly. For example, the experiment of the Village Institutes began and ended in the past, and thus we have to learn about them from others. In this sense, I can summarize the process of gathering data in this study as follows:

1. I had to rely on the data and observations provided by others. These data have been carefully selected and compared, and the ones that I thought were unreliable were excluded. I also tried to inquire carefully into the personalities of witnesses and their reliability.

2. It is quite possible that the recollection of the witnesses may have changed over time. They might have forgotten about some important details. For these reasons,
I gave priority to earlier accounts than the later ones. I also tried to determine whether there are discrepancies between the accounts of different witnesses involving the same issue.

3. Each witness may have observed only one aspect of the event. In fact, it would not be possible to observe every aspect of a nation-wide movement. Some witnesses might have the misconception that they have observed events in their entirety. They may sincerely believe the accuracy of their accounts and soundness of their interpretation. Such witnesses, in turn, may mislead the researcher. For these reasons, I tried to resort to accounts of many witnesses.

4. In a historical research, the researcher may have difficulties to organize the data regarding the events under inquiry and the accounts of the witnesses with in the context of his or her study. In order to avoid mistakes that may result from such a reality, it was necessary to do a broad literature search.

5. Historical study is inductive by nature. The historian has to be cautious and use a flexible language and needs to avoid making statements to explain events in a cause and effect relationship. It is sufficient to point out the possible relationships between events (Kaptan, 1993). However, The experiment of the Village Institutes is an unprecedented development in the evolution of Turkish education. These schools came into being as a result of a revolution, which was first of its kind in the Islamic world that ended a thousand-year monarchy and its institutions. The basis for the creation of the Village Institutes arose within this new environment. Thus, due to the scope of this study, I could not completely avoid finding cause and effect relationships between events.
Sources For Data

The experiment of the Village Institute has attracted the attention of both Turkish and foreign educators from its inception. Today there are many diaries, studies, reports, records, documents, and letters about these schools. The authenticity and reliability of some of these documents such as the Village Institutes Law and other statues and written decrees, the parliament records, and the reports of the inspectors can be easily assessed since they are in the State archives.

The remainders of my sources are biographies, research studies, books, and interviews. In order to assess the reliability of these sources one needs a carefully planned method of criticism. In certain situations, the researcher may need to consult expert opinion. In this study, I began to assess the reliability of my sources with the primary sources, because a conclusion that is arrived based on unreliable primary sources is crippled from the start.

In any research, the process of gathering data requires a careful planning. Data gathered improperly might lead the researcher to erroneous conclusions. One mistake that researchers sometimes make is first to gather data and then decide what to do with them (Serper & Günsakal, 1989). The experiment of Village Institutes took place when a new Turkish Republic was being created out of the ashes of the Ottoman Empire. More importantly the foundation of the Village Institutes coincided with the turbulent years during which the World War I and World War II took place. Consequently, the data sources were not always organized in a reliable fashion.

I believe that for a proper understanding of the Village Institutes system, it is necessary to examine the conditions in which Village Institutes were founded. These
conditions were determined by drastic changes that took place in every aspect of Turkish society from language to educational, sociopolitical, economic and judicial systems. Within the scope of this study, it is also necessary to look into Islamic law, art and societies, and certain characteristics of the eastern religious and cultural traditions. In this sense, the Village Institutes system needs to be studied in a broader context of sociology, judiciary, economy, history and pedagogy.

Historical sources can be divided into two general groups: a) sources that are directly related to education, and b) sources that deal with the conditions of education such as the social structure, economic situation, traditions, legal system, religion, political regime, geographical conditions and etc. Primary sources are those that directly relate to the subject being studied. For example, a written account of an event by someone who actually witnessed the event is a primary source. It is natural that the researcher prefers primary sources (Serper & Gunsakal, 1989). In this sense, I began with a broad literature search. This literature included previous research, books, and newspaper and periodical articles about the Village Institutes. My primary sources included:

- Writings of the founders of the Village Institutes,
- Memoirs, books, studies, newspaper and periodical articles by the Village Institutes teachers and graduates,
- Diaries and reports of the Village Institutes inspectors,
- Lesson plans, curriculum, and the extracurricular activities at the Village Institutes,
• Written documents and reports regarding the Villages Institutes in the archives of the Ministry of the Turkish National Education (Most of such documents have been destroyed in a fire),
• Laws and regulations relating to the establishment of the Village Institutes and the records of the discussions in the Turkish parliament,
• Diaries, books, newspaper and periodical articles by artists, writers, musicians, technical personal, and scientists who taught in the Village Institutes voluntarily or with pay,
• Previous Interviews with the villagers who participated in agricultural, sportive, recreational and artistic activities open to the public.

Witness Psychology And Neutrality

In the course of this study, I noted that some of the sources were written very enthusiastically. They were mostly diaries, books and articles written by the Village Institutes graduates or teachers and seemed to be emotional and somehow exaggerated. On the contrary, in their writings the founders and the administrators of the Village Institutes seemed more impartial and objective. In his diaries, the creator of the Village Institutes system Ismail Hakkı Tonguç comes across as quite tolerant toward even those who destroyed his system. I did not find such an enthusiastic language in secondary sources.

The experiment of the Village Institutes was an educational revolution that took place in extraordinary conditions. It is natural that the participants of such revolutionary events may experience great deal of excitement and strong emotions.
During those years, Turkey experienced a storm of revolutions that changed the social life drastically. The founders of the Village Institutes and others involved also took part in those changes. Their enthusiasm was passed onto their students affecting them deeply. They believed that they were making the history and changing the destiny of a nation.

In addition, the Village Institutes graduates were well aware that had the Village Institutes not been founded they would have had no chance of getting any education at all. They were the first students to have an education in a democratic environment. In such a free environment, they became self-confident and self-sufficient individuals. As a result, they had a feeling of great debt and gratitude for their fellow students, teachers and the founders of Village Institutes. Thus, in interviews conducted during the course of this study, Village Institute graduates often expressed such gratitude and loyalty. However, one may argue that such an enthusiasm may cause bias and put into question the reliability of the source. However, I believe that it may also tell us about the genuineness of their feelings, thus, strengthening the reliability of their accounts.

Secondary Sources

Secondary sources are prepared by those who have not witnessed the events first hand. Secondary sources also refer to other primary and secondary sources. Thus, this may pose a threat for the reliability of secondary sources. However, it may not always be possible to access the primary source, and in such case, the researcher has to depend on the secondary sources (Kaptan, 1993).
When the information in a secondary source is accurate and reliable, it facilitates the job of the researcher since the time and money that the researcher has to spend to access the primary sources is saved. For example, it has been claimed that the Village Institutes graduates developed a good grasp of the Turkish language, and that the system has been very successful in this respect. One cannot assess the accuracy of such a claim by simply going through the primary sources. However, every year The Institution of Turkish Language gives awards to writers for their contribution to Turkish language. These works may be in the form of novels, newspaper articles, research, stories, theatre plays, poems, or even a scientific publication. Thus, one learns from the annuals of the Institutes of Turkish Language that many Village Institutes graduates have been awarded in these areas over the years.

Control of Data: Internal and External Criticism

Due to the nature of this research, I cannot observe the events under investigation. To a great extent, I have to base this study on the findings of the previous work on the Village Institutes. Thus, there is a possibility that the information provided by these sources may be inaccurate. This is a risk that every historical researcher faces in the course of his or her study. In this situation, a criterion is the internal criticism of the validity of the sources. It is also possible that the document that the researcher obtains may be inauthentic. Such material may also have misled other researchers and writers. In order to avoid this, it is necessary to assess the authenticity of the documents through external criticism.
In my literature search, I looked into sources that criticized the Village Institutes and their founders. However, in such writings a scientific approach to the issue is lacking. They are mostly newspaper or periodical articles. In fact, they eventually criticize the character of Republican regime itself through the Village Institutes. In these writings, the conservative writers and religious fundamentalists criticize the reforms made by the Republic. Their criticism does not involve education but reflect their political agendas. They attack the personal lives and characters of the founders of the Village Institutes. Their style demonstrates an example of demagoguery and polemic. In conclusion, their criticism primarily aims at the founders of the Institutes and the regime of the Republic, rather than the Village Institutes themselves.

In *The Road to Hope* Ismail Hakki Tonguc’s son Engin Tonguç (1984) talks about such unfounded criticism toward his father: “My father could not make his voice heard. The press had been conducting a witch-hunt, and with the influence of accusations serving a certain political agenda the press had closed its doors to opposing views. Because of this, my father tried to defend not himself but his works through his writings.” (p. 105)

A renowned Turkish writer, Kemal Tahir strongly criticized the Village Institutes in his documentary novel. This author, having visited no Village Institutes in his lifetime, stated that his source was somebody named Tahir Alangu who had taught in a Village Institute for a very short time. Thus, Kemal Tahir criticized not only that particular Village Institutes but also the entire Village Institutes system.
based on one-week observations of Tahir Alangu. Even today, those who criticize the Village Institutes still refer to his documentary novel as a source.

In the course of this study, I came across some documents whose reliability I thought was questionable. Writers who used these documents as a source were not themselves educators, but mostly journalists of the far right end of the political spectrum and associated with religious fundamentalists. In order to assess the external validity of my sources I asked following questions:

1. What is origin of the source?
2. Is it original or a copy of the original?
3. If it is not the original where is it?

During the foundation years of the Village Institutes, Hasan Ali Yücel, who was known for his work in sociology and education, was the Minister of National Education. As a state’s man, he played an important and active role in reforming Turkish education. He established the University Law and many new universities were opened during his administration. Because of the controversial nature of his work, he became the target of several assassination attempts during his lifetime. His opponents included people from the religious right to the extreme nationalists influenced by developments in Hitler’s Germany.

In 1947, Hasan Ali Yücel sued a lawyer and politician Kenan Öner for defamation of character via press (Ertuğrul, 20000). Upon the dismissal of the case by the fist court handling the case, the far right and religious press gave the news as if Yücel himself was put on trial and as if the court had found him guilty of the accusations made by the defendant Kenan Öner via press. However, in 1949 a higher
court found Kenan Öner guilty. The matter of the fact is that, today still such false and unfounded accusations are being made about the Village Institutes and their founders.

In my evaluation of the secondary sources, I identified three main purposes for which they were written: a) to propagate certain ideologies, b) to get favors from the government and c) to attract attention and gain popularity. In the first group were leftist and communist writers. They did not seem to have done an extensive research on the Village Institutes. According to them, the development of a country is possible only under the dynamic leadership of the workers, not the ignorant villagers. Only the vanguards from this working class could educate the villagers for a better society. In the great scheme of things, the Village Institutes were destined to be ineffective to achieve any change in the society. The makers of such claims, however, insistently refused to examine the educational outcome of the Village Institutes. They were quick to conclude that unless a socialist revolution took place in Turkey no development in any aspect of life would be possible.

In the second group were those who swayed in their opinions depending on the political climate. I believe that sources prepared by those who constantly make compromises in their opinions depending on whomever are in power, is not likely to be a reliable source. In order to achieve their goals, they may distort the evidence and even present false documents to back up their claims. For this reason, it may be revealing for the researcher to pay attention to the changes in the opinions and attitudes of such writers over time.
In the third group were both the proponents and the opponents of the Village Institutes. They were mostly the members of the media and approached the issue for its sensational value. While some strongly criticized the Village Institutes and their founders, others went to the extreme in their praise. Their claims were not solid and scientifically unfounded. It seems that they approached the issue according to the political tendencies and expectation of their audience.

The political cold war that started with the establishment of the new Turkish Republic in 1923 seemed to have accelerated with the arguments involving the Village Institutes - in fact, this war sometimes turned into bloody clashes between the religious radicals and the government, especially during the early republic. As I mentioned earlier, many sources about the Village Institutes dealt with the issue from a non-educational point of view. Their discussions hardly got beyond being about the regime itself and touched upon education. Thus, I did not include such works that were not relevant in the context of this research, even though I believed they contained accurate information. Besides, in the abundance of events that took place in 21 Village Institutes, there was a danger of making generalizations from singular examples that did not represent the real universe of the Village Institutes.

In historical research, the main source is the witness and, his or her reliability is crucial for the soundness of the research. The researcher may need to inquire into the life of the witness in order determine whether the account given by the witness is accurate. Here, I have to mention that there is an abundance of primary sources about the Village Institutes, because many a Village Institutes graduate was very productive and wrote many books about his or her experiences in these schools. Interestingly,
many of the graduates with whom I talked signed for me a book that they had wrote about the Village Institutes.

Reliability of the Writer

However a document is defined, it cannot be used the way it is found. It has to be critically evaluated by the researcher. In order to understand why it is so, one needs to consider the taped interviews of the biography writers. At first, these writers may think that they have obtained the accurate information during their interviews. However, the questions posed by the interviewer may be biased and misleading as well as the answers given by the interviewee. Since the tapes are not printed materials, they usually are exempt form the criticism of the other researchers and witnesses.

The researcher who does not have a responsible conduct in his or her study may very well attempt to distort or produce the evidence to get a desired result. Regarding this matter, I would like to give a striking example: It has been rumored that boy and girl students at the Village Institutes lived in the same dormitories and as a result illegitimate pregnancies and abortions were seen. Such rumors caused reactions among people in small towns and cities and planted the seeds of hatred toward the Village Institutes. In fact, the Village Institutes were built in villages without any fences or walls around them. Also, the activities in these schools from agriculture to the arts were open to the participation and scrutiny of the public. Under such circumstances, it would be virtually impossible to keep anything from the villagers of the locale. Thus, had such claims been true, villagers very conservative by nature would have reacted immediately and very aggressively.
Common Sense and Critical Evaluation

In historical research, it becomes easier to assess the reliability of the data when there are many sources referring to the same documents. For a variety of reasons many false documents such as, letters, paintings and sculptures are created. This is the main threat to the external validity of a source. A research can be said to have external validity only when its findings are accurate and applicable to the group being studied (Kaptan, 1993).

On the other hand, the proper understanding of the information contained in the source is a necessary condition for internal validity. Internal validity is the parallelism between the understanding of the researcher of his or her source and what this source is actually intended. In this sense, I compared and contrasted the primary sources with one another, and also with the secondary sources. In doing that, I applied two criteria: a) Common sense, and b) critical reasoning. For internal validity, I asked following questions:

- How has the researcher interpreted the data?
- Has the researcher looked for the data that would favor his or her opinion on the issue being examined?
- Has the researcher taken into consideration the new information and findings about the subject studied?
- Does the researcher have the habit of making generalizations?

It is an important method to control the data gathered from the secondary sources by talking to actual witnesses, if possible. In this research, however, I could not use this method as much as I wanted, because the Village Institutes graduates who
are alive today are over 70 years old and scattered around the country. It is very
difficult to locate where they live. Also, none of the individuals who played an
important role in the creation of the Village Institutes is alive today. There is a lack of
data and research done specifically on the art education aspect of the Institutes. It
seems that in the midst of the political controversy and turmoil surrounding the
Village Institutes, the art education component of the Village Institutes system has
been overlooked.

As I mentioned earlier the most important criteria in historical research is
common sense. One can define common sense as the ability of the researcher to rise
above the traditional ways and clichés of thinking and look at the issue as impartially
as possible, that is, in a non-biased and non-prejudiced way. The degree to which the
researcher is able to use his or her common sense in making assumptions and
interpretations about the past and future depends upon the scope of his or her
knowledge. Also, there may be situations where the researcher may need to consult
expert opinion when the knowledge of the researcher on a specific issue is not
sufficient to analyze the data. Thus, sometimes I felt the need to consult experts,
especially about the properties and characteristic of the Ottoman language, Arabic,
Islamic laws and arts.

Archives And Interviews

As is well known, in historical research archives are of great importance and
most reliable and direct source for data. There are three areas in an archival study that
the researcher may attend: primary archives, secondary archives and the physical
environment. Primary archives are original documents and official files and records. The secondary archives on the other hand are documents gathered, classified and published by other researchers (Serper at Gunsakal, 1989). In fact, I ran into difficulties at various stages of my archival research on the Village Institutes system and its art education, especially trying to find the primary archival documents regarding the Village Institutes.

In general, educational institutions have well preserved and organized archives where a researcher such as a biography writer can easily access information about people he or she is studying. This information may include grades, diplomas, photographs and other records about students’ school activities. However, because the archives of the Villages Institutes along with the school buildings were to a great extent destroyed, the physical evidences of the works students produced in their classes and extracurricular activities, written official documents about the educational and administrative functioning of the Village Institutes, and other related material cannot be found easily.

The political constituency supported by the remnants of the feudal structure and the fanatic religious and conservative circles opposed to the Village Institutes from the beginning came to power in 1950. This conservative and far right political constituency immediately began to destroy one by one the achievements of the Republic realized through reforms in accordance with its constituent ideals. In fact, the revolutionary institutions of the Republic such as the Village Institutes and the People’s Houses were to be the first targets of such reactionary attempts. Thus, the People’s Houses and Rooms founded in 1932 were all closed down on December 14th,
1953. Their belongings were confiscated; libraries and other facilities such as art
studios and press machines, and their archives were destroyed. In the same year,
Villages Institutes were also closed.

The political constituency based on the same conservative religious circles
that opposed the Village Institutes and the ideas underlying their creation have
managed to remain in power during most part of the last 50 years. They have made a
significant effort to eradicate the legacy of the Village Institutes mostly through the
means of propaganda, hearsay and oppression. Due to such treatment of the Village
Institutes and destruction of their archives, it has not been possible to access most of
the valuable primary data that would have been found in the archives of the Village
Institutes. As a result, the secondary archival data have become very important in this
study.

Despite the lack of the primary archival data about the Village Institutes, I
have been able to gather valuable information from the secondary archival sources.
Among them are the personal archives of certain individuals, the Village Institutes
graduates, the old issues of the Village Institute Periodical, and the annuals of
Istanbul University from 1934 to 1939. For example, I obtained the famous report of
John Dewey on Turkish education from Prof. Tülin Sağlamtuc. Also, I have been able
to gather valuable information from the personal archives of Ferit Oğuz Bayır, a
friend of Tonguç’s and an educator and administrator, and of Fakir Baykurt, a Village
Institute graduate and writer. Unfortunately, they both have passed away recently.

I did not have difficulty to find primary archival data regarding the
socioeconomic and geographical conditions of Turkey during the republic era since
the founders of the republic gave great importance to systematic research on the socioeconomic realities of Turkey. As a result, a rich archival data was available such as the records of the parliament; statistics form censuses, and the issues of the official newspaper of the state where laws and governmental regulations were published. I also resorted to multiple sources relating to the same issue when I had any question about the reliability of my secondary archival data.

Here, I have to mention another problem I had in my archival research. It was not possible to conduct an archival study on the educational conditions of Turkey before the republic (statistical data on the population, the number of students and schools, demographics and other various data relating to the educational conditions do not exist). Besides, in order to do a research in the Ottoman archives one needs to know the Ottoman language written with the Arabic letters. However, the educational environment and conditions in the Ottoman Empire can be inferred from the results of the statistical studies done in the early years of the republic. The value given to education during the Ottoman era can be summed up in an anecdote attributed to a minister of education. According to this anecdote, one of the Ottoman ministers of education, Haşim Paşa once said that he would be able to administer his ministry very efficiently had there been no schools to deal with.

Documents that I could not find in my archival research were annual curriculum plans for each level, unit plans, daily lesson plans, class books where every activity was recorded, and student files. I believe that, had I been able to obtain these materials I would have had a track of daily activities that took place at the
Institutes throughout the year. I also would have been able to better compare the Village Institutes with traditional teacher training schools in many respects.

However, in spite of all these obstacles, one can still arrive at sound conclusions about the Village Institutes system. My secondary archival sources included: (a) the issues of the Village Institutes Periodical, (b) memoirs and research studies prepared by the Village Institutes graduates, (c) letters, books and newspaper and periodical articles of the founders, administrators and teachers of the Institutes, (d) reports prepared by the educational inspectors about the Institutes, (e) memoirs of musicians, artists, writers and technical personal who contributed to education at the Institutes, (f) Photographs and interviews, and (g) documents that were used as a source by other researchers. Also, census statistics, the issues of the official newspaper of the state, the records of the parliament, personal archives, photographs, official files and records provide primary archival data.

I also have to note that this study lacked two main archival sources: data banks and physical environment. The physical environment regarding the Village Institutes had been either destroyed or altered. While some facilities were destroyed, others were used for other purposes. The gardens, wineries, technical and artistic facilities and studios no longer exist. What remains from the Institutes such as the forests and water canals and other architectural structures are scattered. As for the data banks for the Village Institutes, they have never been established.

However, the writings of the founders of the Village Institutes such as those of Tonguc, from which we can learn in great detail about such activities, are available. From these writings one learns that Tonguc kept in touch with the Institutes and
closely followed their education and administration almost everyday. He constantly corresponded with the teachers and the administrators of the Institutes. Thus, it is also possible to learn from his letters the educational activities at the Institutes indirectly. In this sense, one can say that Tonguc’s letters gathered in one book by his son Engin Tonguc are of archival value.

Thanks to the value given to the literature and language education at the Institutes, many of the Village Institutes students have kept diaries where they recorded their lives at the Institutes. It is not always possible to assess the accuracy or the reliability of their accounts in those diaries. However, I have to mention that there are not significant discrepancies between the different accounts of students in their diaries, studies and books regarding the general functioning of their schools and the nature of the educational applications. I also believe that the issues of the Village Institutes Periodical prepared by the students, diaries, Tonguc’s letters, published circulars and regulations should be considered as archival documents.

Village Institutes were founded in the most impoverished regions of a poor country. Hence, there is a lack of visual material documenting life at the Institutes such as photographs and films. Photographs besides the ones appeared in the newspapers are scarce and poor in quality. I also have not been able to find documentary films showing the activities at the Institutes.

Institutions such as the Village Institutes and the People’s Houses were the products of the Republican principles. Without looking into political powers, social structure, political system, and life conditions before the republic one cannot properly understand the reforms and changes made in the republic era that underscored the
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businessman who is dealing with a complex issue, every lawyer who is studying his
or her case is a pragmatic historian researching his or her sources” (Barzun, 1999, p.1)
CHAPTER 3

BACKGROUND

Historical Reasons For Resistance To Change In The Ottoman Empire

In Europe, a transition from a theocratic education based on religious doctrines to a scientific one based on the autonomy of “reason” began to take place between the 15th and the 17th centuries (Selçuk, 1997). Turkey on the other hand carried on with a theocratic educational system well into the 20th century. Although the Tanzimat (Restorations) era had brought some changes, the state organization could not get free of the religious and political hegemony of the religious clergy and the Padishah. The multinational and multiethnic character of the Ottoman Empire caused the ethnic communities seeking for the recognition of their identities to fall into the trap of separatism. The Islamic Law on the other hand prevented the development of democratic institutions and human rights within the Ottoman borders. The fact that each community applied their own legal systems did not allow the implementation of a Civic Code applied to every element in the Ottoman society regardless of their race, nationality or ethnicity. Also, the Islamic Law and traditions prevented women from having an equal standing in the society as men. Thus, the conditions of the Enlightenment did not seem to exist within the Ottoman territory.
The biggest obstacle facing the reformers of the Ottoman Empire as well as the Republic era was the Islamic Law called Sheria (Selçuk, 1997). Among the reformist applications of the republic that met the fiercest opposition and reaction were those aimed to demolish the laws of the Sheria. In fact, today the majority of countries that identify themselves as Islamic do not have democracy. Before the republic, democracy did not exist in the Turkey either. It is possible to name the historical reasons underlying the resistance to change in the Ottoman Empire, which goes back as far back as the 15th century, as follows:

1. Intermingling of Islam and the state
2. Religious prohibitions placed upon the arts such as painting, sculpture and theatre.
4. Discovery of new continents that changed the trade routes.
5. Non-existence of a bourgeois class that would accumulate capital.
6. Insufficiency of primary and secondary education.
7. Lack of industry and urbanization due to the fact that great majority of the population worked in agriculture.
9. Closed family structure and strong tribal ties in the countryside.
Ottoman Identity

In Turkey, the process of breaking away from the Ottoman identity has been a painful one. In order to be able to understand the problems that the young Turkish Republic have faced and continues to face, one needs to have an overall understanding of the Ottoman identity. In his book *The Ottoman Identity*, Timur (1998), writes

"Up until its demise, rationalism in the Ottoman culture was not the dominant way of thinking. As oppose to modernist thinking, it was faith not skepticism that was dominant way of thinking in the Ottoman culture. Such faith was sacred and skepticism was belittled, punished and cast from the society. This way of thinking, which continued well into the late 19th century, in fact, was called Scholastic thinking in Western tradition. The West believes that it broke away from the scholastic thinking through the Renaissance, the scientific revolutions of the 17th century, and the 18th century Enlightenment. Although we need to keep in mind that such dates and periodizations are arbitrary, we must accept that the Ottoman Middle Ages continued until recent times. In terms of the way we think today, we have broken away from our past. However, can we say that this has been a complete break and we have not inherited anything from the past? I think nobody can say that" (p. 16)

According Timur (1998) the Ottomans were men of faith and their worldview was based on the teachings of the Koran, the words and deeds of the prophet Mohammed, and the texts that interpreted them. Timur defines the Ottoman identity as follows:

"In the course of history, civilizations have influenced one another mostly through migrations, conquests and trade relationships. The Ottoman civilization came into being as a result of migrations and conquests of Turks that continued for centuries, through which they came into contact with the Arabic-Iranian culture on the one hand and the Byzantium on the other. In the history of civilizations, the Ottoman Empire is considered and studied under Islamic civilization. To categorize a civilization made up of various elements by taking into consideration only its religious aspect is of course not sufficient. Besides, since the sacred values are the most divisive ones because they tend to emphasize differences between people and cultures, such a categorization runs against the approach I have taken here. However, in order to examine the Ottoman identity, it is necessary to strongly emphasize the Islamic character
of this civilization. It is because, after accepting Islam, Turks defined
themselves and their social order around Isiamic values, and in the eyes of the
Christian world they became the first and foremost representatives of Islam
from the 15th century on” (p. 37).

Educational Conditions Before The Tanzimat Era

By 1922, the invasion in Turkey’s soil had ended, and in place of the
monarchic system, a new republic was founded in 1923. According to the 1924
Turkish Constitution, education was to be carried on in accordance with the Atatürk
Principles, which were Independence, Populism, Statism, Revolutionism and Laicism.
These principles were mentioned in the Basic Law of National Education as well.
When looking at the organization of education and the course contents stated in the
National Education Law, one can see the strong emphasis placed upon such concepts
as nationalism, secularism, co-education, and science (Akyüz, 1982). Teaching of
these subjects, which gives a hint about the intention of the lawmaker, are closely tied
to Turkey’s socioeconomic history and structure. It seems that especially by the
emphasis placed upon the importance of nationalism and secularism, it was intended
to find solutions to some of the problems inherited from the Ottoman period. Thus,
the history of Turkish education is the history of Turkey’s resistance to change. For
this reason, it will be appropriate to analyze this structure and to summarize the
educational conditions and applications before the Republic.

The Ottoman Empire ruled a very large territory even by the early 19th century.
However, it had reached its largest borders by the 1699 Karlofça Treaty signed upon
the Vienna defeat, which cost the Ottoman Empire some territory for the first time in
its history (Lamartin, 1991). Many countries that are independent today such as
Bulgaria, Romania, Albania, Monte-Negro, Serbia, Bosnia, Croatia, Greece, Hungary, Syria, Lebanon, Israel, Jordan, Iraq, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Egypt, Tunisia, Libya and Algeria were all within the Ottoman borders (Kunt & Akşin & Ödekan, & Toprak & Yurtaysin, 1990). As a result, the Ottoman population was made up of many nations and ethnic groups.

It was an Ottoman State policy to settle down in the newly acquired areas the nomadic and semi-nomadic Turkish tribes, which founded the Ottoman Empire (Yerasimos, 1980). However, the state had no policy of ethnic cleansing or assimilation of the minorities. Each ethnic group was allowed to maintain its own language, religion and traditions. Each element of the Empire that the state was able to tax was equally valuable. In addition, the State did not attempt to convert the Christian population to Islam because they paid an extra tax called Cizye.

Multiculturalism and multi-nationalism that characterized the Roman Empire constituted the fabric of the Ottoman society as well. Thus, the Ottoman Empire was founded on the territory of the East Roman Empire.

While the West Roman Empire was falling apart under the barbarian assaults and Europe was evolving towards feudalism, the Ottoman Empire presented a different picture in terms of the structure of its economy and state device. The feudal institutions and social classes existing in Europe did not develop in the Ottoman Empire. An aristocratic ruling class similar to that in the feudal kingdoms of Europe did not develop in the Ottoman Empire either. From the very beginning, the Ottoman Empire was organized as a centralized and despotic state (Küçükömer, 1963). The land ownership, which constituted the economic power of the feudal-aristocratic class,
was not permitted and the entire Ottoman territory was the property of the State in the name of the Padishah. The land distribution system was quite complex (Kongar, 1979). A class called Sipahi, which some historians likened to feudal seniors, was nothing more than a class of military officers who used the tax they collected in their district to feed their soldiers, the number of which determined upon the size of their district and the tax income, to be used when the Padishah needed them in a war. The authority of Sipahis would be terminated and their share would be taken away by the State any time. They also did not have the right to pass their inheritance down to their children (Barkan, 1980).

Marx, who developed categorical theories on the modes of production and social structures, felt the need to analyze the socioeconomic structure of the Eastern societies under a separate category, which he called ‘Asian-Type Mode of Production’, and to emphasize its difference from feudalism. Although some researchers think differently on the subject and claim that the Ottoman society was a feudal society in many respects, the majority agrees that the socioeconomic structure of the Ottoman society was different (Avcıoğlu, 1979).

On the contrary to gradual evolution of feudalism in Europe into central-monarchic kingdoms and then capitalistic nation-states, in the Ottoman Empire the insurgence of Auto-centric tendencies were observed. Attempts by some elements to become powerful enough to be able to create power centers existed almost in every period of the Empire. Such attempts usually overlooked when the power of the State was weakened by wars or uprisings were severely punished when the strength of the
centralized power was reestablished (Kunt et al., 1990). Up until the Tanzimat era, the Asiatic-despotic and bureaucratic character of the state device remained prevalent.

This social structure summarized above and the grandiose state device in turn determined the conditions and goals of education. Education primarily aimed to train bureaucrats for the state. There was no particular state policy to implement social education and this field was left to civil and religious initiatives. Before the Tanzimat era education was organized in three main branches as Enderun, Yeniçeri (Janissary) and Medrese (Madrasa).

**Enderun**

The Ottoman Padishahs saw it a threat when somebody of Turkish origin acquired considerable power by rising to important and influential positions. For example, the Padishah Mehmet II ordered the killing of the members of the Çandarlı family, which became very powerful during the foundation period (1300-1450) and from which many sadrazams (prime ministers) came, and confiscated their belongings (Yerasimos, 1980). As one of the measures taken to prevent such feudal tendencies, an interesting system called Enderun was developed. This institution aimed to train state bureaucrats. Children from the Christian families were taken to the palace and converted to Islam. Thus, having been severed from their roots, these children's absolute loyalty and service to the Padishah was secured (Akdağ, 1975). These children were called Kapikulu (Door-servant) and taught Turkish, Arabic, Persian, literature, history, music, Islamic theology and mathematics. They were also
trained in sports such as bowing, horseback riding, wrestling and lance throwing (Akyüz, 1982). Children of Turkish origin were not accepted to Enderun.

Enderun graduates were employed in the central government or in the peripheral regions as state officials. Those among them who stuck out with their intelligence and talents (sometimes in plotting and conspiring) could become ministers (vezir) and Prime Ministers (sadrazam). Out of twenty-four Prime Ministers that served between 1453 and 1566, only two were of Turkish origin, and the rest were converted Christians graduated from the Enderun (Yerasimos, 1980). From this school perfected during the reign of Mehmet II known as the Conqueror and closed with the Tanzimat (Regulations) era, came seventy-nine prime ministers, three şeyhulislams (religious leaders), thirty-six admirals, many poets, calligraphers, musicians, governors and ministers (Akyüz, 1982).

Janissary

The institution of Janissary, which constituted one branch of the central army of the Padishah, was also an educational institution. Like in Enderun, in this institution children taken from the Christian families at the age of 4-5 received language and religious (Islam) education besides the military training. Also in the institution of Janissary, education as well as production was carried out in the fields of architecture, artillery and firearms (Akyüz, 1982). A renowned Ottoman architect Mimar Sinan, who was recruited from an Armenian family of the city of Kayseri when he was a child and converted to Islam, was educated in this institution. The
institution of Janissary also trained bureaucrats for the state besides the military such as governors, prime ministers and admirals (Uluçay, 1985).

The system of training statesman and bureaucrats through Enderun and Janissary kept people of Turkish origin from holding important positions in the government, leaving them with only one option, which was to attend madrasas giving religious education. Even Padishahs tried to distance themselves from the Turkish population. They signed their orders as the ruler of Rumeli (the country of Rome) and the caliphate of Muslims, and constituted their harem mostly with non-Turkish women. In fact, a few Padishahs' mother was Turkish (Uluçay, 1985).

**Madrasa**

Madrasas were religious institutions. They graduated imam-hatips (pastor-preachers) and a type of judges called Kadi who applied the Islamic law Sheria. Kadis also functioned as notaries. The Kazasker (Kadi-soldier) took majors cases and was the only member in “Divan”, a type of government, who was graduated from the madrasa. The Kazasker appointed other Kadis and teachers, and functioned in a way like a minister of justice. The Şeyhulislam, who decided whether the functioning of the State was in accordance with the Islamic Law, also graduated from the madrasa. However, they were not the members of the Divan. Thus, the only way the people of Turkish origin could climb up in the government was through Madrasas (Yerasimos, 1980).

The madrasa education consisted of the memorization of versus from the Koran, the words and the deeds of the prophet Mohammed, and their interpretations.
The time during which each student completed the memorizing of the assigned books determined the duration of education in madrasas (Akyüz, 1982). Although these schools resembled the church and monastery schools in Europe, they were institutions connected to the high state officials who through their pious foundations funded these schools (Kunt et al., 1990).

Turkish tribes of Oğuz origin that migrated from the steppes of the Middle Asia into Anatolia and Balkans were nomadic and semi-nomadic cattle growers. Trying to settle down these nomadic tribes had been the first and foremost priority of the central government during the Anadolu-Selçuk Empire and then Ottoman Empire. As a reaction to such forceful attempts, a significant portion of Turkish tribes, which began to accept in masses the religion of Islam from the 10th century on, developed a tradition of Islam peculiar to Anatolia called Alevi-Bektaşi. This tradition was influenced by the old religion of Turks, Shamanism, Middle Eastern Christianity and mostly the Shia creed of Islam (Noyan, 1987). On the other hand, the Madrasas where education was based on the beliefs of the Sunni creed functioned as one of the most important vehicles imposing the beliefs of the Sunni creed as well as the authority of the Padishah in the society.

There are many studies emphasizing the differences between the inflexible beliefs, pretentious literature and language of the court and Madrasa circles influenced by Arabic and Farsi and the pure Turkish of folk poetry and legends that were passed down from generation to generation orally (Akdağ, 1975). One needs to look for the reasons why the significant majority of people in Turkey remained
indifferent to the annihilation of the Madrasas and the implementation of secular policies in these peculiar historical conditions of the Turkish society.

Around the Madrasas was formed one of the most peculiar classes of the Ottoman social structure, the class of Ulema (the ones possessing knowledge, a community of learned men). This class made up of kadıs (religious judges), imams (preachers), madrasa students, and graduates was economically and ideologically dependent upon the State as opposed to the Christian clergy in Europe. For this reason, during the foundation of the Turkish Republic, the social opposition originating from the Ulema towards the establishment of secular laws remained weak and thus easy to control.

**Social Education**

The Ottoman state did not have a social education project. However, a type of primary schools called Sibyan (underage) schools was founded in towns and big cities usually next to a mosque. Their operating expenses and the salaries of teachers, who were the graduates of madrasas, were paid through pious foundations. In these schools Arabic alphabet, reading and writing, the Koran, and the words of Mohammed were taught (Akyüz, 1982). Sibyan schools functioned in a way to enhance the influence of the Ulema class in the society and prevented the formation of a national consciousness among the Turkish population (Berkes, 1973). However, the Christian population, not being subject to assimilation, was able to establish their own educational institutions in which they could teach their languages and traditions. Thus, this played a facilitating role in the emergence of non-Muslim elements as
independent nations during the disintegration period of the Ottoman Empire (Berkes, 1973).

Besides Sibyan schools, some children received a type of vocational education under the control of gilds and in the form of master-apprenticeship relationship. This education consisting of the teaching of production techniques of certain goods was far from being scientific. This system, which did not permit the mass production of goods but able to supply the demands of a self-sufficient village economy, was not conducive to scientific and technological development (Akdağ, 1979). Thus, with the importing of European goods in the 18th century, the native market unable to stand the competition was collapsed (Yerasimos, 1980).

It is known that the emergence of nationalism and nation-states coincided with the rise of bourgeois class to power marked with the French Revolution. The fact that the process of capitalistic development based upon the accumulation capital through the system of private property and the colonialization of overseas countries did not take place within the Ottoman borders caused the Empire to loose both power and territory during the recession period (Kunt et al., 1990). During the 1853 Kırım war, the state first time in its history borrowed money from the European capital circles. From then on, the foreign dept continued to grow deepening the semi-colonized status of the country.

The loss of territory led to a decrease in the tax revenues. As a result of wars, many of which were lost, and the oversized Ottoman State mechanism, a kind of internal dept collecting system called İltizam was established. In this system, individuals loaned money to the state and in return were given the right to collect tax
(Yerasimos, 1980). Upon the collapse of the land and tax system of the Ottoman Empire, a new class made up of the tax collectors, the local powerful families, and the state officials developed away from the scrutiny of the central government. This class, unable to evolve into a feudal class – because social traditions did not allow it- or a capitalistic class - never had the legitimacy that the feudal classes of Europe did have in the eyes of the people. In Turkish folk songs and tales, this class was represented as the accomplice of villains, plunderers and burglars. Thus, this class along with the Ulema would constitute the opposition front against the social reformation attempts both during the Tanzimat and the republic era (Berkes, 1978). In this sense the Ottoman educational system, which could not radically reform its institutions and train a qualified work force in the areas of science and technology, can be said to be the major cause of the recession in the Ottoman Empire.

The Tanzimat Era

The period between 1699 and 1923 is known as the recession period in the Turkish history. During this period and even before, some Ottoman Padishahs tried to stop the recession and to recover the state back to its power. However, since the state had traditionally been a military state and the failures had been experienced first in the field of military, it was believed that many problems would be solved by the reorganization of the military. Because the socioeconomic and cultural causes of the recession were overlooked and the social and traditional structure was extremely stagnant many well-intended efforts became ineffective. Padishahs such as the Osman II and Selim III tried to replace the stagnant, poorly trained and undisciplined
provincial army and the Janissary, which had become an oligarchy due to its influential position in the state, with a well trained, disciplined and technologically improved military. They were brutally killed in uprisings led by the Janissary and the Ulama (Lamartine, 1991). The institution of the Janissary was finally demolished in 1826 during the reign of Mahmut II, which accelerated the establishment of new institutions in this field (Kunt et al., 1990).

In 1773 during the reign of Mustafa the III, the Navy academy (Mühendishane-i Bahrii Hümayun) was established. In this school education was three years, and besides the Navy training students were taught Arabic, Persian, French and math. Many teachers who taught in the Navy were from France. After 1842, English became mandatory and French selected (Akyüz, 1982). Mühendishane-i Berrii Hümayun was founded in 1793 to train artillery officers. In this school, astronomy, algebra, geometry, engineering, geography, war history, physics, French, Arabic and the Koran were taught. Although previously in several madrasas a traditional medical education was given, the first medical school in the real sense of the word was founded in 1826 during the reign of Mahmut the II (Berkes, 1973). One of the most influential institutions in Turkish history, the Military academy was founded again during this period in 1834. This academy had modern educational tools and equipment brought from England. Besides the Koran, students were taught algebra, geometry, geography, astronomy, mapping, technical drawing, war sciences, history and military training by French and Turkish teachers (Akyüz, 1982). In addition, from 1830 on students began to be sent abroad to receive engineering, medical, military and teacher training (Berkes, 1973).
During the reigns of reformist Padishahs such as Mustafa III, Selim III and Mahmut II, the central government made significant efforts to improve the military education. It was thought that by the reformation of the military through education the empire was going to be able to get back its glorious days. However, the strengthening of the economy to supply the military, investment in technology, and the reorganization of education were overlooked. Sibyan schools, which could be considered primary educational institutions, remained a few and under the influence of madrasas. The Ruştıyes, which were a combination of primary and secondary schools, were not common. The executive order of Mahmut the II, which made the primary education mandatory only in the city of Istanbul, could not be implemented (Berkes, 1973). As a result, higher educational institutions especially the military schools experienced a great difficulty to find students. However, even these attempts mentioned above caused the reaction of traditionalist-conservative circles. Provocative statements such as “religion is being destroyed” or “the army of the prophet is becoming the army of infidels” provoked the uneducated and illiterate public.

The declaration known as the Tanzimat (Regulations) issued in 1839 by the Prime Minister Mustafa Reşit Paşa with the approval of the Padishah Abdülmecit II functioned in a way as a Constitution (Kunt & al.). While some have considered the declaration of Tanzimat an important step towards contemporarization of the country, others have seen it as an imposed period accelerating the semi-colonialization process of the country (Kongar, 1979). It may be said that both interpretations are accurate. During this era, imperialistic countries such as England, Russia, France and Austria-
Hungary applied intensified pressure upon the Ottoman Empire. The nationalistic tendencies, which flourished among the Christian population with the influence of the French Revolution and turned into independence uprisings, were also provoked and supported by these countries. As a result of these revolts, Greece, Serbia, Montenegro, Romania and Bulgaria were separated from the Empire (Kunt & al., 1990). The embassies of foreign countries began to interfere with the appointment and resignation of high-level Ottoman bureaucrats and to function as bankers loaning the State money (Yerasimos, 1980). The land and tax system completely collapsed. The right to own private property, which was previously prohibited, was secured with an executive order. The oversized state mechanism was tried to be maintained through heavy taxes and domestic and foreign dept (Yerasimos, 1980). People who were fed up with extreme taxes and military recruits fled from towns and big villages to mountainous and wooded areas (Akdag, 1979). This process was observed throughout the whole recession and collapse period. In fact, it is for these historical reasons that even today villages in Turkey are situated far from one another.

However, the Tanzimat era was at the same time a period when there were attempts to reorganize the state apparatus, to modernize the military and to reform education. It was also a period when people of Turkish origin were able to go to military and technical schools; the authority of the Padishah became limited, and the conditions for the establishment of a monarchic parliamentary system and then for the republican revolution were prepared (Berkes, 1973). During the period between the declaration of the Tanzimat and the First World War, attempts to modernize education continued. One interesting aspect of these attempts was that they were
imposed by the central government but met religious and conservative opposition mostly concentrated in Istanbul.

Secondary Education

Secondary education was organized in three levels. The Rüştıye, which was first founded during the reign of Mahmut the II, constituted the first level. While in 1852 there was 12 rüştıyes and only in Istanbul, later 25 more rüştıyes were opened in big cities such as Izmir, Bursa and Selanik. In these schools, religion, Ottoman, Arabic, Persian, Ottoman history, geography, gymnastic, and geometry were taught. The Idadis, which were not much different from the Rüştıyes, were first opened as prep schools for the military and later were turned into the 3 years of middle schools following the rüştıye. They were very few in number (Akyüz, 1982). Ottoman, Turkish, grammar, logic, geography, history, biology, algebra, accounting, physics, chemistry and painting courses were taught (Akyüz, 1982). It is interesting that for the first time in the history of the Ottoman education, painting classes were included in the curricula.

The declaration of the Tanzimat secured the property, legal and educational rights of the minorities in the Ottoman Empire upon the pressure of foreign countries. In 1867, France gave an ultimatum to the Ottoman government demanding the implementation of conditions promised in its pledge and to establish high schools open to all Ottoman citizens where education was to be given in French. Upon this ultimatum, the first high school in the true sense of the word, the Mekteb-i Sultani, with its modern name the Galatasaray High School was opened (Berkes, 1973). These
high schools were for 6 years after rüştiyes. The first three grades constituted
secondary level, and students in their last three years were placed either in physics or
literature branch. In the literature branch Turkish-Ottoman grammar, Arabic, Persian
and Ottoman literature, French, law and history; in the physics branch, geometry,
algebra, analytic, geology, biology, chemistry, and topography were taught. The
majority of teachers were French. Schools were to be built by the state and students
paid tuition (Akyüz, 1982).

These schools could not become wide spread, and by 1908 only three of them
were opened. The institution of Galatasaray High School, which was intended to
function as one of the cornerstones of the imperialism in Turkey, also helped raise
many intellectuals acquainted with the culture of the Enlightenment. Indeed, many
leading figures of the Turkish revolution came from among those individuals (Berkes,
1973).

Higher Education

In the field of higher education besides military and medical schools, an
institution of higher education called Darulfiinun (the house of physics) was founded
in 1870. Open to every Ottoman citizen, this university had literature, law, and
physics departments. All of the first 450 students who passed the entrance
examination were the madrasa graduates (Berkes, 1973). Except for the physics
classes whose teachers were mostly French, courses were taught in Turkish (Ottoman)
(Akyüz, 1982). Due to a general conservative opposition and the difficulty of finding
teachers and students, this school could not develop. Attempts to reorganize the
Darulfunun in 1912 did not produce much result, because all teachers and students went to war. However, this school constituted the foundation of the first university of the republic, Istanbul University. Besides the Darulfunun, a school called the Mektebi Mülkiye, which would constitute the foundation of the Faculty of Political Sciences in the republic, was opened in 1859. This school intended to replace the Enderun to train state bureaucrats, and French, history, geography, domestic and international law, the Ottoman state system and economy-politics were taught during four years (Akyüz, 1982).

Minority Schools

With the declaration of the Tanzimat, the education of the Christian community, which previously was provided by the community itself without the intervention of the central government, became the responsibility of the state. Greek, Armenian and Jewish schools started to be opened. American schools such as the Robert College and Istanbul, Tarsus and Merzifon Girl Colleges and Catholic schools were opened throughout the country (Akyüz, 1982).

Primary Education

Attempts to improve the quality of primary education and to increase the number of primary schools during the reign of Mahmut the Second failed. The sibyan and neighborhood schools continued to remain under the influence of the madrasa graduates due to the lack of funding and the pressure by the traditionalist-conservative circles. The fact that the educational system consisting of the
memorization of the Koran and the Hadis (the words by the prophet Mohammed) could not be reformed created difficulties in finding students for high schools and military schools. Thus, the religious ideology continuously recreated itself making it difficult for the society to accept reforms. The same structure also caused the newly emerging class of the Ottoman-Turkish intellectuals to be confined strictly to the city of Istanbul and prevented the new ideas from having any affect on the public.

Technical And Art Education

In this field, significant developments were observed. The Engineering School (1883), which constituted the foundation of Istanbul Technical University (ITU), the Fine Arts Academy (1882), the Technical-Drawing and Architecture School (1887), the Business School (1884), the Theatre School (1914) and Conservatory (1916) were opened in Istanbul (Akyüz, 1982). It was through these schools that for the first time a limited circle especially in Istanbul and to a degree in Selanik was introduced to Western sciences, arts and philosophy.

The period between the Tanzimat and the foundation of the Turkish Republic stimulated the conflicting social dynamics in the country. The reforms aimed to strengthen the central government actually triggered nationalist and separatist tendencies, and reinforced the favored status of the new property-owners. However, it also allowed those of Turkish origin to have positions in the state apparatus on many levels. The schools other than madrasas where the Turkish-Muslim population could attend laid the foundations for the formation of a core Turkish intelligent class for the first time. Ironically, while the reformation of the military and opening of new
schools aimed to enhance the power of the Sultanate, those who were trained in these schools led the reformation attempts during the Tanzimat era, which limited the authority and power of the Padişah, and the Turkish revolution.

“In its objective sense, revolution is the struggle to take over the government. For this reason, every revolution has to answer this question: “Who is the side on the military?” In Turkish revolution, the military, which constituted the locomotive of it, came across as the representative of the freeing ideas. It was not an emerging class that overcame the military power of the old regime, but on the contrary, this new class played the role of backing up the revolutionist military officers. Turkey is historically a military state in terms of its roots and traditions. It has a relatively big army. A big army requires many officers. Some of them have come from among private soldiers acquiring rank among their fellow privates. However, although the Yıldız palace barbarically resisted the historical progress, it also came to the understanding that it to some degree needed to modernize its military. For this reason, it allowed the educated members of the society to enter the army. It was not long before the second group began to join the army to become officers. In fact, the underdeveloped industry and urbanization did not leave the Turkish intellectuals with any option other than join the ranks of the military. This way, the state within itself organized the militant leadership of the bourgeois elements that were in formation” (Trotsky, 1995, pp. 14-15).

One can summarize the main characteristics of the Turkish revolution as follows: The leaders of the revolution became statists to be able to reestablish a strong state apparatus, nationalists to be able to resist imperialist powers, secularists to control the conservative religious opposition. Although these leaders were influenced by the French revolution and the ideas stemming from the Enlightenment, they opposed the hegemony of the West. Thus, in an interview with the French newspaper Le Monde in 1928, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk said that the Turkish revolution followed the path opened by the French revolution, but developed with its distinguishing characteristics (Tanör, 1997).
Educational Conditions Before the Village Institutes

The Ottoman Empire lost the majority of its territory at the end of the First World War. In the territory that was freed from the occupation, Turkish republic was founded. It is not possible to accurately determine based on the statistical information the state of education in 1923. However, the census held in 1927 gives us a sense of the general educational situation inherited from the Ottoman Empire. The educational institutions that existed in 1923 in Turkey were:

1. Koran courses: In these courses, prayers in Arabic were taught. The small children did not learn Arabic but memorized the Koran.

2. Neighborhood Schools: Besides the Arabic scripture and the Koran, children were taught some arithmetic and geometry by imams (preacher).

3. Iptidais: They were a little bit more improved than the neighborhood schools. Grammar, arithmetic, geometry, calligraphy, religion, history and geography courses were taught. These schools were opened only in neighborhoods where high level bureaucrats and rich people lived.

4. Ruştiyes: They were middle schools opened in cities.

5. İdadis: They were opened in middle-sized and big cities. Their numbers and education were insufficient.

6. Darulfünun (The House of Sciences): It was the first university in the Ottoman Empire and opened in 1863 with physics, botanic, zoology and history departments. This university was closed shortly after and reopened in 1900 with the theology, physics, medicine, law, literature, pharmacy, and dentistry schools.
The Istanbul University was founded in 1933 in place of the Darulfünon. Prominent scientists from the European universities were invited to teach in this university. In fact, many scientists who fled from the Nazi Germany taught in Istanbul University. These foreign instructors were provided every means and given Turkish assistants who were educated in Europe. Istanbul University remained for a long time as the only university in Turkey. In such a situation where the village children did not have the chance to get even a secondary education, higher education remained as the privilege of the children of the wealthy families.

The Village Institutes were founded at a time when there was a one-party rule in Turkey. The People’s Republican Party was made up of the organizations that constituted the National Front during Turkey’s independence war (Mumcu, 1981). Although RRP did not have a totalitarian party structure, its rule could be said to be authoritarian in many ways. All dynamic and progressive powers of the country had come together under the umbrella of this party. In fear of the legacy and the iron rule of the RRP, the opponents of the republican regime could not show strong reaction against the Village Institutes. Besides, the civil and soldier intellectuals who had played an important role in the independence war believed in free and secular education. However, despite all these, there was a covert opposition in the form of rumors and provocative propaganda that incited uproars among the public against the Village Institutes. Thus, the destructive effects of such propaganda were to be seen in later years (Mumcu, 1981).

From the early republic on the reforms that were implemented determined the positioning and strategy of the opponents of the republic and its reforms, of which the
Village Institutes were a part. In this sense, examining these reforms and legal actions, which intended to render the opposition ineffective, will help explain the nature of such opposition.

Attempts To Strengthen Secular Education

During the republic era, reforms made in the judiciary system constituted the most important step towards the contemporarization of the country by paving the way to the other reforms. In the Ottoman Empire, religion traditionally involved not only the matters of faith but also law. In other words, the rules that regulated the legal system used in the society were based in religion. The absolutist and unchanging nature of religion in turn prevented the societal change and progress (Berkes, 1978). A society that is torn between the social forces that push towards change and the absolute and unchanging rules of religion is predestined to struggle in its process of cultural production. In such a society, dogmas replace facts and superstitions rule over knowledge. In fact, this was the case with the Ottoman society. Although the Ottoman legal system went through some minor changes over the centuries, the Islamic law, which constituted its basis, remained prevalent and influential. The insufficient and corrupt political and bureaucratic system extended the control of the Sheria in the society (Berkes, 1978).

Modern Turkish Code Civil

The early reformists of the republic era believed that it would not be possible to implement reforms without first reforming the judiciary system. Formerly, a code
civil called ‘Mecelle’ had been established based on religious rules during the codification movements in the Tanzimat era (Mumcu, 1981). However, these reformers were in search of a modern, secular and rationalistic legal system. For this reason, a code civil adopted from Sweden was accepted in 1926.

With the establishment of the new code civil, women were made equal to men in every aspect of life. Women would be able to hold any job and enter any school they wanted. Men and women were given the same rights before law. The old system of marriage that gave men the right to marry up to four women was outlawed and only marriages observed by a certified state official were recognized. Women, who previously were divorced by their husbands upon their mere declaration to be so also were given the right to divorce their spouses. The boy and girl child had the equal rights to the inheritance of their parents. Indeed, the new code civil was intended to demolish the hegemony of the religious rules, traditions and customs in regulating the civil and legal relationships between the citizens, where in lied its revolutionist character (Berkes, 1978).

The circles opposing the new code civil claimed that it was in conflict with the sociopolitical and cultural traditions of the Turkish society. In fact, what they meant by those traditions was nothing more than the Islamic law itself, which benefited a certain gender and segment of the society. Thus, the elimination of the Islamic law paved the way to following reforms and resulted in the loss of power of the clergy in the society (Berkes, 1978). These reforms were implemented thanks to the strict revolutionist laws established in extraordinary conditions. Tanör (1997) states that Atatürk and his close friends were able implement secularization reforms in areas
from education to administration with the help of the high esteem they hold among public as the leaders of the independence war. They basically used two main methods in the process secularizing the state: legal measures and persuasion. Actually, the charismatic personality of Atatürk, who ended the occupation in Turkey and earned the liking of people with his populist policies, contributed the success of this persuasion policy. Also, the military officers who during the war had witnessed first hand the extremely adverse conditions of the country worked along with the organizations of the RRP to persuade people of the necessity and benefits of reforms. On the other hand, some legal measures to keep religion separate from the state were taken. For example, to use religion and people’s sacred values to change the secular nature of the republic was outlawed and the clergy was forbidden from participating in politics.

Language and Writing Reform

Before Islam, Turks used their own two alphabets know as Goktürk and Uygur. After accepting Islam they used the Arabic alphabet for about a thousand years (Özerdim, 1998). The Arabic alphabet was not suitable to the characteristics of the Turkish language, but was accepted upon the pressure of the clergy saying that God (Allah) sent the holly Koran in Arabic, thus it is the language of God (Iskender, 1998). For example, while the Arabic language has only three consonants, Turkish has eight consonants. Thus, reading and writing in the Ottoman language written with the Arabic alphabet creates difficulties. For example, it is possible to read the Turkish word for perfect, *mukemmel*, in so many different ways when it is written with Arabic
letters. Especially, to be able to read and write a word that one is not familiar with is to a great extent a matter of chance. Besides, the Arabic letters are written differently at the beginning, the middle, and the end of a word, and in order to master the rules, one needs to memorize many clichés.

The fact that the Turkish language was written with the Arabic letters for centuries prevented the development of the Turkish language as well as the establishment of public education, and was one of the major factors causing the backwardness of the country in many respect (Gencan, 1979). The use of the Arabic letters continued to negatively influence the development of the Turkish language for about 900 years. Because the religion of Islam prohibited the painting art, Turks gave great importance to the calligraphy art and created extraordinary examples of calligraphic writing in books, mosques, and monuments.

To implement secular laws was not simply enough to end the religious prohibitions that crippled the development in the fields of science, art and philosophy and made women slaves for centuries in the Ottoman Empire. It was necessary to enlighten and conscientize people. To establish public education, first a Letter Reform was implemented. With a law passed on October 3rd, 1928, the Arabic alphabet was replaced by a new one adapted from the Latin alphabet (Demircan, 1988).

Literacy Mobilization

Two months after adopting the Latin letters, a reading-and-writing mobilization was lunched on January 1st, 1929 in Turkey. The elderly who were long
passed the age of learning to read and write flooded the People's Schools (Özerdim, 1998). In 1927, the number of people who were literate was 1,111,000. In a couple of years, 2,546,051 people earned diplomas from the People's Schools aimed to teach the elderly to read and write. This in and of itself proved the efficiency and suitability of the new alphabet.

The next step of the republic was to eliminate the difference between the written and spoken language. Although Turkish was made the official language of Turkey, still laws and regulations, and books were written in the Ottoman Language. First, a Turkish dictionary comprising 25,000 words was published. On December 4th, 1928, the Council of Word Search held its first meeting in Istanbul. The Language Council, which in 1932 became the Institution of Turkish Language, began to prepare the Dictionary of Turkish Language. While the mobilization of reading-and-writing with the new alphabet continued, a purification movement in Turkish language took momentum (Demircan, 1988).

Outcome of Reforms in Language and Writing

In planning of educational programs during the first years of the republic, the main objective was to establish an extensive basic education in the country. To make the elderly and adults literate was also part of this objective. Statistics from that period tell us that to some extent the goal was achieved. In the 1923-1924 school year, there were 16,607 students in 95 middle schools and nine higher educational institutions combined. In the fiftieth year of the republic there were 7,444 schools of secondary education, and 2,863,814 students in 288 higher educational institutions.
CHAPTER 4

SOCIOLOGICAL CONDITIONS

Underdevelopment and The Village Institutes

The most important and dramatic problem of the previous century has been that of underdeveloped countries. It seems that the same problem will continue in this century as well. The level of development in a country has traditionally been defined based on various criteria such as the extent to which that country makes use of its natural sources and the per capita income (Lacoste, 1965). However, to define underdevelopment by considering only one factor is not sufficient. For example, the most developed countries such as the USA and Canada are yet to make full use of their natural resources. Also, the petroleum rich Arabic countries have very high per capita income, but they are among the most underdeveloped countries when it comes to science and art. On the other hand, Russia, which historically has made significant contributions to the world civilization in science, art and literature, has a very low per capita income today. In short, socioeconomic hardships and shortcomings present themselves in different countries in different ways. For this reason, it is not easy to successfully implement plans and programs aimed at economic and cultural development and such attempts mostly fail (Tü tengil, 1979).
The underdeveloped countries today make up more than three-forth of the world's population. In these countries, the higher birth rate uses up any increase in the national gross income, thus lowering per capita income. Although factors contributing to underdevelopment in different countries may be varied, it is possible to identify some common characteristics as follows:

1. They are mainly agricultural societies.
2. They have high birth rate.
3. They have not solved the problem of primary education.
4. Women have not taken their respected place in the society.
5. They have not yet made the transition from a local culture to a national culture and from there to a universal one.
6. Tribal ties remain extremely strong.
7. They have not been able to establish democratic institutions.
8. The concept of individual with free choice and initiative has not developed.
9. Most importantly, they have not established a secular system separating state from religion.

Structure Of The Countryside Inherited From The Ottoman Empire

In Turkish, village means a settlement of a group of houses in the countryside where people engage in agriculture. The term countryside on the other hand refers to bare and large sections of land outside of the urban settlements, which also includes village and town settlements. In every country, besides an urban life style there exist a countryside life style.
The three important factors that determine the countryside-city difference are the population, the nature of economic activity and the family structure, which is a model of the society in small scale. These factors to a great extent determine the modes of production, the worldview, and the nature of social organization and support systems (Tütengil, 1979). Historically, in mountainous and hilly places where agriculture and industry is not developed, the tribal chiefs, landowners and religious leaders have had significant power and influence in the society.

In societies where agriculture is the main economic activity, there exists a strong sense of social collaboration. Strong family ties and social collaboration foster a traditional and fatalistic outlook (Erdentuğ, 1977). In general, Turkish villages are like a big family. Most of the villagers are relatives and have the same surname. Besides, for safety reasons villages over the centuries have been set up in clifffy and remote places. Such a deep concern for safety has had an important affect on villagers' psychological makeup rendering them extremely cautious towards foreigners and change. They approach what is unfamiliar with great suspicion.

To educate villagers is to liberate them from their traditional worldviews. Without changing the traditional way of life and production it is not possible to change villagers. Modern life and modern ways of production require education. As one can see, this is a vicious cycle hard to break. In fact, the biggest problem facing the founders of the Village Institutes resulted from such reality (Türkdoğan, 1977).

Tonganç and his friends had not able to conduct extensive research on the psychology of the villagers, but studied the villages where they were to found the Village Institutes. Despite the adverse conditions above mentioned, the strongest
opposition to the foundation of the Village Institutes not from the villagers but from the conservative intellectuals, the members of the parliament and the remnants of the feudality. On the contrary, villagers voluntarily participated in the foundation of these schools and tried to help with every means that they had. At the root of this attitude peculiar to Turkish villagers lays a cumulative cultural and historical inheritance of Turkey, a mosaic of civilizations. In this sense, it is necessary to study the ideas, beliefs, traditions, values and customs that have prevailed in Turkish villages for centuries.

**Sociology Of Turkish Countryside**

In *The Fundamental Problems of the Sociology of the Countryside* sociologist Orhan Türkdoğan (1977) states that sociological research began relatively late in Turkey. The first Society of Social Sciences was founded in 1918 in Istanbul. Türkdoğan also states that the idea of developing village, which was a part of the general project of modernization of Turkey, aimed to end the ages long backwardness of Turkish villages. The first step taken was to pass the Village Law (1924), which mandated structural changes in the village administration. The next step was to open People's Houses and Rooms nationwide. In fact, before any systematic research on Turkish villages and their conditions, an extensive reform program aimed at the development of the Turkish countryside was already lunched.

Türkdoğan points out that, although around the mid 1930s there was an increasing interest in research on Turkish villages, such research provided folkloric and ethnographic unclassified material that was hard to analyze in terms of sociology.
He mentions two important experiments that had an indirect affect on the development of sociological studies: sending private soldiers to villages to teach reading and writing after giving a short-term course and the foundation of Village Institutes. One of the most influential studies on Turkish villages done by foreigners was known in the scientific circles as the 'American Report'. This report was prepared by a committee of university teachers mostly from Princeton University and dealt with the issue of Turkish farmers and villagers. President Celal Bayar read this report in the First Congregation of Village and Agriculture met in 1938. This report talked about the characteristics of Turkish farmers and villagers

"Turkish farmers come from a long line of families that engaged in farming for centuries. Farming has become an instinct in them. For centuries these people provided food, animals and men needed in unnecessary wars. They became victims of the cruelty of tax collectors. Because they were illiterate, merciless merchants and moneylenders easily deceived them. They watched their crops be ruined when there was no rain and their animals die due to the lack of food and shelter. In wars, their houses were ruined over and over again, they lost their relatives and their families fell apart. They learned cruelty, hardship and death.

Today's Turkish villager is smart, good-hearted, honest, reliable, satisfied with less, and hardworking. On the other hand, he is fatalist and conservative. He does not easily accept to change the habits and farming methods inherited from his ancestors. He does not readily lend himself thinking that he can achieve a better living standard. He has a difficulty to understand that in order to grow up his children need a better care and nutrition. He is not ready to accept that his children need education he never got. It does not occur to him that some day an opportunity may arise and all these things may become realized in his life and that some day his family may want to live in a comfortable house without barn animals in it and he actually can achieve that.

The wife of the farmer, although she has been in the background for years, is the spirit and center of the family. She is very intuitive and her suggestions in the house end up being the final decision of her husband. She is a hardworking woman, and from dusk till down she is in the field working by her husband. The farmer woman ages quickly and collapses at an early age due to the adversities of her life. However, she has such noble qualities that even poverty and her torn cloths cannot hide. She already deserves a higher living standard" (Tü tengil, 1979, pp.62-65).
Social Structure of The Countryside Before The Village Institute

Tribal ties second only to family ties constitute the biggest obstacle preventing the formation of national consciousness and unity. In countries where tribal ties remain strong, unity is achieved through religion. However, despite the religious ties, animosities between tribes resulting from economic rivalry and differences in traditions and customs, and blood feuds and creedal fights continue to exist. Ismail Beşikçî (1974), who is know for his extensive research on Turkish nomadic tribes, defines a nomadic tribe as a traditional group of people tied to each other through blood, who breed small animals such as sheep and goats, live in tents under the absolute rule of a chief without being tied to a certain land or settlement, and depending on the season of the year migrate back and forth between plateaus and steps.

Today, in most parts of Turkey, tribal ties have been severed except in some places in the southern and eastern regions of Turkey. Even in those regions tribal life has gone through changes. Educational and economic mobilization programs implemented by the governments of the republic gradually abolished the conditions of tribal life in Turkey. The closing of the borders with Iraq and Iran and opening up of plains, plateaus and steps to the settlement of villagers limited the livestock of nomads.

Nomad Culture And Education

Up until 1964 nomadic children had not been able to get any kind of formal education due to the conditions of the nomadic life style, which necessitated constant

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change of location. Beşikçi states that nomads did not want to send their children to school at all and resisted when asked to do so. The very few among them who could read and write had learned it during their mandatory military service. For the first time in 1968, traveling schools for the nomadic tribes of the region of Nemrut were opened and also around the same time children of nomads living in the region of Ahlat were recruited to get education at the Regional Boarding School. These two early attempts stirred big reaction among nomads and the nomad families sometimes would wait outside for days to sneak their children out of the school. Besikçi notes that on the contrary to the opposition of their parents, nomad children insisted on going to school.

Nomadic tribes do not have a history that can be studied in terms of the field of historical science. Because history is a process that involves people bound to a particular place. The history of a people and society that is not tied to a place is indeterminate. In this sense, the most important factor is habitation. A village is located in a certain geographical and ecological place. Around the year, all economic, social and cultural activities take place in that environment without interruption. Such activities in nomadic societies on the other hand are dispersed depending on the climate and environment. The conditions of the village are conducive to change and progress (Yasa, 1959). Village communities are not as much closely tied through kinship as nomadic ones. Because nomadic societies are strictly hierarchical, new experiments, research and applications are not tolerated. Traditions and customs have taken on a sacred quality and are religiously observed. The closed and self-sufficient economy prevent outside influences, thus the likelyhood of change and progress. The
process of cultural and social change within the group and cultural interactions with outsiders is very slow (Beşikçi, 1974).

Economic Structure Of The Turkish Countryside

There is an indisputable connection between education and level of economic development in a society. The primary problem of education is that of monetary source. During the foundation years of the Village Institutes (1939-1940), the Second World War began. The war nearly leveled the financial sources of Turkey's already weak economy. The worse of all was that Turkey faced the burden of paying the immense foreign dept inherited from the Ottoman Empire. In The Pedagogy of Work and Occupation, the founder of the Village Institutes Ismail Hakki Tonguç (1933) complains about the lack of systematic research on the occupational demographics of Turkey and paints a quite pessimistic picture based on the 1927 census data.

According to 1927 census statistics, 32.05% of Turkish population worked in agriculture, 2.20% in industry, 1.89% in commerce, 1.84% in general service sector, and 1.28 in independent business (the rest 60.74% was made up of children, unemployed and landless villagers). In this book, Tonguç also talks about the village life and farming class between the years 1927 and 1933.

"It would be misleading to take the village population in Turkey as one big entity and then draw conclusions about the life of the villagers, because, the life of each village differs from one another depending on its geographical location, topography, climate, traditions, and economy. However, the village life and the farming class in general assume common characteristics as well. It is possible to know the village with its true characteristics only if and when taking in to consideration the common and peculiar characteristics together.

- According to 1927 agricultural records, 9,217,000 farmers and 1,151,000 farmer families lived in Turkey. These farmers, which made up the 67.7% of the Turkish population, used 43,000,000 acres land and had
25,000,000 animals. Therefore, Turkey is mostly an agricultural society a
great majority of whose population is dependent upon soil.

- In Turkey, there are drastic social differences between villages. A section
  of villagers get more and more poor. Even those who to some extent are
  wealthy cannot escape from this reality. Small village family loses its
  buying power by the day. Villager is defenseless in the face of various
  natural powers. Like a piece of log thrown in to the floodwater, the forces
  of nature drag him. Natural disasters such as draught, frost, flood and
  earthquake and problems such as crop illnesses, and plant bugs
  continuously visit villages.

- Because in eastern cities the feudal system still is prevalent and the great
  majority of villagers are without land, they cannot engage in independent
  economic activities in their own property. Consequently, they are not able
  to accumulate capital.

- The mentality of the villager is formed by his immediate surroundings
  such as house, poultry, barn, animals, field, garden, and forest. Villager
  lives in a sound, closed and concrete reality. He educates his children in
  this reality through work. His ideals also are formed by this reality. Each
  piece of land he lososes takes a piece from his being. An increase in the
  number of his animals means an increase in his being as well. He barely
  finds time to develop himself in the midst of work and material concerns.
  His life is organized according to traditions and the necessities of his work.
  Anything more than that is luxury to him. Any knowledge or science that
  does not benefit him directly is foreign to him like a two-headed ox.

- The festivals, rituals and entertainments of the villager are determined by
  traditions.

- The world of the villager is small. His social relations are determined not
  by the dimensions of the universe but the character of the time he lives in.

- The authority of his deceased mother and father is stronger than those who
  are alive. Since he is firmly attached to his traditions, he takes a suspecting
  position in the face of newness. When he witnesses restorations and
  newness, and is asked to change his ways, his response is "What can I do?
  Our ancestors have not done it this way, and it is my responsibility to
  follow them". However, when the new machine comes and cleans the seed,
  and when the new fertilizer gives a better result, he can abondon his old
  habits and traditions. The time he lives in is the time of the past.

- The villager, whose beliefs and judgments are molded by traditions, sees
  everything as bad, unsuccessful and the act of God. According to him,
  things do not change, and neither does man have the power to change
  them" (pp.134-137).
Housing and Health Conditions In Turkish Villages

A German scientist J. Hirsch, who had fled to Turkey during the Nazi rule, visited some regions of Turkey with his students. In the 1935-1936 annual of the Istanbul University, he wrote about his observations on Turkish villages during this visit

"For the most part, villages consist of one level houses and animal barns for the winter adjacent to them. The general look of villages blend well with the nature in terms of color, because in general houses are made of sun-dried soil. The floor of the rooms is soil. Roofs are made up of wood beams placed vertically and covered with also soil. This kind of roof called 'Dam' is flat, and villagers sleep on them during the hot summer nights during the hot summer nights and sit during the day. Inside the walls of the rooms are cabinets in which to put beds and comforters during the day. Since villagers sleep on the floor, these beds and comforters are put away in the morning. The fireplace used to cook and to heat the house is made up of either stone of brick. Every object in the house is placed either on the shelf or in the cabinet. In general, houses do not have furniture such as tables or chairs, and meals are eaten on the floor.

The Turkish republic from the beginning has been trying to improve the living conditions of villages. This way of settlement in villages is not sanitary: Firstly, in the village houses have usually only one room, and in this room people live, sleep and work. The crowd gathered in one room is vulnerable to contagious diseases. Especially, contagious diseases, children illnesses, sexually transmitted diseases and tuberculosis can easily spread from one person to another in this environment. Secondly, it is not appropriate for adults, teenagers and children to live in the same room together. Thirdly, villagers should stop living with their animals under the same roof. Otherwise, the problem of dirt and bugs will never go away" (p. 84-86).

Religion and Traditions

It is possible to infer the level of development in a society by looking at its industry, economy and the nature of social relations between its members. The main factors that influence the level of development of societies are religion, traditions, religious education, science and scientific education. In traditional societies, religious
life constitutes the essence of every norm. In other words, economic, social and political norms are in accordance with religious rules. Religion dominates every aspect of culture. Its belief systems and practices constitute the socio-psychological aspect of the culture. In this sense, those who want to make changes in the society need to understand the extent of religious influences on the cultural fabric of the society (Türkdoğan, 1977). However, in Turkish villages religion per se has never been so influential and dominant. Traditions and customs have taken on a religious character over time diluting the Islamic rules. The flexibility these traditions and customs provide has kept the Turkish villagers from falling into religious fanaticism. It is for this very reason that the experiment of Village Institutes did not stir a big reaction from the villagers (Eyüboğlu, 1998).

**Nature of Knowledge In Turkish Countryside**

The nature of nomad is one of uncertainties. To him there is no order functioning in nature, but acts of God, which cannot be predicted. The concept of scientific knowledge acquired through method and tested in practice is beyond the capacity of his understanding. Although the Islamic rules constitute the basis of nomad's knowledge, he is not knowledgeable about Islam either. He believes that what he has inherited from his ancestors is in accordance with his religion. In nomadic life style, the social practice of the previous generations continues without change as the social practice of following generations. Thus, what he has inherited from his ancestors constitutes the nature of his knowledge (Beşikçi, 1974). It is possible to say that there is not much difference between nomads and villagers in this
respect. If education can be defined as the process of transferring culture to next
generations, nomads' as well as villagers' education consists basically of a repetition
of traditions and religious dogmas.

Like every other religion, Islam downplays the capacity and power of human
mind. The owner of science is nobody but God. Man can only understand a drop from
the sea of science. It is a doctrine that denounces the idea of man arriving at scientific
knowledge through method. It replaces reason with faith and faith is to believe every
word of the Koran without question. Dogmas, even though they conflict with
knowledge acquired through method and tested in practice, are true.

No knowledge can be explained without mentioning the social character of
human practice. Knowledge acquired through social work is the reflection of human
practice in consciousness. It begins in the object, gets processed in human mind and
tested in social practice. This reflection, categorized and generalized in human
consciousness, cannot become knowledge unless its accuracy and relevancy is tested
in the practice of the society. Thus, knowledge comes from the concrete, goes through
abstraction and realized back in concrete (Hançerlioğlu, 1979). In villages, towns and
cities of Anatolia, knowledge is tested based on the following criteria: a) sacred
traditions passed down to next generations as the social practice of the ancestors, b)
religious rules intertwined with traditions and customs, c) words and deeds of the
prophet Mohammed, d) legends that are treated as history since they talk about the
past, e) proverbs and f) superstitions.
Schooling in Rural Turkey

So far I have tried to analyze the physical and moral conditions of the Turkish countryside that would create obstacles for the educators of the Republic in two parts as nomads and those who are settled. In fact, there is not much difference between the two in terms of their beliefs and traditions. The most important difference is in the level of culture and social relations. Another important difference is in the nature of blood and tribal ties. In nomadic tribes, the whole society is loyal to one leader. In villages and towns on the other hand, the society is not as homogenous.

These important differences have resulted in differences in their beliefs and reactions concerning education. For instance, villagers do not oppose the idea of sending their sons to school except for when there is work to do in the field or in the household (Boran, 1945). In general, they do not want to send their daughters to go to school. Even when they agree, they want boys and girls to be separate, which is in conflict with the principle of public co-education of the Republic. Majority is opposed to educate girls. The Islamic rule that imposes upon women to cover their heads creates another obstacle, because to display religious beliefs in public places is against the law.

The problem that the educators of the early Republic faced was not only a problem of primary, secondary or higher education but of educating millions of adults and elderly that were illiterate and with no jobs. It was also one of the biggest challenges facing educators to overcome the resistance among the uneducated masses towards reformist educational policies and applications, a challenge that troubled educators and policy makers with its psychological as well as social ramifications.
Extending primary education around the country was decided and educational laws were established. New educational attempts and applications had to be suitable to the particular realities of Turkey. Statistics from the year of 1935 revealed that

1. Of 40,000 villages, 35,000 had no schools.
2. While 75% of children living in cities were schooled, only 25% of village children went to school.
3. Although 80% of the Turkish population lived in villages, only 50% of teachers were employed in villages.
4. There were drastic differences between regions

Origins of Traditional Culture In Turkish Countryside

The peninsula of Anatolia witnessed many major events in the history of civilizations. The descendents of the founders of those civilizations live today within the borders of the Turkish Republic. For this reason, it is not possible to talk about a standard village type in Turkey. Villages and the characteristics of village life vary from region to region depending upon the geographical conditions, climate and the historical influences. These differences show themselves mostly in ways of production, folkloric dance and clothes, and are actually lessened by a shared history that provided unity in traditions and customs. An American sociologist couple, Barbara Helling and George Helling, who conducted research in Turkish villages, state that the cultural unity in Turkey is rooted in non-urban regions. Everything that defines the country as one of Turkish people such as language, customs, traditions and the way of life are rooted in the folk culture of villages. However, at the same
time the villager is conservative and proud to be so, and there is not much differences among villagers in terms their beliefs and convictions about education (Tütengil, 1979).

Nature Of Art In The Countryside

The nomad does not create an artwork for solely aesthetic purposes. While producing and object for use he tries to add some beauty to it. This characteristic of the art of the nomad can be observed throughout the Turkish countryside. It is possible to find this sense of aesthetic added to the functionality of the object in everything from buildings to tools and equipment used in production. However, villages and towns have a more developed social and cultural environment. While tending his trees and arranging his garden, the villager is continuously concerned with form. The social and cultural environment of the villager is much more conducive to development and change than that of the nomad (Tütengil, 1979).

Villages and towns have such cultural activities as entertainments and festivals. Above all, the village is the source of a very developed folk literature, which can be considered as a kind of platform for informal education. The artist in the countryside has a worldview formed by the culture and the historical period in which he lives. The factors that determine his worldview, his sense of aesthetic and artistic practice are a) religion and religious institutions, b) Moral values that are as sacred as religious rules, traditions and customs, c) socioeconomic and political structure and ways of production, and d) traditional forms of art (And, 1974).
CHAPTER 5

INTERNATIONAL INFLUENCES

It is a fact that the countries in the pursuit of progress want to learn from the experiences of developed countries. Education in the Ottoman Empire from its foundation in 1299 to its collapse in 1923 had been very insufficient, inconsistent and unsuccessful. Looking at the statistics from the early Republic gives us a picture of the sad state of education inherited from the previous period. The founders of the Turkish Republic wanted to immediately mobilize education. A teacher training system was sought to solve the problems arising from the social and economic conditions of Turkey at that time. These conditions also determined the nature and the direction of the search for and studies on educational systems applied around the world, especially in Europe and America. Transcripts of the discussions in the Turkish Parliament on the issue are the documents of such a search.

According to the 1927 census, the population of Turkey was 13,648,000 and only 1,111,000 were able to read and write in the old language written in Arabic. Thus, upon the adoption of the Latin alphabet in 1928, this number increased dramatically thanks to the voluntary effort of teachers teaching the public the new alphabet. According to the statistics based on this census, around $\frac{1}{4}$ of the schooled
children were able to read and write (31.3 % of boys and 18.6 % of girls), most of whom lived in cities and big towns.

According to the 1935 census, the Turkish population had gone up to 16,200,700, of which 3,799,700 people lived in cities and towns, and 12,400,952 lived in 40,000 villages. These numbers showed that more than 80 % lived in villages. Also based on the same census:

- 16,000 villages had a population of less than 150
- 16,000 villages had a population between 151 and 400
- 8,000 villages had a population of more than 400

Even looking at these few numbers shows that at the beginning of the twentieth century conditions in Turkey were quite different from those in developed countries. Such a situation required Turkish educators to focus on educating this 80 % living in villages. The same circumstances also imposed upon educators to make changes and adjustments in teacher training programs. Based on these peculiar conditions and needs of Turkish education, research on educational systems began.

Turkish intellectuals and educators were not looking for a perfect system but one that would help society transform itself culturally, economically and socially. In other words, political, social, and economic conditions determined the nature of pedagogical influences. The issues grappled by Turkish educators and intellectuals were a) how to develop industry in a society where 80 % of the population lived in villages, b) how to prepare teachers to work in adverse conditions of village life, and c) how to solve the problems of villages neglected for centuries (Binbaşıoğlu, 1993).
Educational Movements Influencing Turkey

Between the World War I and the World War II, the movement of a unified public school system attracted great interest in Europe and many schools were established. The success of individuals graduated from public schools helped increase the popularity of these schools among people. Countries that looked to Europe for an example aimed to eliminate the negative aspects of their educational systems and reform their traditional schools. In industrialized European countries, elementary education became mandatory, and came to be seen as one of the basic human rights. Values gained through elementary education were given great importance. However, some societies could not concede around the concept of the ‘Public School’. We see this in different stages of the French Revolution. One of the most important outcomes of the French revolution was the belief that it is the state’s responsibility to provide education to its every citizen (Candoğan, 1993).

After a long process of struggles and hardships, the public school system began to be implemented. The idea of sending one’s child to a school where everyone’s child goes became important. Along with these developments in the concept of education, new educational systems and methods began to be developed. Also between the World War I and the World War II, other important developments took place, such as international educational meetings, an increase in publications on education, international student and scholar exchange programs, and new technological developments in mass communication and transportation.

These new ideas and developments stirred great interest among Turkish educators. The idea of vocational schools and the method of ‘Learning by Doing’
were among them. After many years of unsuccessful reform attempts during the late
Ottoman period, these educational developments and movements occurring in Europe
opened up new horizons for Turkish educators of the early Republic. Russia, Italy,
Bulgaria, and Hungary established vocational schools and also implemented the
method of ‘learning by doing’ because the majority of the population in these
countries lived in villages. They started training new teachers based on new principles
and reformed their schools. Turkish intellectuals and educators of the new Republic
were closely following these developments and were attracted and inspired by the
success of Bulgaria in reforming its educational system (Candoğan, 1993).

**Pedagogical Influences on the Creation of Village Institutes**

Village Institutes were established primarily to train teachers to teach in in
adverse conditions of villages. The Village Institutes were also intended to train
technical personnel. Another purpose of these schools was to educate adults as well as
the elderly and bring modern techniques and applications to the village.

The most pressing issues for the Turkish educators were a) to make Turkish
people literate, b) to establish modern education and c) to establish an educational
system to suit the particular conditions of Turkey. Experience had shown that
teachers graduating from traditional teacher training schools in cities could not adjust
to adverse village conditions. While different types of villages around the country and
Europe were studied, internationally acclaimed foreign educators were also invited to
Turkey.

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Dewey's Report and Suggestions

Upon the invitation of the Ministry of Turkish National Education, John Dewey came to Turkey in 1924, and was received well by Turkish educators. At the end of his studies, Dewey prepared a report, which included his observations and suggestions regarding Turkish education. In this report he talked about the salaries of teachers and the creation of educational funds. John Dewey submitted his preliminary report while he was in Turkey and sent a more extensive report following his return to America.

Dewey's 1924 report had a larger audience after the adaptation of the Latin alphabet. (The first report was published in 1924 in the Arabic alphabet, and in 1939 it was republished in the new alphabet). The fact that this new publication sold out in a short time and a third publication followed in 1952 showed that Turkish educators continued to be interested and inspired by John Dewey, even at a time when there was a negative view of Village Institutes and when they were being closed down.

The founder of the Village Institutes Tonguç very often mentioned Dewey as a big influence on the formation of his ideas. Thus, in Turkey, Dewey's ideas and applications were received well, and had an effect on the development of Turkish national education. Dewey's influence on the teacher-training program of Village Institutes mostly came from his reports.

Dewey believed that the first and most important priority of Turkish education was to determine its goals. Only then would it possible to design and implement a systematic educational program and make adjustments when necessary. Setting clear and well-defined goals would prevent unnecessary and ineffective changes in the
name of progress or improvement. According to Dewey, this goal was to create a civilized, free, independent, and secular Turkey to be placed among the most respectable nations of the world.

Although Dewey stressed the importance of unity in the organization of Turkish national education, he opposed monotonous, stagnant and traditional systems and applications. He suggested sending students and educators abroad for further education, and pointed out the necessity of raising teachers' salaries and of creating farmers' cooperatives. Dewey believed that the educational systems and methods in a country should arise out of and answer the particular conditions of that country, and that the profession of teaching should be reformed based on the belief that teachers are the basis of education.

Dewey argued that schools in Turkey should be organized in a way to foster character development, promote a sense of national and economic independence and interest in the arts, and encourage originality, participation, scientific thinking, and social cooperation. What was needed was not to create leaders but to encourage and facilitate the participation of every citizen in the political, economic, and cultural life of the country. Dewey also suggested that schools be connected to real life experiences, especially in villages. He emphasized that teachers should collaborate with doctors, and other healthcare professionals in the fight against diseases in villages and cities. Schools needed to provide students, teachers and public with necessary tools and equipment to be used in educational and cultural activities. Also, schools should be planned taking into account the peculiar conditions and needs of the place. Dewey argued that making primary education mandatory and designing
educational systems and methods without paying specific attention to the needs of the villagers and farmers would have devastating social and economic effects.

Dewey believed that the economic and social development of a country was dependent upon its human and natural resources. In this sense, the training of technical personnel was the first and foremost responsibility of educators. Dewey suggested that the Ministry of National Education establish professional courses and programs according to the needs of students and the particular conditions of the area. He also stated that a committee should be organized to oversee the village schools and the development of agriculture.

Kuhne’s Suggestions

The German educator, Kerschensteiner was invited to Turkey in 1925, but he suggested Dr. Kuhn in his place. Kuhne came to Turkey in the same year, and after conducting research in several cities submitted a report to the Ministry of National Education. In this report, he noted that Turkey was going through a process of development and reforms similar to that which took place during the 18th and the 19th centuries in Europe. He also stated that it was crucial for the continuation of the then recently founded Turkish Republic to establish a modern political administration in Turkey. He suggested replacing the Arabic alphabet with the Latin alphabet. He believed that such change would facilitate the integration of Turkey to Europe. He also suggested organizing a Professional Counseling Committee similar to one established in Germany to oversee the student and scholar exchange programs.
Both Dewey and Kuhnes’ reports prepared at a time when Turkey was going through a process of drastic changes and reforms were discussed among Turkish educators, but it was Dewey’s ideas that influenced Turkish educators most. Thus, in 1927 the first Village Teacher Training Schools were opened in the cities of Denizli and Kayseri.

International Pedagogical Influences and Tonguç

It would not be an exaggeration to say that Turkish national education was influenced by international pedagogical developments in as much as they influenced Tonguç. Tonguç was first to study foreign educational systems and introduce them to Turkish educators through his translations, books, and lectures. It is because of this that one cannot avoid but mention Tonguç when talking about international influences on Turkish education.

Pestalozzi’s Influence

The ideas of Pestalozzi were known to educators during the Ottoman Empire and had an impact on educators of the Republic era. In his translation from A. Rufer, Pestalozzi and Revolution, Tonguç (1962) expressed his admiration and respect for this educator. Tonguç was more influenced by Pestalozzi’s ideas of brotherhood, freedom, social justice, and social education than his pedagogical methods. Although Pestalozzi’s humanistic ideas influenced many a Turkish educator like Tonguç, he did not have a direct effect on the Village Institutes’ system. Pestalozzi closed his schools in 1825 and dedicated the last two years of his life to writing. Although Pestalozzi’s...
schools did not survive, Tonguç (1962) considered his work very influential in educational developments after his death. Pestalozzi’s importance lies in the fact that he approached education from a social perspective and put the principle of hands-on experience of the child at the center of his educational system. Before him education had been considered a private issue not concerning the society as a whole. Instead of dealing with words, he argued, children should learn through activity and observation. Children needed to be free to pursue their own interests and draw their own conclusions.

German educator, Kerschensteiner considered Pestalozzi the father of vocational schools. Pestalozzi believed that individual observation and work constituted the basis of education. He founded schools to apply his ideas and recruited poor children. He did not intend to prepare these poor students for higher education, but to equip them with skills that would help them in their later lives in villages. Based on the conditions of his time, he came to believe that work should be the basis of education. Hands-on activities constituted the basis of his curriculum and thus his students earned some money by selling what they produced in their classes. His system incorporated education into work, and along with hands-on experiences, children learned how to read, write, calculate, and sing. He further wanted to incorporate education through work into student’s life in the village. Pestalozzi was more concerned with the social aspect of education than anything else and believed that education should relate to people’s lives. He also believed that education was life itself and people’s education had to be strongly connected to their needs. Hands-on
experience and personal observation would contribute to students' intellectual development as well.

Kreschensteiner’s Influence

Kreschensteiner had a significant influence on the teacher-training programs of the Village Institutes, partly due to the close relations between Germany and the Ottoman Empire, before and after the World War I. Many a student was sent to Germany. Similarly, most of the scientists, educators and experts invited to Turkey had been from Germany. The relations between Germany and the Ottoman Empire were so developed that the two countries became allies in the war. Tonguç was among those sent to Germany for higher education (Türkoğlu, 2000). We know that while he was in Germany, he studied the German educational system and especially Kerschensteiner. Kerschensteiner was second to John Dewey to have an influence on Tonguç. In fact, Keschensteiner himself also acknowledged the influence of Dewey on his educational ideas. Kerschensteiner stated that studying Dewey’s ideas had deepened his understanding about pedagogy and school organization (Tonguç, 1933). The titles of his books such as *The Concept of Citizenship Education* (1907) and *Character and Character Education* (1911) are telling us about why he had an influence in a country where for historical reasons the notion of citizenry had not developed and where people identified themselves with their religious or tribal affiliations. Thus, it was to remain for the new Republic to create such a consciousness in its citizens’ minds.
Kerschensteiner stated that the purpose of his vocational schools was to give people a thorough education (Tonguç, 1933). He favored one standard school system. Until the age of six children would go to kindergarten schools and then attend four years of primary schools. After primary and middle school education students were to follow various professional courses of their choosing based on their specific interests and talents. Only those who chose occupations in intellectual sciences would go through a longer education.

According to Kerschensteiner, education based on mere theory is not appropriate for primary and secondary education, and what is needed is an activity-based curriculum. He believed that superficial and intense knowledge has no place in schools. Education should focus on providing students with as many varied experiences and skills as possible. Knowledge should be based on experience and skill. The purpose of vocational school is to minimize the theoretical knowledge given to students and maximize in them the desire to work and to develop skills. Kerschensteiner believed that "education is the responsibility of the State, not a matter of profit. One has to determine the purpose of education from the perspective of the State, which is to create citizens that the State needs" (Tonguç, 1933, p.72). He also believed that the culture in which students worked would determine the nature of their studies and they needed to be guided by the teacher.

On the contrary to Kerschensteiner’s beliefs on the purpose of vocational schools, another German educator, H. Gaudig stated, "everything in schools should be centered around the idea that the free development of the mental capacities of students is important. The purpose of education is to train students who are capable of
freely choosing the purpose and method of their studies. Schools have to create self-confident individuals who can use nature to develop their being" (p.73). Although both educators were opposed to mere theoretical education, Kerschensteiner believed Gaudig put too much emphasis upon the freedom of the students.

**National Education And Consciousness**

In order to talk about national education in a country, a sense of national consciousness has to develop in its citizens. Such a consciousness assumes that regardless of their racial, ethnic, or religious backgrounds each member of the society is free and equal before law. As mentioned earlier, due to a variety of historical reasons such a consciousness had not developed in the Ottoman Empire. Individuals first belonged to a family, then to a tribe, and then to a religious creed. The land where the tribe was located was the country. Also, the fact that people were divided along religious and denominational lines prevented the development of national unity. The state and government were one and the same. When the administration was just and less oppressive, the State would be seen as the ‘Father State,’ and when it was more oppressive people looked for new fathers. In that case, religious leaders took on the role of the “father” for the people (Kili, 2000)

Throughout the 19th century in Europe, we see revolutionist and counter-revolutionist developments dialectically influencing one another. Among those developments was a political attitude centered on the idea of individualism, which promoted the protection of the inalienable rights of individuals against the oppression of the majority. This idea came to be regarded as the main prerequisite to be an
intellectual. However, such a notion of individual with inalienable rights to be protected from the oppressive applications of the state and the majority did not develop in the Ottoman Empire either. Also, strict religious traditions prevented the development of rationalist and scientific thinking in the Ottoman Empire.

From the 17th century on, education in the Ottoman Empire came to be based on mainly the memorization of knowledge by the student. Religious thinking interpreting everything according to what is written in the Koran (the holy book of Muslims), came to dominate education as well as sciences and any philosophical approach other than scholastic was forbidden. Those graduating from the Madrasas were against change. However, the educational and governmental systems of the Ottoman Empire had to go through a series of reforms under the pressure of Europe. Following the declaration of Tanzimat (Regulations) in 1839, the Ottoman Empire started opening up to the West and external relations intensified.

Around the same time, the first students and educators were sent to Europe to study in various fields. The Ottoman exiles in Europe also had a chance to study educational systems. These intellectuals known as “Young Turks” were influenced and inspired by educators and thinkers who emphasized freedom. It was particularly educators and political exiles that spread the idea of freedom and democracy in the Ottoman Empire. These early influences and studies paved the way to more extensive and systematic research and reform attempts during the Republic era. Along with the idea of free education and one school system came the discussion of individual rights and democracy.
A good example of the influence of the Western educational ideas and applications, which emphasized free and democratic society on the formation of the ideals of Turkish education during the Republic era, is the Turkish National Education Law. It states that the purpose of national education is to create creative and productive individuals who love their families and their fellow citizens, who recognize their responsibilities and duties for the secular and democratic Turkish Republic, who are physically, emotionally and mentally balanced and healthy, and respect human rights. Such an education is to foster students' talents and professional skills, and their sense of collaboration.

In short, one can say that the Western ideas of freedom and democracy have influenced Turkish education. Village Institutes were the product of research for a new type of school and teacher. They intended to create contemporary citizens and strengthen contemporary education in Turkey. Village Institutes created a democratic and free educational environment engaging students in physical and artistic activities. They upheld an understanding that emphasized learning rather than teaching.

In *Democracy and Education*, Dewey (1997) argued that any society has to educate its members and in fact social life necessitates education. He stated that being actively engaged in social life enlightens the individual by stimulating thinking and creativity. Dewey believed that just as biological life can sustain itself through continuous change and adaptation to the environment, the social life renews itself by educating its young members through certain institutions. In this sense education becomes a vital issue and a matter of survival for the society.
The founders of the Turkish Republic saw education as the only way for social, economic, and cultural reconstruction of the Turkish society. In order to achieve that they defined the purpose of Turkish national education as to foster science, productivity and creativity, and instill in students high morals and a sense of responsibility. Although the ideas of educators influencing the teacher-training program of Village Institutes assumed similarities, the differences were in their methods of reconstruction of the society which Dewey called “renewal” and “formation”.

Comparison of Influences

In looking into the implications of educational systems discussed above to for the reconstruction of the Turkish society and culture, one needs to compare them in terms of their purposes. Pestalozzi believed that education is life itself, and should be based on the needs of people. It has to connect the individual to life (Tonguç, 1962). He stated that education does not consist of learning and admiring what some important people have said and done, but instead it is to be found in the houses and daily lives of common people. He believed that one could find happiness and comfort in one’s daily life, and occupation. It is a mistake to think otherwise. What one needs to do is to embrace one’s occupation in life and grow with it.

Kerschensteiner believed that education was the responsibility of the State and should aim at creating productive and responsible citizens. Though it would be farfetched to say that Kerschensteiner ideas had in any direct way an influence on the development of the ideals of the National Socialism of Hitler’s Germany, one is 
reminded of at least some similarities. Thus, another German educator, H. Gaudig, criticized Kerschensteiner and stated that schools need to be organized to facilitate and foster the mental capacities of the child. He further believed that the purpose of education is to create individuals who choose the purpose and method of their studies freely.

It was not Kerschensteiner’s intention to reconstruct society through education. He clearly stated that students’ activities did not need to be as free and focused on the mental and intellectual development of the student. As one can see, Kerschensteiner was not a progressivist and his schools intended to give students a kind of character education through work and physical activities. This is the main difference between Dewey and Kerschensteiner.

Dewey was greatly influenced by the work of Darwin’s idea of the evolution of species and applied it to education. He opposed the traditional epistemological approaches that historically assumed the separation of the mind and body, thinking and reality, the former being the cause of the latter. Dewey believed that our activities and experiences determined our minds not the reverse. He argued that education is to continuously reconstruct and reorganize life in its continuum.

Reconstructivism And The Village Institutes

According to reconstructivists, mankind has come to a very crucial turning point. It will evolve either into a different kind of civilization where today’s conflicts are resolved or face extinction. Such civilization is possible only through love, collaboration and continuous reconstruction of life (Sönmez, 1991). Education is as
much a means of change as it is of balance and stability. Since life is in a constant state of flux and change, that seems to follow a linear direction of past, present and future, human beings need to constantly reconstruct their social and cultural environments. Education is a very powerful means to do this by determining the conditions of change and acting on it. Education is to help create a world civilization, promote love, compassion, and understanding, to secure democracy, value scientific and critical thinking, make predictions about the future and help individuals realize their skills and talents.

Education is also to continuously reconstruct and reorganize society. For this purpose, schools should develop plans, programs and projects. However, the most important goal is to change the way people think. Students need to believe that they are capable of changing society. In reconstructivist education, teacher plays a central role in developing tools, strategies, techniques and methods. It is very important that the learning environment should be democratic. Students without any restrictions should be able to discuss any issue and the teacher should stay neutral without imposing his/her beliefs.

Reconstruction During The First 25 Years of the Republic

Laws established after the foundation of the Republic, including the Constitution, carried traces of progressivism. However, it was not an easy task to change the long standing habits and methods in education, such as the memorization of knowledge transferred from the teacher to the student. During the first quarter of the 20th century, we also see the influence of philosophical ideas came to be known
existentialism and perennialism in Turkish education. “Existentialist method focuses on the individual and is student-centered. Learning is self-paced, self-directed, and includes a great deal of individual contact with the teacher, who relates to each student openly and honestly” (Sönmez, 1991, p. 94).

In accordance with the changing face of the country through attempts to reconstruct and reform the Turkish society and culture, education was made free and boarding schools were established. In addition, educational systems around the world were studied and famous educators were invited to Turkey. On the local level vocational courses and reading and writing courses for adults were opened. Institutions as People’s Houses and Rooms were established to introduce adults to science, the arts and other cultural activities (Yörükoglu, 1997).

**Dewey, Tonguç And The Village Institutes**

The affects of various educational systems and ideas on Tonguç are apparent through his books, other publications and his educational work. Although Keschensteiner’s vocational schools influenced Tonguç, his ideas in education were closer to Those of Dewey and H. Gaudig’s than Kerschensteiner’s. Tonguç, like Dewey, approached the issue of transforming society through education from a progressive point of view. The ideas and objectives of the progressive philosophy emphasize continuous change, reconstruction of the social and cultural environment, developing and sustaining democracy, creating a harmonious relationship between the individual and the society, relying on experimental scientific methods, and seeing change as a necessary basis of life. Such ideas as promoting the development of
independent, alive, courageous, honorable, creative, productive and responsible, tolerant, conscientious individuals, helping students realize their talents, and fostering critical thinking, all were also held dear by Tonguç. According to Tonguç education, when disconnected from society and taken as a mere preparation for later life, will be unable to serve its essential function. Life itself is work and education is life not preparation for it.

In terms of educational goals and principles one can find more similarities between Dewey and Tonguç than differences. The differences resulted from the specific and differing conditions of the two countries and determined the differences between Dewey and Tonguç’s schools in terms of the nature of their educational environment, the function of their schools, the use and purpose of art and vocational education. Thus, sociocultural and economic differences between USA and Turkey at the Turn of the century necessitated a different set of goals and methods.

Dewey’s basic principles were: a) schools are responsible for social change, b) students have to come to the understanding that they are to reconstruct society, and c) it is necessary to maintain a democratic environment to achieve these goals. On the other hand, the Village Institutes were founded to: a) contribute to the formation of a nation in a country where the notion of citizenship had not developed, b) reconstruct society through education, c) improve education in a democratic environment, d) train technical professionals, e) train teachers capable of becoming leaders in villages, f) introduce villagers to new technologies and g) develop the village economy.

Dewey also believed that school is life itself. Through hands-on experience students are assumed to get to know about themselves and to become creative. The
monetary value of the work and the physical outcome of it is less important than its effect on the social consciousness. Schools should be places where social life is lived. On the other hand, for Tonguç the first and foremost priority of education in Village Institutes was not only to acquire a social and individual consciousness but also to create concrete results in terms of economic production. The monetary value of the work was also important. Thus Students physically worked in the construction of the Institutes and such work was considered as part of the curriculum and class activity. Artistic activities were carried out in the Village Institutes with an utmost professional attitude and the arts were used in educational activities. Also villagers participated in such activities as plastic arts, music, dance, theatre and so on.

Paulo Freire and The Village Institutes

Central to the pedagogy of Freire is the idea that teachers and students participate in educational activity as equal subjects who learn from one another and concurrently shape and reflect on their world. According to Freire, humans are integrated beings who live in and with the world (Oyala, 1998). They have critical capacity that enable them to not only adapt to their environments but also transform it. In this sense, subjectivity can be seen as an agency where individuals have the power to transform the world. Thus, it is our capacity to act upon changing the world that makes us human.

Another central concept in Freire’s pedagogy is that of knowledge as a relation between subjects with reference to a knowable object. Knowledge is to be mediated between the educator/educatee and the educatee/educator (Oyala, 1998).
Such an understanding of knowledge necessitates a dialogical approach to pedagogy that is horizontal, non-hierarchical, and inherently driven by acts of love and respect. The process of dialogue in which knowledge is mediated not transferred is intercommunicative, participatory, and equalitarian. The goal of such education is to achieve a critical consciousness by which a deepening awareness of both the socio-cultural reality that which shape our lives and our capacity to transform that reality is acquired.

For Freire, education is ought to be critical, democratic, liberatory, and revolutionary, and be based on the lived experience of the student. The educator is to pose problems and provide options rather than prescriptions. Doing so, possible solutions are created and re-created through dialogue in a learning environment that cannot be isolated from reality. Thus, the content of knowledge is not transferred by an expert educator and memorized by students who are but empty and passive containers. On the contrary it springs from educates.

Critical consciousness leads to cultural action of the oppressed towards freedom as a response to the cultural action of the oppressor towards domination, which aims to domesticate and silence people. Only then is it possible to change the internal and external structures that oppress people. Related to the idea of cultural action for freedom is the concept of praxis, defined as reflection and action upon the world in order to transform it. Thus, Freire offers a “pedagogy, which makes oppression and its causes objects of reflection by the oppressed, and from that reflection will come necessary engagement in the struggle for their liberation. And in
the struggle, this pedagogy will be made and remade.” (Leeman, 1998) As one can see, Freire’s pedagogy is not static but is continuously remade.

In contrast to Freire’s dialogical critical methodology is what he calls ‘Banking Model of Education,’ which is based on the transfer of knowledge where student is silenced. Such education dehumanizes people by treating them as objects rather than as subjects, a process Freire calls ‘Dehumanization’ and ‘Massification.’ In societies where cultural action is towards domination, powerful elite uses education and mass media to distort and mystify reality and to silence people in order to sustain their privileged situation, which in turn prevent people from recognizing the unjust conditions that made them illiterate and oppressed. Banking education and dehumanization and massification processes serve an oppressive society by mythologizing reality - the means for this are magazines, TV, newspapers, advertisement to which people as mere spectators must adapt - by resisting dialogue, treating students as objects of assistance, inhibiting creativity and failing to acknowledge humans as historical beings (Leeman, 1998). On the contrary, in education for freedom students and educators together, through dialogue and critical reflection upon and analysis of their concrete context in depth, will formulate new forms of transformation on a theoretical level and refer them back to reality.

Freire’s Idea of School In The Countryside And Village Institutes

“The idea behind the ‘school in the country’ was to integrate productive labor with normal school activities, creating a unity between the two. According to Freire, "In a certain moment it becomes true that one no longer studies in order to work nor does one work in order to study; one studies in the process of working". This would result in "a true unity between theory and practice". The Maxim Gorki center at Co, created in November 1975, was an example of
a school in the countryside linking education with production. This center was an old Portuguese military installation that was restored by the people into a training center for teachers. The teachers/students grew wheat, corn, potatoes, fruit, and vegetables and became self-sufficient. The center had a clinic that focused on preventative medicine and there were monthly seminars held to address health issues problems. The director, permanent teaching staff and the teachers who studied there all participated equally in the school’s governance. Freire believed that this center had the potential to become the first new university. Likewise, in letter #15 Freire suggested the idea of creating a school in the agricultural zone linking education with production, not only for adults but for whole community including children” (Ramirez, 1998).

One can say that Freire’s pedagogical ideas, which aim at societal change towards freedom and the education of adults especially peasants, were to a great extent realized in the practice of Village Institutes during ten years. Village Institutes were boarding schools in which students built classrooms, studios, gymnasiums, agricultural fields, theatres buildings, dining halls, and dormitories. Students who had a say in the administration of the school decided among themselves what courses were to be opened and what kind of activities were to be carried out. When there was a demand from students to open a course or organize an activity, administration tried to help them with every means that they had. In the Institutes education continued non-stop twenty-four hours a day all year around. Students and teachers went to breaks alternately (Apaydin, 1990). If they wanted, students would get education for 15-16 hours a day. Most of these hours were spent in free studies in music, painting, theatre, concerts, exhibitions, swimming, horseback riding, mountain climbing, rowing and sailing, cycling, expedition, excavation, and archeological and ethnographic site visits. The primary result Tonguç expected from education was to create individuals with high self-esteem and eager to fulfill their potentials in a limitless freedom.
Interview with Fakir Baykurt

Question: Mr. Baykurt, in your writings you often say that the Village Institutes have been the subject of constant attacks and criticized unfairly. Who were the attackers and were their attacks effective?

Answer: Unfortunately they were very effective and those who engaged in such attacks achieved their objectives. Turkish people for a long time looked upon the Village Institutes, their students and teachers with suspicion. These misunderstandings continued until the real characteristics of attackers became known to public through the nature of their activities.

Question: What kind of attacks affected you most?

Answer: I would rather not talk about attacks that affected me personally, but let me mention two incidents that had an important influence on the public. These two events I am going to talk about deeply effected and wounded two valuable people. After Hasan Ali Yücel, Reşat Şemsettin Sirer became the minister of education. It was a time when the RPP (Republican People’s Party) government was more and more giving into religious fanatics and conservatives. Reşat Şemsettin on the other
hand had accelerated attempts to destroy the Village Institutes in his ministry. He closed down the Higher Village Institute and corrupted the educational system of the Institutes. He ended the translation of Classics into Turkish. It was completely a backward movement.

While all these dark things were going on, the former minister of education Hasan Ali Yücel, and the founder of the Village Institutes Ismail Hakki Tonguç and his team became subject to a campaign of insults, defamation and slandering by their opponents. For example, they went so far as to accuse Hasan Ali Yücel and Tonguç to conspire arson at the ministry of education. An important figure behind such false accusations was a lawyer named Kenan Öner, who continued his malice in so called conservative newspapers. According to the accusers in the media and in the political parties, Hasan Ali Yücel and Tonguç had conspired arson to destroy the archives of the ministry of education, which they claimed bore the evidences of their criminal activities. The Democratic Party and the leaders of the Republican People’s Party pursuing populist policies did not stand behind Yücel and Tonguç. Even some politicians in RPP such as Şemsettin Sirer and the following minister of education Tahsin Banguoğlu joined the campaign against them. It is a pity that based upon such ludicrous lies a very good educational system was destroyed.

Question: Mr. Baykurt, we know that Hasan Ali Yücel sued a lawyer named Kenan Öner for defamation of character via press. What would you like to say about it?

Answer: We see Gobbelsian propaganda here. The Nazi regime in Germany used the same method. There is a saying in Turkish: if you say to a person for 40 days that he or she is crazy that person starts believing it and even becomes crazy. The method of
the enemies of the Village Institutes was the same. Even though at the end of the trials Hasan Ali Yücel won, it was presented to the public on the contrary.

*Question: How were they able to achieve that?*

*Answer: The first court did not find the defendant Kenan Öner guilty. The next day some newspaper headlines read that Yücel was found guilty and that it was a victory for Öner. With similar methods they brainwashed the public for years and distorted the truth. Yücel appealed to a higher court and the higher court found Kenan Öner guilty of the accusations on January 22nd 1949. However, the public did not learn about the truth for years.*

**Interview With Sabit Baytan**

*Question: M Baytan, the founder of the Village Institutes believed that everything in the Institutes from the door and window frames to the animal harnesses should be designed aesthetically. He wanted students to live and be educated in aesthetic beauties and to be raised as individuals interested in every field of the arts. Based on your experience at the Institutes, can you tell us to what extent Tonguç’s objectives were realized?*

*Answer: Those objectives were realized to a great extent. In every application at the Institutes the aesthetic dimension was taken into consideration. If you look at the Institute buildings in Kızıllıçullu, you can see that every product produced in every building, studio, and workshop reflects such an aesthetic concern. Aesthetics has been an important component of my education at the Institutes. For example, my teacher at the Savaştepe Village Institute showed a great interest in me. Because of him I*
continued the painting department at Çapa teacher training school. At the institutes art education was given great importance. When I was a student at the Kızılçulu Village Institute, every week the State Theater Group and the Orchestra would came to our school.

Question: What do you think were the differences between the art education in the Institutes and that in traditional teacher training schools?

Answer: Because I worked as a teacher in traditional schools, I can say that there were great differences. At the Institutes there was a very close and warm relationship between teachers and students. Teachers attended their students very closely. After determining the particular talents and skills of their students they used every means available to help them develop their skills. For example, we were able use the studios anytime of the day to paint or sculpt, even during the breaks. Even today’s schools do not have such facilities, and the ones that have do not provide sufficient materials. We did not have a shortage of materials at the Institutes since the state provided them. If it were not for the Village Institutes I would have possibly remained a peasant and not been able to show any presence in the arts. I discovered and developed my artistic talents with the help and support of my teacher. As a student my paintings were sent to a competition in India and were awarded. Thus, my teacher played an important and positive role in this process.

Question: As an art teacher and artist, can you tell us what we can learn from the experiment of the Village Institutes?

Answer: I think that for underdeveloped countries such as ours, the experiment of the Village Institutes constitutes a very positive example. Imagine that you take a person
from the source, place in an environment where he or she will not feel foreign and
develop his or her skills. This person turns back to that source, which is his or her
village, as a complete individual who can handle whatever the difficulty life presents,
and conscious of his or her abilities. You create a productive person competent in
many aspect of life and knowledgeable about the machines, agriculture, animals, the
arts and health issues. Such a person becomes a leader in the village and as a
competent educator contributes the development of the region.

Interview with Mevlut Kaplan

**Question:** Can you tell us about the Village Institutes and how you got enrolled?

**Answer:** I was born in the village of Ökez in Konya, Akşehir. I lost my mother when
I was a little kid. My dad took care of us for eight years by himself because I think he
did not want us to grow up with a stepmother. Up until I reached the school age we
did not have a school in our village. The imam (preacher) of our village taught
children verses from the Koran in Arabic. I remember, nobody was able learn to read
and write in Arabic. We did not see a teacher until a traveling educator with his rifle
on his back came to our village. What we call educator here actually was not a real
teacher. They had only primary education and after going through a short course they
were sent to villages as aid teachers.

In 1940, the Koran course was shut down and the educator began teaching in
the school. He had a primary school degree and had become a corporal in the military.
After six-months course he was sent to our village as an educator. Since we students
and villagers were completely illiterate, the educator seemed to us very

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knowledgeable and cultured person. We gave him great importance and listened to him with utmost attention.

In spite of his limited scope of knowledge and education, he was of a good help and guidance in many areas from health to agriculture. I graduated after three years of education in our one-classroom school. At one hour walking distance from our village was the village of Reis Bucaği. This village had a school with five classes and I started there the 4th grade. The road to this village was long and dangerous. It was excruciatingly difficult to commute on this road in the cold, snow and rain. Even successfully passing to the 5th grade did not make me happy. Thinking that I would have to endure the same difficulties one more year frightened me. One day, while I was troubled with these fears and worries, a foreigner came to our village on the back of a white horse. Full of curiosity, I run up to him and asked who he was. He told me that he was a traveling principle and added: “With the support of the State and the help of villagers we are going to build a primary school with 5 classes where girls and boys can get an education.” Later, I learned that that day he had inquired about me with the villagers and the headman. The headman had told him that I was very eager to go the school and that he was very saddened by my suffering. That very day, the traveling principle wrote a letter to the director of the Ivriz Village Institute asking my acceptance. He gave it to me to mail. The response to the letter came two months later. I was in the school when two gendarmes brought me the letter. I was informed that I had to send them 6 photographs and prepare a contract of guarantee. I turned back to my village.
We had a hard time to find a guarantor. Nobody wanted to take risk. Finally, a relative, though with a lot of reserve, cosigned the contract. Ivriz was very far from our village. After a very difficult trip I arrived at the Institute. However, I was not met there with a warm welcome. The director of the Institute who had accepted me had left for a trip and his assistance did not know about my situation. When I insisted, he threw my papers from the window and kicked me out of the room, yelling. I collected my papers from the ground covered with snow. I decided that I was not going to give up until this mistake was corrected. I spent the next 15 days out in the open hiding here and there and eating only bread. Finally, the director came back and the situation was cleared. Moreover, he congratulated me for not giving up

**Question: How were the Village Institutes founded and Tonguç was appointed?**

**Answer:** Kemal Atatürk said that only people living in cities were affected and benefited from the revolution and reforms made. He wanted that the torch of civilization be taken to remote villages. He knew that it was an imperative to educate the villagers that made up the 80% of the population. Of 40,000 villages only 3000 had schools, and education in those schools was very insufficient consisting only in basic literacy education. Atatürk, considering these adverse circumstances, charged Saffet Arkan, the minister of national education, with the duty of educating villagers.

It did not seem possible to train teachers for this purpose in a short time. It was decided that talented soldiers from villages who learned reading and writing in the military were to be employed. These young soldiers, after receiving a short course became educators and carried out the early and transitional stages of the national education project of the republic. The minister Saffet Arkan, believing that he would
successfully carry out the mission, appointed Tonguç as the general director of primary education to lead the attempts to train teachers to educate the village children. Tonguç, after conducting an extensive research in 600 county and 9000 villages, submitted a report to the Minister, which included his opinions that were parallel to that of Atatürk. As an initial step, educators were to be trained and then the Village Institutes were to be established to train village teachers.

*Question: What influences did the education you received at the Institutes have on you as a writer? What can you tell us about the cultural aspects of education at the Institutes?*

*Answer: The Village Institutes in general were founded in barren lands far from cities. The purpose for this was so that the Institutes functioning in adverse conditions would change and beautify the environment and constitute an example for the nearby villages. Thus, being deprived of many things we cultivated our crop, harvested it, raised our animals, and even cultivated silkworms. Our teachers helped us discover our talents, and encouraged and directed our work.*

In general, education was carried out in two main areas: cultural and technical. Our cultural courses had more detailed program items than those in traditional schools. In addition to that, an extensive and intense art education was carried out at the Institute. In the morning and in the evening we had an hour of free reading time. Again, in between classes teachers read us books and we voluntarily participated in those reading sessions, and we did not even want to take recession. We considered playing a musical instrument as a duty. Those of us who could not play our national anthem risked their graduation.
There were student exchanges between the Institutes. We visited Institutes at the different corners of the country and exchanged our experiences. For example, a student from the Aegean region would go to an Institute in the Black Sea region and vice versa. Through those exchanges, we enriched our experiences and taught one another the traditions, cultures, folklore and songs from our regions. We got to know one another, became closer, thus breaking the borders separating us. In technical courses, we put theory into practice.

Besides the regular curriculum, we took courses on peoplehood, health, teaching, agriculture and the arts. Everything that we learned we made use of in a productive way to make our lives easier, and we saw the concrete results. We did everything by ourselves with the material we had in our ateliers such as our buildings, bathrooms, dining halls, classrooms, and construction equipment. We had great trust in our teachers and their suggestions directed our actions. They recommended us books according to our developmental levels.

Cultural activities at the Institutes were carried out in a way that was not seen in other schools. We had a very extensive library. We acquired Classics translated during the ministry of Hasan Ali Yücel, before they were sent to the bookstores to be sold. Every student had to read twenty books a year, summarize them and give seminars. We criticized those books and discussed about them in meetings in front of our teachers and fellow students. Each class had a wall newspaper where we put up our poems, stories and art works. Teachers read our writings and criticized them. Our stories, writings and poems were sent to various magazines, periodical and competitions with the help of our teachers. Saturday nights were cultural nights where
we staged theater shows, and read our poems and stories in front of villagers. It was through these activities that our talents were brought into light and developed. My interest in literature, especially in children literature was germinated and formed in these activities. I owe my 250 children’s books to the education that I got at the Institutes.

**Interview with Ali Yılmaz**

*Question: What was the understanding of art at the Institutes?*

*Answer:* Tonguç’s statement that said that a painting and music piece is art when it is of use explains the art understanding of art at the Institutes. Life and art is one and the same thing. A brick, a building are all works of art. There is a saying father Tonguç often repeated when he came to our ateliers: “every master makes a shovel, its handle needs to be in the middle”. This saying reflects very well the father Tonguç’s aesthetic concern toward life.

*Question: What did the art education you received include and what was the place of art education in the general curriculum?*

*Answer:* From painting to music, to theater and opera, art is a necessary part of life. We were taught that art was the only way through which we could learn about life. Painting classes were given as much importance as science classes. Before we completed the art project we were working on, the next class did not begin.

*Question: Who were your art educators at the Institute?*

*Answer:* We worked with internationally acclaimed people such as Carl Ebert, Zugmayer, Ruhi Su, Selçuk Ural, and Sabahhattin Eyüboğlu. As a result of these
works, names such as Cemal Reşit Rey (composer) and Fakir Baykurt (writer) came from among us.

*Question: How did the art education you received affect your life?*

*Answer: We became more resolved and insistent. For example, when I was at the Higher Village Institute, I crossed on food the Konya Valley in eight days while working on an agricultural project. Back then it was a very dangerous thing to do. However, they taught us what it takes to achieve our objectives. Now, I say to my self that it was very fortunate that I did it. Nevertheless, it was me who said that unless the Konya Valley was watered, it would eventually turn into a dessert. Our female teachers went to villages and introduced villagers to weaving. They made village women have professions.

*Question: What were the conditions working at the Institute? Were there people from the neighboring villages that created difficulties?*

*Answer: At the beginning they said that they stone our kids and make them work for themselves. Because, we ourselves raised our vegetables and fruits, and build our buildings. Villager believes what he sees. After they saw our gardens, they started asking questions and sending their children to the Institute.

In 1945-1946 things changed. Because the administration of the country changed. The Minister of National Education Hasan Ali Yücel was forced to resign. Tonguç was discharged. They provoked the villagers by saying that the Institutes were raising communists and unbelievers. They tried to kill our enthusiasm. But what they killed was the future of the country

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“All education, which develops power to share effectively in social life, is moral. It forms a character, which not only does the particular deed socially necessary but one, which is interested in that continuous readjustment which is essential to growth. Interest in learning from all the contacts of life is the essential moral interest” (Dewey)

Westernization and The Village Institutes

In early chapters, I have argued that Turkey was first among the Islamic countries to establish a democratic republic, demolish religious prohibitions placed on the arts and replace its theocratic educational system with a scientific one. I also stated that the Village Institutes system and its art education component occupied a very peculiar place in the history of Turkish national education. For these reasons this study attempted to study these institutes within the framework of the historical, geographical, and socioeconomic factors determining the conditions and nature of
change in the educational sphere during the republic era. I believe that this study
documented a difficult and painful historical transition process with its multiple
aspects from monarchy to republic, from theocracy to democracy, which assumed a
revolutionary character.

The modern Turkish republic was born out of the ashes of the Ottoman
Empire founded at the cross-section of civilizations such as Abbasid, Umayyad and
Byzantium, and naturally was their successor. The Ottoman Empire in fact developed
under the influence of Islamic civilizations. In *The Identity of the Ottoman*, Tamer
Timur (1998) states that while the Ottoman had continuous antipathy towards the
West it also aspired to think and act like the Westerner

There have been various social classes and categories in Turkey, thus different
viewpoints and ways of acting. Can we generalize the kind of approach we
mentioned above towards the West? I think we can make a generalization
taking into account these social categories. For the conservative circles, the
situation is clear. Their biggest concern has been to lose their identity and
traditional values, and ultimately to renounce their history. They have often
cried out "we need to defend our values", without themselves really
understanding what it meant.

Since Atatürk, Turkey has adhered to the cause of Westernization.
However, there has also been a sense of resistance towards the West that
originated in Islam and Nationalism. This sense of resistance has prevented a
healthy consideration and discussion of the problem of Westernization in
Turkey. Almost everybody is for Westernization in the sense of modernization
at least in the idea, but due to this emotional resistance rooted in history, the
majority opposes the idea of Westernization (pp.17-18).

Timur (1998) maintains that even intellectuals who owed their intellectual
formation to Western institutions and languages have refrained from looking like
westerners and expressing their ideas. Although he understands the opposition of the
conservative intellectuals to modernization, because it is not in accordance with their

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beliefs he, nevertheless, finds their predisposition unrealistic although their ideas had been predominant in the Ottoman Empire and not been able to stop its dissolution.

Despite this "emotional resistance" Timur mentions, the movement of modernization has not only continued but also accelerated with the foundation of the republic in 1923. The Village Institutes system was a product of a search for a new world and system and an essential part of the project of modernization of Turkey. The closing of the Village Institutes on the other hand was the result of a combination of factors such as (a) a rooted emotional resistance among people towards the West and the ideas it represents which influenced not only the conservative intellectuals but also the progressive ones, (b) an opposition towards the West on the part of the bureaucracy, feudal remnants and town notables based on interest, and (c) a traditional opposition to the West and its science and technology by the religious creed.

New Individual and Society

For a better understanding of the Village Institutes system and a sound analysis of our research data, it is necessary to study the aspirations, educational ideas and practices of Tonguç as a thinker, founder, writer and administrator. On December 12, 1944, Tonguç sent a letter to every Institute director in which he included his discussion with a novice Institute teacher who was having hard time adjusting to the school. During their discussion, Tonguç challenges this young and inexperienced teacher to compete with any of his students in an examination to test their knowledge and talents, an attitude that showed his confidence in the capabilities of his students:
"[Students] are to become intellectuals who can build buildings and make objects based on the laws of geometry and other sciences. Listen, you have a diploma from an institution of higher education. Let us send you and any of our students to a village to build a school and see whose knowledge will be of use, yours or his? Who is going to endure more the conditions of life in the village, you or him? Let us ask both of you, what books you have willingly read so far. Who has read more you or him? Let us make one thing clear. Are you ready to be tested based on the criteria I just mentioned? Besides, you are their teacher. Thus, this way we saw the seed to create a new society made up of individuals who can apply what they know (Tonguç, 1990, p. 107).

In this letter, Tonguç stated that he wanted teachers and students at the institutes to be self-reliant individuals able to differentiate between good and bad, and that they worked to create an educational and administrative system to achieve these objectives. Tonguç also stated that they intended to instill in students a sense of resistance to imitation, imposed ideas, forced labor and actions taken haphazardly. He indicated that their overarching aim was to create a new society based on new individuals and described the characteristics of this new society and new individual as follows

“We aim at creating at the Institutes a sense of community made up of individuals who collaborate and support rather than interfere or compete with one another. We, in turn, intend to create this same community in villages and throughout the whole country through the Institute graduates. We have the ideal of creating an essence molded by people who believe in freedom of thinking, writing and speech, who respect human rights, have a sense of compassion, love, courage, honesty and goodness, qualities that Turkish people have always hold dear in every period of their history. Because we try to raise children in the Institutes with these ideals, they participate in life as kind of individuals we are not used to seeing. Those who are not able to see these qualities describe them as uncultured, vulgar, rough, not knowing how to dress and interfering with others' business. Yes, their culture will be quite different than that of the so-called intellectuals we are so familiar with and they won't be like those students who forget about the course subjects they have memorized as soon as they pass the examination” (Tonguç, 1990, p. 106).

To a great extent Tonguç became successful in creating this new individual authentic, self confident, able to distinguish good from bad, not yielding to force and
repression and believing in human rights and freedom of speech. This type of individual is not customarily found in the Eastern societies. Thus, the graduates of the Village Institutes have a legacy of life spent fighting with injustices, dogmatism and repression. Every government that came after the closing of the Village Institutes has been hostile toward the graduates of these schools in their private and professional lives. However, all these unlawful and unjust treatments and suppression, which continued for 50 years, could not bend them.

Friendship Between the Teacher and the Student

As is seen in his letters, articles, books and circulars, Tonguç strongly emphasized the importance of creating a sense of genuine friendship between the teacher and student, which continued throughout their lifetime encompassing every aspect and stage of their lives. He never compromised this principle and risked going against traditions, thus making enemies. In another letter to the directors of the Village Institutes Tonguç wrote

“As far as I have seen at some Institutes, canteens are open only to teachers. In most of the Institutes there does not exist a place where students can come together and rest or spent their free time doing useful things. We have to create this kind of environment. Students and teachers should be able to spend enjoyable time together under the same roof so that they can acquire good habits they will carry on for the rest of their lives. I will send the plans of the resting area at the Hasanoglan Higher Village Institute to every Institute to be constructed at the shortest time possible. We should be able to rest and spend a good time with the kids we will entrust everything including the schools throughout their education” (Tonguç 1990, p.99)

Thus, education at the Village Institutes fostered a strong sense of student-teacher friendship and collaboration in such a way still to be seen in schools in Turkey. The graduates of the Village Institute who are still alive today continue their
close relationships and are active in the areas of the arts, politics and education. In fact, many societies, foundations, organizations and unions that are active today have been founded by the graduates of the Village Institutes.

Responding Criticism With Deeds

In general, the criticism against the Village Institutes took the form of attacks directed towards the personalities of the founders, teachers and graduates. Criticism concerning itself with the educational system and its applications at the Institutes was very rare. Among the few who criticized the Village Institutes based on educational matters was educator Halil Fikret Kanad, who once worked with Tonguç at the Gazi Education Institute.

According to Kanad, national identity involves an awareness of belonging to a certain group that takes form in the human soul by ideas, feelings and will power stemming from a nation’s desire to survive. He believed that the national identity could come into being only through an all-out national education. The main difference between Tonguç and Kanad resulted from their definition of nation and nationalism. Tonguç aligned himself with the Kemalist understanding of history, which rejects the concept of nation based on race or religion. In the Kemalist concept of nationalism, a nation is founded upon human rights, and regardless of ethnic origin, race, nationality or religion, anyone who participates in Turkish culture and society and contributes to the national unity of Turkey is considered a citizen of Turkey (Kirby, 2000). On the other hand Kanad’s understanding of nationalism rubbed against racist ideologies. He advocated training undercover party inspectors whose
job would be to go about the country disguised among people and gather information about the rumors of wrong doings and abuse of power involving the state officials especially high level bureaucrats and then inform the authorities about the content of those complaints. In fact, Kanad praised the strong nationalistic feelings among the Nazi youth and supported the surveillance and internment of Jews, whom he saw as a danger to the national unity of Germany, because they lacked any sense of nationalistic feelings, and were thus prone to betray Germany in the war.

Türkoğlu (2000) writes that Kanad was a proponent of the classical pedagogy that was long abandoned in the West and developed a concept of 'Complete National Education'. According to Türkoğlu, Kanad saw himself as the main ideologist of Turkish education and criticized the Village Institutes for the lack of pedagogical consideration and a lack of emphasis upon nationalism in their educational programs. He considered work education as a kind of forced labor. Moreover, he characterized the democratic nature of education at the Village Institutes as leftist.

Türkoğlu (2000) states that Kanad sent a report to then minister of education Hasan Ali Yücel in which he included his opinions. Upon this report Yücel started an investigation of the Village Institutes. Following this investigation, Yücel asked Kanad to participate in a hearing before the Council of Educational Policy to retrieve his claims. According to Türkoğlu, what motivated Kanad to make such claims and accusations was his coming to the conclusion that Yücel and Tonguç were determined not to apply his pedagogical ideas at the Institutes.

Türkoğlu (2000) writes that Kanad's ideas on education drastically differed from those of Tonguç and Yücel, and that they were very dogmatic and inflexible.
She states that the conflict between Tonguç and Kanad resulted from ideological differences. Kanad believed that the purpose of educating village children is not to make villagers more prosperous, but to instill in them a sense of the importance of spiritual, national, and social values. First of all, it was necessary to create an orderly society and nation that has adopted these values. Unless creating such a society economic development, material achievements and subjective values will be of no use.

Akyüz (1982) states that the educational ideas that influenced both Kanad and Tonguç were products of an industrialized society where problems such as alienation and mechanization of masses were evident. In this sense, although they differed in their approach, their attempt to apply those ideas and educational models that were products of Industrialization in a country such as Turkey, which lived the pre-Industrial age, was in and of itself problematic.

Apart from the criticism such as those of Kanad and Akyüz, a great deal of opposition to the Village Institutes came from the conservative and religious circles that were at odds with the ideals of the new republic and its reforms. Their criticism as we mentioned earlier was targeted at the personalities of the founders of the Village Institutes rather than their educational ideas and applications. Tonguç’s system was implemented nationwide, and developed gradually by adding new units along the way. It appears that Tonguç was very tolerant of the criticism against him and his schools and specifically refrained from engaging in malicious arguments. In a letter to the directors of the Institutes in January 10th, 1944 Tonguç wrote

"My dear friend, I am sending you a copy of the report Kanad sent to the Minister of education, so that you know about the opinions regarding the Village Institutes that we created from scratch and through hard work."
It is best to face every event calmly. It is necessary to know the opinions of those who but pretend to know pedagogy without taking any action, and allow them to say what they have to say. It is sufficient to answer such unfair criticism not with words but with actions in order to render it ineffective. There is nothing more enjoyable than giving the due response to biased criticism resulting from personal greed with the concrete results of our work and actions. One good thing that will come out of all of these is that such writings will expose the real intentions of those who intend to create a monopoly in the field of education" (Tonguç, 1990, p.83).

Creating A Civilized Educational Environment

Due to the nature of historical study, I had to depend on the testimonies of those who directly or indirectly observed events as they were unfolding. However, there is always a possibility that the accounts of these witnesses may be flawed for a variety of reasons that makes it quite hard to obtain an accurate understanding of the past events. The historical researcher does not have a reservoir from which to retrieve the truth pertaining historical facts. Besides, analysis of the historical data is a matter of interpretation that to a great extent depends on the values, beliefs and biases of the researcher.

Visual materials such as photographs and films provide the historical researcher with very useful information. Photographs sometimes can push the limits of the time and place in which they are taken. Some photographs taken in the Institutes are of this kind and give us a dramatic picture of the conditions of life and the educational, cultural and artistic environment of the Village Institutes. A photograph of a village kid reading a newspaper while riding on top of a donkey on his way to the field is a good example of this.

In this photograph, we see a sense of resistance to a fatalistic worldview, a product of a theocratic system that lasted in Turkey for centuries, which saw poverty

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and backwardness as inevitable, and promoted a sense of powerlessness to change one's life conditions for better. However, this curious village kid on the back of a donkey trying to read a newspaper pushes the limits of his extremely harsh living conditions and tries to be informed about the events of the world. In fact, it was the village children such as the one in this photograph that the Village Institutes aimed at.

There was quite a big difference between the environment in which the Village Institutes were established and that in which students were educated. The environment encountered by the founders was that of a village, impoverished and underdeveloped. On the other hand, the environment in which students lived and where they were educated was a created one, much more improved. The graduates of the Village Institutes whom we have interviewed describe the Village Institutes environment as a “theatre stage”. During an interview with a Village Institute graduate and writer, Mehmet Kaplan stated that as soon as he entered from the door of the Institute, he found himself in an environment of music, theatre and art. Another Village Institute graduate Türkoğlu (1997) writes that the fact that the Village Institutes were established in adverse conditions from scratch does not mean education can take place in any condition and environment, and that many things done in the Institutes and later in villages aimed at creating suitable conditions.

Tonguç believed that from the kindergarten school on, students in the West are educated in a civilized environment. Civilization is their way of life. It is as if children in the West begin the education of civilization as soon as they are born. They do not know that which is not orderly and civilized. Their parents who are educated in the arts have prepared for them this environment. Art education that is at the basis of
this environment constitutes the basis of primary and secondary education. Children who are born to environments where everything is bent, crooked and primitive need to receive a different kind of art education. In places far from civilization, the primary goal of education should be to create a civilized environment.

Türkoğlu (2000), a student of Tonguç, states that in an uncivilized environment education cannot achieve the desired outcome. When the primary purpose is to create a civilized environment, the basis of curriculum should be education in the technical and fine arts. Thus, in underdeveloped places education should create that kind of environment through students' direct involvement in work and the arts. Students while themselves changing will also transform the environment they live in. The educational environment becomes such that students will encounter in life and vice versa. Tonguç’s system faced the challenge of fighting with its material conditions and creating its modern facilities and tools through untraditional methods and creativity (Kirby 1960). One of the most unique and important aspect of this new physical environment and educational system of the Village Institutes was ‘Theatre’. Turkoglu writes

“Within the very first months following their enrollment at the Institute, students began staging theatre plays inspired by their lives back in the village and at the Institute and participating in activities such as folk dancing, music, and reading poems. Imitations, monologues, improvised plays were prepared and quickly staged. These shows were inspired by our new life at the Institute. We did not try to memorize our parts in plays and did not have long preparations. When we need to play a woman, we would put on a blanket and hop on the stage. When we needed to change our dress, we would wear our jackets inside out or our hats backwards. Our plays were mostly about the village life and activities at the Institute. We would come together with our friends and tell one another our experiences, talk about social events from our villages and made the ones we liked suitable for staging.

Later, we became more experienced in what we were doing and prepared more developed plays with the help of teachers who came from
outside the Institute. An important tradition and culture of theatre was being created. Our habits such as reading and writing poems, stories and novels, all contributed to our theatre activities. Studying theatrical works, famous plays and publishing those studies in the periodical of the Village Institutes created a strong interest in and love for theatre. An audience of interested and curious villagers encouraged students more in their pursuit in theatre.

Famous foreign and Turkish theatre artists came to teach at Hasanoğlan Higher Village Institute. Carl Ebert, an accomplished man of theatre born in Germany, and Turkish opera artists and actors closely supervised students in the theatre branch. After completing their studies at Hasanoğlan, these students were sent back to the Institutes as teachers and able to apply what they had learned about theatre at Hasanoğlan. Thus, these theatrical studies and activities at Hasanoğlan influenced other Institutes, and a rich tradition of theatre, an extensive repertoire of plays was created.

In order to understand the important place of theatre in the educational system of the Village Institutes, it is sufficient to know the fact that students at the Hasanoğlan Village Institutes constructed an outdoor theatre stage where they staged classical works and plays they wrote" (pp. 285-287).

Türkoğlu states that all these activities took place at a time when the political environment was not democratic. In spite of such conditions, Tonguç was determined to eradicate any sense of fear and inhibition in his students by encouraging them to think and act freely. This was especially important because the Village Institutes were to be the ground zero where the transformation of society was to begin.

Tonguç wanted every student in the Institutes to be able to ride a motorcycle, bicycle, to play an instrument and sing. He believed that by living and working side by side in school, boys and girls would learn to share the difficulties of life. According to him, the desires to live life to the fullest, to overcome fear and to love are core desires that we all share. In order to renew and develop oneself, one needs to venture into the world of art and art works, which in fact do talk about those desires. Tonguç also wanted students to be creative and acquire the habit of reading. Hours designated for free reading of students outside the classes were strictly observed and given great importance at the Institutes. According to Tonguç, one could overcome
fear and think freely only when and if the enlightenment came from within. Thus, in
Tonguç believed that out of educational institutions where free reading is not given
importance come people who are illiterate and cruel, people who burn books shut
down libraries and treat students as if they are criminals. In such places tolerance
does not have a place and apying on students is a usual and accepted practice.
Criminals become heroes. Such a school invites backwardness and cannot be an
institution of the republic, but on the contrary it undermines its foundation.

In his various writings and speeches, Tonguç emphasized the importance of
play for the development of children as an educational tool. He stated that play is as
necessary as air and water for the child, and that in school setting the existence of a
playground is as important as classrooms. Coming to this realization, Tonguç
maintained, changed his whole conception of education and pedagogy. Theatre, play
and entertainment were all very important and inseparable part of education and life
at the Institutes. Thus, it would not be an exaggeration to say that the Village
Institutes were schools functioning like a theatre group where every participant
collaborates rather than competes, sharing responsibilities and working with utmost
care and enthusiasm.

In the cultural history of human societies, play preceded culture, and in play
there is always a tendency towards culture. The early clan societies called ‘Phratria’
were in a sense play societies (And, 1974). The clan members were initiated to the
society through rituals that had an element of play. In these plays, animosities and
conflict between the clan members were put aside for a while. Participants would
become somebody else by changing costumes and wearing masks. In fact, the most
important aspect of drama art is to become someone other than oneself. This way, one looks at the world through different lenses. There is a sense of genuineness in children’s play. However, children are at the same time aware of the fact that it is a play. Similarly, a sportsman fully engaged in the game is also fully aware that it is only a game. Becoming someone else while being fully aware that it is only a play is very significant because this awareness leads the child to an understanding of others and reasons underlining their actions. The child thus has begun thinking about causes and effects and making connections. It is where the road leading to Art begins. In this sense, using the world of theatre and its properties as an educational tool was a very unique aspect of the Village Institutes system and gave unprecedented results.

The world theatre creates may be more real and more concrete to the child. Preparing the stage, the decors and costumes are activities that incite real emotions and excitement in the child. The Houses, villages, cities, and mountains, thus the whole world on the stage is within the child’s reach. Like a god, the child now sees all and controls all creating the world and the universe in a different way. This way, students in the Village Institutes, while engaging in such activities, were able to think about the world and humanity, identify and correct their mistakes, shortcomings and determine their talents.

Entertainment in the Village Institutes

Entertainment activities in the Institutes were not merely recreational but had educational purposes as well, just like play and theatre. Tonguç (1950) wanted students themselves to organize these activities and saw entertainment as a part of
democratic life and education. He often warned the administrators and teachers of the Institutes about their applications and practices that he thought were in conflict with the principle of democratic education: “Some Institute directors, bypassing their assistants, other administrators, teachers and students, makes decisions on everything to the smallest details. This type of administration is unsound, rootlesss and destined to failure. It is also this type of administration that turns people into puppets unconscious and unable to think for themselves” (p.50).

It was important for Tonguç that students acquired democratic habits. To achieve that, he strongly emphasized the inclusion of students in the decision-making processes at the Institutes. Assigning students tasks, giving them authority and responsibility, and allowing them to become active participants rather than spectators were among the main methods used.

It seems that educators and researchers have somehow overlooked the place and function of entertainment in the Village Institutes’ system. However, besides fostering a democratic attitude among students and teachers, entertainment activities provided a very fertile platform for cultural interaction and exchange, opened the Institutes to the outside world. In fact, they were among the most consistently and insistently carried out activities at the Institutes. In a circular Tonguç wrote

“It is required that each Institute organize on every occasion entertainment activities, and that the necessary equipment to make the occasion an enjoyable one be at the disposal of the Institutes...It is important that no effort be spared to acquire this equipment ” (Tonguç, 1990, p. 49).

Entertainment activities in the Institutes reached a level of productivity that surpassed the expectations of Tonguç turning these activities into grand scale festivals. They also promoted a tendency in cultural and artistic activities to go back to the
source, the people of Anatolia. This, in turn, contributed to the creation of a national
culture by promoting an interest in the folk arts and culture.

Tonguç believed that no matter how primitive the conditions were in a society,
people always created sound values, especially to be able to cope with those
conditions. It was not possible to create a new culture neglecting the particular way of
life of the society and its values. Tonguç promoted the enrichment of local cultures in
Anatolia (Turkey) using contemporary techniques and understandings. The new
individual and culture were to be created based on the values rooted in longstanding
traditions of the Turkish society. Thus, it is possible to see the influence of the
Village Institutes on the cultural and artistic atmosphere of Turkey in the folk motifs,
designs, and themes that made their ways into Turkish art and literature. This
tendency characterized as “turning back to the source, the people” affected many
intellectuals of the time (Tutengil, 2000).

**Purpose of Art Education at The Village Institutes**

The primary purpose of art education and artistic activities at the Institutes
was not to train professional artists, but to educate students. Through such activities,
students would become active and develop their intellectual and aesthetic capacities,
and recognize their talents. Of course, it was not very surprising that some students
with a predisposition for the arts and having been educated in a culturally and
artistically rich environment emerged from the Institutes primarily as artists.

The main characteristic of the Village Institutes system was democratic and
free education. In the administrative processes and in the preparation of programs and
activities students were given a voice. This system functioned in the direction of two main objectives: a) creating the new individual through an education that takes place in real life situations and work coupled with activities in the arts, which in turn, helps the formation of such characteristics in students as honesty, courage, respect for human rights, self-confidence, and etc., and b) through such individuals, laying the foundation for a contemporary society and culture. Tonguc believed that for the healthy and complete education of the individual, it is necessary to use artistic and cultural activities and to encourage and facilitate free participation. In terms of educational psychology, the main objective of art education is not to create mere spectators but active participants. It is important for the individual to be surrounded by the beauties of works of art as they grow up (Türkoglu, 1997).

Village Institutes and National Culture

A Village Institute teacher, Tutengil (2000) states that the Village Institutes played an important role in the creation of national culture in Turkey through studies and activities within the local cultures and by processing the material with a contemporary understanding and methods. This material included aspects of the Ottoman elite culture as well as folk culture, which had co-existed in Anatolia for centuries.

In the ancient Greek and Ionian philosophies, the concept of beauty was considered in terms of ethics and metaphysics. These philosophies did not delineate between the concept of ‘beauty’ and that of ‘good’. Socrates formalized this understanding by the concept ‘Beautiful-Good’ (Kaldışagheia). When one adds to
Socrates’ concept of Beautiful-Good the concept of ‘Useful’, one arrives at the understanding of art of the countryside in Turkey: ‘Beautiful-Good-Useful’. The concepts and rules determining the nature of this art come from religious and ethical traditions and customs. The art of the countryside is functional. Artists create things for use with an eye towards aesthetic that is heavily influenced by their religious beliefs, traditions and customs.

“Anatolia in its entirety is history in making. An endless, continuously changing and developing process that runs like river of light from the past to present. According to the archeological findings, Anatolia has a history of at least 9,000 years. On the other hand, in the West the beginning of myths goes only as far back as 2,500 years. It is especially the case with the civilization of Rome.

Faith stops one at one point, and if it is a blind faith, it is destructive. In Anatolia, however, longstanding beliefs and traditions are not of that nature. Because they spring from nature and integrated in the lives of the people” (Eyüboğlu, 1998, p.31)

It was the main objective of the founders of the republic and intellectual to create a national culture and national consciousness in Turkey through a set of reforms and radical changes. In the midst of Turkey’s Independence war, Atatürk organized a Teacher’s Convention in Ankara, where he addressed the educators:

“I believe that the educational policies and methods applied until now is the main cause of the backwardness of our nation. For this reason, when I talk about a national education, I think of an education that is free of false beliefs and ideas of the past and in accord with our national character” (Ataturk’s Opinions on National Education, 1993)

In this convention, Atatürk also stated that he expected the educators to find new ways of art and science education to lead the new generations in the direction mentioned above. Tonguç years later would set out to realize the objective of creating a new culture through individuals educated in a system that was in accord with the national character Atatürk was talking about.
What Kind of Culture

Culture includes all of the material, moral and technical achievement of a society. It is created by people and their products reflect shared values and traditions developed over a long period of time. However, according to metaphysical and idealist doctrines, culture is the product of elites. In the course of the development of societies based on class distinctions, intellectual and physical labor separated, and under the auspices of ruling classes an elite culture developed alongside but separate from the culture of the large segments of the society. However, with the accelerated development of technology and science, this distinction eroded and national and universal cultures emerged.

In Islamic countries on the other hand, the development of civilization slowed down especially from the Middle Ages on, for a variety of reasons. The development of elite culture in the Ottoman Empire followed a very different path from that of folk culture. As a result, two cultures developed: one around the court, and the other belonged to people living in the countryside affecting one another very little. The artificially constructed language of the Ottoman elite played a very important role in this separation (Mutluay, 1990). The literature of the Ottoman elite called ‘Divan’ and written in the Ottoman language, was rich, intricate and expressive. The folk literature on the other hand, was oral and reflected the feelings and thoughts of the people living in the countryside.

The intellectuals of the early republic grappled with the problem of creating a new culture out of the traditions of these two distinct cultures. They chose to turn to the people of Anatolia, the history of which goes back about 9,000 years ago, and as a
source from which this new culture would spring. They believed that the culture of the Ottoman elite was formal and disconnected from the people that could not constitute the foundation on which to establish the contemporary Turkish culture. The speech that Atatürk, the founder of the Turkish Republic, gave in the opening of the Turkish Great National Assembly in 1934 exemplifies this belief very well:

"We cannot be proud of the music made today in Turkey. We have to understand one thing clearly. It is and imperative to gather the high and refined expressions of national feelings and process them with contemporary understandings in music. Only then can the Turkish national music rise up to universal standards...we continue to establish our cultural institutions based on new and modern principles. Studies on Turkish history and language have started to give their fruits. We will continue this year our efforts as well to elevate our national music using modern techniques" (Saydam, 1998, p.91)

However, using modern techniques in the arts did not mean to adopt the art of the West but to use forms and expressions that best reflected the sentiments of Turkish people. Atatürk had goals that went beyond the scope of art. In his speech in the National Assembly in the following year, he said that creating a strong youth interested in the arts, intellectually and physically well developed, and endowed with high values and virtues constituted the primary goal of their policies. The Village Institutes system functioned in accordance with ideals these policies intended to achieve. Folkloric studies and activities in the Institutes contributed to the creation of national culture and unity. Thus, Tonguç told his students to go back to the endless source, to the people in order to find inspiration.

**Village Institutes and Modernization**

At this point, I will look at the Village Institutes in terms of the modernization of Turkish society and the ideals that determined its character and scope as well as the
nature of the opposition to it. With the foundation of the republic in 1923, a set of political, economic, social, judiciary, and educational reforms were lunched to transform the society as a whole. As we mentioned, the Village Institutes were created as a part of this modernization project. The fiercest criticism against the Village Institutes came from those who opposed these reforms. In The Social Structure of Turkey, Kongar (1979) states that the main factor underlining this opposition was the cultural division.

According to Kongar, one of the most important objectives of reforms was to find a solution to the problem of the co-existence of two different cultures in Turkey for centuries. However, Kongar points out that the attempt to eradicate the cultural division was itself elitist. This division became more accentuated with modernization efforts that actually started before the foundation of the republic. The adaptation of Western institutions estranged further certain segments of the society, which basically perceived the reforms as deviation from the religious principles, rules and traditions. The political constituency that represented these segments came to power in 1950 and immediately began the process of undermining institutions founded upon the republican principles. The Village Institutes were among them.

Results of Interviews

It is possible to divide the close witnesses of the Village Institute experiment into four main groups: a) the graduates of the Village Institutes, b) administrators and teachers, c) scientists, artists, writers and intellectuals who contributed to education at the Institutes through conferences, lectures, courses, and various cultural and artistic
activities such as exhibitions and shows, and d) craftsmen and other personnel that had a teacher like position at the Institutes. Many of the individuals in the last three groups are not alive today. In fact, the number of Institute graduates who are alive today is also getting scarce. Besides those whom we interviewed, some graduates of the Institutes preferred to give a copy of their books about the Institutes rather than answering our questions directly.

All of the interviewees shared the sentiment that the Village Institute graduates had been treated unjustly. However, they stated that what was done to them personally was not as important as the damage done to the development of Turkish education and the country. They believed that the destruction of the Institutes marked the end of modernization attempts and the beginning of a backwards movement in Turkey in the republic era. Thus, 50 years after the closing of the Village Institutes, the problems of education nationwide were left unsolved. They mentioned that Imam-preacher schools founded as reaction to the Institutes created generations that set out to undermine the republic. Ironically, the Village Institutes’ system was criticized for its most progressive and contemporary aspects, such as democratic and practical education.

A graduate of the Village Institutes and a writer and publisher, Mevlüt Kaplan gave us an extensive interview that painted a very vivid and detailed picture of his own experiences and observations at the Institutes and conditions of education from a historical perspective. The information that he gave was very telling especially about how the outcome of art education artistic activities at the Institutes animated and transformed the artistic and cultural environment in Turkey. Another Institute
graduate Sabit Baytan, who taught art in public schools for years, gave us an analysis of art education at the Institutes and public schools from a comparative perspective. According to Baytan, students in public schools today are yet to have the facilities and tools that they used in their art classes and activities at the Institutes. He states that the differences between the Institutes and public schools were so drastic in regards to the methods used and the nature the teacher-student relationship.

Implications of The Village Institutes Experiment for Today’s Education In Turkey

"The Village Institutes were founded to disseminate the revolutionist ideas and principles of the republic such as the universality of human rights and free and democratic life. The educational system and organizational model used in the Village Institutes had a character suitable to the particular conditions of Turkey, and capable of improving those conditions. Their system considered the problems of education from a wider perspective. The Village Institutes came into being as a part of steps taken towards the development of the country. The experiment of the Village Institutes took place during the war years and began to give its fruits shortly. In spite of economic hardships, it proved that it was possible to accomplish great things. It also proved that the education of talented children as well as common people was possible through democratic education. It showed that a certain conservative minority group who hold the power were fearful of the education of common people and defended their personal interests" (Aydoğan, 1998, pp. 164-165).

The Village Institutes were intended primarily to: a) make villagers literate, b) train teachers and technical personnel to work in villages, c) introduce villagers to scientific agricultural methods and applications as well as new professions, d) improve village conditions and cultural and artistic environment, thus to enliven village life from within. These schools remained open relatively a very short time for any of these purposes to be fully accomplished. It can be said that the outcome of art education at the Institutes has important implications for today’s art education in
Turkey’s schools at all levels. The major factors underlining this success can be summarized as follows:

a) Great interest on the part of artists, writers, intellectuals and educators in education and activities at the Institutes,
b) Education through work that develops and sharpens students’ skills and character,
c) Free studies in the form of master-apprenticeship relationship,
d) Folkloric studies and activities,
e) Intense language and literature education,
f) Democratic administration and student participation that allowed students to take responsibilities from a very early age.
g) Activities such as debates, expeditionary trips, entertainment, sports, competitions and etc.,
h) Use of theatre and its dynamic world in education, which continuously renew itself through collaborative work,
i) Lifelong close friendship between the teacher and student,
j) Educational environment that transcends the confines of the school building.

After Tonguç was stripped of his duties, he continued to defend his system, especially art education at the Institutes. In fact, that system had already begun to give its fruits especially in the field of art and literature. Many graduates of the Institutes became productive artists and writers. This gave Tonguç encouragement and confidence in the success of his system. Tonguç believed that pedagogically it is very important to create a situation where the child can act like an artist. When this
happens, the teacher can incorporate various subjects into the class, and the child just like the artist can experience the beauty of expressing his or her feelings and emotions. This way, children get exposed to the world of art.

Creating this kind of learning environment for the artistic and aesthetic development of children in primary and secondary school settings in Turkey today is not even conceived of let alone being realized. Even art classes at university level lack such an interactive, dynamic and creative learning environment. In The Dictionary of Pedagogy, Tonguç (1950) makes suggestions regarding art education and its environment. They included a) Beautifying the school environment through the use of flowers, trees, ornaments and various objects constructed by students, b) studying works of art through originals or copies, c) improving students’ language skills by using works of literature, theatre and devices such as radio and gramophone, d) fostering students’ sensitivity to form and color making use of natural and manmade objects, art works, images from the popular culture, caricature and clothing designs and motifs, e) engaging students in groups or individually in musical activities, f) designing physical activities in a way to foster students’ aesthetic sensitivity such as using rhythmic gymnastic, folk dancing and trips to nature, g) instilling in students a sense of love and appreciation for work and beauty by providing them tools and encouraging them to create beautiful things, h) making use of theatrical plays outdoors and indoors and films in art classes.
Main Purpose of Art Education

According to Tonguç, art and science constituted the two essential parts of education. They are not the ends in and of themselves, but the means to foster creativity in children and allow them to recognize the human qualities, art concerning itself mainly with the realm of human emotions and feelings and science with workings of nature and the universe. In this sense, artistic and scientific studies need to go hand in hand. Productive work in an educational setting involves aspects of both science and art and best fosters the creativity of students. The creative potential in children is immense and powerful. They can be creative in many ways and areas, but they need assistance. Art educators are to educate them by being of guidance and example, not lecturing at them.

Influence of the Village Institutes On Turkish Art and Culture

The Village Institutes were the product of the first significant search in Turkish education for a new system that went hand in hand with a nationwide campaign that aimed at mobilizing literacy. The experiment of the Village Institutes, although short lived, left a legacy that in spite of all the efforts by their opponents to blacken it is still discussed today. It is possible to summarize the influence of Tonguç and the Village Institutes on the artistic and cultural and educational environment in Turkey as follows:

- Before the republic, pedagogy and pedagogical research was not given much importance in Turkey. Tonguç, educated in Turkey and Europe, was one the few who introduced Turkish educators to pedagogical ideas and applications
of renowned foreign educators and philosophers such as John Dewey, Kerschensteiner and Pestalozzi

- By combining the idea of vocational schools with a very unconventional art education, Tonguç helped raise the awareness among educators as well as the public of the importance art education in the development of individuals and thus, of the society as a whole.

- Activities in the Institutes in which villagers participated, helped narrow the gap between the common people and intellectuals

- Entertainment, theatre and various other artistic and cultural activities and studies, which gave local folkloric art forms and artists nationwide recognition and increased cultural interaction between the different regions of Turkey, contributed the creation of a national culture and helped strengthen a sense of national unity.

- Through Village Institutes, the realities of villages and countryside came to the attention of Turkish artists and writers, and many works of art and literature dealing with the issues of villages and villagers came into being. The graduates of the Village Institutes well educated in language, literature and the arts introduced the art and the literature of the countryside to entire nation

- Co-education at the Village Institutes that allowed boys and girls to live, work and study together was an important step in elevating women’s rights in Turkey and marked a radical break away from the established religious traditions and customs that kept men and women separate not only in the countryside but also in the cities. In such a society, girls and boys performing
folk dances side by side and hand in hand was in effect revolutionary and caused the wrath of religious and conservative circles.

- The Village Institutes played a very important role in the development of theatre through plays prepared by the Institute teachers and students and staged nationwide.

- And most importantly, the Village Institutes proved the importance of democratic, free and secular education in the character development of the individual.

60 years later, the Village Institutes system continues to intrigue Turkish educators as well as intellectuals with its unique and unconventional aspects and methods and with unprecedented educational outcome. This system designed primarily to train village teachers created in ten years a youth out of the most impoverished regions of Turkey educated in the fine arts as well as technical arts, literature and science and able to build schools, canals, bridges and cultivate the soil (Binbaşıoğlu, 1993).

From the time of their conception to years after their closing, the Village Institutes became subject to fierce criticism and attacks from the religious and conservative circles and political constituency representing them. As we mentioned earlier this criticism had mostly political overtones rather than educational. However, recently, Turkish educators and intellectuals who study the Village Institutes are engaged in a more objective criticism of the educational system of the Village Institutes and methods used. Interestingly, such criticism involves those aspects of the system other than that of art education. For example, Binbaşıoğlu (1993) states that
the workload of a village teacher was overwhelming to the point of disturbing education. Besides education, the responsibilities of the teacher included the maintenance of the school building, cultivating the field and taking care of the animals given to the teacher by the state as a source of additional income, such as sheep, goats, horses, cows and oxen. He also states that the education of the Village Institute graduates instilled values in them such as helping others, fighting with adverse conditions and setting an example for others and etc. These values motivated their actions for the rest of their lives and sometimes overshadowed their work as educators. This in turn, led to the criticism of the Village Institute graduates that they were not qualified teachers.

Binbaşıoğlu maintains that the experiment of the Village Institutes has significant implications for today’s Turkish education with its democratic educational and administrative system that reinforced teacher-student partnership and emphasized the unison of mental and emotional development of the individual. In Contemporary Education and The Village Institutes, Abdullah Demirtaş (1993) writes that the educational system of the Village Institutes centered on people, work, student participation and collaborative production as opposed to what Brazilian educator and pedagogue Frerie calls ‘banking education’ based on the memorization of knowledge, has implications for contemporary education.

Demirtaş (1993) believes that today Turkish education needs mobilization similar to that which took place in 1930s and 1940s, in order to be able to remain in the race among the nations of the world. From this perspective, it is not a matter of village or city but of creating a strong, democratic and free Turkey.
Art Education in Turkey Today

Türkoğlu (2000) states that Turkish history has abundant examples of how Turkish nation has ultimately destroyed many good things it created and that the destruction of the Village Institutes is only one of them. Turkey needs to establish democratic education today more than ever, and there is a lot for Turkish educators to learn from the experiment of the Village Institutes. Children can only actualize themselves and develop their skills, talents and characters in a free and democratic environment. Art education, which is very important for the round development of the individual and provides channels for creative expression, also needs a free environment to thrive.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights states that education should instill in students a sense of respect for human rights, foster freedom and character development of the individual. In light of this definition, the goals of education should be to

- Develop the talents of the individual.
- Equip students with skills and habits that will help them to dynamically adjust to society.
- Teach how to learn.
- Introduce students to scientific knowledge and modern technology.
- Equip students with occupational skills and knowledge.
- Introduce students to local, national and universal cultures
- Instill in students the notion of democratic citizenry and respect for human rights and basic freedoms.
For Tonguç, this individual to be educated in accord with the definition in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights is the ‘New Individual’ based on whom to found a new society and culture. And his method to create this individual is ‘education through work and art’. The most important attribute of Tonguç’s system is ‘art in every aspect of human life and activity.’ The primary duty of the educator is to prepare the artistic milieu. Tonguç, in spite of his extremely limited means, tried to create such an environment in the Village Institutes. It is up to today’s educators to determine whether or not his system produced the kind of individual defined in the Declaration, by taking into consideration the actions, oeuvres and character attributes of the generation that The Village Institutes raised. Turkish educators need to ask themselves whether they believe in the necessity of Art Education. If the answer is in the affirmative, then they need to produce realistic and pragmatic solutions like Tonguç did more than half a century ago.

Human beings live as members of communities and societies becoming increasingly larger and more complex. They become affected by the shared values of these communities, which are reflected through art and culture. Art develop the individual in many ways and contributes to peace by bringing people of different cultures and societies together around the shared feelings. However, for a long time Turkish educators have regarded art classes in primary and secondary education as unnecessary and a waste of time. Such an attitude towards the arts has affected art education at all levels negatively. Students who want to continue their higher education in areas related to arts and humanities come to universities without having had a significant experience and knowledge in the arts. In fact, the determination of
talents and development of certain skills should take place throughout the primary and secondary education. One needs to remember that Tonguç's Institutes were secondary educational institutions as well.

In secondary education, it is crucial to create a suitable cultural environment in which to efficiently and effectively carry out art classes. However, again disciplines such as philosophy, sociology and logic are not given importance in secondary education in Turkey. In this sense, any program that attempts to improve art education in secondary schools needs to give importance to other cultural classes.

Suggestions

1. In secondary education, first of all a democratic school administration and a democratic learning environment should be established. In this respect, the experiment of the Village Institutes can be looked into.

2. Education based on the memorization of the subject mater should be demolished and critical thinking should be fostered.

3. Educational programs should be designed taking into account the particular talents and skills of the individual.

4. It should be remembered that art and culture develop in their suitable environments. Again in this respect, The Village Institutes can provide examples.

5. Students should acquire such habits as reading books, following the world events and developments in science and technology. Students' parents and close acquaintances should be included in the process.
6. Strict discipline and the method of punishment with grades should be abandoned.

7. In order to instill in students democratic habits and consciousness, students should be included in decision-making processes in school.

8. In order to raise a skilled and productive youth, ateliers for technical and artistic activities should be opened in schools.

9. In order to make art classes and artistic activities more attractive, students should be included in the selection of the subject matter, planning and organization of activities.

10. The educational aspects of theatre and other stage arts such as the collaboration of the participants should be used in schools.

11. In an attempt to reconstruct Turkish education, an interdisciplinary approach should be adopted, by seeking the contributions of experts from other fields.

In conclusion, I would like to say that education today is no longer an area concerning only educators. Any attempt to remedy Turkish education in general and art education in particular requires the collaborative work of scientists, educators, politicians, artists, writers and intellectuals. Turkey cannot expect another Tonguç to come. In light of the educational ideas of Tonguç, Pestelozzi, Dewey and Freire and their applications, it is possible to establish an educational system based on the principles stated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Education and art constitute the two important and vital components of culture that contribute to its continuation and development. In any given society, the framework for educational and artistic practices is provided by its particular
characteristics and conditions that are rooted in its history and traditions. In the course of the development of the Western societies, art has come to be seen as an entity separate from life and the priority of a small community of highly specialized people made up of artists, critics, gallery owners and dealers. This separation of art and life and the resulting gap between the laymen and the specialists promoted by the modernist revolution at the turn of the last century seems to be further enhanced by post-modernism's extreme relativism and its criticism of rationality, objectivity and progress.

Modernism and Post-modernism are the products of industrial and post-industrial societies. Turkey, though has long been committed to the ideals of Modernization and Westernization, is neither an industrial nor a post-industrial society. Traditionally, the academic and artistic circles in Turkey have been affected by and followed the developments taking place in the Western world. Thus, today's Turkish intellectuals, artists and academicians are engaged in discussions and practices within modernist and post-modernist frameworks. However, in doing so they find themselves in a greater vacuum and further removed from the realities of the Turkish society and culture.

As mentioned above the cultural practices in any given society are rooted in and affected by its historical and cultural traditions and by way of life in general. Any activity that is alien to that structure will remain foreign to its body and most likely be rejected. This in no way is to deny the possibility of social and cultural change and development, but to say that without being based in the culture change is not substantial.
Village Institutes were born of the particular conditions and necessities of Turkey. The affects of their unique educational practices are evident in the works and lives of their graduates. In this sense it is hoped that this study of the Village Institutes system and its art education component, and the conditions in which they came into being will provide new insights to the problems of Turkish art and education.
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APPENDIX

INTERVIEWS IN TURKISH

Ali Yılmaz

Soru: Köy Enstitülerinin sanat anlayışı neydi?


Soru: Aldığınız Sanat Eğitimi içinde neler vardı ve yıllık ders planı içinde ne kadar yere sahipti?


Soru: Enistitüde sanat eğitmenleriniz kimlerdi?


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Soru: Aldığınız sanat eğitimi hayatınızı nasıl etkiledi?


Soru: Enstitüde çalışma koşulları neydi? Çevre köyleren zorluk çıkaran olur muydu?


Mevlut Kaplan

Soru: Köy Enstitüleri hakkında bize bilgi verebilir misiniz?

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sevinemedim. Aynı koşullar altında bir yıl daha gecirmek bana zor geliyordu ve beni çok korkutuyordu.


Reis Bucağı okulunda beşinci sınıfaydım, sünğülü iki jandarma mektubu getirdi. İlçe Milli Eğitim Memuru da bana İvriz Köy Enstitüsüne resmen kabul edildiğini bildirdi. Enstitüye kaydolabilmek için altı tane vesikalık fotoğraf istendiğini, bu arada, noterden tasdikli bir kefaret senedi hazırlatmayı söyledi. Köye döndüm.


Soru: Köy Enstitülerinin kurulması ve Tonguç’un bu görevi üstlenmesi nasıl gerçekleşti?

Cevap: Kemal Atatürk, devrim ve reformlardan ancak şehirlerde yaşayanların etkilendiğini, yararlandığını öne sürüyor ve uygarlık ateşiin köylere de ulaştırılmasını istiyordu. Nüfusun % 80’ini oluşturan köylülerin eğitilmesinin şart olduğunu biliyordu. 40.000 köyun sadece 3.000 kadarında okul vardı. Okulu olan köylerdeki eğitimde yetersizdi. Bu okullarda ancak okuma-yazma öğretilebiliyordu.


Bakan Saffet Arıkan, gerçek öğretmenleri yetiştiricecek okulların kurulması işinin liderliğini Ismail Hakki Tonguç’un başarabileceği düşünüyordu. Köy çocuklarının eğitilme sorumluluğunu, yani önce eğitmen, daha sonra öğretmen yetiştirme mücadelese Tonguç’un yürütmesini istedi.

Ilköğretim Genel Müdürlüğüne atanan Tonguç, bakandan bir yıl izin istedi. Bir yıl boyunca tüm illeri, 600 ilçeye ve 9.000 köyü inceleyerek dolaşan Tonguç,

Soru: Köy Enstitülerinde almış olduğunuz eğitimin, yazarlık hayatınza ve sanatsal faaliyetlerinizeki etkisi nedir? Köy Enstitülerinde verilen eğitimin kültürel boyutları hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz?


Kendi atölyelerimizde yaptığımız malzemeler yatakhanemizi, tuvaletlerimizi, dershanelerimizi, ahşap yapı ekipmanlarınızmı, demir aksanı, kısaca ihtiyacımız olan herşeyi kendimiz üretyorduk. Öğretmenlerimize büyük bir inancımız vardı ve onların bize yaptıkları telkinler çoğunun zaman bizim eylemlerimizi yönlendireyordu. Olgunluk düzeyimize uygun kitapları bize tavsiye ederlerdi.


Bugun 259 tane çocuk kitabı yazabilmemi köy enstitülerinde aldığım eğitime borçluyum.

Fakir Baykurt

Soru: Sayın Baykurt, yazılarıniza sık sık Köy Enstitüllerine karşı büyük saldirilar yapıldığını ve hemen hepsinin haksız saldırdı ve eleştirdiğini belirtiyorsunuz. Bu saldırları kimler yürüttüyordu? Saldırlar etkili oldu mu?

Cevap: Maalesef bu saldırlar etkili olduğu, saldırların sahipleri amaçlarına ulaşlardır.

Türk halkı uzun bir süre Köy Enstitüllerine ve öğrencilerine kuşkuyla bakar olmuştur. Saldırcıların kimlikleri, süreç içinde eylemleri ile belirginleşinceye kadar sürmüştür bu yanılğılardır.

Soru: Sizi en çok etkileyen hangi saldırlar olmuştur?
Cevap: Beni etkileyen saldırıları şimdilik söylemeyeceğim, ancak, halkımızı en çok etkileyen iki saldırıdan sözetzemeliyim. Şimdi anlatacağım bu iki saldırı, değerli iki büyük insanımızı da derinden etkilemiş, yalalarış ve üzüştür.


Basındaki ve CHP ve DP kadrolarındaki iftiracılara göre, arşivlerdeki suç belgelerini yoketmek için bakanlık yangını H. Ali Yücel ve Tonguc tarafından çıkarılmak. Ipe sapa gelmez bu yalanlarla kiskoca bir eğitim sistemi yerle bir edildi, ne yazık.

Muhalefetteki Demokrat Parti ile populizm ve gercilik yarışına çıkan CHP ileri gelenleri de, Yücel ve Tonguç’u yalnız bırakısları. Hatta, CHP saflarından da
Yücel ve Tonguç aleyhine kampanya açan kişiler çıkmıştır. Reşat Şemsettin Sirer ve ondan sonra bakanlık yapan Tahsin Banguoğlu gibi.

**Soru:** Sayın Baykurt, Hasan Ali Yücel yayın yoluyla kendi sine hakaret eden avukat Kenan Öner'den davacı olmuştu. Bu dava Hasan Ali Yücel'in lehine sonuçlandığı halde, gerici basın hala tersini iddia ediyor. Sanki Hasan Ali Yücel yargılanıp suçlu bulunmuş gibi, bir yanlış israrla sürdürülüyor. Bu konuda ne diyorsunuz?


**Soru:** Bunu nasıl başarabilidiler?


**Sabit Baytan**

**Soru:** Sabit Bey, Ismail Hakkı Tonguç, Köy Enstitülerinde hayvan koşumlarından kapı ve pencere pervazlarına kadar herşeyin estetik değer taşıyacak şekilde
yapılmasını istiyordu. Öğrencilerin sanatın her koluyla ilgili bireyler olarak yetişmesini, estetik güzellikler içinde eğitilmerini ve yaşamlarını istiyordu.

Tonguç’ un bu istekleri ne derece gerçekleşebildi? Yaşama geçilebildimi? Kendi deneyimlerinizden yola çıkarak anlatabilir misiniz?


Soru: Enstitülerdeki folklor, edebiyat, resim, heykel ve tiyatro çalışmalarının klasik sanat eğitiminden farklı tarafı sizce nelerdir?


Enstitülerde ise böyle bir sıkıntı biz hiç yaşamadık. Devlet her malzemeyi temin...

Soru: Aynı zamanda öğretmenlikte yapmış bir sanatçı olarak, Köy Enstitüleri deneyiminden geleceği yönelli olarak çıkarılacak dersler sizce nelerdir?