POLITICAL FOUNDATIONS OF SOCIAL STUDIES CURRICULA IN THE CONTEXT OF CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION IN TURKEY: GOVERNMENT PROGRAMS AND DEVELOPMENT PLANS

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Abstract:

The education process in school is organized by the curriculum. Curricula aim to raise citizens in accordance with the needs and political structure of the country. Among the curricula, social studies curriculum (SSC) be shown as a curriculum that can be most affected by political foundations. Because in social studies, issues such as democracy, human rights, government style, human rights, rights and responsibilities are directly related to politics. In this study, government programs (GP) and development plans (DP) in Turkey, which are one of the main political tools that affect social studies curriculum politically, have been analyzed. In this study, the 1998, 2005 and 2018 SSCs; the 55th, 59th and 65th GPs and 7th, 8th and 10th DPs in Turkey were analyzed using the document review method. This study was designed with a case study from qualitative research methods. Content analysis method was used in analyzing the data. As a result, it is concluded that GPs and DPs affect the social SSCs in some aspects.

Keywords: education political analysis, social studies, curriculum evaluation, foundations of citizenship education

Özet:

Okulda eğitim süreci programla düzenlenir. Eğitim programları ülkenin ihtiyaçlarına ve politik yapısına uygun vatandaşlar yetiştirmeyi hedefler. Programlardan soysal bilgiler öğretim programları içerik olarak politik temellerden en fazla etkilenebilecek bir program olarak gösterilebilir. Çünkü sosyal bilgilerde içerikte demokrasi, insan hakları,

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yönetim biçimi, haklar ve sorumluluklar gibi konular doğrudan politika ile doğrudan ilişkilidir. Bu araştırmada sosyal bilgiler öğretim programlarını politik olarak etkileyen, temel politik araçlardan olan, hükümet programları ve kalkınma planları analiz edilmiştir. 1998, 2005 ve 2018 sosyal bilgiler öğretim programları; 55, 59 ve 65. Hükümet programları ve 7, 8 ve 10. kalkınma planları doküman incelemesi yöntemiyle analiz edilmiştir. Bu çalışma nitel araştırma yöntemlerinden durum çalışması ile desenlenmiştir. Verilerin çözümlenmesinde içerik analizi yöntemi kullanılmıştır. Sonuç olarak hükümet programları ve kalkınma planlarının sosyal bilgiler öğretim programını bazı hususlarda etkilediği sonucuna ulaşılmıştır.

Anahtar kelimeler: eğitimin politik analizi, sosyal bilgiler, öğretim program değerlendirme, vatandaşlık eğitimi temelleri

1. Introduction

The education and training process is regulated and continued with curricula. Curricula aim to educate citizens that the country needs and will need in the future. The foundations of the curriculum affect the curriculum to a certain extent in the curriculum development process. Political foundations have a certain influence on the curriculum through various tools of the country administration. The aim of political influence can be explained as raising citizens in accordance with the administrative structure and needs of the country. Social studies curricula can be described as such curricula in which political influence can be reflected. Because social studies curricula include content such as democracy, state administration, human rights, rights, responsibilities, and freedoms. This study aimed to compare government programs with a political impact on social studies curricula and development plans in Turkey. This study is an up-to-date study for social studies, curricula foundations and citizenship education. This study, which is mainly related to the field of educational sciences, is also concerned with the fields of education curricula, citizenship education and political analysis in education.

2. Literature Review

Although the word curriculum is based on the Latin word *currere*, it was stated that it became a separate science after Frankin Bobbit published his work *The Curriculum* in 1918 (Demirel, 2015; Doğanay, 2015; Ornstein & Hunkins, 2014). There are many accepted definitions regarding the curriculum. The curriculum was defined by Ornstein and Hunkins (2014) as *i) educational processes and experiences, ii) plan for education, curricula, iii) a field of study with theories, principles, and standards* and *iv) as organization of course contents*; by Varış (1994, p. 18).

The raising of individuals is shaped in accordance with the structure and goals of a country and countries are trying to train citizens in this direction (Fidan & Erden, 1994). The qualifications that citizens should have are stated in the overall objectives of the

National Education Basic Law in Turkey (Republic of Turkey Ministry of National Education-The Board of Education [MEB-TTKB], 1973). When considered in this framework, the dimension of citizen education and citizenship education in education curricula draws attention.

While citizenship education is defined as "… *The preparation of students as active citizens who possess the necessary knowledge, skills and attitudes at the school level to contribute to the development and well-being of the society in which they live…"* in the European Commission (2012, p. 8) report, it was defined as *"The education of children from an early age for them to become open-minded and enlightened citizens who are involved in decisions about society."* by the UNESCO (2010, p. 15). It is seen that the common point in the definitions of citizenship education is to train students in line with future-oriented needs. However, the application of citizenship education differs from country to country. According to the study of Kerr (1999), countries apply citizenship education in three ways; *i) with an inter-program approach ii) with a separate lesson approach,* and *iii) with an approach that integrates other lessons.* In Turkey, citizenship education is integrated with other lessons and at it is a compulsory subject in the course curriculum of the 4th grade. In case citizenship education is applied with an interdisciplinary approach, it is integrated with lessons such as life studies, social studies, history, geography, and religious culture (European Commission, 2017, pp. 29,30). The social studies subject, which has similar content to citizenship education, emerges as a compulsory lesson in the 4th, 5th, 6th, and 7th grades. Because there are many common goals and contents in both citizenship education and social studies (human rights, democracy, management and administration forms, rights, responsibilities and freedoms, culture, individual and collective skills, active participation, and citizenship etc.) (Ahghar & Eftekhari, 2016; Ayaaba, Eshun & Bordoh, 2014).

It was reported that social studies were defined as "*simplified social sciences for pedagogical purposes*" by Wesley (Hertzberg, 1981, p. 1). Since there is no consensus on the definition of social studies and therefore their approaches, purposes and content, the National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS) (1994) created a common definition. Although there are many approaches in the field of social studies, it was stated that the approach accepted in Turkey refers to Barr's, Barth's and Shermis' classification (1978), which is *i) Social studies as citizenship transfer, ii) Social studies as social sciences* and *iii) Social studies as reflective research"* (Sever, 2015, p. 12). However, while two of the three classifications of Barr, Barth and Shermis are included in the Social Studies Curriculum (SSC) of 2018, it is thought that *"Social studies as social sciences"* is not included (MEB, 2018).

Social, legal, political, psychological, philosophical, and economic foundations are stated among the foundations of education. Among these foundations, the political foundations are used by the government to influence education through various means, and are characterized as a fundamental that directly affects citizen education (Şişman, 2007). Subjects such as legal regulations regarding education, preparation of curricula, regulation of the education system, and education planning, emerge as direct

applications of the management (government) of the Republic of Turkey and political foundations of education. Among the documents on political foundations, documents such as the council of national education decisions, political party statements, government programs (GP), and development plans (DP) have an important place. It must be said that no new GP was prepared after the introduction of the new presidential system in Turkey in 2016, and that the last GP of 2016 was the 65th GP. It was stated that DPs also contribute to the basis that affect education politically (Küçüker, 2008). Literature review showed that a study was conducted on the elements of citizenship education in the election declarations of political parties (Kahramanoğlu, Bay, Döş & Polat, 2020). It was also seen that DPs are associated with education in the direction of social goals and policies, and that a study has been conducted on the qualities and values that should be present in the individual educationally (Küçüker, 2008). It was also stated that by revealing the effects of GPs and DPs on curricula, it becomes easier to see political elements in curricula (Şiraz, 2020). In the context of citizenship education, no study has been found in the literature that reveals the political foundations of SSCs with the analysis of GPs and DPs. The problem situation in this study is to examine whether GPs and DPs influence SSCs, which are directly related to citizenship education. The path followed for literature scanning and problem reaching is shown in Figure 1.
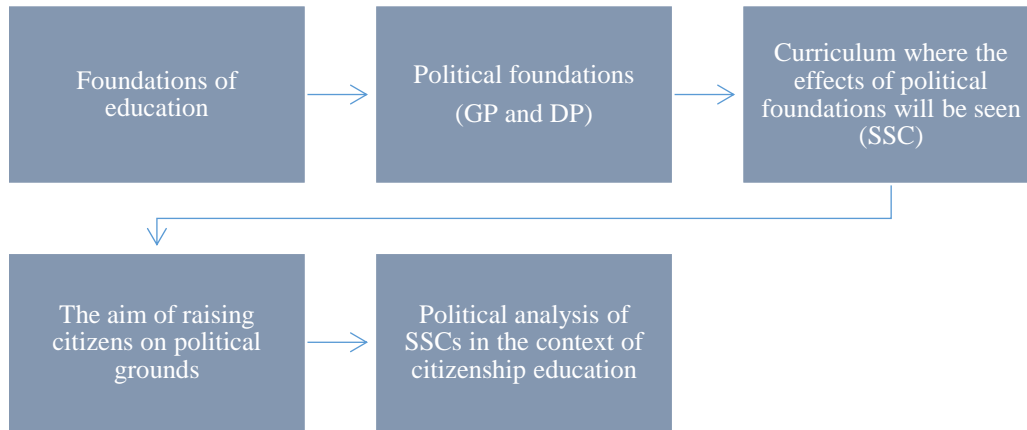

Figure 1: Path followed in reaching the problem state

2.1 Aim

This study's main aim is to analyze the effects of GPs and DPs on SSCs. In accordance with the general aim of the study, answers to the following questions were sought:

1) In the context of citizenship education, which of the concepts, skills and values that exist in 1998 SSC general aims and student outcomes are present in 55th GP and 7th DP?

2) In the context of citizenship education, which of the concepts, skills and values that exist in 2005 SSC general aims and student outcomes are present in 59th GP and 8th DP?

3) In the context of citizenship education, which of the concepts, skills and values that exist in 2005 SSC general aims and student outcomes are present in 65th GP and 10th DP?

2.2 Importance of the study

It is thought that this study, which aims to reveal the political foundations of the changes in SSCs, will be important for the fields of education curricula and political foundations in education.

It is thought that this study, which aims to reveal the effects of political foundations on changes in curricula in the context of citizenship education, will be important for the area of citizenship education.

2.3 Assumptions of the study

It is assumed that the 55th GP and 7th DP form a political foundation for the 1998 SSC, that the 59th GP and 8th DP form a political foundation for the 2005 SSC, and that the 65th GP and 10th DP form a political foundation for the 2018 SSC.

3. Material and Methods

3.1. Research design

This study analyzed SSCs, GPs and DPs. In other words, it examined existing situations in depth and systematically. This study was designed as a case study, a qualitative research method. According to Yıldırım and Şimşek (2013), a case study is defined as the in-depth and systematic investigation of a phenomenon or event. The procedures and study model used for this study are shown in Figure 2.
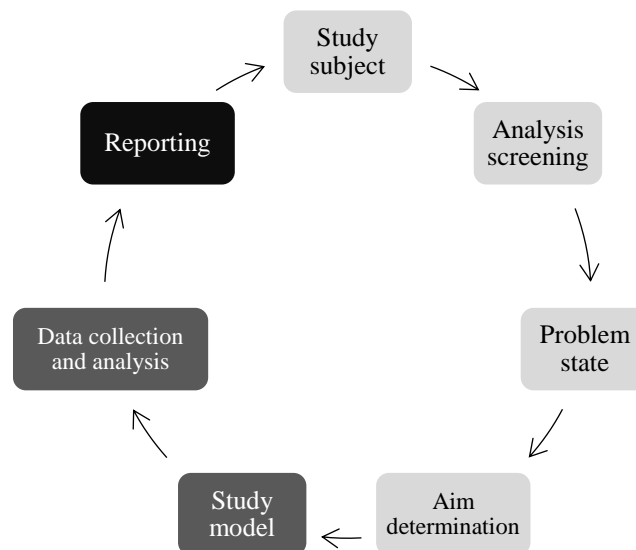

Figure 2: Study process

As seen in Figure 2, the process in this study progressed as a loop in accordance with the qualitative research tradition. When needed, previous stages were revisited and corrections were made.

3.2. Data collection tools

Data were obtained by document analysis method. Documents (tools) used in this study:
1) The 1998, 2005 and 2018 SSCs (MEB; MEB-TTKB, 2005a, 2005b).
2) The 55th, 59th, and 65th GP (The Grand National Assembly of Turkey, 2013, 2016)
3) The 7th, 8th, and 10th DP (State Planning Organization, 1995, 2000; Republic of Turkey Ministry of Development, 2013)

The general aim (GA) and student outcomes (SO) in SSCs were analyzed and coded in the context of citizenship education. The expressions found in GPs and DPs overlapping with the codes obtained were revealed and matched with the relevant SSC theme/category. Each SSC was compared with the last GP and DP before it. This is shown in Figure 3:
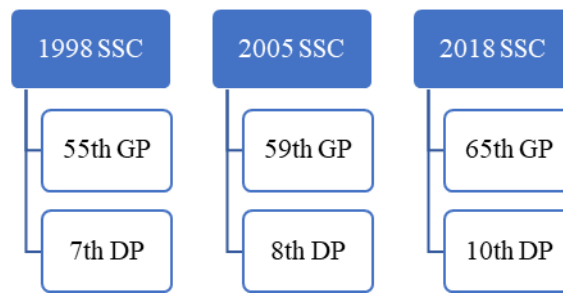

Figure 3: Years of SSC and numbers of GPs and DPs used for comparison

3.3. Data analysis

Content analysis method was used in data analysis. Regarding content analysis Yıldırım and Şimşek (2013) reported the data should be examined, that an in-depth analysis should be performed, and that the data should be divided into sub-groups and categories (Yıldırım & Şimşek, 2013). The data were thoroughly analyzed, resolved, and compared with the analysis of the last GP and DP before the SSC. There was no previously created standard form for the analysis of the in-depth examination of the data in this study.

3.3.1 Study process

First, the 1998, 2005 and 2018 SSCs were analyzed. GA and SO regarding citizenship education in the SSCs were determined. Name groups and concepts in GAs and SOs related to citizenship education were determined, and coding, categorization and theming was performed. This theming was created in accordance with the social studies course themes determined by the NCSS. GAs and SOs, and a theming example are shown in Table 1.

Table 1: An Example of Transforming Expressions
Regarding Gas and SOs in SSCs into Codes/categories/themes

Example of general aim/ student outcome	Expressions/ concepts/ values and skills	Code	Category	Theme
98. GA.A.12. They become able to assume duties and responsibilities everywhere, gain commitment to family integrity, and develop their sense of responsibility and duty for the welfare and happiness of the family.	Duties and Responsibilities	Responsibility	Rights, responsibilities, and freedoms	Individual and society
	Commitment to family integrity	Commitment to family	Coexistence and cooperation	Individual and society
	Responsibility for the well-being and happiness of the family	Responsibility	Rights, responsibilities, and freedoms	Individual and society

As seen in Table 1, the GPs and DPs were analyzed after the codes, categories and themes determined in the SSCs were created, and when an appropriate expression was found for the SSC codes, it was matched. And "98. GA.A.12" is code of a general aim of SSC. An example of the matching of expressions existing in GPs and DPs with SSC codes is shown in Table 2.

Table 2: Example of Similar Expressions in GPs and
DPs Compared to Expressions Code/category/themes in the SSC

SSC expression	SSC code/ category/ theme	GP expression	DP expression
Commitment to family integrity	Commitment to the family / coexistence and cooperation / individual and society	Strengthening family integrity

Efforts to increase the peace and well-being of the Turkish family | Protection of the family, which is the cornerstone of Turkish society

Supporting the family by education |
| Freedom of thought | Freedom/ rights, responsibilities, and freedoms | Upholding the rights and freedoms of the individual

Free thought | Main purpose of the education system; ... libertarian ... |

As seen in Table 2, if an expression within the SSC codes was present in GPs and DPs, a theme/category/code was added. In the context of citizenship education, it was thought to be appropriate that the codes obtained as a result of the analysis of the 1998, 2005 and 2018 SSCs, were presented under the same theme/categories for all three SSCs. In other words, while the theme/categories are appropriate/same for all three SSCs, there is a differentiation in the codes.

3.3.2 Validity and reliability

Validity and reliability were tried to be provided within the framework of credibility, transferability, consistency, and verifiability in accordance with the qualitative research tradition. Validity was provided in the form of long-term interaction, depth-focused data collection, and description of the obtained results. To ensure reliability, an Assoc. Prof. Dr. from Gaziantep University, Faculty of Education, Department of Educational Sciences, acted as a second coder. It was found that the code similarity was 90% and that the difference was 10% in the codes prepared by the two coders, and the difference was eliminated by reaching a consensus on these different codes. Again, in terms of reliability, the results this study was kept for future analysis if needed.

4. Results

The 1998, 2005 and 2018 SSCs were analyzed in terms of citizenship education, and the 55th, 59th and 65th GPs and the 7th, 8th, and 10th DPs were analyzed. Results are presented according to the research questions. The systematic path followed to reach the findings is shown in Figure 4.
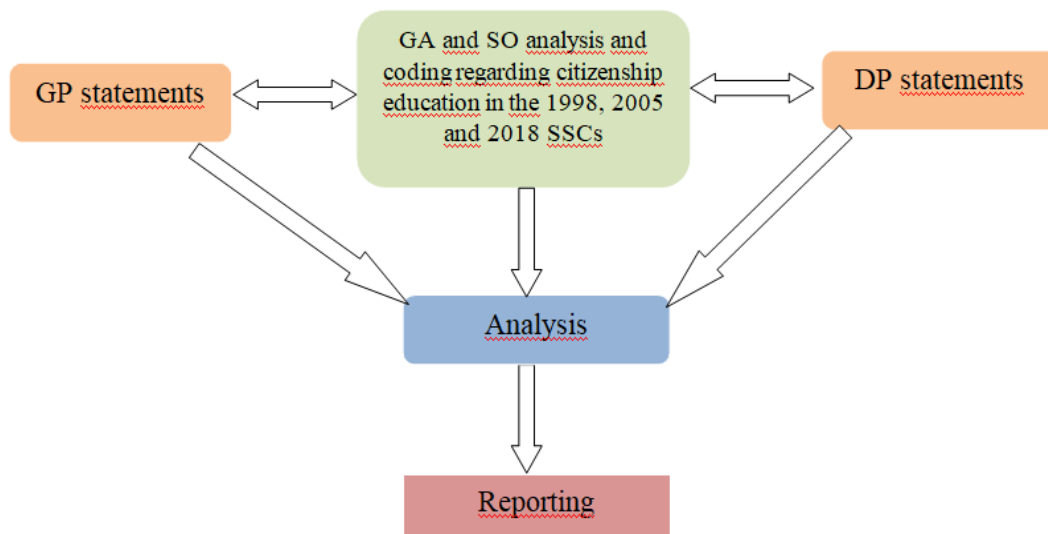

Figure 4: Systematic path for reaching the findings

4.1. Findings of the first research question

The basic data are based on political analysis of SSCs in the context of citizenship education. First, it was considered appropriate to provide numerical information about the SSCs. The total GAs/GAs regarding citizenship education in the SSCs were 34/29 in 1998, 17/15 in 2005 and 18/17 in 2018. It was found that the total SOs/SOs regarding citizenship education in the SSCs were 351/196 in 1998, 180/123 in 2005 and 131/94 in 2018. In all three SSCs, most of the GAs and SOs overlap with the content of citizenship education. Table 3 shows which codes and categories of the concepts, name groups, values and skills that exist in the 1998 SSC are present in the 55th GP and the 7th DP.

Findings about the citizenship targeted in the context of citizenship education are presented later as a separate table.

Table 3: Comparison of the GAs and SOs Existing
in the Codes of the 1998 SSC with Statements in the 55th GP and 7th DP

Themes	1998 SSC		55th GP	7th DP
Categories				
Codes	GA	SO		
Individual and society	*15*	*13*	*15*	*10*
Being an individual	1	1	3	1
Being a good person-good citizen, individual duties				
Rights, responsibilities, and freedoms	7	5	1	2
Rights, responsibilities				
Coexistence and cooperation	7	7	8	9
The obligation to live together, commitment to family, cooperation				
People, places, and environments	*4*	*9*	*7*	*8*
Environmental and social problems	4	9	7	8
Environment, environmental protection, social problems				
Culture and heritage	*21*	*21*	*14*	*8*
Culture and identity	21	21	14	8
Cultural elements, national identity				
Production, distribution, and consumption	*4*	*2*	*8*	*2*
Economy and development	4	2	8	2
Economics concepts, conscious citizen				
Knowledge, science, and technology	*2*	*1*	*9*	*7*
Knowledge	1		3	4
Knowledgeable citizen				
Science and technology	1	1	6	3
Harmful broadcast, science, and single developments				
Global connections	*1*	*3*	*1*	*5*
Multiculturalism and intercultural relations	1	3	1	5
Awareness of other cultures				
Democracy, groups, and governance	*3*	*8*	*10*	*4*
Democracy	2	4	3	2
Basic concepts of democracy, democratic life				
Management styles	1	4	7	2
Management structure				

Table 3 shows that the expressions regarding the GAs and SOs in the 1998 SSC were politically influenced by the 55th GP and the 7th DP. Examples regarding categories and codes: While the code *responsibility* is expressed as *"responsibility for the welfare and happiness of the family, responsibility for the development of our country, duties and responsibilities at school, responsibility for protecting revolutions etc."* in the 1998 SSC, it is stated as *"People aware of their responsibilities ... raising people of the information age"* in the 7th DP. The management structure code is expressed as "*state authority, aims of the state, duties of the state to its citizens etc.*" in the 1998 SSC, as "*to ensure the dignity of the state, to restore the credibility of the state*" in the 55th GP and as "*to be aware of one's duties and*

responsibilities towards the Republic of Turkey, which is a democratic, secular and social state of law, to downsize and functionalize the organizational structure of the state." in the 7th GP. The number of codes according to themes of the expressions in the 1998 SSC GAs and SOs and similar expressions within the same themes of the 55th GP and 7th DP are shown in the Figure 5.
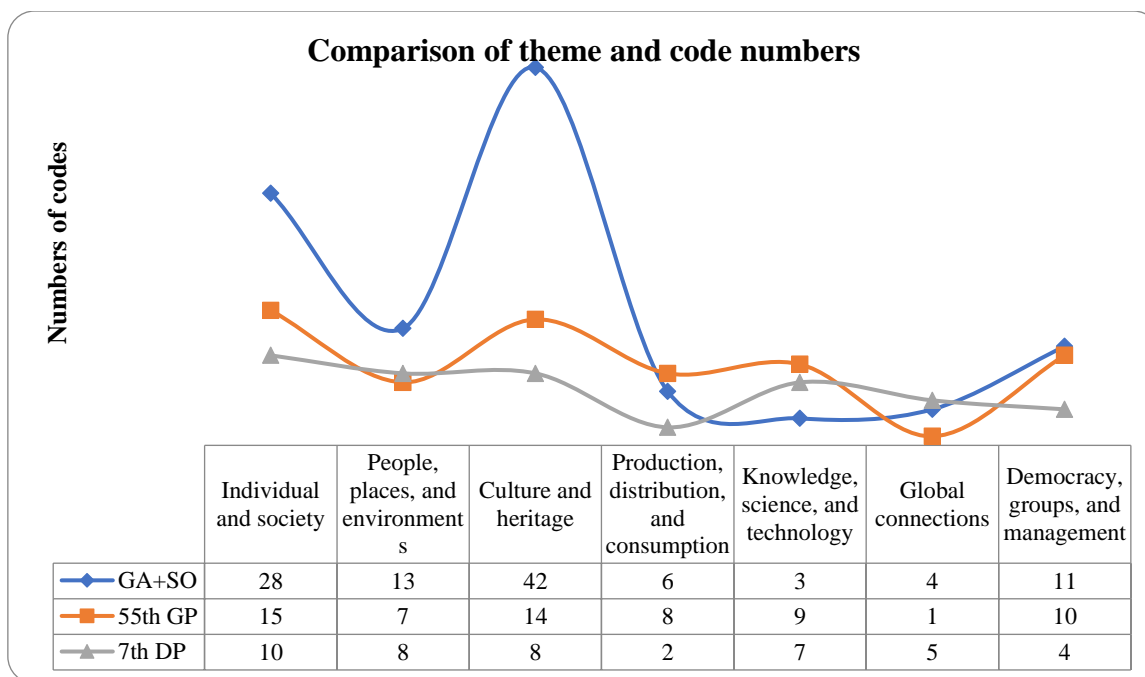

Comparison of theme and code numbers

	Individual and society	People, places, and environments	Culture and heritage	Production, distribution, and consumption	Knowledge, science, and technology	Global connections	Democracy, groups, and management
GA+SO	28	13	42	6	3	4	11
55th GP	15	7	14	8	9	1	10
7th DP	10	8	8	2	7	5	4

Figure 5: Number of codes according to the themes of the expressions in the 1998 SSC GAs and SOs and regarding the 55th GP and 7th DP

As seen in the Figure 5, the GAs and SOs of the 1998 SSC are affected by the GP and DP in all themes. The GP and DP theme, targeted citizenship statements in the 1998 SSC and citizenship statements in the 55th GP and 7th DP are shown in Table 4.

Table 4: Comparison of Targeted Citizenship Statements in the 1998 SSC with Statements of the 55th GP and 7th DP

Citizenship statement categories	1998 SSC	55th GP	7th DP
Citizenship as a concept	Good person, good citizen, Human rights, State of law, The obligation to live together, Livable environment, Knowledgeable citizen	Human rights, Individual in the foreground, Atatürk's principles and reforms	Person of the information age, Being free and self-confident ant, Promoting national culture
Citizenship as a value	Responsible citizen, Adopting democracy as a person,	Moral individuals, National, Spiritual,	Democracy, Universal values,

	Citizen who has absorbed the values of Love and Respect	Moral values	Democratic, secular, social state of law, Duties and responsibilities to the Republic of Turkey
Citizenship as a skill	Effective citizen	Skill, Productivity and Scientific thought	Improved thinking, perception and problem-solving skills, Prone to science and technology production
Educational expressions		Equality of opportunity	Equality of opportunity, Education and employment according to interests and abilities, The most important field is education

As seen in Table 4, both the 1998 SSC and the 55th GP and the 7th DP impose responsibilities on the citizens in terms of society and family. In addition, while the expressions of equality of opportunity in education and training for employment draw attention in the 55th GP, the main purpose of education in this GP is stated as follows: *"To raise people who have internalized Atatürk's principles and reforms, adopted our national, spiritual and moral values, who are inclined to scientific thinking, and are equipped with the knowledge and skills to fulfill the requirements of the information age at all levels of education."* In the 7th DP education is seen as the top priority area.

4.2. Findings related to the second research question

The second research question regards the comparison of the 2005 SSC and the 59th GP and 8th DP. Table 5 shows which codes and categories of the concepts, name groups, values and skills that exist in the 2005 SSC are present in the 59th GP and the 8th DP. Findings about the citizenship targeted in the context of citizenship education are presented later as a separate table.

Table 5: Comparison of the GAs and SOs Existing
in the Codes of the 2005 SSC with Statements in the 59th GP and 8th DP

Themes Categories *Codes*	2005 SSC		59th GP	8th DP
	GA	SO		
Individual and society	7	32	19	18
Being an individual	3	3	7	1
Individual characteristics, interest, desire, ability				
Rights, responsibilities, and freedoms	2	23	9	12
Rights, responsibilities, freedom				
Coexistence and cooperation	2	6	3	5
Social problems-relations, collective life, cooperation				
People, places, and environments	1	1	5	15
Environmental and social problems	1	1	5	15
Environment, social problems				

Culture and heritage	4	12	10	7
Culture and identity	4	12	10	7
Cultural elements, national identity				
Production, distribution, and consumption	3	4	4	6
Economy and development	3	4	4	6
Economics concepts, conscious citizen				
Knowledge, science, and technology	7	9	5	18
Knowledge	1	3	3	11
The concept of knowledge, using, organizing knowledge				
Science and technology	6	6	2	7
Inf. communication techn. concept, scientific competence				
Global connections	2	11	9	1
Multiculturalism and intercultural relations	2	11	9	1
Other cultures awareness, international organizations				
Democracy, groups, and governance	4	14	17	8
Democracy	3	4	8	5
Basic concepts of democracy, democratic life				
Management styles	1	10	9	3
Management structure				

Table 5 shows that the expressions regarding the GAs and SOs in the 2005 SSC were politically influenced by the 59th GP and the 8th DP. Examples regarding categories and codes: While the code *freedoms* is expressed as *"freedom of thought, expressing thoughts, freedoms of science, mass communication freedom etc."* in the 2005 SSC, it is expressed as *"freedom of religion and conscience, to benefit from the blessings of freedoms, upholding the rights and freedoms of the individual"* in the 59th GP and as *"freedom of conscience, education system... libertarian"* in the 8th DP. The code *management structure* is expressed as *"local government units, local governments in public services, public influence on local government, centralized management etc."* in the 2005 SSC, and as *"... the basic principle is to reconcile national priorities and local differences and to provide public services locally, defending the limited state, restructuring, and reshaping the state and its institutions in terms of duty, authority and responsibility"* in the 59th GP. The number of codes according to themes of the expressions in the 2005 SSC GAs and SOs and similar expressions within the same themes of the 59th GP and 8th DP are shown in the Figure 6.
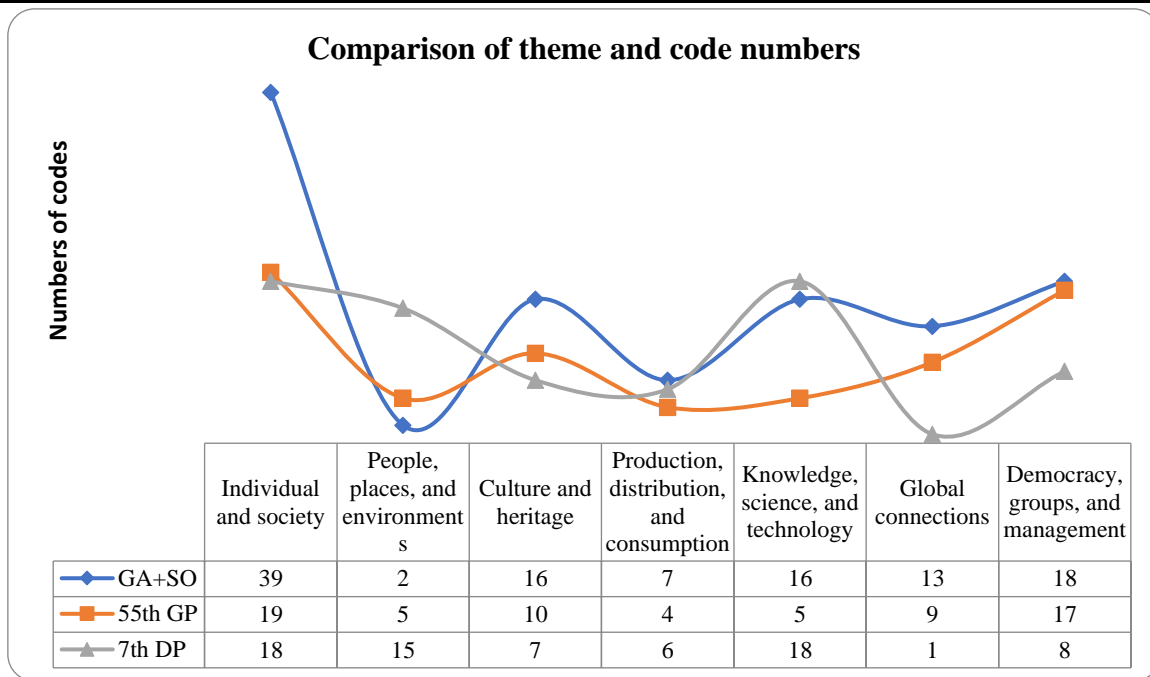
	Individual and society	People, places, and environments	Culture and heritage	Production, distribution, and consumption	Knowledge, science, and technology	Global connections	Democracy, groups, and management
GA+SO	39	2	16	7	16	13	18
55th GP	19	5	10	4	5	9	17
7th DP	18	15	7	6	18	1	8

Figure 6: Number of codes according to the themes of the expressions
in the 2005 SSC GAs and SOs and regarding the 55th GP and 7th DP

As seen in the Figure 6, the GAs and SOs of the 2005 SSC are affected by the GP and DP in all themes. Findings about citizenship statements in the SSCs in the context of citizenship education are shown in Table 6.

Table 6: Comparison of Targeted Citizenship Statements
in the 2005 SSC with Statements of the 59th GP and 8th DP

Citizenship statement categories	2005 SSC	59th GP	8th DP
Citizenship as a concept	Human rights, Similarities and differences, Change and continuity, Free individual, Interests, needs and abilities, The relationship between the individual, society and the state, Interpersonal relationships	Competent and talented individuals, Free-thinking, Able to make one's own decisions, Being aware of social and universal truths	Atatürk's principles and reforms, Person of the information age, Having absorbed the national culture, Able to interpret different cultures, Contributing to contemporary civilization
Citizenship as a value	Freedoms Responsibilities	Equality, Responsibility	Democracy, Freedom, Spiritual values
Citizenship as a skill	Citizen responsibility in solving global problems, Effective citizen in the country's economy, Paying taxes	Questioning individual, Able to solve problems	Improved perception and problem-solving skills, Prone to science and technology production, Creative

Educational expressions	Equality of opportunity, Ideological ineffective education, Restructuring for a qualitative education	Structural transformation in education systems, Education is one of the seven social and economic sectors

As seen in Table 6, the targeted citizenship approach in the 2005 SSC differs radically from the 1998 SSC. In the 2005 SSC, the individual is put in the forefront and the center, and a citizenship that attaches importance to the freedom of the individual and places responsibility on the individual in terms of competition is targeted. Again, we can see in the 2005 SSC that with the globalization effect, a citizen who assumes responsibility within the context of globalism, is aimed at. Targeted citizenship is expressed as follows in the 59th GP: "*To raise young people who are free-minded, capable of making decisions on their own, ask questions, are aware of their own society and universal truths, and are able to cope with the challenges of life.*" The emphasis on human-centered education in the 8th DP is another statement that overlaps with the 2005 SSC. The aim of education is stated as "*To raise information-age people, who are committed to Atatürk's principles and reforms, have improved thinking, perception and problem solving skills, are committed to democratic, libertarian and moral values, are open to new ideas, have a sense of personal responsibility, are able to absorb national culture, interpret different cultures and contribute to contemporary civilization, are prone to science and technology production and own a high skill level, and are productive and innovative*" in the 8th DP.

4.3. Findings related to the third research question

The third research question regards the comparison of the 2018 SSC and the 65th GP and 10th DP. Table 7 shows which codes and categories of the concepts, name groups, values and skills that exist in the 2018 SSC are present in the 65th GP and the 10th DP. Findings about the citizenship targeted in the context of citizenship education are presented later as a separate table.

Table 7: Comparison of the Gas and SOs Existing
in the Codes of the 2018 SSC with Statements in the 65th GP and 10th DP

Themes **Categories** *Codes*	2018 SSC		65th GP	10th DP
	GA	**SO**		
Individual and society	*10*	*25*	*25*	*15*
Being an individual *Individual characteristics, interest, desire, ability*	4	2	3	2
Rights, responsibilities, and freedoms *Rights, responsibilities, freedom*	3	17	17	7
Coexistence and cooperation *Social problems-relations, collective life, cooperation*	3	6	5	6
People, places, and environments	*3*	*1*	*0*	*19*
Environmental and social problems	3	1	0	19

Environment, protecting the environment				
Culture and heritage	9	9	10	11
Culture and identity	9	9	10	11
Cultural elements, national identity				
Production, distribution, and consumption	3	4	6	5
Economy and development	3	4	6	5
Economics concepts, conscious citizen				
Knowledge, science, and technology	6	14	8	14
Knowledge	1	5	4	4
The concept of knowledge, using, organizing knowledge.				
Science and technology	5	9	4	10
Inf. communication techn. concept, scientific competence				
Global connections	2	13	4	9
Multiculturalism and intercultural relations	2	13	4	9
Other cultures awareness, international organization				
Democracy, groups, and governance	3	8	6	2
Democracy	3	4	2	1
Basic concepts of democracy, democratic life				
Management styles		4	4	1
Management structure				

Table 7 shows that the expressions regarding the GAs and SOs in the 2018 SSC were politically influenced by the 65th GP and the 10th DP. Examples regarding categories and codes: While the code *awareness of other cultures* is expressed as "*international economic relations, respect for different cultures, common cultural heritage found in various countries, pop culture etc.*" in the 2018 SSC, it is expressed as "*international direct investments, making our human resources competitive with the modern world*" in the 65th GP and as "*internationally recognized diploma and certification, increasing the number of contracted foreign researchers employed in research institutions, increasing the qualified manpower coming to our country from abroad, number of foreign researchers etc.*" in the 10th DP. While the code *national awareness* is expressed as "*an individual who loves his/her nation, acknowledging the protection and development of national consciousness, to adopt national, spiritual, and universal values etc.*" in the 2018 SSC, it is stated as "*nation support for any initiative against the national will, unity of our nation, strengthening national industry, nation will etc.*" in the 65th GP. The number of codes according to themes of the expressions in the 2018 SSC GAs and SOs and similar expressions within the same themes of the 65th GP and 10th DP are shown in the Figure 7.
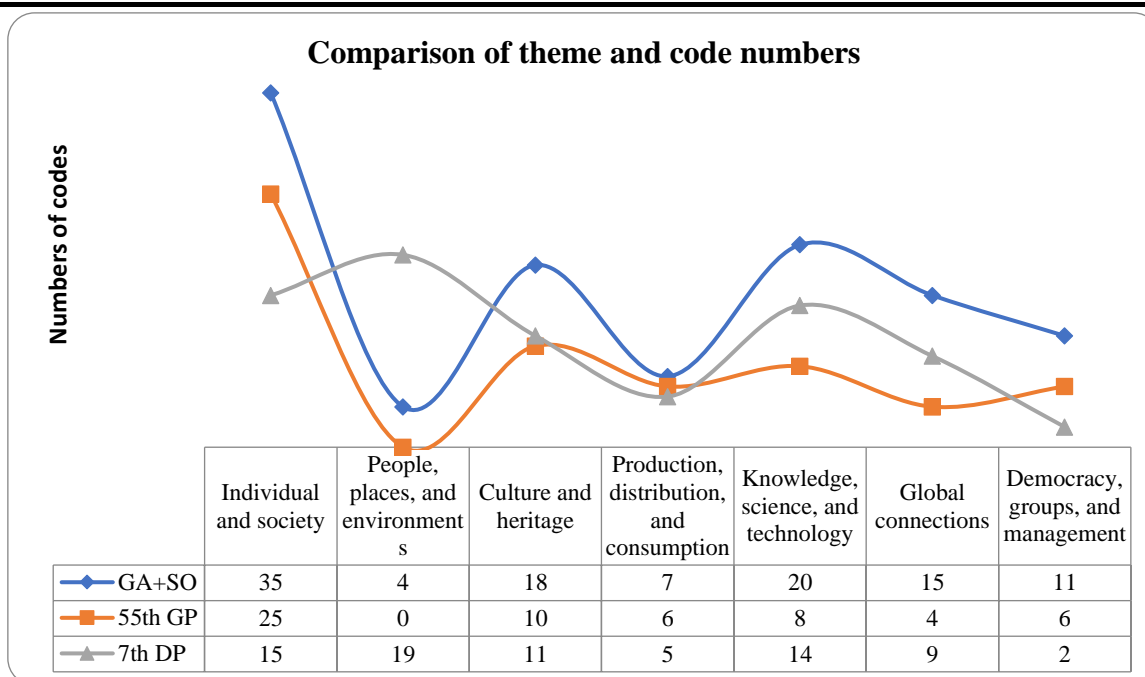
Comparison of theme and code numbers

	Individual and society	People, places, and environments	Culture and heritage	Production, distribution, and consumption	Knowledge, science, and technology	Global connections	Democracy, groups, and management
GA+SO	35	4	18	7	20	15	11
55th GP	25	0	10	6	8	4	6
7th DP	15	19	11	5	14	9	2

Figure 7: Number of codes according to the themes of the expressions
in the 2018 SSC GAs and SOs and regarding the 55th GP and 7th DP

As seen in the Figure 7, the GAs and SOs of the 2018 SSC are affected by the DP in all themes and by the GP in six themes. Findings about number of statements in the DPS and citizenship statements in the SSCs in the context of citizenship education are shown in Table 8.

Table 8: Comparison of Targeted Citizenship Statements
in the 2018 SSC with Statements of the 65th GP and 10th DP

Citizenship statement categories	2018 SSC	65th GP	10th DP
Citizenship as a concept	Human rights, Similarities and differences, Change and continuity, Free individual, Interests, needs and abilities, Cultural elements, Rights and responsibilities, Constitutional guarantee, Paying taxes	Human rights, Democracy, Raising qualified individuals, Individuals who are confident in the state, each other, and themselves, Human happiness and well-being, People who can compete with the modern world	Equipped with the knowledge and skills required by the information society, Productive, Happy, Sensitive to society and economy, Being able to cooperate,
Citizenship as a value	Freedoms, Responsibilities	Democracy	Democracy, Self-confidence, Responsibility,

			Sensitivity
Citizenship as a skill	Active citizenship, Paying taxes		Improved thinking, perception, and problem-solving skills, Prone to use and produce science and technology, Skills and competencies required by business life, Entrepreneurship
Educational expressions		Equality of opportunity, Ideological ineffective education, Qualitative education, Lifelong learning	Harmony between education and labor system, Lifelong learning, Education is one of the six main areas

As seen in Table 8, the targeted citizenship approach in the 2018 SSC has similarities to the 2005 SSC. In the 2018 SSC, the individual is again put in the forefront and the center, and a citizenship that attaches importance to the freedom of the individual and places responsibility on the individual in terms of competition is targeted. Again, we can also see in the 2018 SSC that with the globalization effect, a citizen who assumes responsibility within the context of globalism, is aimed at. Education is considered as one of the 6 basic areas of the 65th GP. In the 10th DP, the aim of education is defined as "*Raising productive and happy individuals, with improved thinking, perception and problem solving skills, who have absorbed democratic values and national culture, who are open to sharing and communication, who have strong artistic and aesthetic feelings, self-confidence and responsibility, entrepreneurship and innovation, who are prone to science and technology use and production, and are equipped with the basic knowledge and skills required by the information society.*"

Evaluation revealed that the 1998 SSC generally draws attention to Turkey's main legal, democratic, and secular understanding and that the targeted citizenship outlines a framework that attaches great importance to society, the state and family integrity. Similar expressions are found in the 55th GP and the 7th DP. In the 2005 SSC however, we witness radical differences from the previous SSC both in terms of structure and content. First examples of the globalist perspective, an education that puts the individual at the center, a constructivist approach, and an approach that takes values and skills into the curriculum as separate dimensions are present in the 2005 SSC. While the 2018 SSC and 2005 SSC are similar in terms of both structure and content, it is seen that the number of expressions regarding collective living, and national consciousness have increased and that concepts such as consciousness and popular culture have been included for the first time.

5. Discussion

This study aimed at determining how much the 55th, 59th and 65th GPs, and 7th, 8th and 10th DPs affected the 1998, 2005, and 2018 SSCs on a political basis. Discussion and results are presented in accordance with the order of research questions.

It was seen that the 55th GP and 7th DP affected the 1998 SSC on a political level. This effect is particularly evident in expressions such as "*state authority, duties and responsibilities towards society and the state, family unity and protection of the family, collective life and solidarity.*" Küçüker (2008) reported that the effect of the 55th GP and 7th DP on curricula arose from the from undemocratic processes like the February 28 process and that there are effects that coincide with the decisions of the National Security Council. It was seen that the 55th GP and 7th DP coincided with the National Security Council decisions made at that time and that those affected the SSC. GP and DP, as well as other political tools (declaration of the ruling party, National Security Council decisions etc.) should be considered.

The 2005 SSC reflects a radical change in terms of both curriculum structure and content. The main reason for this can be said to be the effect of the perspective of a different party that formed a government in 2002. The most prominent political expression on education is "*restructuring in the education system*", included in the 59th GP and 8th DP. In accordance with this statement, we can say that the 2005 SSC was the first SSC that put the individual in the center and was prepared with a constructivist approach. Changes made in the 2005 SSC appeared in the form of concepts such as the inclusion of skills and values as separate dimensions, global perspective, putting the individual in the center, and more freedom. As can be seen, the 59th GP and 8th DP clearly affected the 2005 SSC. Like this study, Kahramanoğlu et al. (2020) reported that expressions such as freedom, transparency and universal values are more dominant in the election manifesto of the ruling party. It was concluded that the new party that established a government during the transition from 1998 to 2005 had a change in political view compared to the previous governments, which was effective in this radical change in the SSC. It was determined that the targeted understanding of citizenship also underwent a drastic change in the 2005 SSC (added expressions such as global citizenship responsibility, active citizen in the economy, the free and self-aware individual etc. into the SSC) and that similar targeted citizenship terms are present in the 59th GP (individual-centered, free-thinking) and the 8th DP (respect for different cultures, universal perspective). Butler and Milley (2020) reported that the state realizes its aim of raising the targeted citizen through schools. In addition, Butler and Milley stated that citizenship, which was politically and ideologically transformed in the new period, led to isolated citizens, which was a criticism of the curriculum approach centered on individualism.

It is also possible to describe the 2018 SSC as an updated version of the 2005 SSC. We can attribute the lack of structural and radical changes between the 2005 and 2018 SSCs to the fact that the ruling party was the same party as in period of the 2005 SSC. We

can say that changes in the 2018 SSC constitute the addition of expressions such as national consciousness and the obligation to live together. In addition, we can see that expressions of consciousness and popular culture were included in 2018 SSC for the first time. In the 65th GP and 10th DP we come across expressions of globalism, awareness, national issues, and responsibility towards family unity as political foundations. Other political sources can also be examined to determine the reasons for the 2005 and 2018 SSC updates. Like these results, Kahramanoğlu et al. (2020) stated that the statement of responsibility is more dominant over the statement of rights and that the expression of family unity is also emphasized.

6. Conclusion

As a result, GPs and DPs influence SSCs on a political level. There are also other studies indicating a political impact on social studies (Ahmad, 2004). The 1998 SSC is completely different from the other two SSCs (2005 and 2018). The reason for this difference can be expressed as a reflection of the political effect because the 1998 SSC was developed by another government than the 2005 and 2018 SSCs. Undoubtedly, political foundations have little or no impact on education, but this impact should also be in line with the scientific framework and criteria (Celkan, 2018). Geppert, Bauer-Hofmann and Hopmann (2012) stated that the autonomy granted to schools in Austria is growing and that examples, in which the central government affects schools, are decreasing. In addition, Molla (2021) reported that the influence of state and market on education is too big and emphasizes a new way of thinking (critical political research).

7. Recommendations

Election declarations of the ruling party, and decisions of the National Education Council can be examined to determine political effects on other educational curricula and additional sources that affect SSCs.

Conflict of Interest Statement
The authors declare no conflicts of interests.

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