

WOMEN TEACHERS' PERCEPTIONS OF THEIR IDENTITIES INSIDE AND
OUTSIDE THE SCHOOL

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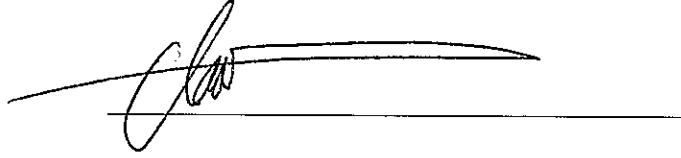
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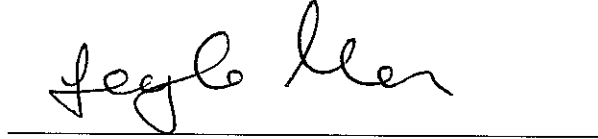
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Thesis Abstract

Nurhan Erdoğan Şahin, “Women Teachers’ Perceptions of their Identities Inside and Outside the School”

Despite the growing interest in the issue of gender and education, few studies have been concerned with the question of women teachers’ identity formation considering the expected roles from them by the society they live in. This thesis attempts to explore the perceptions of women teachers about their identities inside and outside the school through a case study with ten women teachers working in public elementary schools of Istanbul. The results, gathered from semi-structured interviews, indicated the teachers’ identities as multiple and contextually-bound. All the women teachers in the study identified their position in society through the internalized social roles and the socially constructed expectations from them as a “woman”.

Impacted by gender, professional and social discourses that sometimes collide with each other, findings from women teachers’ interviews demonstrate how these women struggle to take a position in a male-dominant system. The analysis of the interviews indicated that women teachers’ perceptions of their identities shaped around these themes: “patriarchal norms of the society”, “authority and power relations at school”, “expectations from the profession and disappointments throughout teaching”, “being emotional and emphatic as a women”, “economic freedom” and “political awareness of women teachers”, “balancing the demands of private life and work life”, “marriage and effects on women teachers’ social status”, “collegial relations- cooperation” and “discrimination against women teachers”. This thesis presented that regarding these themes, negotiating identities within themselves and within the complex socio cultural context they live in, these women teachers are involved in an ongoing process of adjustment, adaptation and resistance.

Tez Özeti

Nurhan Erdoğan Şahin, “Kadın Öğretmenlerin Okul İçindeki ve Okul Dışındaki Kimliklerini Algılayış Biçimleri”

Eğitimde cinsiyet konusunda artan ilgiye rağmen, kadın öğretmenlerin kendilerinden beklenen roller kapsamında kimliklerini oluşturma süreçleriyle ilgilenen az sayıda çalışma bulunmaktadır. Bu tez İstanbul'daki devlet ilköğretim okullarında çalışan on kadın öğretmenle yapılan vaka analizi çalışması sonucunda, kadın öğretmenlerin okul içindeki ve okul dışındaki kimliklerini algılayış biçimlerini araştırarak ortaya çıkarmayı amaçlamaktadır. Yarı yapılandırılmış görüşmeler ışığında elde edilen sonuçlar, kadın öğretmenlerin kimliklerini çoklu şekillerde algıladıklarını göstermiştir. Araştırmaya katılan tüm kadın öğretmenler, toplumdaki konumlarını içselleştirilmiş sosyal roller ve toplumun onlardan bir kadın olarak talep ettiği sosyal beklentiler bağlamında tanımlamışlardır.

Görüşme yapılan kadın öğretmenlerden elde edilen bulgular, bazen birbirleriyle de çatışan mesleki düzen, toplumsal düzen ve cinsiyet kavramları arasında sıkışmış bu kadınların erkek egemen toplumda yer almak için nasıl mücadele ettiğini ortaya koymuştur. Aynı zamanda, görüşme analizleri kadın öğretmenlerin kimlik algılarının şu temalar etrafında şekillendiğini göstermiştir: “ataerkil yapı ve toplum”, “otorite ve okulda güç ilişkileri”, “meslekten beklentiler ve öğretmenlik boyunca yaşanan hayal kırıklıkları”, “bir kadın olarak duygusal olmak ve empati kurabilmek”, “ekonomik özgürlük” ve “kadın öğretmenlerin siyasal farkındalığı”, “özel hayatın ve iş hayatının taleplerini dengelemek”, “evlilik ve evliliğin kadın öğretmenlerin sosyal statüsü üzerindeki etkileri”, “meslektaş işbirliği-ilişkileri” ve “kadın öğretmenlerin karşılaştığı ayrımcı tutumlar”. Bu temalar çerçevesinde, kendi içlerinde ve aynı zamanda yaşadıkları karmaşık sosyo kültürel yapı içerisinde kimliklerini konumlandırmaya çalışan kadın öğretmenlerin, süregelen bir alışma, adaptasyon ve direnme döngüsü içerisinde olduğu görülmüştür.

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This thesis was a self-exploratory journey of love and learning which took almost two years in making; the time in which my own identity has been undergoing immense transformation.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Education is considered to be one of the most important mechanisms for the advancement and empowerment of women. Vital in its own right for the realization of individual capabilities, education of women has the potential to transform the life chances of the women, their future families, and the societies in which they live (Levine 2006). Increases in the marriage age, labor force participation or income levels for women are associated with increased female participation in education (Tan, 2007). So, considering the basic function of education as an agent of change in women's lives, schools must reflect the society in which they are placed in by providing non-sexist values and practices. It is widely argued that schools and the education system in general can be one part of the male-dominated social system and sometimes, these institutions enforce a set of gender roles more rigid than those current in society. At this point, there is much concern about the conceptualization of the schools, not as a place which reproduce the gendered power relations constituted outside, but as a hegemonic site where gender is reconstructed within the context of a peculiar gender regime (Ozkazanç & Sayılan, 2008). Here, it can be suggested that the gendered aspect of school has special importance for the construction of gender subjectivities. The official culture of school pretends to be gender neutral, but is in fact characterized by the omnipresence of gender (Epstein & Johnson, 1998). In order to understand the structure of gender regime, the following issues need to be discussed: how gender is perceived in economic, cultural, political and educational spheres, which roles are seen appropriate for

different genders in different social classes, to what extent genders are considered equal in the social, personal and professional lives of people and so forth (Sari, 2011). This gender regime, affects the pattern of practices that constructs various kinds of masculinity and femininity among the school staff and the students, orders them in terms of prestige and power, and constructs a sexual division of labor within the institution (Kessler et al, 1985).

Based on the reproduction theories, the first wave of critiques were focused on the roles of teachers in reproducing the gender based socialization (Acker, 1994). The analysis which pointed to the interaction among the reproduction of structural power relations, sexual division of labor and sexist divisions at schools demonstrated how the reproduction of gender inequities, the cultural and ideological reproduction of social classes are entangled. Studies which analyzed the nature of cultural production in schools revealed that the school approves and justifies the dominant cultural values, in this way dependent social groups are marginalized, but different forms of knowledge and social relations sustain themselves at school (Cortina& Roman, 2006). Social transformations that parallel the evolution of school organization and cultural changes are “inextricably tied up” with the gendered character of teaching (Cortina & Roman, 2006). Unfortunately, the issue of how the cultural construction of teaching as a gendered occupation influences the identity of teachers as they enter the classroom is not addressed in many studies.

In this formation, women teachers’ experiences inside and outside the school life are crucial to explore the dynamics of the gender regime in school and in society. Dealing with the reproduction of gender-roles in the sense of women teachers considering them both as a woman and as a teacher can remark one of the

overlooked problems of education systems. Their life histories and perceptions of their identities can show us how beliefs, social regulations and social changes can affect the preferences and expectations of a woman while building up a living. As an example, in the study of Rubin's *Intimate Strangers: Women and Men Together*; participants were asked the question "Who are you?" Answers show that men answered the question with replies such as "I am a doctor", "I am an engineer" etc. On the other hand, most of the women defined themselves first in terms of domestic roles by saying "I am a mother", "I am a wife" and after that they defined themselves in terms of their jobs they had (Rubin, 1983). In this sense, while analyzing the position of women teachers in education, Tamboukou (2000) states that the status of women in education is poised on a critical dichotomy that has left women oscillating between two worlds: *the private and the public*, that remain separated at the same time that they interact and impinge upon each other creating crises, conflicts and dilemmas in women's lives. At this point, she also derives that through the changing trends in the field of education, women teachers considered to be ideal as caring and love-giving educators and to represent themselves as such. So, just because it is natural, women teachers are usually expected to conform to the model of mothering. Women on the other hand, saw teaching as a socially acceptable way to become other than wives and mother (Tamboukou, 2000).

Analyzing the process of women participation in education and the positions of women teachers in Turkey, Tan (2007) notes that education has been one of the most sought-after objectives of the women's movements ever since the Ottoman period but the actualization of the education demand for large segments of the female population, however, was made possible only after the creation of the Turkish Republic in 1923. She also claims that some of the most critical reforms of

the new republic were those related to education and secular education became a central institution of the nation building process in Turkey (Tan, 2007). The Republican reforms are generally viewed as having had a positive effect on women's lives by granting them access to education, public office and employment opportunities, although the benefits were not enjoyed equally by the entire female population (Arat,1994). For the ones having access to education and attempting to participate in working life, teaching has become a suitable profession in years considering the concept of women teachers as care-givers and nurturing which is correlated with the domestic roles of women in Turkish society.

Statistics support that teaching profession has been in demand by women and it is a female- dominant profession in Turkey accounting that this dominance has been decreasing in higher levels of education and in managerial positions.¹ Although, this dominance can be seen as a positive factor for women in contributing them to work life, when we deeply look into the statistics, we can see less women in certain segments of education where professionalism and power relations are necessary. On the other hand, parents in Turkey still encourage their daughters to become a teacher for having enough time for dealing with husband and children because according to Turkish society's patriarchal values, a woman's top priorities are motherhood and becoming a good spouse (Inandı, 2009).

Taking into account the current perspective held by society for women teachers, this study will focus on the perceptions of women teachers in constructing their identities and the social, cultural factors that affect them in shaping their

¹ Statistics, including women teachers percentages in different education levels, are demonstrated in pages 26-27.

positions both in school life and in social life for a deep analysis in the field of gender and education.

Purpose of the Study

It can be suggested that women teachers do not construct their identities in isolation, but rather are strongly influenced by the expectations of other participants in the educational process. The purpose of this study is to explore the perceptions of women teachers' identities inside and outside the school considering the expectations and assumptions of the society they live in. This study aims to analyze the perceptions of women teachers about their identities regarding them both as a woman and as a teacher and it also attempts to examine the meaning and the status of being a woman teacher in Turkish public elementary schools. In this respect, it is necessary to follow certain aspects of the society in order to indicate the different discourses and practices that constitute women's position in education thus, women teachers' place in schools can be understood more clearly in studying their place in social, economic and cultural life.

Research Questions

While exploring women teachers' identity perceptions, a critical approach as a way to reflect on gender inequities that women teachers experienced in their work lives and in their social lives, was adapted. So, one of the reasons to conduct this study is to discuss gender barriers both in schools and in society. Another important concern is related to these women's identity perceptions and the main subject positions that are created regarding their roles as women and as teachers. Therefore, in this study the following questions are addressed:

- 1- How do women teachers identify themselves as a woman in society?

- 2- How do women teachers perceive their positions in social life?
 - 2.1 What are their views of women status and conditions in Turkey?
 - 2.2 How do the social, cultural and political contexts in Turkey effect their perceptions on being a women teacher?
- 3- What were their expectations at the beginning of their career? What are their expectations from the profession at present?
- 4- How do they describe being a woman teacher in school life and in society comparing with male teachers?
- 5- What are the main problems they face as a woman teacher inside and outside the school life?
 - 5.1 As a woman teacher, what kind of attitudes, pressures or discriminations do they face both in their school life and in their social life?

Significance of the Study

How teachers view and act concerning gender roles is a fact that many studies of teachers and teaching are not considered. There is insufficient documentation on the relationship of women with the educational system from women's perspective. An analysis of the parallel spheres would be a more positive approach in this matter. These spheres are private (family, child etc.) and public (social, economic functions etc.). For these reasons; this study is significant as an in-depth qualitative study, focusing on women teachers' relations to gender issues in education. This study traces the interrelationship of patriarchy, gender, society and education in Turkey,

highlighting women teachers' positions for policy makers in education. In the process of structuring the education policies in Turkey, the results of this study can inspire the stakeholders to develop a different perspective about the gendered practices in education through a consciousness rising about the position of women teachers in Turkey. Clearly, this study implies that we need a new perspective and a new approach to address the issue of gender in Turkey in order to help producing recommendations of a fundamental change in both policy and practice. This study also contributes to the body of knowledge by adding the Turkish experience to the women's studies in other parts of the world and bridging a gap in the Turkish studies by adding this qualitative study to the mainstream research.

During the preparation of this thesis, I gave much thought to my own place in the realm of gender and education and the situation of my workplace in the context of the study of gender and identity. Firstly, I need to clarify here that this research is partly inspired by my own personal experience as a Turkish women teacher. For five years I have been working as an English teacher in the suburban public elementary schools of Istanbul. Working within a highly centralized authoritarian educational system in most of the cases governed by gendered ideology, I felt the need to portray and analyze some of the challenges, struggles and frustrations that women have to encounter in specific contexts at school and in society.

Another primary objective of this thesis is to provide the context for the unheard voices of these women teachers who experience, multiple forms of domination yet try to survive within an extremely complex construction of social, cultural and ideological forces that attempt to control and maintain their

subordinated position. This study tries to give voice to these discredited and unattended experiences and endeavors, as well as tries to portray some of the challenges, contradictions and dilemmas that these women teachers have to encounter in their attempt to constitute their identities in Turkey.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

This part aims to explore key concepts in women teachers' positions in society, in working life and in education. It first discusses the status of women in society considering their working life positions. Participation to education is also discussed in this part focusing on the relationship of patriarchy and gender in women's education in Turkish society. Also, a short feminist history is included to consider feminist movements and ideas concerning the status of women in Turkey. In the second part, women teachers' position in Turkey is discussed through the feminization process in teaching. Women teachers' identity formation is addressed under the categories of teachers' identity and professional identity in a critical perspective in the last section.

Women, Society and Education

The social and cultural stratifications and effects of them on women status in Turkey is discussed here along with the reflections of Republican era on women empowerment. Women emancipation and its paradoxes in Turkey are examined with the aim of finding the results in women employment in Turkey. Major issues related with the women education are also included at this part connected with the patriarchal construction in different segments of education.

The Status of Women in Society

In most of the societies, the position of women has generally a natural linkage with the nature of women that has been defined by certain facts of society's identification

of natural endowments of women. In this context, the structural and social position of women is closely related to the assigned cultural, social and economic categorizations in the society. So, it can be considered that the important social and economic events causing conversions have also a substantial effect on the characterization of women identity and women role in society. As an example, during and after the industrial revolution, developments in working life and different working fields enhanced women employment and women contribution to the working life especially, developing service sector after 1950's, has slowly opened the way for the increasement bringing with many new job opportunities for women(Kocacık and Gökkaya, 2005,p. 200).

In order to explore the position of women in Turkish society, many studies have been conducted considering the changing family dynamics with the economical and social alterations that have been undergone in Turkey. The study of Tekeli is among the first studies which are vital to have an idea on the cultural components of Turkish society to understand the women status. According to Tekeli (1995), there is more than one factor in cultural stratification in Turkey and for the sake of analysis; we can distinguish mainly three cultural groups: The first can be identified as the traditional rural culture. In this group, she argues that women's social status is generally low. Social values keep both the family and the individual under strict control and classic patriarchy is dominant in this group. She explains the second cultural group as made up of the urban industrialized segments of society. According to her, it has more or less internalized modern, western values. Women are relatively freer and they have achieved a more egalitarian status with men. In her cultural stratification, the third group is "new urban" cultural group, which is an intersection of the two other groups. The value conflicts, contradictions and violent

breaks are more dramatic in this group (Tekeli, 1995). Furthermore, to exemplify the difference of family dynamics of our society from the Western societies, Tekeli (1995) focuses on the institution of marriage that is shaped by traditional values between men and women. She explains that arranged marriage is the most widespread kind of marriage types and patriarchy has a great effect on the intra-family relations. Considering these dynamics in Turkish women's lives, she mentions that women has a critical role as an agent of social transformation in the society and it is a great study area of how women try to control their lives, resist to the power and develop coping strategies with society boundaries both in their private and working lives (Tekeli,1995).

Kağıtçıbaşı (1998) takes two perspectives to examine the status of women in Turkey. According to her, one perspective focuses on the private sphere, mainly the family, and considers family dynamics and interaction patterns as well as the place of the woman in the family as Tekeli (1995) states. Another perspective for Kağıtçıbaşı is the public sphere which takes into account the legal, political, and institutional reforms of the Republican era and their reflection in the increasing literacy rates, educational attainment, political participation, labor force participation, and professionalization of women in Turkey. In her work *Woman Status in Turkey* (1998) she argued that in a very short time, the laws affecting women's status were changed drastically: from the Sharica to a secular civil code, from polygamy to monogamy; from unequal legal rights regarding divorce, ownership of property, custody of children, etc. to equal legal treatment. In this context, during 1920's and 1930's, many laws that affected women status directly put into action, such as The Law of Unification of Instruction in 1924, Dress Code in 1925, Turkish Civil Code in 1926, enfranchisement of women in 1930 and 1934

(Gurkan 1997 cited in Sari,2011). Kabasakal et al. (2003) indicate that these reforms had serious implications for the modernization and emancipation of Turkish women. From 1920s until today, many large and small regulations helped to better achieve the equality between women and men in Turkey.

Despite all of these long standing policies that aim to promote equal opportunities for men and women, it is still hard to say that the women stand at the point that they deserve in Turkey (Sari, 2011). According to Ilkkaracan (1997) the official discourse has been that the problem of the status of women has already been solved and that Turkish women should consider themselves as “lucky” because they were granted special rights before their European counterparts. Kabasakal-Arat (2003) explained this situation as a system of paradoxes as, while women participation in both economic and social life was considered to be essential for the economic development and modernization, the philosophy behind reforms was not based on gender equality. So, Ilkkaracan (1997) and Kabasakal-Arat (2003) agree that even decades after the legal reform of the new republic aiming at equality between women and men, little had changed in the everyday life of the majority of women living in Turkey.

When we look at the women participation in working life, Altınay and Arat (2009) state that women’s right to work outside the home without their husbands’ consent has been one of the most enduring sites of feminist struggle in Turkey. In most of the situations, woman can be allowed to take a job only upon the “explicit or implicit permission” of the husbands. On the other hand, participation to work life is crucial for Turkish women for, being employed is seen as a major instrument in making women less dependent on their families and frees them from the

suppressing influence of patriarchal ideologies and there are cultural factors that restrict women's possibilities to be active in the public domain in Turkey (Gündüz Hoşgör & Smits, 2008). But, in general, women engaged in the formal economy are more highly educated, have husbands with higher occupations, have fewer children, live in the West and urban areas, are less suppressed by their families and have less traditional gender role attitudes and moreover, not speaking Turkish is a major obstacle to economic independency for ethnic women (Gündüz & Smits , 2008). According to Ozbilgin et al. (2004), the Turkish state policies encouraging female employment in professional occupations did not question the traditional family ideology positioning women as the prime domestic workers and hence left the deeply rooted patriarchal assumptions unchanged.

Research conducted for Turkish women in working life indicate that approximately one third of Turkish women are in working life in major centering on branches such as textile working, teaching and nursing (İnciroğlu, 2007). In Turkish service sector where women have the greatest chance of employment, primarily, the number of women in health and education fields has been increasing (İnciroğlu, 2007). In this increasement, with the enlargement of service sector, characterization of women occupation has a great effect. Working was seen as crucial for economic independence, social security, social productivity, social life outside the family, a respected social status, and more say in family affairs (Hoşgör & Smits, 2008).

On the other hand, it is obvious that women in decision-making status are very low comparing to the increasement of employed women (Yılmaz et al, 2008). For example, Gök (1994), who emphasized that men still hold the major decision making power in Turkish society, states that according to intrinsic value judgments

of the society, having a decision-making status, which is considered as a male characteristic, is incongruous for women. What is not found odd is getting married and grappling with difficulties of abrasive works at home (Gök, 1994). In that case, it is obvious that women in working life confronted many obstacles in maintaining their occupations either due to the extent of its convenience to a woman or due to the stereotypes introduced by men. Owen and Todor, (1993) explain some of the stereotypes for women in working life as follows: Women tend to place family demands above work considerations, women work for supplemental income; as a result, they lack the necessary drive to succeed in business. They are tended to mix their personal and professional beliefs/feelings, and for this reason, they are accepted as emotional not professional. When we consider such kind of stereotypes, that are posing an obstacle to the active participation of women in working life, these can lead the way of drawing backs and frustrations among working women.

Feminist Movements in Turkey

At the end of the Ottoman Empire in the 19th century, educated women began organizing themselves as feminists within the elites of Istanbul. These feminists fought to increase women's access to education and paid work, to abolish polygamy (Çakır, 2007) so the seeds of feminism in Turkey had been planted at that time. According to Tekeli (1995), the first stage of feminist movements is after 1908 which questioned the status of women in Ottoman Empire trying to loosen women's domestic confinement by defending the right to an education, to work and to participation in public life. Early feminists published woman magazines in different languages and established different organizations dedicated to the advancement of women (Çakır, 2007). After the founding of the Turkish Republic in 1923, the

feminist movement gradually became integrated into state policy and from this time onward women in Turkey were portrayed as emancipated and liberated (Diner & Toktaş, 2010). There still remained, however, a large discrepancy between formal rights and the social position of women in Turkey. In the new Republican time, the movement turned out to be a state feminism and the reforms were concluded with a great deal of progress comparing to the previous era. This new era wanted to end women domestic confinement and give them new responsibilities in the development of modern Turkey by opening careers to them like teaching (Tekeli, 1995). A corresponding loyalty and devotion to the new secular state was expected. Kemalist women thought that education was the key to everything seeing that peasant women were oppressed in Turkey just for not having an education (Tekeli, 1995).

The social movements in Turkey that occurred in the 1960's and 1970's, however, were more focused on reconstructing the Turkish state and society with socialist ideals in mind (Ozbay, 1999). Here we can discuss the third stage of feminism held in 1970's as in a worldwide range. At that time, left-wing ideological groups brought up with the terms, class exploitation, social justice and capitalism (Arat, 1996). Tekeli (1995) observes this trend and concludes that women exploitation has gained a different meaning in that peasant women were seen as the only oppressed women group were replaced by working –class proletarian women. So, women supporters fought for many issues except “the woman question” in Turkey (Tekeli, 1995)

In the 1980's, women's movements truly became more independent of the reconstruction efforts to modify the state (Çakır, 2007). From a feminist

perspective, they criticized the standard construction of the family in Turkey as well as the gender specific role behavior that was forced on women (Diner & Toktaş, 2010). The second wave of the women's movement in Turkey during the Republican period reached a wider and far more diverse group of women than the first women's movement during the Ottoman Empire and it criticized the oppressive patriarchal structures that laid the foundation of the Turkish state and society (Kandiyoti, 1987). The feminism of the post-1980 period in Turkey has addressed itself not only to fighting for women's rights but also to the task of self-identification and of questioning traditional gender roles and stereotypes (Berktaş, 2001). Terminating the tradition of state feminism, post-1980s feminism has been very active in defining women's own needs, changing discriminatory laws, and altering social relationships abusive of women (Berktaş, 2001). Women's issues common to all societies, such as gender discrimination in education and the workplace, domestic violence, inadequate representation in decision-making positions, etc., have been questioned from the woman's point of view. In Turkey; it was only in the 1980s that we were able to discover the early roots of women's organized struggle for emancipation. Within this new feminist movement, themes such as women's bodies, violence against women, and sexuality emerged and activists began to look at women's issues with a special focus on the common experience of oppression under the patriarchal system (Çakır, 2007). On an institutional level, discussions finally began about the concepts of gender mainstreaming and how to reduce gender based discrimination.

Women's Education-Patriarchy and Gender

In developing countries, beginning from the 1950s, investment proportion for education has increased but on the contrary, women couldn't take advantage of this

economic development fairly comparing to men and jobs requiring high level of education generally cause confliction between family and work for women (Shields, 1978). While examining the women participation in Turkish education system, Smits and Gündüz Hoşgör (2008) draw a portrait in which girls from families with higher socio-economic status, girls with lower birth order, with fewer siblings, with Turkish speaking, less-traditional and working mothers and living in the more developed and urbanized parts of the country have higher participation levels in education. Considering this comment on women education in Turkey, in order to have a better understanding in the level of women participation in education and barriers for this process, it is better to follow the historical background of women in Turkish education system from the late Ottoman times to the Republican era.

The roots of Turkish women's official educational background are located in the final period of the Ottoman Empire (Kurnaz, 1999). Significant changes about education of the Ottoman women started with the proclamation of the Tanzimat in 1839, and accelerated with the declaration of The Second Institution in 1908. In this era, educational facilities for the girls were extended and while primary education was made compulsory for girls between the ages 7-11, secondary schools called Rüştiye and some vocational schools for girls were opened (Kurnaz, 1999). After the establishment of the Republic much importance was attributed to education. During this period of transformation from a traditional society dominated by Islamic values into a modern westernized one, a number of social, economic, political and cultural changes took place which rendered education an indispensable change agent (Sarı, 2011). A significant step was taken with the acceptance of the Law on Unification of Education in 1924 (Gök, 2007). According to Gök (2007), education was attributed a critical function in the modernization and westernization efforts of

the nation-building process. It was strongly believed that to be positive agent for the transformation of the traditional, Islamic community into a modern society, and a respectful member of Western civilization and culture. Despite lots of legal regulations about ameliorating women's status since the Declaration of the Turkish Republic, it has been argued that women in Turkey were "emancipated but unliberated" (Y.Arat, 2000). Undeniably, Turkish women especially educated urban women have achieved a great deal of emancipation since the Republican era. However, since they are still captive in a society that teaches them to be docile, economically dependent on men and geared to housework and childrearing, neither the minority of women who have benefited from the reforms nor the great majority who have been unaffected by them has escaped the bonds of tradition (Toprak, 1990).

As a specific example from history of women education in Turkey, Gök (2007) discusses the Girl's Institutes. In Republican period, Girls' Institute founded first in 1928 in Ankara as secondary level vocational schools as part of the public educational system. In the program, it was officially stated to train successful housewives, educate them so they appropriate national and democratic values and become perfect house managers (Gök, 2007). About the Girls' institute, Gök (2007) says that graduates through their "new identity" came to legitimize state power. Similarities between women and men however had a limit. Women were supposed to support the change of locus of patriarchy from the family to the state. Women were prized out of their families and homes, and asked to serve the nation but mainly as new and modern mothers and wives who knew how to be clean, orderly, neat and organized and who knew how to lay a table (Carlson & Rabo, 2007). According to Toktaş (2002), Girls' Institutes were the schools where gender roles

crystallized as part of the modernization of traditional concepts of femininity. Women who did the work of mothering and housekeeping and transferred their knowledge from generation to generation for many centuries were now being taught in public institutions. The state, in effect, awarded women who filled traditional female roles with a diploma (Toktaş, 2002).

While analyzing the developments in women education especially after the establishment of the Turkish Republic, we confronted with the problem that during the foundation of the new regime, radical transformations were instituted in an authoritarian and paternalistic manner is a crucial point. During this period of nation-building, a new reformist, yet authoritarian secular political framework was established. Firstly, urban women were encouraged to take part in every level of the educational system so that they might become successful professionals in the newly-built Turkey and secondly, policies regarding rural women urged them to attend primary school, work hard, produce more and raise more children (Gök, 2007). At this point, Kandiyoti (1987) states that although Turkey was never colonized, emancipation of women was part of a larger struggle to dismantle the theocratic institutions of the Ottoman Empire and to formulate a new legitimizing state ideology.

As a result of this authoritarian education policy in Turkey, The Ministry of National Education acts as a centralized body where all decisions regarding schools, administrators, teachers, students and textbooks are made in the capital Ankara regardless of the type of the school and where it is located (Kancı,2006). So, education in Turkey has been strictly defined and controlled by official policies through state-imposed guidelines (Kancı, 2006). Unfortunately, schools which are

inevitably a part of sexist society make no effort to change the traditional role of female. The gendered curriculum and socialization process in schools tend to reinforce and reproduce the existing patriarchal gender roles and stereotypes (Gök, 2007). According to Gök (2007) schoolbooks in Turkey still described by sexist world and society. So they produce patriarchal ideology. The normalization process is accomplished by a number of factors like textbook in which Ali plays ball and Suna plays with dolls, mother cooks dinner and father earns a living (Gök,2004). In the textbooks still, the occupation of teaching posts mostly by women reinforces the cliché that teaching is the appropriate profession for women. Furthermore, a striking example is the tendency in schoolbooks to designate the more prestigious social roles and occupations as appropriate for men and depict women in domestic and caring roles (Gök, 2004).

In spite of the gains made in the process, the educational opportunities and experiences of women reflect the gender disparities of the social structure and culture females' chances of getting an education differ more by region than they do for males. While the principle of equal pay for work of equal value is guaranteed under the law, there are salary inequalities between women and men due to gender inequalities in educational levels, patterns of job continuity, promotion procedures, etc (Hoşgör & Smits, 2008).Under representation of women in elected bodies and government is another facet of the unequal benefits of getting an education. As a result, the unequal distribution of education between men and women is one of the most striking characteristics of the educational system in Turkey. The lower rate of participation in the educational system by women is only part of the gender discrimination (Gök, 2007).

In order to discuss the gender discrimination in education and the effects of patriarchy in women education, scholars undermine the concept of gender. Sullivan (2003) states that, gender is a given status and individuals have no control over given status. So, individuals can't decide on their genders and in every society it poses an important social meaning having a key status. This status coming from gender is generally disadvantageous to women in taking advantages of social, political and educational rights that arises gender discrimination. According to Sullivan (2003), gender discrimination is the type of a discrimination people subjected to because of their sexes and it is generally related to women. Education is a basic domain for putting away such kind of discriminations and inequalities but unfortunately, it is one of the agents that reproduce the discrimination itself (Sullivan, 2003). In schools for instance, unfair labor division is legalized and passed down to generations. Gök (2004) states that the process of education reproduces the dominant ideology of the society in which it takes part. She also emphasizes that education also provides the transmission of the cultural and political values of a given society and requires the internalization of a society's values. In the process of naturalizing the gender discrimination, male dominant ideology is represented covertly and this leads to the internalization of the family roles and job preferences set up by gender lines. At this point, Gök (2004) argues that the outcome of schooling is a process of legitimization and boys and girls have been prepared for their social roles after school.

In modern society, domination and subordination arising from patriarchy have become psychologically and subliminally ingrained in our consciousness to the point that we have become unaware of foundational inequities that are part of our modern social structure (O'Sullivan, 2001). Acker (1994) points out that the

powerful image of women as domestic homemakers has prevented sociologists of education from asking a range of questions about the nature of the sexual division of labor in teaching and she suggested that the problem in the family, the labor market, the economy and society is not simply a division of labor between men and women, but a division that places men in a superior, and women in a subordinate, position.

In the light of the discussions about gender, education and patriarchy, it can be concluded that after the abolition of the Ottoman Empire and the foundation of modern Turkey in 1923, social, legal, cultural, and educational reforms designed to elevate young Turkey to the level of Western European civilizations were initiated (Abadan-Unat, 1981). These Republican reforms were the foundation for a cultural revolution, aimed at turning a traditional society into a modern one (Abadan-Unat, 1981). Yet, since these values were not equally shared by the masses, women's education beyond elite circles remained very limited. The most important cultural factor influencing women's position in Turkey and its neighboring countries is patriarchy. In this "classical patriarchal system" (Kandiyoti, 1987), that has functioned for many centuries in the rural areas of these countries, girls are given in marriage at a young age and then move to the household of their husband's family, where they are subordinated to all men and senior women. The emancipation of women through education and work was linked to the nationalist revolutionary movements, and as a result of these movements the status of women has improved and education is seen as the most important and effective means for personal empowerment against the possible restrictions in the marriage. Unfortunately, the high expectations of women remain unmet by the gender regime of school, and different subject positions emerge from the different accommodation and resistance strategies to the gender-mediated problems (Kandiyoti, 1987). Whether women

question their socially prescribed roles or favor them is a significant factor in explaining their post-school positions (Gök, 2004). What faces us in Turkey in terms of this matter is far from satisfactory. So, the introduction of the new possibilities for women did not mean that they quickly became widespread or were instantly and easily embraced by the majority of the population. For the large group of women, there was not much change, because the attempts for women liberation were blocked by the patriarchal domains in society and education in Turkey (Gündüz Hoşgör & Smits, 2008).

Women - Teaching and Identity

This part deals with the issue of women teachers' position in education giving examples from different countries and from Turkey. Feminization of teaching profession is discussed along with the social and patriarchal values in societies. Lastly, the concept of identity is addressed considering feminist post-structuralism.

Teaching and Feminization

Men were dominant in teaching profession until the middle of the 19th century. But, in spite of the perception that teachers should be men, a major shift in the gender make up of the teaching force came about with the establishment of the common school (Mc Cormick, 1994). There were many reasons for this shift, which included the issues about gendered wage structure for teachers. As Sadker and Sadker (2003) says, "... the demand for more and inexpensive teachers created by common schools made the hiring of women teachers inevitable" (p.314). In addition to that, Boyle (2004) gives an example for unequal payments as for a time; school districts all over the United States established inequitable pay scales for male and female teachers. Some scholars attribute women's lower salaries to their focus on families, their lack

of commitment to their jobs and their lack of aspirations for leadership positions rather than restrictive gender biases (Boyle, 2004).

It must be underlined here that understanding political power and political discourse that shaped to the development of public educational systems and encouraged the entrance of women into the teaching profession is very important. For instance, in countries such as Costa Rica, Spain or Mexico, wives, mothers and daughters were enlisted to help men teachers a highly economical solution to respond to demands placed by central policies that decreed universal schooling. These women teachers entered teaching by the way of kinship while at the same time, in the absence of teacher training schools of women, men teachers gave them basic instruction in reading and writing (Cortina & Roman,2006).

In the case of urban schools, social historians in the United States have concluded that the factor that favored women entry into this occupation was the organization of schools by grades; women teachers were thus concentrated in the early grades and men teachers in the higher grades and in school administrations (Cortina & Roman, 2006). So, teaching has become to be a reasonable job for woman and a poor one for man. In this respect, Hilsum and Start (1974) asked a sample of teachers whether they would encourage their own child to become teachers. While more than two-thirds of the sample said they would encourage a daughter to teach, over three-quarters would not encourage a son to do so. Male and female teachers were equally likely to encourage a daughter into their own occupation, but women had a negative attitude towards their sons entering teaching than men were (Hilsum & Start, 1974). Delamont (1990) expresses that in the early 1970's, the students held extremely conventional ideas about the role of women, the

division of labor in marriage and their own futures. She also concludes that the teacher role poses an inherent contradiction claiming that, in order to communicate effectively with children; teachers must exhibit the nurturing, receptive qualities of the female character ideal and the expressive, adaptive qualities of the child. Ironically, those same qualities are viewed as inferior and low status when one conceives of the teacher in relation to the social and occupational structure of society. According to Delamont (1990) this unease leads to the sexist micro politics of the staffroom, as phenomenon like how male teachers derived considerable pleasure from mocking the senior mistress, and making sexist comments about their female colleagues. Scribbins (1977) cited in Delamont (1990) summarizes that more women enter the teaching profession than most professions and it is generally through the wrong belief that within this profession woman can enter on a career trail leading to senior jobs. In fact, in education there is a clear pattern of discrimination against women. He also points out that the more expensive and academically high status sector of the education system is, the fewer women there are. Moreau et al. (2007) state that three main gender imbalances are generally identified within the teaching workforce: gender imbalances across education phases (women concentrate on nursery and primary sectors overall less valued and rewarded), across subjects taught (there is a lower proportion of women in math and science, compared with other subjects) and across positions (women are underrepresented in promoted posts, across all education phases.) Concordantly, women in elementary schools are an instructive example of the continuation of many historical stereotypes related to the use of power in contemporary society and education (Aechter, 1998).

In Turkey, teaching has also been one of the oldest professions for women and is considered to be ‘the most suitable profession’ for women in Turkey (Tan 2007). The great majority of pre-school teachers in the country are female, and the ratio of female teachers at the other levels of education closely follows female students’ ratios. KAGIDER’s statistics in the report of “Gender inequalities in Turkey” (KAGIDER, TUSIAD, 2008) demonstrate that in the educational year 1999-2000, women teachers in pre-primary education were 99%, women teachers in primary education were 43,9%, women teachers in high school education were 41% and in total, among all the education types women teachers constituted 44,3% of the teachers.

In preschool education, the rate of women teachers was 93.3% in compulsory education 45.6%, in secondary education 40.4%, and in tertiary education 38.3%, in the 2004-2005 academic years (MONE, 2005). In the 2006–2007 academic year, the rate of women teachers was 48% in general; the rate of the women teachers were 95.6% in pre-school education, 48% in elementary schools, 41.3% in secondary schools and 39.3% in general vocational-technical education (TUSIAD and KAGIDER, 2008). KAGIDER statistics imply that although there is a slight decline in 2006-2007 period, the biggest women teachers ‘ attendance is in pre-primary education and the least attendance is in the high school education where professionalism in different fields like physics and mathematics increased in this education field.

When we look at the statistics of the Ministry of National Education (MONE, 2011) for 2010-2011 education year, women teachers in pre-school education are 92, 9%, women teachers in primary school education are 52, 8% and

women teachers in high school education are 41, 5%. So, this statistics verify the dominance of women teachers in pre-primary education in KAGIDER's statistics. Moreover, there is an increase of women teachers attendance in primary school education but this increase is only 0, 2% in high school education.

Lastly, in the academic year of 2011-2012, the table of recent statistics about women teachers in different education levels in Turkey supports the outnumber position of women teachers in the first levels of education.

Table 1. The Number and the Proportion of Women Teachers in Different Levels of Education System in Turkey

Institution Type	Total number of teachers	Number of women teachers	Proportion of women teachers
Pre-primary education	55.883	52.929	94,7%
Primary Education	515.852	276.998	53,7%
Secondary Education	235.814	101.661	43%

(MONE Statistics, 2012)

When we look at the managerial positions in the Ministry of Education, we can see that 99, 4% of the district director of national education is male. 96% of the district department managers of national education are also male and among the school principals in Turkey, 91% of them are male. Moreover, it is observed that most appointments of women principals and vice principals generally canalized to either pre-primary schools or girls' technical schools (KAGIDER, 2008). While the rate of women principals is 8.8%, the rate of women vice principals is 11% in general. Inandı (2009) explains the reasons of this low demand of women participation in

higher levels of education system as the glass ceiling, societal gender stereotypes, family gender stereotypes, and women's own points of view about education administration brought up the female children as passive individuals and school and environmental factors are the barriers preventing women from occupying administrative positions. Also, in her survey conducted in Eğitim-Sen, one of the leading teachers unions in the area of education in Turkey, Sayılan (2003) cited in Ozkazanç & Sayılan (2008) found that 60 % of women working in the field of education think that affirmative action for women to reconstruct the field of education are necessary and 54 % of the same group asks for gender mainstreaming in all levels of education.

According to the report “ Gender inequalities in Turkey” (TUSIAD and KAGIDER,2008,p.64) one of the most important problems related to teaching profession is that women consider teaching as an appropriate profession to the traditional gender roles and they prefer teaching because it leaves suitable spaces to meet the expectations as mothers, spouses and housewives. According to the report, 66% of the participants stated that having simultaneous responsibilities, which required for the home and the family, affects their lives negatively (TUSIAD and KAGIDER, 2008, 64.). In the study of Toktaş (2002), where she explores regrets of women teachers about their works, some of the women schoolteachers state that they would have preferred to attend a normal high school and then a university and become lawyers, pharmacists or physicians, particularly pediatricians. They explain the reason of this preference as although teaching seems to have been a very prestigious and high-income profession in the 1960s for this group of women, in today's Turkey, other professions are more valued. When asked about what their life would be like if they had entered these professions, women teachers express that

their life would be the same with the difference that they would be earning more money and would have a higher social status. Nevertheless, schoolteachers on the whole did not regret being teachers, because of the public acknowledgment of teaching as one of the most suitable professions for women. Schoolteachers, like students, have longer mid-term and summer vacations and more flexible schedules, not incompatible with the women's domestic duties (Toktaş, 2002).

According to Apple (1981) one of the reasons of why teaching became a women's work and why it has a low status is that the historical connections between elementary school teaching and the ideologies surrounding domesticity and the definition of "women's proper place, teaching was an extension of productive and reproductive labor women did at home. Teaching as an occupation, that historically gendered and labeled as a "female profession" is one of the occupations in which societal patriarchal properties and women-based stereotypes (motherliness, emotional, empathetic, people-oriented, patient, less career-oriented, obedient, etc.) can be seen (Gannerud, 2001). Women teachers busy with familial affairs at home and occupational responsibilities at school have to struggle more than their male counterparts do in order to fulfill their multidimensional roles expectations (Gannerud, 2001). The stratification of employment by gender within education or the process of feminization occurred because of two parallel trends. While on the one hand, a transformation of social values took place and this opened new spaces for women in the labor market, on the other hand, conventional gender roles remained intact. The supervision and control of women's work remained in the hands of men, as principals and supervisors, while the work of women teachers was limited to the space of the classroom.

Gender-based research describes women are attributed the values of caring and nurturing. Although these attributes are considered positive they are ironically also significantly undervalued by society (Ackerman & Maslin-Ostrowski, 2002). Within this framework, teaching puts women into situations that mimic both the nurturing role of mother in relation to students and the subordinate role of wife in relation to principals - particularly in the elementary panel. These paternal relationships are often reflected in their personal relationships as well.

The Concept of Identity and Teaching

In our modern world, it would appear that we are preoccupied with issues of self: who we are, what we believe in, how we feel about ourselves, and how we want others to regard us. Interests in the subject of self and identity has grown rapidly in the past decades. Mead (1934) cited in Beijaard (2004) used the concept of identity in relationship with the concept of self; he described in detail how the self is developed through transactions with the environment. According to Wah Tan (1997) cited in Beijaard (2000), identity of the self is seen to be established and maintained either through negotiation within social situations or through social roles that are internalized by the individuals. The self, explained by Joas (2000) as "one of the greatest discoveries in the history of the social sciences,"(p.2) is examined through various lenses of disciplines within the humanities and social sciences. Hobson (1996) regards the self as a socially, culturally and historically constructed phenomenon. Living within a particular social and cultural system, we come to learn norms, values, and language while developing certain belief / habit system which in a very complex process leads to our understanding of ourselves.

Based on the assumption that personal identity is flexible, fluid and socially constructed, postmodern selfhood has become an indefinable entity which is unique, conglomerate, complex and hybrid (Butler, 2005). The question of identity is no longer lingering on the traditional “Who am I?” but rather it focuses on questions of when, where and how am I. According to influential theories in post-modernity, the personal identity is constructed and constrained through various regulating mechanisms (Foucault, 1980). The experiences we go through and how we understand them, lead to particular forms of identity. On the other hand, our sense of self shapes our understanding of the outside world and our experiences. Ropers & Huilman (1997) concludes that reality is constructed through the relationship of the triangle of experience/ identity/ understanding. Within a postmodernist framework, identity, and as a result experience, are not only understood as provisional, we can also explore how particular versions of reality (identity and experience) are produced, promoted and maintained.

The issue of identity has always been of great significance to the works of the prominent feminist thinkers. One of the main implications of traditional feminism is viewing female identity as a whole and coherent entity defined in its relation to male identity. In Foucault’s theory, however, self and identity are considered as multiple, fragmented and flexible that emerges from discursive processes and practices. As Tamboukou, (2000) points out, "there is no woman but women and moreover many 'selves' within each woman (and man)" (p. 2). Foucault's notion of human body as the principal site of power has also helped feminists' in their understanding of how relations of power aim at construction of the gender inequality through operating on the female body (Mc Nay, 1991).

Thus, in order to understand teachers' construction of subjectivity, we need to examine the prevalent discursive practices, defined by Foucault as a body of anonymous, historical rules, always determined in the time and space that have defined a given period, and for a given social, economic, geographical, or linguistic area, the conditions of operation of the enunciative function. (Gubrium 2000) In this respect, we should focus on the labyrinth of practices, procedures, institutions and operations which provide women teachers with various subject positions that they identify with and, as a result give them a sense of self as well as, a sense of the world around them. In addition to that the construction of identity is constantly conditioned and modified depending on the time.

Many scholars and educators have considered ways that teachers' multiple identities have influenced teaching practice. One of the themes in their work is a feminist identity that has suggested feminists in educational settings have various experiences that are shaped at least in part by their identities as feminists. Teachers take part in constructing their own identities, but others take part as well as they bring socially constructed expectations and an assumption about a feminist teacher's multiple identities into classroom discourses so these identities are always fluctuating and contextually-bound (Ropers & Huilman, 1997). Feminist post-structuralism has much to offer a discussion on education and the teaching and learning processes. Not only does it problematize our understanding of knowledge and how those understandings have shifted over time, it also can aid in our understandings of power relations within our educational systems (Ropers & Huilman, 1997).

In this sense, feminist post-structuralism, as a theory that recognizes fluctuating power relations and constantly situational meanings, yet acknowledges our own place as actors in those relations, can be useful in understanding classroom and educational interactions. Mc Cormick (1994) poses the question of the influence of feminist ideology on female teachers achievements on workplace equity and she comes up with that firstly, although many teachers who worked for improved workplace conditions and pay never used the term feminist to describe themselves nor had in today's terms "a feminist consciousness", they were doing what we now think of as feminist acts. She pointed out that having a feminist consciousness helped teachers working for their rights in society and in schools to keep focused on the problem of sexism.

At this point, it is also necessary to discuss the term "professional identity". In general, the concept of identity has different meanings in the literature and what these various meanings have in common is the idea that identity is not a fixed attribute of a person, but a relational phenomenon. It seems that the concept of professional identity is also used in different ways in the domain of teaching and teacher education. It is argued that the concepts or images of self strongly determine the way teachers teach, the way they develop as teachers, and their attitudes toward educational changes (Beijaard et al. 2000). Beijaard attempted to define teachers' professional identity on the basis of three distinctive categories; the subject one teaches the relationship with students and the teachers' role or role conception. (Beijaard, 2000). Furthermore, professional identity refers not only to the influence of the conceptions and expectations of other people, including broadly accepted images in society about what a teacher should know and do, but also to what teachers themselves find important in their professional work and lives based on

both their experiences in practice and their personal backgrounds (Tickle 2000, cited in Beijaard, 2004). The teachers currently see their professional identity as consisting of a combination of the distinct aspects of expertise. Teachers' perceptions of their own professional identity affect their efficacy and professional development as well as their ability and willingness to cope with educational change and to implement innovations in their own teaching practice (Beijaard et al. 2004). Teaching context, their experiences and biographies are in interaction to each other and these elements can be considered as categories of factors that might influence teachers' perceptions of his or her professional identity. On the other hand, Dillabough (1999) criticizes the mainstream conception of teacher professionalism and professional identity in a feminist perspective as according to Dillabough they are relying too heavily upon traditional liberal concepts, as failing to provide adequate recognition for the multitude of potential teaching identities in education and consequently as incapable of comprehending the gendered tensions to which they give rise. She argues that the modern teacher and teacher educators are now viewed as the pivotal agents of educational reforms and the debates on the state's conception of modern teacher still remain to unexplored two key issues: the relationship between male power and the construction of the rational teacher and the part of feminist theory in exposing the gendered nature of contemporary educational concepts such as "teacher professionalism" (Dillabough, 1999). According to Dillabough, critics on this matter ignored questions of gender and most of the identity perceptions reproduce masculinity. It achieves this through the formation of stable gender categories which differentiate as if natural and legitimate, between the "rational man" and "irrational woman" (Dillabough, 1999). Walkerdine & Lucey (1989) stated that women teachers and female students seen as they cannot possess

knowledge in their own right because they are viewed as moral vessels through which liberal democracy and the rational society are cultivated. So the professional status of women teachers is closely tied up to domestic work in the private sphere. These consequences bound up and lead to women experiences of exclusion in the teaching profession. Within education, the most obvious of these exclusions is often subtle exploitation of women teachers' labors in education (Dillabough, 1999). Luttrell (1996) argues that women educators are more often employed in non-tenured, part time or contractual posts, where teaching and pastoral responsibilities are greater than they would be in permanent positions. At this point it is better to move away from an instrumental assessment of teacher identities and focus on a social and political analysis of their development as an alternative feminist framework which embraces the post-modern Notion of the authentic and discursive self and the modern conception of the embedded and collective self (Dillabough,1999).

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

This research studies women teachers' perceptions of their identities regarding their experiences both in their professional life and in society. So, it examines the theoretical and practical in an interactive manner to explore the related factors affecting women teachers' identity construction in Turkey. In this part, research method is discussed, describing participant selection, research instrument, data collection and analysis procedures.

Research Method and Process

This study employed a qualitative research methodology. Generally qualitative research is appropriate for studying human interaction and also for conducting liberating research. So, this research employed open-ended, qualitative methods of inquiry which are well suited to exploring the subjective nature of human perceptions. For this research, case study method was used to collect appropriate data from women teachers. Case study is an ideal methodology when a holistic, in-depth investigation is needed (Feagin, Orum, & Sjoberg, 1991). It is widely believed that case studies are useful in the study of human affairs because they are down to earth and attention-holding. Because of the universality and importance of experiential understanding and because of their compatibility with such understanding, case studies can be expected to continue to have an epistemological advantage over other inquiry methods as a basis for naturalistic generalization (Stake, 1995). In case study method, the interest is in the process rather than the

product and discovery of the information is essential. Case study offers people the opportunity to study the social mysteries at a relatively small price, for it requires one person or at most a handful of people to perform the necessary observations and interpretations of data, compared with the massive organizational machinery generally required by random sample surveys and population censuses (Feagin, Orum, & Sjoberg, 1991).

In order to understand the perceptions of women teachers about their identities in different contexts of their lives, case study is an ideal method. Every women teacher in this study is a particular case and case study method enables to see how women teachers in this study go through the ongoing identity formation analyzing real life experiences of these women teachers.

Participant Selection

Participants of this study consisted of ten women teachers from public elementary schools of Istanbul. The selected participants had to meet the following criteria for selection: The participants are graduated from a Teachers Training Program with four years at a university; they had to be women teachers with at least five years teaching experience and they had to be working in a public elementary school at the time of the interview.

This study was conducted with convenience sampling and also with snowball sampling as a way to be introduced to teachers who might be interested in sharing their experiences and who also met the selection criteria (Bogdan & Biklen, 1998).The researcher chose women teachers from ten different public elementary schools in Bayrampaşa, Gaziosmanpaşa, Sultangazi, Zeytinburnu , Esenler and Fatih districts of Istanbul considering that there are different social, economic and

cultural circumstances in different parts of Istanbul and this can affect the school climate in terms of administration, parents, students and teachers' expectations and attitudes so , this diversity is an essential point as the case study method heavily depends on context-based situations. Five of the ten participants were elementary school teachers for the kids between 6-10 ages. The other five women teachers were professionalized in different branches for elementary school for 10-14 aged students. This range was deliberately chosen to clearly understand the factors affecting women teachers' perceptions accounting both students and teachers profile.

The researcher is a teacher herself and she investigated women teachers in her district considering the selection criteria. The researcher met with the three of ten participants in a seminar for teachers held in Sultangazi district and they were informed about the study. After interviewing with the participants, by one of them, the researcher was directed to other three women teachers with the same criteria in Gaziosmanpaşa. When the researcher explained the goal of the research to her colleagues from different public elementary schools of Istanbul, in three months time, the other four participants were found with the same method. The researcher either explained her motives behind the research on the phone or face to face and upon their agreement to participate in the study, she visited their schools and in some cases, their homes. None of the participants who were invited to the study rejected to participate in. All identifying information had been changed to protect the identities of women teachers and their families and each of the women has given a pseudonym in place of their authentic name. The sample included women teachers from different social backgrounds and different ethnic and religious communities

and these personal details were included in the detailed descriptions of the teachers in Chapter Four.

Data Collection, Instrument and Analysis

The researcher had semi structured interviews with ten participants thus; there was a chance to alter the order or the number of the open ended questions if necessary.

The value of the interview depended on the interviewer's knowing enough knowledge about the topic to ask meaningful questions in using language easily understood by the informant (Merriam, 1998). Interview questions derived from the research questions of the study and were prepared by the researcher. The researcher conducted two pilot studies, one held in her school with her colleague and one held in another school, in late January 2012. According to the pilot interviews, few alterations and clarifications were done for the interview questions in order to help women discuss their ideas comparing male and female teachers in school life and in society with specific examples.

Three of the ten interviews were carried out in February 2012, as two of them took place in their school libraries and one of them took place in a café. The other six interviews were carried out between March and May 2012. Two of them took place in the houses of the participants and four of them took place in their school libraries. The last tenth participant was added in June 2012 and the interview took place in a café. Each interview lasted for approximately two hours.

Before the interviews, the participants first were informed about the study and about the interview questions and consent of the participants was taken. The consent form indicated that the participants had been informed of the aims and purposes of the thesis project, and the responsibilities of the researcher to preserve

their anonymity and the confidentiality of the information. They were also informed that they were free to withdraw from the study at any stage of the research process. A copy of the signed consent form was given to each of the participants. In addition to the consent form, the researcher also signed and submitted a research ethics form to the Institute of Social Science, Boğaziçi University.

Related with the aim of the study, women teachers were expected to share the reflections of their perceptions about their women teacher identity in both their public and private life. Especially, background question for their life histories was necessary to give a meaning to their perceptions. After opening them up in telling their lives starting from their childhood and their education history, they were asked questions about their positions in their schools, their relationships with the students, administrators, male and female parents and colleagues. Then, questions focused on the social, political and economical dynamics affecting them and the gender discrimination issue considering woman status in Turkey.

Trust was necessary among the researcher and the participants in telling their life histories and in telling their experiences in their schools. So, there was an intimate nature in this study. As study on the identity perception including every day experiences from their private and professional lives, it required a kind of interaction between the researcher and the participants that would allow free entrance into the social, cultural, professional, as well as the private and personal domains. Rapport with the participants was easily held because of the fact that the researcher was also a teacher and the participants did not consider her as a stranger. The researcher also had the chance to make a previous visit to eight of them in their

schools especially before the interview to build the rapport and had a conversation with them.

The researcher tape recorded the interviews with the informed and signed consent of the participants and they were fully transcribed by the researcher. All the participants used Turkish during the interviews and the texts were translated by the researcher into English later. During the interviews the researcher asked for the reasons of their feelings and asked them to give more tangible and everyday instances in their answers. After the interviews and the translations, there was a bunch of data collected which was in form of thick descriptions of the participants' attitudes, beliefs, perceptions and experiences. After the close examinations of the data, the recognition and categorizations of recurrent themes were followed. Then, the interviews were content analyzed to identify the themes and meanings. Throughout the study, actively engaging in a long process of data collection, the researcher made individual files for each of the participants. Then, the researcher concentrated on each participant's folder and tried to extract data related to the different domains of life. In the process of further data collection and data analysis, newer themes and patterns emerged and expanded. After interviewing ten participants, major categories and themes started to emerge. The upcoming themes were reviewed and they were listed. In the coding process, each statements related with the themes were labeled. The next step was to compare and contrast these experiences and individual cases in terms of the extracted themes.

Participants

Participants in this study were ten women public elementary school teachers who have been living and working in Istanbul at the time of the interviews. The ages of

the participants ranged from twenty-eight to thirty-nine. Seven of ten women in the sample were married and three of the married women had children. Their working experiences as a teacher ranged from five to sixteen years. Three of them had also teaching experience outside Istanbul. Five of ten women teachers were branch teachers and the others were primary school teachers. All of the teachers had been working in elementary schools that include both the primary and secondary levels in 8 years compulsory education system. Towards the end of the interviews with the participants, the new four plus four education system has come into force so their schools have been turned into either primary schools or secondary schools. One of the participants had experience in private sector as a human resources consultant before becoming a teacher. Also two of ten women teachers had worked for a short time in private schools before starting to work in public schools.

Among from three single women teachers, one of them was living alone; two of them were living with their families who had already moved to Istanbul for a long time ago. Among from the husbands of the seven married women teachers, one of them was unemployed at that time; another of them was a police officer, the other was working in a communication company as a manager, the others were a marketing manager and a dentist. The other two of seven husbands were teachers and one of them was working at the same school with his wife. Three of seven married women teachers had children. Two of them had one child and one of them had three children.

Two of ten women teachers were Kurdish in origin and Alevi in belief. They were bilingual and one of them had worked as a singer in a Kurdish music band for a long time. From the other eight women teachers, one of them stayed in prison for a

short time in Ankara when she was a university student because of supporting and including in one of the Socialist and Kurdish movements and she quitted to study law and started to study teacher training program at the same university when she moved out.

All of the ten women teachers had been working in different schools but the common situation for their schools showed that they were located in suburban parts of Istanbul where immigrant families from different parts of Anatolia especially from Southeastern and from Black Sea region were in majority. The table given in the next page also provides basic information about the participants in the study:

Name of the Participants	Age	Branch	University	Work Experience	Marital Status	Child	Teachers' Union Membership
AYŞE	36	Primary School Teacher	Bolu- Abant İzzet Baysal University	Public (9 years)	Single	No	No
EZGİ	39	Primary School Teacher	Istanbul University	Public (16 years)	Married	No	Eğitim-Bir-Sen
NAZLI	39	Primary School Teacher	Karadeniz Technical University	Private (1 year) Public (15 years)	Married	No	Eğitim-Sen
BAHAR	34	Primary School Teacher	Ankara University	Public (9 years)	Single	No	Eğitim-Sen
NESRİN	39	Primary School Teacher	Erzurum Atatürk University	Public (15 years)	Married	Yes (3)	No
ESRA	32	Maths Teacher	Eskisehir Anadolu University	Public (8 years)	Single	No	No
ZEYNEP	34	Music Teacher	Istanbul Technical University	Private (3 years) Public (5 years)	Married	No	Eğitim-Sen
EBRU	30	Turkish Teacher	Bursa Uludağ University	Public (6 years)	Married	Yes (1)	No
MELEK	28	Turkish Teacher	Erzurum Atatürk University	Public (5 years)	Married	No	No
GÜL	38	English Teacher	Istanbul University	Private (7years) Public (8 years)	Married	Yes (1)	Eğitim-Sen

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS

Characterization of the Participants

The case of each women teacher is described below in detail, focusing on their family and education backgrounds, their present livings and their motives in becoming a teacher.

Ayşe

Ayşe is thirty six years old. She was born in Küçükköy-Gaziosmanpaşa in Istanbul. Her grandparents emigrated from a small Turkish village of Bulgaria during the Balkan war period. They moved to Gaziosmanpaşa and bought a property in there. In time they built a house and she was born in that house. She lost her father when she was 13 because of a heart attack. She had two brothers and they supported the family financially while she was a student. She had her financial support to the family after she became a primary school teacher:

1-Of course since I have been working as a teacher, I support the house financially so, approximately half of my salary and sometimes more than the half goes to house and family expenses, I can't spend or save much money but for about one year, I recovered my own financial situation and then I began to spend more time for myself as socially, like activities for example, for personal hobbies and pleasures and for free time, I started to spend more time.

Ayşe didn't intend to become a teacher at first, in high school. She wanted to study medicine. She had a series of unfortunate events at those times in high school and for this reason she thought that she had no choice but to become a teacher. When

she was going to high school there was a credit system and one had to finish certain amount of credit to graduate. She was in science section and she couldn't finish the credits in her section because she failed in three lessons and after that they moved her in social science department. She was deeply affected from the situation but she couldn't struggle:

2-In my education past, the difficulties are teacher rooted and they were not compensated because there was an order and in this order some of the colleagues, friends actually,-I called them as friends because now I am also a teacher- looked at the situation financially. I couldn't go to the weekend course and they showed an attitude as if the ones who didn't go to the course would fail, but my family couldn't afford the course and I was also a successful student. At last my family spoke with them but my two brothers were out of the city at that time and I was alone with my mother. She didn't give any support and moreover, my teachers had negative approaches for this situation. I got low grades unfairly and they said I am unsuccessful. I couldn't finish my credits and they changed my section in my last year at high school.

After this unfortunate event, Ayşe couldn't make any choices from mathematical fields including medicine, and she thought that she loved children all the time and she could be successful in primary school teaching so she won Bolu-Abant İzzet Baysal University. She loved her teachers and the subject matters at the university and she became a primary school teacher in 2003. She was a substitute teacher for 3 years because she couldn't get enough point in KPSS. She worked in three different schools in Küçükköy and in 2006 she became a teacher and started to work in Sultangazi district close to her house. She was single and living with her mother.

Her two brothers were married. She didn't any job experience different from teaching. She gave some private courses to her relatives and their kids when they offered. She was at the same school since 2006 and she was a teacher for third grades. She said that she didn't aim to be a teacher but she loved her profession while studying at the university and dealing with children in real school experiences.

Gül

Gül is thirty eight years old. She was born in Florya, Istanbul. Generations of her family rooted in Istanbul so she didn't have any family connections outside Istanbul. She was grown up in Florya and went to primary school in there. Then she went to Beşiktaş Anatolian High School. Her father was a civil engineer and her mother was a housewife. Both were coming from wealthy families of new Republican era and had their own properties. Her father was the old NATO co-chair and he was responsible for the all military constructions in Turkey so she described him as one of the top government officials in that period. She also described her mother's family as a matriarchal family:

3-My aunt was one of the first women who had driving license in Turkey and her husband didn't have so he gave her a car as a gift. My mother used minibus in my father's building sites. My grandmother gave her surname to my grandfather rather than accepting his. My grandmother was also the first women in Istanbul who wore modern white wedding dress in her wedding. My mother's family was a modern representation of the first Republican period and they had a matriarchal family pattern.

Women in her family were well educated and independent from their husbands both economically and socially, so she was proud of her family background. Being a teacher had seen as a very respectable profession among her family. While she was going to Beşiktaş Anatolian High School, she was impressed from her teachers as a model:

4-Some of my teachers affected my life deeply; they had very strong and effective sentences that changed my mind and my life. Now, I owed half of the things that shaped me to my high school teachers and to my high school life. Why did I want to be a teacher? Because what am I today belongs to these years in %50 and I thought if I felt so then it came to me a nice idea to be a part of one students' life , it means to contribute to their existence, it is a field work, it is not in theory.

She graduated from Istanbul University Foreign Language Teaching Department in 1997. She began to work while studying at the university. She gave private courses

and worked in Turkish Airlines reservation department for a year. Then, she started to work in Yeşilköy branch of an American company which taught computer skills to 3 -16 years old kids. She worked there for two years and at the same period she graduated. She began to work at a communication company, in human resources education department. She met her husband there and got married:

5-After I got married, I remembered again that I had a profession as an English teacher and I wanted to do my profession. While working in Yıldız College, I got my KPSS score and I was appointed to my school here and I have been working here since 2004.

She worked in the same public Elementary School for eight years as an English teacher for children from forth grade to eightieth grade.

Gül was married for nine years and she had a 3, 5 years old son. He was going to a very popular and expensive pre-primary school of ITU foundation. Her husband was an ITU graduate of electronic engineer and he did his master degree in Boğaziçi University Biomedical Engineering. Gül stated that their income level was high from both sides of the family. She had an income from her mother's properties and they were living in a village in Kemerburgaz.

Ebru

Ebru is thirty years old. She was born in Tunceli. She went to primary and secondary school in Tunceli and she went to Bingöl Anatolian Boarding School because there wasn't an Anatolian High School in Tunceli at those times. She mentioned about Tunceli as the best place that she felt good: 6-“Tunceli is a very good place where one can live without any language or ethnicity discrimination although some people have prejudices for Tunceli”.

They were twelve siblings, eight sisters and four brothers. They were married. Her mother was a housewife and her father didn't work at any time of his life. He was physically handicapped. Her brothers sometimes worked, they earned money from animals: 7-“It was a village living, you found food in some way; in the East part of Anatolia it is a bit living a life of ease. I spent my education years in boarding schools and I wasn't a great expense for my family.

Ebru was the only child who graduated from university among her family. Others went to high school and then started to work. Ebru attended to Uludağ University Turkish Teaching Department. She decided to become a teacher in her elementary school years:

8-I wanted to be a teacher; every student had a model teacher in his/her life. I hope his ears are burning, my Turkish teacher Ahmet Görçeğiz was coming to my lessons and I made him my model and I loved Turkish language very much, when he lead me, I became successful.

She met with her husband in university years and got married after graduation. She didn't mention about her husbands profession but she only stated that he was unemployed at that time. She had a 2,5 years old daughter. She was an Alevi-Kurdish women and she believed that there was a distinction for Alevi and Kurdish citizens in Turkey for social life and for work life. She felt discrimination for being an Alevi woman especially when she was in Bingöl Anatolian Boarding School:

9-We were in Bingöl boarding school. There were only ten Alevi girls including me. We had some problems such as staying hungry from morning to the evening in Ramadan because of the Sunni staff at school. In the dining hall, they didn't give us any food in Ramadan. They didn't tidy or clean our rooms; we did all the things ourselves. We were far away from our families so we didn't show any resistance. Moreover, one day our principal said that if we go away from this school, they would fast for happiness. As you know if you wish for something and it happens, you fast for praise. So they were very eager to send us away from school.

Ebru and her family weren't in a good financial state. She was working for five years as a Turkish teacher. She started to work in Gaziosmanpaşa, in an elementary school and she went to a high school in 2009 and then again she returned to another elementary school in Gaziosmanpaşa. So it was her third working place and she was studying with 6th grades at that time as a Turkish teacher and she was staying in a rented house in Gazi Street, close to her school.

Nesrin

Nesrin is 39 years old. She was born in Adıyaman. They were a Turkmen family in origin and in Adıyaman, they were raised with Alevi children side by side. Her father was a farmer and her mother was a housewife. Her mother died in 1992. Her father quitted his work and moved into Adıyaman from their village. He was 85 and still alive living in Adıyaman. She was the last child in her family. She had three sisters and one brother. Her parents were illiterate and in her family, only her younger sister and she had university education. Her father didn't let her elder sister go to school at those times because of their neighborhoods' attitude towards woman education:

10-Even his financial status was good enough; he didn't let her go to school as everybody condemned him saying that how can a girl go to school. My father still felt guilty about this matter but he changed so much in years that especially after losing my mother, about girls' education. Supporting my university education, encouraging my other sister to have a driving license, how can I say, he had a sensibility for girls and their education now.

One of her siblings was in Isparta and the other was in Izmit. Her elder sister was married living in Adıyaman in the same apartment with her father. Nesrin thought that her father's belief on education changed when he saw that his elder daughter's situation after marriage:

11- My sister is illiterate and my sister's husband is an official worker. He is an alcoholic and uses violence against my sister. My father says that "if I sent her to school and if she had an economic independence, she wouldn't accept this living". He says "Look, Nesrin has an economic power because she had an education and she is in a better position than you." He saw boys as superior once but now he is very regretful. I have 3 daughters and he is very proud of me.

Nesrin told that in Southeastern Anatolia region, there were large families including grand parents, and in those families fathers and mothers had no right to decide on their children. She said that there was a pressure upon the children by elders.

Nowadays, she saw in Adiyaman a transformation with the new generation and technology:

12- Ten years ago, it was disgraceful to wear blue jeans for girls. Now Adiyaman is one of the cities where conflicts of generations can be seen clearly. There are women with black cover in the streets with their daughters who wear fashionable clothes and use cell phones.

She got married in 2000. Her husband was also a primary school teacher in a different school. He was from Erzurum, belonged to a conservative family. They met at the university and when they told their decisions to their families, they got reactions because of cultural and regional differences. Her husband was also a member of Turk Eđitim Sen. Nesrin was uncomfortable about her husband's family's conservatism and patriarchal attitudes. She had three daughters and she hadn't a son:

13- Among my husband's family, they sometimes talked about our situation as "Hasan doesn't have any son, what will happen?" I don't think to have more children as three is already above our financial capacity and I won't do that to satisfy their ego.

Nesrin's second daughter had cancer and she had a very long treatment in 2007.

They suffered during her treatment both financially and emotionally. Her husband also had an infertility problem and he had an operation. All of their children were

born after a period of treatment and during this period Nesrin was exposed to pressure from her husband's family:

14-My husband had the operation in spite of the pressures. His mother was against the operation and they came to the hospital and yelled at me. They said that there weren't any infertility problem in their family; they were very productive until I came into the family.

Nesrin graduated from Atatürk University Education Department and she started to work in Istanbul in 1997. She moved into Adıyaman with the rotation system. After getting married, her husband and she went to Erzurum- Pasinler. They completed their compulsory teaching period for the Eastern part of Anatolia and asked for their appointment to Istanbul. They chose Istanbul for both his treatment and their daughter's treatment. For a short time, they worked at the same school and for some political conflictions with the principal; her husband went to another school in Fatih. She stayed in the same school for a while and then also went to another school. She had a fifteen years working experience in primary school teaching and she didn't do any extra work. They had some financial difficulties during the medical treatments:

15-We got credit to buy our house but then, our daughter's disease appeared and we paid a lot for her treatment. We had some difficulties at those times because our salaries didn't afford us. Hopefully, some of our friends collect money and gave us.

At the time of the interview, Nesrin was working with 5th grade students as a primary school teacher and her daughters were 10, 8 and 7 years old. Aybüke, the second daughter who had the cancer treatment had also a learning difficulty and she was in first grade.

Bahar

Bahar is thirty four years old. She was born in Malatya. Her father was a municipal worker and her mother was a housewife. She had one brother. She had finished her

education from primary school to high school in Malatya and won Ankara

University Faculty of Law because she wanted to be a lawyer:

16- At those times, we didn't know any training center for university entrance exam or there weren't any well educated and conscious people who would direct us. So, from my point of view, I wanted to secure the justice because I thought that there were political problems in Turkey and there was injustice for some groups of people. I said to myself, how can I secure the justice and I decided to become a lawyer very idealistically, It was like an obsession for me to defend people, and I wanted to go to Ankara university because I didn't know about the other universities.

Bahar had to quit in her second year of law school. She couldn't attend to the lessons and she gave a break for the whole year. She didn't want to mention about the details of that period but she just explained that she was in a Socialist Kurdish student's movement and she implied that she was taken into custody for a while and she was jailed pending trial. She didn't want to express the situation in detail verbally in my records but while talking about it she made a sign of being handcuffed to tell me that she was in prison.

She quitted law school and entered university entrance exam at the same year. She entered primary school education program at the same university. She wanted the teaching department deliberately:

17-I wrote primary school education on purpose. I was aiming to change the wrong things with education then, not with law anymore. Raising a human being was very difficult and also very important to me. When you come across with people, you can't make them understood and you thought how a person can think with such prejudices! I decided that all the beliefs end up in human mind and I chose to be a teacher to change their minds. I love my profession very much.

Bahar went to preparatory class for a year then she finished four years and graduated from primary school education in 2003. She took a KPSS score and wrote Kastamonu to her choice. But she was appointed to Ağrı- Doğubeyazıt Bereket village. Bahar worked there for three years. In those three years, she also worked as

a principal in that village primary school for a year, and then she moved into Doğubeyazıt center and worked for three years in another school. She worked as a vice-principal in the same school for a year. At last, she came to Istanbul and she was in Istanbul for three years.

In her university life, she went to drama club and had worked in Ankara international drama festivals. She also worked in private kindergartens as a drama teacher to earn money when she was at the university. She wanted to raise herself to present her future students a range of different skills and activities. Things sometimes didn't go as expected in her first years of teaching:

18-I beg your pardon, but there wasn't any toilet in my first school and in the whole village. There wasn't a concept of a stone toilet with water and a tap. Children didn't know that. My other two women colleagues and I, brought toilet stones one for males and one for females and we built two small toilets for children with the help of village people. Let alone the books or notebooks, the situation was very bad. No toilet! We gave training for how to use this toilet, what those stones for, year 2003!

Bahar had difficulties in some part of her life because of her father's attitudes towards her decisions:

19-I had an authoritarian father. My university choice, my profession choice then my faculty change, I lost one year in law school at that time partly because of my fathers' attitude after my imprisonment. If I were in a very bad situation even in a matter of life and death, he could say that because he didn't approve at the beginning I should suffer alone. After I earned money and gained economic independence, he put less pressure on my decisions.

Bahar was single and she was living alone at the time of the interview in Gaziosmanpaşa.

Ezgi

Ezgi is twenty nine years old. She was born and raised in Istanbul. Her father had a small glassware shop and her mother was a housewife. She had one sister, she was

married and she also stayed in Istanbul. She lived in Bayrampaşa in her childhood and she went to Istanbul University Education Faculty for Primary School Teaching. Actually, she wanted her first choice as Science Teaching but she couldn't win. Ezgi decided to be a teacher in her secondary school years. Her mother affected her decision for her future career:

20- It was my childhood dream to be a teacher and may be there were some effects of my mother upon this because my mother had wanted to be a teacher and my grandfather didn't let her go to the university. So, I wanted to be a teacher so much, I always told everyone that I would be a teacher. My mother was a housewife and she loves children. She likes spending time with them and I was influenced by this love.

She got married seven years ago. Her husband was also a primary school teacher. She didn't work outside Istanbul. She got appointed to a secondary school in Gaziosmanpaşa and she has been working with her husband at the same school for seven years. They met at the university and they got married after they graduated. Her husband was from Erzurum and she thought that his family dynamics were different from hers:

21- In my husbands' family, if the father decided on something it would always be regarded as true and there was no need to discuss about it. Even if the mother made a more sensible decision, his words were significant. If the grandfather was there, then of course his words were respectable, not his father's. In our family, life is more democratic but if we go to his hometown, I am expected to remain in the background.

Ezgi was living in Halkalı. They bought a flat in Halkalı with mortgage. They came to school by their car. She saw being married as an advantage on economic welfare:

22- It is relieving for us economically to have double salary and having no child. We have a little shortage nowadays because we have just bought a house and we have payment for it. It is very difficult for a teacher to own his/her property. Marriage is a life saver about it. May be being single is bad not only economically but I am afraid of being robbed or raped or someone can break into my house. Marriage is good in this respect.

At the time of the interview, they were regularly going to doctor to have a baby and at the end of the semester she was pregnant.

Zeynep

Zeynep is thirty four five old. She was from Sivas-Zara. She had grown up in an Alevi-Kurdish family. They were six siblings, three sisters and three brothers. Before she was born, they were living in Sivas. Her father was a construction foreman and her mother was a housewife. They immigrated to Istanbul for children's education in 1975. She was born two years later. From six children, four of them could have formal education. Her two elder sisters were in the village at their childhood times so they couldn't go to school. In Istanbul, they went to the literacy course afterwards and get the literacy certificate. Zeynep and her family weren't economically in a good state:

23- My father was working on the construction sites till late in the evenings. He was coming home very tired and dusty. He sent us to school with the labor of pick axe and oar.

Zeynep went to a public school in a suburban part of Sarıyer at those times:

24- I had a misfortune. Our primary school teacher was not a real teacher. She was retired from a bank. There were deficiencies in her education and I learnt a little for basic sciences. I suffered for this deficiency later. But I had a chance: I was very successful in music and art and I want to folk dances training. Then, I thought that I could be a music and dance teacher in the future.

Zeynep was raised in a street where most of her neighbors were from the same village of Sivas. So, she was very intimate with the Alevi culture and lifestyle. But she felt loser among other kids at school and she didn't say anything about her Kurdish-Alevi identity to her school friends or teachers:

25- One day we got on a minibus and my mother was talking Kurdish with me. The driver yelled at us and told us to speak properly. My mother warned me not to say anything about our Alevi-Kurdish identity at school so I said nothing when there was a conversation about Alevi or Kurdish people and their life styles.

There was a strong brother and sisterhood in Alevi culture so she had learnt so much from her elders in Alevi culture association in their neighborhoods:

26- There was the brother Yasin, who studied at Istanbul Technical University conservatory. We took him as a model. He trained us in chorus. I decided to be music teacher then. My parents were illiterate and there were few people in my family to give advice about my future.

She entered Istanbul Technical University Music Teaching and Folk Dances

Department after high school. She was the only child in the family graduated from university. One of her brothers had to drop out in his 3rd year because of political activities and he went to prison for a short time. Her other brother studied telecommunication but dropped out. At the university, Zeynep was a member of a Kurdish music band as a singer. She was the only woman at the band. She had hard times in both studying her lessons and surviving in a Kurdish group:

27- It was a well-known music band among Kurdish community. I involved in it between 1995 and 2001. It was very challenging to produce Kurdish songs then. We had short time custodies. My other friends in the band were male and there was a feudal system at the group so I think I couldn't have much chance to express myself in the group.

In time, the members of the band began to change and she met with her future husband in the band. He was a dentist; he was in the band because he wanted to express his ideology through music. When the other members made her pressure about dropping out of school, she resisted and she had hard times after this resistance. They changed her repertoire and they didn't share any income after the concerts. Zeynep and shortly after her, Reha-her husband- left the group and Zeynep tried to finish her school:

28- When I was in my last year at school my father went bankrupt and I had really no money in my pocket to photocopy my thesis. I borrowed some money from Reha. The band didn't give me any money; I was very upset after all 6 years friendship, as a woman, things that I went through were tough. I got psychological treatment after all these events in the band but I was happy that I could graduate.

Zeynep got married with Reha and started to work in a pre-school as a music and folk dances teacher for a short period. In 2007, she entered KPSS and began to work at Bayrampaşa. In 2010, she got appointed to a secondary school in Fatih and at the time of the interview she was both working in two schools in Fatih and in Balat because there were less music lessons at schools and to finish her compulsory working hours, she had to go to another school for music lessons.

Melek

Melek is twenty-eight years old. She was born in Giresun. Her father was a primary school teacher and he performed as school vice principal for a long time. Her mother was also a teacher and she worked with her husband at the same school. She had three sisters. Melek was a Turkish Teacher. She went to Atatürk University Turkish Teaching Department in 2002. she was proud of her University in terms of education quality. She was married for 6 months. She met with her husband in Erzurum when she was a university student. Her husband was a police officer in Bayrampaşa Police Department. She was working at the same school for 5 years with sixth, seventh and eighth grades. Their house was close to her school. She decided to be a Turkish teacher when she was in secondary school:

29- When I ask my students about their future professions in their minds, they seem very indecisive. However, I decided to be a teacher when I was in secondary school. I don't know whether it is related to my parents being teachers also but my sisters have different jobs so I don't think so.

Melek described her father as an authoritarian man. While they were working at the same school, her mother couldn't have any economic rights in the family because her father was the vice principal and he was responsible for distributing the salaries to the school teachers:

30- When my mother went to the school official for her salary, she always learnt that my father already took it. She couldn't get her salary in those years. My father was taking it and giving some pocket money to her for house expenses.

Melek and her husband lived in a rent house but she described her income as enough especially after getting married.

Nazlı

Nazlı is thirty- nine years old. She was born in Üsküdar but her family originally came to Istanbul from Rize. They went to Rize shortly after her birth and she went to school in Rize. She went to Samsun 19 Mayıs University Primary School Teacher Training Department in Amasya:

31-I love children and teaching was a suitable profession for me to spend more time on my private life. At that time you could start to work immediately after you graduate from teaching, it was a respectable but unpopular profession. Because, people were having double salary in private work but for me, it was a preferable job for future. My university entrance exam score was 478 but teacher training program was 416 so, my parents thought that I would waste my point if I went to teaching department.

At the university, she stayed in the school dormitory for a while but because of political restlessness between the right side and the left side students, she left the dormitory and stayed with her friends. It was 1991. When she finished the university, she immediately got appointed because there wasn't KPSS at that time. While studying at the university, she made a three years break because she got engaged and she moved to Safranbolu with her fiancé. They ran a hotel for a while.

Then she broke up with her fiancé and went back to Amasya to graduate from the university. She became a teacher and moved to İstanbul Esenler as her first working place. She worked in a primary school for a year and then went to another school in the same neighborhood. She was still in the same school for thirteen years at the time of the interview. She was married for four years and she had no child. In her first school, she had some difficulties with the principal so she had to go to another school:

32- We had some ideological problems with the principal and the vice principals. I was in Eğitim-Sen and they belonged to another more conservative group. The principal had a couple of despotic attitudes such as giving formal penalties for the ones who didn't fast during Ramadan.

Her husband was a marketing manager and she was very pleased that he wasn't a teacher:

33- I didn't want to marry with a teacher. You don't have anything different to talk except school. Especially I saw couples working at the same school. One works in the mornings, the other works in the afternoons so they look after the children alternatively. I don't want to be with my husband for 24 hours. We need a social life; it is a dead relationship otherwise.

Nazlı lived in Halkalı. They had a flat and two cars. She thought that she was considered as wealthy among teacher. At the time of the interview, she was a 2nd grade teacher working in the afternoons.

Esra

Esra is thirty two years old. She was born in Konya-Akşehir. She went to school in Akşehir. After graduating from Akşehir Anatolian High School, she went to Eskişehir Osmangazi University Mathematical Teacher Training Department. She graduated in 2004. First, she got appointed to a secondary school in Yalova and worked there for four years. Then, she moved to İstanbul and went to a secondary

school in Gaziosmanpaşa. After two years, she went to another school in Zeytinburnu so she was a Mathematics teacher for nine years at the time of the interview. She had one brother. He was a Mathematics teacher too. He worked in Esenler. Her father and her mother were also primary school teachers. Esra described her family as a teachers' family. She loved children and decided to be a teacher but at the same time she had a reverse feeling for being a teacher.

34- My parents had many difficulties while working as teachers in small and far away villages of Turkey. I went to village schools with multi-grade classes. I couldn't see my parents for a long time. They left me with my grandmother when the villages were very remote and underdeveloped. I missed my mother and I didn't want her to work. When she used transportation for villages, she came home very late. She was tired all the time. They were trying to share the house duties but sometimes they had quarrels.

Even if she thought so, her high school mathematical teacher affected her decisions. She saw her as a guide and she was successful in math. Although she loved teaching, she learnt that she had other field of interests rather than mathematics: 35- "May be we didn't choose our professions consciously. For instance, if I had the chance now, I would be guidance – counseling teacher. I am still thinking of studying a second field like psychology just for my own self-improvement."

Her parents moved into Istanbul- Bakırköy after retirement and Esra was living with them. After graduating from her department, she was accepted for a master degree in Anadolu University Psychology Department but she left it in her first year. She was living in Eskisehir with her fiancé at that time and after they broke up, she left Eskisehir. She was very regretful about this decision: 36- "I had the chance to move on but I quitted then. Now, I tried to apply universities in Istanbul but of course I was young then and I was closer to the academic life. Now, I thought it could be difficult to work and study at the same time."

At the time of the interview, Esra was fifth and sixth grade Mathematical teacher and she was giving weekend courses in her school.

Findings Related to the Research Questions

In this section, general findings emerged from the responses of women teachers are presented under the research questions that are taken up one by one, and the related results were presented.

How women teachers identify themselves in society

The first research question aimed to understand the identity perceptions of women teachers in society. All the participants declared that whether they have a teacher role at school or not, they have a woman identity for most of the parts of their social lives. All of the participants were reluctant to define any role for themselves primarily but their comments showed a strong influence of public life in choosing among their multiple roles according to the certain conditions. Three of the participants who are married with children preferred to define themselves as “a woman, a mother, a spouse and a teacher”. They didn’t put their roles in a strict order but they insisted on that above all their multiple roles, being a woman is the first identity seen appropriate for them by society but not by themselves. On the other hand, the other three single participants didn’t specify any identification for themselves. Zeynep explained multiple roles for herself and explained how they emerged:

37- When I describe myself, generally being a wife at home and being a teacher at school are the first things but in outside, on the bus, on the street I am a woman at first step.

While participants were describing their women identities, disturbance about the meaning of being a woman in society was evident. They mentioned the gendered perception that woman identity associate for the society most of the time. All of the participants agreed with the idea that they are woman in the eyes of others, especially for men whether they have different roles in their professional and private lives or not and being perceived as a woman in the first place can cause difficulties.

Ezgi :

38- In society, on the bus for example they don't look at you as if you are a teacher. For them, you are a woman, you experience problems with your clothing and with your behaviors because you are a woman and you have to be careful.

Ayşe:

39- Being a woman is an extra hunchback for us. If you are a woman you have double difficulty in life, when you are in the street at a late time, when you wear a skirt... these are simple things but it seems that we want more, not a bit! We directly exist with our sexuality according to the society, they don't call you as a teacher, and men think you as a sexual object, as a woman.

Apart from these difficulties women teachers experience in their social lives affecting their daily life preferences and their appearances, Bahar took attention to the negative attitudes towards them at school by the male staff because of their own identity perceptions:

40- In a meeting, male teachers sometimes behave as if you are not there, they think that they are more qualified than you, these administration staff and supervisors are male in majority and they speak to men at first, they see you just as a woman. Your sexuality is in the first place for them, may be after a while when they see your capabilities they accept your teacher identity.

According to Melek, even if being a woman is in the first place as an identity that is described by society for them, living in the neighborhood where she works is advantageous for her to be perceived as a teacher at the first stage because living

with a woman identity has many problems for her. So, in a sense, her professional identity can compensate the negative attitudes towards her arising from her woman identity.

Melek:

41-My teacher identity is in the first place in my neighborhood because they know my job, when I enter a market they show me respect, they don't look at me as a sexual object, being a teacher is good in that way for us. Being in a woman identity is a disadvantage. You can't wear what you want, even you can't smoke, they see it inappropriate for women but men can do all the things. Being a woman is our primary identity in this society according to them.

Two of the participants expressed that even society identifies them as women; they don't prefer any identification for their existence in society. According to them, their roles change in different parts of their lives and these roles interact and feed each other. Even so, they don't prefer to carry on their teacher role after school.

Esra:

42- We don't carry our teacher identity so much. It is in the classroom but more than a teacher we are seen as a woman. I don't want to be in a teacher identity any more after work; I try to be with other people from other professions and try to do relaxing activities.

Among from ten women teachers, only Bahar, a single woman teacher, defined different roles for her except from being a teacher or a woman:

43- I have many roles in life; I am a daughter, a citizen, a human being, a teacher, which one is the most suitable? Each of them and all of them but after school I am not a teacher anymore, I don't want to be. Of course your social life and your work life can be in an interaction but there are few things in my work life that contribute to my social life.

All the women teachers in this study defined multiple roles for themselves but they expressed that they couldn't choose any of them as a primary role. They insisted on the influence of society and family structure while preferring among them in certain

circumstances. Based upon the perception of the society for them, all the women teachers attribute a negative meaning for being in a woman identity.

How women teachers perceive their positions in social life

In the second research question, women teachers' general views about the position of women in society and the factors affecting this position intended to be emerged. In order to accomplish that, at first, the participants were invited to tell their perceptions of women status in Turkey in general terms. Secondly women teachers were expected to discuss the cultural, economic and political reasons of the existent stance of women. They mentioned about all these issues regarding themselves both as a women and as a teacher.

Women teachers in this study talked about the women status and conditions in Turkey taking the most common problems of women into consideration. All of the participants connected these problems to family structure and social norms and they agreed upon the effects of patriarchal practices on how they are perceived by others in society. Ezgi explained that women are in the second place in every field of life and there are many examples of it:

44- Woman is women... this mentality. May be it is related to the past events in history. For example, I look at the past and see that all the prophets are men, all the heroes are men. I see them as proofs of the high status of men as if they are glorified so it is hard for women to stand out in society. What we experience in society because of this mentality, for example in politics, we can't see many women politicians or on television; even in competitions most winners are men because especially in competitions, people vote for men.

Nazlı looked at the issue in a different way regarding the religious factors with the woman status. She gave an example from one of her students' mother to tell the position of women in social life:

45- Being a woman is a very hard thing in Turkey. Women suffer from violence, not necessarily physical ones, harassment for example, on the street. While walking on the street, saying a bad word or making comments to the men is a rare thing, on the other hand, I think women at my age heard a bad word at least once while going on the street, it is very common. For example, one of my student's mothers went to the women's shelter. Her husband beats her very often, she says "physical violence isn't important for me anymore, he curses to me in front of my son, asks what did I do at the outside, with whom I was." I believe that these problems rooted in Islam. Because Islam put women in second place for years. It put the women in a cage.

As for most of the participants, cultural factors are strongly effective in putting woman in a place among the family and it was mostly a step behind of the men among the family members in their examples.

Ezgi:

46- Woman is woman in Turkey. I think we are a patriarchal society, men have more words and always the right words, men are more dominant. I observe it in my husband's family. If the father decides on something, it is the ultimate truth for them.

Nesrin:

47- We raised in Southeastern Anatolia Region, pressure for women is more, how can I say, if you grow up in a large family with grandparents, even parents have no right on children. Grandfather decides about them. While going on the street I remember that my mother came two or three steps behind my father. You can't lean back; you can't drink something in front of your elders.

Participants stressed on the subordinate position of women in Turkey and expressed that it stems from the cultural norms of our society. Ebru talked about the observations she held during a visit to her student's house for a parent's house meeting:

48- As I heard from my students, there is a dinner rule in their houses. Women stay in the kitchen and eat there, men sit in the living room, on the table. I visited one of my student's houses and I experienced it. They directed us as "for women, this way please". If it doesn't mean to put women in second

place, let's change it. Why do men eat in the kitchen at least once? We know that living room is more comfortable, you can watch television etc. Kitchen is a working and cooking place at the same time, it has a bad connotation for them.

Bahar took examples from her childhood that defines the strict practices society have for woman. She took attention to the fact that while positioning woman and man in society, mothers also have a strong influence in shaping the characters of their daughters. According to Bahar, the stereotypes, prejudices and structures coming from childhood affect the future attitudes of a woman unconsciously:

49- In my first day of secondary school, my mother gave me thin socks and said that I grew up and I am a woman. Then, she told me how to sit properly with a skirt. Unavoidably, these patterns exist in our lives. In this age, I can't still sit relaxed or sit cross legged at school. Because even I thought that I overcame the advices of my mother, I obey them unintentionally. But male teachers don't worry about their sittings, moreover, sometimes I make jokes about their sittings on the teachers' room, they can lie on the coach. For example, I had a brother but my mother didn't take him and tell him how to wear a tie or a jacket to be a gentleman when he was a boy.

Women teachers in the study referred to the importance of economic conditions of a woman in the status of women. When the participants asked to describe the effect of economic situation in a woman's life, eight of the participants accepted that economic freedom is one of the most vital factors in a woman's life to get a higher status in society and to have a voice among the family. Bahar agreed that economic status has enforcement for women and she gave an example on how her life was influenced after being a teacher and earning money:

50- Economic freedom, huuuh, one of the most crucial things for women. I had an authoritarian father and in my university choice, in my profession choice he had a strong influence. When I lost one year in law school he didn't give any support to my decisions and he said that I had to pay for my preferences in life. When I became a teacher and have an economic independence, he less talked about my life style. Many problems of women rooted in economic freedom because when they see violence they have

nowhere to go or any money support. Think about women in brothels, why they are there, because they have no money so they do something that they never want to do. So I believe in that women status is directly related to money, in what extent you are free depends on your money.

Zeynep took the psychological aspect of the case into account. She talked about the lack of confidence she had before having an economic freedom and she mentioned that she had hard times even in expressing herself in family matters although she didn't have any pressures from outside overtly:

51- I was taking money from my husband before I began teaching. It was like a pocket money generally for kitchen expenses. After I became a teacher, when you spend your own money you feel yourself better. I feel better that I contribute to our house, our life. Even in expressing my ideas at home, it gives me self-confidence to earn money. My husband never has such a pressure in these issues but I feel more comfortable.

Even though, most of the participants reached a consensus about the positive influence of gaining economic freedom for women, two of the participants looked at a different point. They stated that in some cases whether a woman has economic freedom or not, it doesn't change the position of her in the family:

Melek:

52- Your economic independence doesn't change anything if you don't give value to yourself. My mother was a person who had economic freedom but she didn't have a good mentality to make herself a better life. She went on her unhealthy marriage for years. Therefore, I think gaining economic freedom isn't enough; first we have to accept that we are human and we are precious. We have to believe that we can be successful.

Ebru:

53- Even if you are working, they will look at what you spend at home, I believe in that. Your husband earns money and you earn money and you bring it home but your expenses are always limited. I have friends who are teachers and they still take permission for money when they go to a hairdresser.

While defining the position of a woman teacher in social life, apart from the cultural norms and economic conditions, three of the participants connected the marital status with the society's perception for women status. Esra and Bahar, two single teachers, gave examples from their experiences about the views of others on their marital status and they expressed their disturbance about the comments of other people, especially the married ones:

Esra:

54- Especially in small towns, there is a strong will of helping women teachers to get them married. As if you have some deficit and they will complete this deficit, they try to help you or marriage is really a status, as if you will climb the social ladder, I know it.

Bahar:

55- I have a friend, when she got married we made jokes about it like "now that you are a married woman you are one level ahead from us as a social status". Because, our society's views about married women and single women are different. If you are in a certain age and still single, there is a view that "she couldn't get married". Or don't they take single women seriously, I don't know but it is certain that they don't look at us with envy. People always ask you when to get married, may be they pity on us. This makes me angry.

Ezgi; one of the married women teachers, had a different perspective on the importance of being married in the position of women in society. She perceived marriage as a saver from dangers and harms of life:

56- Is marriage a life saver for women, well I consider myself in this neighborhood alone and I feel that if I was alone I would have difficulty in life. May be not financially so much, but I am afraid of being raped or robbed so marriage is saver in these matters.

Ultimately, women teachers took politics into account while reclaiming women status in Turkey. Five of the participants were members of a Teachers' Union but none of them defined themselves as politically active and fully informed about their

political rights. Those who weren't belonging to a Teachers' Union stated the reasons for it as either they didn't believe that women teachers should have political views or they didn't think that Unions are successful in defending the rights of women teachers. While most of the participants complained about the ineffectiveness of law and political rights of women in Turkey, Melek painted a promising picture about the rights of women teachers:

57- I think there are good changes in years about women teachers. For example we are now free to wear trousers. I think governments try to do innovations for women in their social lives because they know that they will take votes from women. If they arrange the breast-feeding permission for women in a better way, it will be good for us. I don't want to participate in political debates at school, they generally occur in high tension and I don't want to participate in them.

Two of the participants, Nazlı and Esra, are middle aged married women who belonged to the same Teachers' Union and they mostly put the blame on women teachers of new generation about not having an idea about the political developments Turkey has undergone. They perceived women teachers as ignorant about their social and political rights.

Nazlı:

58- I get angry about women teachers, they are insentient politically. Most of the new women teachers have no idea about Turkish history, what did go on this country, how many military coups we had because we had so many social turmoil in the past but women teachers after 80's don't know anything about them, they are less political. Unions don't do anything either but if you don't have any political view, you became aside. Male teachers on the other hand try to convince women teachers to be a member of certain Teachers Unions, I think they believe that women are easy to be persuaded about these issues so they try to gain our support but just on paper.

Gül:

59- Women teachers are apolitical. They don't want to bother for anything, they like chatting, gossiping in teachers' room; they look like teachers by accident. They don't have any intellectual side, they have a housewife soul inside, and they always think what to cook or what to wear. Actually we don't have any women role-models in our environment. Moreover, although male teachers don't like politically active women teachers, they try to participate us in their Teaching Unions. For example, my principle is insisting on changing my Union.

According to Zeynep, who was also a member of a Teachers' Union, women can't participate in political field because of the other responsibilities they have:

60- I didn't see any politically active women teacher, I think women can't spend time for it, our priorities are different, our husband, kids, daily works... to be an active member of a union you have to show a great effort. In specific cases, I even don't know what to do, I have a union but I don't know all of my rights. Besides, male teachers don't like women teachers talking about politics at school. They can look at you weirdly.

Ezgi and Nesrin didn't approve women teachers being active politically. They explained that if a woman teacher tries to defend her rights, she had better to be a member of a Union but if she does so, she will express that she has a political view because every Union belongs to a different political side. Ezgi claimed that a teacher shouldn't have a political side because they must be neutral as teachers:

61- I think teachers shouldn't have any political views. I have, I am a member of a Teachers Union but I shouldn't actually because, a teacher must be a person who treats others equally and democratically, they don't choose a side. In teachers' room we generally talk about women issues like cooking or shopping, male teachers talk about politics or football matches.

While discussing the position of women teachers in social life, participants emphasized the cultural, economic and politic factors affected their perceptions in evaluating their status giving specific examples from their experiences and observations. Women teachers connected the perception of Turkish society about women with the patriarchal structures. Most of them gave economic conditions and marital status as factors affecting women teachers' positions in social life in a positive way.

Women teachers' expectations at the beginning of their career and at present

In the third research question of this study, participants were expected to clarify their expectations from being a woman teacher regarding the variance in years while practicing their professions. Associated with their expectations in teaching, participants discussed their disappointments at work under three categories: disappointment related with the attitude of school administration and/ or colleagues, disappointment related with the physical conditions in the teaching environment and disappointment about education policies in general terms. Meanwhile two of the participants evaluated the economic conditions of teachers in terms of whether it satisfies the economic expectations or not. Upon their expectations, participants were asked about their future career plans in teaching. None of the participants considered to quit their professions in order to switch another sector or to be a housewife. On the other hand, only three of ten participants preferred to take an administrative position at school for their future career.

In their expectations from teaching profession, participants' viewpoints on teacher and teaching were distinctive. Six of the participants admitted that they were impressed by a couple of teachers through their education lives and they wanted to be like them. Having impressed from her secondary school teachers, the first priority for Ezgi was to be a role-model for students according to the teacher profile in her mind:

62- I was thinking that teachers have a disciplined life because they were trying to discipline us so I liked it because I saw myself disciplined too. I think teachers must live a model life to be good examples for the youth. I wanted to be a model and I became a teacher.

Most of the participants took their decisions on being teachers as a starting point for their expectations and all of them emphasized that they loved children and wanted to change their lives in a better way. Gül put this point as follows:

63- Some of my teachers affected my life deeply; they had very strong and effective sentences that changed my mind and my life. Now, I owed half of the things that shaped me to my high school teachers and my high school life. Why did I want to be a teacher? Because what am I today belongs to these years in %50 and I thought if I felt so then it came to me a nice idea to be a part of one students' life , it means to contribute to their existence, it is a field work, it is not in theory. It is very necessary to contribute to the students in practice.

Nazlı looked at teaching from a different perspective and her expectations changed accordingly. Her friends and her family didn't want her to be a teacher at first. So, her expectations were in some way different from other participants:

64- Rather than doing a job just for its good status in society, I preferred to do the best job I can do with its part time working hours so I have time for reading, cleaning etc. I also love children. I have disappointments in general terms rooted in National Education Ministry's education policies. System is changing suddenly and we are confused.

Among the participants who started to teaching in a more idealistic manner, disappointment matters were more specific and their intensions were higher. Esra's parents were teachers for more than thirty years and when she held them as a model for teacher profile, she got disappointment by the attitudes of her colleagues toward teaching:

65- In my first years I got bored many times, I was thinking about a more satisfying teaching environment. Other teachers' self indulgences disappointed me because I started very idealistically. In my mother's and father's period, things were different, they graduated from Teachers Institute. In their teaching years they were painting or cleaning their schools on their own. I am good at teaching and dealing with kids but after a while, you cant' be happy if you don't mind anything, you see many injustice and wrong practices but if you say something you get upset and then you became passive well I don't know.

Melek was also one of the participants who especially reproached to her male colleagues about their attitude toward the responsibilities at school:

66- Because I am a Turkish teacher, I am an active teacher at school but from school's perspective I am disappointed a bit. I love my job, I like dealing with the school library, I like making a poem ceremony or creating a theatre group but after a while, I feel that my other male colleagues in the same branch see me as a fool. They say "Melek can do it" and give me more work, it annoys me.

On the other hand Ayşe emphasized the lack of physical materials in the classrooms. She did her internship in Bolu, in fully equipped classrooms with maximum twenty students. When she came to Istanbul, things didn't go as she wishes:

67- I faced with the cruel truths when I started to work. The classes were crowded with 60 students in my first year, there were negative attitudes of school administrations, lack of equipments, I was idealist at the beginning but as I can't take what I expect every year I start with a sorrow.

Putting aside the inadequacies at schools and reluctance of colleagues, Ezgi and Nesrin presented the negative attitudes of administrative staff toward themselves and the disappointment arising from this manner. As women teachers they felt discriminated and subordinated in certain situations.

Ezgi:

68-I thought that they were unfair to me once but I don't know why, anyway it discouraged me. They were going to give me a prize because of my works but they gave it to another colleague, they said that they sent two names to the council but it chose only one name. May be being a woman was a factor because the winner was a man. Apart from that, in any duty for example commission works, they generally choose male teachers, they give less responsibility to us, I think it is about our other responsibilities at home, they try to disburden but actually in risky situations they give more responsibility to male teachers.

Nesrin:

69- One of my parents walked up to me in the corridor, our male vice principle came. Our principle saw the incident, he said me afterwards, but he didn't go out, he had guests in his room. It was about a boy in my class who had done sexual jokes to the others and I didn't call his father, the administration called him. He came and yelled at me because he thought we were slandering his son. He was a huge man and I got afraid, I seem to have courage but I don't. Later on he came to school to find me again and I immediately went to our principle to tell the situation. He asked me sardonically if I want a soldier on my door or not. He said that I was exaggerating the situation. The father apologized from me later on when he understood that her son's behavior, but I devastated that day for being alone, they didn't help me, even listen to me.

Two of the participants mentioned about their economic expectations from teaching.

They were married and they stated that at the beginning of their career, they had no financial expectations from being a teacher because as for them, in Turkey teachers never had an economic prosperity and they admitted it from the beginning. These two participants were married with men with a good economic condition and they were considered as rich among their female colleagues:

Nazlı:

70- There are 50 teachers in our school and very few of them have car or a house. I have a car and a house so they call me rich because, many of them have debts. My husband gains a lot and because of that we are in a good state otherwise if I was a single teacher, with this salary I can't earn a good living, and I see that single teachers have nothing without family support.

Gül:

71- My husband has a good salary and we have a credit card, I also have a credit card. Sometimes he makes jokes about my earning for example he says "don't work like a hobby; support the expenses a little bit please". I never have any financial expectations from my job because I don't know anyone being teacher and being rich at the same time. When I got married with my husband, some of my friends thought that I didn't need to work because my husband was rich but I do teaching because it is my profession and having a profession is very important in my life, you have to have an aim in this life.

At the last phase of the participants' expectations from teaching, participants intentions about their future career were questioned. Seven of ten participants expressed that they want to remain as a public school teacher and they didn't want to be in a higher position neither at school nor other educational environments. Their most critical reasons for not having career intentions were the working hours and male dominant working environment. Even Bahar, who worked as a vice principle for a while rejected to participate again in an administrative position at school:

Bahar:

72- The thing is that I was a vice principle for a while and had the chance to be a school principle. But personally, it was hard for me to stay the whole day there. If I had a woman colleague in administrative position like me, it would be different. There is no need to make effort for the things that you can't change in administration. I didn't feel I belonged there. There were some patterns, some procedures. But there must be women in every position of education, principle, supervisor etc. Society directs us in one way, you have to get married, you have a house, kids you have to look after them but male teachers spare their time to every activity.

Nazlı:

73- I don't want to spend the whole day at school; I don't have a career plan because I don't want to prove something to someone. If you become a vice principle, you have only fifteen days summer holiday and 7 a.m-7p.m working hours. I like teaching with its part-time working hours and more importantly, being a vice principle isn't a teaching at all. I like my job; it is good and enough for me.

On the other hand, three of ten participants declared that they might think about taking a higher position at school in the future despite its heavy working conditions comparing with teaching. Actually, Nesrin tried to apply an administrative position once but it was frustration for her. She couldn't get support even at the beginning of her intention and it affected her will to take different responsibilities at school since then:

74- You can't take enough support as a woman teacher, it is impossible, my husband to some extent, he wasn't supporting but now he looks more positive. When I wanted to enter the exam for being a vice principle, he resisted and said if I became a vice principle, I would humiliate him, people would say ; " look at this man, he stays at home, his wife becomes a man, she does the man work, he looks after the kids". So, the exam was in Şişli and he didn't take me to the exam place, hoping that I wouldn't find the address. I entered the exam but I was unmotivated and I failed. He is regretful now but still says "now we are going to enter the exam together, kids are bigger now; you can be a vice principal."

When we look at the expectations of women teacher in depth, we can observe the expectations at the beginning of their career affect their future expectations from teaching. Their first expectations generally end up with disappointments at school accounting administrative attitudes, colleague collaboration and physical conditions. None of the participants had higher expectations at the beginning of their career in terms of economic conditions. Those who intended to have a higher status in teaching couldn't take enough support from their families.

How women teachers describe being a woman teacher in school life and in society
comparing with male teachers

In order to investigate women teachers' experiences at school and in society, under the fourth research question, women teachers were expected to describe themselves especially comparing with male teachers. Participants considered this comparison in accordance with different factors posed in both their school and private lives. The first factor was the common attitude towards women teachers about their professions comparing to the other professions and comparing to male teachers. The second factor was the expectation of parents, students and society in general about their woman nature.

All of the participants mentioned about a general opinion on being a woman teacher as an ideal thing for women that other people have. After Bahar left the law school and decided to study primary school teaching, her friends strongly supported her choice but Bahar didn't like their reasons under this appreciation:

75- As a woman teacher, people look at you with sympathy, we can't get rid of this sympathy, they say to me that what a good job I have, my friends think that teaching fits well to me as if I was born for being a teacher. They commented that I did best thing when I decide to be a teacher.

Three single women teachers in the study confessed that they were potentially wife candidates in society because having a teacher wife is very ideal for most men. Not only these three participants, but also the seven married participants suggested that teaching wasn't necessarily an ideal profession for them. On the contrary, they stated that teaching was very exhaustive for them because after they performed their profession, they had to go home and took over their house wife role until the husband came so the proper working hours at school were considered an advantageous for other people but not for them because they thought that it doubled their responsibilities.

Esra:

76- People call teaching as the most appropriate job for women, but not in financial terms, it means I both work at school half day and work at home the other half day, they mean it at least. They ring the bell and ask whether there is a single woman teacher there, I know this kind of examples from my friends. For example, my cousin married and his mother always say it was better if he found a teacher to marry with. Actually, his wife earns more than a teacher but his mother doesn't care. Our society is such a society that even we try to encourage women, we also put women in second place.

On the other hand, Bahar gave a point to the fact that although people know the low economic conditions of teachers in Turkey, they still see women teacher as

economically advantageous. According to her, society doesn't confirm male teachers comparing with women teachers because man is the breadwinner in the family so he has to earn more but women teachers are lucky in that they both contribute to the family income and perform their duties in the house:

77- I heard this statement many times: "how much do you earn?" in a sarcastic way. Our school bus driver asked it once. He said "how can you bear this job with this low salary?" teaching isn't advantageous materially but it seems as advantageous for women, there is a contradiction in our society; teaching isn't in demand for men because the salary isn't enough to maintain a family but for women it is an extra, you did your housewife role and at the same time you earn some money and contribute to the family. It is a bonus for women.

As a second factor for women teachers' perception comparing with male teachers, all the participants mentioned about the features society identified for them because of their woman nature. Participants put three codes that parents interconnected with women teachers: Being emotional, ability to show empathy and motherhood instinct:

Esra:

78- Parents especially mothers expect you to be more nurturing, you can come to a solution with fathers more easily but mother's expectations are higher and they form our parents profile mostly, they want you to see the events like them. Last year a father said "I think women without children shouldn't be either teachers or principals". I think it is very hurting. May be mother teachers are more tolerant I don't know. I try to use empathy, tolerance, discipline and authority at the same time but first you must be authoritarian otherwise parents and students can use it.

Ezgi:

79- Our society's perspective requires women teachers being devoted and having a mother role. If a male teacher gives less attention to his students' needs, it is perceived as a possible and normal thing, for example if the girls in the classroom didn't comb their hair, male teachers don't make this a problem but a woman teacher is expected to control whether they comb their hair or not, they want us to be nurturing.

Ayşe stressed on the fact that the perspective of being emotional and having an ability to empathize with mothers brought them more responsibility so they thought in detail about certain factors related with students or parents while male teachers took less responsibility about the same matters:

80- Women teachers' responsibilities are more ,why? To me, among my colleagues, I don't want to make any discrimination but if we consider women's family life and their burdens, in education environment, women colleagues have more responsibility; it means mental fatigue and psychical fatigue. We consider things in detail, we are more emotional and we have a different perspective and it is a negative thing for us, if we consider ourselves as mother's of our students, it affects us negatively in emotional terms.

Three of the participants agreed the accepted opinions about women teachers by the society and they stated that they also saw teaching as naturally suitable to woman character. Ezgi had no child but she suggested that it didn't matter for women to be married or to have a child but they had a mother instinct inside just from the beginning. On the other hand, Nesrin explained that after having children, her point of view about teaching changed to a large extent and in a positive way.

Ezgi:

81- In general, among society it seems positive for women to be teachers; I think women are more suitable to teaching than men, why? Because it is in the nature of woman to be devoting and dealing with children so teaching is a bit similar to mothering. Are mother teachers better in teaching? I think it belongs to all women inherently, we don't have to have a child, and we bear the nurturing emotional mood since we were born.

Nesrin:

82- Woman teacher is a mother, a sister and a friend time to time. My teaching is different from my single times to my married times. When I was single, I used to be insensible in some way, may be more merciless. But after being a mother, you become moderate and you see your own living style at home so you think if I am like that then, these mothers are right to be like that. When I was single I used to give a lot of homework to my students but now, I put

myself to the mother's place, how can she find time to control all these homework, I consider.

Melek:

83- May be because of that I am a woman; I can appeal to them in a different way. I can go deeper to their inner worlds. I can look at them from different perspectives. I can be like them, most importantly, you can approach to the matters emotionally and with mother tenderness.

On the contrary to perspectives of these three participants about woman nature and teaching, Gül strongly rejected the common view about women's natural liability to teaching:

84- Teaching is reconciled with motherhood. She raises children at home and at school, the same thing. It seems as a charity and it suits on women and mothers according to our society. I don't think so. I don't even call my students as "my son" or "my daughter" like most teachers does. I am their teachers; there must be a distance among us. I never approach them with maternal instinct.

While describing being a woman teacher at school and in society, the participants pointed out the common idea of the society about women teachers. Although society sees teaching as suitable for women, all the participants denied its validity and claimed that this imputation comes from the traditional position of women in society. On the other hand, most of the participants considered themselves as different from men emotionally and three of the participants agreed on the idea that women teachers are naturally emotional, nurturing and empathic. Yet, not all the participants accepted this view and considered it in their relations with students.

The main problems that women teacher face inside and outside the school life

Under the topic of the last research question, women teachers shared the problems they faced at school and in society generally comparing to male teachers.

Participants represented the problems they faced at school regarding students,

parents and administration. While discussing the situation, they made a connection between their work lives and school lives.

During the discussion of their problems, they also referred to the relationships with their colleagues giving specific examples. Lastly, participants handled the negative attitudes of male teachers, parents, administrators and students towards them which caused discrimination and harassment. First of all, all the participants in the study complained about the general idea that described women teachers as inadequate for classroom control and authority. They dealt with the problem in three different aspects: perspectives of students, school administrations and parents. As for the students, four participants gave examples about the events they encountered in which students behaved women and male teachers differently. According to these four participants, this attitude originated from the patriarchal, male dominant society norms which they were exposed to since their birth. Women teachers expressed their discomfort about the discriminatory manner students had and they admitted that they had difficulty in establishing control in the classrooms. Yet, all of the participants agreed upon the idea that male teachers' burden is less because they use short term practices for the control of the class such as violence. Supported by the general social structure, male teachers have an advantageous position in the classrooms according to the participants:

Ebru:

85- More than anything, there are prejudices, for instance when you enter the classroom, there is an idea of students that she is a female so she can't manage the lesson. Women suffer because there is the prejudices rooted in patriarchal society that she can't make students listen to her. According to the students' views, I heard them, the class is noisy and they have hard times with the teacher, when you ask them the reason, they say because she is a women

teacher. Students even think like that and even the appearance of a male teacher is enough for them and from this points of view, teaching is easier for male teachers.

Gül:

86- Well, I experience it in our school's neighborhood looking at the students, when a male teacher comes into the classroom, they get into line immediately, they become silent whether they like him or not, why; because they are exposed to violence by their fathers at home, there is a pattern of a typical father figure for them so they identify male teacher with their fathers and they come around suddenly. It is just because of the fear of what will happen to me, not because of respect.

Bahar:

87- Firstly, from the point of students, every student gets afraid of male teachers. It doesn't matter in what way; the shape of male figure is enough for them. He doesn't have to be a bad tempered man, just shape is enough. May be it roots in father figure; the role of males in this neighborhood is different, more patriarchal. They beat their children, they are heavy handed.

Zeynep:

88- Students are afraid of male teachers. In the end, we come from a patriarchal society so in my school there are students from eastern parts of Anatolia, their mothers are suppressed by their fathers, the education level is very low when I get contact with parents it is obvious. Illiterate parents and in this family portrait, when they grow up with an intimidated mother figure, they overrate male teachers. In my first classes, I had difficulty in making the class silent and get the control. But when I observe male teachers, I thought that they didn't have such kind of problems. I changed schools and whenever I listened to the conversations of male and female teachers, female teachers are always tired and sad at the teachers' room. So male teachers I think, get the advantage of patriarchal societies' norms.

As for the relationships with parents, women teachers presented a conflicting situation for themselves. All of them believed that women teachers had a better communication with parents. According to their responses, mothers constituted most of the parent profile so teachers encountered women as a parent during the meetings. Participants confirmed that they behaved kindly and intimate to the mothers and mothers preferred to talk about their problems with women teachers but at the same

time the participants complained that parents behaved them insulting and in a fearless way because for the participants, parents think that they can persuade or intimidate women teachers more easily than male teachers:

Ebru:

89- When we consider teacher and parents' relationship do male teachers have better relationships with parents? Well I can say that especially for this neighborhood, parents can be shy about male teachers mostly. Because our parent profile consist of mothers for most of the time and the level of being educated is low here at least as I know. I see the reflections of it in my parent meetings, they don't have a voice, and they can't tell their problems properly so, they are afraid of men, they remain in the background of female-male relationships in their private and social lives. Therefore, their attitudes towards male teacher are different but they can quarrel with women teachers easily. For example, a woman teacher can warn a students and it can be reflected in a different way to the parents so they can enter the class yelling to her, I experienced it but it isn't same for male teachers.

Nazlı:

90- I think parents have better communication with women teachers but one day I had a colleague who had problems with one of the parents in her class. The woman walked up to her in the class, if there was a male teacher, she couldn't do it, she couldn't dare it, they are more formal to male teachers. Maybe I think this behavior is connected with the socio-cultural structure in this neighborhood.

Ezgi:

91- For women teachers there is a situation that parents feel more powerful over them especially males they think that they can make her do whatever they want by forcing her, by making pressure over her. They think that while yelling and threatening her about making violence, they can suppress women teachers. So, I think male teachers are in comfort about this matter at least they have a good connection with them and they are shy at them.

As for the relationships with the school administration, firstly, eight of ten participants had male administrators at school including the principle and vice principles. These eight participants gave examples about the male dominant culture

stressing the idea that women teachers are weak and so busy with the house works and their children that it is better to give less responsibility for them at school.

Women teachers expressed that with this opinion, male administration intended to ease women' burden and do a positive discrimination. Yet, women teachers declared that it is a good intentioned negative attitude to put women teachers' in a subordinate position at school. In the end, Nazlı and Bahar, two of these eight participants reflected their resentment for women teachers for not interrupting the hidden order at schools because according to them, women teachers were pleased with less responsibility and low status:

Nazlı:

92- Administration sometimes takes most problematic students to the male teachers' classes for a good discipline. Women teachers cut corners sometimes, they think why do I have to deal with these students and they get rid of them because for primary school teaching it is very difficult to deal with a bad tempered student for five years. So when they tell that they can't cope with these students, vice principals can take the students from her class because there is a general idea for women that they are weak and powerless so they think that they do a favor to women teachers, they have good intentions in these changing. But, I don't want such a favor, what is lack about me? If Mehmet can do it, Ayşe can also do it!

Bahar:

93- We form a discipline committee and Mr. Ahmet is in charge of it. For example, there will be a canteen control; Mr. Mehmet is the head of it. I mean male teachers with Ahmet and Mehmet. They don't let women be in an active role at school. I think male teachers are more in the first place at school. Authorized men don't even look at your face; I experienced it when I was a vice principal. We went to a meeting, they don't look at you, and the group leader is generally a male colleague. It is not about the capability of the person about the issue, they think that when there will be a cooperation with the administration they prefer to choose males so they will be in a better contact. In fact, we as women teachers don't interfere this system because it serves the purpose, we get rid of responsibilities and more school work.

Women teachers expressed their common problems at school and in social life interacting them to each other. During this interaction, they talked about the balance of work responsibilities and house duties and the problems arising in this balance. While the three single participants in the study didn't express problems about balancing their roles and duties, seven married participants reactions on the issue differed. Gül and Nazlı stated that they didn't have so many problems in balancing their work lives and private lives. Gül mentioned that she had a caretaker woman for her son and for the house works and she didn't bring much work to home. Nazlı told that she had no child and she had a supportive husband who helps her in house duties:

Nazlı:

94- In the morning, he prepares my breakfast, he goes to work late so he shares my responsibilities, and he helps me. I don't have much conflict because of that, I finish my work at school, I don't carry it home. When I get in to my car and go home, I leave work at school may be at the term ends while giving the final points. I bring my laptop and I do it at school. I want to separate my work life and my private life.

One weekend, Gül, who thought that being a mother had a great responsibility in her life, had school duties that she had to finish till Monday and the caretaker woman wasn't at home. She observed that her husband didn't please with the situation:

95- When I finish work, I shifted to my other life; it occupies me more because being a mother is an important thing. I think I have an advantage on teaching, I enter the class and I do it, it is very natural for me. Motherhood! It is also natural but it requires many responsibilities. I don't have an ambition that I must be successful in every field of my life. I don't want to describe myself upon some roles. You can't be a perfect mother, spouse and a teacher at the same time and being a mother isn't an ease as being a teacher. I spend great effort for being a good mother. My husband seems to help me but I consider this as a trick, can I tell? If I bring work to home, it would be a problem. For example this weekend I was dealing with the final scores of my students and

my husband looked after our son, in the evening he finally asked whether I have more work to do or has it finished because he said he was too tired for playing with our son. Look at where he lives, where he graduates and you don't expect such king of a statement from a man like him, great shock!

The other married participants except from Nazlı and Gül mentioned that they suffered from balancing their multiple roles in life and they got tired too much.

While Ezgi and Ebru talked about their husband's support in an extent, Nesrin was frustrated and tired of not taking any support from her husband.

Ezgi:

96- I have difficulties in balancing the two worlds, I get help from my husband for housework and there are some undone house works, I admit. When I have to give up one thing in my life, I give up for house works. But of course sometimes it reflects on our relationship at home, when you are lack of your responsibilities at home, it can turn out to a problem.

Ebru:

97- You have to balance the two lives to be a good teacher. Teaching is a profession in which you bring work to home so our job doesn't finish at school, formal documents, exam reading, performance works evaluation so you have to balance your house works in order to finish you school work at home, and you will not reflect this mood to your students. Marriage is a mutual thing, my husband do what he can do at home, he cooks or cleans the house, at least when I am at school, I am in comfort because I know my dinner is ready.

Nesrin:

98- With two identities at the same time, balancing the two lives isn't easy for me. Can I use my time effectively for these roles? Well, not equally but when I go to bed and listen to my conscience, sometimes I feel happy, sometimes I feel regretful. I sacrifice from my motherhood mostly. Because I can't interested in my kids as I wish, I came home tired, working in a crowded class, and I am not pleased with my husband in this respect, we were about to divorce once. My daughters need a father, but he can't find enough time to control their homework because he wastes his time smoking and watching TV.

Women teachers in this study differed in evaluating the balance of their multiple roles according to their conditions at home. Single women teachers didn't express any clear role confliction in their lives. On the other hand, married women teachers had variable examples for the issue. The ones with husband support had less difficulty in balancing their lives while the ones with less husband support had more difficulty in their balance. Moreover, one participant use womanpower for herself to reduce her responsibilities at home.

Participants talked about the attitudes, pressures and discriminations women teachers face while expressing the problems they experienced both in their school life and in their social life. Women teachers' answers gave an idea about their perspectives on collegial relationships. Five of the participants expressed their disturbance on the negative attitudes of their male colleagues towards women. Ayşe, a single woman teacher, focused on the jokes male teachers did about woman marital status, appearance or capability. According to her, these jokes were offending and masculine:

99- There are some jokes of male teachers about single teachers like me such as "your time has come, get married soon" or jokes about women weight problems, jokes about a specific topic such as "don't you know that, how can't you know that". They try to suppress women teachers; they create an atmosphere that we men know better than you! Professionally, for example we prepare an activity as a group, they don't like it most of the time and they want to change it. Of course, it isn't nice and offends people.

Supporting the examples of Ayşe , Ezgi told one of the jokes male teachers did at the teachers' room: 100- "One of our male teachers once said in teachers' room that his advices to have two wives to other male teachers. It was a joke but it was a humiliating joke for us. I showed reaction him about it and they stopped speaking."

Ebru was an Alevi woman teacher and she was hurt one of the joke that male teachers did her one day:

100- I felt discrimination because of my Alevi identity. My male colleagues were going to the mosque on Friday, and I was passing from the street. We met and began to talk. We were making jokes and I said “I can drop off you to the mosque if you want”, I don’t have a car and it was a joke. They became serious and look at me and said “don’t come into the mosque in this way, you can’t enter the mosque”. They implied my religious view and my outlook I suppose. I had a make up and uncovered. I don’t know but I offended and felt discrimination.

Ebru also told that in collegial or administrative relations at school, being a beautiful woman had an advantage in the eyes of men because men saw you as a woman at first side and they showed respect and sympathy to beautiful women. This attitude perceived from other women as an inequity. She mentioned about a woman teacher in her previous school as an example: “In my other school, there was a teacher who is very beautiful. The male administration staff behaved her differently, more kindly. But other women teachers and me felt that whether she was a good teacher or not, whether she enters her lessons or not didn’t matter for them, the only truth was that she was beautiful.”

Zeynep also mentioned about the way people look at beautiful women teachers at school but her example was quite the opposite. She described women teachers’ attitude towards their beautiful fellows as jealousy and negative. Zeynep emphasized that being a beautiful woman teacher can be advantageous in the eyes of men but for other women teachers, if you are also a single beautiful woman, then you can be a threat for others:

101- Even the stance and way of talking to people are questioned according to whether you are single or married. For a married woman, they think that she has a man and they see her statements or behaviors as normal but for a single

woman, I can see some prejudices. In one of my school, there was a beautiful young woman with blonde hair and blue eyes. I think other women teachers are jealous of her. They didn't talk with her for a long time. She had a contact only with me and she was upset about this case. She was alone for two or three months, whenever I came to school she hugged me and kissed me. Then she engaged with a male teacher from the same school and after that others point of view about her changed surprisingly. Her fiancé was a well known man among others and has good connections with them so they automatically accepted her, may be she gained a higher status, now everyone likes her and talks with her.

Five of the participants stated that women teachers didn't collaborate with each others. Ayşe got surprised when her female colleague warned her about her relationship with a male teacher in her group. She felt offended about the way of warning and the prejudices women teachers had for each others:

102- I have a close friend in my teachers' group. I know his wife and we see each other. Last year, a married woman teacher came to me and said it was inappropriate for me to be intimate with my colleague and I had to watch out my behavior. She said it in a crowded place in teachers' room. How could she find the courage to talk like that? I asked her later and she explained that she wanted to protect me because men think in a different way generally. I was shocked. I can consider the level of intimacy with my friends but some people can see it as weird

Nesrin had hard times in her private life about her daughter and her colleagues knew the situation. She frustrated when she couldn't take any emotional support, on the contrary she heard some sarcastic comments about her appearance:

103- I was pregnant and I didn't want the baby because I had two daughters and one of them was cancer but the doctor said it could be a hope for the treatment of my ill daughter so I gave birth. My female colleagues talked about me. One of them said you put on make up and came strong and beautiful to school as if you don't have a daughter with cancer. They were cruel. What do you want? Will you be happy if I cry everyday? They want to see me weak but I don't want to reflect my family issue so I try to seem powerful, that is all.

Lastly, women teachers in the study gave specific examples about the moments and events that they felt discriminated at school or in society. Most of the examples

came from school experiences because they expressed that in most of their time, they were at school. Five of the participants didn't feel any discrimination at school regarding students, parents, administrators and supervisors. They stated that in society, because of the patriarchal norms, they didn't feel comfortable and free in their ways of living so they felt themselves at the second place.

The other five participants had specific examples to tell which they experienced or they witnessed. One day Melek was in the bathroom at school and saw her fellow crying:

104- Our religious education teacher was crying in the bathroom. We asked why and she told us that while lecturing she had a stick on her table. When she turned her back, one of the male students took it. When she turned again, she saw that he was taking out the stick from his underwear and he gave it to her back. We tried to convince her to tell the case to the administration but she didn't want it. She said "what can they do, they will shout at him and send back to the class". I talked to the student and he swore that he didn't do it but the case closed after a while.

After the incident Melek tried to convince her fellow to report the situation but she was unsuccessful. The religious education teacher was ashamed and she didn't open the case neither to the administrators nor to the student. The student rejected what he had done but Melek said that other students in the class told her he was lying. After a while they closed the case. A similar case happened to Zeynep at school. She didn't tell it to the administrators either and behaved as if it didn't happen:

105- I have difficulty with my appearance at school. I am worried about in what way male students look at me sexually when I turn to the board and I choose my clothes according to it. I wasn't wearing a white coat in my first years. One day while writing on the board, one of my students started to play ball in the class and when I turn to him and look at him, he did something very bad, he held his sexual organ from his trousers and show it to me slightly. I felt so bad that day, he was a little boy actually an 8th grade student but I began to

wear white coat after that day. At the end of the year, he came and apologize to me, but I was affected from this event so badly, I couldn't forget.

Zeynep went to another school that was more conservative in women and men relations. They were sitting women and men separately. One day she had to talk with one of the male administrators in teachers' room:

106- It was only a few months later from my appointment to the school. I was asking something to the vice principal, and I was a bit preoccupied. I couldn't understand what he said and asked again. He told the matter again and while I was saying "oh, I got it now" I unintentionally touched his arm, but it was a slight touch and only came to his jacket, not his skin. He looked at me so irritating that I felt very bad. He blushed and pulled his arm and he was alarmed. I was sorry to be seen as if a plagued person. Since then, when he has something to tell me, he can't look into my eyes....Generally friends here greet themselves as "selamın aleyküm". I say "good morning" every day because I like greeting people in the morning, nobody greets me or say something when I say "good morning". Sometimes a woman teacher or nobody, but I insist on greeting people, anyway I feel lonely in my school.

Apart from students' and administrators' discriminative attitudes, women teachers expressed that they witnessed violence at school. While students' showed their reactions to women teachers as shouting at them, they can't react to male teachers in the same way. Rather than, things get bigger for them and male students can show direct violence to male teachers. Melek stated that the previous year 8th grade boys beat a male teacher after school.

When it comes to the parents, things can change. Ezgi exposed to violence of a father at school. Even if she didn't injure, she offended deeply:

107- When I was talking to a parent, a father, about his child's negative attitudes and exam scores, he suddenly attacked on me physically and he said that I didn't love his child and I made it up, I felt so defenseless at that time, being a woman made me upset because a male vice principal came and solve the problem. He shouted at the father, then talked to him and reconciled. I was ashamed that I couldn't do it, fort he first time I was ashamed that I was a

woman. We, women teachers are suppressed in parents' interaction. A parent said to my female colleague he would shoot on her heels.

Ezgi also mentioned about an event that happened to one of her fellow while supervisors were making an inspection at school. One of the single supervisors showed a woman teacher intimacy:

108- Supervisors came to our schools. For example, a supervisor wanted the phone number of our friend and offered her to go out to drink something. He took her to the guidance room to be alone I suppose. He said he would look at the files in detail. He locked the door and tried to convince our friend once more. Our vice principals came and knocked on the door. After a while things went worse and there was a fight. Some of our male teachers try to push him outside the school. Investigations began about that supervisor but we couldn't get any news about whether he is still working or not. Our principal wanted to close the event.

Similar to this case, Bahar herself was harassed by her supervisor not physically but verbally:

109- The supervisor came to our school and went back. Then he called me on the phone one evening at a late time,- they were taking our contact information-, I asked "Is there a problem about school?" and he said "Couldn't I call you, why are you taking it so weird?" I got angry because it was not a formal situation, why did a supervisor call a teacher in the evening and ask how was she? The man came to supervise us and then he read a poem looking into your eyes. This man's women perspective here is very different. Your teaching, your personality and your qualifications are aside, you are just a woman.

At that time she had also problems with her principal. She was working in a village school and they were three women teachers, a male teacher and a male principal. She was very successful and the school began to gain an importance in the town. But authorized people began to contact with her directly and this situation raised tension between her and the principal:

110- When someone came, they began to directly ask my name and after a while this became a problem between me and my principle. He said that "if someone comes to my school, he/she will come to me, if we get a prize from

district national education directorate, I will take it.” He graduated from theology, he was an imam and later on he became a teacher and a principle. He was thinking that women can’t manage such kind of things. He even called us as Charlie’s angels, it was a joke but I didn’t like this joke as if we were working in a lower position than him. Then, they took him from our school because things got bigger, he did practices beyond his authority, I was from Sivas and an Alewi. He spread rumors about me like I am an atheist person and in Ramadan I cross my legs and smoke next to him. After a while I took threat letters at school and this case went to police, they removed statements of them and it became clear that our principal did i and they took him from school.

After this event their male colleague became the principle because of his experiences. Bahar became the vice principle. She was living alone and there were gossips around about her different way of living. According to her, women were all covered in that town and they never went out after 5 pm in the evening. Bahar stated that it was weird for the local people to see an uncovered woman shopping and going around:

111- When I first went to the East of Anatolia, they warned me about my behaviors. What did I do? After 5 pm I went out that is all! I said to myself that “they will get used to a woman who go to a cafe and read newspaper” and I did it. But one day, someone pick pocketed me, three boys. I didn’t go out for a while after this incident. I thought that I was obstinate about my life style and that happened to me. Then, I put myself together and thought that it was a coincidence. Then, I began to take secret phone calls. All of them were about my gender and my attitude toward other gender. They found me unconstraint according to the life style there. My attempts to order my newspaper to the market were even weird to them.

All the participants in this study declared that women teachers’ life as more difficult than men considering the work and house balance, the collegial relations and the interaction with students, parents and teachers. Five of the participants gave specific examples about the discriminative attitudes of both women and men at school. The women teachers who felt harassed by students preferred to remain silent. In some part, administration tried to close the case as in the example of Ezgi. Only Bahar

showed resistance to the situation and got concrete result. She also tried to resist the society boundaries and made a progress. After she came to Istanbul she witnessed another event that she considered as discrimination towards teachers. But her reaction wasn't so strong now:

112- One of our vice principal who seemed to me modern and different warned us about our clothes. He said "women teachers had better wear white coat, your body lines are apparent". I said "I found this regulation sexist and I will narrow my trousers one size." Because I found this warning inappropriate. He could say it kindly, it is my problem what about you? If we wear skirt or dress, they look at us. In seminar period I got uncomfortable, one day the principle looked at my skirt, I don't know whether he looked at its length or not but I didn't wear it once more. It means a lot, I gave up when I saw the pressure.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION and CONCLUSION

Identity can generally be defined as who or what someone is, the various meanings people can attach to themselves, or the meanings attributed by others (Beijaard, 2000). According to the narratives of women teachers in this study, identity reproduces dominant notions of masculinity in Turkish society for women teachers. Women teachers attribute themselves multiple roles most of which roots in patriarchal structure of the society. Their preferences among these multiple roles change according to the circumstances they are in. For most of the women teachers in this study, they are teachers at school, a spouse and a mother at home. Only single women teachers describe themselves as a citizen and a human being at the same time. Although women teachers do not prefer to highlight any of these roles as the main identity for themselves, society does this on behalf of them. All the women teachers in this study expressed that their first identity in the eyes of others is being a woman, so they believe that gender is often of great importance for how they are understood by people. Women teachers feel this attributed identity in every field of their lives such as at home, at school, on the bus or in the market. In this context, women teachers do not deny their woman identity and they don't have any problem with their genders. Their criticism is against the associations of being a woman in Turkey. They explained that woman identity reminds people sexuality and weakness for the majority of the society. Women teachers consider being a woman in Turkey as a misfortune because this identity brings their lives more responsibility and restrictions. In order to compensate this misfortune, women teachers describe

different roles for themselves but they can't fully pull away their woman identity but they only attach new identities aside their woman identity such as a woman teacher or a woman citizen.

At school, woman identity is also disadvantageous for teachers as it restricts their domination and power fields. It also brings lack of authority in classrooms. Some of the women teachers in this study attempted to turn their woman identity into a positive factor in their teaching and tried to use its connotations for students. Students connected their woman teachers with their mothers generally and women teachers constructed emotional bonds with students. This time, as students' all responsibilities belonged to their mothers, they began to expect the same from their women teachers. Women teachers try to be tolerant, kind and responsible at the same time to be a good teacher and this ultimately cause oppression and burn out.

Despite the fact that woman identity poses negative attributions to their teaching at school, teacher identity sometimes brings positive attributions to their woman identity especially in social life. Although woman identity has a sexual connotation for people, when they learn about their teacher identity, people, especially men, get serious and show respect to the women teachers. In that sense, teacher identity strengthens women teachers' position in social life but interestingly, not all women teachers are pleased with it. A part of the women teachers in this study showed reaction to bear their teacher identity after work to their private life. They connected their attitude to the misperceptions about being a teacher in Turkey. According to them, being a teacher means working half day for people from other professions. Moreover, teacher profile in Turkey has been questionable as its capabilities. So, these women teachers don't want to emphasize their teacher

identity in different environments because they think that teaching doesn't make any contributions to their social life.

Discussion of the Themes

The results were discussed under ten themes. These themes focus on different aspects of the private and professional lives of women teachers and they are interconnected to each other. The following themes emerged during the interviews and were developed during the analysis process, building issues raised by the participants during their interviews.

Lack of Authority

Women teachers' narrations in this study pointed to a correlation between patriarchal norms in society and authority at schools which implicit subordination of women. The meaning of authority at school has different aspects such as professional authority as the mastery of the subject areas and positional authority that is based on the status of ascribed categories such as sex, class and ethnicity, as well as position in a specific context, i.e. in a certain school (Gannerud,2001).

In this study, authority stands for the relationships with students and their parents; it also means a positional power on decision-making mechanisms at school.

For most of the teachers, authority is directly related with disciplinary attitudes towards students. Women teachers are unlucky to be considered as lack of authority in nature by the school administrations, parents and even by the students. This belief is attributed to the patriarchal links in our society as man is always seen as a power figure so that they possess authority naturally. As Sari (2011) pointed out that in Turkey, where patriarchal characteristic are to some degree still visible, it can be

said that authority, as a male-specific feature, is a part of the daily life in many areas. Generally, man is the dominant sex who holds the decision-making power in the family, in the work place and in political sphere.

So, these patriarchal characteristics pose an obstacle for women teachers to be seen as an authority at school. Women teachers' experiences in the study showed that at first, students describe them as powerless and behave accordingly. After a while, if women teachers prove their capabilities and create an environment of trust, they can gain approval of them. In order to accomplish it, women teachers struggle just at the beginning to construct an authority based on respect and love. This isn't easy for them because students are accustomed to the traditional male authority figures associated with fear and discipline. For students, socio-cultural environment and their family dynamics are effective in connecting male figure with power. On the other hand, according to women teachers, an authority which is established with fear is only a short term solution and male teachers use it not to make any effort, on the contrary, they can use violence against students.

Parents also perceive women teachers as lack of authority and they try to put pressure on them while deciding on their students' needs. These parents are mostly mothers and their lower position in their families determines their attitudes towards male and female teachers. These mothers are intimidated from male teachers as they associated them with their husbands or their fathers, so they keep a formal line with them. But they believe that women teachers have a natural mother instinct that forms a connection between them. Because of that they don't put any boundaries as they didn't see women teachers as an authority figure. Likewise, male parents try to behave women teachers the same as they behave their wives so they didn't accept

women teachers' authority and prefer to use physical or psychological violence against them. For the authority at school, administrations which are dominantly male didn't see women teachers capable of handling certain circumstances and they try to do a positive discrimination. Although women teachers don't accept this as a positive attitude, they sometimes use it in order to reduce their responsibilities.

Balance-Imbalance

This theme is developed from participants descriptions of how they try to accomplish their multiple roles. Women teachers explained that in a patriarchal society, where women have domestic roles at home, they have to find the balance between their school duties and private duties. According to Gannerud (2001) because of the flexibility of the professional situation, where organization of and boundaries around some of their work tasks is left very much to the individual teachers, it is possible to make distinctions between work and life outside work. Women teachers in this study also pointed out that even they have responsibilities both at school and at home, as they perform most of the requirements of teaching at school, their work duties don't interrupt their private life. Yet, while discussing being a woman teacher, women teachers generally complained about having so much paper work and preparations that have to be done at home in certain periods of the year. Moreover, they expressed that although they fulfill their duties at school and come home, the physical fatigue restrain their performance in house work. So at this stage woman teachers differed according to some criteria:

For single women teachers, balance is easier as they don't have a husband or a child. So, they don't have responsibilities at home as a spouse and a mother. The traditional attributions for these roles have no validity for them. For married women

teachers who haven't children, balance is accomplished if their husbands help them at home. The most difficult situation is for women who are married with children. As they belong all the roles society expects from them, their responsibilities are in the highest level among the family. Women teachers explained that there is not a strict balance between all these roles but all of them took motherhood as the first priority because they think it is the most important responsibility for them. Surprisingly, women teachers insisted on that even they have a lot of duties at their private life and no husband support; it doesn't prevent them to perform their teaching in a successful way. Here, women teachers' conflicts in the interaction between work life and home life arise: According to them, work life brings fatigue to their private life and sometimes it affects their performance at home but they don't mention about fatigue or any lack of performance that their private life brings them at school.

Another point is that women with high economic situation can use woman labor while doing their private duties at home and they feel more comfortable. Yet, if the same woman can't get husband support she still has difficulty in balancing her roles.

Lastly, In Gannerud's study (2001) about the gender perspectives of women teachers, it is stated that the private duties in families also, at least for some of the teachers, seem to serve as a shelter, as a legitimate means to avoid being burned out, overwhelmed by an undefined and never-ending work load. In this study any of the participants mentioned such kind of avoidance.

Economic Freedom

This theme deals with participant's perceptions of their economic positions in society and their connections between economic freedom and women's welfare and empowerment. According to Caplow et al. (2001), in Western Societies, husbands are no longer expected to earn enough income to support their wives and children, and married women are expected to share in the burden of earning a livelihood for their families. Furthermore, public attitudes toward married women's employment have shifted dramatically from disapproval to approval Caplow et al. (2001). When we look at the situation in Turkey, there is still an existing traditional family model, in which man is the breadwinner and woman is the caretaker so being employed is seen as a major instrument in making women less dependent on their families and freeing them from suppressing influence of patriarchal ideologies (Gündüz Hoşgör and Smits,2008).

In this study, women teachers' opinions about their economic freedom as an empowerment, show distinction among themselves. There are women teachers who believe that making money is the only way to have a voice in family decisions. For single women teachers, it is a way to minimize father influence on the decisions about how to organize their lives. On the other hand, for married women, economic freedom is a chance to participate in the decision-making mechanism among their families. Women teachers expressed that whenever they began to earn money, they gained more self-confidence and a higher status among others in the family yet, none of the women teachers felt that teaching is a profitable profession that brings a high welfare level for their lives. Although, they don't satisfy with their income financially, it fulfills them emotionally.

Another group of women teachers in this study reveals that women teachers' low income can be a humiliating point for husbands who work in different professions to suppress them in the family. Moreover, there are factors in women teachers' life such as cultural norms, domestic roles, family structure that intensify women's subordinate position. According to these women teachers, most of the time, having an income doesn't solve all the problems in their life as women expenses are limited by husband and they don't feel an economic freedom at all.

Patriarchy-Social Norms

Patriarchy is the broadest theme in this study that appears in every aspect of women teachers' lives. In its simplest interpretation, patriarchy is a system of power in which men dominate (O'Sullivan, 2001; Acker, 1994). For women teachers in this study, patriarchy is a strong factor in positioning themselves among the society as traditional and cultural values continue to be influential in Turkish society.

According to Sarı (2011), patriarchal characteristics of the society and gender differences between men and women are quite visible in, all aspects of life, from home to workplace, from political to educational and cultural spheres. Evidence from this study supports this view in that women teachers feel patriarchy at school regarding students, parents and school administration. On the other hand, patriarchy affects them while they identify themselves in life as a woman, a mother and a spouse.

Women teachers feel a great burden on their shoulders because of the fact that while they try to participate on the labor market as a woman, at the same time, they continue to accomplish their domestic roles at home. It is very difficult for them as women's primary place and contribution continued to be seen in the

domestic sphere, motherhood was emphasized as the most important function of women, and given that primary function, “learned women” were expected to put their knowledge into practice first at home(Arat,1998).

Women teachers’ experiences and observations show that in school environment, even if woman has a higher position administratively, they still feel subordinate and try to prove their capabilities to men. The reasons for that, men always see their woman identity at the first stage so they can ignore their position, titles, and achievements. Actually, women teachers’ examples prove that society and their families don’t give support for their career at work because; families regard the most suitable career for them as marriage which will provide them a higher status in social life.

At school, students who were raised by patriarchal norms correlate authority with masculinity so they try to suppress women teachers. Women teachers observe patriarchal segregations in education materials and they have attempts to change them but they are generally unsuccessful because these segregations are rigid and students often experience them at first hand. Interestingly, some of the women teachers’ approaches towards their male and female students also include patriarchal elements. They consider that boys need more support and interest as they have a more difficult adolescence period and they are more problematic than girls. Actually, this attitude puts the girls and their needs to the second place at school, and enriches the position and the necessities of boys’. Furthermore; some women teachers in this study try to convince themselves to the male dominance giving examples from history and religion. Under this normalization process of women

teachers often lay their childhood memories including patriarchal practices and experiences.

In society, patriarchal norms have a great importance in making a comparison between male and female teachers. Women teachers regarded to continue their motherhood role at school and support the family income at the same time. For male teachers, expectations are different though. Their low income doesn't fulfill the breadwinner role of men in the family so teaching isn't considered appropriate for men. On the other hand, as people perceive their female identities primarily, women teachers are expected to be beautiful, clean and elegant at school while this expectation isn't valid for male teachers. Women teachers consider this as sexism. Sexism also exists in collaboration with male teachers in that some of their conservative male colleagues don't prefer to be in contact with them during the mutual works.

As a last phase of patriarchal implementations, women teachers describe themselves as anti-social at school relations regarding male teachers. They connect this fact to the male dominant administration and women's lack of time because of their domestic duties.

Expectations-Disappointment

Women teachers' responses constituted a theme including their expectations from the teaching profession with their career plans for future and their disappointments at work. Women teachers agreed that their idealism at the beginning doesn't continue at the same level when they began to see the physical and psychological constraints for women at school life. Actually, their expectations at the beginning determine the disappointment level they have. Those who perceive teaching as a

suitable and moderate job close to the motherhood had less disappointment on the content of their work. But women teachers who started with the aim of changing the lives of others had more disappointment about the mentality of their colleagues. Their expectations are never high but they complained about finding themselves surrounded by a gendered mentality at school. This mentality is obvious in the administrative positions of women at school. Despite the fact that there is almost not legal or official barriers in allocation and promotion of women in Turkey, the profile of managerial system continues to be a “men-hegemonic” area (Sarı, 2011). Women teachers either don't take support from their husbands or don't prefer to be in a higher position at school. If husband doesn't support their career plans, in a way, they must give up because even they resist on their decision, they still have responsibilities of children and domestic works. Women teachers anticipate that they can't balance both career plans and private duties so they obey their suppression by patriarchal norms. Some women teachers don't expect any future career in teaching because they don't prefer a higher position which requires heavier working hours and little changing in income. They don't want to be in such a male dominant environment so many hours feeling with so much pressure either.

Another point that causes disappointment among women teachers is the division of labor by the administration. Women teachers' experiences present that administration tend to give paper work to female teachers while they assign high level work to male teachers that requires interaction within the administrative settlement or they prefer male teachers in risk-taking positions. Although, male dominant administration declares their good intentions about this division, women teachers are uncomfortable to be regarded as incapable of doing high level works. In a crisis situation however, where women teachers have difficulty in dealing with

male parents, the administration are reluctant to give support to women teachers so women teachers in general feel themselves defenseless at school.

Discrimination-Harrassment

This theme emerged from the specific examples of women teachers in this study.

Women teachers previously stated certain discriminative attitudes at school related with patriarchal domains. This theme also includes discriminative attitudes of their male colleagues, male supervisors, male principals, male parents and students.

These attitudes to some extent turn into act of violence or harassment. This theme also looks at the gender roles' effects at school in a different way. In a recent study about Turkish women teachers' gender roles' effects on their teaching; Sarı (2011) stated Turkish women teachers described both positive and negative consequences of their gender roles on their teaching experiences while most of them did not clearly mention any discrimination against them. On the contrary in this study, women teachers claimed different kinds of discrimination against them at school.

Male teachers' comments and jokes about women teachers' marital status, weight or appearance are the discriminative attitudes of their colleagues that women teachers didn't approve at all. Women teachers don't behave as the same with male teachers in this respect. They concluded that women are more respectful and kind to each other and they have to be so, because if they utter any inappropriate or offending word to someone in teachers' room, people don't find it suitable for a woman to behave in a shameful way and they will be marginalized. On the other hand, if a male teacher does the same action, as the cultural norms require them to be more limitless, relaxed and blunt; people will reclaim it as a normal fact.

Another point that women teachers feel discriminated at school is, male students' behaviors towards them. This issue is more relevant with branch teachers who study with boys aged between eleven and fourteen. Women teachers don't feel comfortable with their appearance and some of them convinced to wear white coat after their bad experiences with students. Male students try to show their masculinity to the female teachers using sexual jokes and in their jokes they try to reveal that they have a sexual organ makes them superior above women teachers. Unfortunately, these women teachers who were harassed can't dare to share it neither with the student himself nor with the administration. Women teachers don't believe that there can be a concrete solution for these events at school because the school itself is a patriarchal male dominant environment for them. So not to be regarded as weak in the eyes of their male colleagues, they hinder their experiences and ignore them. Yet, ignorance is difficult when students' parents try to act violence against them. In these circumstances, they can avoid from physical violence only with the help of male colleagues or administration. Even though women teachers in this study stated that they weren't injured in these cases, these are humiliating for women teachers and let them to internalize that they are lack of authority and power.

While male teachers in administrative position try to protect women teachers from discriminative attitudes of students and parents, ironically there are also cases that women teachers harassed by these men. At this stage woman teachers show resistance to the harassment. Among from the supervisors, principals or administrative people at school, there are men who try to use their superior position and force women teachers to admit their expectations. These expectations include seeing women teachers as sexual objects. A single woman teacher suffers most

about phone calls or threat letters. When harassment comes from the top and begins to threaten their future positions in teaching, women teachers are obliged to take action against these attitudes. This reaction generally comes with a solution in women teachers' examples in this study, but they consider that the solutions are short-run generally aiming to close the event but women teachers need more concrete and official enforcements to avoid from harassment and discriminative attitudes.

Collegial Relations-Cooperation

The theme emerged from the results of women teachers variable comments while describing their teachers' room experiences. Collegial relationships are crucial for women teachers in every day work because half of their day goes on at school and if we consider their domestic duties for the rest of the day, for some of them, school is the only place where they can be socialized and contact with other people. Women teachers make it clear that although school and teachers' room provide them a good atmosphere for sharing ideas, talking about daily events and contributing each others in daily works, on the other side of the coin there is a different scene for women teachers. While interacting with male teachers, women teachers complained about their attitudes of considering women as less capable in their profession. Rather than supporting, male teachers look at women teachers' efforts in a critical way. In teachers' room conversations, male teachers behave as knowledgeable about cultural, historical and political matters. When women teachers try to interrupt and make a comment in these conversations generally get negative reactions. Even if they work at the same place with the same conditions, male teachers identify women teachers not as a colleague but as a woman. So, the patriarchal pattern in their minds

restricts women's field of interest with shopping, cooking and child caring and when women try to cross the line, male teachers don't approve and give reaction.

Supporting the idea of male teachers, married women teachers restrict conversations with domestic roles and with the issues about femininity such as dresses, cosmetics or sales. One of the reasons for the differences in male and female teachers' conversations is that in teachers' room, women and men sit separately most of the time. Although seen as male teachers' choice, women teachers don't interrupt this order and the ones who behave on the contrary can be exposed to criticisms and rumors. In this sense, some of the married women teachers strictly try to hold the lines that patriarchal mentality offers and warn their fellows as not to have an intimacy with their male colleagues. Moreover, women teachers are very interested in each others physical appearance and this creates a new occupation in their minds. In the end, a vicious circle exists in teachers' room that emphasizes the patriarchal norms of society and amazingly women teachers themselves feed it by putting pressures to each others. As a consequence, women teachers confessed that in teachers' room male teachers are generally happier and seem more relaxed but women teachers seems busy and tired.

Emotionality-Empathy-Motherhood

Dillabough (1999) argues that the very structure of teaching has been shaped by biologically determined gender dualisms which have led to the coding of women as "feminine" and hence to the representation of "women teachers as mothers". In this study women teachers' experiences at school also indicated that the professional status of women teachers is closely tied to domestic work in the private sphere. As students and parents consider being a woman teacher as an extension of

motherhood, they expect women teacher to be emotional and empathic toward them. In return, some women teachers regarded this understanding as positive and others as negative.

In the study of Sari (2011), women teachers responded to the emotional bonds, empathy and motherliness as positive reflections of being a women teacher in Turkey. A part of the women teachers' responses in this study correlated with this result. As the parent profile at schools generally consisted of women, women teachers who are mothers can appeal to common experiences in discussions with parents and often use this as a strategy, in order to create a good atmosphere. Parents also satisfied that women teachers can understand them better. Being emotional and empathic also has benefits in class. To understand students' thoughts and needs, women teachers try consider themselves as their sons and daughters. They try to think in detail and find out the underlying codes in students' certain behaviors. There are teachers in the study who evaluate their teaching before and after becoming a mother and find their mother teaching as more successful. But not only mother teachers, some of the married teachers without children also insisted on that teaching is very related with woman nature and instinctively they had emotional bounds with children.

Although this is the case, there is a contradiction in women teachers' responds. They regard being emotional and empathic as a contribution to their teaching ability. Moreover, they see being a mother as a chance to understand the students and parents' better. But after giving details about their relations with students and parents, they began to put negative meanings to being emotional. In a patriarchal society, being emotional attributes to a weak character and women

teachers are aware of this perception. So after a while being emotional turns into a negative code and women teachers' decisions on certain situations are to be questioned. On the other hand as parents and students don't consider their decisions as sound, they try to manipulate women teachers.

As for being empathic, women teachers had positive perceptions at first but they came up with some negative outcomes in the end. As parents and students expect them to be empathic in all parts of their relationships, this returns to the teachers as an extra responsibility and exhaustion. So, women teachers are aware of the fact that emotional boundaries, empathy and motherhood require extra performance. On the other hand, a woman teacher in the study strongly declined to connect motherhood with teaching. According to them this view strengthens the prejudices about teaching as a continuation of the housewife role so they avoid using emotional boundaries in the classrooms.

The difference among women teachers' perspectives about being emotional, emphatic and motherliness had root in their first expectations from teaching at the beginning of their career. Women teachers who start with and affection to children have more tendencies to connect these codes to their teaching. Those who see teaching just as a profession are reluctant to use these codes, in order to separate teaching from their housewife roles.

Marriage and Social Status

Another theme emerged in women teachers' explanations was the effect of marriage on their work life, private life and on their social status. In the beginning of their involvement in teaching, women would be expected to remain unmarried (Tamboukou, 2000) and teaching constituted one of the few alternatives to forced

marriage. Later on, however, some women also used teaching to combine marriage and family with waged work (Hamilton1991) Supporting this view, the responses of teachers in this study showed that women teachers are now the biggest candidates for getting married in terms of both women and men our society.

Especially in Turkey, since most of the teachers are known to work for half of the day, many men might consider them as the best marriage prospect. With flexible working hours, women teachers appeal to both contribute to the family income and perform house wife responsibilities. So, women teachers satisfy patriarchal society expectations and at the same time they support their husbands economically. Here, a woman teachers' amount of income is not a criteria for men, as in a patriarchal society, men is the breadwinner and he has to earn the biggest amount of income in the family.

Both married and single women teachers in this study were very uncomfortable about society's perception on the content of their profession. As for them, being favored by mothers and their sons is not a valuable and appreciative thing. On the contrary, they irritated from the idea of teaching as the most suitable profession for a woman. They believed that this belief attempt to devalue the meaning of teaching for women as if women teachers didn't have a proper job and they were combining a half work with housewifery.

On the other hand, some of the teachers in the study expressed that getting married for a women teacher provides a better economic condition and a higher social status in life. Single women teachers have difficulty in supporting themselves but when they get married they have a chance to save money with their husbands and get a car or a house. Actually this situation is valid for both women and men.

But there is a slight difference between the two cases: as women teachers seem favored in marriage for supporting the traditional women role, men from different professions with higher income also attempt to marry with them. On the other hand male teachers are not so much appropriate for the patriarchal norms with a moderate income. As a consequence, male teachers' candidates for marriage are more limited.

Another advantage of marriage for women teachers is that both women and men in society show more respect and fondness to the married women and it contributes to their social life. Single women teachers can be seen as a rival for other women teachers and men see them as more defenseless. After marriage, male teachers don't disturb them with their jokes and they show a certain respect for them. On the other hand, married women teachers show intimacy to the other married women teachers as if they are a member of a club and being accepted to the club is very important for social relations.

According to the responses of women teachers, while being a single woman is regarded as a deficiency, marriage can be a life saver for them in terms of higher economic and social conditions and in terms of constituting a shield for prejudices.

But after marriage, women teachers began to see the hard side of the situation. As patriarchal division of labor is common at home, without husband support women teachers suffer from heavy responsibilities of house duties. While having good social relations at school with other women teachers after marriage, women teachers at the same time began to have time constraints for socialization. In other terms, marriage, which, at the beginning provides good social contacts, can draw back women teachers to home because of the private life duties.

Political Awareness

Political awareness is one of the major components in the empowerment of women. Political awareness includes knowledge of the political system, knowledge about the state and legal rights. Women teachers in this study who are middle aged and members of certain Teachers Unions described the women teachers of the new generation, especially the post 1980 generation, as lack of political awareness and not caring about the political and social issues. According to them, women teachers don't have any opinions about their social or political rights and show obedience to the unfair implementations at school. Women teachers suggested that their obedience comes from their ignorance on both the historical and the current political issues and practices.

At the same time, they accepted that a woman teacher with certain political stance can be exposed to prejudices by men. It is clear that, male teachers talk about politics or football and women teachers talk about house works or children in teachers' room. This is an informal order and both sides seem pleased with that. In their responses, women teachers don't want to participate in high tension political conversations because their minds are preoccupied with their private duties. On the other hand, if women teachers express their political views and participate in political debates, it seems awkward by male teachers as their inner feelings about women and politics is that women don't understand about politics.

Some of the women teachers in the study don't support teachers participate in a Education Union. According to them, rather than protecting political rights of teachers, these Unions serve for certain political parties. They see inappropriate for a

teacher to reveal their political views because they see teaching as a neutral profession.

When it comes to the women teachers' rights in education field, most of the women teachers admitted that they don't follow the recent practices in a critical way and they don't know how to behave in an unfair practice at school. Some of them try to take support from their Unions but they don't actively participate in Union's activities.

Those who didn't belong to any Teaching Union also gave the male dominant structure in the Unions as a reason for not participating in them. They believe that Unions with patriarchal structures and can't defend women's rights in a fair way and they choose to be "neutral".

Although most of the male teachers express their reluctance of having a politically active woman colleague, they also put pressure on women teachers to register them to certain Education Unions. Women teachers explained that their aim is to gain participation for their Unions on paper and according to them women teachers are easy to be directed in participations. Having experienced pressures from administration in the school, some of the women teachers in this study resisted to change their Unions.

Conclusion and Recommendations

This study was conducted for the purpose of exploring women teachers' perceptions of their identities inside and outside the school. Ten women teachers working in public elementary schools of Istanbul participated to the study. For this, the relationship between social, cultural, economical constructions of the society and the

experiences of women teachers in their private and professional lives were looked into.

Case study method was utilized in this study. The researcher had semi structured interviews with ten participants from different districts of Istanbul. The researcher had done one interview with each participant. The interviews were tape-recorded and fully transcribed. They were content analyzed in order to identify certain themes.

During the research process, observing the production and reproduction of a hegemonic gender-oriented discursive processes and practices in participants' narratives, helped to understand the construction of women teachers' identity in Turkish society. So, while analyzing their interviews, the main concern is with how they come to see, know and position themselves in their world. The results of this study put forward these themes that women teachers expressed their identity perceptions in accordance with them. The emerged themes were; "patriarchal norms of the society", "authority and power relations at school", "expectations from the profession and disappointments throughout teaching", "being emotional and emphatic as a women", "economic freedom" and "political awareness of women teachers", "balancing the demands of private and work life", "marriage and effects on women teachers' social status", "collegial cooperation" and "discrimination against women teachers".

Accordingly, the findings of this study are similar to the findings of Sari's (2011) study in that women teachers seem to naturally accept the gender roles held for them by society in one hand, and they were aware of and troubled with the problems that arises from these gender roles on the other hand (Sari,2011).

Women teachers in this study expressed that they fought for greater respect and better working conditions. According to their point of views, through media and government policies, teachers are being presented as lazy and because of negative publicity they fight to be seen as valuable workers. For women teachers it can be argued that they have three jobs occurring at once: the classroom, the home and the challenge to make people understand their worth. Parameters such as branch of the women teachers or marriage and having children brought out similarities and differences that allowed constructing sound arguments about women, teaching and identity. From analyzing their answers, it is concluded that once women teachers got married and concerned with raising a family, their priorities, expectations and assumptions about their identity change in part because of social norms and expectations. Most of them no longer concerned about advancing their career and the ones who had career plans suppressed by either their families or by the environment. On the other hand, marriage comes out as a positive factor for a higher status in society.

The first main issue revealed through the examination of the data compiled in this study is the multiplicity, complexity, and contradictory nature of these teachers' identities created through the available social, cultural and professional discursive practices. Regarding the gender identities, this study also revealed that despite the women teachers' awareness of the gender inequality and discrimination embedded within the patriarchal society, they adhered to the gender notions and cultural stereotypes formed by dominating gender discourses that have slithered into their consciousness throughout ages and are at work in most subtle and invisible ways.

One of the most striking finding in this research is the continuing persistence of patriarchy in both the professional and personal lives of elementary school women teachers and its powerful role in identifying male and female teachers' positions in society. In the findings, it was clear that there was a great impact of patriarchy on participants' feelings of empowerment / disempowerment, authority and expectations.

Another significant reflection of the patriarchic environment identified by participants was the threats of violence, discrimination and harassment. Patriarchy not only protects violence but it also promotes it (O'Sullivan, 2001). In several of the participant accounts, this violence was personally experienced or observed as sexual harassment which was overt and extremely damaging to their professional and personal perceptions on being a woman in Turkish society. Feminist researchers focus on this element of male domination in the hopes of eliminating not only the overt harassment associated with it, but the elimination of gender as an oppressive cultural reality (Acker, 1994).

Discrimination against women is entrenched in gender, cultural and economic factors all of which combine to form a disabling constellation of subordinating socialization forces. Women teachers in this study supported the idea that social, gender and economic oppression are frequently linked particularly for women teachers' salary was a significant issue keeping men out of teaching and that teaching is seen as women's work where salaries are regarded as low and which resultantly lowers the prestige and social value of a career in teaching. So, according to their point of view, their subordinate employment position in society mirrors their similar domestic position as caregivers in their homes. They also reflect patriarchic

social stereotypes that affect them as professional educators since their role in the home and in the schools closely parallel one another. Women are attributed the values of caring and nurturing in Turkish society. Although these attributes are considered positive they are ironically also significantly undervalued by society (Ackerman & Maslin-Ostrowski, 2002). Connected with these values, participants in this research expressed a powerful need for authority at schools in order to be effective in their professional work and to maintain their level of self-esteem and self-respect.

In a way, this study revealed ways in which women are disempowered by the education system and the patriarchal leadership models that dominate it. This research data reflected the multiple methods of subordinate socialization that women are exposed to in their lives at the societal, systemic, personal and professional levels. Thus, the aim of this study was to create awareness and invoke discussion around the experiences women have as they perform teaching profession, and to further determine the needs of women who work in a society that has to place a higher value on gender equity.

As a Turkish women teacher, I wanted to tell the stories of women who struggle to keep a balanced sense of identity within a patriarchal society and educational system which is highly oppressive, segregating and marginalizing. According to the findings, patriarchal normative and disciplinary discourses are constantly at work constructing women teachers' identities. Under the pressure of their multiple roles and duties as women, mothers, wives etc. their minds and bodies are subjected to particular models of appropriateness in terms of their knowledge that sometimes leave them with a feeling of frustration and inadequacy.

There are no simple solutions that will change the invasive influence and effects of patriarchy in our society or in the lives of the women who participated in this study. But revealing their views as this research has done may provide a small window of understanding into the workings of power in the daily lives of individuals.

Limitations of the Study

It should be noted that while all the women who participated in the interviews were very helpful and believed to be honest in their responses, because I am also an elementary school teacher, they may have censored their answers due to feeling uncertain as to how I would view them as fellow teachers working in the same profession. Certain answers or insights from the participants may be concealed during the interviews.

As a researcher, it was necessary for me to make participants feel as though they are on the same level as the researcher and therefore can answer the questions as an equal, rather than as an other. Still, there is always the possibility that some participants will not reveal all their thoughts nor will they be completely honest with their answers on the topic of balancing their multiple roles since this is a topic that asks women to disclose personal information about their capabilities and their needs as a women and a teacher. Because of the small number of interviews, a drawback is the number of responses to base the arguments and allow for differences in feedback from women teachers. I counterbalanced this by lengthening the number of the interview questions and covering a wide array of topics to delve into the teachers' lives in order to avoid the thesis from being repetitive and following a systematic routine that lays out each teacher' life in a standard pattern.

Suggestions for Further Research

In the research process, there was a clear lack of related Turkish literature focusing women teachers and their identities. Turkish literature about women teachers was mostly about women representation in administration positions so, more research should be conducted about women teachers' problems that they encounter in their daily lives and in their professional lives.

The most obvious development from this study would be to interview a larger sample of women teachers from a variety of backgrounds to focus directly on the effect of gender policies on their teaching performance. This study has looked specifically at the ways teachers perceive themselves in comparison to stereotypical gender roles and patriarchal assumptions of women's roles that provide women teachers with models of gendered behavior that tell them how to act as women. Analyzing the contributions that women teachers make to elementary schools would be an area for further study that would positively showcase why women are an essential part of a school system. Additional research is particularly needed to focus on the negative and disempowering dimensions of patriarchy as perceived by followers. Further research is needed to examine the way that patriarchy has interrelationships with racial, economic, gender and religious influences both in the professional and personal lives of women and how these interact to create patterns of subordination and oppression for them.

APPENDICES

Appendix A: Interview Questions for the participants

1. Can you tell me about your life? (A brief background history)
 - a. Birth date, birth place
 - b. Education background
 - c. Marital status and number of child if they have
 - d. Work experience
 - e. Brief information about their financial status (extra work, husband's support, parents' support)
2. How did you decide to become a teacher? (Expectations, effect of the family)
3. What were your expectations of being a women teacher at the beginning?
4. In what aspects did your opinions and expectations of being a teacher change since you have been a teacher? What are the reasons of it/ them?
5. Some people say teaching is the most appropriate job for a women. What would you say for it?
6. Comparing to the male teachers, can you tell the things women teachers have undergone while practicing the profession? (in *terms of students, parents, administration and other dynamics at school*)
7. As a woman teacher, how do the cultural structures in our society affect you? (*In what ways?*)
8. As a woman teacher, what are the political dynamics affecting you in our society?
9. As a woman teacher,, what are the economic factors affecting you in our society? To what extent do you think that you have your economic freedom?
10. What do you think about the most common problems of women in Turkey?

11. What are the sources of these problems? (*Economic freedom, concept of women as a mother-wife, gender stereotyping in labor market.*)
12. What are the main problems you experience as a women teacher in the school? (*comparing to male teachers*)
13. What are the main problems you experience as a women teacher in social life?
14. Do you aware of any gender differences in the roles and expectations of male and female teachers in the school? Are the roles gendered according to the traditional stereotypes?
15. Do you feel any kind of pressures or discriminative attitudes towards you in the school?
16. Do you feel any kind of pressures or discriminative attitudes towards you in society?
17. If you experience any kind of pressures or discriminations, how do you deal with them?

Görüşme Soruları

1. Hayatınızı kısaca anlatır mısınız? (Kısa bir özgeçmiş)
 - Doğum yeri, tarihi,
 - Eğitim geçmişi
 - Medeni durum, çocuk varsa kaç tane
 - İş tecrübesi
 - Maddi durum hakkında kısa bilgi (ekstra iş yapıyor mu, eşinin maddi desteği var mı, maddi destek verdiği birileri var mı?)
2. Öğretmen olmaya nasıl karar verdiniz? (beklentiler, aile-öğretmen etkisi)
3. Kadın öğretmen olarak, başlangıçta öğretmenlikten beklentileriniz neydi?

4. Bazı insanlar kadın için en ideal meslek öğretmenlik diyor. Siz bu konuda ne düşünüyorsunuz?
5. Öğretmen olduğunuzdan bu yana, öğretmen olmakla alakalı düşünceleriniz ve öğretmenlikten beklentilerinizde ne gibi değişiklikler oldu? Sebepleri nelerdir?
6. Erkek öğretmene kıyasla, öğretmenlik mesleği icra edilirken kadın öğretmenin yaşadıklarını anlatır mısınız? (veli, öğrenci, diğer öğretmenler ve idare ilişkileri açısından.)
7. Bir kadın öğretmen olarak, toplumdaki kültürel yapı sizi nasıl etkiliyor?
8. Bir kadın öğretmen olarak, toplumda sizi etkileyen politik etmenler nelerdir?
9. Bir kadın öğretmen olarak, toplumda sizi etkileyen ekonomik etkenler nelerdir? Ne ölçüde ekonomik özgürlüğünüzün olduğunu düşünüyorsunuz?
10. Sizce Türkiye’de kadınlar, kadın kimliklerinden dolayı ne tür problemlerle karşılaşılıyorlar?
11. Bu problemlerin kaynağı nedir? (ekonomik özgürlük-kısıtlama, kadın-anne-eş algısı, iş sahasında cinsiyetçi kalıplar)
12. Kadın öğretmen olarak, okulda yaşadığınız belli başlı problemler nelerdir?(erkek öğretmene kıyasla)
13. Kadın öğretmen olarak, sosyal yaşamda yaşadığınız belli başlı problemler nelerdir?
14. Okulda, kadın ve erkek öğretmenlerin rolleri ve onlardan beklenenler üzerine herhangi bir cinsiyet farkı gözlemliyor musunuz/ farkında mısınız? Okulda roller geleneksel cinsiyetçi kalıplara göre mi belirlenmiş?
15. Okulda size karşı herhangi bir ayrımcı tutum ya da baskı hissediyor musunuz?

16. Toplumda size karşı herhangi bir ayrımcı tutum ya da baskı hissediyor musunuz?
17. Eğer baskı ya da ayrımcı tutum hissediyorsanız (okulda ya da toplumda) bunlarla nasıl başa çıkıyorsunuz?

Appendix B: Original Text of the Quotations from the Interviews in Chapter 4
“Characteristics of the Participants and Findings Related to the Research
Questions”.

1- Tabi ki öğretmenlik mesleğine başladığımdan beri eve destek sağlıyorum hep, yani maaşımın yaklaşık yarısı hatta yarısından fazlası eve gidiyor kendime çok fazla kalmıyor. Son bir senedir toparladım yine bir buçuk senedir artık yani kendime daha fazla zaman ayırmaya başladım hani sosyal anlamda etkinlik anlamında yine biraz zevkler için boş vakitler için daha fazla zaman ayırmaya başladım o şekilde oldu.

2- Eğitim sürecinde yaşadığım zorluklar öğretmen kaynaklı, telafi edilmedi. Çünkü bir düzen vardı o düzen içinde birkaç öğretmen arkadaş şu an arkadaş diyorum öğretmen olduğum için, ama olaya maddi açıdan bakıyorlardı mesela lise döneminde kursa gitmedim kursa gelmeyen sınıfta kalacak tarzında benim aile durumum gelir durumum uygun değildi zaten biraz ben başarılı bir öğrenciydim en sonunda artık ailem de konuştu ama abimler şehir dışına çıkmıştı, ben annemle yalnızdım destek veremiyordu bunların üstüne bir de öğretmenlerimin soğuk yaklaşımları olunca iki üç dersimden hak etmediğim halde düşük not verdiler başarısız saydılar beni ve ben kredilerimi tamamlayamadım. Bu yüzden bir sene alan değişikliği yapmak zorunda kaldım. O sene hatta mahkeme açılmıştı, yalnız işte güçlü olanlar kazanır ya mahkemeyi biz yani ben kazanamadım, bir de küçük yaşta olduğum için uzun süre mücadele edemedim bu benim için bir talihsizlik olarak kaldı.

3- Benim teyzem bu ülkenin ilk ehliyet alan kadınlarından, kocasından önce ehliyet aldı. Kocasını ehliyet aldığı için karısına araba hediye etti. Annem minibüs kullandı babamın şantiyelerinde, işte anneannem eşine soyadını vermiş. Hani kadınların böyle hayatlar yaşadığı farklı modellerden geliyorum. Benim anneannem de babaannem de Cumhuriyetin ilk gelinlik giyen kadınlarından.

4- Beşiktaş Anadolu lisesindeki öğretmenlerimi görürdüm ve onların bazıları benim hayatımı çok etkilemişti ve benim hayatımı çok etkileyen cümleleri vardı, beni bugün şekillendirmiş olan şeylerin %50'sini lise hayatıma, oradaki arkadaşlarıma ve oradaki öğretmenlerime borçluyum açıkçası. Bugün neysem %50'si o dönemlere ait ve neden öğretmen olmak istedim, ben bugün bu olduğum şeyin %50'sini bu öğretmenlere ve bu arkadaşlara, bu lise çevresine borçluysam ben de bir öğrencinin hayatının %50'sinin bir parçası olmak fikriyle yola çıktım. Yani sahada olmak gibi bir şey, saha çalışması gibi bir şey birebir katkı teoride değil pratikte birebir katkıda bulunmak çok önemli.

5- Benim bir mesleğim vardı ben mesleğimi yapmak istiyordum dedim. Yıldız Lisesi'nde çalışırken, KPSS'ye girdim, atandım ve bu okula geldim o gün bugündür buradayım 2004 den beri.

6- Yani yaşadığım süre içerisinde en iyi şehir Tunceli'ydi diyebilirim. Çok rahat yaşadığım bir memleket, din, dil, ırk ayrımı yapılmadan rahatlıkla yaşanabilecek bir şehir bence her ne kadar ön yargılar olsa da. Öyle düşünüyorum ben yani hayatımın en güzel günleri orada geçti diyebilirim.

7- Geçim kaynağı hayvancılık, hani doğuda şeydir maddi sıkıntı pek çekilmez ekmek elden su gölden hesabı öyle bir geçim kaynağı vardı. Ben eğitim hayatımı yatılı okullarda geçirdim, üniversitede zaten öğrenim kredisi yurtkurdan aldığımız kredilerle okuduk.

8- Öğretmenliği tabi ki ben istedim, her öğrencinin hayatında bir öğretmen modeli vardır, Türkçe öğretmenim vardı kulakları çınlasın Ahmet Görceğiz, ortaokulda derslerime giriyordu onu model almıştım ve sonuna kadar da öyle gitti. Türkçe'yi de çok çok seviyorum, öğretmenim de yol gösterince oldu.

9- Bingöl yatılı okulunda kalıyorduk. Sadece 10 tane kız öğrenci Alevi. Yemekhanede özellikle Alevi olmayan personelin kız öğrencilere yemek vermemesi, özellikle ramazan ayında sabahtan akşama kadar aç kalmamız, böyle bir problemimiz vardı. Sonra bizim odamızın temizlenmemesi, müdahale edilmedi. Zaten yatılı okuyorsunuz, arkanızda aileniz yok. Hatta okul idaresi şunu ima etti; siz bu okuldan gidin biz oruç tutucuz, yani hani dersiniz ya Allahım şu dileğim kabul olsun oruç tutucam, o şekilde siz gidin arkanızdan düğün dernek yapıcaz gibi.

10- Maddi durumu olduğu halde işte herkes ayıplamış kız çocuğu okula mı gider diye. Halen babam bunun vicdan azabını çok çekiyor ve şu an babamda öyle bir değişim oldu ki, özellikle annemi kaybettikten sonra kız çocuklarının okuması için benim üniversite eğitimi almam, bilgisayar eğitimi almam, ablamın işte sürücü kursuna gitmesi müthiş derecede kız çocuklarına karşı şeyi başladı nasıl diyeyim, duyarlılığı başladı.

11- Ablam okuryazar değil ve eniştem okuryazar, memur. Eniştem alkolik ileri derecede ve ablama şiddet uyguluyordu, babam şey demiş mesela eğer ben bunu okutsaydım, maddi gücü olsaydı bu bunu hayatta çekmezdi. İşte bakın Nesrin'in maddi gücü var okuduğu için sizden daha şey işte bakın kızı okuyor. Toplumda hep beni örnek veriyor. Mesela benim 3 tane kızım var babam gurur duyuyor.

12- 10 yıl önce Adıyaman'da bir kot pantolon giymek kız çocuğu için ayıp sayılırdı. Kuşak çatışmasının en bariz görüldüğü yer olarak Adıyaman'ı örnek verilebilir. Kadınlar çarşaflıdır ama yeri geldiğinde yanlarında moda kıyafetler giymiş ellerinde cep telefonlarıyla kızları olur, beraber giderler.

13- Eşimin tarafında da bazen konuşuluyor işte Hasan'ın erkek çocuğu yok diye. Yapmayı düşünmüyorum bir tane daha. Sırf onların egosunu tatmin etmek için, erkek çocuk dünyaya gelir düşüncesiyle değil asla hem o hem de benim bakabilecek kapasitem yok. Yani 3. bile benim kapasitemi aşıyor.

14- Eşimden kaynaklanan bir sorundan tedavi olduk. Yine eşimin ailesi “hayır, oğlumla uğraşma, oğlumda bir şey yok” dedi. Ben de hayır dedim sorun bende değil ve ben problemi çözücem dedim, hep kadında bilinir ya böyle şeyler. Erzurum’daki doktor eşime rahatsızlığını söyledi, eşim ameliyat oldu büyük baskılara rağmen. Annesi falan karşı çıktı ameliyat günü geldiler, bizde böyle bir şey yok, sen geldin yaptın, biz üretkeniz dediler.

15- Biz ek iş yapmadık. Ev kredisi çektik diye kızımın tedavisi çıkınca onda bir takım zorluklar yaşadık. Çünkü o zaman maaşımız yetmedi, sağ olsun arkadaşlar bize o zaman para topladılar.

16- Bizim zamanımızda öyle dersane falan ya da çok bilinçli etrafımızda insanlar yoktu öyle kendi bakış açımdan adaleti sağlamak istiyordum ben ve dedim ki adalet nerden sağlanır hukuk fakültesinden olacak bu işte avukat olucam, savunucam falan öyle bir takıntım vardı. Zaten başka üniversite de bilmiyorum bahçesine gidip oturduğum bir üniversiteydi Ankara üniversitesi sevdiğim bir yerdi, bütün tercihlerimi o Ankara üniversitesi Cebeci kampüsünde yapmıştım.

17- Direk eğitim bilimleri değil, seneye tekrar sınava girdim o haziranda eğitim fakültesinin sınıf öğretmenliği bölümünü bilerek ve isteyerek yazdım. Şeydi amacım o zamanda işte eğitimle birçok şeyi düzeltebileceğimi düşünüyordum. İnsan yetiştirmek çok önemli ve çok zordu. Bütün sorunların hep insanlarla karşı karşıya geldiğin zaman oluyor, anlatamıyorsun derdini anlatamıyorsun ya da sen diyorsun bu adam nasıl böyle düşünür ya da niye bunu yapar demek ki her şey insanda bitiyor, insanın beyninde bitiyor deyip bu bölümü bilerek ve isteyerek seçtim ve çok da seviyorum, mesleğimi çok seviyorum.

18- Pardon ama tuvalet yoktu ilk çalıştığım okulda, köyde tuvalet kavramı yok ve çocuklar bunu bilmiyorlar, hemen gidip böyle tuvalet taşı alıp gelip böyle bir kız bir erkek olmak üzere, tüm bunları sen yapıyorsun ve nerede defter kitap, o kadar kötü durum. Çocuklara tuvalet eğitimini vermekte mesela o taş nedir bu taş ne işe yarar, sene 2003!

19- Otoriter bir babam vardı üniversiteyi seçtikten sonra artık üniversiteyi seçerken de şehir dışını seçememe, mesleği seçememe, mesleği bırakıp başka fakülteye gidememe çok kesin bir tavır, o yüzden benim bir sene kaybım da oldu zaten hayır buraya gitmeyeceksin, hayır buraya gideceksin. Başımdan çok kötü bir olay geçse benim hayatım söz konusu olsa bile, ben bu olayı hiçbir zaman onaylamadım, tek başıma yaptın bedellerini tek başına ödeyeceksin deyip sap gibi bıraktığı dönemler de oldu. Ama para kazanmaya başladıktan sonra biraz da benden kaynaklanan bir şekilde daha az karışır oldu.

20- Çocukluk hayalimdi belki annemin biraz etkisi olmuş olabilir çünkü annem de öğretmen olmak istemiş dedem izin vermemiş hani çocukluktan beri böyle bir isteğim vardı öğretmen olucam öğretmen olucam o şekilde gerçekleşti. Annem

çalışmıyor, ev hanımı. Ortaokulda kesin kararımı vermiştim öğretmen olmak için artık başka bir tercih yapmayı düşünmedim. Annem çocukları çok seviyordu hala da öyle. Yani çocuklarla oynamak onlarla bir şeyler paylaşmak hoşuna gidiyordu bu yüzden öğretmen olmak istemiş o da bize geçti herhalde ben de aynı şekilde çocukları çok seviyorum bu şekilde devam ediyor.

21- Eşimin ailesinde eğer baba bir şeye karar vermişse, her zaman o doğru kabul edilir ve konuşmaya gerek yoktur. Hatta anne daha mantıklı bir karar vermiş olsa bile, babanın sözü önemlidir. Tabi eğer büyükbaba oradaysa babanın değil onun sözleri daha çok saygı görür. Benim ailemde hayat daha demokratik bir şekilde gider ama onun memleketindeyse, benim biraz arka planda olmam beklenir.

22- Ama şu an için sıkıntım var mı var, bir ev aldık ve kredisini ödüyoruz hani bir öğretmenin bir şeye sahip olabilmesi çok zor. Evlilik bu konuda kurtarıcı etken hani tek başıma bu çevrede şimdi düşünüyorum yani bayan öğretmen olsaydım çok zorlanacağımı düşünüyorum maddi olarak belki çok değil yine ama manevi anlamda başıma yani ben korkarım açıkçası tecavüz, hırsızlık yani bunların hepsi benim başıma gelebilecek durumlar olduğu için korkarım. Evlilik bu anlamda biraz daha kurtarıcı.

23- Aslında ekonomik anlamda çok rahat bir büyüme, çok rahat büyümedik açıkçası. Babam inşaatlarda çalışırdı eve çok yorgun gelirdi, kazma küreğin verdiği emekle bizleri okuttu.

24- Şöyle bir şanssızlığım oldu benim ilkokul öğretmenim öğretmen değildi o dönemlerde, bankadan emekli olup bizi eğitmek üzere göreve başlamıştı. Birçok konuda eksikti kendisini severdim ama verdiği eğitim birçok konuda eksikti. Matematik adına hiçbir şey almadım diyebilirim, onun sancılarını eğitim sürecimde çok yaşadım. Geleceğimi de etkiledi, benim şöyle bir şansım oldu; müzik beden eğitimi ve resim derslerinde çok başarılıydım, ilkokul 3.sınıfta da halk oyunları kursuna başlamıştım okulda, halk oyunları hocamı çok sevmiştim, dolayısıyla o biraz hayatımı şekillendirdi diyebilirim. Biz yöresel oyunlara ve gelenek göreneklerine düşkün bir yapıya sahibiz, dolayısıyla ileride dans öğretmenliği ya da müzik öğretmenliği yapabilir miyim diye ilkokul 3, 4 gibi düşünmeye başladım.

25- Yani küçüklüğümden şöyle bir şey hatırlıyorum annemle bir gün minibüse binmiştik, annem Kürtçe konuşuyordu, şoför kızmıştı bize ne o öyle bararını konuşuyorsunuz, düzgün konuşun, sizi mi dinlicez biz gibi söylemişti. Annem de bana okulda Kürt olduğunu söyleme hele Alevi olduğunu hiç söyleme demişti. Mesela ilkokulda da Alevilikle alakalı bir sohbet geçse hiç renk vermezdim ben Aleviyim diye.

26- Yasin ağabeyimiz aynı zamanda akrabam, ITÜ konservatuvarı kazanmıştı, biz onu örnek aldık diyebilirim yani, bize koro çalışması yaptırırdı, bu süreçle beraber evet mesleğim bu olmalı diyebildim. Annem okuma yazma bilmiyordu, babam ellili

yaşlarında öğrendi dolayısıyla ileride ne olacağımla alakalı bana yön veren ailemde ablalarım ağabeylerim vardı ama çok öyle bir girişimleri olmadı.

27- Kürt camiası tarafından bilinen ve sevilen bir grup, Koma Agire Jiyan. 6 yıl müzik yaptım sahneye çıktım, doğuda özellikle çok fazla konsere çıktık. Benim gruba girdiğim süreç 1995–2001 yılları arası. O süreçte Kürt müziği yapmak zordu ve çeşitli engellerle de karşılaşabiliyorduk izin verilmiyordu. Kısa süreli gözaltılar olabiliyordu gibi. Grupta tek kadın olmanın sıkıntısını çok yaşadım. Gruptaki erkek arkadaşlarım çok fazla feodal bir yapıya sahiplerdi, çok fazla kendimi ifade edemedim. Kendi kendilerine repertuarı değiştirirlerdi, diğer erkek solist arkadaş çok dominydi, hep konserlerde ön planda olmak isterdi ve grup arkadaşları da onun önünü açarlardı.

28- Ben son sınıftayken babam iflas etti, market açmayı denemişti. Yani aslında marketi devrederken dolandırıldık. Neyse artık son sene, batmışız ve bende hiç harçlık yok, son tez ödevlerini kitap halinde teslim etmem lazım, o arada grup yavaş yavaş gittiği konserlerden para alıyor ve bana para vermediler. Çok üzüldüm çünkü 6 yıl boyunca yaşadıklarım, bir bayan olarak kendimi ifade etme çabam, yani ben çok zorlandım gerçekten bu olumsuz şeyleri çok yoğun yaşadım ve sonrasında 1,5 yıl psikolojik tedavi gördüm. O arada mezun oldum, tezimi verebildim şu anki eşim borç aldı bir yerden ve o verdi parayı. Çok mutlu oldum tabi bu kadar zorluktan sonra mezun olduğum için.

29- Ortaokuldan beri ben öğretmen olmak istedim her zaman, edebiyat öğretmeni ya da Türkçe öğretmeni. Şimdi öğrencilerime soruyorum ne olmak istiyorsunuz, diyorlar ki daha karar vermedim. Oysa ben taa o zamanlar kararımı vermiştim ya edebiyat ya da Türkçe öğretmeni olmalıydım. Eğitimci bir aileden gelmekten mi kaynaklanıyor bilmiyorum aslında 4 kız kardeşiz bir tek ben öğretmenim, diğerleri başka meslek dallarını seçmiş durumdadılar.

30- Annemin anlatması böyle, bir de maaşını da annemin babam almış, aynı okulda olmanın dezavantajı. Direk mesela derdi ben ek dersimi almaya giderdim, o zamanlar memur verirmiş ek dersi, memur hemen dermiş ki hocanım maalesef müdür sizden önce aldı. Annem diyor ki ya ben çalışıyorum para benim de hakkım, para istemeye giderdim yanından yok işte bilmem ne bana laf sayar beni gönderirdi.

31- Ben çocukları seviyorum, yani çocuklarla iletişimim konusunda sıkıntı yaşamıyorum. Özel yaşamıma daha fazla zaman kalıyor. Öğretmenlik mezun olunup hemen atanması yapılan bir işti, o zaman çok saygın bir iş değildi saygındı da popüler bir iş değildi. Çünkü özel sektörde çalışanlar öğretmenin iki katı maaş alıyordu ama çevreyi gözlemledim baktım, gelecek olarak sağlamlık olarak gelecek vadeden bir işti benim gözümde. . Benim üniversiteye girdiğim 1991 de öğretmenlik, ben 416 puanla girdim aldığım puan 478di. Ailemde puanımı boşu boşuna ziyan edeceğimi düşünüyordu zaten.

32- Orada sorunlar yaşadım biraz idareciyle müdürle falan. 2.yılımda beni kendi okuluma buraya aldılar yani 13 yıldır bilfiil burada çalışıyorum. İdeoloji kaynaklı sorunlar vardı, yani ramazanda oruç tutmayanlara kınama uyarı verebilen yani biraz despot biriydi.

33- Öğretmen birisiyle evlenmek istemedim. Okuldan başka bir şey olmuyor konuşacak öbür türlü. Özellikle aynı okulda çalışan çiftleri görüyorum. Biri sabah biri öğleden sonar çalışıyor, dönüşümlü olarak çocuklara bakıyorlar böylece. Ben kocamla 24 saat beraber olmak istemem. Sosyal yaşam olarak birbirimize göbekten bağlı olmayı doğru bulmuyorum. Bir süre sonra ölü bir ilişkiye döner bence.

34- Annem babam çok ücra yerlerde çalıştılar. Ben köyde okudum ilkokulu, onların yanında birleştirilmiş sınıflarda. Hani annemden babamdan çok ayrı kaldım aslında, köyde eğitim kalitesi çok iyi olmayınca beni anneannemin yanına bıraktılar ben anneannemin yanında okudum. O yüzden hani annem babamla ve kardeşimle çok ayrı kaldık. Annemin çalışmasını istemiyordum bu yüzden.

35- Bir de çok bilinçli tercih yapmıyoruz galiba, şu an olsa rehber öğretmen olmak isterdim. Yani yine öğretmenlik ama psikolojik danışmanlık isterdim. Hatta seneye üniversite sınavına bile girmeyi düşünüyorum psikoloji okuyayım diye çünkü hani kariyer mariyer değil tamamen kendi ilgim.

36- Devam etme şansım vardı yüksek lisansa ama bıraktım o zamanlar. Şimdi İstanbul'daki üniversitelere başvurmaya çalışıyorum ama tabi o zamanlar gençtim ve akademik yaşama daha yakındım. Şimdi düşünüyorum da hem okuyup hem çalışmak zor olabilir.

37- Kimlik olarak genelde Reha'nın eşi ve öğretmen ön planda oluyor. Dışarıda sokakta otobüste kadın olmanın sıkıntılarını görüyorum.

38- Toplum içerisinde bir otobüse falan bindiğimde ilk bana öğretmen gözüyle bakılmıyor, kadın gözüyle bakılıyor, kılık kıyafetinde tabi ki sorunlar yaşıyorsun, toplum içerisinde hal davranışlarıyla ilgili, sorunlar yaşıyorsun kadın olarak çünkü hani, ilk baktığımız zaman bu kişi öğretmendir denmiyor.

39- Kadın olmak sanki ekstra bir kamburmuş gibi geliyor bana. Bir şeyde zorluk çekiyorsan kadınsan iki kat zorluk çekiyorsun ama bazen de kadın olmanın verdiği avantajları yaşıyorsun Ben kendi yaşadığım yerden örnek veriyorum. Kendim konuşuyorum şimdi kadın olmak gerçekten çok zor diyorum, öyle. Hayata karşı duyarlılığından öte etrafımda, işte gecenin onunda eve geldiğin zaman o zaman olmuyor sanki çok fazla şey istiyormuşsun gibi oluyor. Çok basit bir şey aslında, işte giydiğin etek var. Cinsiyetinle direk ortadasın başka hiçbir şey değil. Direk cinsiyetle ortaya çıkıyorsun, tabi ki sokakta bir insan ya da apartmanda yani şöyle bir şey var adam demiyor ki aa işte bu öğretmen, kadınsın sen onun gözünde bu yönle ortaya çıkıyorsun. Erkeğin bakış açısı şekillendiriyor.

40- Yani biriyle konuşurken, ona bakarak bir erkeğe bakarak anlatır müdür ya da idareciler sanki orda kadın yokmuş gibi ya da sanki sen öğretmen değilmişsin gibi. Onun orda senden daha vasıflı olduğunu ya da senden çok daha iyi olduğunu, düşünür. Ama burada idareciler, müdürler, müfettişlerin hepsi erkek. O yüzden bir erkeği muhatap olarak bakar belki konuştuğundan sonra, senin kılıfını gördükten sonra süreç geçtikten sonra belki kadın olarak değil ama mesleğinde iyi biri olarak yani en başta cinsiyet ön planda, senin kişiliğin arka planda, cinsiyetin ön planda. O yüzden dikkate alınmıyorsun ama daha sonraki zamanlarda iş ahlakın ya da işi yapman ya da kişiliğin ön plana çıktığında dikkate alınabilirsin.

41- Öğretmen ön plana çıkıyor, zaten mahallede uzun süredir ikamet ettiğim için direk öğretmen kimliğim daha farklı, öğretmen kimliğim ağır bastığından mesela farklı bir bakış açısıyla bakıyorlar sana, sana cinsel bir obje olarak değil de öğreten kişi olarak insanların zihinlerine kazınıyorsun. Öğretmen o açıdan daha iyi oluyor, sana saygı duyuyorlar bir markete girdiğinde oo hocam şöyledir böyledir anlatıyor. Kadın olmak dezavantaj. Bu mahallede benim biraz dayanabilmemin şeyi öğretmen olmam. Böyle bir toplumda böyle bir zihniyette, istediğini giyememen, istediğin gibi davranamaman, bir sigara içen bayan hoş karşılanmazken erkeğin her şekilde bunu yapabilmesi çok büyük bir adaletsizlik. Önce bayan olduğumuzu göz önüne alıp bayan olarak kendimize değer verirsek toplumda bize değer verir. Ben kendimi öğretmen kimliğimden önce bayan olarak görüyorum daha sonra öğretmenliğim geliyor ve insanlar bana bu gözle bakıyorlar.

42- Bence biz kimliğimizi taşıyoruz, bunu sadece sınıfta yapıyoruz. Yani öğretmenden daha çok kadın kimliğimiz oluyor daha çok. Ben öğretmenin artık çok öğretmen gibi görüldüğüne inanmıyorum, çünkü medya ve veliler bakanımız bile öyle lanse ediyor ki ben mesela şundan çok rahatsız oluyorum, bir yerde öğretmenim diyorsunuz hemen oh ne güzel yatıyorsun yarım gün yani şunu anlatamıyorsunuz ben kazandığımız paranın bize fazla olduğunu bile düşündüklerini seziyorum. Öğretmen kimliğimi okuldan çıktıktan sonra çok taşımamaya çalışıyorum, yani dışarıda başka kişilerle görüşüp rahatlatıcı şeyler yapmaya çalışıyorum. Kulağımı her şeye açarsam belki de rahatsız olacak çok şey var ben biraz kulağımı kapatıyorum duymazlıktan geliyorum bazen.

43- Önceliğim şimdilik benim, benim bir sürü rolüm var işte ben bir evladım bir vatandaşım, bir öğretmenim hepsi için ayrı ayrı yerim var ama en uygun en yakın? Hepsi birbirinden ayrı ve ben bir araya getiremiyorum bunları, özellikle okulun dışındayken çok fazla öğretmen olduğumu söylemem, okuldan öğrencilerden bahsetmem. Evle okuldaki hayat arası tabii ki beslenmeli orda bir kanal olmalı, iş hayatım normal hayatımı, normal hayatım iş hayatımı beslemeli ama ben normal hayatımın iş hayatını beslemesine izin veriyorum ama iş hayatımın normal hayatımı beslemesine izin vermiyorum.

44- Ama işte kadın kadındır kalıbı bunun hani eskiden beri gelmiş olmasıyla da alakalı hani bunu çok düşünüyorum gerilere bakıyorum, hani mesela gördüğümüz

geçirdiğimiz hani şuna bakalım mesela bütün peygamberler erkektir hani, bütün işte ülkeyi kurtaranlar erkektir. Bu erkeklerin daha üst kademede olduğunu gösteren bir şeymiş gibi geliyor bana hani yüceltilmiş varlıklar olarak geliyor bana bu yüzden kadınların ön plana çıkması zorlaşıyor. Ya da hani siyasete baktığımızda da öyle hani çok fazla kadın politikacı göremiyoruz, erkeklerin baskınlığı var bu konuda. Kadınların toplumda bu anlayıştan dolayı yaşadıkları- işte kadınların siyasete girememeleri, seçilmemeleri, en basiti televizyonda izlediğimiz yarışmalarda bile genelde baktığımızda hep erkekler kazanıyor kadınların kazandığı çok az sayıda yarışma vardır. Mesela müzik yarışmaları gibi, halkın oyladığı yarışmalar, yani kadın olmak çok büyük bir dezavantaj mesela.

45- Türkiye’de kadın olmak çok zor bir iş. Çünkü düzenli olarak şiddete uğruyorlar en başta, sadece fiziksel şiddetten bahsetmiyorum, tacize uğruyorlar, sokakta yürürken laf yiyen erkek milyonda birdir, ama kadınların, şu an benim yaşında olup da sokakta laf yemeyen herhangi bir harekete uğramayan kadın yoktur zaten bu başlı başına bir sorun. Sadece eğitim camiası değil kültürel sosyal anlamda daha farklı koşullarda yaşayan kadınlar çok zor durumda benim bir velim mesela kadın sığınma evine gitmeye karar verdi, o derece kocası sürekli dövüyor. Dövmek fiziksel şiddet artık sorun değil diyor kadın, küfrediyor bana sürekli diyor. Mesela çocuğu okula getiriyor geri döndüğünde işte nerdeydin, kiminle ne yaptın tarzı açık açık o eylemi de söyleyip kadını itham ediyor falan. İstanbul’da yaşamamıza rağmen benim 36 öğrencim var o kadar da velim var, en az yarısı bu sorunu yaşıyor. Şimdi bizdeki bu yaklaşımın İslamiyet’ten kaynaklandığını düşünüyorum ben çünkü İslamiyet kadını çok uzun yüzyıllar boyunca hep 2.planda tuttu şimdi medenileşme, globalleşme anlamında biraz açıldığımız için insanlar.

46- Türkiye adına baktığımızda kadın kadındır işte. Yani çok ataerkil bir toplum olduğumuzu düşünüyorum, erkeğin daha fazla sözünün geçtiği, onun daha baskın olduğu, onun sözünün doğru olduğu bir ortamın olduğunu düşünüyorum. Bunu hangi alanlarda gözlemliyoruz? Kendi eşimin ailesinde bunu çok görüyorum yani eğer baba bir karar vermişse bu karar her zaman doğrudur.

47- Güneydoğu Anadolu kültüründe büyüdük, baskı çok fazla özellikle, nasıl diyim, babaanne, dede yani geniş ailede büyüyorsan anne babanın çocuklar üzerinde hiçbir söz hakkı yok. Ben çok iyi hatırlıyorum annemle babam yolda giderken, annemin bir adım arkada babamın bir adım önde yürüdüğü günleri. Ayıp işte kadının yanında yürüyor diye 2. plana itme kadını. İşte bizim içinde çocukken bile hep susturulduk, bastırıldık hocam, sus kız çocuğusun konuşma, sus ayıp, ayağını uzatma, büyüğün yanında konuşulmaz, kahve içilmez, yok şunu yapma etme yani biz hep bir takım baskılarla büyüdük.

48- Yine öğrencilerimden duyduğum kadarıyla sofrada denilen bir kültür vardır, işte kız çocukları mutfakta yemek yer anne baba ve erkek çocuk, hatta anne de bazen mutfakta yer, diğerleri yemek masasında, salonda yemek yer. Ben bunu öğrencilerimden duydum ama birinin evine de kendim misafir olmuştum bizzat

yaşadım, gördüm. Hatta beni de mutfakta, siz bayanlar şöyle, biz erkekler böyle diye yönlendirdiler. Madem öyle kadın yemek masasında yemeğini yesin, hani bu 2.plana atmak değil de sadece kültürse, erkek mutfakta yemek yesin. Hani mutfak kötü bir bölge olarak bilinir yemek için uğradığımız bir alan çok fazla işimizi gördüğümüz bir yer ama hani bir ihtiyaç için gidildiğinde kullanılabilir bir yer işte salon, televizyonlu daha rahat daha kıymetlidir.

49- Ben ortaokula gittiğim ilk gün sabah annem bana ince bir çorap verdi. Bak kızım sen artık önlük giymeyeceksin, büyüdün yetişkin oldun forma giyeceksin altına da bu çorabı giyeceksin, dedi. Hatta ben de aa anne kadınların giydiği çoraplardan mı dedim. Evet dedi çünkü hani sen artık genç kız olma aşamasındasın. İyi dedim giydim ama çorap bana o kadar yabancı ki, hemen yırtıldı. Annem bana ortaokula gittiğim gün nasıl oturmam gerektiğini öğretti. İşte bacaklarını birleştireceksin, eteğin o kadar çok açılmayacak böyle oturacaksın. İşte sende de ister istemez böyle kalıplar oluşuyor ve ben bu yaşıma geldim, hala bacaklarımı açıp oturamam, birinin üzerinde ayak ayaküstüne atamam, yapamam. Bunları çünkü annem bunları kulağıma fısıldaya fısıldaya her ne kadar bunları aştığımı düşünsem de bunların saygı belirtisi olmadığını düşünsem de bunları yapıyorum fark etmeden yapıyorum içime işlemiş, hele etek giydiysem bacaklar hemen yukarı kalkıp birleşik oturucam. Mesela yayılmaya başladığımızda hemen kendimize gelip toparlanırsın ama erkek öğretmenler yapmıyor. Şöyle bir toparlanıyor bir kadın öğretmen geldiğinde ama davranması gerektiği gibi değil, hatta bazen oo arkadaşım sana yatak yorgan getirelim diyerek davranışını eleştirdim. Ama işte anne örneğinde verdim ya, annem abim ortaokula gittiğinde köşeye sıkıştırıp artık sen beyefendi oldun kravat takıyorsun daha dik dur, şöyle otur böyle otur demedi.

50- Ekonomik özgürlük hele ooovv, bir kadın için en önemli şeylerden bir tanesi. Bunu şöyle yaşıyoruz, şey diyebilirdim otoriter bir babam vardı üniversiteyi seçtikten sonra artık üniversiteyi seçerken de şehir dışını seçememe, mesleği seçememe, mesleği bırakıp başka fakülteye gidememe çok kesin bir tavır, o yüzden benim bir sene kaybım da oldu zaten hayır buraya gitmeyeceksin, hayır buraya gideceksin. Başımdan çok kötü bir olay geçse benim hayatım söz konusu olsa bile, ben bu olayı hiçbir zaman onaylamadım, tek başıma yaptın bedellerini tek başına ödeyeceksin deyip sap gibi bıraktığı dönemler de oldu. Ama para kazanmaya başladıktan sonra biraz da benden kaynaklanan bir şekilde daha az karışır oldu. Ekonomik özgürlük çok önemli, zaten toplumdaki birçok sorunun da nedeni bu, kadın dayak yiyor yine de bir yere gidemiyor, niye çünkü gidecek hiçbir yeri yok niye çünkü maddi bir dayanağı yok kadının. 2. Plana atılmakta da böyle, işte dışarı çıkartılmıyor, bir sürü şeye boyun eğmek zorunda kadın ya da düşünün işte genelevdeki kadınları oradalar çünkü paraları yok, kazanabilecekleri başka hiçbir şey yok. Sen işte merdiven sil, temizliğe gitle olacak çok bir şeyler değil bunlar hepsi ekonomik özgürlük, hepsi ekonomiye dayalı. Hiç istemediği bir şeyi para kazanmak zorunda olduğu için yapıyor. Kadınların statüsü parayla paralel olarak

yükseliyor diyorum ben. İşin varsa o kadar çok özgürsün, ne kadar çok paran varsa o kadar çok sesin çıkar. O kadar çok pastadan pay alabilirsin.

51- Atanmadan önce eşimden harçlık alıyordum. Çünkü belli gün ve saatlerde çalıştığım için aldığım maaş çok azdı. Harçlık gibi oluyordu, mutfak masrafına ancak yetebilecek gibiydi. Daha çok eşimin yardımıyla ihtiyaçlarımı karşılıyordum. Atandıktan sonra kendi paranızı kazanınca daha rahat hareket edebiliyorsunuz istediğiniz harcamayı yapabiliyorsunuz tabi belli boyutlarda. İdame etmeniz gereken bir yaşam var faturalardan mutfak masraflarına. Yani benim kazandığım paranın da bir şekilde kullanılması gerekiyor. O anlamda eşime destek olabildiğim için kendimi daha iyi hissediyorum. Sadece onun kazanmış olduğu parayı harcamak beni çok rahatsız ediyordu öncesinde. Kendimi evde yaşadığımız sorunlarda ifade ederken bile özgüven kazandırdı. Eşimin öyle bir baskısı hiçbir zaman olmadı, içten içe ben kendimi daha rahat hissetmeye başladım

52- Ekonomik özgürlüğünü almak bir şey değiştirmiyor. Bir defa kadının birey olarak kendine değer vermezse, isterse ekonomik özgürlüğünü eline alsın eşi ona değer vermez. Annem aynı şekilde ekonomik özgürlüğünü eline almış bir bireydi ama kendisini iyi yöne götürecektir bir düşünce yapısına sahip değildi. Bu yüzden istemediği bir evliliğe yıllarca devam etmek zorunda kaldı. O yüzden ekonomik özgürlüğünü eline almış olması yeterli değil, önce insan olarak kendimizin birey olduğunu kabul etmemiz gerekiyor. Kadın olarak birçok şeyi başarabileceğimize inanmamız gerekiyor.

53- Çalışan kadın da olsan, yine evde harcayacağın paraya bakılır, ben buna inanıyorum yani evet sen de getiriyorsun eşin de getiriyor fakat senin harcayacakların bellidir. Ben çalışan öğretmen arkadaşlarımdan bilirim kuaföre gideceklerinde eşine bak ben kuaföre gideceğim bana şu kadar para verebilir misin, derler.

54- Bekâr kadın öğretmenleri özellikle küçük yerlerde daha bir evlendirme çabası, sana böyle sanki senin hayatın eksikmiş ve onlar senin hayatını tamamlayacaklarmış gibi hani sanki senin bir özrün varmış da insanlar ona yardımcı olmaya çalışıyormuş gibi davranıyorlar. Ya da gerçekten o bir statüyümüş, yani evlenince bir statü atlayacakmışın gibi bir şey var küçük yerlerde daha çok, çalıştığım için biliyorum.

55- Yani bir arkadaşım var onunla konuşuyoruz, evlendi o, diyoruz artık sen sosyal statü olarak bir basamak daha öndesin, yükseldin. Yani çünkü toplumumuzun evli kadına bakış açısı farklı, bekâra farklı, evlenmemiş ve belli bir yaşa gelmiş kadınlara bakış açısı çok çok farklı. Evlenmemiş, evlenememiş bakış açısı. Ciddiye mi almıyorlar artık nedir, imrenerek baktıklarını söyleyemeyeceğim. İnsanların çoğu ne zaman evleniyorsun bak evlenmiyor musun hala diyorlar. Belki de acıyorlardır bilmiyorum ama olumlu bir şey olduğunu düşünmüyorum. Bu beni çok kızdırıyor, direk öğretmenliğin kadın cinsiyetine yapılandırılması kadar kızdırıyor.

56- Evlilik bu konuda kurtarıcı etken hani tek başıma bu çevrede şimdi düşünüyorum yani bayan öğretmen olsaydım çok zorlanacağımı düşünüyorum maddi olarak belki çok değil yine ama manevi anlamda başıma yani ben korkarım açıkçası tecavüz, hırsızlık yani bunların hepsi benim başıma gelebilecek durumlar olduğu için korkarım. Evlilik bu anlamda biraz daha kurtarıcı.

57- Bence kadın öğretmenler için yıllar içinde iyi değişiklikler oldu. Mesela, şu an pantolon giymekte özgürüz. Bence hükümetler kadınların sosyal yaşamında yenilik yapmaya çalışıyorlar çünkü biliyorlar ki kadınlar onlara oy verecek. Eğer süt iznini de daha iyi bir şekilde ayararlarsa çok iyi olacak.

58- Bu yüzden kadınlara kızıyorum, siyasi anlamda bu kadar bilinçsiz oldukları için kızıyorum onlara. Çoğunun Türkiye'nin geçmiş tarihi ile ilgili haberi bile yok. Ülke hangi süreçlerden geçti, kaç darbe geçirdik, bu darbelerin bize olumsuz etkileri neydi? 68 kuşağının yaşadıkları ne, çok büyük sosyal kargaşalar yaşamış bir ülke Türkiye, yani kısaca 70-80 yıllık bir Cumhuriyet tarihinde 2 tane kesin 3. sü şaibeli darbe yaşamış bir ülke ama son şu 80den sonraki öğretmenlere sorsanız haberleri yoktur bunlardan. Kadınlar daha az siyasallar. Ya şimdi sendikalar da çok bir şey yapmıyorlar ama yine de tarafsız olan bertaraf olur diye düşünüyorum.

59- Apolitik! Kesinlikle, etliye sütlüye bulaşmak istemiyor, öğretmenler odasında pıs pıs pıs öğretmen arkadaşlarıyla konuşmayı, dedikodu yapmayı tercih ediyor. Bence ev kadını ruhu var, yanlışlıkla ve kazayla meslek sahibi olmuş olduklarını düşünüyorum. Çünkü bir entelektüel yapılarının olmadıklarını düşünüyorum ve işte sözüm meclisten dışarı ama gelelim, ev kadını ruhuyla hareket ediyorlar, geliyorlar işimizi yapalım öğretelim de ondan sonra evimize gidelim yemeğimizi yapalım ya da erkek arkadaşımızla buluşalım haha hihh yapalım. Böyle bir hafiflik, hani bu benim mesleğim, bunu daha iyi nereye götürebilirim nasıl kendimi geliştirebilirim, çocuklara da daha nasıl etki edebilirim düşünüp bu yönde başvurabilecek bir nokta olmadıkları gibi, bir rol modelleri de yok.

60- Kadın öğretmenlerin politik anlamda çok aktif olduklarını görmedim, bayanlar erkekler kadar politik olamıyor sanırım. Bayanlar o kadar zaman ayıramıyor sanırım öncelikler daha fazla oluyor sanırım işte hayatın koşturmacası, eşine çocuklarına ayırdığı zaman, bir sendikaya üye olup onun bünyesinde aktif olabilmemiz için gerçekten çok emek vermeniz gerekiyor. Hem çalışan biri olarak, hem çocuğun varsa, öncelik sırası biraz değişiyor. Yani taciz gibi olumsuz vakalarda ne yapılır inanın ben bile araştırmadım. Başıma bir şey gelse sendikaya gidip sanırım ordan çözüm bulmaya çalışırım. Eğitim-sen e üyeyim.

61- Öğretmenin politik olmaması gerektiğini düşünenlerdenim ben aslında. Benim de politik düşüncelerim var, bağlı olduğum bir sendika var ama bence hiç olmaması gerekiyor. Çünkü öğretmen herkese eşit davranabilen demokratik bir insan olmalı, bir taraf seçmemeli bu yüzden.

62- Ben öğretmenlerin disiplinli bir hayatı olduğunu düşünüyordum çünkü bize disiplin uygulamaya çalışan kişilerdi onlar, bu hoşuma gidiyordu çünkü kendimi de çok disiplinli görüyorum. Örnek bir yaşamı olduğunu düşünüyorum öğretmenin, olması gerektiğine inanıyorum en azından. Ben de gelişen yetişen nesile örnek olmak istiyorum. Bu yüzden model alınabilecek bir insan olduğumu düşündüğüm için öğretmen olmak istedim.

63- Beşiktaş Anadolu lisesindeki öğretmenlerimi gördüm ve onların bazıları benim hayatımı çok etkilemişti ve benim hayatımı çok etkileyen cümleleri vardı, beni bugün şekillendirmiş olan şeylerin %50sini lise hayatıma, oradaki arkadaşlarıma ve oradaki öğretmenlerime borçluyum açıkçası. Bugün neysem %50si o dönemlere ait ve neden öğretmen olmak istedim, ben bugün bu olduğum şeyin %50sini bu öğretmenlere ve bu arkadaşlara, bu lise çevresine borçluysam ben de bir öğrencinin hayatının %50sinin bir parçası olmak fikriyle yola çıktım. Yani sahada olmak gibi bir şey, saha çalışması gibi bir şey birebir katkı teoride değil pratikte birebir katkıda bulunmak çok önemli.

64- Beceremeyeceğim bir işi ya da yapmak istemeyeceğim bir işi sırf statü olarak yapmaktansa, yarım zamanlı bir iş, kendime gezmeye kitap okumaya, evimi derleyip toparlamaya zaman ayırabileceğim bir iş olduğunu düşündüm. Çocukları da seviyordum, yani tercihim o yönde oldu. Fiziki olarak umduğumu bulmadım ama öğretmenlik mesleğinin içeriği olarak o anlamda da aslında biraz hayal kırıklığım var yönetimden idareden kaynaklı. Bakanlık kaynaklı genel anlamda küçük çaplı değil. Sistem sürekli değiştiriliyor, çorbaya döndü bir ileri bir geri

65- İlk yıllarda bu ne ya sıkılıyorum dediğim çok oldu. Ben daha dolu dolu diye düşünüyordum, yani diğer öğretmenlerin vurdumduymazlığı hani ellerindeki, bunu sadece memurluk olarak görüp gidip gelip işimizi yapalım, hani beni çok hayal kırıklığına uğratmıştı çünkü ben çok idealist başladım, çok şaşırıyordum. Hayal kırıklığına uğradım çünkü daha farklı bir kurum olarak düşünüyordum çünkü annemin babamın dönemi öyleydi belki ben onların yanında okula çok gidip geldiğim için. Öğretmen okulu mezunu onlar, annemle babam okulu bile kendileri boyarlardı, kendileri yıkarlardı falan, hani o idealistlikleri görünce şimdiki vurdumduymazlıklar beni başta çok soğutmuştu.

66- Şöyle bir şey vardı branşımdan dolayı okulda sürekli aktif olan bir öğretmenim beklentilerim okul açısından birazcık hayal kırıklığı oldu tabi sürekli idare değişti. Şöyle bir şey var, ben işimi severek yapıyorum kütüphaneyi severek oluşturuyorum. Tiyatroyu, şiir dinletisi severek yapıyorum ancak, belli bir noktadan sonra diğer erkek zümre arkadaşlarımda gözünde affedersiniz ama enayi yerine konulmak insanın açıkçası biraz ağırına gidiyor. Melek yapar diye sürekli işleri vermeleri birazcık canımı sıkıyor.

67- Daha sonra hayatın gerçekleriyle karşılaşınca (gülerek) mesleğin acı gerçekleri Görev yaptığım okullarda okul mevcudunun fazlalığı sınıf mevcudlarının

kalabalıklığı idarenin olumsuz tavrı ve ben maalesef hemen atanamadığım için vekil öğretmen olmanın zorlukları, bunların zorlukları araç gereç eksikliği ve idealistliği ilk başta koruyabilmiş bir öğretmendim fakat zaman içerisinde bunu da yitirmenin verdiği ağırlıkla mesleğimi maalesef beklentilerimi karşılayamadığı için her sene biraz daha hüznlenerek başlamaya.

68- Hakkımın yenildiğini düşündüğüm ama bunun nedenini hala çözemediğim durumlar oldu bu insanın birazcık hevesini kırıyor. İdare tarafından verilen sözlerin yerine getirilmemesi gibi. Bana hani ödül verileceği maaşla gibi ama bunun başka bir insana verilmesi gibi. Diyaloga geçtiğimde, benden iki isim istenmişti, senin ismini de gönderdik, o seçilmiş gibi, daha yüksek kurumlar böyle karar vermiş gibi çok da mantığa sığmayan cevaplar aldım. Kadın olma faktörü de olabilir bilemiyorum diğer kişi erkekti ama. Böyle bir seçim durumu olduğunda pozitif olarak, şu komisyonlarda ağır görevlerde genelde erkek öğretmenleri yazıyorlar mesela, bayanlara daha az görev düşüyor, herhalde kadının ev içerisindeki sorumluluklarının fazla olmasıyla alakalı olabilir. Hani okulda biraz daha azaltalım manasında olabilir. Aslında erkek öğretmene belirli riskli konularda daha fazla sorumluluk yüklüyorlar.

69- Benim üzerime veli yürüdü, hatta ben rehber öğretmeni de çağırdım, adam bana kalktı dedi ki hocam bir de kapına adam mı dikelim. Benim üzerime yürüdü veli sonra müdür yardımcılar falan araya girdi sen napıyorsun, bayan öğretmenin üstüne yürünür mü falan. Müdür bey kamerasından izlemiş ama kalkmadı odasında misafirleri vardı. Sonra adam geldi benden özür diledi, yaptığının yanlış olduğunu söyledi. Oğlu benim sınıfta, tuvalette cinsel içerikli şaka yapıyormuş arkadaşına, ben de bunu konuşmak istedim. Aslında ben aramadım, idareden adamı aramışlar. Adam zaten dev gibi ben korkarım buradaki erkek velilerden. Cesaretli görünsem de o tarz insanlardan korkarım. Bu adam ikinci defa geldiğinde işte gücünüzün yetmediği zamanlar olur ya gitti müdür beye dedim müdür bey bu adam yine geldi, napım dedi kapına asker mi dikeyim dedi. Olayı abartıyorsunuz dedi. O gün yanı bir bayan öğretmen olarak yüzüstü bırakılmama yıkıldım.

70- Ekonomik olarak da yani bu okulda 50 tane öğretmen var evi olan parmakla sayılacak, arabası olan parmakla sayılacak kadar az kişi var. Benim evimde var arabamda var, bana diyorlar ki sen zenginsin. Bankada hiç param yoktur, 3 kuruş 5 kuruşum vardır ama onlara göre düşününce zenginim. Çünkü çoğunun evi arabasını boş ver borcu var. Eşim de iyi kazanıyor yani ben de eşim iyi kazandığı için bu durumdayım. Herhalde 1500tl tek başıma olsam hiçbir şekilde ev taksidi falan ödeyemem yani. İki kişi çalışınca, yani şu geçerli bekar öğretmenlerin hiçbir şeyi yok.

71- Oldukça iyi bir maaşı var yani ben ortak bir kredi kartımız var ondan da harcıyorum, kendime ait kredi kartını da harcıyorum benden istenen, talep edilen bir gelir yok ama Coşkun hobi olarak çalışma Esra madem bu kadar seviyorsun bari bir şeylere katkı olsun diye de takılıyor bazen. Beklentim hiçbir zaman maddi bir

beklenti değildi. Yani öğretmen olup zengin olmazsın, öğretmen olup hatta orta halli de olmazsın ama yani benim durumumun farklı bir boyutu olduğu için mesela yani maddi, benim bir mesleğim var ben mesleğimi yapıcım işte hatta arkadaşlarımdan bazıları şey demişti aa Coşkun'la evlendin hani rahat bir hayatın var artık sakın çalışmamazlık yapmayacaksın dimi falan Turkcell'den de ayrıldın, evlendin yok dedim hani benim bir mesleğim var meslek sahibi her insanın mesleğini yapması gerektiğini düşünüyorum yani ben çalışmayı değil de meslek sahibi olmayı çok çok önemsiyorum.

72- Bir de şöyle bir şey de var ben müdür yardımcılığı da yaptım hani tekrar benim müdür yardımcısı olma ihtimalim de vardı. Ama kişisel olarak buna cevap verebilirim, gün boyunca orda kalmak çok ağırıma gitti, yani bütün günümün orda kalması çok ağırıma gitti. Belki bir bayan arkadaşım olsaydı ya da beni ikna edecek başka bir şey olsaydı evet daha farklı olabilirdi bir de şöyle bir şey var değiştiremeyeceğimiz bir şey için benim için idare yapısı yani bunun için emek harcamanın hiçbir anlamı yok. Benim oraya ait olmadığım, çünkü kalıplaşmış bir durum vardı, bu insanlar yıllardı böyle. Oraya ait olmadığımı hissettim ve orada hiçbir şeyi değiştiremeyecektim prosedürleri uygulayacaktım. Ve orada çok fazla zaman kaybolacak sabah 7 akşam 5 e kadar okulda kalmak çok mantıklı gelmedi bana. Ama kesinlikle olmalı, müfettiş de olmalı, müdür de olmalı, neden böyle oluyor böyle bir şey var gerçekten de ama şey var ama bizi hep bir yöne kanalize ediyorlar, evlenmek zorundasın, iş kurmak zorundasın. Bu cümleyi çok duyuyorum ben, ev var çocuklar var onlarla ilgilenmek zorundayım başka bir şeye zaman ayıramam ama o bayanın eşi öğretmen bile olsa çok rahat bir şekilde başka şeylere zaman ayırabiliyor.

73- Çünkü tüm günümü okulda geçirmek istemiyorum Benim için akademik kariyer falan yapmak ön planda olmadı çünkü kimseye ispatlayacak bir şeyim yok, yani o anlamda hiç istemiyorum idareci olmayı, yazın 15 gün tatilin var, sabah 7den akşam 7ye kadar buradasın, yani ben öğretmenliği yarı zamanlı haliyle seviyorum çünkü ha bir de şu da var. ben çocuklarla uğraşmak için öğretmen oldum, müdür yardımcılığı benim gözümde öğretmenlik değil. Ben işimi seviyorum işimle alakalı bir sıkıntım yok. Akademik anlamda da bir hedefim olmadığı için.

74- Yani bir bayan öğretmen olarak destek almıyorsunuz hocam , mümkün değil, eşimden de bir yere kadar.eşim de eskiden daha az destek veriyordu şimdi yine baya destek veriyor haa eşimden bir geçen sene şunu gördüm. Ben idarecilik sınavına girdiğim zaman sadece orda bir yanlış yaptı. Eğer sen idareci olursan beni yere vurursun dedi, olur mu dedi adama bak evde oturuyor karısı adam olmuş ve beni engellemek için hocam elinden geleni yaptı hiç unutmuyorum; Şişliye ben hiç gitmemiştim o güne kadar sınav da Şişlideydi. Normalde götürür gezdirir ama o gün adresi bulmayayım diye beni götürmedi.Kendime bunları dedirtmemek için seni engelledim dedi ve açıkçası bunlar benim motivasyonumu etkiledi. Ve ben sınavı kazanamadım, evde bir takım olayları şimdi anlattığım zaman bana ne diyor biliyor

musunuz, beni utandırma ben senin hayatına engel oldum ama söz diyor bir dahaki sınava ikimiz beraber gireceğiz. Yani yine tabii ikimiz beraber gireceğiz diyor, şimdi diyor çocuklar büyüdü biraz tamam şimdi idareci olabilirsin diyor.

75- Kadın olarak, kadın öğretmen olarak hep bir sempatiyle yaklaşıyor insanlar. Hatta evet hep sempatiyle yaklaşıyor ve bu bize yapışmış bir şey silkele silkele çıkmıyor. Aman ne güzel bir mesleğe sahipsiniz diyorlar bana, çok zor değil mi o kadar çocukla uğraşıyorsunuz diyorlar sanki işte mesleğimle alakalı öğretmenlik bana cuk oturmuş gibi ben öğretmen doğmuşum gibi olumsuz hiçbir şey duymadım. Çok doğru bir meslek seçmişsin, doğru yoldasın, valla en mantıklısını sen yapmışsın, yarım gün çalış.

76- Yani kadın için uygun mesleği zaman açısından söylüyorlar para açısından değil, yani hem çalışıyor hem evde yarım gün artık öyle değil aslında ama yani işte hem çocuğa bakabilen evde hem yemek yapan. Çünkü normalde bir işe girdiğimizde genelde 9-6 yani çıkabileceğimiz en erken saat 6. Ben bekarım ama evli arkadaşlara baktığımda bu böyle yani işte çocuğa eve vakit kalıyor biraz.

77- Şu cümleyi ben çokça duydum, ne kadar kazanıyorsunuz siz? Yani bizden daha fazla kazanan bizi aşağılar şekilde, ben bunu doğuda çok gördüm. Bizim şoförümüz bizden fazla kazanıyordu kapısının önünde vinci var arabası var ne kadar kazanıyorsunuz siz hocam bu iş bu çile bu kadar paraya çekilir mi bunu da yüzümüze çok rahat şekilde, bizi aşağılayarak söylüyorlardı eziyorlardı bizi. Öğretmenlik hiçbir şekilde maddi olarak avantajlı değil. Ama bir kadın için avantajlı çünkü yarım gün çalışılıyor. Toplumda bir çelişki var, şey diye düşünüyorum. Burada ayrılıyor. Erkeklerde revaçta değil çünkü bir erkek evi idare edecek o para yetmez evi çekip çevirmeye ama bir kadın zaten çalışmaz, ya da çalışmamalı o yüzden hem evine bakıp hem de ekstra böyle bir parayı getirmesi onun bir artısı gibi görülüyor. Bir bayana yakıştırılıyor çünkü iki işi bir arada götürüyor, onun için bonus diğer kadınlardan onu artı yapan bir durum. Ama bir erkek için kesinlikle ideal değil, hatta bir erkek öğretmen ıy gözüyle bakılıyor, öğretmen mi olmuş öğretmen miymiş, yani benim karşılaştığım insanlar öyle bakıyorlar.

78- Velilerden özellikle anneler sende de daha anaç olmanı bekliyorlar, erkek velilerle daha çok sorun çözebiliyorsunuz, ama annelerin beklentisi çok daha fazla ve muhabatımız genelde onlar. Kendi gibi görmeni istiyor. Mesela geçen sene erkek velilerden bir tanesi çocuğu olmayan kadın öğretmen ya da müdür olmamalı dedi. Ne kadar kırıcı bir şey. Belki anne öğretmenler daha toleranslıdır bilmiyorum. Ben empati, tolerans ve otoriteyi beraber kullanmaya çalışıyorum ama önce otorite, yoksa öğrenciler ve veliler bunu kullanabilir.

79- Toplumun bakış açısı olarak kadın öğretmenlerden daha böyle fedakar olması bekleniyormuş gibi hani bir anne rolü üstlenmesi bekleniyormuş gibi düşünüyorum. Hani erkek öğretmen çok özen göstermiyorsa da olabirmiş gibi geliyor hani gözlemediğim şekilde. Yani mesela o saçlarını taramamışsa o öğrenci erkek

öğretmenin öğrencisi kabul edilebilir bir şey ama bir bayan öğretmeninki kabul edilemezmiş gibi mesela bir örnek. Kadın öğretmenden daha fedakar olması bekleniyor.

80- Yani kadın öğretmenin sorumluluğu daha fazla, neden, bana göre erkek öğretmen arkadaşlarımın arasında ben kadın-erkek öğretmen ayrımı yapmak istemiyorum ama ben kadınların aile yaşantısını ele alacak olursak, duygusal yapı olarak duygusal durumlarını ele alacak olursak bunların hepsini harmanlayıp düşündüğümüzde kadın her zaman eğitim ortamında daha erkek öğretmene göre sorumluluğu ağır olan cinsiyet oluyor. Zihinsel yorgunluk ağır daha ağır olmak üzere yani fiziksel de etkisi var, daha fazla bana göre zihinsel yorgunluğu. Yani bir kadın olarak daha ayrıntılı düşünüyoruz biz, her zaman ayrıntılara önem verdiğimiz için bir de daha duygusal olduğumuz için olaylara daha farklı bakıyoruz ve bu da bize eksi bir şey kazandırıyor yani öğrenciye karşı bir de kendimizi anne olarak düşünüyorsak eğer daha farklı yaklaşıyorsak duygusal anlamda bunlar bizi hep olumsuz etkiliyor.

81- Genel olarak toplum içerisinde bakıldığında yakıştırılıyor yani bir bayanın öğretmen olması bence hor karşılanıyor gibi geliyor genelde hani erkeklerden daha çok kadınların olduğunu bu mesleğe daha uygun olduklarını düşünüyorum en azından. Neden? Doğasında var fedakar olmak, çocuklarla uğraşmak hani o yüzden anneliğe yakın olmak öğretmenliğe yakın olmak aynı gibi görüyorum biraz. Anne olan öğretmen daha iyi midir? Bunun ben kadının doğasında olduğunu düşünüyorum hani illa bir çocuk sahibi olmasına gerek yok kadının doğumundan itibaren o duyguları taşıyabildiğini düşünüyorum.

82- Bayan öğretmen yeri geldi mi bir annedir, yeri geldi mi bir abladır, yeri geldi mi bir arkadaştır. Bekarlık öğretmenliğimle annelik öğretmenliğim çok farklı. Bekarken belli konularda daha duyarsızsın, belki daha acımasızsın ama anne olduktan sonra yumuşuyorsun ve anne olduktan sonra kendi ev yaşamını da görüyorsun ya o zaman veli ve öğrencinin yerine kendini koyabiliyorsun. Ben böylesem o da öyledir, aynen öyle düşünüyorsun. Mesela bekârken ders sayım çoktu, ödev şeyim çoktu şimdi daha az ödev veriyorum kendimi de anne yerine koyuyorum, yani eve gidince neyi ne zaman yapıcak böldüğün zaman ne kadar zaman kalıcak hani çok yüklemektense o zamanlar diyorum ki yav işleri ne yapsınlar ama şimdi evet işleri var diyorum.

83- Belki bayan olduğum için onlara daha fazla farklı bir şekilde seslenebiliyorum, onların daha farklı iç dünyalarına inebiliyorum. Daha farklı bakış açılarından onlara bakabiliyorum. Onlar gibi olabiliyorum, belki bir erkek öğretmen olsaydım daha farklı bakabilirdim onların iç dünyalarına. Ama zorlandığım konular tabi ki o ayrı bir soru halinde vardır da, sizde, zorlandığımız konular da var tabi ki bayan olarak ama çok fazla avantajı da var en önemlisi sanırım anne şefkatiyle yaklaşabiliyorsunuz, duygusal anlamda yaklaşabiliyorsunuz.

84- Öğretmenlik annelikle bağdaştırılıyor. O evde çocuk yetiştiriyor, öğretmen de okulda yetiştiriyor, aynı şey işte. İyilik yapmak gibi görülüp kadına direk uygun görülüyor bizim toplumumuzda. Ben öyle düşünmüyorum. Ben öğrencilerimi kızım ya da oğlum diye hiç çağırمام çoğu öğretmenin yaptığı gibi. Ben onların öğretmeniym, aramızda bir mesafe olmalı, ben onlara hiç annelik içgüdüleriyle yaklaşmıyorum.

85- Yani önyargılar var her şeyden önemlisi, hani bir sınıfa girdiğinde bayandır bu yapamaz, böyle bir mantık var ama kadın ezilir niye bir kere önyargı vardır, bayandır söz geçiremez, yapamaz edemez mantığı vardır ataerkil toplumumuzdan kaynaklı, ama ben bayanların bu işi çok iyi yaptığını görüyorum. Hani öğrencilerden duyduğum kadarıyla şu, hani şeydir; sınıf sürekli gürültü yapıyordur derste, öğretmene sıkıntı çıkarıyordur, sorduğunda öğrenciler bayan öğretmen işte hocam yapamıyor diyorlar. Hani öğrencinin mantığında bile bu var, bayan öğretmen hocam işte susturamıyor. Erkeğin görüntüsü bile bazen yetebiliyor, erkek hoca geldi aman denilebiliyor, o anlamda erkek hocalar için kolay bir meslek diyebilirim.

86- Bizim mahallede yaşıyorum yani, ben öğrenciye baktığım zaman bir erkek öğretmen sınıftan içeri girdiği zaman sevsin sevmesin çocuklar bir hizaya giriyor, neden, çünkü babalarından şiddet görüyorlar, bir baba figürü var, baba figürüyle erkek öğretmeni özdeşleştiriyor ve kendine geliyor, benim başıma ne gelir korkusuyla, saygıyla değil.

87- Bir kere çocuklar açısından, her çocuk erkek öğretmenden korkar. Ne şekilde olursa olsun, kalıbı yeter. Sert mizaçlı olmasına gerek de yok, kalıbı yeter. Belki babadan kaynaklı, burada erkeğin rolü farklı. Babadan dayak yiyor, babanın eli daha sert.

88- Erkek öğretmenlerden çocuklar daha çok korkuyorlar. Erkek ve kadına bakış açısıyla alakalı sanırım bu. Sonuçta ataerkil bir toplumdan geliyoruz dolayısıyla benim bulunduğum okulda da daha çok doğu kökenli çocuklar ve anneleri genelde çok fazla ezilmiş ve babaları tarafından ezilmiş ailelerin çocukları olduklarını düşünüyorum ben çünkü eğitim düzeyi çok düşük bir kesimdi, işte ailelerle görüştüğümüzde bu çok net anlaşılıyordu, okuma yazma bilmeyen birçok veli ve böylesi bir aile ortamında yetişen çocuklar daha çok babalarından korkan ve sindirilmiş anne karakterleriyle büyüdükleri için bunun üzerinden erkek öğretmenleri gözlerinde daha bir büyütüyorlardı ne bilim. İlk derslerimde çok sıkıntı yaşadım sınıfı susturabilmek anlamında, sınıfa hakim olmak anlamında. Ama erkek öğretmenleri gözlemlediğimde böyle bir sıkıntılar olmadığını, kısmen bizden biraz saha rahat olduklarını düşünüyordum. Ben okullar değiştirdim, bu okullardaki erkek öğretmenle bayan öğretmenlerin yapmış olduğu sohbetleri dinlediğimde hep bayan öğretmenler genelde daha çok üzgün olabiliyorlar öğretmenler odasında, daha bir yorgun daha bir bitkin. Sınıfı susturamıyorum, sınıfa hakim olamıyorum gibi söylemlerle karşılaşıyordum ama erkek öğretmenler de açıkçası şikayet eden öğretmen ben sınıfa hakim olamıyorum diye duymadım gerçekten. Sınıftaki bir

duruşları bile yetiyor galiba, ses tonları tavırlar. Yani bu ataerkil olay kesinlikle bence bunun rahatlığını yaşıyorlar bence.

89- Veli öğretmen ilişkisi açısından baktığımızda erkek öğretmenler velilerle daha iyi mi ilişkiler kurabiliyor hayır, ya da şöyle söyleyebilirim özellikle bu bölge için; buradaki veliler erkek öğretmenlerden daha çekinebilir. Doğudan gelen insanlarımız mevcut doğu olmasından ziyade eğitim seviyesi düşük insanlardan oluşan bir mahalle, yani anladığım kadarıyla öyle. Toplantılarda da bunu görüyorum, çok fazla söz sahibi değil, kendini ifade edemeyen veliler. Dolayısıyla işte erkeklerden bir çekinme, kadın erkek ilişkilerinde 2. planda kalma, erkek öğretmene yanaşmaları biraz daha farklı oluyor. Çekiniyorlar biraz ama bayan öğretmenle dalaşabiliyorlar. Hani öğretmen öğrenciyi uyarmıştır, bu veliye farklı gitmiştir, veli bayan öğretmenin karşısına çok rahatlıkla çıkabiliyor, bağırarak bile içeri girebiliyor. Ben bunu yaşadım ama erkek öğretmen için bu böyle değildir.

90- Kadınlarla daha iyi iletişim kuruyorlar kanısındayım. Nilgün hocamla bir velinin sıkıntı yaşadığı bir durum vardı. Bayan veli bunun üzerine yürüdü, bir erkek öğretmen olsa bunu yapmazdı. Cesaret edemezdi, erkeklere karşı daha resmiler. Bu civarda ekonomik ve sosyo kültürel olarak çok düşük, varoş burası.

91- Kadın öğretmende şöyle bir şey olabiliyor mesela veliler kendilerini daha güçlü hissedebiliyorlar bazen kadın öğretmenlere özellikle de erkek veliler hani kadın öğretmene baskı kurarak kendi dediklerini yaptırabileceğini düşünüyorlar haksız olsalar da, hani bağırarak ya da şiddet uygulamaları diye tehdit ederek kadın öğretmeni bastırabileceklerini düşünüyorlar ama erkek öğretmen bu konuda velileri açısından biraz daha rahat gibi geliyor bana hani belki içerisinde öyle değildir ama hani erkek öğretmen velileriyle daha rahat iletişim kuruyor en azından veliler onlardan daha çok çekiniyor gibi geliyor.

92- Çok sorunlu öğrencileri erkek öğretmenlerin sınıflarına koyuyor idare disiplin açısından daha iyi olur diye. Kadınlarda da bu anlamda biraz kaypaklık var. Niye uğraşayım ki erkek öğretmen daha iyi idare eder deyip başından atıyor sorunlu bir çocukla 5 yıl boyunca uğraşmak çok yıpratıcı bir şey. Yani çok rahat ben başa çıkamıyorum dediği zaman, toplumun kadına genel bir bakış açısı var ya daha zayıf, yapamıyorsan bir erkek öğretmene verelim diyebiliyor iyi amaçlı bir idareci. Ben yakıştırmam şahsen kendime o şeyi, niye neyim eksik ki benim Mehmet yapıyorsa Ayşe niye yapmasın?

93- Ama işte disiplin kurulu bilmem ne kurulu kuruluyor, Ahmet bey başında. Mesela kantin denetleme bilmem nesi yapılıyor Ahmet bey başında. Ahmet beyden kastım erkekler, işte başında. Kadınlar, kadınlara çok fazla rol verilmiyor. Yani okulda erkeklerin daha ön planda olduğunu düşünüyorum. Adam senle konuşurken yüzüne bile bakmıyor. İdareci olarak ilk başta bunu çok yaşadım. Toplantıya giriyoruz işte 2 tane 4 tane bayan var. Konuşurken mesela zümre başkanları genelde erkeklerden seçiliyor. Bunlar kabiliyetten ziyade öğretmenle idarenin ortaklaşa

yapacağı şeylerde genelde erkekleri seçiyorlar çünkü idare de erkek ve daha iyi anlaşabileceklerini düşünüyorlar. Aslında biz de bu tür durumlarda müdahale etmiyoruz çünkü işimize geliyor, angarya gibi geliyor bize de.

94- Sabah kalkar kahvaltımı hazırlar, o işe geç gider onlar 4 ten sonra çalışıyorlar satış olduğu için, yani sabah erken kalkıp gitmek gibi bir yükümlülüğü yok benim yükümü bölüşüyor. Bölüştüğü için okulda nasılsam evde de öyleyim, bir çatışma yaşamıyorum ben. Benim işim okulda bitiyor aslında, ben eve iş taşıyorum, o yüzden öğretmenle evlenmemek konusunda şeyim de o yüzdendi. Okuldan çıkıp arabama atlayıp eve gittiğim zaman, çok ender durumlarda hani karne durumu not girersin falan onun dışında. Laptop ı okula getiririm, okulda yaparım. Ayrı tutmak, işimi evime taşımayı düşünmüyorum.

95- İşimi yapıp bitirdikten sonra artık devam ediyorum yani diğer hayatıma geçiş yapıyorum. Beni annelik en çok meşgul ediyor, çünkü annelik önemli ama öğretmenlikte avantajım olduğunu düşünüyorum, diyorum ya giriyorum ve yapıyorum, Çok doğal bir şey benim için Ha annelikle ilgili o da çok doğal bir şeydir ve onunla doğuyoruz ama yani ben annelikte çok önemli bir sorumluluk var gibi geliyor. Ben her şeyde iyi olayım gibi bir derdim yok kendimi roller üzerinden tanımlamak da hoşuma gitmiyor çünkü bunlar yani rol, anne olmak bir rol, öğretmen olmak bir rol, hani rolü üzerinden tanımlama yapmaktan hoşlanmıyorum yani iyi bir anne, iyi bir eş yani hepsi iyi olamaz zaten yok öyle bir şey yani bir şeyler eksik gedik olacak. Anneliğin öğretmenlik kadar şey bulmuyorum, onun kadar rahat değil, ciddi çaba gösterdiğim bir şey, yani enerji olarak, uykusuzluk olarak, mutlu bir çocukluğu olmasını istiyorum çünkü eşim destek oluyormuş gibi görünüyor ama ben bunlara Bizans oyunu olarak görüyorum, yani anlatabiliyor muyum? Ben sürekli eve iş getiren biri olsaydım problem çıkardı. Mesela ben bu cumartesi- Pazar not girişiyle çok uğraştım, bu sene çok titiz yaptım not girişini. Coşkun Kerim'i alıp yani çok fazla, yürüyüşe çıktı, onunla ilgilendi. Pazartesi akşamı yemek yerken sordu; not işleri artık bitti mi dedi mesela.

96- Dengelemekte tabi ki zorlanıyorum, eşimden yardım alıyorum hani ev içinde ev işleri konusunda eksikler kalıyor, yani kalmıyor diyemiyoruz. Feragat edeceğim zaman oradan ediyorum. Ama tabi ki bu ikili ilişkilere de yansıyor bazen, evin sorumluluklarını aksattığınız zaman eşimle de sorunlara dönüşebiliyor.

97- Çok iyi dengelemek lazım sağlıklı bir öğretmenlik yapabilmek için. Hani mesleğini çok iyi sürdürebilmek için bunların orantısını çok iyi yapmak lazım. İşte evde ev işi okulda öğrenciler, okul, yapman gereken işler ki öğretmenlik mesleği de eve işi götüren tek meslektir diye düşünüyorum, çünkü bizim işimiz sadece okulda bitmiyor ki, hani öğlene kadar belki derse gidiyorsun ama konu kâğıtları, sınav kâğıtları, başka resmi belgeler şu olur bu olur hepsini eve götürüyorsun orda bir şekilde yazman çizmen gerekiyor işte bunu çok iyi dengelemek lazım evde işini ayarlayacaksın ki okul işine devam edebilesin ya da evde çok iyi olman lazım ki okulda öğrencilere bu psikolojiyi yansıtmaman lazım. Eşim evdeyse hani biz de

erkek kadın olayı yoktur, hayat müşterektir. Yapması gereken işleri elinden geldiğince yapar, evi süpürmekse evet evi süpürür, yemekse yapar. En azından ben okula gittiğimde arkamda da biri varsa yemeğim hazır demektir. Hani temizliğin tamamı yapılmasa bile yapılacaklar yapılır.

98- İki hayatı dengelemek resmen iki kişilikli zor oluyor. Zamanı eşit bir şekilde bölebiliyor muyum iki hayata, tam eşit şekilde olmuyor tabi, ama olmasa da gece uyuduğumda vicdanımın sesiyle konuştuğumda bazen tüh dediğim zamanlar da oldu mutlu olduğum evet yapabildim dediğim zamanlarım da oldu. En çok bence annelik görevlerinden fedakarlık ediyorum. Çünkü onlarla istediğim gibi ilgilenemiyorum ki hocam, eve gidiyorsun yorgun bir şekilde gidiyorsun, kalabalık bir atmosferde çalışıyorsun artı kalabalık sınıflarda, bedenem ve zihnen yoruluyorsun, babadan bu konuda hiç memnun değilim babayla bu konuda boşanma noktasına geldik bir ara. Ben ne kadar ilgilensem de kızların bir babaya ihtiyacı var, eşim sigara içmekten vakit ayırıp gelip kızına ders çalıştıramadı.

99- Ben kadın öğretmen olarak yaşım da gereği, evlenemedi bekar kaldı evde kaldı sanki tek önemli mesele buymuş gibi yapılan şakalar var, ee tabi ki bu şakaları kaldırıyoruz kadınlara işte diğer şakalardan kilo problemi şakaları, bunu da bilmiyor musun hani, nasıl eksik kaldın der gibi işte genel kültür konusunda yapılan bazı gereksiz şakalar, sulu şakalar. Genellikle erkek hocalar yapıyor. Kadını biraz ezmeye çalışıyorlar. Biz daha hakimiz hani, genel kültür anlamında da meslek anlamında da. Benim kendi arkadaş grubumda diyebiliyor ki yok o öyle değil, mesela bir etkinlik hazırlıyoruz veya bir sınav kağıdı hazırlıyoruz bu olmamış bu böyle olabilirdi. Ya olabilir tabi ki , soruların farklı çeşitleri oluyor ama bunu sürekli yapan insanlar yani söyleyiş tarzı konuşma tarzı hoş olmuyor ve insanı kırıyor.

100- Alevi bir bayan öğretmen olduğum için ayrımcılığa uğradığımı hissettim. Erkek öğretmen arkadaşlarımız cumaya gidiyorlardı, ben de caminin önünden geçicem, arkadaşlara dedim ki masumane gelin sizi camiye bırakayım, yani ben bir art niyet taşı mıyordum ki çok samimi olduğum arkadaşlar, sen öyle bir gelme dediler bana. Giyim tarzımı kastettiler sanırım bir yandan, caminin önünden geçicem, başım açık, makyajlıyım, ama o tamamen bir espriydi anlamadılar yok arkadaşım sen öyle gelme dediler. Kırıcı bir olaydı benim için. Ben siyasi görüşümü meslek itibarıyla hiç ortaya koymam, kişilerininki de beni ilgilendirmez ama tamamen alevi olmamdan kaynaklı ayrımcılığa maruz kaldığıma inanıyorum

101- Bir bayan öğretmenin oturduğu sohbeti duruşu bile öğretmenler odasında evli olup olmamasına bağlı olarak yargılanıp bir yere oturtuluyor diye düşünüyorum. Evli bir bayanın başı bağlı diye düşünülüp onun ifadeleri ve davranışları çok fazla göze batmazken genç bir bayanın yapmış olduğu davranışlara karşı önyargılar da görebiliyorum Sarışın bir bayan, mavi lenste takıyor çok dikkat çeken bir bayan dolayısıyla bayan öğretmenlerin onu kıskandığını düşündüm çünkü onunla hiç konuşmadılar uzunca bir süre. Bir tek benimle iletişim geliştirdi. Aynı zamanda erkek öğretmenler kendisiyle sohbet etmiyorlardı. Yaklaşık 2-3 ay kadar yapayalnız

kaldı, ben de o okula haftanın iki günü gidiyorum. O iki gün onun için bir bayramdı, sarılıp öperdi. Ardından o ortamdan bir erkek öğretmenle nişanlandı kendisi, bundan sonra ona yaklaşımlar ve bakış açısı ciddi anlamda değişti. Nişanlısı orada 3 yıldır bulunan ve oradakilerle ilişkisi iyi olan bir öğretmen. Şimdi kendisiyle nişanlanınca otomatikman kabullendiler. Ayrıca nişanlanmış olması da ayrı bir statü kazandırdı galiba, şimdi çok güzel herkes onunla sohbet ediyor.

102- Samimi ilişkimiz var zaten o zümredeki arkadaşlarımızla, dışarıdan yadırgayan var mıdır bilmiyorum ama bazen, bizim samimiyetimiz insanlara tuhaf gelebiliyor. Geçen sene bir olay başıma gelmişti. Bir arkadaşım evli, bir bayan arkadaşım beni kenara çekip işte o arkadaşın evli çocuğu var sen niye ona o kadar yakın duruyorsun, biraz davranışlarına dikkat et dedi herkes beraber o ortamda, yani bu bunu bana söyleme cesareti bulması, bu hakkı kendinde görmesi. Ben karşılıklı konuştum neden böyle yaptınız diye, ben seni korumak istedim dedi ve erkeklerin farklı düşündüğünü söyledi. Ve o samimi olduğum arkadaşımın eşiyle ben çok samimiyim. Farklı düşünce olayı mıdır nedir bilmiyorum ama bazı insanlar dışarıdan bunu tuhaf görebiliyorlar.

103- Gebe kaldım 2 ay sonra anladım, bebeği aldırılmaya gittim ama doktor donör olarak kızımın iliğinin kullanılabileceğini söyledi. O şartlarda, maddi imkânsızlıklarda ve herkesin lafına sözünün ortasına ben 3.kızımı dünyaya getirdim. Şöyle tepki koydular, bu kadar işin arasında onu mu düşündünüz diyen oldu bunu bana çalışma arkadaşım söyledi, eğitimci biri söyledi. Bu kişi de müdür beyle ilişkisi olan bir bayandı. İşte sen güçlüsün her gün geliyorsun saçın boyalı, makyajlısın, sanki senin kızın kanser değil de hiç üzülüyorsun, bunu diyenler oldu yüzüme. İnsanlar çok acımasız hocam. Yani öğretmen arkadaşlarımdan destek göremedim, dedim ne istiyorsunuz ben burada her gün ağlasam mutlu mu olacaksınız?

104- Din kültürü öğretmenimiz var bayan tuvaletinde ağlıyordu. İki arkadaş işte bizde tesadüfen orda bulunuyoruz ve ona ne olduğunu sorduk, şöyle söyledi; elinde sopa varmış sopayı bırakmış ve sınıftan çıkmış bir ara, sonra ikinci derse geldiklerinde, teneffüse çıkmışlar, ikinci derse geldiklerinde erkek öğrencinin bir tanesinin onu aşağıdan çıkardığını görmüş ııı söylim mi, sopayı artık bir şekilde kullanmış mı çamaşırının içine mi sokmuş öyle söyleyeyim, erkek öğrenci bunu yapmış 8.sınıf öğrencisi öğretmen de bunu görmüş ve öğretmene geri uzatmış sopayı. Bayan öğretmen hüngür hüngür ağlıyor, ondan sonra dedik ki en azından idareye şikâyet edelim böyle olur mu cezasız kalmamalı ve kendisi istemedi bunu dedi ki söylesem napıcaklar iki azarlayıp geri gönderecekler dedi. Ben de şunu söyledi ama bu terbiyesizlik saygısızlıktan çok cinsel bir saldırı mı desek taciz mi desek öyle bir şey söyledim. Bir gün sonra öğrenciyle konuşuyorum, öğrenci tabi ki her zaman ki gibi annesi babası üzerine yemin ediyor, valla sopa sıranın altındaydı ben ordan verdim sopayı hocamıza diyor.

105- Kılık kıyafet açısından zorluk yaşıyorum. Cinsel olarak tahtaya döndüğümde acaba erkek öğrenciler nasıl bakıyordur diye kaygı taşıyorum açıkçası ve kıyafetlerimi o yönde seçiyorum. Ben ilk atandığım zaman ilk önce önlük giymiyordum yine usturuplu giyiniyordum ama önlük giymiyordum. Bir erkek öğrencim derste top sektiriyordu ben tahtada yazı yazarken, dönüp ona baktığımda çok çirkin bir hareket yaptı bana karşı. Yani cinsel organını tuttu bana gösterir şekilde, o gün kendimi çok kötü hissettim çok küçük bir çocuk aslında, 8.sınıf öğrencisiydi çocuğun bu tavrı beni çok rahatsız etti. Ardından o günden sonra önlük giymeye kara verdim. Daha sonra o çocuk gelip benden özür diledi, sene sonunda.

106- Okula yeni atandığım aylarda işte birkaç ay olmuş; ben de kendisine bir şey soruyordum, aynı zamanda çok dalgındım. Kendisine bir şey sordum, kendisi cevabı verdi, fakat ben anlayamadığım için bir daha sordum; tekrar açıklama yaptı ardından boş bulunup hani şakalaşırken elinizi hafiften dokundurursunuz ya kola falan dolayısıyla maalesef öyle bir el alışkanlığım da var, yani elim ceketine değdi. Tenine bile gelmedi. O anki müdür muavinimin bana bakışı, tedirginliği beni çok kötü etti. Kıpırmızı oldu ardından kolunu ciddi anlamda benden uzaklaştırarak kendine doğru çekti yani irkildi. Kendimi şey gibi hissettim hani vebalı mıyım ben? Dolayısıyla kendisi artık onunla iletişim kurduğumda gözümün içine bakmıyor ve selamımı almıyor. Genelde arkadaşlar işte sabah karşılaştıklarında selamın aleyküm diyerek selamlaşıyorlar, ben de günaydın diyorum. Ve ben selam vermeyi severim sabah gördüğümde arkadaşları, özellikle erkek arkadaşların hiçbiri selamımı almıyor, bir gün olsun günaydın diyen bir erkek arkadaş olmadı. Bayanlardan da birkaç kişi, çok nadir ama ben ısrarla günaydın demeye devam ediyorum. Ben kendimi çok yalnız hissediyorum.

107- Yani bir veliyle, erkek veliyle çocuğun olumsuz durumlarını konuştuğun zaman yani başıma geldi çocuğun ders durumundan ve davranışlarından bahsettiğimde veli üzerime saldırdı. Fiziksel anlamda, işte sen benim çocuğumu sevmiyorsun, uydurarak söylüyorsun hâlbuki benim çocuğum çok iyi bir öğrenci... o an kendimi çok savunmasız hissettim hani kadın olmak beni çok üzdü çünkü bu olayı bir erkek müdür yardımcısı araya girerek halletti. Hani o kükredi, şöyle dedi böyle dedi arayı buldu sonunda hani ben bunu yapamamış olmaktan dolayı ilk defa kadın olmaktan utandığım bir durumdu yani, hani ben neden karşımdaki kişiye aynı şekilde kendimi savunamıyorum dediğimde, o kötüydü benim için mesela. Kadın öğretmenin derdi biraz daha ezik olması sadece, dışarıdan görülmesi ben öyle hissetmiyorum ama bir süre sonra olaylar bana bunu hissettiriyor. Hani mesela velilerle yaşanan olaylar, hani bir öğretmen arkadaşıma gelip de topuğuna sıkırım dediği zaman

108- Mesela müfettişlerde okulumuzu sık sık ziyaret ediyor. Müfettiş mesela bir bayan öğretmenin numarasını isteyip çay içmeye çağırmıştı. Bir bayan öğretmeni tekrardan dersinden çıkarıp türkü söyletmişti hani bu açıdan baktığım zaman ne o

müfettişe bir cevap verilebildi ne okul idaresi bayan öğretmenin arkasında durabildi, şimdiye kadar karşılaştığım bütün müfettişler erkekti.

109- Bir müfettiş bizim okulu denetledi ve gitti. Tamam, eyvallah, daha sonra beni aradı telefonla, telefon numarasını teftişi geçirirken alıyorlar, ben dedim hayırdır okulla alakalı bir problem mi var, sizi arayamaz mıyım ben dedi niye bu kadar tuhaf karşılıyorsunuz bunu dedi. Ben dedim çok normal tuhaf karşılarım yani dedim, okulda değiliz herhangi resmi bir durumda değiliz. Bir müfettiş bir öğretmeni arayıp halini hatırını soracak, ne alaka ben böyle bir şey duymamıştım şu ana kadar gibi düşüncelerimi belirttim. Ama çok kızmıştım, gecenin bir yarısı mı akşamın bir vakti mi ne. Gecenin bir vakti arayan o, nasılsınız sizi çok merak ediyorum diyen o, sonra ben böyle bir şey söyleyince de beni azarlayan ve bastırmaya çalışan da o. Adam teftişe geliyor senin gözlerinin içine bakarak şiir okuyor. Şimdi bu durumdan tabi ki rahatsız oluyorsun çünkü adamın sana bakış açısı çok farklı. Öğretmenlik falan her şeyin bir köşede, her şeyin bir köşede, kişiliğin falan bir köşede. Sen bir kadınsın o an. Bunu yaşarken çok sinirleniyorsun. Bu nasıl bir şey böyle diye tepki gösterdim, hani evrak çıkartayım size çocuklarla alakalı bana sorular sorun. idari teftiş yapın ben o zamanlar müdür yetkiliydim bir de. Bu ne falan diye çok kızdım. Çok tepkisel davranıyorsun, zamanla bunlara alışacaksın dedi. Gerçekten de zamanla çünkü şey diyordum evet o zaman çok sinirlendim çünkü sen orda cinsiyetinle ön plandasın

110- Biri geldiğinde direk Bahar hocayı soruyor Bahar hocam nerde diye sormaya başladılar ve bu bizim aramızda bir sorun haline gelmeye başladı müdür bey bunu bir kompleks haline getirdi bu okulun müdürü benim eğer biri gelecekse benim yanıma gelecek eğere ilçe okula plaket verecekse bana verilcek eğer takdir edilecekse okul öğretmeniyle değil müdürüyle takdir edilecek bir de müdür bey ilahiyat mezunu ve eski imamlardan daha sonra öğretmen olmuş yani bunun bir kalıbı hala vardı onda yani kadının becereceği şeyler değil bunlar bize hatta Charlie' nin melekleri derdi ben buna sinir olurdum böyle bir şey olamaz sanki biz onun altında çalışan insanlarmışız gibi tabi öyleyiz ama altında demeyelim de o bizden daha deneyimli olduğu için saygı duyuyorduk yani bu bizim aramızda bir kompleks meselesi haline geldi. Derken ne oldu, müdür beyi yarı dönemde köyden almak zorunda kaldılar olay o kadar büyüdü hani hem bizi böyle kendi yetkisinin dışında uygulamalar arkamızdan dedikodular daha sonra benim durumum kullanıldı ben Sivaslıyım aleviyim bunu kullanmaya çalıştılar şöyle, ramazan geçiyor işte Bahar hoca dinsiz biri ateist bir insan ramazanda ayak ayaküstüne atıp benim yanımda sigara içiyor yani köylünün tepkisi oluştu sonuçta biri gidip anlatıyor sonuçta eski imam köyde oturuyor. Daha sonra bana okulda tehdit mektupları gelmeye başladı derken bu iş jandarmaya ve ilçe milli eğitime yansıdı ve müdür beyi görevden almaya kadar vardı çünkü bu işle ilgili insanlar çağırıldı ve tek ifadeleri alındı soruşturma yürütüldü böyle bir şey yaşadık gitmek zorunda kaldı

111- Kadın olunca ben en başta doğuya ilk gittiğimde hocam işte burada bu kadar rahat davranmayın kadın olarak. Hani ne yapıyorum 5'te çıkıp yapıyorsunuz, yani

5'ten bahsediyoruz. Benim söylediğim cümle şuydu, ya saçmalamayın ben hayatıma devam edicem, onlar beni alıştırmaya çalışıyorlar ama akşam yedide ben pastaneye gidip oturan bir kafeye gidip oturan, gazetesini okuyan televizyonunu seyreden bir kadını görmeye alışacaklar dedim ve yaptım. Ama sonra şöyle bir şey yaşadım. Eve gelirken kapkaç. Böyle iki üç tane erkek, erkek çocuk diyeyim ben onlara, çantamı alıp kaçmaya çalıştılar. Ben böyle bağır bağır çok korktum ondan sonra birkaç gün hatta uzun süre evet yaa ben hata yapıyorum inatçı davranmamam gerekiyordu gibi şey yaptım ve çıkmamaya başladım. Sonra tekrar düzeldim ve o bir tesadüftü dedim. Yani böyle şeyler yaptım, daha sonra dışarı çıkıyorum ama böyle çıktığımda çok da abartı giyinmem. Böyle aman dikkati çeken bir kadın olmamdan kaynaklı bir şey değil sadece bir kadın olmamdan kaynaklı bir şey. Daha sonra tehdit telefonları, yani öyle çok sapıkça bir şey yaşamadım ama daha böyle rahatsız edici ve bunaltıcı telefonlar almaya başladım. Bunların hepsi işte hem cinsiyetten, hem karşı cinse karşı çok rahat davranmamdan, yani rahat davranıyorum da ne yapıyorum işte benim okuduğum gazete şehre gelmiyor işte gidip onu getirir misiniz kardeşim diyorum.

112- Çok iyi olduğunu düşündüğüm, hayata farklı baktığımı düşündüğüm bir idarecinin kılık kıyafet konusunda bizi uyardı ve uyarırken dedi ki bayan arkadaşlar önlük giyse iyi olur vücut hatları belli oluyor. Ben de dedim ki ben bu uygulamayı çok cinsiyetçi buluyorum, önlük giymiyorum pantolonlarımı da bir beden daraltıyorum. Şöyle bir uyarı yapılabilir nazıkçe, arkadaşlar daha derli toplu olsun diye biz önlük giymeyi uygun görüyoruz hani arkadaşlar rahat edebileceğiniz şeyler giyin, kılık kıyafetinizi yönetmeliğe göre değiştirin denilse eyvallah tamam, ama vücut hatlarınız belli oluyor demek, bu benim problemim bakanın problemi üçüncü bir kişinin sana ne? Ha bir elbise giyiyorsa etek giyiyorsa ya da ince çorap giyiyorsa bakıyor, yani bakıyor. Bu konuda seminer döneminde rahatsız oluyorum, birkaç sefer idaredeki beyefendi ya da müdür beyin diyeyim benim eteğimin boyuna baktı herhalde bir şeye baktı, boyuna mı baktı bilmiyorum, rahatsız oldum ve artık bu etekleri giymiyorum okulda. Bunu söylemek beni çok üzüyor hep bırakıyorum ee napabilirim bu çok şekilsel ve gereksiz bir konu dendi ama bence öyle değil. Aslında bunun altında önemli şeyler var, benim vazgeçmem var, baskıya yenilmem var.

Appendix C: Consent Form

KATILIMCI BİLGİ ve OLUR FORMU

Proje yürütücüsü: Nurhan ERDOĞAN ŞAHİN

Proje başlığı: Kadın Öğretmenlerin Okuldaki ve Toplumdaki Kimliklerini Algılayış Biçimleri

Proje konusu: Kadın öğretmenler buldukları toplumun kültürel, ekonomik, sosyal ve politik yapısıyla ilişkili olarak erkek öğretmenlere kıyasla kimliklerini oluşturma süreçlerinde cinsiyet rollerini ve toplumun beklentilerini göz önünde bulundurabilmekte ve bu süreç onları olumsuz yönde etkileyebilmektedir. Bu araştırmada, kadın öğretmenlerin hem okulda hem de okul dışında ne gibi süreçlerden geçtikleri ve bu esnada hayattaki duruşlarını ve kimliklerini hangi temeller üzerinden şekillendirdikleri ve yaşadıkları süreci nasıl algıladıkları incelenecektir. Bu araştırmada görüşme yapmak için 10 kadın öğretmene ihtiyaç duyulmaktadır. Öğretmenler en az 5 yıl öğretmenlik tecrübesiyle halen bir devlet ilköğretim okulunda görevlerini sürdürüyor olmalıdır.

Onay: Türkiye’deki kadın öğretmenlerin kimlik algılayışları üzerine yapmak istediğimiz bu çalışmaya katılmaya sizi davet ediyoruz.

Araştırmaya katılmayı kabul ettiğiniz takdirde sizinle istediğiniz mekân ve şartlar çerçevesinde çeşitli sorular eşliğinde yaklaşık 2 saatlik bir görüşme yapılacaktır. Bu görüşme aynı zamanda kayıt altına alınacaktır. İsmi ve bu bilgiler tamamen gizli tutulacaktır. Çalışmaya katılmanız tamamen isteğe bağlıdır. İsteddiğiniz takdirde ses kaydını dinleyebilir ve çıkarılması ya da eklenmesini istediğiniz kısımları belirtebilirsiniz. Bu çalışma sizin görüşlerinizin ve katkılarınızın ışığında, Türkiye’de devlet okullarında çalışan kadın öğretmenlerin şartlarını iyileştirmeyi ve eğitim politikalarına katkıda bulunmayı hedeflemektedir.

Bu formu imzalamadan önce, çalışmayla ilgili sorularınız varsa lütfen sorun. Daha sonra sorunuz olursa, Nurhan Erdoğan Şahin’e (Telefon:) sorabilirsiniz. Araştırmayla ilgili haklarınız konusunda yerel etik kurullarına da danışabilirsiniz.

Adres ve telefon numaranız değişirse, bize haber vermenizi rica ederiz.

Bana anlatılanları ve yukarıda yazılanları anladım. Bu formun bir kopyasını aldım.

Çalışmaya katılmayı kabul ediyorum.

Katılımcı ismi ve imzası

Tarih

Bilgilendirilmiş Onam Formu

Araştırmayı destekleyen kurum: Boğaziçi Üniversitesi

Araştırmanın adı: Kadın Öğretmenlerin Okuldaki ve Toplumdaki Kimliklerini Algılayış Biçimleri

Araştırmacının adı: Nurhan ERDOĞAN ŞAHİN

E-mail adresi: nurhanerdoan@yahoo.com

Telefonu:

Sayın Katılımcı,

Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Eğitim Fakültesi Eğitim Bilimleri Yüksek Lisans öğrencisi Nurhan Erdoğan Şahin, “Kadın Öğretmenlerin Okul İçerisindeki ve Okul Dışındaki Kimliklerini Algılayış Biçimleri” adı altında bilimsel bir araştırma projesi yürütmektedir. Bu araştırma, kadın öğretmenlerin hem okulda hem de okul dışında ne gibi süreçlerden geçtikleri, bu esnada hayattaki duruşlarını ve kimliklerini hangi temeller üzerinden şekillendirdiklerini ve yaşadıkları süreci nasıl algıladıklarını incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Bu araştırmada görüşme yapmak için 10 kadın öğretmene ihtiyaç duyulmaktadır. Öğretmenler en az 5 yıl öğretmenlik tecrübesiyle halen bir devlet ilköğretim okulunda görevlerini sürdürüyor olmalıdır.

Bu araştırmada bize yardımcı olmanız için sizi projemize davet ediyoruz. Kararınızdan önce araştırma hakkında sizi bilgilendirmek istiyoruz. Bu bilgileri okuduktan sonra araştırmaya katılmak isterseniz lütfen bu formu imzalayıp kapalı bir zarf içinde bize ulaştırınız.

Bu araştırmaya katılmayı kabul ettiğiniz takdirde size açık uçlu sorulara cevap vermenizi rica edeceğiz. Bu araştırma, kadın öğretmenlerin gözünden toplumumuzda ve eğitim sisteminde var olan açık ya da gizli cinsiyetçi uygulamaları irdeleyerek kadınların bu süreçlerde neler hissettiklerini ve nasıl tepki gösterdiklerini daha iyi anlamamıza yardımcı olacaktır. Soruları cevaplamak en fazla 2 saatinizi alacaktır.

Bu araştırma bilimsel bir amaçla yapılmaktadır ve katılımcı bilgilerinin gizliliği esas tutulmaktadır. Ses kayıtlarında katılımcıların ismi yerine takma isimler kullanılacaktır. Ses kayıtları araştırma sona erdiğinde silineceklerdir.

Bu araştırmaya katılmak tamamen isteğe bağlıdır. Katıldığımız takdirde çalışmanın herhangi bir aşamasında herhangi bir sebep göstermeden onayınızı çekmek hakkına da sahipsiniz. Araştırma projesi hakkında ek bilgi almak istediğiniz takdirde lütfen Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Eğitim Bilimleri Bölümü Yüksek Lisans Öğrencisi Nurhan Erdoğan Şahin veya Prof. Dr. Fatma Gök ile temasa geçiniz

(Telefon:, Adres: Boğaziçi Üniversitesi, Eğitim Bilimleri, 34342 Bebek, İstanbul).

Eğer bu araştırma projesine katılmayı kabul ediyorsanız, lütfen bu formu imzalayıp kapalı bir zarf içerisinde bize geri yollayın.

Ben, (katılımcının adı), yukarıdaki metni okudum ve katılmam istenen çalışmanın kapsamını ve amacını, gönüllü olarak üzerime düşen sorumlulukları tamamen anladım. Çalışma hakkında soru sorma imkanı buldum. Bu çalışmayı istediğim zaman ve herhangi bir neden belirtmek zorunda kalmadan bırakabileceğimi ve bıraktığım takdirde herhangi bir ters tutum ile karşılaşmayacağımı anladım.

Bu koşullarda söz konusu araştırmaya kendi isteğimle, hiçbir baskı ve zorlama olmaksızın katılmayı kabul ediyorum.

Formun bir örneğini aldım / almak istemiyorum (bu durumda araştırmacı bu kopyayı saklar).

Katılımcının Adı-

Soyadı:.....

İmzası:.....

Adresi (varsa Telefon No, Faks

No):.....

.....

Tarih (gün/ay/yıl):...../...../.....

Araştırmacının Adı-Soyadı:.....

İmzası:.....

Tarih (gün/ay/yıl):...../...../.....

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