

The Rise of English Teaching in Turkish Curriculum

Ahmet ESKİCUMALI¹ and Hümeyra TÜREDİ²

Abstract

It has become a necessity that individuals and indirectly the countries must know a foreign language to carry forward their international relations in social, political and economic fields. In today's world English is extensively taught in many countries as a second language and among the reasons of this, some commercial, cultural and social reasons can be expressed. It has been stated that English is international science language as well as the language of mass communication like computer and television and there is no doubt that at the present day the global language is English. This paper discusses how and why English language has become very popular in Turkish educational system after 1950's while historically French was the most dominant language in Turkish curriculum during the Ottoman Period and in the early Republican Era. German has also been taught along with French and English in Turkish schools for a considerable period of time. However, in early 1980's French and German languages have dropped from the curriculum and English has become the most prominent foreign language that has been taught in the nation's schools and in many cases French and German have been made as elective courses to be taken by a few students. In short, this study investigates the historical developments of foreign languages especially English in Turkish curriculum.

Key words: Language teaching in Turkey, rise of English in Turkish curriculum, English teaching in Turkey

Introduction

What counts as a valid knowledge? Who decides what to learn in schools? The things which are learnt in schools are represented and planned within the framework of the curriculum. What is it then? The term curriculum is mostly used to refer to the existing contact between the society, the state and the educational professionals with regard to the educational experiences that learners should undergo during a certain phase of their lives (Braslavsky, 2005). In the end of the process, the product called curriculum appears and it decides what the society should learn. Increasingly theorists of education recognize the political component of the curriculum. It is an accepted fact that the curriculum is a field of ideological and political struggle. It represents the adherence to some set of sociolinguistic beliefs regarding education. It can be viewed as a political manifesto

¹ Sakarya University, Faculty of Education, ecumali@sakarya.edu.tr

² Bakırköy Kız Teknik ve Kız Meslek Lisesi, humturedi80@yahoo.com

because it reveals the designer's views on authority and status (Chew and Ghim, 2006). If the decision of which language should be learnt in schools is highly political, cultural and ideological one, this article searches the case for Turkey. About the second language acquisition in Turkey what kind of political, cultural and ideological reasons lie behind? Step by step Turkish schools have come to the point that the only learnt second language has been English. How has it happened? Here, the reasons will be tried to be revealed and highlighted the way for the forthcoming research. In the following pages, the reasons will be searched under the headings of Westernisation/Americanisation, experts, globalisation, urbanisation, relations with EU and missionary schools.

We will try to understand that how the language of English ended the supremacy of the language of French in Turkey. It became gradually with the political reasons behind it and let us show you how.

Reasons for the Rise of English

English is the current *lingua franca* of international business, science, technology and aviation. It has replaced French as the lingua franca of diplomacy since World War II. Its spread beyond the British Isles began with the growth of the British Empire, and by the late nineteenth century its reach was truly global. Following the British colonisation of North America, it became the dominant language in the United States and in Canada. The growing economic and cultural influence of the United States and its status as a global superpower since World War II have significantly accelerated the language's spread across the planet (Wikipedia).

The importance of English in today's world is obvious. However, there must be some reasons why many countries have chosen English as their foreign language which lead the way to the dominance of English in the world. Reasons of this choice are different in each country. In Turkey, the official language and the language of education is Turkish. Among the foreign languages offered in the education system, currently English is the only language taught as a compulsory subject at all levels of education, having the status of a Foreign Language (EFL), with German and French offered as elective subjects in the

curriculum of a few schools (Kırkgöz, 2007).

Westernisation and Americanisation: The Era of the Ottoman Empire¹

If the teaching of Arabic and Persian is left aside, foreign language teaching is not seen in the Ottoman Empire until the 19th century. Between the years 1600-1700, 40 or more 9-10 year old French boys were brought to Istanbul to be trained as translators. This attempt failed. Next attempt was when the children of the Christian were sent to Paris to a school called Louis-le-Grand run by a Jesuit priest; however, these youngsters became tradesmen not translators. In 1771, ten boys were selected among the families of French tradesmen, and after they were taught Turkish, Arabic and good handwriting, were brought to Istanbul with their families. During these years, Grand Vizier İbrahim Paşa also formed a translation committee made up of members of the Greek and Jewish communities. The situation of translation as an enterprise of the non-Muslim communities was put an end to in 1820, after the Greek Revolt, and a translation bureau was established at the Palace. This was also the time when the foreign language teaching and learning became important, and the time when many foreign missionary schools as well as state schools began teaching in a foreign language in Istanbul (Bartu, 2002). The Ottomans continued to reform and adapt their institutions to meet internal and external challenges. In the eighteenth century there were serious attempts to westernise especially the ruling classes through the import of European furniture and fashions which were expected to introduce a new lifestyle. Yet this very shallow westernisation had the effect of making a small but significant segment of Turkish society more open to Western ideas. Members of the ruling class, especially those in the Sublime Porte, visited Europe, particularly France, more frequently and returned home impressed with what they saw and learned. They began to understand the basis of European superiority and the need to alter their own system drastically. The reformers had become convinced that the Empire's penetration by industrial Europe and its absorption into the expanding world market was the only way for the empire to survive and prosper. This notion of the trickle down effect persisted throughout the nineteenth century and into

¹ . Because Turkey is an inheritor of the Ottoman Empire and the all the establishing cadre of the Turkish Republic had been grown in the Ottoman system, one of the our tasks must be to include the Ottoman Empire into our work

the twentieth. This idea again became the prevailing view after 1945 and continues to be so in the early 1990s. Turkish critics of this theory who recognised its origins described it derisively as the reflection of the 'Tanzimat Mentality'²(Ahmad, 1993). With Tanzimat, the schools which use French as medium of instruction were opened for the first time. First higher schools, where the medium of instruction was French were;

-Mühendishane-i Bahr-i Hümayun (engineering school for Navy)

-Tıphane-i Amire (Military Medical School)

-Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şahane³ (Medical School)

And in 1867, as a secondary school Mekteb-i Sultaniye (Galatasaray Lisesi) was established. In this school, the medium of instruction was French because the country was in the closest contact with France at the time and French was also the lingua France in Europe at that period. The effect of France was big and it continued until 1914 that was the year which Germans came into the country. Beside that in 19th century turkicizing of education also increased the effects of French in the Ottoman Empire. Because in education Arabic or Persian had been abolished, there was the lack of books in Turkish and Turkish teachers and it caused French to replace Arabic and Persian as the medium of instruction (Bartu, 2002). With this school, the Ottoman Empire tried to satisfy its need for the personal who knew a foreign language, namely French. In the school, the education was issued in modern ways and its high quality became famous (Demirel, 2003). The dominancy of France and its effects on culture and language continued long years. After Tanzimat, the political opposition generally known as the Young Ottomans who were affected by the France very much, was the first example of a popular Muslim pressure group whose aim was to force the state to take their interests into account. Young Ottomans were able to force the regime to adopt a constitution in 1876. As though in a rush to make amends for the years lost by the Hamidian generation, the Young Turks experimented with virtually every sphere of life; hardly anything was left untouched.

² The reformers took the first step in November 1839 when they issued a charter known as the Noble Rescript of Gülhane. This document promised, among other things, that the government would pass laws as part of the reorganisation of society which would guarantee 'to our subjects, perfect security for life, honor, and property' (Ahmad, 1993).

³The first medical school which had the French as the medium of instruction.

They not only changed the political system but they also attempted to refashion society by borrowing more freely from the West than ever before (Ahmad, 1993). They were in admiration of Europe and especially France. They were organizing their meetings in Paris and they were being fed by the French ideals. Anything which was French was acceptable for them. Consequently, when they came to the power through the CUP, it was natural to see the French as a popular language. The Young Ottomans, CUP, Tanzimat, the effects and the pressures of France made the language of French popular in the late Ottoman Empire. During the period of Meşrutiyet and the World War I, German was popular. During the Abdulhamit II period, he had let the influence of German increase. In the Westernisation efforts, foreign language education became important in the Empire. The foreign language meant French in the late Ottoman Empire although German gained a prestigious place for itself. However, it should be noted that of course, English also found a way to Ottoman Empire. Especially with the establishment of the Robert College in 1863, English entered into the race beside the French and German. It can be said that with Tanzimat, Young Turks and CUP, French became popular; with Abdulhamit II German came into the scene; and after 1863 English opened a room for itself. And from the establishment of the Republic onwards which had a French envier ruling elite, foreign language in a Turkish context came to mean French, German, English, Italian and Latin (Bartu, 2002). However, when this French envier ruling elite left the place to the second generation in 1950s, things began to be in favour of the language of English.

Early Republican Era

In this era, lots of reforms have been issued. The real goal of the reforms was 'to unite Turkey with Europe in reality and materially'. The implications of this step were very great, very deep, and long- term. These reforms loosened Turkey's ties with the Islamic world to its east and irrevocably forced the country to face west (Ahmad,1993). The issue of language in Republican Turkey has also evolved around this westernisation ideal. This policy about the language gradually took shape in two main stages: the first, the adoption of the Latin script in 1928; the second, the creation of "pure-Turkish/özTurkce" by eliminating all foreign elements. Turkish should have been purified. If it was necessary,

new terms should have been re-invented. Increasingly Arabic terms were being replaced by European ones, especially French, and being directly applied when a Turkish equivalent did not exist. It can be claimed easily that during Atatürk period which lasted about ten years, the focus was on the imposition of the new language to the country. Instead of teaching a foreign language, teaching national identity by focusing on Turkish language was the priority of the state (Çolak, 2004). With these ideals, in 1923, The First Education Congress declared that the children who were at the age of compulsory education were not allowed to be educated in foreign schools. Instead of Arabic and Persian; German, French and English were put into the school programmes as foreign languages.

Picture 1. Foreign Languages taught after the establishment of the Republic.

	1924	1927	1935	1941	1950	1960
Germany	+	+	+	+	+	+
French	+	+	+	+	+	+
English	+	+	+	+	+	+
Italian	+	+	+	+	+	+
Latin	-	-	-	+	+	-
Arabic	+	+	-	-	+	+
Persian	+	-	-	-	+	+

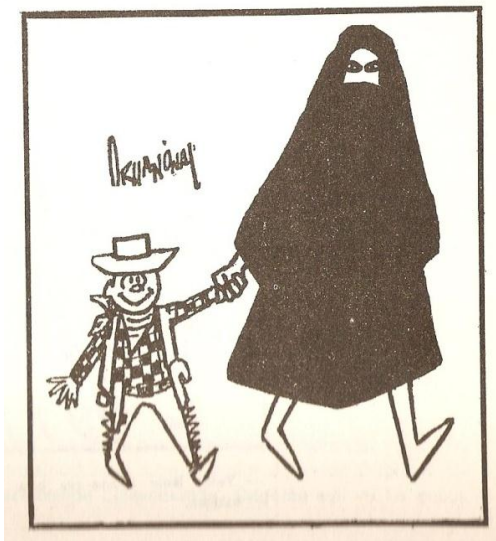
Source: Demir, Hilal, Özel Okullarda Yabancı Dil Öğretiminin Tarihi ve Günümüzdeki Yeri, <http://www.ingilish.com/hd6.htm>, 05.06.2010.

As it can be seen in the table, English and German began to be taught in Turkey with the establishment of the Republic where French was popular once upon a time. During the WWII, some German scientists and professors who escaped from Nazis came into Turkey. These people worked at the universities of Turkey, especially at the Istanbul University. Some of them stayed in Turkey even after the war. Together with them the interest to German increased in Turkey (Bartu, 2002). However, the increase in the interest of English grew bigger and bigger in time gradually. The secret of this growth is hidden in 1950s. What follows in the article will show this gradual growing to us.

The Period of 1950s

When the time came to the 1950s, we see an increase in the importance of the English in Turkey. Until 1950s while the reason was westernisation for the education of a foreign language, after 1950 the reason became Americanisation. Consequently, the Americanisation brought the language of English to the fore. Of course this Americanisation issue did not start suddenly and naturally. There were some political reasons behind it. While in 1950s there was an increase in the dominance of the language of English in Turkey, it was not a coincidence that Turkey and USA were closely tied to each other in these years -especially between 1947 and 1975. Turkey followed the lead of the USA in the international arena seeing it as a requirement of its Western alliance (Uslu, 2003). Especially after The Second World War, there were close relations not only in politics but also in the social and cultural arena. The effects of this relations were one sided, that is the effects were felt just on Turkish side. At the time there was a wish to turn Turkey into a “little America”. This idea had been injected into the every aspects of the life. Even the caricatures ⁴ of the time criticize and illustrate how our life was full with the USA or “the made of the USA” things (Erdem, 2009).

Picture 2. Two caricatures illustrate the Americanisation of Turkey at the time.



e-mizahh.blogspot.com (At the right, the caricature belongs to Orhan Önal in Akbaba Dergisi, at the right one it belongs to Ratıp Tahir Burak, Ulus, 27 August 1955)

⁴For more caricatures, look at http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_7014/is_1_18/ai_n52655787/

It can be said that after the WWII, with the Truman Doctrine in 1947, Turkey-USA close political relations began and with Marshall Plan and NATO it was stabilized. Stalin's aggressive behaviour towards Turkey in 1945 facilitated the rapprochement with the West in general and the United States in particular (Ahmad, 1993). While Turkey had a role in the USA's "surrendering" policy of communist Russia, the American popular culture, its language and its policy which encourage people to consume entered into Turkish people's lives (Erdem, 2009). Not only just in the popular culture, but also in the army, the change, namely the Americanisation can be observed. Especially with the Truman Doctrine (12 March 1947) and Turkey's integration into NATO in 1952 had a big result of changing the character of the armed forces. USA had been a symbol of the free-world ideology (especially during the Korean War) for the army officers. Junior officers, especially staff officers, acquired an importance and they had the mental flexibility to learn the science of modern warfare from American instructors (Ahmad, 1993). It means that not only in the political and public sphere but also in the military sphere the USA became an ideal. Turkey had become a valuable ally of the US throughout the Korean conflict. In addition, Turkey accepted the creation of 26 US army installations in its territory. In 1955, Eisenhower said that Turkey was castle of the Middle East. While the 1950s was a golden era of Turkish-American relations, The Bureau of Commerce and Economy of the Foreign Ministry assumed a new importance under Zorlu's charge. He confided to his colleague Semih Günver, who later became his biographer, that:

"If we want to make Turkey a great, powerful, and respected country we must first develop it economically. This honourable but difficult task can be accomplished in this bureau and not in the Bureau of Political Affairs. Look! All of Europe is after America. What, after all, are the Marshall Plan and the Truman Doctrine? Everyone is getting aid from Washington; meanwhile we are asleep. I am setting up this desk for foreign aid and international economic affairs within the framework of the bureau. You will head this desk and we shall work together" (Ahmad, 1993).

In these words, we can see that the government of the time was looking at the USA as a saviour. Like all “Europe”, the Turkish government and the Turkish people were after the USA. For them, the USA was the centre of the civilisation and everything coming from it was good. In 1950s’ domestic politics, while the Prime Minister Adnan Menderes was saying “we will have a millionaire in each street”, the President Celal Bayar was supporting him by stating the wish to turn Turkey into “little America”. These foreign and domestic political sayings had affected the Turkish society differently. “American life style” with its language, food⁵, culture, entered into Turkey (Erdem, 2009). Raybould’s (1976) research findings are quite interesting given the impact of cultural transmission from Hollywood films and MTV on Turkish youth. Most middle-class Turkish teenagers seem to identify with American movie/pop stars and dress or behave like them. It is a common belief that the goal of most young people in Turkey is to live like a wealthy westerner. Though this sociocultural phenomenon might lead one to expect some integrative motivation from these youngsters seem to have a very pragmatic approach when it comes to learning English. Further results of Kızıltepe’s (2000) support this research. Kızıltepe’s study indicates that there is no English language classroom anxiety amongst the subjects; they are not nervous, confused, or self-conscious in the English language class. Apart from that, they are highly encouraged by their families to learn English; they have positive feelings towards their English courses and English teachers (Kırkgöz, 2009).

At this point, it is easy for us to understand why the language of English saw a big rise in Turkey. Like everything else, the language of the USA was welcomed and demanded by the Turkish people. French and German had brought them to nowhere, maybe this time the saviour’s language would work. At these times while the demand of people to learn English increase, accordingly the government supported this demand with its educational programmes. Accordingly, like everything else, even the curriculums have been copied from the USA. The following table tells us how the aims of the primary schools education programs of Turkey in 1948 and the aims that were accepted in USA in 1938 resemble each

⁵ Within a short time consumer tastes had changed and gazoz and ayran (made from watered-down yogurt) were abandoned in favour of Coke and Fanta.

other very much (Doğan, 2010). In Turkey and in USA, the aims of education were grouped in 4 ;

1938 USA	1948 Turkey
-an educated man can play and work with others.	-play and work with others
-an educated man behaves according to the social norms.	-behave according to social norms.
-an educated man knows the values the family which is a social institution	-gives importance to the family and has capability to govern his home
-an educated man continues to his democratic relations with family members.	-have respect and kindness towards all family members.
Purpose of Education, p.72	Program of the Primary Schools 1948, p.3

Along with greater language contact and closer ties with the United States, the coming of international aid for development, advances in trade and technology, and the perception of tourism as a source of national income, English gained momentum. By the 1950s several highly competitive English-medium schools had been set up in the major cities in Turkey, sometimes with American financial and personnel aid. Starting before the establishment of the Turkish Republic in 1923, modernisation and Westernisation movements had brought stronger ties with Europe and especially with the French language. In the 1950s, however, Turkey gradually began to move away from European influences towards the power of the US and English as an international language. It can be easily grasped from what have been said above that the actual spread of English in Turkey seems to have started in the 1950s due to the increasing impact of American economic and military power. The developing Turkey felt pressure to gain better access to English in order to improve trade relations and make progress in technology. It was for the sake of modernisation and westernisation/Americanisation that English was readily adopted by the Turkish governments and gained precedence over other foreign languages. Picture 3 shows the chronological change in

the priority given to foreign languages throughout Turkish history (Doğançay-Aktuna, 1998).

Picture 3. Chronological change in priorities given to foreign languages in Turkey (Doğançay-Aktuna, 1998).

Order	Pre - 1773	1773-1923	1923-1950	1950-1980	After- 1980s
1	Arabic	Arabic	French	English	English
2	Persian	Persian	English	French	German
3	Turkish	French	German	German	French
4		English	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic
5		German		Persian	Persian

We can observe from the table that these close relations with USA and the political sayings unavoidably affected the situation of the popular languages in Turkey. As the USA entered into the every aspect of the Turkish people, as the demand for the learning foreign language -especially English- increased, new types of the schools were opened. While Galatasaray High School was the only state school that had French as the medium of instruction in some lessons, after 1956, a new kind of schools called “college” was established. In these new schools, the medium of instruction was chosen as English (MEGSB, 1986). The aim of establishing these “colleges” in the Republican era was to save Turkish children who were in the pursuit of learning foreign language from the foreign schools. In order to do that *Türk Eğitim Derneği* had been established in 31 January 1928, later between 1928-1934 it was turned into TED College. Then, after 1956 under the name of “college”, these new types of schools have continued their developments unsurprisingly with English as the medium of instruction (Işık, 2008). The years of 1950s are also the period when the state opens secondary schools called *Maarif Kolejleri* in order to complete the Lusanne-based foreign colleges. The first of these Maarif schools, Yenişehir Lisesi, was opened in Ankara in 1932 as part of the Turkicizing project and the medium of instruction was Turkish until 1953, when the school was made a “college” together with the other Maarif Schools. It is not surprise that why in these colleges the medium of instruction became English at the period of the Americanisation of Turkey. In all of these schools, science and Math have been taught in a foreign language in addition to the intensive language and literature teaching as separate subjects to this day. The Maarif

Colleges are now run by a national foundation The Turkish Education Foundation.

Picture 4. The distribution of students enrolled in schools where the medium of instruction is one of the foreign languages (Demircan, 1988).

	German		French		English		Italian
	Secondary	Higher	Secondary	Higher	Secondary	Higher	Secondary
1950-51	285	43	4,046	110	2,523	125	58
1960-61	3,233	144	4,6190	337	8,505	1,144	561
1970-71	3,005	371	5,251	424	14,711	6,502	459
1980-81	3,603	626	5,911	546	26,189	15,301	552
	8,653	1200	8,426	745	72,852	28,485	

The Picture shows us that in the last 50 years in Turkey, number of the students who want to learn English increased dramatically. These times coincide when the big foreign companies started to enter into the Turkish market due to the good relations with the USA. Consequently, the need for the staff who knew English increased. To sum up, it is obvious that everything was connected to each other. Americanisation, the growth of the foreign market in Turkish economy and consequently the establishment of the new schools were all result and the causes of the each others.

The Era of 1980s

The mid 1980s mark the second phase in the spread of English. How did it happen? The reason is the change of the society. Along with the economy, and largely because of it, Turkish society, especially in the cities and towns, has been radically transformed. The 1980s witnessed an acceleration of the process since the 1950s. Turkey, often described as a society of 'haves and have-nots', became, in the words of John Rentoul who described a similar phenomenon in Thatcher's Britain, a society of 'the haves, the have nots, and the have lots'. Many of the old 'haves' who made up the middle class were forced down to the level of the 'have nots' and the latter became the underclass. But many also moved up, especially those with connections to Özal who was the head of Turkey between 1983-1993 and his party; such people became the backbone of the new Turkey. They typify the provincial bourgeoisie of Turkey which remained dormant while the old political elites

dominated the scene. They emerged slowly and cautiously after the defeat of the single-party regime in 1950 and more forcefully after the military coup of 1960. This class came into its own only after 1980 when the generals removed the entire political elite in their drive to introduce 'new politics' and 'new politicians'. This provincial bourgeoisie, in power since 1983, saw the West as symbolised mainly by America for that is where some were sent to further their expertise. The new money created a consumer boom fed by Özal's liberal import policy. Suddenly, everything was available in the stores but at a price. Advertising, especially on television, became more sophisticated with commercials aimed at specific audiences. During soccer matches, for example, the commercials were aimed at male audiences to encourage the purchase of cars, motor oil, beer, and clothes. The demand for cars rose dramatically, not only those manufactured locally but also imported Mercedes, BMWs and Jaguars, cars which became a status symbol and sold for between 30 and 55 million liras (or between \$38 and \$70 thousand) astronomical sums for Turkey. Art galleries flourished as the new money was attracted to paintings, as well as to antiques, Islamic calligraphy, and rare books. The young were naturally affected by the glitter of affluence which they found they could no longer satisfy through service to the state. The state sector had been totally discredited during the 1980s and no longer attracted university graduates in search of careers. They turned to the private sector, abandoned the ideal of state service and became committed to liberalism and free enterprise. Higher education had also been reorganised so as to serve the growing private sector. A two-tier system was created. A few universities at the top whose medium was instruction in English were expected to produce the growing managerial and technocratic class. Advertisements for such positions began to appear in English even in Turkish-language newspapers; the message was clear: those who cannot read this advertisement need not apply! (Ahmad, 1993)

English had become the *sine qua non* for a successful career in virtually any field and parents struggled hard to have their children acquire a working knowledge of the language. Vernacular schools and universities, even established ones like Istanbul University, declined as they attracted only students who were unable to enter the elite

institutions. For the children of the very rich who failed to enter the elite state universities, Professor İhsan Doğramaci, the architect of the Higher Education Law, opened Bilkent, Turkey's first private university. Its model was the American campus and everything, including the cafeteria menu, was written in English. The new affluent classes are only the tip of the iceberg but like the tip they stand out and are the most articulate segment of Turkish society (Ahmad, 1993).

In time while the number of students enrolled in education was increasing, the number of students learning of a foreign language also increased in Turkey. Their number is given as follows;

Picture 5. The number of Students having Foreign Language courses at secondary schools (Demircan, 1988)

Years	German	French	English	Arabic
1950-51	5,61	79,21	48,43	
1960-61	30,5	155,82	217,93	4,55
1970-71	116,12	293,06	840,85	49,31
1980-81	303,73	322,25	1,540,138	216,86
1985-86	364,88	292,42	1,552,189	

As it can be seen from the table, until 1980s, besides English, students were able to take up French or German depending on which foreign language they had studied in their high school education. However, in the course of time, largely because of the Americanisation, the role of these languages has been greatly reduced in the Turkish education system in the face of competition from English. Due to fewer students preferring to take up these languages at the university level, German and French were entirely removed from the curriculum in favour of English. Currently, English is offered as a compulsory course. English became a standardized compulsory school subject for all recipients of compulsory education in October 1997, and started to be taught to young learners (TEYLs) in Grades 4 and 5 (Kırkgöz, 2007).

As it happened in 1950s, the Americanisation which was in every aspect of life was again

affecting the foreign language education in Turkey. With the Americanised ruling elite, it was impossible for English not to gain more importance than any other language. As the importance of English increased, the demand of Turkish people to learn this very language also increased. Consequently, in time, Anatolian High Schools were opened. What were they? What was their function? Until 1988 when a student started the secondary school (6th grade), he/she had to choose one of the Western languages, namely English, French, and German. It was a compulsory lesson until the grade 11. In 1988-1989 Education year, the foreign language was not a necessary course anymore, it was selective. The reason was the project which plans to open high schools which have a foreign language as a medium of instruction. The state wanted to increase the quality in the foreign language education. In the pursuit of this aim, under the name of Anatolian High Schools (Anadolu Liseleri) were established. In these schools some lessons like Math, Physics, Chemistry, Biology were taught in English. In the year of 1986-1987, with 40.715 students and 2.845 teachers there were 103 Anatolian High Schools in Turkey (MEGSB 1986). However, as lots of Anatolian High Schools were opened, the interest of people to these schools diminished. The reason for that is the lack of teachers who could teach the lessons in English. This situation caused a decrease in the quality of education in these schools and in turn a decrease in demand of the people. In the Anatolian High Schools, before the grade 6, there was an English preparatory school. And then with the grade 6 onwards the teaching of English was continuing as weekly classes. However, in 1997 the compulsory education was increased to the 8 years. This decision caused an abolishment of the preparatory classes which was before the 6th grade. This preparatory class was pushed to before the 9th grade. In this case, the intensive English lessons which were in the 6th, 7th and 8th grades decreased. The private schools and Foreign Schools objected this situation because the preparatory class before the grade 9th was useless due to the necessity of studying the hard University Entrance Exam. This exam was causing a decrease in concentration on the foreign language. In order to have efficiency in language education again, foreign language classes were to start at the 4th grade of the primary schools. The application of the change started in the education year of 1997-1998. Now the studies have made to start the foreign language education in the grade 1 of the primary schools.

When the quality of the Anatolian High Schools diminished, Turkish people began to search new ways to learn English. The alternative appeared to be the private schools. In private schools, the medium of instruction are mostly English. As the number of the private schools increased, the demand for the Anatolian High Schools decreased. Since the pay of the teachers in the special schools and opportunities of teaching are better, teachers preferred to work in these private schools. According to a research done by the Union of the Special Schools, due to the foreign language education, students prefer the private schools. Today, what makes the private schools different is their foreign language education. When a student graduates from a special school, he/she can pass the foreign language proficiency exams of the Universities which use foreign language as the medium of instruction. They have no difficulty in following the other information sources in abroad (Demir, 2010). Today, there is a big interest of people to the schools which have their education using a foreign language. In 1980s and 1990s, it can be seen a big increase in the numbers of the private schools. In 1995, the number of schools was over 150 in Istanbul. In all over Turkey, the total number was 871. With 2001, the number of the private schools in Turkey reached 1.928. 1.801 of them belonged to Turks and 67 of them belonged to the minorities. The schools which were established by the foreigners were 30 and only 10 of them were international schools opened for foreign people of Turkey (www.meb.gov.tr). If we look at the number of the students which are in the state schools and private colleges, in pre-school period, state schools have 238.240 students. The number becomes 10.139.221 in the primary school and in secondary education the number of the students is 2.239.135. However, in pre-school period, private colleges have 18.152, primary schools have 171.623, and secondary schools have 73.136 students. In other words, while there are 12.616.596 students in state schools, there are 262.911 students in private colleges. That is, the place of private colleges in education is just %2 (Demir, 2010). However, this proportion does not change the fact that English became the number one in Turkey. Not only in the private schools but also in state schools, English is far ahead other languages.

At the Higher Education level, the first state-owned English-medium University, Middle Eastern Technical University, was established in 1956. As the demand for university

education through the medium of English language increased, The Higher Education Law made it possible for private universities offering English-medium education to be established. As a result, the first private university, Bilkent, was founded in 1983, in Ankara, the capital city. At present, there are 25 private universities, most of which offer English-medium education. METU and Bogaziçi are the two state-owned universities that offer English-medium instruction (YÖK 2006). In universities where instruction is in the medium of Turkish, the English language is incorporated into the curriculum as a compulsory subject. Offered generally to first-year students and functioning as a service or an auxiliary role, the English curriculum aims at promoting students' knowledge of general English and equipping them with the necessary skills to read and understand English publications in their subject area (Kırkgöz, 2007).

Experts from the USA

One of the reasons for the rise of English in Turkey is the foreign experts who were invited by the Turkish Ministry of Education to take their advises about education. These advisors were mostly American. The reason of it can be seen in the Independence War. The country had fought French, Italian and English people during the Independence War. . However, Wilson Principles and a clean history with USA led the way of the Turkish government to the USA. When the experts were American, it seems unavoidable to see the rise of English in Turkish education. For instance, according to John Dewey who came from the USA as an expert, in the big cities like İstanbul or Erzurum the schools that give special attention to the foreign language and science should have been established. (Demircan, 1988). For him, the teachers should be sent to the Europe or the USA to be educated (Ata, 2001). Of course, it can be debated how much the Turkish government applied what Dewey advised. However, what should be noted here is that Turkey invited Dewey and others because their ideas were important for the Turkish government. Even if ideas of Dewey did not change everything immediately, they might have long-standing effects over the Turkish education system.

Another expert was Edward Vivian Gatenby (1892-1955). He was sent to Turkey as 'Linguistic Adviser' for British Council. In 1944, he gained a post of Professor of Pedagogy

and Head of the English Department at the Gazi Educational Institute in Ankara, at that time the only Teachers' Training College in Turkey. In 1945, He was also a Professor of English at Ankara University. In 1951, he was giving a series of English lessons by radio from Ankara. He also prepared a pedagogical bulletin and examining English for the Turkish government. Other expert was Longsman. He brought out his own new course for Turkey, A Direct Method English Course. "A New Course Specially Designed for Turkish Students" (five volumes with corresponding teacher's books) and an adoption of this for wider sales was also published soon afterwards under the shorter title "A Direct Method English Course". Both of these series were sold well enough for second editions to be produced in 1954 (Smith, 2005). It seems that Gatenby did many concrete works if we compare him with Dewey. Since it is out of the scope of this article, we cannot deal with other advisers and their contributions to the spread of English in Turkey. It may be the topic of the another article to research the effects of these works done by the foreign advisers for English and compare them with works done in the name of French and German.

Globalisation

It is always easy way to say that English spread in the world or in a specific country because of the globalisation. It is a good way to escape from the possible questions. This article does not deny the existence of the globalisation and its effects. However, what is tried here is to show that the globalisation is only *one* of the reasons for the spread of the English. If we look at the globalisation issue, it can be said that as a result of socio-political and economic events, English began to spread in the non-colonised areas of the world after World War II via careful language planning. It gradually replaced French as the language of international diplomacy to become the lingua franca for trade, banking, tourism, popular media, science and technology. In order to gain access to these information networks, English was integrated into the education systems of many countries, even in officially monolingual areas, e.g. in the Middle East, Far East, and many European Nations.

In fact, what has made the case of English unique in its spread in monolingual areas has

been the international status and functions of English, which exerted pressure on governments for further spread through educational policy. The extent to which globalization has affected each country and the language policy adopted has shown variations across countries. (Kırkgöz, 2009) To what extent, the globalisation has affected the foreign language adventure of the countries, including Turkey, must be researched. By doing that, one must do the definition of the globalisation quite well. What is the globalisation? Is it an Americanisation in the end or something else? Here we examine the situation of English in Turkey under the headings of Americanisation, globalisation, experts etc. If everything, including globalisation, shows the way for the Americanisation, we need just one heading for all this research that is Americanisation. Therefore, definitions must be clear and meaningful. Here, we will make the definition of “globalisation” as a process by which regional economies, societies, and cultures have become integrated through a global network of communication, transportation, and trade. The term will also refer to the transnational circulation of ideas, languages, or popular culture through acculturation (Wikipedia).

In the case of Turkey, it can be said that it has increasingly been influenced by forces of globalization. In Turkey, the extent of the impact of the global influence of English can be seen clearly on the adoption of English as a medium of instruction at secondary levels and high level education and its inclusion in the school curriculum as a compulsory subject through the planned policy, which has given it prominence over the other foreign languages available. Following the mid-1980s, Turkey has increasingly been influenced by forces of globalization through the English language. Along with greater language contact and closer ties with the United States, advances in trade and technology, the spread of English as an international language has shown its impact in Turkey at the level of secondary schools (Kırkgöz, 2009) After the 1980s, international ties had been strongly established and, in a rapidly globalising world with liberalism and free enterprise, Turkey felt an even more urgent need to keep up in terms of foreign language proficiency. There was a need to open up to the Western world for technological development and international communication. During the period, which started in the

1950s, English spread through schooling and language-in-education policy-making. This marks the first phase of the spread that lasted until the late 1970s. During the second phase of the spread in the mid-1980s, alongside a state-planned, more controlled language spread, we began to witness the unplanned spread of English into many domains of Turkish life and language. Unplanned spread happened in the form of borrowings of words and concepts from English that were more difficult-to-control. Today, the planned and unplanned spread of English continue in Turkey, though the latter seems to be more dominant (Doğançay- Aktuna, 1998). Whether we name it as the tendency of the ruling elites or the political relations with the USA, there was a state-planned English education in Turkey for many years as it is mentioned above. Incentives for the planned spread of English in Turkey have been triggered because of its role as the language of modernisation and international communication. These, in turn, provided the ground for its unplanned spread into people's everyday lives through popular media and products. , English is taught as one of the foreign languages in the school curriculum, as in Turkey⁶, China, Japan, and offered as elective subjects in the curriculum of some schools. In Turkey, English language policy adjustments were motivated mainly by the prevailing political agenda of the time. Turkey's response to the global influence of English in education system can be characterized in terms of planned language policy, which refers to the desired spread (acquisition) of the target language through education, due to perceived advantages (Doğançay-Aktuna, 1998).

If we accept that the globalization has brought about spread of English in Turkey as in many other non-English-speaking countries, we should also look how Turkey has responded to the global influence of English in its foreign language policy. At the international level, English is needed to maintain communication with the outside world for economic, social, and business relations to accelerate Turkey's modernization and Westernization process. As for the international level, it could be argued that for Turkey

⁶ With regard to the use and status of English, Turkey belongs to the "expanding circle countries" (Kachru, 1992). Unlike countries in the outer circle where English functions as the official or co-official language, as in India, in the expanding circle countries English is taught in the schools with the state controlled curriculum.

the enthusiasm for learning English is a utilitarian tool for achieving economic competitiveness in the international arena. At the national level, English holds an instrumental function for the individual, that is, a means of gaining access to better education and a more prestigious job with good benefits and prospects for promotion (Kırkgöz, 2005). Given the prevailing attitude that English-medium education provided several instrumental benefits in the form of better job prospects, financial, and academic rewards, it was not surprising that many parents preferred to send their children to such schools. English is now one of the job requirements for higher level, better paid jobs in Turkey as well as for those in service industries such as tourism. Using a survey of job advertisements that appeared in two of the largest national newspapers in Turkey, Dogançay-Aktuna (1998) showed that not only was English listed as a top job requirement, but named universities were almost always English-medium ones. Moreover, 20 percent of the framed advertisements (vs. classified ones) were printed in English in Turkish-medium dailies. Further content analysis of job openings in terms of their prestige and compensation revealed that higher level, better paid white-collar jobs in well-known companies reinforced English as a must. The main reason for the demand for such people in the Turkish job market is due to the role of English in globalization, international trade, and upward mobility of individuals (Kırkgöz, 2009).

To sum up, it can be emphasised again that globalisation is just one of the reasons not the only reason in the spread of English in Turkey. Governments, elites, party politics, job opportunities, need for communication and all the other causes explained above highlighted the way for the globalisation.

Urbanization

Urban is what is not rural. For Graddol, urban areas are the growth center of the middle classes which are the consumers of the global material culture. Urbanisation may have two effects in the spread of the English language. First, this process may encourage the acquisition of the language, particularly among the individuals with greater economic resources, thus further encouraging an economic split between English-knowing bilinguals and those who have little or no proficiency in the language. Second, urban

centers may both encourage change and stabilize this variation, resulting in new institutionalized varieties of English.

Rapid urbanization as witnessed in Turkey may be also said to be a factor facilitating the spread of English. Graddol (1997) predicts that urban migration, such as that taking place in the developing world, will be a significant factor in the continued growth of English because cities influence language contact and diversity. McKay (2002) agrees that urban migration may encourage the acquisition of English, particularly among individuals with greater economic resources, thus deepening the already existing gap between the various socioeconomic groups. Urbanization is certainly a major force in Turkey, and the spread of English is an urban phenomenon where state and private schools are more equipped to provide English language education (Kırkgöz, 2009).

Of course it is not a coincidence that beginning of the spread of English and the increase in Turkish urbanisation happen in the same times. In Turkey, the urbanisation gained momentum in 1950s. In 1960, the cities had %32, in 1970 they had %38.4, while in 1980 the ratio was %43.9, in 1990 it was %59 and in 2000 it was %65 (Karaman, 2003). Supported by US financial and technical assistance, hard-surfaced roads capable of carrying heavy vehicles from automobiles and buses to heavy trucks and tractors increased from 1,642 km in 1950 to 7,049km in 1960. The roads also opened up Turkey's stunningly beautiful coastline and beaches first to internal and later to foreign tourism with significant consequences for society as a whole. People in small coastal towns and villages who had been isolated from the outside world found themselves acting as hosts to people from other worlds, people who brought both cash and new ideas. It is easy again to see how everything is connected to each other. With the American favouring elites, the relations with the USA got closer. In return of some some gains against Russia, the USA helped us in terms of money which brought new roads, new jobs to the country. Consequently, urbanization intensified. People who did learn things what they did not even heard about in their villages. Supported with some political sayings ("a millionaire in each Street") a new middle class emerged in the cities. It included various types of administrators; middle-level bureaucrats and public employees; engineers lacking advanced college

degrees; journalists and other writers; managers of industrial enterprises, commercial offices, and social-service centers; owners of small-scale retail establishments and restaurants; technicians; self-employed artisans; professionals; and trades people. Education, particularly a college degree, and knowing the English well were keys to joining the middle class. In 1995 the middle class was estimated to constitute 20 to 25 percent of the total urban population. It was larger in prosperous cities but smaller in economically depressed areas. The second phase of Americanisation, upward mobility and urbanisation were experienced in the 1980s with the Özal and his ruling elite while the globalisation was being felt more intensively. It is hard to separate the reasons from each other, so it is better to draw the picture one by one with small steps.

Relations with the European Union

Turkey is a country which the EU sees as a client and not as a potential partner. So Turkey is unlikely to enter the EC any time soon. But even without making Turkey a full member of the Community, Brussels improves Turkey's access to the EC market and provide great benefits for the Turkish economy. However, rejection by Europe has isolated Turkey and forced her to turn more to Washington. America, determined to create a system which will allow her to play a hegemonic role in Europe and the Middle East, has strengthened her relations with Ankara but at Ankara's expense. While this rejection accelerate the Americanisation in Turkey, Turkey also can not give up the EU completely, in the hope of her entry into the EU one day, this makes Turkey try hard to keep up with the EU standards. Accordingly, about education, Turkey had a major ELT curriculum reform, which was initiated in 1997 and has continued until the present time, calling for continual adjustments as well as standardization of the ELT in line with the norms of the European Union (EU) (Kırkgöz, 2009). The reform was to extend the duration of primary education from the previous 5 to 8 years by integrating primary and secondary education into a single stream. In addition, English was introduced as a regular subject, Teaching English to Young Learners (TEYLs) for Grade 4 and Grade 5 students, thus shifting the introduction of EFL from secondary to primary schools (MEB, 1997a). It was officially and explicitly stated that "Turkey's political and economic ambitions and the nation's desire to keep up

its relations with foreign countries using English, particularly with countries of the European Union, are the major motivating forces underlying the decision to introduce English to young learners" (MEB, 1997b, p. 606). With the new policy initiative, young learners were provided with a longer exposure to the foreign language (see MEB, 2001). As a result, the 1997 ELT curriculum was revised to raise the quality of the ELT education and adapt it to the language teaching standards of the EU. The revised curriculum is still communicative oriented, but it is a much more comprehensive and coherent version of the previous one. In addition, MEB introduced a new assessment system in conformity with the norms of the EU. As it was mentioned above, such kind of state-planned language education turns into unplanned language spread unavoidably. Then, it accelerates the spread of the English.

Missionary Schools

American missionary educators played a prominent role in education within the Ottoman Empire (Trask, 1965). At the beginning of the twentieth century, the missionaries, notably those belonging to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM), the strongest organization in Asia Minor, seem for the first time to have become seriously concerned with the functioning of society as a whole, including the Sunni Muslim majority. In 1908 we see many members of the ABCFM siding with the new Young Turk rulers in propagating a democratic plural Ottoman 'nation'. The missionary work of the Protestants was subversive and seditious, as Yıldız Palace documents state over and over from the 1890s. Catholic mission was not seen in this way at that time. It had got the reputation of being loyal to the government, and it protected from the diplomatic rapprochement between the Sultan and the Pope. The Young Turk revolution of July 1908 abruptly ended the Hamidian regime. It brought to power an elite of young patriotic officials and of officers of middle-class origin. All members of the party of Union and Progress (also called Unionists) were largely influenced by the European ideologies of the time, notably positivism, social-Darwinism and racial nationalism. Their declared goal was the establishment of a liberal system to follow the Hamidian autocracy; yet their first aim was the gaining of unrestricted national unity and sovereignty. American missionaries

suddenly gained prestige as ‘pioneers of progress’ and were invited as speakers at the Young Turk club meetings in provincial towns (like Mezere-Harput) (Kieser, 2002).

The most prominent missionary ideologue in the last two Ottoman decades was James Barton. From 1908 onwards, forming a pluri-religious national leadership and making good and equal citizens were the declared aims of missionary schools. By taking on social responsibility for the promising development of Young Turkey, the ABCFM won large support from the political establishment of the USA, including the Presidents. For Theodore Roosevelt, the ‘young Moslems educated at the American schools and colleges’ were ‘especially fitted to take part’ in the ‘present movement to introduce far-reaching reforms, political and social, in Turkey, an effort with which we all keenly sympathize’. The USA and its missionaries were to lead the Ottoman renewal. Despite the low percentage of Muslim students, the global impact of missionary schools was most important—both catalytic and conflictive—for Young Turkey: they were an educational model, notably for girls, a channel of Westernizing influence and a challenge to the nationalist millet-schools. US diplomats, normally supportive and proud of their famous missionaries, felt for the first time in 1904 they submitted a questionnaire to the Eastern Turkey missionaries with suggestive queries such as: ‘How far have results of training in American schools and contact with?’ (Kieser, 2002). These words show clearly how the Americans were after the imposing their beliefs, culture, language, religion and so on.

After the Ottoman Empire, the ABCFM’s adaptation to nationalist Turkey in the 1920s was painful, self-denying and partly illusionist. By the Kemalists, the missionaries were seen as inconvenient observers and ‘foreign agents’, carrying on a policy of reconstruction opposed to the nationalist one. In contrast to other missionary organizations, the ABCFM continued a part of its work in provincial Turkey, but with reduced staff and without its stations in the east. Its new policy was that of non-political character-formation and obedient nation-building—instead of seeking self-contently a role in the construction of a plural society. Its major change was to work without open religious expression (the secular state forbade that), addressing itself mainly to Turkish Muslims. Its new keywords were: ‘unnamed Christianity’, ‘personal and sympathetic approach’, ‘Christian radiance’,

'missionary home—a social centre', 'personal talks on vital subjects', 'publications with a high moral tone', 'cooperation with sympathetic Turks for the uplift of their country', etc. On the one hand, the Turkey Mission did finally reach the Muslim majority it had wanted to reach since 1908. On the other hand, the price was high: it had to depend to a large extent on nationalistic regulations and to give up any orientation toward the poorer classes. In Republican Turkey attendance at the American schools was above all a matter for the well-to-do. The broad direct contact with the poor in provincial Turkey had been lost. The regulations of the Ankara government required that missionary schools put politically important subjects such as geography and history in the hands of Turkish teachers, and that each school have a titular head who was a Turkish citizen. High salaries were compulsory for these members of staff forced on the schools and these were a heavy financial burden. And in January 1923, an ABCFM meeting in Istanbul held its decisive vote for a continuation in Turkey.

If we want to learn the actions and influences of the missionaries, we should look at the missionary schools more closely because when the missionaries opened institutions like schools, hospitals or print houses in order to impose their ideas, the most influential one among them was the schools. Together with their religious institutions, the missionaries established their schools like St. Joseph, St. Michel, St. Louis and Notre Dame de Sion. In 1914, there were 500 schools with 59.414 students in the Ottoman Empire. The first missionaries in Anatolia were Americans. They established schools, too. The most of them were opened by American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM). In the government and especially in the foreign relations there was need to know a foreign language. Especially when the relations with the USA became intensive, the missionary Protestant schools grow in the Ottoman state. It was through a missionary called Cyrus Hamlin who opened Robert College in 1863 (with the 30 000 dollars a New York businessman H.R. Robert had given him). During this period the American Girls College was also opened. In 1912, the senior college section of Robert College was opened, too. Robert College was established to spread the culture of the America. Abdülhamid II. had forbade the Turkish students to be educated in these kind of missionary schools.

According to the report of Ramsay in 1909, only two Muslim girls had graduated from the Uskudar American Girls College in 1871. With the Young Turks, it was decided that five male students in Robert College and five female students in the Uskudar American Girls College could be educated every year. During the Republican period, such restriction was abolished (Kazamias, 1966). It was always claimed that the influence of the Robert College had not been seen in other education institutions until 1908 when English was made a compulsory course and French an elective course at the Ottoman Navy School.

In Anatolia, first American Missionary college called Armenian College in Harput (1878) was established. In the same period, Anatolia College in Merzifon, International College and American College for girls in İzmir, Central Turkey College in Antep and Maraş, St. Paul Institutie in Tarsus were established. Some of the graduates of these colleges were brought to the USA and made the USA citizens and then returned to the Ottoman Empire to act against the state under the protection of the USA. In a research, it was recorded that in 1900, American Board had 162 missionaries and 21 missionary centers in Anatolia, while in 36 establishments 2700 girls and boys and in 389 primary schools 15000 students were educated. These numbers were decreased almost to 10 with the establishment of the Republic (Sezer, 1999).

To sum up, we can have our conclusion about the missionary schools in two main points. Firstly, the ABCFM's impact on Turkey was catalytic in the sense that it accelerated the promotion of Western models in education, health and standard of living. These models of civilization agreed with the reform ideas of the ruling elite in Tanzimat and Young Turkey. In particular Protestant missionaries showed in an exemplary way that a successful reform movement had to win over Anatolia by investigating and penetrating its provinces, villages and mountain tribes. It can be true to say that, quite against the intentions of nineteenth-century missionaries, the substantial contribution to Westernization is their most evident and well-known heritage in modern Turkey. Not a few present Turkish leaders are graduates of former mission schools and live with one foot in the USA. Educational Westernization in (former) missionary institutions, under rigid Turkish nationalist control, was the most visible continuation after the breakdown of the missions

during World War I. Progressive Ottoman elites and Western missionaries had agreed in the conviction that the Ottoman Near East should benefit from the Western technical, educational and sanitary superiority. In the provincial towns missionaries built up prestigious schools, among them revolutionary institutions for girls' education, as well as hospitals. These provided a model which millets and the state were strongly motivated to emulate. As the Greek, Jewish and Armenian millets were most successful in emulating the given model, the incentive impact it gave to the Muslim community increased (Kieser, 2002). The intensified Westernisation brought by these missionaries, leaders graduated from the missionary schools and the other factors told above made the English language number one in Turkey.

While we are coming again to the USA in this missionary theme of the article, I think it will be easy to resee how things are connected with each other. While the Turkish elite was westernising and Americanising the society consciously or not, they were not alone. The missionaries were helping them with their institutions of education. May be if the French missionaries had been more active in Turkey, French would have been popular today. However, American missionaries were active in every corner of the state, with their schools they were imposing the children even if it was not understood immediately in the country. Maybe the researches should be made about the graduates of these missionary schools. For instance, between the years of 1863 and 1903, the graduates of the Robert College which was the most important school among the missionary schools were mostly Bulgarian. Consequently, five of the Bulgarian presidents were the graduates of the Robert College and before the WWI in each Bulgarian Ministry Cabinet, there was at least one Robert College graduate (Sezer, 1999). The effects of the missionary schools over the foreign language teaching in Turkey must be researched by looking at the graduates of these schools. "Who were they?" and "what did they do after their graduation?", "how did their education affected their positions?" and "did they use their positions in order to upgrade English in Turkey?" and "How much are their effects in the spread of English?" should be the questions that must be searched.

Conclusion

Parallel to the developments of the politics, economy and culture, the education and the conditions of the foreign languages learnt in the Turkish education system changed. Consequently, in 1983 with the law number 2923, the foreign language teaching in Turkey was formed. The aim of the law was to form the regulations of schools that have a foreign language as a medium of instruction. About the foreign language that would be taught in primary and secondary schools, the decisions would be taken by the Ministry of Education. The foreign languages that will be taught in Turkey are decided by the Council of the Ministers with the advices of the National Security Council. Prior to 1983, English was already integrated in the secondary school curriculum as the most prominent foreign language, in 1955. In addition, English-medium education was gradually becoming part of the Turkish education system with the foundation of schools such as Robert College, the first private English-medium secondary school founded in 1863 by an American missionary (Kırkgöz, 2009). The national political elite essentially ruled Turkey had been unchallenged for more than thirty years. Beginning in the 1950s, however, the socioeconomic changes resulting from government policies provided numerous and varied opportunities for the accumulation of private capital in finance, commerce, trade, and industry. The emergence of a wealthy business class inevitably led to the development of class-specific political interests and ambitions. Because of this new business elite's experience in entrepreneurial activities rather than the bureaucracy, its members' views differed sharply from those of the established ruling elite, they generally supported English and education through it. Change started in 1950s Turkey and the urbanisation was one of the results of this change. The phenomenal growth of cities since the 1950s has been the result of large-scale migration of lower-class people from the villages; in 1995 more than 60 percent of Turkey's urban population belonged to the lower class. And by 1995 approximately two-thirds of Turkey's population lived in urban areas, which continued to grow rapidly. Urbanization and industrialization have helped to create social-class structures that are similar in all large cities. Government officials, wealthy businesspeople, and professionals together constitute the urban upper class. The business

elite in most cities is very diverse and generally includes industrialists, financiers, large-scale retailers and wholesalers, real estate developers, construction firm owners, transportation company operators, and, in Ankara and Istanbul, owners of commercial publishing and broadcasting companies. The business elite, which constitutes the largest component of the upper class, has been expanding since the early 1980s as a result of government incentives for private investors and entrepreneurs. This upper class favoured English, because they were having business relations with English-speaking people, they were also having their holiday in these countries as a show of their wealth. English was a tool for them to show their belonging to the upper classes. The middle-class was also favouring English, because they were having a wish to reach their boss' life standards. They were trying to move up in the social ladder. The lower classes were also favouring the English because they had no chance to learn other languages in state schools and without English it was really difficult to have a good job. Today, things are mostly the same in Turkey. While USA is controlling %85 of the film sector in the World, while %99 of the most popular pop music groups work entirely English and about %80 of electronically stored information is in English, the young people easily are motivated to learn English (McKay, 2002). It is of course, a kind of globalising effect together with urbanisation. People feel the globalisation and its necessities more intensively in urban areas. Together with globalisation, westernisation, Americanisation and all other elite activities can be felt more deeply in urban areas.

While these are the accepted reasons for the rise of the English in Turkey, her relations with EU make the situation a bit strange. Because while European countries have been emphasizing the learning of several European languages besides the national language(s), Turkish language policies reinforce English at the expense of other foreign languages. Why is that so? Alongside the article, it was tried to be shown that the reasons must be searched in politics. What is the need of Turkey? Is it really English? If we look at the research results of the tourism, it can be seen that Turkish people have more contacts with the German people.

Picture 6: From Where the Tourists Come to Turkey (2007)

Germany	4.148.252
Russia	2.465.481
England	1.916.015
Bulgaria	1.239.666
Iran	1.058.270
Holland	1.053.669
France	768.168
USA	646.376
Georgia	630.923
Ukrain	593.302
Belgium	542.716
Italian	514.812
Israel	511.435
Australia	472.482
Greece	447.950
Other Countries	6.331.557
Total	23.341.070

Source: Türkiye Yatırımcılar Derneği, <http://ttyd.org.tr/tr/page.aspx?id=38>

If we look at the numbers of the tourists according to the countries, we see the Germany and Russia in the first place. It means that together with English, Turkey needs the languages of German and Russian. However, the German has a little place in the education programmes and the Russian has none. If we take into consideration that Turkey has more than 3 millions Turkish people who live in Germany, and together with their relatives in Turkey, there is a big need to German in Turkey. While it is the case, why the language of German is not even a selective course? How English can leave it behind? If the aim of education is to develop the country and the satisfy the needs of Turkey, why the other languages are omitted. The reasons are obvious; the westernisation, the Americanisation, the tendency of the ruling elites, globalisation and the influence of missionary schools. None of them are free from each other. For instance, with missionary schools and ruling elites, the Westernisation and Americanisation spread in Turkey and without urbanisation these influences could not reach as much as that people. This article has aimed to show the whole picture by examining the specific themes detailly. That is,

English in Turkey became dominant foreign language gradually with the work of all these factors which have been mentioned above.

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