

Conceptual Change of an Occupation:
Transformation of Teaching in Turkey
in Neoliberal Times
(1980-2013)

Ece Cihan Ertem



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“Conceptual Change of an Occupation: Transformation of Teaching in Turkey in Neoliberal Times (1980-2013),” a dissertation prepared by Ece Cihan Ertem in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy from the Atatürk Institute for Modern Turkish History at Boğaziçi University, has been approved on 19 March 2018 by:

DISSERTATION ADVISORS

Prof. Dr. Asım Karaömerlioğlu
Atatürk Institute for Modern Turkish History
Boğaziçi University

Prof. Dr. Susan Wright
Department of Educational Anthropology
Aarhus University

COMMITTEE MEMBERS

Prof. Dr. Zafer Toprak
Department of Comparative Studies in History and Society
Koç University

Prof. Dr. Cengiz Çağla
Department of Political Science and International Relations
Yıldız Technical University

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Berna Yazıcı
Atatürk Institute for Modern Turkish History
Boğaziçi University

Assist. Prof. Dr. Z. Umut Türem
Atatürk Institute for Modern Turkish History
Boğaziçi University



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Abstract

“Conceptual Change of An Occupation: Transformation of Teaching in Turkey in Neoliberal Times (1980-2013)”

Ece Cihan Ertem, Doctoral Candidate at the Atatürk Institute for Modern Turkish History at Boğaziçi University, 2018

Profs. Drs. Asım Karaömerlioğlu and Susan Wright, Dissertation Advisors

Primary school teachers in Turkey comprised an influential group in Turkish society in the twenty-first century since they are a large occupational group among state workers. Moreover, their occupation touches the heart of everyday life due to the responsibilities it entails. However, the prestige of such an influential occupation seems declining in Turkey and in some other countries, as well. Although this decline appears to be a widespread global phenomenon in both developed and developing countries, the reasons, results, and processes of this decline in Turkey have local characteristics. This dissertation portrays the transformation and conceptual change in primary school teaching in the period from 1980 to 2013 by appointing the September 1980 coup as a turning point.

The dissertation focuses on the effects of the state interventions, and the reflections in society and in the attitudes of parents and teachers themselves of the transformation of the occupation. Furthermore, the study examines abstract concepts related to the images of primary school teachers in their portrayal in Turkish literature. It peeks into classrooms and describes the actual occupational practice of primary school teachers. Last, the study scrutinizes gender roles in Turkish primary schools and the feminization of the occupation. This dissertation addresses these subjects using the data from a comprehensive face-to-face survey conducted throughout Turkey as well as in-depth interviews that were designed to convey the exact phrases of teachers and recover their voices which have been hidden among legal decrees, books, occupational journals, and documents.

62,000 words



Özet

“Bir Mesleğin Kavramsal Değişimi: Neoliberal Dönemde Türkiye’de Öğretmenlik Mesleğinin Dönüşümü (1980-2013)”

Ece Cihan Ertem, Doktora Adayı, 2018

Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Atatürk İlkeleri ve İnkılap Tarihi Enstitüsü

Prof. Dr. Asım Karaömerlioğlu, Tez Danışmanı

Prof. Dr. Susan Wright, Tez Danışmanı

Türkiye’nin ilköğretim öğretmenleri, devlet memurları içerisindeki sayıları ve bireylerin gündelik yaşamına doğrudan temasları dolayısıyla 21. yüzyıl Türkiye toplumsal hayatına etki eden bir meslek grubunu oluşturur. Toplum tarafından atfedilen öneme rağmen mesleğin statüsünde düşüş görülmektedir. Her ne kadar gelişmiş ve gelişmekte olan ülkelerin çoğunda benzer bir duruma rastlansa da, değişimin nedenleri, etkileri ve oluşum süreci Türkiye’ye özgü yerel özellikler gösterir. Bu çalışma, ilköğretimde öğretmenlik mesleğinin dönüşümüne ve mesleğin kavramsal değişiminin özelliklerine odaklanmakta; çalışma dönemi olarak da 1980 askeri darbesini bir dönüm noktası olarak, 1980-2013 arası dönemini seçmektedir.

1980 askeri darbesi muhafazakâr neo-liberalizm ile paralel bir şekilde Türk-İslam sentezi değerlerini uygulayan bir toplumsal mühendislik projesi olarak Türkiye toplumunu derinden etkilemiştir. Tez çalışması, değişimin izlerini takip ederken devletin, toplumun, velilerin ve öğretmenlerin sürece olan etkilerine odaklanır. Çalışma, bu inceleme sırasında adeta sınıf penceresinden içeriye bakar ve ilköğretim öğretmenlerinin mesleki pratiklerini inceler. Bunların yanısıra, bu tez Türkiye’deki ilköğretim okullarında toplumsal cinsiyet rollerine dair kavramları ve mesleğin bir “kadın mesleği” haline gelmesini konu edinir. Çalışma, öğretmenlerin kendi ifadelerini aktarmayı amaçlar ve onların mevzuat, yazılı metinler, mesleki dergiler, kitaplar arasında kalmış seslerini duyurmayı hedefler.

62.000 kelime



Curriculum Vitæ

ECE CIHAN ERTEM

born on 5 January 1978
in Istanbul, Turkey

EDUCATION

Ph.D.	The Atatürk Institute for Modern Turkish History Boğaziçi University 2018
M.A.	Political Science and International Relations Yıldız Technical University 2006
B.A.	Translation Studies Boğaziçi University 2002

PROFESSIONAL APPOINTMENTS/EMPLOYMENT

- ◆ Aarhus University Department of Education Visiting Researcher (2011 - 2013)

PUBLICATIONS

- ◆ “Political Novels of 1980 Military coup in Turkey” Journal of Teaching and Education, 2012, Vol. 1, No. 4. p.19 <http://www.universitypublications.net/jte/0104/html/jte-0104-cont.pdf/> (peer-reviewed)
- ◆ “Anti-abortion Policies in the Nineteenth Century Ottoman Empire: Intervention of State on Women’s Body and Reproductivity” Ankara University Journal of Social Sciences FE Dergi 3, sayı 1 (2011), 47-55. <http://cins.ankara.edu.tr/20111.html>

- ◆ “The Return of the Women to Home: Women in the Novels of September 12, 1980 coup” Published conference paper in 21. Yüzyılın Eşiğinde Kadınlar: Değişim ve Güçlenme, Dokuz Eylül University Publications, 2011.

GRANTS AND FELLOWSHIPS

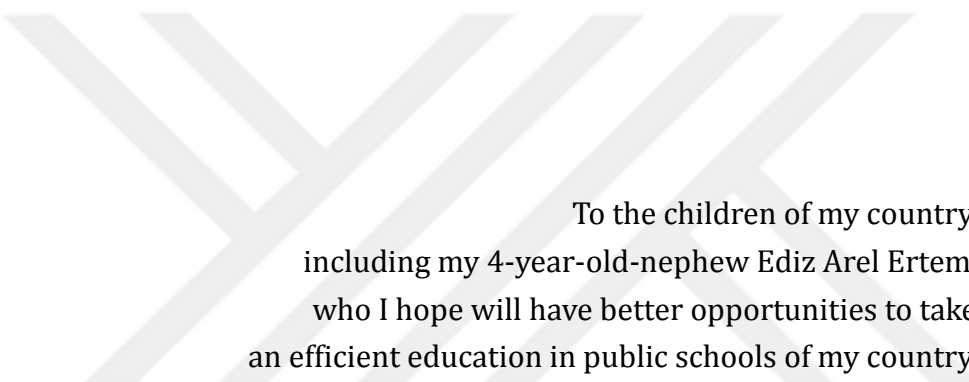
- ◆ TÜBİTAK Ph.D. Research Scholarship for Study Abroad, 2012
- ◆ Boğaziçi University Scientific Research Projects (BAP) Office, 2012

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

- ◆ Istanbul Technical University (2006 -)
History of Modern Turkey (ATA101-102),
Film Studies: Cinema and Society (ING103N)
Essentials of Research Paper Writing (ING 201)
- ◆ Danish Institute for Study Abroad-Copenhagen Department of Sociology (October 2012)
“New Education Bill of Turkey: 4+4+4”
- ◆ Danish Institute for Study Abroad-Copenhagen Department of Early Childhood Education (July 2012)
“Early Childhood Education in Turkey”
- ◆ Danish Institute for Study Abroad-Copenhagen, Department of Sociology (March 2011)
“Education Bill of Turkey: 4+4+4 and Its Consequences”

LANGUAGES

- ◆ Turkish –Native Speaker
- ◆ English – Fluent
- ◆ German – Intermediate
- ◆ Danish – Novice
- ◆ Italian – Novice



To the children of my country,
including my 4-year-old-nephew Ediz Arel Ertem,
who I hope will have better opportunities to take
an efficient education in public schools of my country.

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Glossary of Non-English Terms

Yüksek Öğretmen Enstitüsü	Higher Institutes for Teachers
Dar-ül Muallimat	First female teachers school
Darü'l Muallimin-i Rüşdi	First male teachers school
Kanun-i Esasi	The Constitution of 1876
Mürebbiye	Private female teachers



Abbreviations and Acronyms

IMF	International Monetary Fund
DİSK	Devrimci İşçi Sendikaları Konfederasyonu (Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions)
US	United States
İBBS	İstatistiki Bölge Birimleri Sınıflandırması (Classification of Statistical Region Units)
Eğitim-Sen	Eğitim ve Bilim Emekçileri Sendikası (Education and Science Workers' Union)
Eğitim-Bir-Sen	Eğitimciler Birliği Sendikası (Educators Trade Union)
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
MEB	Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı (Ministry of Education)
TÖB-DER	Tüm Öğretmenler Birleşme ve Dayanışma Derneği (All Teachers Unity and Solidarity Association)
PKK	Partiya Karkerên Kurdistanê (Kurdistan Workers' Party)
FKF	Fikir Klupleri Federasyonu (Federation of Thought Clubs)
TÖS	Türkiye Öğretmenler Sendikası (Turkish Teachers Union)
AKP	Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi (Justice and Development Party)
CHP	Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi (Republican People's Party)
DP	Demokrat Parti (Democrat Party)
KPSS	Kamu personeli Seçme Sınavı (Public Personnel Selection Examination)
ÖSYM	Öğrenci Ölçme, Seçme ve Yerleştirme Merkezi (Measuring, Selection and Placement Center)
TÜİK	Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu (Turkish Statistical Institute)
Eğit-Der	Eğitimciler Derneği (Association of Educators)

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Finally, I devote this dissertation to the children of my country, including my four-year-old-nephew Ediz Arel Ertem, who I hope will have a better opportunity to receive an efficient education in public schools of my country.

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Introduction

The September 12, 1980 coup could be seen as a rupture - a turning point for various spheres of Turkish society. The ruling elite of the 1980s led by the head of the army, General Evren initiated a new economic model and introduced a totally new set of social values and mentality that led to the transformation of Turkish society. Education, as one of the ideological state apparatuses of the ruling elite, has been an area that took its share from this intervention. These transformation processes were imposed on teachers, as well, comprised a large occupational group. In this context, this dissertation examines conceptual changes to teaching in Turkey after the 1980 coup and points to the declining status of the occupation in Turkish society.

In the early Republican era, teachers were seen as the leading group assigned the duty of enlightening of Turkish citizens and were perceived as one of the key contributors to national ideology. However, in the twenty-first century, being a teacher is perceived as a low-profile job by Turkish society and is not as popular as it used to be in the 1960s and

1970s.¹ The sociopolitical environment of Turkey and educational policies following the September 12, 1980 coup, were the determining factors paving the way for this phenomenon.

The September 1980 coup was a striking military intervention in the history of Turkish Republic. It can easily be distinguished from the earlier two military coups in the history of the republic in the light of the following figures and facts. The 1980 military coup blacklisted 1683 thousand people, and took 230 thousand people to court. Seven thousand people were prosecuted for crimes carrying the death penalty and 517 were sentenced to death. Thirty thousand people were dismissed from their jobs, fourteen thousand were denaturalized and thirty thousand left the country and became exiles.² Along with this “reorganization” of society, 3854 teachers were fired, as well. Meanwhile, Turkey shifted from the developmentalist import-subsidy model to a neo-liberal economic order, and this shift was accompanied by a restriction on almost all socio-political activities since this transition could not withstand opposition, especially that of the working class. As Çağlar Keyder puts forward, with 1980 coup “what had been demanded was not a restoration but a radical change.”³ He therefore notes that the coup was far different from the previous ones. The already existing crisis resulting from the previous import-subsidy model was neither able to be resolved by harsh currency devaluation nor by International Monetary Fund (IMF) prescriptions. Prime minister, Süleyman Demirel, who was in office when the military undertook the coup, wanted to enact a set of decrees, known as the January 24 decrees which basically established an import-oriented model with radical devaluation, less state control over prices and the free market, reduced public

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- 1 Fatma Gök and Rifat Okçabol, *Türkiye’de Öğretmen Profili Araştırması ve Öğretmen Yetiştirmede Yeni Arayışlar* (İstanbul: Eğitim-Sen Yayınları, 1998).
 - 2 Many newspapers wrote about the details of the September 12 coup. For further information about its destruction of society, see ‘12 Eylül Darbesinin Korkunç Bilançosu’, <http://www.birgun.net/haber-detay/12-eylul-darbesinin-korkunc-bilancosu-78576.html>.
 - 3 Çağlar Keyder, *Türkiye’de Devlet ve Sınıflar* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1989), 262.

expenses, decrease in state employment, and lower salaries, especially for state workers.⁴ This set of decrees was strongly opposed and protested by the Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions (Devrimci İşçi Sendikaları Konfederasyonu or DİSK) and huge demonstrations were organized starting on January 24, 1980. These demonstrations ended with September 1980 coup and it is quite clear that without a military intervention, it would be impossible to enact January 24 decrees and by means of the military intervention, it would have been impossible to enact the January 24 decrees. Thus it was by means of military intervention that Turkey underwent the transition to a neoliberal economic model.

From the perspective of teachers, the neoliberal economic model brought about by September 12 coup was a major turning point in an era when teachers comprised a large number of state workers, characterized by a sharp decline in their salaries, prestige, and status in society. This era can be examined briefly by applying Antonio Gramsci's concept of "hegemony" and Louis Althusser's concept of "ideological apparatuses of

4 "The infamous January 24 resolutions were announced by Demirel in 1980, just eight months before the coup and it was obvious that those resolutions would be protested by masses along with the strong unions of time. After many years, politicians admitted the fact that without the coup, the implementation of January 24 resolutions would have been impossible. The resolutions were prepared by Turgut Özal, who was one of the permanent secretaries of Prime Minister Demirel at the time and the resolutions were prepared according to the demands of the IMF. The ultimate aim was to change the economic system of Turkey from an import-substitution industrialization model to free market economy. The main statements of the resolutions are as follows: Adoption of an export-oriented industrialization model rather than an import subsidy model which is focused on local markets and a 'realist currency' policy rather than over-rated currency and the avoidance of radical devaluation; the dominance of the market for the determination of interest rates rather than state; the usage of a limited money-credit policy in addition to high interest rates to control local demand or inflation; the annulment of price audits to a possible extent; the abolishment or decrease of subsidies for basic goods produced by the state, avoidance of unprofitable recruitment for the state with the announcement of 'State Owned Enterprises' Reform'; the restriction of state expenses; tax reform; the establishment of desirable conditions for foreign capital; and the opening of state monopolies to foreign capital." Osman Ulagay, *24 Ocak Deneyimi Üzerine* (İstanbul: Hil, 1984), 21.

the state". Althusser describes the impact of the state on society with two terms: "repressive state apparatus" and "ideological state apparatus." Rather than referring to an insertion of direct violence, repression and intervention, the term "ideological state apparatus" signifies an indirect impact and manipulation by the state conducted through its institutions in the areas of education, religion, family, media, organizations, unions and jurisprudence. Nominally, these institutions are supposed to be beyond the control of state authorities at least in "democratic" regimes; however, for some "sacred" ideals such as "maintaining the order of the society," "establishing security," and "establishing flawless means of production," the state needs to disseminate its values.⁵ Education has become a primary ideological state apparatus in modern societies, but in societies like Turkey, religion has also been quite prominent state apparatus, especially with the introduction of the ideology of the September 1980 coup, namely the Turkish-Islamic Synthesis.

Given the strengthening of the state's hegemony over all state workers including teachers, the recent history of Turkish teachers could be simplified into a story of state hegemony in which there would be no agency given to teachers and they were diminished into passive, submissive, subordinate elements of the system. This dissertation claims that teachers of Turkey are not passive agents of the system on the contrary, I argue that they created acts and areas of resistance in their occupational routine. At this point, I prefer to use Gramscian notion of "counter-hegemony" while scrutinizing the occupation of teaching in the context of Turkey in the 1980s. As a result of state and class domination and as a reply to the state's oppression, Gramsci suggested the occurrence of a counter-hegemony that challenges the existing hegemony and is a reactionary answer to it in multiple phases that could occur by means of media, history and art.⁶ Therefore, I suggest that teachers as an occupational

5 The quotes are mine. For further reading, see Louis Althusser, *On the Reproduction Of Capitalism: Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses* (London: Verso Books, 2014).

6 Antonio Gramsci, *The Gramsci Reader: Selected Writings, 1916-1935* (NYU Press, 2000), 15-28.

group found ways to resist the hegemony and created small but effective counter-hegemonic areas in their daily practices.

To review the traces of teachers' agency, this dissertation looks at the relationship between teachers and other actors such as the state, society, and colleagues; the abstract conceptualization of the occupation; the practice of the occupation; and socioeconomic and demographic details about its practitioners. Hence, following a brief outline of the theoretical framework and methodology, chapter 1 entitled "Changes in Occupational Prestige and the Role of Teachers in Society" focuses on the relationships among state, parents, and teachers themselves. Chapter 2 scrutinizes the abstract conceptualization of the occupation dealing with abstract terms regarding the self-perception of teachers. The definition of "the ideal teacher" is also discussed in this chapter.

Chapter 3 explores the actual experiences of teachers and inspects the traces of the counter-hegemony they create in their daily routines. Hence, this chapter looks at the areas of teacher education, peeks in classrooms, listens to teachers' practices, and surveys the details of their relationships with students, parents, and administrators. Chapter 4 composes a socioeconomic profile of teachers, supplies demographic data, enumerates their membership in unions and associations, indicates their incomes and compares these data those of previous profiles that could be accessed. In the conclusion, the life of teachers after 1980 coup and the change of concepts regarding the occupation are evaluated.

The basic questions of this thesis are as follows:

- ◆ What are the effects of 1980 coup and to the occupation of teaching?
- ◆ How do teachers working in public schools Turkey describe conceptual changes to their occupation?
- ◆ How do teachers of Turkey define their occupation and elements of occupational identity such as abstract concepts related to the occupation, their vocational education, and their occupational practice?
- ◆ How do teachers describe themselves with respect to their socioeconomic profile and their daily and leisure time activities?

What are the instances of counter-hegemony that teachers create within the state authority imposed on them?

What is the extent of feminization and reflection of gender roles in Turkish society to the occupation of primary school teaching?

The thesis focuses only on primary school teachers working in state schools, hence the term “neoliberal era” is used to indicate the period after 1980 coup which introduced a neoliberal turn and led to a cultural turn that affected teachers deeply. Hence, the conditions of private school teachers or institutions are out of scope of this dissertation.

§ 1.1 Theoretical Framework and Literature Review

Conceptual changes to teaching in Turkey after the 1980 coup is the main topic of this thesis which points to the declining status and prestige of the occupation in Turkish society. One basic motive of the thesis is to examine the resistance of teachers who have created areas of counter-hegemony in the process of their teaching where total control by the state was the aim in the neoliberal era of the 1980s.

Another basic motive of this thesis is to recover the voices of teachers who have often been invisible among institutional decrees, figures, and statistics. Being different from the previous works, this thesis looks at conceptual changes to the occupation from the perspective of teachers and aims to strengthen the agency of the teachers in the literature. With the help of the verbatim quotations by teachers which were collected via surveys and in-depth interviews, the change to the occupation has been portrayed. The challenge of this thesis is to deal with the vast data and multiple theories associated with the various topics that pertain the change to the occupation. Therefore, for this thesis it is difficult to apply only one of the related theoretical frameworks since the sub-topics are diverse; nevertheless, two approaches, “history from below”, and the conceptualization of “hegemony” and “counter-hegemony” are meta theories for the whole thesis, though not sufficient to cover all the points in all the chapters.

British Marxist historians have configured a striking reply to the question "What is the subject/agent of history?" and by including ordinary people's stories in the writing of history. This question was specifically answered by E.P. Thompson's proposal for a new approach to history writing, -" history from below" *and/or*" social history." Since Thompson -and for some of his contemporaries, as well- writing history without including ordinary people has been considered dubious. Furthermore, with the evolution of social history in the 1960s, knowledge gathered using only economic data, archives, and state records began to be questioned since the method overlooks contributions to history by individuals. Thompson summarizes his understanding of history writing as follows:

I am seeking to rescue the poor stockinger, the Luddite cropper, the "obsolete" hand-loom weaver, the "Utopian" artisan, and even the deluded follower of Joanna Southcott, from the enormous condescension of posterity. Their crafts and traditions may have been dying. Their hostility to the new industrialism may have been backward-looking. Their communitarian ideals may have been fantasies. Their insurrectionary conspiracies may have been foolhardy. But they lived through these times of acute social disturbance, and we did not. Their aspirations were valid in terms of their own experience; and, if they were casualties of history, they remain, condemned in their own lives, as casualties.⁷

Thompson's perspective opens a path to studies on occupations as which well suits to the scope of this thesis. This perspective enlarges the concept of class which is not only the consequences of production but also means of interests and shared experiences. Hence, the cultural and social terms such as traditions, values, incidents of daily life and social relations became the core elements of history writing. Similarly, "*new social history*" emerged in the 1960s and was adopted mostly in the United States (US), Canada, Britain and France. Some members of the *Annales*

7 Edward Palmer Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (IICA, 1963), 12-13.

School also took up a similar understanding of history writing and developed their theories that brought common people to the center of historiography. In accord with the perspective “history from below”, the phrase “revival of the narrative” has been one point in the discussion of “the agent” of history. This sharply contrasts with political history writing that places “great men” at the center of history writing. The written debate between two distinguished historians Lawrence Stone and Eric J. Hobsbawm via their articles enlightened my mind and paved the way for the composition of the general theoretical framework for this thesis.⁸ While Hobsbawm criticizes Stone for defining “newly fashioned” tendencies in history writing and completely diminishing the previous methods, Stone emphasizes the necessity of narrative and the inadequacy of quantitative works.⁹ This understanding of gathering experiences, emotions, private details, family rituals, and life stories in history writing is the main path that this thesis follows. However, unlike Lawrence Stone, I do believe that figures and statistics can also be used to complete life stories and that the exact words of people can be collected via open-ended survey questions.

From the perspective of “history from below” and “social history” occupations injured the scope of history writing as an enlarged version of the concept of class with the contribution Thompson. Another concept that is useful for this thesis is the concept of “synthesis” proposed by Eric J. Hobsbawm.¹⁰ While Hobsbawm debates with Stone, he argues that using narrative is neither new nor unknown, but rather disfavoured by some historians. He suggests that a combination of different methods could be a better way to accumulate data. After reviewing the discussions above, this thesis adopts a general theoretical framework as a grand narrative and follows Thompson, Stone, and Hobsbaum through their debates on historiography. Giving voice to the members of an occupational

8 Lawrence Stone, ‘The Revival of Narrative: Reflections on a New Old History’, *Past & Present*, no. 85 (1979): 3–24, doi:10.2307/650677; E. J. Hobsbawm, ‘The Revival of Narrative: Some Comments’, *Past & Present*, no. 86 (1980): 3–8, doi:10.2307/650738.

9 Stone, ‘The Revival of Narrative’, 3–24; Hobsbawm, ‘The Revival of Narrative’, 3–8.

10 Hobsbawm, ‘The Revival of Narrative’, 6.

group, especially to teachers, has rarely been favoured by Turkish academics working in the areas of Turkish history and educational sciences. To do so, these historians' debates do pave the way.

In addition to the general framework used above, every chapter of the thesis could be linked to a specific set of theories and/or a previous work in the literature. Chapter 3, which is entitled as "Changes in the Occupational Prestige and Teacher's Role in Society", focuses on the relationships among the state, parents, and teachers themselves. The first part of this chapter focuses on the relationship between the state and teachers. Since this thesis concentrates on the specific group of teachers in Turkey working for public schools, the state is an influential actor and all the teachers who participated in the survey and interviews are chosen among state workers, the private school teachers were not included in the sample which could be considered a restriction for this study and could be a suggestion for further studies.

The establishment of the Turkish republic can be considered a social engineering project, and teachers were assigned a significant role in the implementation of a new life style in society. Similarly, the 1980 coup d'état and the subsequent three-year- rule by the military was another social engineering project aimed at implementing a synthesis of the Turkish-Islamic values to society in accordance with conservative neo-liberalism. The assumption that teachers were considered key actors of the implementation in the Republican ideals but that the 1980 military intervention and the consequent public policies reduced them to simple functional agents or educational robots is an assumption that will be questioned throughout this thesis, hence I believe the state theories suggested by Antonio Gramsci and his follower Louis Althusser illuminate this point.

While dealing with the relations between state and an occupational group, the Italian philosopher, Antonio Gramsci uses Karl Marx's differentiation between phrases a "class in itself" and a "class for itself." He elaborates further on these concepts and states that class consciousness, organization, and unity can occur in several stages. Gramsci combines the

concept of hegemony and these stages.¹¹ According to his definition, hegemony is the achievement of the subordination of some groups in society by a hegemonic class with the existing consent of the submissive group through an ideology that is the tool of this subordination.¹² The full realization of this subordination follows the stages of “economic corporate” and “class corporate” stages. Gramsci defines the “economic corporate” stage as a stage where “professional or occupational groups recognize their basic common interests but are not conscious of no wider class solidarities.”¹³ The second is stage, “economic corporate”, includes a sort of class solidarity; however, it exists only in the fiscal sphere. The third and last stage is the complete domination by hegemonic elite infiltrating into all the levels of economic and occupational solidarity and uniting all subordinate groups under a general propaganda.¹⁴ Therefore, all the subordinate groups melt into the same pot of the ideology of the hegemonic class.

This last stage indicates the loss of professional identity along with the domination by the governing elite. By looking at modern Turkish history from the perspective of teachers’, this thesis examines whether the 1980 coup d’état realized a complete hegemony over the occupational group and/or to what extent teachers lost their professional identity. In order to look for some clues, laws and policies enacted by the military government and their successors are going to be explored in the light of Gramsci’s state theory.

In Gramsci’s footsteps, Louis Althusser worked on the relationship between state and education. According to Althusser, education as a state apparatus in the form of a formal school system is the most effective ideological tool of the modern state in capitalist societies. While teaching

11 Kuan-Hsing Chen and David Morley, *Stuart Hall: Critical Dialogues in Cultural Studies* (Routledge, 2006), 423.

12 Ibid., 117.

13 Ibid., 423.

14 Ibid, 423.

general skills and knowledge, the capitalist order reproduces relationships of exploitation and the ideology of the ruling class.¹⁵ Althusser underscores the important position of schools among other “Ideological State Apparatuses” such as religious, family-oriented, legal, political, trade-union, communicational and cultural based apparatuses; and notes that no other apparatus makes social formation compulsory for all the children, all those hours of the week. He claims that while it teaches skills, it establishes the subjection of the individual to the ruling ideology or the mastery of its “practice.”¹⁶ Similarly, Henry Giroux defines this situation with the concept of “asymmetrical relations of power” in society and he points out that the struggle among conflicting groups results in the dominance of the ruling one, -such as state and its ideology, and education becomes a tool in this fight. In *Schooling for Democracy: Critical Pedagogy in the Modern Age*, Giroux states that education has been an agent to gain political and cultural power among the conflicting societal groups.¹⁷ Deliberate and planned education systems are a basic component of ideology and education has been turned into a formal institution for socialization. Furthermore, education has been a distinctive factor in division of labor. Formatted schools, formal roles of teaching and learning have been composed, the concept of curriculum has been formed in order to program education on which the political, cultural, social norms were integrated.

With respect to the Turkish case, education and educators were considered key sources of change and implementers of the new order in the early Republican era in the post-empire period. From a positivist perspective, a secular, and a scientific approach was implemented for the education system and teachers were praised. However, after the 1980 coup a new ideology, the Turkish-Islamic synthesis was adopted by the ruling

15 Theodor Adorno et al., *Mapping Ideology* (London: Verso Books, 2012), 104. According to Althusser, all apparatuses of the capitalist state employ repression and ideology in combination.

16 Ibid., 105.

17 Henry A. Giroux, *Theory and Resistance in Education: Towards a Pedagogy for the Opposition* (Greenwood Publishing Group, 2001), 82.

elite. The ruling class perceived teachers as who were critical of the existing system as opponents to the neo-liberal and the conservative, nationalist ideology of the Turkish-Islamic synthesis. Since education seemed as the key tool to raise the new generation, a non-secular understanding was suggested. School curricula were remade according to the new system. Therefore, “leftist” teachers who were opponent to the new neoliberal Turco-Islamic renovations in the education system had to be eliminated in order to create “unity” in society. This argument can explain the major intervention of the state in educational policy and in the professional solidarity of teachers starting in the early 1980s. Chapter 3 deals with the interaction among state, society, and teachers in the light of the theories and discussion above.

Some previous works have been exemplars for this study. Out of the previous literature on the topic, research conducted by Gök and Okçabol is the predecessor of this study¹⁸. Gök and Okçabol prepared a profile of teachers in 1998, and the questions used in that research were quiet inspirational for the survey used in this thesis. Moreover, the answers given to the previous survey were taken as a basis for comparison. This research portrays the profile of teachers in 1998, and they were the teachers who were in charge during a period which was directly under the influence of the education policies emerging from the 1980 coup. Since 1998, no similar comprehensive surveys aiming at a socio-economic profile of teachers have been conducted until this dissertation.

Gök and Okçabol’s study was prepared as a report for Education and Science Workers’ Union (Eğitim ve Bilim Emekçileri Sendikası or Eğitim-Sen). The number of participants is 2301 and they were from nineteen cities out of Turkey. The questionnaires were prepared and sent to the branches of the Union of Education and members of the union acted as canvassers. Union members went to schools and gave the questionnaires to teachers. This method is feasible; however, face-to -face surveying always offers more accurate results since the questions are read by the surveyor to the participant.

18 Gök and Okçabol, *Öğretmen Profili Araştırması*.

The project for this thesis took the questions of previous survey as a template and evolved them and implemented it in 2012-13. Hence, it is a developed continuation of the previous survey. Increased number of questions, open-ended phrases, and face-to-face surveying have rendered more accurate data. However, the most important contribution of this thesis is an updated and a more comprehensive profile of teachers in 2017. Chapters 1, 2, and 3 contribute to literature where Gök and Okçabol left off, and supplying a more detailed profile of Turkish primary school teachers (the first eight years of schooling).

The aforementioned literature and theories cover the chapters up to chapter 4. However, for chapter 4, additional theories need to be revisited in order to deal with the data gathered during the research process concerning teachers' socio-economic profile, demography, memberships, income analysis, language acquisition, educational background, and leisure time activities. Chapter 4 analyzes questions that aim to compose a socio-economic background in detail. The thesis argues that teachers' socio-economic profile (including their leisure time activities and consumption patterns) indicate their social status, and through them conceptual changes to the occupation can be traced. In order to establish this relation between socio economic data and changes to occupation, several theories are referred to, the works of Max Weber, Pierre Bourdieu and Thorstein Veblen prominently among them. Moreover, the profiles revealed by Gök and Okçabol have supplied valuable material that is used for comparison in Chapter 4, as well.

The terms "class", "status" and "party" as defined by Max Weber are important for this work since the traces of conceptual change for which the thesis looks are partly due to changes in the status and prestige of the occupation. The socio-economic profile analysis in this chapter depicts a change when compared to the previous profile made in 1998 by Gök and Okçabol. The survey data that has been gathered for this thesis refers to the information on teachers' class and status profiles. Therefore, the profiles revealed by the survey match the definition made by Weber. The survey does not only question the economic indicators but also looks for the

information related to the elements of life-style in accordance with Weberian analysis.

To have a look at the concept of status in more detail, Weber's definition of status which is the "differences between groups in the social honour, or prestige that are given by the other members of society"¹⁹ can be useful. By making this definition, Weber emphasized that class divisions could not be based solely on the means of production but also on other resources such as "skills and credentials." Occupations are more closely related to the concepts of status or prestige rather than to social class—the Marxist unit of analysis. Prestige and social honor can have negative or positive connotations and the possession of wealth does not necessarily indicate a level of high prestige. For instance, in Britain, individuals from aristocratic families maintained a considerable social esteem even after their fortunes were lost. The same is true for occupations as well. The prestige of an occupation may not always be related to the amount of salary it commands. A good example can be found in a survey conducted by the Harris Poll²⁰ in 2007 which indicated that the prestige of teachers and fire-fighters is higher than that of lawyers and brokers since the contributions of the former to society is perceived as remarkably more than that of the members of the latter occupations.²¹ Therefore, according to this perspective, social status is based on subjective evaluations and defined by different styles of life groups. Underscoring this concept, Weber defined social stratification on the basis of a tool other than social class and demonstrated other dimensions of stratification that considerably affect people's lives.²²

The argument pointed out by Weber is also in accord with the situation of teachers in Turkey. According to our survey, teachers belong to a

19 Anthony Giddens, Mitchell Duneier, and Richard P. Appelbaum, *Introduction to Sociology* (Norton, 2003), 220.

20 The Harris Poll is one of the largest American national opinion centers: <http://media.theharrispoll.com/documents/Harris-Interactive-Poll-Research-Pres-Occupations-2007-08.pdf>

21 Giddens, Duneier, and Appelbaum, *Sociology*, 221.

22 Ibid.

low stratum of society when their salaries are considered. However, taking social status as an indicator, they are in a higher category. Therefore, it seems that Weber's model is useful for distinguishing between the class and status; however, for our analysis both are essential.

Pierre Bourdieu, has contemplated the distinction between the concepts of class and status and attempts to rethink and merge them in order to overcome Weber's clash between the two concepts. According to Bourdieu, status is the symbolic side of class structure and cannot be solely explained by economic relations.²³ For this dissertation, Bourdieu's analysis of the structure of class and status is illuminating since he merges the terms class and status without integrating them.

Based on the general definition of the concept of status, "social status" usually signifies the position or rank of an individual or a group in society. Bourdieu attempts to define status as the choice of an individual with respect to her social space, representing her place in the society and her aesthetic disposition depicts her status while distinguishing her from the other groups. Bourdieu suggests that class fractions are determined by a combination of different degrees of social, economic and cultural capital. According to him, cultural capital signifies the differences between classes and uses the concept of symbolic goods referring to "the attributes of excellence, as the ideal weapons of distinction."²⁴ Therefore, Bourdieu associates social status not only with economic capital, but also with consumption trends that are also related to information gathered in early childhood since they are the elements that creates distinction among individuals. He states that class distinctions and preferences are "most marked in the ordinary choices of everyday existence, such as clothing or

23 Tak Wing Chan and John H. Goldthorpe, 'Class and Status: The Conceptual Distinction and Its Empirical Relevance', *American Sociological Review* 72, no. 4 (1 August 2007): 513-14, doi:10.1177/000312240707200402.

24 Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (Harvard University Press, 1984), 66.

cooking, which are particularly revealing of deep-rooted and long-standing dispositions because lying outside the scope of educational system, they have to be confronted, as it were, by naked taste.²⁵

The concepts suggested by Bourdieu for social analysis, -“*cultural and symbolic capital*,”- as well as the importance of leisure activities and consumption trends are taken into consideration in this work. In my survey, some questions ask for information concerning the symbolic capital of teachers and their leisure activities; moreover, patterns of consumption are studied while trying to compose a teachers’ profile for 2012-2013.

For a deeper analysis of social stratification, Bourdieu introduces the term “habitus” and defines it as follows: “The habitus, an objective relationship between two objectivities, enables an intelligible and necessary relation to be established between practices and a situation, the meaning of which is produced by the habitus through categories of perception and appreciation that are themselves produced by an observable social condition.”²⁶ Individual “perception” and “appreciation” thus entered the literature of stratification, which is to say, Bourdieu includes taste and distinctive choices leading to distinctive styles in the structure of class. He unites the concepts of class and status under the broader picture of “class habitus” which also includes a set of common properties, goods and possession of power.

Bourdieu bases his analysis on the following parameters: educational capital, age, income, occupation, gender, spatial factors such as place of residence, marital status, inherited cultural capital, and inherited social capital. Occupation is also considered as a parameter; however, according to Bourdieu, dealing only with the bigger category of socio-occupation may lead one to substantialism. Unlike Weber, Bourdieu thinks that class is a general category that is necessary to be used to define social stratification. Other categories listed above are just classification criteria under it. He states that

25 Ibid., 77.

26 Ibid., 168.

the singular configuration of the system of explanatory factors...represents a state of system of properties which make class a universal principle of explanation and classification, defining the rank occupied in all possible fields.²⁷

Bourdieu expands the concept of social class. From a Marxist approach, social class is based on property and modes of production. While accepting the fact that possession is a determinant of social class, Bourdieu adds to the definition and states that social class is determined by “the structure of relations between all the pertinent properties which gives its specific value to each of them and to the effects they exert on practices.”²⁸ Moreover, Bourdieu underscores the necessity of abandoning “linear thinking” and suggests that the relationships between these factors are indirect and rather complicated. According to him, sex and age are the most determinant factors for stratification based on social class among other factors. By taking these concepts as constant values, he deals with mobilization among social strata with the changing of other factors. He states that in social space, the movements of the members of society are not random; they are bound to the structure of the medium that they are in. To a certain extent, inherited capital plays a significant role in channelling individuals into a given position in society. He also notes that “skills in operating connections” paves the way for holding or increasing social capital. Hence, there comes the collective events like crises, wars or on a more personal dimension; encounters, affairs, benefactors to detect the positions of the individuals, however all these events are not random as well, they are structured by the interaction in the society.

Bourdieu’s contribution to Weber’s model is his concomitant emphasis on the concepts of class and status. According to him, all these factors are equally important in determining one’s position in society. However, the areas that they affect are different. Bourdieu interprets capital-both material and symbolic- as a means of social relation which is in constant

27 Ibid., 108.

28 Ibid., 106.

production and reproduction binding individuals to each other. Moreover, unlike Weber, Bourdieu underscores the importance of individual choices that are determined by individual symbolic capital and taste. Therefore, he enlarges Weber's model in a direction that focuses more on the will of the individual where as Weber refers to different groups of people forming a collective pattern. For this thesis, the theories suggested by Weber are crucially important. However, Bourdieu's contribution to the issue is taken into consideration in preparing survey questions. For the interpretation of the answers, both theories regarding the concepts status and prestige are used in chapter 4 and for the final analysis regarding conceptual changes to the occupation.

Thorstein Veblen's work on leisure activities and consumption offers useful tools. Veblen gives a historical dimension to the concept of the division of labor in his famous work *The Theory of the Leisure Class*. He starts his analysis by looking at the occupations in feudal Europe and feudal Japan. These occupations were non-industrial and briefly categorized as governmental, warfare, religious and sports occupations. Veblen refers it as a barbaric era, because he believes that the difference between modern society and a barbaric one is not as different as one might think.

Veblen deals with the concept of "leisure," which is taken as a criterion for composing the profile of an occupational group in this dissertation. Leisure activities stand out as a means of comparison leading to the categorization of social class.

In order to clarify the importance of leisure activities, Veblen introduces the term "conspicuous consumption." In *The Theory of the Leisure Class* this term signifies "the act of purchasing and using certain goods and services, not in order to survive, but rather to identify oneself to others as having superior wealth and social standing." These wasteful belongings and services are to display one's ability to spend in vain so that they are more powerful in the invisible hierarchy of society. Just by buying a better house, a specific brand of a car, haute couture clothing, expensive furniture and exclusive leisure activities, an individual establishes an identity comprised of the symbolic value of those goods or leisure activities. Therefore, these symbols provide her with prestige

simply by giving her certain connotations of difference, superiority or power.

Veblen's definition of "conspicuous consumption" is an important parameter for analyzing the term before the twentieth century. Therefore, he diverges from the Marxist unit of analysis - modes of production - in favor of class distinction. Consumption occurs to be the determinant factor distinguishing members of the aristocracy, bourgeoisie, and proletariat. Goods purchased by the members of these classes signify their places in the social hierarchy.

In modern capitalist societies, the relationship between conspicuous consumption and social prestige is still strong. The desire to purchase "better" goods actually stems from the wish to belong to a prestigious group of a given society since the circles of business, media, and market associate the symbolic value of an object with the identity of a particular community. The wish to consume in order to be a member of a community includes competition, resentment towards non-purchasers and also isolation of some people from circles defined by the level of conspicuous consumption. In most capitalist states, inequalities among classes are enormous and people in disadvantageous situations are often excluded from social interaction, as well.

In my analysis, this term is useful to keep in mind when looking at the consumption patterns of teachers. One may think that, for teacher's case, it is hard to talk about conspicuous consumption. However, this term not only includes consumption of goods indicating superior wealth but any extra goods the consumption of which are not necessary for survival. Moreover, it is important to emphasize the link between consumption and status. In this dissertation, by looking at the results of the survey, it is possible to arrive at a group identity for teachers by looking at their consumption patterns.

One of the aims of this dissertation is to determine the status of teachers and make a generational comparison in order to see the transformation of the occupation, and I related the empiric data with theories suggested by Max Weber, Pierre Bourdieu, and Thorstein Veblen. The survey was used to ascertain conceptual changes to the occupation-as well

as teachers' social status and prestige in Turkey with the help of the clues that are supplied by the theories above. The three thinkers cited above underlined the concepts of class, status, party, leisure activity, consumption, and group identity.

In order to evaluate the historical and conceptual changes related to teachers' status, it has been necessary to explore some theories related to state and educational policy. The early 1980s in Turkey can be considered a time of "authoritarian populism,"²⁹ and therefore, the Gramscian unit of analysis, "hegemony" is a very useful concept while using this phrase. Many works deal with Turkey in 1980s applying the theories of Antonio Gramsci.³⁰ Therefore, when considering the changes to educational policies of 1980s, the theories by Gramsci, Althusser, and Giroux are explanatory and going to be used in Chapter 1 which deals with the results of research on the topic. The profile prepared by Gök and Okçabol in 1998 has been inspirational and exemplary for this work; hence, as well as being introduced in this chapter, it is mentioned in chapters 2, 3 and 4 in order to make a comparison of occupational concepts corresponding to 1998 and 2012-13.

All in all, the conceptual change in the occupation of teaching is observed in the light of a combination of the cited theories and previous literature. The reasons for such changes are not easy to define. However, changes in policies aside empirical data presented in the following chapters, give a clear picture of the description of this transformation.

29 Stuart Hall, *The Hard Road to Renewal: Thatcherism and the Crisis of the Left* (Verso, 1988), 169. Hall uses this term for Thatcherism in England in the 1980s. The political changes in Turkey in the 1980s parallel those in England and the United States which were symbolized by the names of Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan. Their Turkish counterpart was Turgut Özal, the first elected Prime Minister after the three-years of military rule

30 Some distinct examples are: Ahmet Öncü, 'Dictatorship Plus Hegemony: A Gramscian Analysis of the Turkish State', *Science & Society* 67, no. 3 (1 September 2003): 303-28, doi:10.1521/siso.67.3.303.21243; Hasret Dikici Bilgin, 'Civil Society and State in Turkey: A Gramscian Perspective', in *Gramsci and Global Politics: Hegemony and Resistance*, ed. Mark McNally and John Schwarzmantel (London: Routledge, 2009), 107-118.

§ 1.2 Major Legal and Institutional Changes in Primary School Teaching (1980-2013)

This section focuses on the major legal and institutional changes comprising the term 1980-2013 regarding the change of teachers' social role. 1980 Coup and social and political changes after it led to a multi-faceted transformation in the occupation of teaching. Several changes during the period could be listed such as the closure of teacher unions (1979-1990), intervention of global actors to the educational policies (1980-2013), privatization of elementary education and commodification of teaching (since 1980), centralized tests and standardization of teaching (1984), coalition governments and the frequent change of ministers of education (1985-2003 and single party rule of AKP 2003-2013), unification of teachers' education (1987), extension of compulsory education to eight years and change in teacher recruitment (1997), performance evaluations and introduction of total quality management in schools (2000).

1980 is a turning point for the changing role of teaching occupation since it also signifies interventions of global actors into Turkish educational policies. 1980s reveals the initiation of integration of World Bank educational policies into Turkish education system. As being a global actor, World Bank started to intervene into educational policies in Turkey as they did in many other countries via strategic adjustment programs (SAP).³¹ For Turkey, especially since late 1980s, the projects of the World Bank and the harmonization and standardization process to the EU have been influential. These interventions were mostly introduced as reforms and they mainly oriented educational policies to the needs of the market and business circles. The World Bank is a development bank which has first supplied credits to Turkey due to the high illiteracy rates during

31 The intervention of World Bank into educational policies was global and influential especially until the twenty-first century. The following articles and books cite examples from different countries. Gloria Emeagwali, "The Neo-Liberal Agenda and the IMF/World Bank Structural Adjustment Programs with Reference to Africa," in *Critical Perspectives on Neoliberal Globalization, Development and Education in Africa and Asia* (Springer, 2011), 3-13.

early 1980s. Up to 2005, World Bank funded major projects and contributed to neoliberal transformation in Turkish educational policies. The major projects proposed by World Bank and implemented by Turkey are as follows: Industrial Training Projects (1984 and 1988), Vocational Training Projects (1987), National Education Development Project (1990), Basic Education Projects (1998, 2002), Secondary Education Project (2005)³²

For teachers in Turkey, the closure of teachers' union just after 1980 was another turning point. After the coup, all associations and unions were closed until 1983. This closure affected many workers from different occupational groups, however for teachers the process was more influential. Teachers were accused of being the intellectual initiators of protest against governments and held responsible for provoking inner conflicts. Many teachers were interrogated and sent to jail.³³ The largest union of teachers, All Teachers Unity and Solidarity Association having more than 220,000 members which coincides with 60 percent of teachers in Turkey in 1980, was closed and banned. Only in 1988, Association of Educators (Eğitimciler Derneği, Egit-Der) was established and the members around Egit-Der established the first union after the coup in May 1990, (Eğitim İşkolu Kamu Görevlileri Sendikası or Eğitim-İş). Following Eğitim-İş in November 1990, (Eğitim ve Bilim Emekçileri Sendikası or Eğitim-Sen) was founded. Then in January 1995, Eğitim-İş and Eğitim-Sen were merged into a leftist union with a larger number of members called (Eğitim ve Bilim Emekçileri Sendikası or Eğitim-Sen). In 1990s be-

32 Ilknur Eginli, "World Bank Education Policy: The Impact of World Bank Education Projects (1997-2007) on Turkey," 2010.

33 'Türkiye'de Öğretmen Örgütlülüğü ve TÖB-DER- Tahsin Doğan', *Ana Fikir*; accessed 1 April 2017, <http://www.anafikir.gen.tr/turkiyede-ogretmen-orgutlulugu-ve-tob-der-tahsin-dogan/>.

sides Eğitim-Sen, in June 1992 (Türkiye Eğitim, Öğretim ve Bilim Hizmetleri Kolu Kamu Çalışanları Sendikası or Türk Eğitim-Sen) and (Eğitimciler Birliği Sendikası or Eğitim Bir-Sen).³⁴

The third important decision for the occupation of teaching is the establishment of private elementary schools. Private schools paved the way for the commodification of education and that kind of an understanding of education led the degradation of teaching as an occupation. 1980s became the period when the number of private colleges increased. Before 1980s, only primary schools of minorities were allowed in Turkey and all other schools were public. Even though the establishment of private schools was enacted with the Constitution of 1961, the first private schools to be opened were only private high schools.³⁵ With the Constitution 1982, private primary schools started to be opened and with the legal adjustments and decrees in 1985, entrepreneurs were encouraged to found more private schools.³⁶ Okçabol, underscores several changes in Law 625 which provides private schools the ownership and use of lands of state. Furthermore, starting from 2001 private universities are supported by generous donations of the state.³⁷

The effect of privatization in education has affected teachers' status in multiple ways. Firstly, privatization created various working conditions among teachers and therefore ruined occupational solidarity. Secondly, this inequality creates differences of prestige among teachers due to the higher salaries and better conditions of private schools' teachers. Thirdly, materialization of education affects the status of teachers working in public schools as well. Since primary school education became a

34 Levent Eraslan, "Türkiye'de Eğitim Sendikacılığının Tarihsel Perspektifi ve Günümüz Eğitim Sendikacılığının Değerlendirilmesi," *Sosyal ve Beşeri Bilimler Araştırmaları Dergisi*, no. 28 (2013): 1-17.

35 Selçuk Uygun, "Türkiye'de Dünden Bugüne Özel Okullara Bir Bakış," *Ankara University, Journal of Faculty of Educational Sciences* 36, no. 1-2 (2003). p.114

36 Ibid. p.115

37 Rifat Okçabol, *Öğretmen Yetiştirme Sistemimiz*, 1st ed. (Ankara: Ütopya Yayınevi, 2005). 29

service to be bought, the performance of teaching also became commodified and that helped the diminishing of “soul of teaching”. Last but not the least, privatization in education prepared a solid base for performance evaluations for public school teachers as well and these evaluations became usual practices in twenty-first century.

Another important decision was the launch of centralized tests for primary schools in 1984. This decision was significant for the change of teaching occupation since it hints the transformation of the way of teaching. With centralized tests, the only aim of teaching becomes to get the highest score in a time limited competitive examination. Pupils become exam-oriented and it excludes a holistic approach of learning and therefore any sort of art activity or long-time taking skills such as reading a novel, oral or written expressions and language acquisition have been discluded in central tests. Some subject areas such as mathematics, science have been popular and so are the teachers of those courses. Classroom teachers and the general skills that they teach become of secondary importance. In the neoliberal era, quick thinking and time management has become as important for children as for the adults of the time. Furthermore, teachers are evaluated according to their performances and the success of students has been accepted as a criterion which could be assessed through centralized tests. Within a global perspective, centralized tests have become one of the major tools for performance evaluation starting from 1980s.³⁸ Furthermore, centralized tests created an unofficial competition among schools and teachers. For the Turkish case, besides the competitive environment which affected teaching practices, centralized tests became a basis for performance evaluation leading to the reinforcement of surveillance over teachers.

After 1980, especially in 1990’s coalition governments were in rule and ministers of education were frequently changed within the period of

38 For further reading, Simon Boxley, “Performativity and Capital in Schools,” *Journal for Critical Education Policy Studies* 1, no. 1 (2003): 67–95; J. B. Foster, “Eğitim ve Sermayenin Yapısal Krizi: ABD Örneği,” *Monthly Review Dergisi* 29 (2012): 49–87; Stephen J Ball and Deborah Youdell, *Hidden Privatisation in Public Education: Preliminary Report* (Education International, 2007).

1980-2013. In this period, seventeen ministers were attained for the position of Ministry of Education. The first one after the coup was Hasan Saglam, who was a member of the army. The preceding five ministers were from the Motherland Party (Anavatan Partisi or ANAP, from December 13, 1983 to November 20, 1991) and the next five were from True Path Party (Doğru Yol Partisi or DYP, from November, 20 1991 to June 30 1997). From this date to November 18, 2002, Democratic Left Party (Demokratik Sol Parti or DSP) was in charge of education and lastly since November 2002, AKP governments have been in charge.³⁹ What could be observed from this table is the short duration of the average service of ministers which led to instable educational policies. The average duration service of a minister is eight months, whereas some ministers only served for four months.⁴⁰

In 1989, teachers' education was standardized and all candidates started to have a four year education in order to be an elementary school teacher. Up to 1973 primary school teachers were raised either in the Village Institutes or in Primary Teacher Schools.⁴¹ 1974 two-year-colleges/educational were established and elementary school teachers were raised in those institutions. In 1982, these colleges were comprised by universities and in 1989, all two-year-colleges were changed to four-year-undergraduate programs.⁴²

In 1997, the duration of compulsory education was changed and the period of primary school education was prolonged to eight years from five years. By enacting Basic Education Law (Law 4306) on August 8, 1997, MEB declared the extension of the period of compulsory basic education and this structural change brought two fundamental changes to the occupation of teaching. The first one is linked to a World Bank project

39 "MEB - Eski Bakanlarımız," *Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı*, n.d., <http://www.meb.gov.tr/meb/>.

40 Ibid.

41 In Turkish, these schools are referred as "*İlköğretmen Okulları*".

42 Gülsün Atanur Baskan, Ayhan Aydın, and Tuğba Madden, 'Türkiye'deki Öğretmen Yetiştirme Sistemine Karşılaştırmalı Bir Bakış', *Çukurova Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi*15, no. 1 (2006): 37.

and the official change in Basic Education Law and it resulted in a conceptual change in teachers' education in Turkey. In order to detail and implement the regulations, a new committee called National Committee for Teacher Training (Öğretmen Yetiştirme Milli Komitesi or ÖYMK) was established in September 1997 by YÖK.⁴³ The report called "The Re-organization of Education Faculties' Teacher Training Programmes" was announced in March, 1998 by OYMK in accordance with the advices of the World Bank. This report became one of the first crucial steps for the change of occupational role. Within the framework of National Teacher Training Project, YÖK prepared a report noting that in Faculties of Education theoretical education was more emphasized than teaching practice and practical knowledge was mostly ignored. The report added that courses dealing with teaching methods were insufficient. Programs are mostly composed of courses regarding theories on educational sciences hence they lack the information on the skills that the teachers need in their daily practice.⁴⁴ The involvement of practical skills certainly would be beneficial for candidate teachers, however with this change the theoretical education has almost been reduced from curricula and teachers were taken away from critical thinking. It seems that with this alteration of the curricula, teachers are expected to be "doers" rather than "thinkers", and the "Re-organization of Education Faculties' Teacher Training Programmes" became a crucial step in changing social role of teachers from intellectuals to presenters. As Ünal accentuates, all these "reforms" changes the definition of the teacher and transforms her into a "technician" rather than "a professional who can criticize and react."⁴⁵ Similarly Ünal argues that being a teacher does not only comprise the subjects to

43 *Eğitim Fakültesi Öğretmen Yetiştirme Lisans Programları* (Ankara: Yüksek Öğretim Kurulu Başkanlığı, 1998), http://www.yok.gov.tr/documents/10279/30217/Egitim_fakultesi_ogretmen_yetistirme_lisans_programlari_mart_98.pdf/5e166018-b806-48d5-ae13-6afd5dac511c : 4.

44 Ibid.

45 L. Işıl Ünal, "Öğretmen İmgesinde Neoliberal Dönüşüm," *Eğitim Bilim Toplum* 3, no. 11 (2005) : 9.

be taught of or the methods of teaching them. Education is a cultural and political process hence the teacher should have a comprehensive knowledge relying on educational sciences.⁴⁶

In 1997, primary school education became compulsory for eight years. Eight-year compulsory education has been a controversial topic since it would supply all children to have an equal education for the first eight years which led to the closure of Imam Hatip secondary schools for children aged 12-14. Hence, all children had the chance to have an undivided eight-year primary school education. In 2013, the system was changed and a new system called “4+4+4” was enacted which allowed children to go to Imam Hatip schools after the first four years of primary education. These systematic changes immensely affected teaching occupation. With the preparations of eight-year compulsory education, there occurred a lack of teachers and due to this reason in 1996, teacher recruitment procedure has changed.⁴⁷Hence, not only the graduates of education faculties but also all four year college graduates had the right to apply as primary school teachers. Therefore, during the second recruitment phase of teachers in 1996, only 3056 newly recruited teachers were graduates of faculty of education where as the number of graduates of other departments is 13647.⁴⁸ During in-depth interviews teachers report that among these people, there were agriculture engineers, pharmacists, veterinaries who had no competence or skills regarding primary school teaching gathered from their university education. This regulation changed the perception of society about primary school teaching since a primary school teaching seemed to have no prerequisite criteria other than having a bachelors’ degree. This regulation was ceased in 2004 and since only education faculty graduates and fine arts faculty graduates

46 Ibid.

47 “Bursa Milletvekili Yüksel Aksu’nun, Öğretmen Atamalarına İlişkin Sorusu ve Millî Eğitim Bakanı Mehmet Sağlık’ın Yazılı Cevabı” (TBMM Tutanak Dergisi, February 24, 1997), <https://www.tbmm.gov.tr/tutanaklar/TUTANAK/TBMM/d20/c021/b060/tbmm200210600218.pdf>.

48 Ibid.

holding a teaching certificate have been attained as primary school teachers. In March 2002, the recruitment system has once more changed and the Civil Service Test (Kamu Personeli Seçme Sınavı or KPSS) was added to the recruitment process of all state workers including teachers.⁴⁹ KPSS is a centralized multiple choice examination which was prepared and conducted by OSYM which is composed of two parts, one on general knowledge and the other on regulations, legal changes of the occupation and educational theories.⁵⁰ The success of the candidate depends on his/her speed and ability of answering multiple choice questions. Therefore, this test eliminates many newly graduated teachers due their lack of adaptation multiple choice testing which is not a skill regarding teaching. This examination shows that there is a problem of planning in the number of educated teachers and the number of teaching positions even though state schools lack teachers.

The points above are the major legal and institutional changes regarding primary school teaching in Turkey. Each point was discussed with participant teacher via in-depth interviews and the survey and elaborated more in detail within the following chapters.

§ 1.3 The Bringings of Neoliberal System to Education: Performativity, Production and Commodification of Education

Neoliberalism, which can be defined as an ideology depending on the principle of the “free, possessive individual” and a self-regulated market in its very basic sense, has affected every sector of the social life and it had a comprehensive global agenda for education. The previous governmental systems such as the welfare state are often described with the

49 “Kamu Görevlilerine İlk Defa Atanacaklar İçin Yapılacak Sınavlar Hakkında Genel Yönetmelik,” *Resmi Gazete*, May 3, 2002, <http://www.resmigazete.gov.tr/eskiler/2002/05/20020503.htm#2>.

50 “KPSS: Kamu Personel Seçme Sınavı,” *ÖSYM*, n.d., <http://www.osym.gov.tr/TR,8837/hakkinda.html>.

concept “nanny state” ruining the individuals’ freedom or intervening in the ‘natural’ mechanisms of the free market.⁵¹In the neoliberal era, education has been seen as a functional tool to contribute and support the financial targets of a country while serving for the wealth of individuals and business sector. As aforementioned, neoliberalism had also brought global actors such as EU, World Bank and World Trade Organization in the process of determining educational policies of countries. Furthermore, neoliberal notions such as commodification and marketization of education, production, performativity, professionalism are implemented in education as well.

The General Agreement on Trade Services (GATS) is a World Trade Organization agreement which is a wide-spectrum-treaty that comprises the areas of occupation, communication, construction, finance, health, tourism and education. The privatisation of education in Turkey and its integration to global capitalist system has accelerated after Turkey signed GATS agreement in March, 1995.⁵² Since GATS focused on the privatisation and globalization of all service areas, it became a solid legal structure for privatisation of Turkish schools and universities, a process already started in 1980s. With World Bank projects, the process impeded and conceptually, with the privatisation of universities, knowledge started to be seen as a commodity to be bought. This points at a transformation of notions around education and seen in primary schools as well. Commodification of education became one of the factors that changed the definition of idealist teacher and the values around the occupation.

Not only GATS or World Bank Projects but also projects funded by European Union paved the way for transformation of teaching as an occupation. EU projects have been influential on the transformation of education due to the needs of the industry and business networks. Departments that are not directly in service of business circles usually

51 Johannes L Van der Walt, “Some Recent Responses to Neoliberalism and Its Views on Education,” *HTS Theological Studies* 73, no. 3 (2017): 1-8.

52 Emeagwali, “The Neo-Liberal Agenda and the IMF/World Bank Structural Adjustment Programs with Reference to Africa.”, *Criticism Perspectives on Neoliberal Globalization Development and Education in Africa and Asia*, Berlin: Springer (2011): 7

closed or are not funded. Hence universities become places that only raise employers for holdings and furthermore many holdings have their own universities. It is clear that critical thinking, an essential part of university education, will be deteriorated since departments of universities are dependent to big capital holders.

Neoliberalism brings its own concepts in the area of education such as performativity, production and commodification of education. Stephan Ball defines neoliberalism in education as “a business dynamic which seeks profit from the buying and selling of education ‘services’”⁵³ and points out that neoliberalism resulted into the commodification of academic practice. Furthermore, similar to the self-perception of Turkish teachers, he describes the feelings of academics in neoliberal era as following “neoliberalism gets into our minds and our souls, into the ways in which we think about what we do, and into our social relations with others.”⁵⁴ For teachers themselves, neoliberalism transformed the daily practice, the relationships between teachers as colleagues and the other actors in Ball’s words:

It is about how we relate to our students and our colleagues and our participation in new courses and forms of pedagogy and our ‘knowledge production’, but it is also about our flexibility, malleability, innovation and productivity in relation to these things. Knowledge has its price.⁵⁵

In this context, a key concept, performativity appears as a functional keyword for neoliberal education system. Performativity refers to the constant expectation of high performance from teachers and the internalization of this oppressive expectation. It involves the measurement of the

53 Stephen J. Ball, “Performativity, Commodification and Commitment: An I-Spy Guide to the Neoliberal University,” *British Journal of Educational Studies* 60, no. 1 (2012): 17–28.

54 Ibid.

55 Ibid.

service, performance and quality management, targets and tests. Ball underscores that performativity is most effective when teachers internalize the oppression, “when it is inside our heads and souls. That is, when we do it to ourselves, when we take responsibility for working hard, faster, and better as part of our sense of personal worth and the worth of others.”⁵⁶ At this point, competing with the colleagues, presenting what you are doing and sometimes exaggeration of the performance seem required and appreciated skills. In this context, professionalism is re-defined and goes hand in hand with the surveillance of the authorities. Shore and Wright describes the new professionalism and its relation to performativity as “the re-invention of professionals themselves as units of resource whose performance and productivity must constantly be audited so that it can be enhanced.”⁵⁷ Hence being observed constantly and a shiny presentation of products become more important than the genuine experience of teaching.

Performativity also brings the concept of flexible working. For the area of education, teaching by contract on the hourly basis becomes a tool of neoliberal ideology. Some teachers are recruited by contract and some have permanent positions which is a situation that creates not only hierarchy and competition among teachers but also inequality in salaries and exploitation of service of the ones on contract. As Ball states performativity replaces “commitment with contract”.⁵⁸ Therefore, the successful teacher of neoliberalism is a “practitioner” a “doer” rather than a critical thinker who is focused on her performance rather than values and knowledge and the performance is measured by audition of the authorities and the centralized test scores of students.

In a nut shell, with all its bringing to societies, neo-liberal ideology transforms relations between teachers and society, colleagues, parents and students. The transformation brought by neoliberal system in the

56 Stephen J. Ball, “Performativity, Privatisation, Professionals and the State,” in *Exploring Professionalism*, ed. Bryan Cunningham (London: Institute of Education, 2008).

57 Cris Shore and Susan Wright, “Audit Culture and Anthropology: Neo-Liberalism in British Higher Education,” *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 1999, 557–75.

58 Ball, “Performativity, Privatisation, Professionals and the State.”

case of Turkey which is introduced with the 1980 coup is explored in this dissertation.

§ 1.4 Methodology

This chapter aims at explanation of the methods that are used to gather the relevant data via a survey and in-depth interviews which were designed to qualify the results of the survey conducted in 2012 and 2013, respectively. The analysis is based on the common themes of the survey and the in-depth interviews. Survey questions were grouped according to these basic themes; however, since the interviews were conducted in an informal manner, the questions were semi-structured and the answers were explored according to the main themes indicated in the surveys. In order to efficiently qualify the survey with the in-depth interviews, it is important to look at the details of the data gathered from these two different methods of research.

1.4.1 *Survey of Teachers of Turkey*

1.4.1.1 Population and Sample

According to 2010-2011 statistics compiled Ministry of Education, there were 32.797 primary schools in Turkey and 12 .080 of these schools are from urban areas where as 20.717 of them are from rural regions. The survey was conducted in fifteen cities in Turkey, with 1008 teachers from 254 different schools. Four or five teachers were surveyed from each school. The schools were chosen randomly and the regions were classified according to the Classification of Statistical Region Units (İstatistiki Bölge Birimleri Sınıflandırması or İBBS). All participant teachers worked in primary school- that is the first eight years of schooling due to the regulations of 2012. 47.2 percent of the participants were classroom teachers while 43.8 percent of them were subject-area teachers working in the second level of primary education. 92.3 percent of the participants are working on a permanent basis. 44 percent of the participants are male where as 46.6 percent of the participants were female. According to the

statistics of the Ministry of Education, of all primary school teachers, 47percent are female and 53 percent are male.⁵⁹ Therefore, the survey reflects the gender division of teachers among Turkey.

1.4.1.2 Survey questions

The survey is comprised of seventy-eight questions that can be analyzed under the following headings along with the data gathered from in-depth interviews:

- 1 Changes in the Occupational Prestige and the Role of Teachers in Society
 - ◆ State and Occupational Prestige
 - ◆ Society and Parents in Relation to Occupational Prestige
 - ◆ Self-Criticism: Teachers and Occupational Prestige
- 2 Self-Assessment of the Occupation: Associated Concepts
- 3 Occupational Experience
 - ◆ Teachers' education and in-service education
 - ◆ Classroom practice
 - ◆ Relationships with students, parents, and administrators
 - ◆ Evaluations of general issues of the Turkish education system
- 4 Teacher's socio-economic profiles
 - ◆ Demography and Memberships
 - ◆ Income analysis
 - ◆ Leisure-time activities
- 5 Teaching and Gender Roles
- 6 Open-ended questions

1.4.2 *In-depth Interviews (February-August 2013)*

Eight in-depth interviews of which the duration range was 2-3 hours were conducted for the thesis. The participants are on a large scale of age

59 'Meb_istatistikleri_orgun_egitim_2011_2012.Pdf', accessed 19 August 2016, http://sgb.meb.gov.tr/istatistik/meb_istatistikleri_orgun_egitim_2011_2012.pdf.

variety (37-65) and each had at least ten years of work experience in different schools and cities. Four basic categories were considered to select the interviewees, and each category had one male and one female teacher. The categories were determined after having many preliminary interviews and casual chats with volunteer teachers, and they are listed as follows:

- ◆ **Turkish Nationalists:** These teachers call themselves Turkish nationalists and they believe that nationalism is an essential for maintaining an “undivided,” peaceful Turkey. They argue that Kurdish language should not be incorporated into the national education system and they have the perspective that the Kurdish population cannot be defined as a minority group since they are an essential component of Turkish nationality, which actually refers to a geographical context rather than a racial classification. The female and male participants in this category are Koyuncu and Ozturk, respectively. Koyuncu has been a vice principal in a primary school for thirteen years and has also worked in a primary school as a subject-area teacher. Ozturk is a school principal who has been working in primary schools for forty years both as a classroom teacher and as a school principal.
- ◆ **Islamists:** These teachers introduce themselves as believers in Islam and being Muslim is an essential part of their identity. Under this category are Bolat and Elibuyuk. Bolat, the male interviewee, is an administrator of an Islamist union, Educators Trade Union (Eğitimciler Birliği Sendikası or Eğitim-Bir-Sen) and Elibuyuk, the female member of this group, identifies Islam as an essential aspect of her personality and she wears a headscarf. Elibüyük is a mathematics teacher both in primary schools and highschools. She has worked for thirteen years. Bolat has been a Turkish language and literature teacher for thirteen years. He also works as the vice principal of a school in Istanbul.
- ◆ **Neutral/Apolitical Teachers:** This group of teachers state that they are not affiliated with any ideology or political group. In this category, are Şen and Çığ. Şen is a primary school classroom teacher. After working for thirty-five years, she got retired and continued working as a part-time teacher who has been paid on hourly basis. Çığ had classroom teacher

education and worked as a classroom teacher. After continuing his education in a four-year-department, he had his master's degree in the area of management of education. Then, he became an inspector for primary schools. He started working as a teacher in 1988.

- ◆ Leftists: These teachers introduce themselves as leftists. Most of them were imprisoned or had been exposed to political pressure during the 1980 coup d'état. In this category, are Özçiftçi and Gunaydın. Özçiftçi is French language teacher and a classroom teacher. He started working in 1967. He got retired in 2010 but still working as a part time teacher. Gunaydın is a classroom teacher. After working for 26 years, she got retired and worked as a part time teacher for several years. In 2013, during this interview she was completely retired.

The term "Kemalist" is not chosen as a category for these interviews because it would not be an absurd claim to argue that all teachers are still somehow Kemalists to a certain extent since even the Islamists believe that Mustafa Kemal Atatürk made a breakthrough in the Turkish education system and paved the way for teachers to become a professional group. Besides their critical approach to many issues regarding the political changes of the early Republican era, many teachers state that Mustafa Kemal Atatürk gave substantial credit and supplied prestige to teachers. However, this method does not overlook the fact that there is a stricter Kemalist group among teachers.

§ 1.5 Data Analysis

This part of this chapter aims at merging the data collected from the survey and the in-depth interviews. The answers to in-depth interview questions are used to qualify and/or complete the answers gathered through the survey. In the following subheadings of this chapter, the main themes addressed by the thesis are analyzed using the survey questions and, the answers of the interviewees are completed with the results of the in-depth interviews. All the answers are linked to the main questions of the research and these main questions are already noted in the introduction

to the chapter; however, it is important to restate them in order to maintain the coherence of the study. Hence, the basic research questions are:

- ◆ What are the effects of 1980 coup and neo-liberal economic policies to the occupation of teaching?
- ◆ How do teachers of Turkey describe the conceptual changes in their occupation?
- ◆ How do teachers of Turkey define their occupation and the elements of the occupational identity such as the abstract concepts related to the occupation, their vocational education, their occupational practice?
- ◆ How do teachers describe themselves regarding their socio-economic profile and daily/leisure time activities?
- ◆ What are the instances of counter-hegemony that teachers create within the state authority?

1.5.1.1 Teachers' socio-economic profile

DEMOGRAPHY

In this part of the dissertation, participant teachers are introduced in detail through demographic data. In doing so, a more accurate assessment of the answers gathered in the survey can be undertaken.

The first demographic category is age. The age division of the participants is as follows: 12 percent of the participants are aged 23 to 29, 26.2 percent are 30 to 36, 19.5 percent are between 37 and 40, 18.4 percent are between 41 and 45, and 22.7 percent are between 46 and 65.

The second category is marital status and family information. Most of the survey participants (79.8 percent) and all the in-depth interview participants are married. 73.2 percent of teachers have children, and those with children generally have two (37.1 percent). Most of the spouses are either high school or university graduates (85.3 percent). 23 percent of the spouses are housewives. Among the spouses who are housewives 17.12 percent are retired which means that they used to work even though at the moment of the survey they introduced themselves as housewives. With respect to the parents of the teachers, 64.9 percent of their fathers do not have a high school education while 82.2 percent of

their mothers have only a primary school education or less. Looking at parental education, it can be concluded that a great majority of mothers and fathers of teachers have only some of primary school education or none at all.⁶⁰ However most of the spouses (87.2 percent) have at least a high school degree or and advanced education.

MEMBERSHIPS

With respect to the membership of teachers in an NGO, or any association other than a union, it seems that 79.5 percent of teachers are not members of any such organization.⁶¹ 61.5 percent of them are members of a union and 51.1 “percent” are members of Eğitim-Bir-Sen, which is the union close to the current government. When I look at the actual numbers of the union members, members of Eğitim-Bir-Sen outnumber the other union members; however, it does not compromise half of the union members. According to the statistics of 2013, the numbers of the members of Eğitim-Bir-Sen (Islamist Union), Eğitim-Sen (leftist union) and Türk-Eğitim-Sen (Kemalist union) are 251.110, 124.380 and 225.250, respectively. The total number of union members in field of education is 1.6217.652. This factor is a restriction for the study since in reality Eğitim-Bir-Sen members are not more than half of the primary school teachers. However, due to the constraints of the data gathering, the members of Eğitim-Bir-Sen are slightly more represented in this survey.⁶²

60 With respect to the socioeconomic background of primary school teachers, it seems that their families generally belong to Turkey’s middle or lower-middle classes. Both the survey and the in-depth interview results point to this fact.

61 Given the high percentage of teachers who are not members of any association, one might speculate that there are legal restrictions on such memberships with respect to public employees including teachers. However, it is not the case and according to the constitution of Turkey, Law 5253, every Turkish citizen may be a member of any legal association. ‘Türkiye Anayasası, Dernekler Kanunu’, <https://www.dernekler.gov.tr/tr/mevzuat/kanun/5253-dernekler-kanunu.aspx>

62 During the pre-interview process, many teachers commented on being a member to the union Eğitim-Bir-Sen since it is considered a “yellow union” which means an uncritical one since it is a pro-government union. Teachers declared that without being a member

INCOME

The levels of income and purchasing power are important indicators of status and prestige of an occupation.

To inspect the income and possessions of teachers, I asked several questions in the survey. When asked to evaluate their income, teachers state that their income is “not high but not low, either”; and they define the level of their salary as “medium”. According to survey results, most teachers (83.7 percent) earn between 1500-2400 Turkish liras per month (2012 figures, see figure 1.10). In order assess these figures one can consider that for a family of four living in the cities of Turkey, the poverty threshold for is 3.121 TL and the hunger limit is 958 TL in 2012.⁶³ The wages of teachers change according to the number of hours they teach and according to the number of years they have worked. When compared to the other occupations in Turkey such as doctors, engineers, lecturers, research assistants, police officers, preachers, and lawyers- teachers have the lowest salary among the university graduates.⁶⁴ Furthermore, in 2011 these numbers were among the lowest figures regarding teachers’ salaries among The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries, according to a 2012 research entitled as “A Comparative Analysis of Teachers’ Salaries in Some OECD

of Eğitim-Bir-Sen, it has almost been impossible to be assigned as an administrator in state primary schools. This issue was discussed in newspaper columns and internet blogs and sites, as well. The criticisms towards Eğitim-Bir-Sen increased so much that in 2015, Veli Ağbaba, a parliamentarian and vice director of the opposition party CHP, sent a written statement to press noting that all the school principals were chosen among Eğitim-Bir-Sen members. <https://www.haberler.com/agbaba-egitim-bir-sen-e-uye-olmayan-mudur-kalmadi-7149683-haberi/>.

- 63 From the daily newspaper Evrensel ‘Açlık 958, Yoksulluk Sınırı 3 Bin 121 Lira’, *Evrensel.Net*, 31 October 2012, <https://www.evrensel.net/haber/39500/aclik-958-yoksulluk-siniri-3-bin-121-lira>.
- 64 Hilmi Süngü, ‘Bazı OECD Ülkelerindeki Öğretmen Maaşlarının Karşılaştırmalı Bir Analizi’, *21. Yüzyılda Eğitim Ve Toplum Eğitim Bilimleri Ve Sosyal Araştırmalar Dergisi* 1, no. 2 (2012), <http://dergipark.ulakbim.gov.tr/egitimvetoplum/article/view/5000112890>.

Countries.” The paper states that the yearly salary of the most experienced teacher in Turkey in 2011 was 29.697 US dollars while the average salary in OECD countries was 49154 US dollars. The figures for certain OECD countries, the figures are as follows: In the United States, Germany, Denmark, Italy, France and England; wages were 51,633, 61,787, 4,360, 42,567, 49,221, 47,047 dollars, respectively.⁶⁵ It is obvious that the poor salaries of teachers decrease their job satisfaction. Furthermore, despite the job security, many hardworking youngsters in Turkey avoid becoming teachers and prefer other occupations, and student preferences for departments in centralized examination for higher education institutes strengthen this argument.⁶⁶

Despite the low salaries, most survey participants state that they do not work an additional job (see Figure 1.11). Almost 90 percent of the teachers expressed that they do not work in an additional job; however, these answers may be misleading since in 2012 teachers were not allowed to work at other institutions or to give private lessons according to the state workers law- Law 657. Since my survey was officially approved by the Ministry of Education and the question forms that I had prepared were sent to the schools by the ministry after being checked by the ministry officials, teachers may have been scared of being accused by the state of breaking the law. Hence, this is a restriction on this research. Most probably, many teachers hid the fact that they had a second job in order to make ends meet since the amount of their salaries do not seem sufficient given that the majority of the teachers were married with an average of two children.

Despite this restriction, ninety-six teachers state that they work in other, part-time jobs and twenty-four of them say that they work as pri-

65 For further details, see *ibid.*, 30.

66 According to ÖSYM statistics, the brightest students with higher marks on the university examinations prefer engineering faculties, and schools of medicine and law. For further information, ‘2012OSYSKONTKILAVUZ.Pdf’, accessed 19 August 2016, <http://dokuman.osym.gov.tr/pdfdokuman/2012/OSYS/2012OSYSKONTKILAVUZ.pdf>.

vate tutors and/or teach in private institutions. Other commonly mentioned jobs are web design, chauffeuring (or being a taxidriver), tutoring and sales in various domains.

POSSESSIONS

Looking at the possessions and consumption patterns of people could give an idea about how they live. As stated in the theoretical framework, Bourdieu and Veblen point to the significance of consumption patterns by using the concepts “symbolic capital” and “conspicuous consumption.” As a complement to Marxist analysis, Bourdieu relates social status not only to economic capital but also to consumption trends that are deeply linked to the surroundings in a symbolic manner in early childhood and these elements regarding “*taste*” and “*preferences*” become symbols of intellectuality that create distinction among individuals.⁶⁷ Hence for this dissertation, it is important to look at the consumption patterns of the participants to indicate their status and place within Turkish society and to have a closer look at them.

The first possession group regards teachers’ dwelling conditions. 62 percent of participant teachers own their own apartments and 6 percent lives in an apartment rent free since the apartment belongs to a family member. 60.4 percent of the teachers have an automobile. Only 2.4 percent of them live in teacher housing, since such residential facilities for teachers are very limited. With respect to possessions, it seems that almost every teacher has household items such as a personal computer, home internet, washing machine, dishwasher, credit card, and a digital camera. 60 percent of the teachers have a LCD or Plasma television and half of them have a micro-wave oven and a video camera (see Figure 1.14).

LEISURE TIME ACTIVITIES

With the introduction of the “sociology of leisure,” especially in Bourdieu’s *Distinction*, free time activities, daily routines and preferences

67 Bourdieu, *Distinction*, 77.

have taken a place as parts of cultural capital, which is in turn a denominator of social class.⁶⁸ Hence, it would be a failure to make a research on an occupational group without taking a gaze at their leisure activities.

With respect to leisure-time activities, most teachers articulate that they read books in their free time (60.4 percent). Almost 20 percent express that they exercise or play sports regularly in their free time. Going to movies and the theater are also popular among teachers. 73.4 percent state that they have been to a movie theater with in the last six months while almost half state that they have seen a theater play or been to a museum in the last six months. 33.9 percent of the teachers buy and read a newspaper everyday, and 17.4 percent say they sometimes buy a newspaper but read an online paper every day.

However, teachers do not seem to be book worms. Only 16.3 percent of them read three or more books a month, 23.3 percent state that they read two books per month. Halfnote that they read a book each month, while 4.3 percent of the teachers admit that they never read a book. As for their personal libraries, one fifth of the teachers state that they have more than 200 books (20.7 percent) and one quarter declare that the number of their books are around 100-200 (26.9 percent). However, most of the teachers say they have less than 100 books (49 percent).

Watching television is also a frequently mentioned activity among teachers. Almost 90 percent of teachers watch television every day at least for an hour, while 11.9 percent state that they never watch television. Some of them watch movies and series via the internet.

On the subject of internet use, many teachers state that they follow the news via the internet. They look for information both on educational issues and other subjects, and they actively use social media and email servers. Almost all teachers have home access to the internet and use it (91.5 percent) More than half of the teachers use the internet 2-5 hours a day. The average number of hours of internet use is 2.32 hours on weekdays and 2.27 hours on weekends.

68 Bourdieu, *Distinction*.

For summer vacation, most teachers state that they go to their villages, stay in their own or a relative's house (81.1 percent) and/or spend the rest of the time at home (80.4 percent). Half of the teachers indicate that they travel within the country and stay either in a hotel or a hostel. 22.8 percent of them state that they own their own summer house and spend their summer vacation there, and 19.4 percent say that they go to public holiday facilities reserved for teachers. 80.4 percent of the teachers state that they neither travel abroad for work or for vacation.



TRANSFORMATION OF TEACHING IN TURKEY

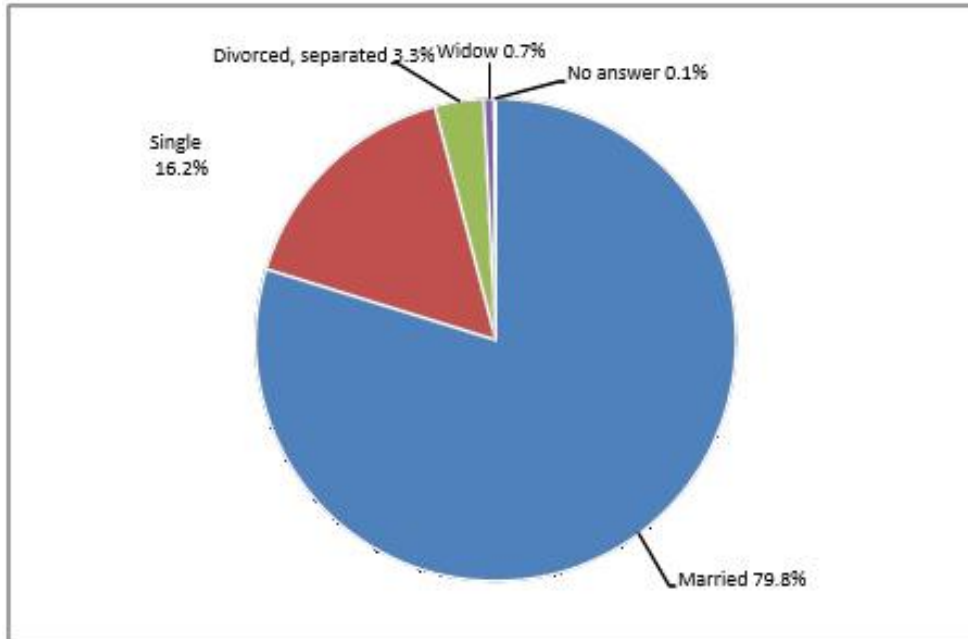


Figure 1.1 Marital Status

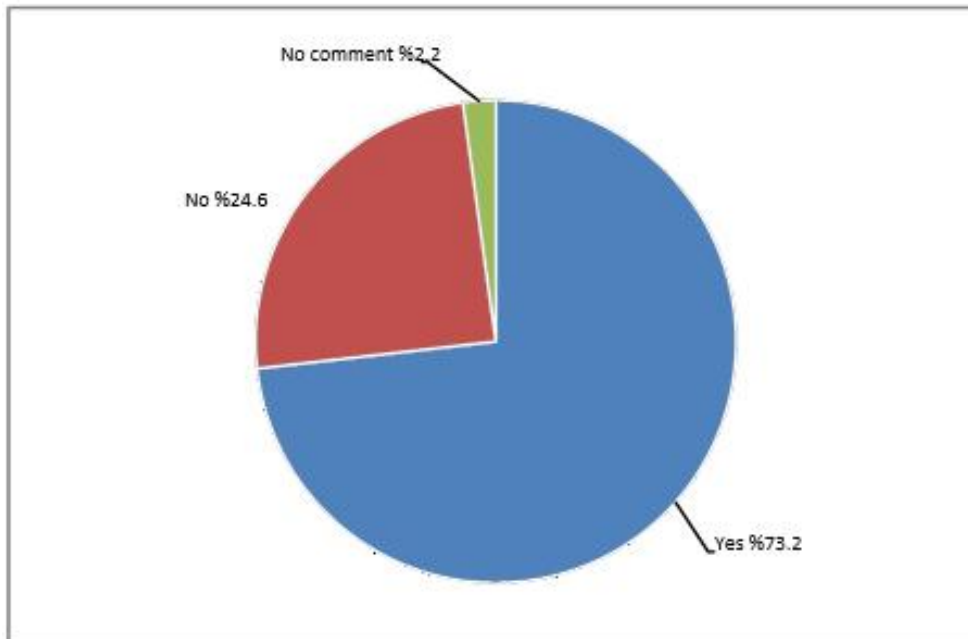


Figure 1.2 Do you have any children?

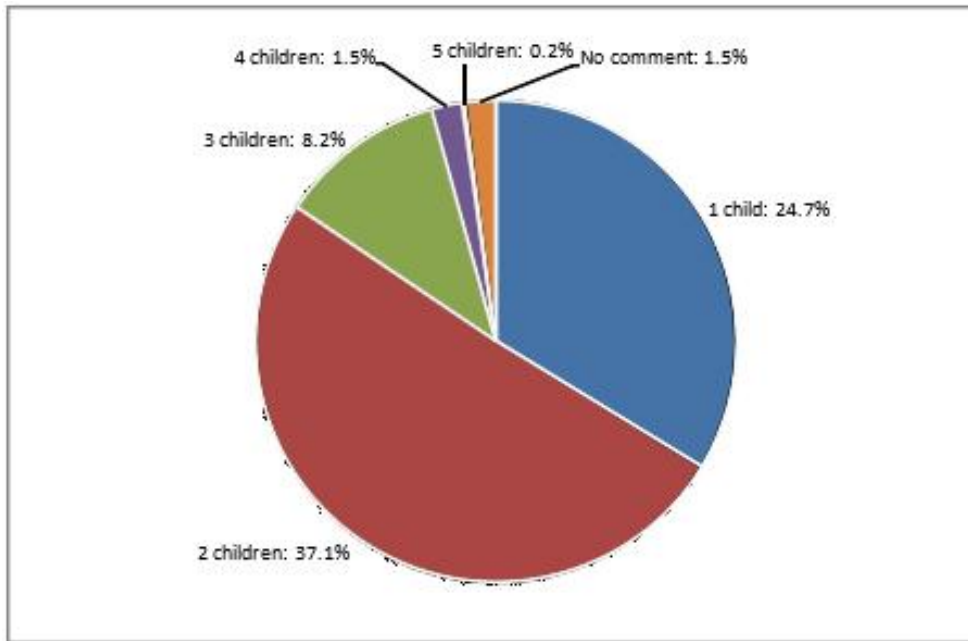


Figure 1.3 Number of Children

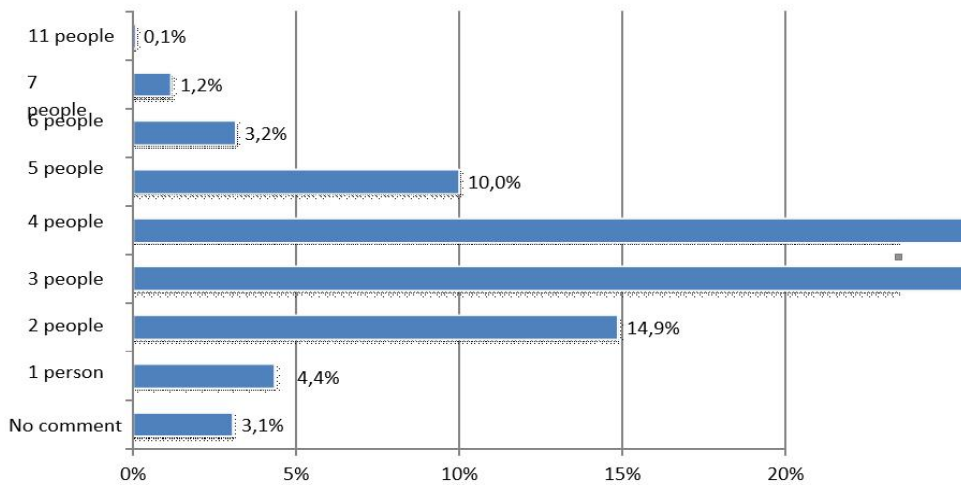


Figure 1.4 Number of household occupants. 48 percent of participants have at least three people living in their home. Some families live as an extended family.

TRANSFORMATION OF TEACHING IN TURKEY

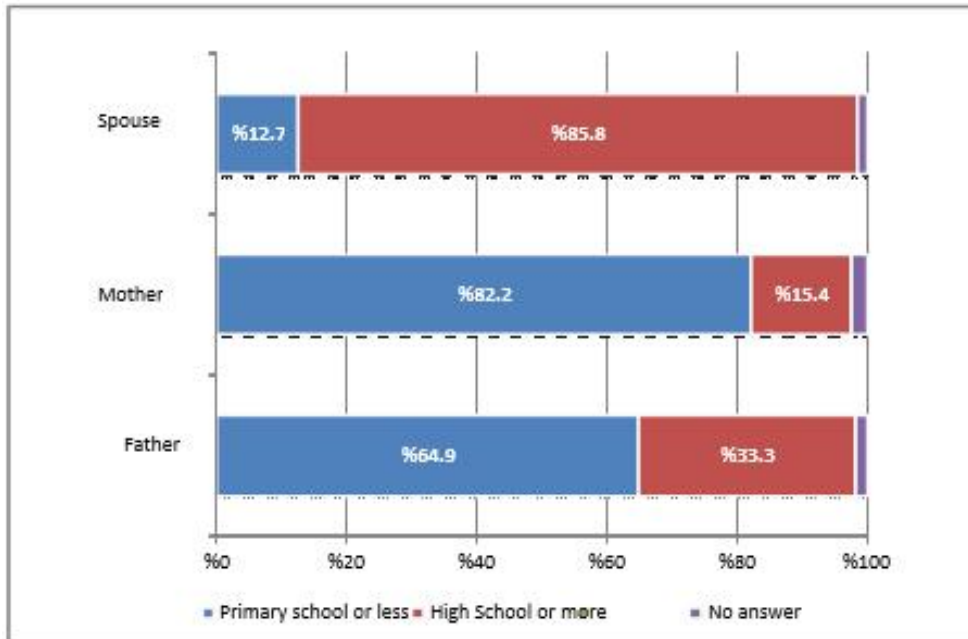


Figure 1.5 Education of Spouses and Parents

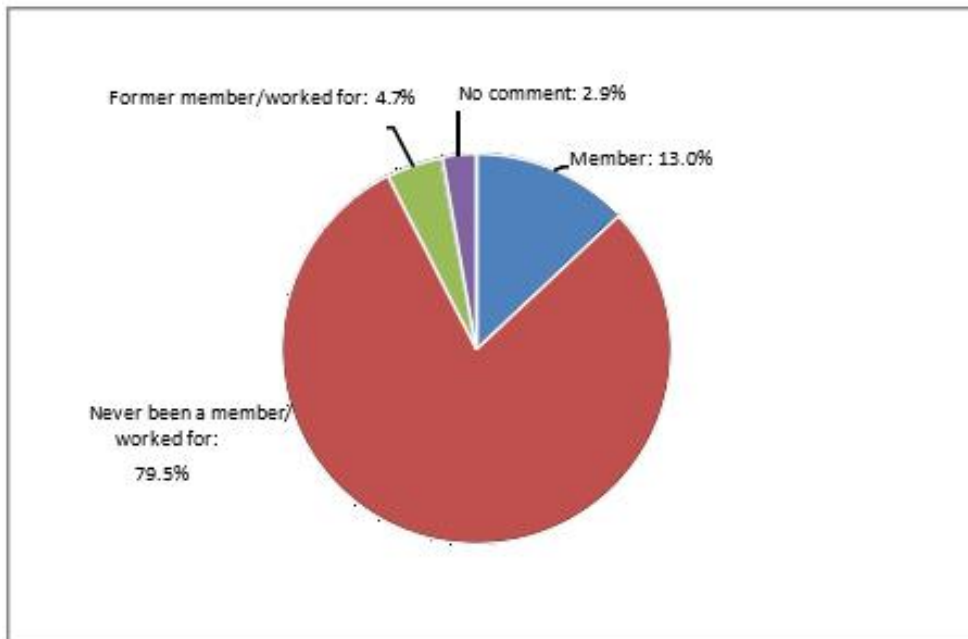


Figure 1.6 Membership in NGOs or any associations (other than unions)

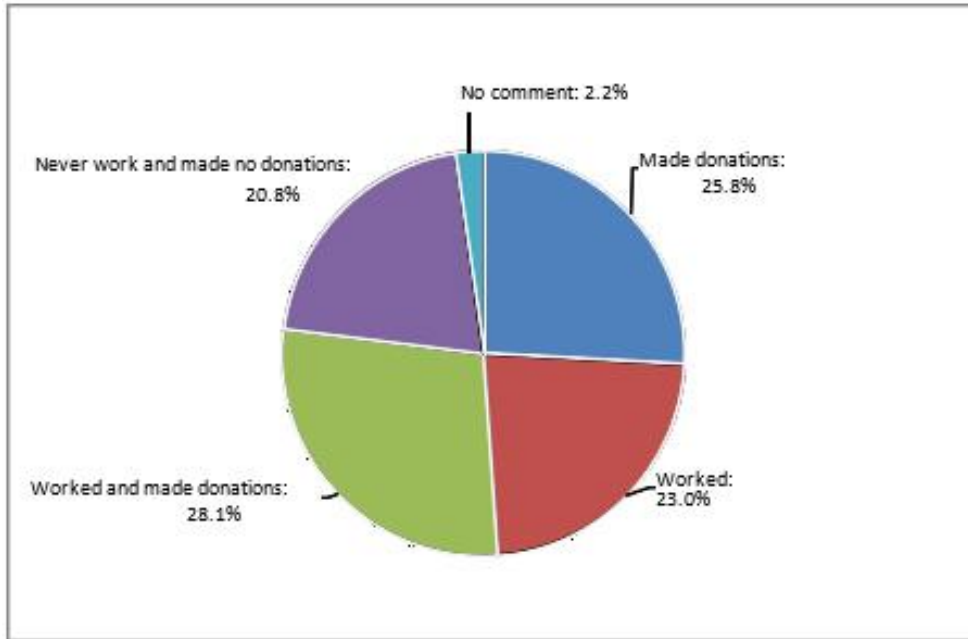


Figure 1.7 Forms of Membership or Involvement

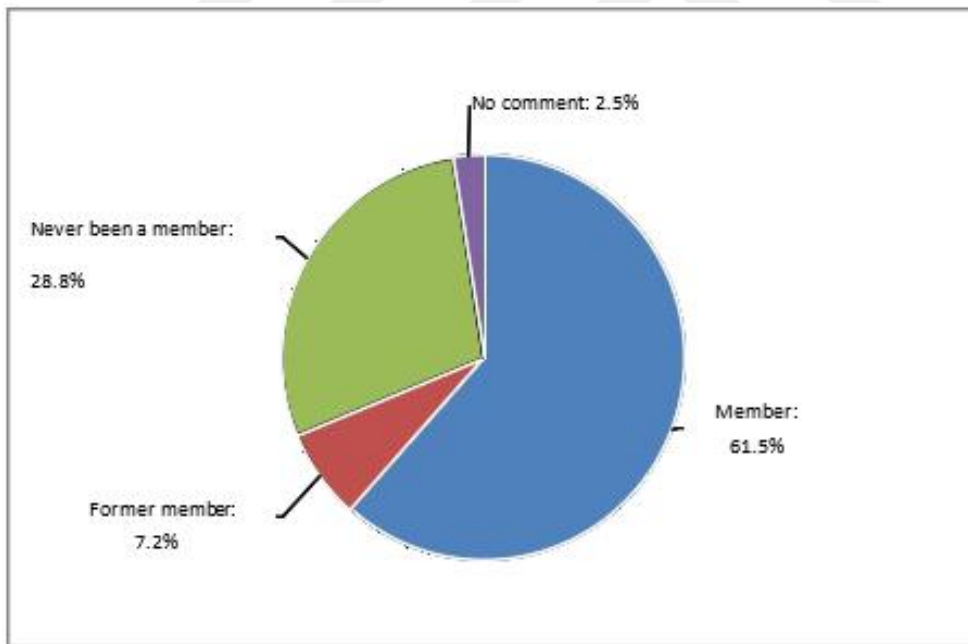


Figure 1.8 Union Membership

TRANSFORMATION OF TEACHING IN TURKEY

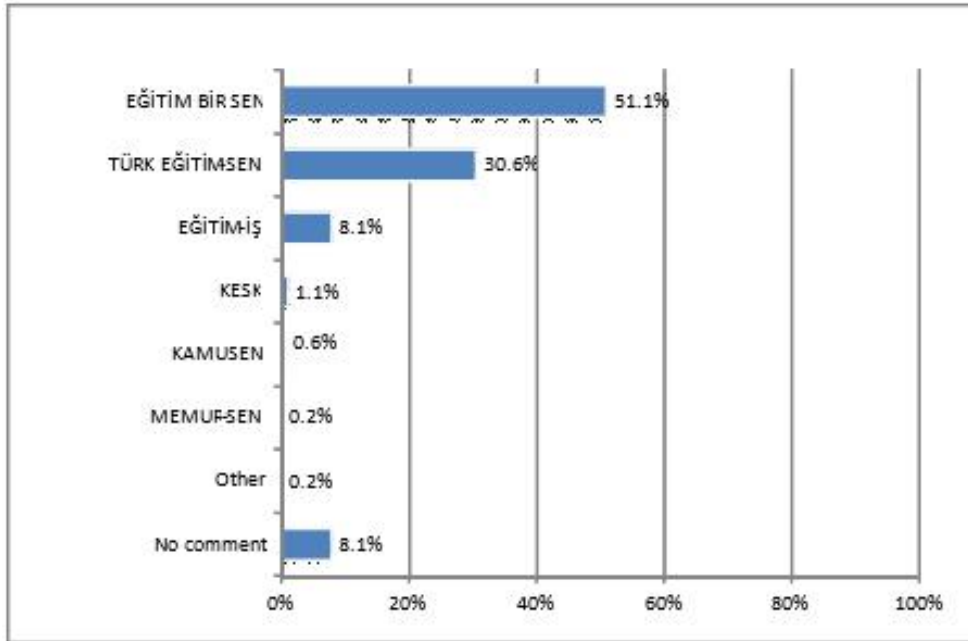


Figure 1.9 Union Membership Shares

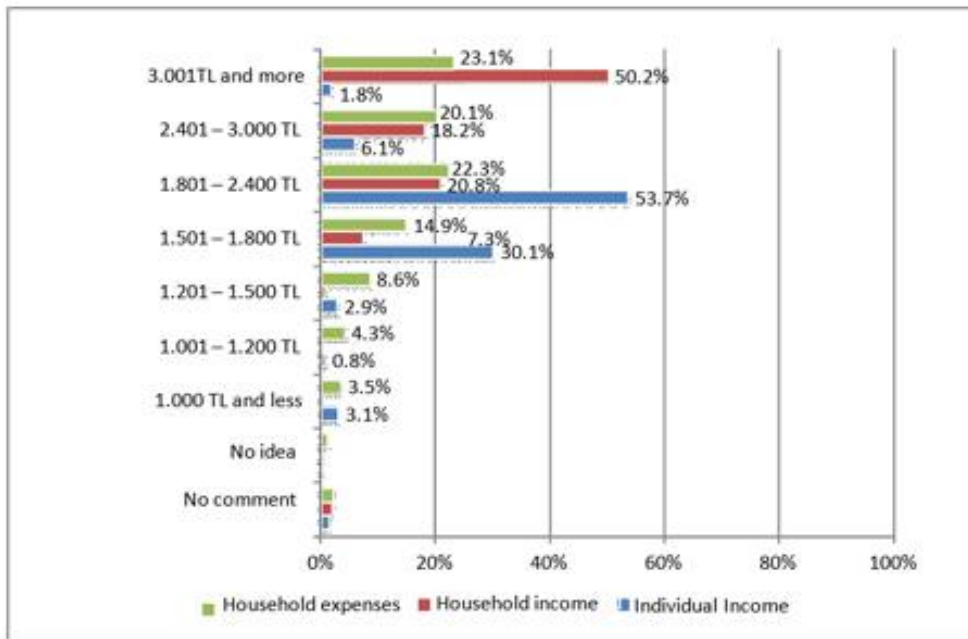


Figure 1.10 Individual Income, Household Income and Expenses

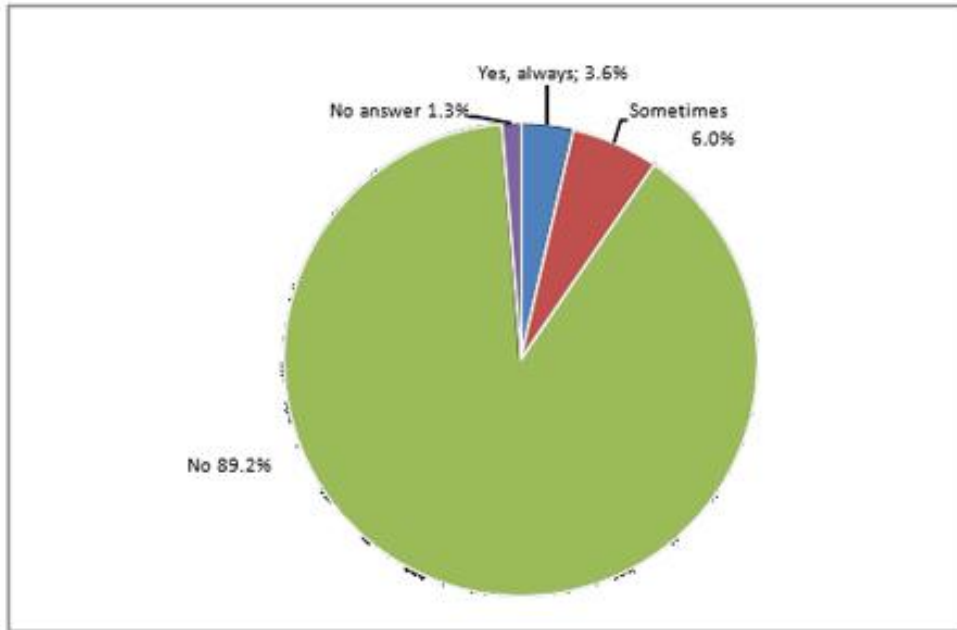


Figure 1.11 Additional Job

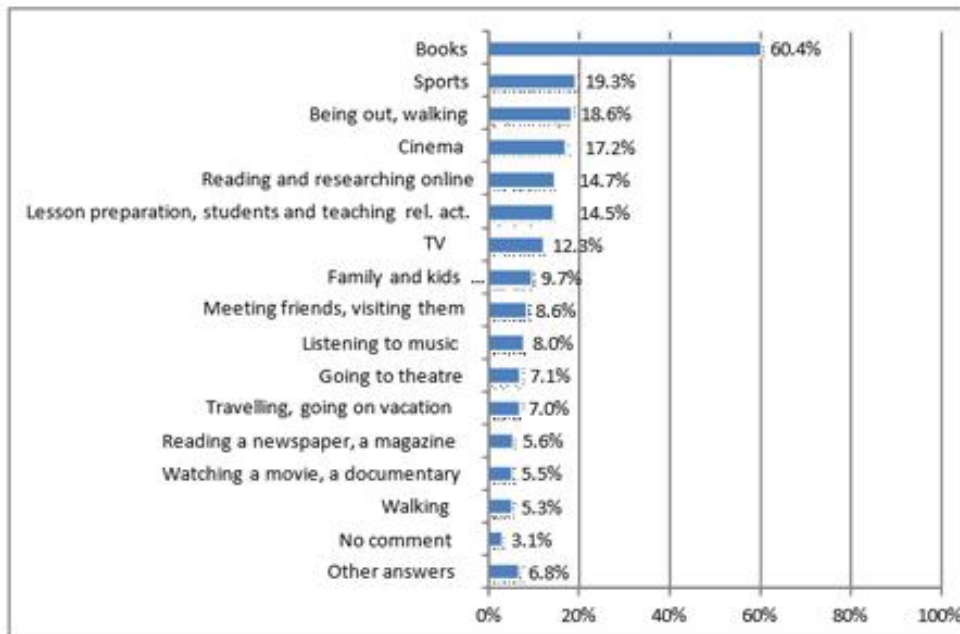


Figure 1.12 Leisure time activities

“I have a rest,” “I take a nap,” “I enjoy being alone”	4.7 %
Shopping	4.6%
Cleaning, house work, cooking	3.9%
Walking, jogging, picnic, fishing	3.5%
Puzzles, brain games, chess	1.9%
Social activities	1.8%
Drawing	1.8%
Handcrafts, art activities	1.6%
Knitting	1.3%
Playing an instrument, singing, choir	1.2%
Photography	1.1%
Cultural activities, museums, science trips	1.1%
Gardening	1.0%
Writing	0.6%
“I have no free time”	0.4%

Figure 1.13 Other Leisure Time Activities

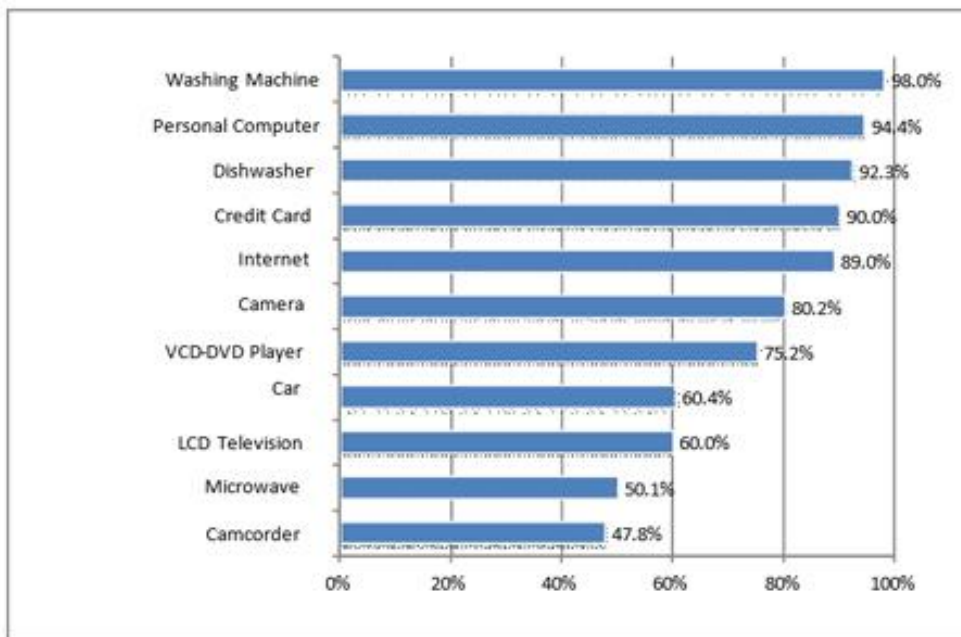


Figure 1.14 Home Appliances, Devices, and Amenities

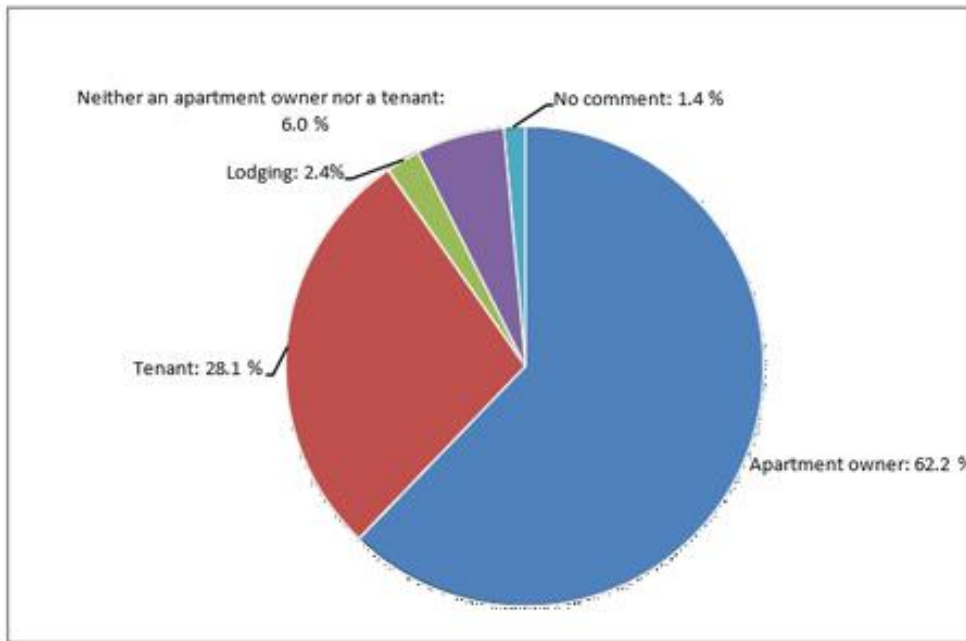


Figure 1.15 Home Ownership

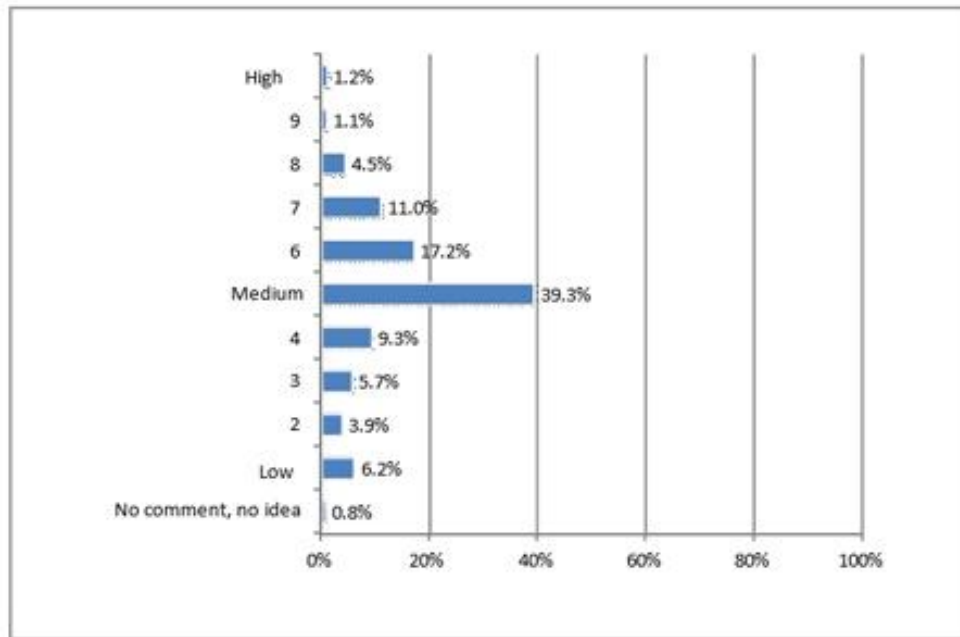


Figure 1.16 Income Assessment

TRANSFORMATION OF TEACHING IN TURKEY

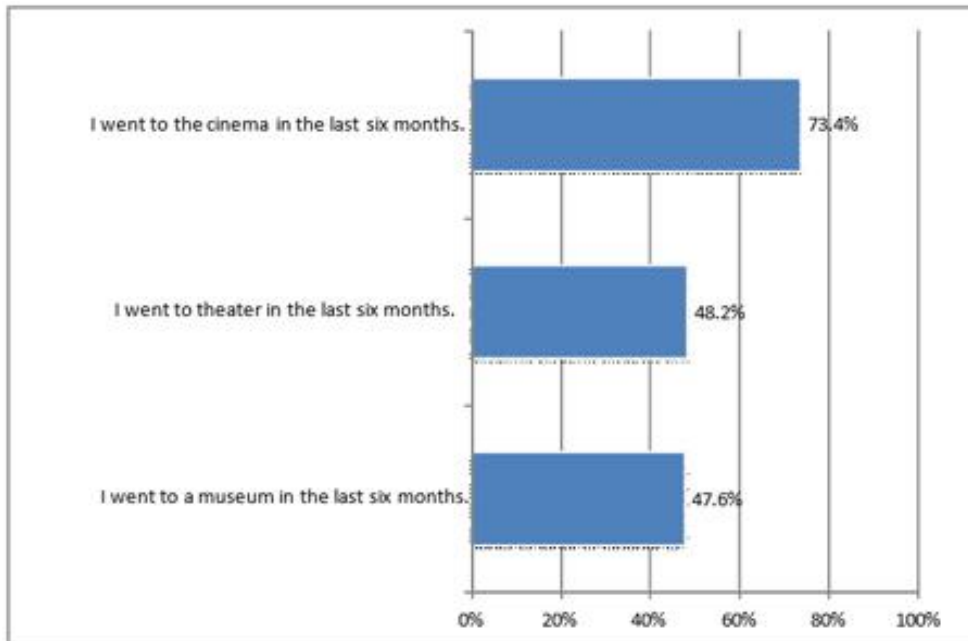


Figure 1.17 Cultural activities in the last six months

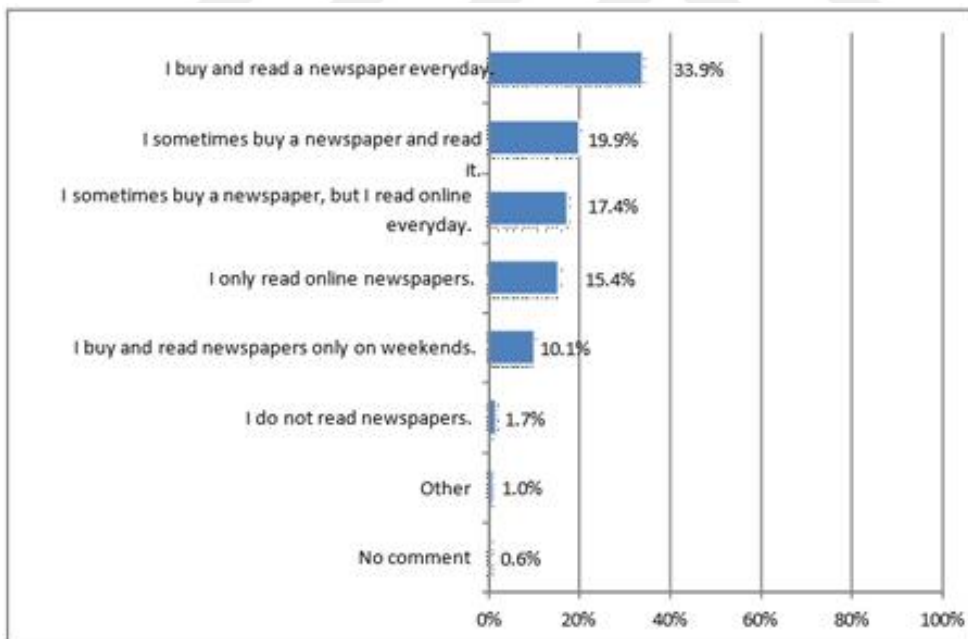


Figure 1.18 Do you read newspapers?

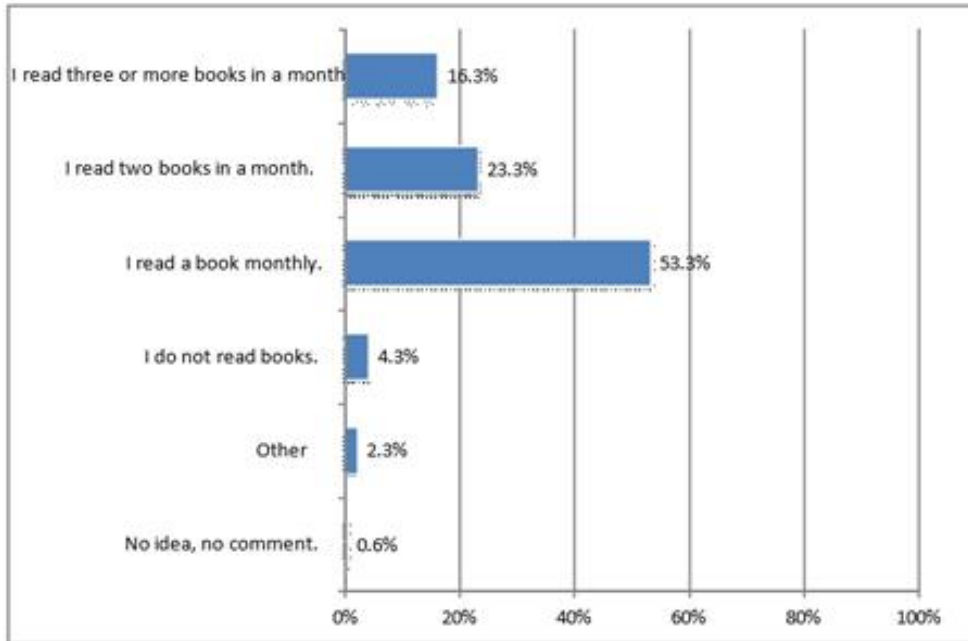


Figure 1.19 Reading Habits with Respect to Books

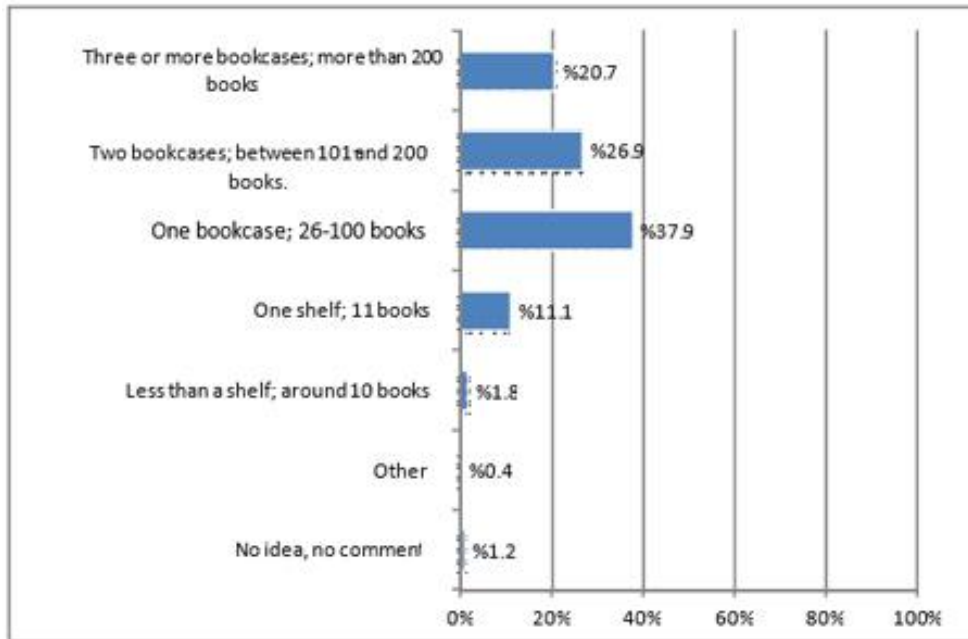


Figure 1.20 Personal Library Holdings

TRANSFORMATION OF TEACHING IN TURKEY

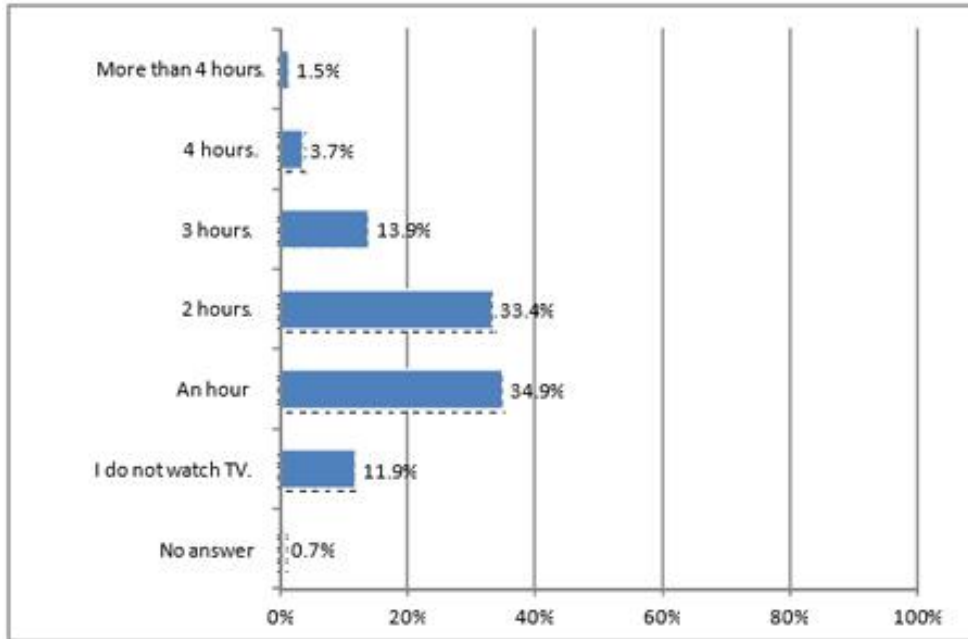


Figure 1.21 How Many Hours per Day Do You Watch Television?

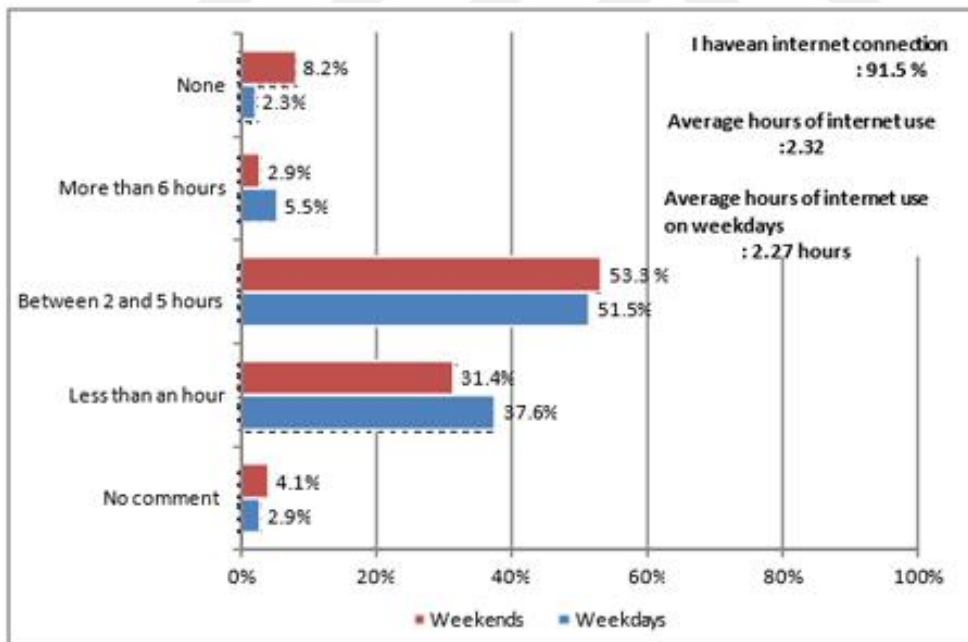


Figure 1.22 Daily Us of the Internet

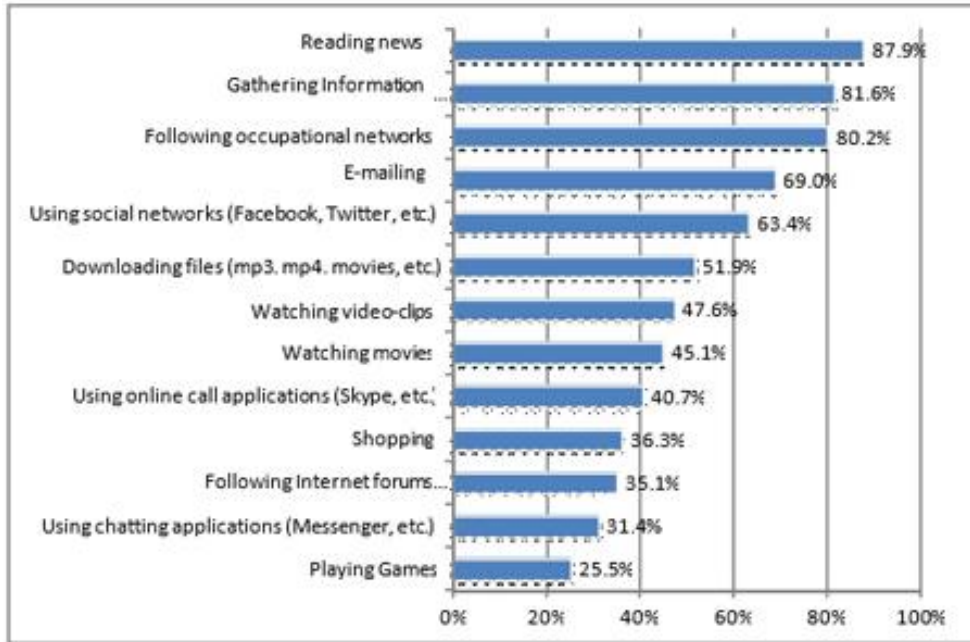


Figure 1.23 Purpose of the Internet Use

*In Turkish: Kamu tatil tesisleri

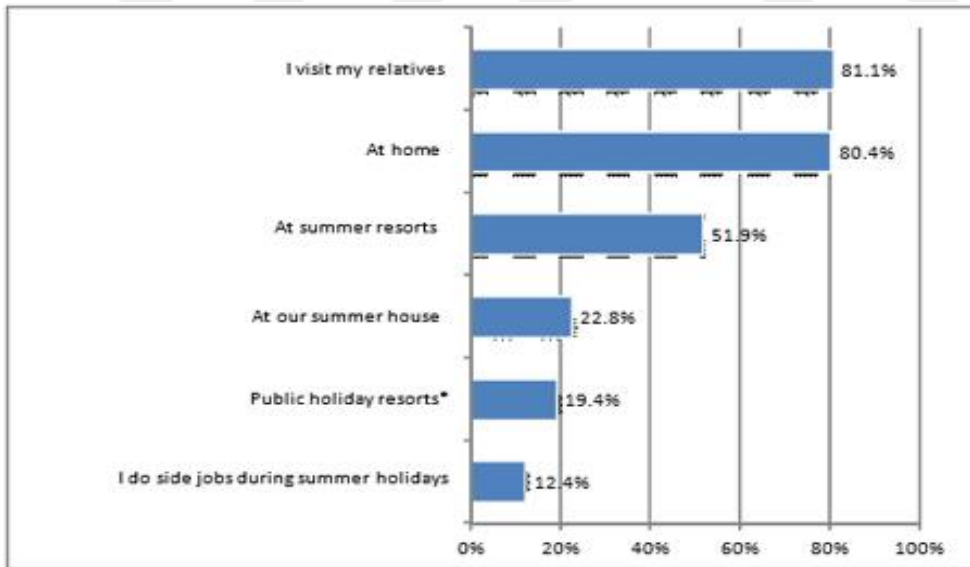
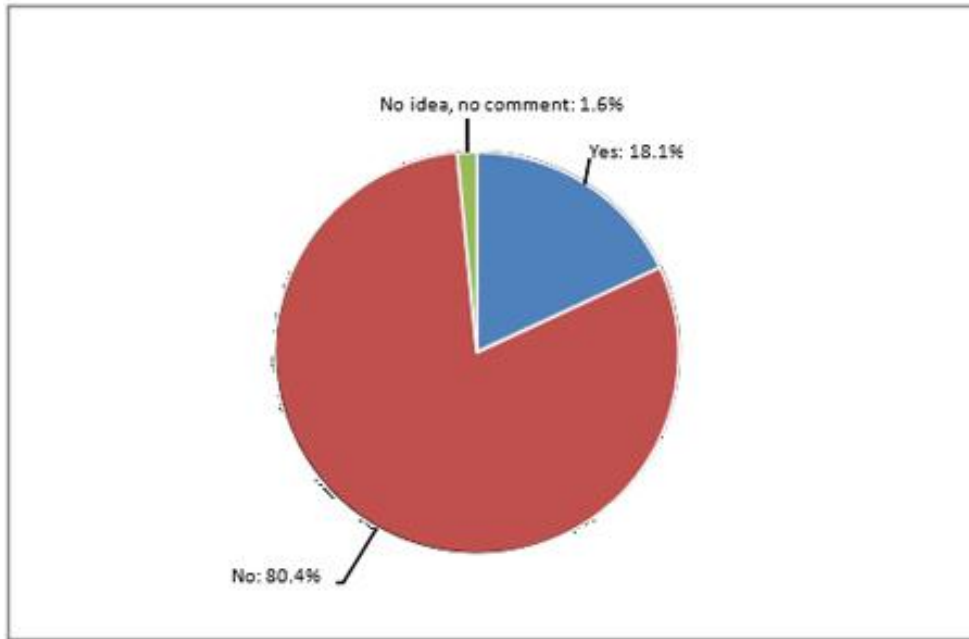


Figure 1.24 Where do you spend your summer holidays?

TRANSFORMATION OF TEACHING IN TURKEY



*Except North Cyprus Turkish Region

Figure 1.25 Have you travelled abroad?

Changes in Occupational Prestige and The Role of Teachers in Society

This chapter is concerned with the first basic research question of the dissertation concerning the major changes in the occupation of teaching in Turkey in the period of 1980-2013. After looking at the results of the survey, the answers from the in-depth interviews are used in order to qualify the findings. While looking at the results of the survey it is beneficial to start with the related survey questions. The following five questions are in the scope of “occupational prestige” and first four of them are interconnected, thus it is meaningful to evaluate them and qualify the results with the results from in-depth interviews first and then moving on to the fifth question within this group. First four questions aim at getting the ideas of teachers regarding their occupational prestige.

First question is as follows:

“Question A.08: What do you think about the prestige of teaching as an occupation in Turkish society? Please choose among the following options: Very prestigious, prestigious, not that prestigious, not prestigious at all.” (see Appendix 1).

As demonstrated in Figure 2.3, 73.1 percent of the participants stated that they do not think their occupation is prestigious. The second question is on the reasons of participants’ answers. Participants who replied

the previous question with the options “not prestigious” and “not prestigious at all” were asked about their reasons for saying so. The original phrasing of the teachers’ answers to this open-ended question are grouped without changing the original phrases by teachers as seen in Figure 2.3. Hence, the reasons for not seeing teaching as a prestigious job are conveyed with the teacher’s own phrases. Then, a similar question, as the third one, was asked to cross-check the teacher’s ideas about the prestige of their occupation:

“Question A.15: Have you observed any changes in the prestige of teaching as an occupation in Turkish society (over the last ten years)”

81.3 percent of the teachers stated that the prestige of their occupation has decreased within the last ten years. Similarly, the ones who stated that the prestige of the occupation has increased were asked why they believed so with a fourth question on the same topic. Therefore, their answers, noted down with their own phrases, complement the ones which belong to the teachers who thought teaching is still a prestigious job. I find those phrases illuminating since they are not only the ideas of teachers stated in their words but they are also valuable clues for the current status of the occupation.

Overall, 73.1 percent of the participants among teachers in Turkey think teaching is not a prestigious occupation for several reasons. With a detailed look to the answers briefly mentioned above, one can identify that three actors play a key role in the devaluation of teaching as an occupation; state, society (including parents) and teachers themselves.

§ 2.1 State and Occupational Prestige

Teachers think that the value of teaching has been decreased (by the state) and as an occupation it is less respected than it used to be. As a part of Turkish state, Ministry of Education, is mentioned as a factor for degradation by most of the teachers due to its educational policies and

discourse. Poor work conditions and insufficient labor rights are put forward as other factors of devaluation of the occupation in the survey. According to the results of the survey, a basic means of devaluation of the occupation is low salary policies. Looking at the results of the survey, “low salary” seems to be the second top factor paving the way of the devaluation of the occupation. As can easily be seen in Figure 2.1, 24 percent of the participants think that the degradation of salaries is a very important factor for devaluation. However, considering the fact that, the salaries of the teachers have never been among the top within Turkish history, for a fulfilling assumption on the degradation of the occupation the effect of low salaries should also coincide with some other factors in society. At that point, we can assume a change in values within the society which is associated with state politics. Looking at the survey results, one can find a matching point on this issue. The first factor for devaluation uttered by the teachers is “the value of occupation has been decreased and it is less respected now” with 26 percent and the value of occupation is in direct relation with values in society. (see Figure 2.2)

During the in-depth interviews this point was more out spoken. The data gathered from the interview gave us a more detailed picture of the role of the state in the process of devaluation of teaching as an occupation. All teachers agreed with the results of low salary and especially older interviewees who had taught for thirty to forty years (four teachers composed of two males and two females) pointed out that the purchasing power was higher until mid 1980s. This period is characterized with high inflation rates and lowered salaries of state workers with the introduction of IMF policies during the 1980s. Hence, lowering salaries was a political decision which led to devaluation of the occupation. However, returning to the first question considering the salaries of the teachers have never been very high throughout Turkish history enabled the interviewees stating that the changing parameter was not only the wages but also the values of the society. They described, especially the term before 1980s, as a period of time in which “being knowledgeable, wise and sophisticated” were perceived as important qualities, however after the 1980s these assets, often related to teachers, became invaluable or not

that much valuable at all. This issue is discussed in more detail in the second part of this chapter, “Society and Parents in Devaluation of Teaching as an Occupation”

Another intervention of statevis-à-vis teacher’s already diminishing prestige and changing role in society is the very frequent changes on curriculum and education system made by the Ministry of Education (Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı MEB). When teachers are asked why they think teaching is a non-prestigious job during the survey, the third most common reason stated by them is “*the educational policies of Ministry of Education*” (12.8 percent) and top sixth reason is “the statements of Ministry of Education” (6.4 percent) (see Figure 2.2). Therefore, the survey reveals that the interventions of MEB are perceived as a significant factor by teachers.

In-depth interviews clarify this issue. Teachers from all categories agree with the fact that the frequent changes in the curriculum and educational programs constitute a great problem. One of the vice-principals, Koyuncu, stated that the unstable educational policies, frequent changes due to political decisions is the most important problem of Turkey (Koyuncu, 29’15’’) She suggests that the Minister of Education should not be changed for many years either, even though the governments change. Since education requires stable policies, the higher staff dealing with key decisions should not be changed when ruling political party changes. Similarly, another interviewee, an inspector and a former primary school teacher, Çiğ, relates the problems of education system with the central organization of Turkish state in which the policies are produced and sent from the center and within the existing system he finds it very difficult to reflect the ideas of teachers in the decision-making process since the numbers of teachers are high. Regarding stability in policy making process, he believes that educational policy making should be over political party policies. He cites the example of Finland where national educational plan has been implemented for 40 years and there have been no major changes even though 22 Ministers have changed so far. He affirms that the Finnish politicians underlie this issue as the key point to their success. He proposes that education policies should be a duty of a team

and with some minor modifications this team should be stable and essential in policy making, hence he emphasizes the importance of continuity. (Çığ, 48'39'') In accordance with the ideas of the preceding teacher, the female member of the Islamist category in survey sample, Elibüyük also thinks that in contrast with its name, our education system is not national at all, meaning that the system and curricula are regularly changed according to the tendencies of current government. She asserts that educational policies are random. (Elibüyük, 44'14'')

Another criticism for the random and frequent changes in Turkish Education system comes from Bolat, the male member of Islamists category of my sample. The interviewee is a member of an Islamist teacher's union, Egitim Bir Sen which is one of the unions close to the current government. He uses the term "populist" and indicates that there are various populist approaches by the politicians in the area of education and these populist decisions affect educational policies. He clearly declares that education cannot be sustained with temporary policies. He also certifies that their union makes surveys and has several proposals regarding educational policies however, it is difficult to be heard by the bureaucrats and most of their proposals are ignored.

The attitudes and statements of MEB with respect to the identity of teachers is another point that we can clarify with the results of the survey. Teachers believe that the state does not value and/or honor them. One of the interviewees uttered that "*the new generation is no longer seen as the masterpiece of teachers*" reminding the famous quote by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk (Bolat, 22' 07) Teachers are also very restricted about the materials they want to use. All the books, materials and detailed plans come from the ministry and they believe that state control and intervention restrict their creativity and ability to teach. Furthermore, some interviewees stated that the centralized examinations are too difficult and with the supplied material it is impossible to prepare those kids for those general examinations (Günaydın, 14'45''). Some applications imposed by the state also made teachers feel undervalued. For instance, "Alo 147" a phone call service is one of them. Anybody, parents, students and teachers (as well) can dial number 147 and make a complaint about a teacher

without even giving any information of themselves even their and/or ID number. These calls lead to an interrogation about teachers and the anonymous complainer does not have any responsibility since he/she has not left even his name.

As it is clearly seen, teachers identify state intervention as of “frequent, random unnecessary, populist” changes in the system and in the curricula. My general impression from the results of interviews and the survey is that these interventions make teachers to see themselves as educational robots rather than people who can contribute to the system. State interventions seem unlimited and this unlimitedness makes teachers feel incapable of any contribution. They just try to adapt to the changes being made one after the other and follow the rules and this leads them to alienation. One of the interviewees stated that new teacher only “nod their heads and get their wages” (Özçiftçi, 20’32”) I assume under these conditions, robotization of teachers, which means teachers feel themselves as robots and do not contribute to the teaching process either mentally or emotionally, is an inevitable result.

The intervention of state on teaching as an occupation was described in a more detailed way during the interviews than the survey. One dimension of this topic was not pointed out during the survey but was highlighted as an important aspect only during the interviews. Political intervention of the state with respect to teachers was harsh during 1980 coup, and during the three-year military rule, teachers were fired with the accusation of being involved in politics.¹All Teachers Unity and Solidarity Association (Tüm Öğretmenler Birleşme ve Dayanışma Derneği or TÖB-DER) was shut down and many member teachers were imprisoned, one of which is an interviewee for this study. Two participants, Günaydın and Özçiftçi, stated that these interventions of state have decreased the prestige of job and diminished the value of teachers in the eyes of other members of society. One of the interviewees, Günaydın, was a new teacher when the 1980 coup took place. She noted that after all the firings and

1 ‘12 Eylül Darbesinin Korkunç Bilançosu’. <https://www.birgun.net/haber-detay/12-eylul-darbesinin-korkunc-bilancosu-78576.html>.

prosecutions and arrests, teachers were stigmatized by the state. They were seen guilty of deceiving young people and leading them rebelling against state. She became a teacher in Hakkari, a Kurdish city in Eastern Turkey. Remembering those days, she stated that with the rising conflicts with Kurdistan Workers' Party (Partiya Karkerén Kurdistané or PKK), in the mid-1980s teachers especially leftist teachers were always under the threat of being accused of being a “terrorist” or helping the “terrorist organization.” (Günaydın, 28'44’)

Male leftist in my sample, Özçiftçi, was a member of TÖB-DER which was the strongest union of 1970's. TÖB-DER was founded in September 1971 after former leftist union The Union of Turkish Teachers (Türkiye Öğretmenler Sendikası or TÖS) had been abolished during 1971 coup. Two thirds of the teachers (220.000 members out of 360.000 teachers) were members of TÖB-DER. My interviewee, during his college education in Gazi Education Institute in late 1960s, was a member of Federation of Thought Clubs (Fikir Klupleri Federasyonu or FKF) which created a medium of intellectual discussion for bachelor students. Many important political figures of that time, such as Doğu Perinçek, Mahir Çayan, Deniz Geçmiş and İbrahim Kaypakkaya were students and members of FKF. Özçiftçi proudly says that Kaypakkaya was a student from Teacher's High Institute (Yüksek Öğretmen Okulu). He cites that reading books, following art events, participating into cultural activities used to be an indispensable part of teachers' and students' life. After joining a boycott in 1969 as a member of TÖS, he had been expelled from his job for three months and stigmatized as a “leftist” by the state. This label followed him in his subsequent workplaces and he was exiled to schools in far regions and his titles were degraded. Just before the military coup, in 1979, he was arrested because of a speech he made in a meeting of TÖB-DER, the speech was about the problems of Turkish teachers and his proposal for solutions. He also discussed the high possibility of a coup d'état and what to do as a teacher if that condition occurs. After making this speech, he was arrested on Law 142. He suffered harsh tortures during his imprisonment and he was sentenced to five years even though there was no evidence of either an aggressive behaviour or a relationship with an illegal

organization. He stated that TÖB-DER was also seen as a “terrorist” organization and General Kenan Evren officially declared that he would “take care of these cases in person.” He had already lost his job because of his imprisonment, so when he was released from prison, he took up temporary jobs. In 1995, fortunately Law 142, was ruled undemocratic and it was abolished, therefore he got his occupational rights back. (Özçiftçi, 47’15”)

The anecdotes above indicate that teachers of the time had been considered both intellectual and political individuals of the country. Reading, writing, translation and discussion were routines of teachers. These events and threats made teachers incapable of thinking and put them away from intellectual life. Exile from political thought paved the way for incapability of intellectual production. Therefore, teachers’ social role was diminished to teaching agents from being the intellectuals of society

§ 2.2 Society and Parents in Relation to Occupational Prestige

Teachers stated that one of the most important reasons for the devaluation of the occupation is general tendencies in Turkish society and the attitudes of parents. More than a quarter of teachers think that the occupation is less respected within Turkish society than it was before 1980 coup d’état. 7.5 percent of the participants think that this perception is due to a “*negative change in society*” and the following statement expressing that “education is not considered as an important concept in society anymore”. (see Figure 2.2) Furthermore, teachers note that teaching “is considered to be an easy job” and “becoming a teacher seems an easy process”. (2.8 percent and 2.3 percent respectively, see Figure 2.2) With respect to the parents’ perspective, 10.3 percent of the participants agree that “*The characteristics and attitudes of parents*” is a factor for teaching to be a devaluated job.

The role of society and parents in the degradation of teacher’s social profile was discussed during in-depth interviews. Çiğ, who is an inspector and a former primary school teacher, described the change in Turkish society as follows:

Especially after 1980s, the ideological structure of Turkish society has changed. In the world and in Turkey the socio-economic conditions and financial mentality changed.² (Çığ, 11'28")

He cites a memory of his experience in a village in the 1980s when he was there as an inspector. While he was inspecting a village school in Sivas, Yıldızeli, he witnessed a quarrel between parents and teachers. In the village, men had gone to Saudi Arabia to sell sugar cane and they became quite rich. Then during a disagreement, they started to humiliate teachers by asking how much money they earned. The villagers were questioning teacher's authority and degrading their prestige by underlying the fact that teachers earn less money than the villagers. The villagers were also claiming that it would be much more beneficial for them to put their children to work growing sugar canes than to send them to school. Therefore, our participant emphasizes that actually before the 1980s such an incident would be very rare and with the 1980s new values were created and used the following phrases: "The society became 'money-oriented'. Intellectuality and being cultivated are eliminated and excluded from this mentality and social planning has been out of the picture." (Çığ, 15'20") Other participants reported similar incidents that they experienced regarding the changing mentality of the society. Günaydın states that after the 1980s, income became the primary criterion for people to assign a value to a person and/or an occupation. She states that she heard parents uttering phrases such as "I did not study like you teacher but I earn five times your salary"³ (Günaydın, 36'30")

In addition to the changing mentality of the society due to the neo-liberal economic policies, another factor, the change in the recruitment criteria for primary school teachers in 1990s paved the way for the degradation of the occupation. Günaydın states that the prestige of teaching

2 The original text is as follows: "İdeolojik anlamda da 1980'lerin, işte askeri darbelerle birlikte gelen anlayış, ve dünyadaki sosyo ekonomik anlamdaki değişiklikler, toplumsal, küresel değişiklikler ve dünyadaki değişiklikler öğretmenlik mesleğinin bir anlamda misyonunda değişikliklere neden oldu." (Çığ, 10'28")

3 The original text is as follows: "Ben hiç okumadım ayda senin 5 katın maaş alıyorum" (Günaydın, 56'00")

has decreased due to a regulation enacted in 1996. (Günaydın, 56'00") This regulation enabled every Turkish citizen who has a bachelor's degree in any area to be a classroom teacher. This regulation was enacted with the order of the Minister of Education, Mehmet Sağlam with the aim of fulfilling the need for classroom teachers after the transition to eight-year-compulsory-education.⁴ Hence, as a result of this regulation, engineers, especially agriculture engineers who was often unemployed during the 1990s, accountants, tourism administrators, pharmacists, any four-year-university-degree holder could become a classroom teacher. According to Günaydın, since these people were unqualified for being a classroom teacher, they had a great difficulty while performing their new occupation. She underlines the fact that she does not blame these "*young people*" but "they only used the opportunity they were given" she said. However; she believes that this decision made unqualified teachers even weaker in the eyes of parents and adds that being a teacher is different than being an ordinary public employee. "You are dealing with individuals, forming a child"⁵ she says. (Günaydın, 59'30") Similarly, Özçiftçi states the fact that random recruitment of undergraduate degree holders paved the way for the deterioration of the prestige of the occupation. After he regained his job (since he was imprisoned during 1980 coup, he was fired and all his occupational rights were taken away) in mid 1990s, he noticed that many new classroom teachers were recruited and most of them were from irrelevant subject areas:

I was surprised to see that a veterinarian had become a teacher, an agriculture engineer had become a teacher, an economist had

4 'Tbmm200210600219.Pdf', <https://www.tbmm.gov.tr/tutanaklar/TUTANAK/TBMM/d20/c021/b060/tbmm200210600219.pdf>.

5 The original text is as follows: "Her meslekte gerekir ama sen orada bir çocuk yetiştiriyorsun, fark orada." (Gunaydın, 59'30")

become a teacher! Well, an individual may be a successful engineer but he cannot be a teacher. Being a teacher is different, because your subject matter is human being.⁶ (Özçiftçi, 32'18")

In light of the answers above, it can be clearly seen that the regulation of the Ministry of Education regarding the recruitment of all faculty graduates as classroom teachers has been an important factor that led to the devaluation of the occupation within Turkish society during the 1990s. As a result this regulation, in the mid-1990s, being a teacher was perceived by the society as an "easy thing" which did not require any specific education. Therefore, in the eyes of an ordinary citizen, if a veterinarian could become a teacher then it meant that teachers had not been performing a job that required a specific skill. Unfortunately, the image of the occupation changed detrimentally during the 1990s. Furthermore, since parents confronted with teachers who were not graduates of education faculties, they had many problems and the image of being a teacher has also changed in their eyes because of practical issues. In 2006, this regulation was abolished and only graduates of education faculties and relevant departments of art and sciences faculties that offered a teaching certificate were assigned as teachers.

Parents as a determinant factor for the occupation of teaching are also a subject of analysis for this dissertation. Both in the survey and in-depth interviews participants pointed out that in accordance with changing perception of Turkish society more broadly, the attitudes of parents have changed with the 1980s. As stated above, the survey clearly conveys that the negative and disrespectful attitudes of parents are a factor for the degrading status of teachers. According to the results of the survey, 10.3 percent of the participants stated that "*The characteristics and attitudes of parents*" is a factor for decreased prestige of the occupation.

6 The original text is as follows: "...ve darbeden sonra da herkes ogretmen olmaya basladi... Ben1995' de yeniden ogretmenlige döndüğümde, aaa! okula bir geldim ki veteriner ogretmen olmuş, ziraat mühendisi ogretmen, iktisat mezunu ogretmen. Yani bütün üniversite mezunları ogretmen. Öğretmenlik sadece memurluk degil. Tamam çok başarılı bitirebilir üniversiteyi... Çok başarılı bir iktisatçı olabilir. Ama ogretmen olamaz. Elindeki malzeme insandır, insanı yoğuruyorsun, insanla ugrasiyorsun!

Within in-depth interviews, participants noted that with the 1980s they are less respected by parents. They listed several reasons for this new attitude, among which the abolition of the Village Institutes is one of them. Çığ pointed out that with the Village Institutes project, parents and teachers were connected in daily life.

“The teacher was the doctor, veterinarian, blacksmith, agricultural expert, nurse of the village. Meanwhile he was the leader for social transformation and for the implementation of Atatürk’s revolutions”⁷ (Çığ, 11’28’)

After the elimination of the Village Institutes, the Teachers’s Schools and Teachers’ High Institutes have carried ‘*the soul*’ of the Village Institutes and maintained their basic principles. Some participants noted that in villages the integration and collaboration of parents and teachers still exist up to an extent. Günaydın portrays her years in villages in a way that villagers and teachers were like “*a big family*”. Due to the obligatory rotation for teachers, she worked in five different cities and in four of them she worked in villages for the period of three years each.

Villagers helped me tremendously. After I finished my lessons, we used to gather in one of the gardens with the women of the village. We used to have afternoon suppers altogether, they used to prepare tea and food... Villagers used to come and visit us as guests in the evenings. In Konya, my husband was the school principal and we worked for the construction of the new buildings of the village school. We planted trees around the school and we renovated the school garden. Villagers collected money and helped us

7 The original text is as follows: “...üretime dayalı, yani öğretmen köyün aynı zamanda sıhhiyecisi, aynı zamanda nalbantçısı, aynı zamanda ziraatçısı, aynı zamanda doktoru, iğnecisi, şuyu, buyu... Ama aynı zamanda toplumsal dönüşümü sağlayan lideri... Atatürk’ün yani devrimlerinin yerleştirilmesini noktasında dönüşümcü... liderlik görevi var” (Çığ 11’28’)

for construction. We were living in the village with the villagers and working together for the school.⁸ (Günaydın, 41'.50'')

She says that she noticed a decrease in respect she got from parents when she was assigned as classroom teacher to a school in Istanbul in the 1990s'. She thinks the 1980s changed the country tremendously. Teachers note that there is a difference between villages and cities regarding the prestige of occupation.

Bolat is another participant who recites that the soul of the Village Institutes could still be seen even in the years of the 2000s in villages. He was a teacher in Malatya in a village called Pötürge and he says the villagers and teachers were in collaboration in the village.

We used to have close relations with parents, we used to visit our students' families. After school, we used to play volleyball with villagers and we organized a tournament. We were teaching voluntarily after regular school hours. Teachers in villages were still the wise people of the village. Villagers used to feel honored when they were visited by the village teachers. However, in big cities, it is not the same at all.⁹ (Bolat, 08'.40'')

The comparison between teaching in village and city and the prestige of the occupation before and after the 1980s is put into the words by Öztürk

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- 8 The original text is as follows: "Köy halkı bana çok yardım etti. Kesinlikle çok sıcaklık gördüm ben. Çok sevgi, saygı, mahallenin ortasında okul çıkışı semaver kurulmuş, yerli kadınlarla beraber, çay içerdik. 'Hocam sen anahtarını bırak, sen gelinceye kadar yemeğini yapalım, bulaşığını yıkayalım' derlerdi. Çok büyük yardım gördüm, çok büyük saygı gördüm. Köylüler bize akşam oturmasına gelirlerdi. Konya' da eşim okul müdürü olarak, okulun yeni binasının inşaatı için çalıştı. Okulun etrafına ağaçlar diktik ve okul bahçesini yeniledik. Veliler okulun onarımı için para toplayıp Zekai'ye verirlerdi. Köyde birlikte yaşıyorduk ve köy okulu için birlikte çalışıyorduk." (Günaydın, 41'.50'')
- 9 The original text is as follows: Velilerle iyi ilişkilerimiz vardı, öğrencilerimizin ailelerine ev oturmasına giderdik. Okuldan sonra köylülerle voleybol oynardık, turnuva düzenlemiştik. Okuldan sonra ücretsiz etüd dersi yapardık. Köydeki öğretmenlerin hala saygınlığı vardır. Köylüler ile oturup konuşmamızı önemli görürlerdi. Ama büyük şehirlerde böyle değil. (Bolat, 08'.40'')

as well. He remembers his teaching years in the 1970s with a big smile and says he was very much respected back at that time while he was teaching in Samsun.

When I was in Samsun, I was respected and loved a lot. I am still in contact with my former students and their parents. After all these years, people in that village still recognize me, they remember my name and I am a well-known person there. (Öztürk, 10'51")¹⁰

He thinks every member of a society "is touched by a teacher, it means teaching is very important for everything in the society, however many parents, the society itself do not see it this way." (Öztürk, 15'.27")

Furthermore, Öztürk defines a different type of relationship between parents and teachers for the rural parts of Istanbul.

In Cumhuriyet Mahallesi [a shanty town in Sarıyer] our parents were immigrants from rural areas and they did not fully become an urban citizen. Hence, we were educating the parents as well, our job was not only to give education to children. Parents were not respectful all the time. We had some incidents. However, when I walk in the streets [of Cumhuriyet Mahallesi] many people know me, respect me, greet me. (Öztürk, 10'51")

In a nutshell, the prestige of teaching as an occupation in relation to society and parents has been evaluated in this part of the dissertation. It can be clearly seen that there is a big difference in the prestige of the occupation between the terms before and after the 1980s. Participants of both survey and in-depth interviews clearly stated that a devaluation of the occupation occurred in the eyes of society in general and specifically among parents. Teachers explained their assumptions for this consequence. According to them, there are several reasons for this outcome.

10 The original text is as follows: "Ben o çevrede çalışırken [Samsun, Terme] herkesle beraber iyi geçinirdik. Ben o çalıştığım yerdeki insanlarla, öğrencilerimle hala görüşüyorum... O yörede insanların çoğu beni tanır yani o zaman iyi bir intiba bırakmışız öyle tahmin ediyorum." (Öztürk, 10' 51")

Changing values in the 1980s seem to be the most important one. Within Turkish society, the emphasis shifted from “cultivation” to “consumption” with the neoliberal policies of the 1980s. Hence, concepts related to teaching such as learning, cultivation, sophistication, intellectual thinking are outdated.

Another reason for the change of prestige of the occupation is its perception as an “easy” job that does not require any specific skills. This perception was due to a regulation enacted in 1996 that enabled any bachelor degree holder to be assigned as a classroom teacher. This regulation was in rule until 2006 and it led a deterioration of the prestige of the occupation. Last but not the least, the eventual disappearance of the concept of “village teacher” also paved the way for degradation in the prestige of the occupation. Teachers who worked in the villages point out to a difference of prestige compared to their experiences in cities. However, they also underline the fact that the integration of the villagers and teachers has also changed since many village teachers prefer to live outside the village, preferably in the town or the city and commute to the village. Hence, the disappearance of the “*soul of the Village Institutes*” and its ideals were uttered as a prominent factor for the changed perception of the occupation in the eyes of Turkish society and parents. The concept of “*changing ideals*” is explored more in detail in the next part where teachers are criticizing their colleagues for the degradation of teaching.

§ 2.3 A Self-Assessment: Teachers and Occupational Prestige

Another factor leading to the devaluation of teaching as an occupation is put into words by teachers as “*teachers and their approach to occupation.*” Therefore, teachers criticized themselves by describing their colleagues’ approaches. When we look at the survey, “*the quality and attitude of teachers*” is listed as a factor by 2.8 percent of the participants. (see Figure 2.2) This issue has been noted during the in-depth interviews as well. The participants of the interviews often compared new teachers and old teachers and stated that the attitudes of their colleagues have contributed to the degradation in the perception of the occupation.

Özçiftçi described his young colleagues as follows:

They do not have any enthusiasm, any stand point. They do not have any future expectations. They only think about sustaining the order and getting their salary. They never think about how they can contribute to their occupation. (Özçiftçi 1.43'35'')¹¹

As an inspector and a former primary school teacher, Çığ agrees with the fact that “*teachers' attitudes*” is a factor that undermines the prestige of the occupation. He comments on the issue as follows:

Our [new] teachers do not read books related to their area and they are are not concerned about reading [in their field] ...Furthermore, the values have changed. They are not idealistic anymore. For the new teachers, teaching is just seen as an occupation. Their income... Forty minutes of classroom time... They only think in a pragmatic way.” (Çığ, 57'23'')¹²

By stating that teachers are acting in a pragmatic way, Çığ actually means that some new teachers only care about earning more money since they wish to adapt to a system that is based on purchasing power. Teachers, who have already given up raising their occupational prestige, try to raise their individual prestige by the goods that they can afford and in order to achieve this goal their only aim and satisfaction becomes having a higher salary and a job that is under the guarantee of the state.

Şen also comments on the attitudes of new teachers by describing the medium of teachers' room:

11 The original text is as follows: “Şimdiki öğretmenleri görmenizi isterim...Adamlarda tavır yok, tutum yok, hiç bir gelecek yok...Adam 'ben bunu nasıl devam ettiririm, bu aylığı nasıl alırım'ın düşüncesinde, yani ben bu mesleğe ne katarım, kesinlikle [böyle bir] idealleri yok, söz konusu değil.” (Özçiftçi, 1.43'35'')

12 The original text is as follows: “Öğretmenlerimiz kendi alanları ile ilgili okumuyorlar ve bununla ilgili kaygı duymuyorlar...Değerlerin farklılaşması. Artık çok fazla idealize etmiyorlar kendilerini, ben onu görüyorum. Yeni genç öğretmenlerimiz, hani öğretmenlik bir meslek olarak sadece görülüyor. Yani onun geliri, 40 dakika, yani pragmatik düşünüyorlar.” (Çığ, 57,23'')

In teachers' room, our regular chat (during breaks or after classes) is not like it used to be, people do not talk about education. In the past, after talking about education, we used to have a cultivated talk about general culture, we used to talk about students. Today, we only talk about celebrities and paparazzi programs... I am surprised [by new teachers' attitudes.] They think they have job security. They want to give private courses at the weekends, they want the kids to demand for private courses. Well, our salary has never been very good but the education we had, taught us that our basic aim is not earning more money but teaching more to children. We learned to work for our country, to work for our people. We need to work for our society. At the last stage, we could work for ourselves. However, new teachers are not raised in that way either by the education system or by their parents. They only wish to earn more, to travel more, to buy more. I think the pupils are not their priority and they are not idealistic at all. (Şen, 1.43'53")¹³

As a retired vice principal, Sönmezışık agrees with the fact that "teachers' attitude" contributes the occupation to have less prestige. She says she feels sorry for most of the new teachers who do not actually enjoy their occupation since they did not want to be a teacher on the first hand but chose to be a teacher with concerns of job security and regular salary.

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- 13 The original text is as follows: "Öğretmenler odasında eskisi gibi sohbet edilmiyor, insanlar eğitimle ilgili paylaşım yapmıyor. Eskiden ince okuldan bahsederdik, sonra genel kültür üzerine konuşurduk ya da öğrencilerden konuşurduk. Şimdi, televizyondaki ünlülerden, paparazzi programlarından bahsediliyor...Ben şaşırıyorum, nasıl olsa mesleğimi kaptım diyor, haftasonu kursları olsun, çocuklar özel ders alsın istiyorlar. Bizim zamanımızda da maaşımız çok değildi ama bizim eğitimimizde sadece para kazanmak için mesleği uygulamak yoktu. Yurdun için, ülken için, toplum için çalışacaksın. En sonunda kendin için çalışacaksın duygusu öğretildi. Ama şimdi öyle değil, aileden de öğreniyorlar, sistem de öğretiyor. Şimdikiler 'paramı kazanayım, hem çok gezeyim, hem çok harcayayım, hemen evimi arabamı alayım' bunları düşünüyorlar. Bence çocuklar ikinci planda kalıyor ve idealist de değiler."

Therefore she believes that the decreasing number of Teachers' High Schools had a role in the loss of idealism in teachers.

Most of the new teachers do not have the soul of teaching. They only want to work less and earn more. They think they are recruited by the state and no one can sack them unless they commit a real crime. Their only concern is how to make more money. Their basic question is about how to take more extra hours, how to give courses at the weekends and how to increase their salary. Sönmezışık, (01'07''00)¹⁴

Öztürk, as a school principal, has observed different generations of teachers. He believes guiding new teachers is a duty of him. With his experience of forty years of teaching and administration, he believes the new generation of teachers

The generation that we call 'new' or sometimes we say 'Z generation' are now very relaxed, they seem to be more spoiled and lazy even though they have every kind of resources. It was not like that in the old times [with the old teachers]. (Öztürk, 05'53)¹⁵

Overall, the results of the survey and in-depth interviews note that teachers see their colleagues responsible in the devaluation of the occupation because they have lost their ideals and not respecting their job. This consequence is certainly a result of the previous factors that have been discussed throughout this part, namely the effect of the state and the changing values in Turkish society in the 1980s with the introduction of neoliberal economic policies. The participants of the interview point out

14 The original text is as follows: "Yeniler de öğretmenlik ruhu yok... Bir de bir yere girelim, para kazanalım... Az çalışıp çok para kazanmak istiyorlar. Devlete kapak attım, artık beni kimse kovamaz büyük bir suç işlemek diye düşünüyorlar, Yani ben şimdi bir maaş alıyorum, ben bunu nasıl arttırabilirim, bunun derdindeler; işte ek ders mi alırım, özel ders mi yaparım, haftasonu kurs mu veririm; bunun derdindeler"

15 The original text is as follows: "Şimdi yeni nesil dediğimiz, yeni jenerasyon dediğimiz, ya da Z kuşağı dediğimiz öğretmenler şimdi biraz daha çok rahat, her türlü imkanlar ellerinde olmasına rağmen biraz sanki bezgin gibi bir halleri var. Onları böyle itiklemeye beraber götürüyorsunuz. Eskiden öyle değildi." (Öztürk, 05'53")

that there is a “*loss of soul*” for the occupation. This point is clearly related to the definition of an occupational group. Losing the soul, first devalues the occupation in the eyes of its own members and this attitude is immediately adopted by other members in society. Hence, I believe the self- image of the occupation in the minds of the teachers is quite important on the composition and change of the image of the occupation in the society.



TRANSFORMATION OF TEACHING IN TURKEY

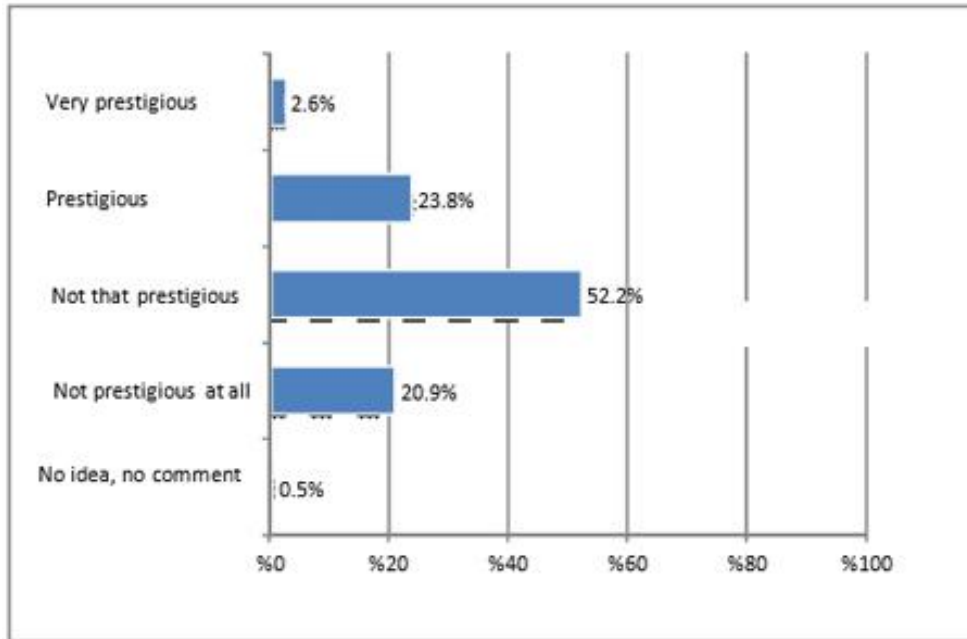


Figure 2.1 Occupational Prestige

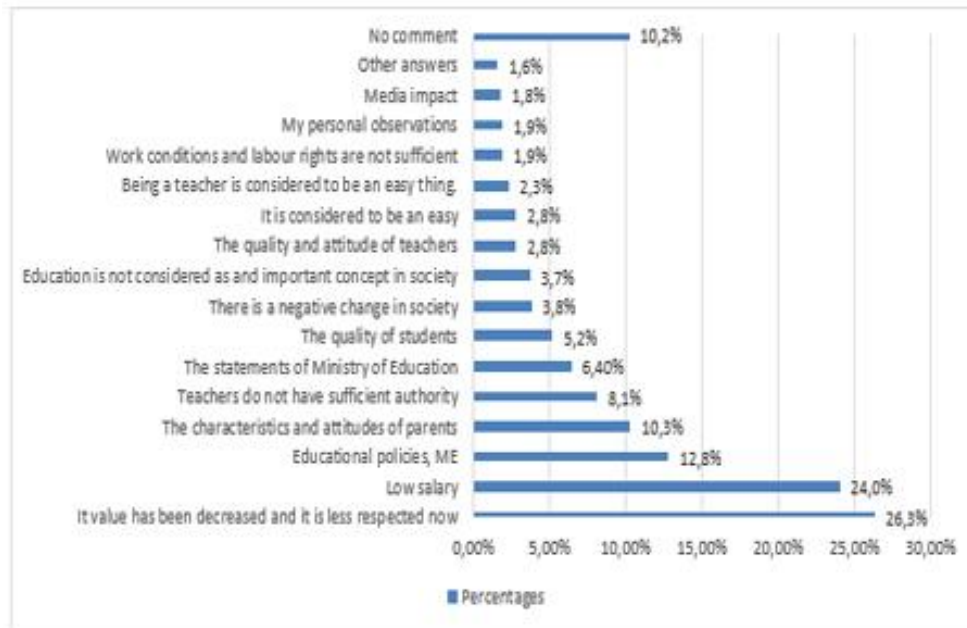


Figure 2.2 Reasons for a Lower Occupational Prestige

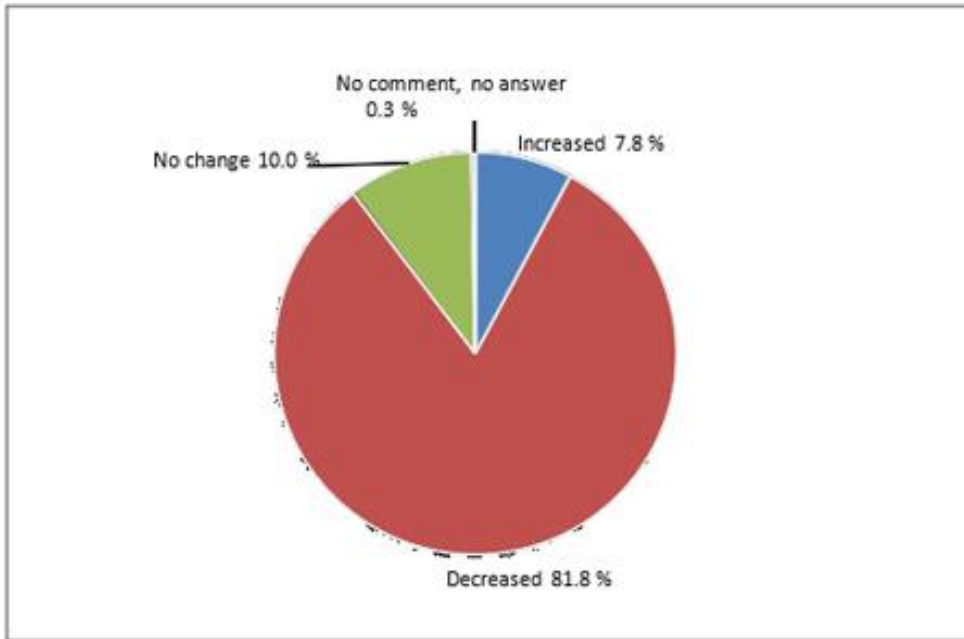


Figure 2.3 Change in Occupational Prestige in Last Ten Years

Participants who replied the previous question with the option “increased” were asked about their reasons for saying so. Answers for the open-ended question, were grouped without changing the original phrases by teachers.

TRANSFORMATION OF TEACHING IN TURKEY

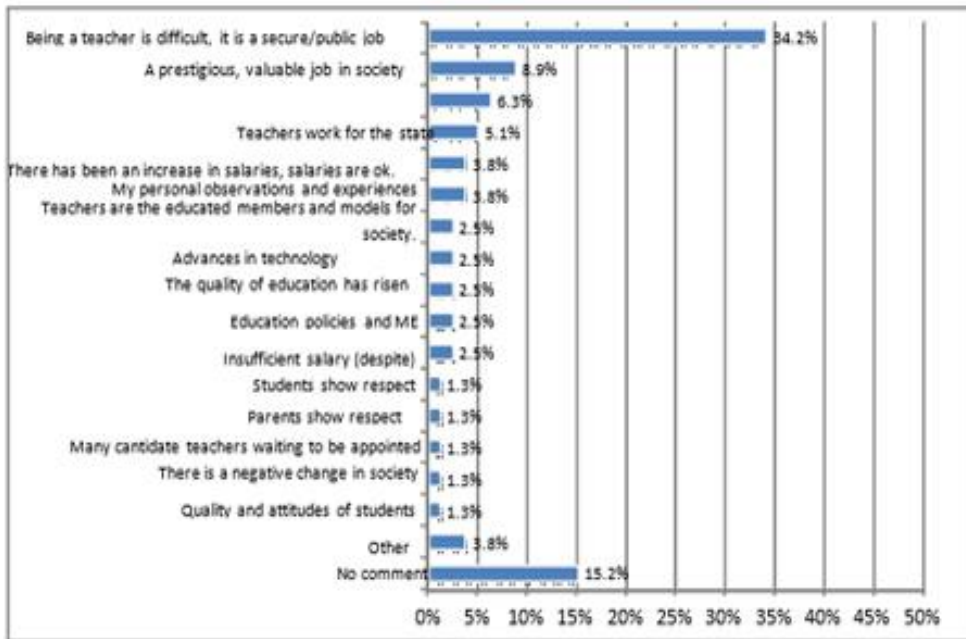


Figure 2.4 Despite Its Drawbacks, Reasons for Teaching to be Prestigious

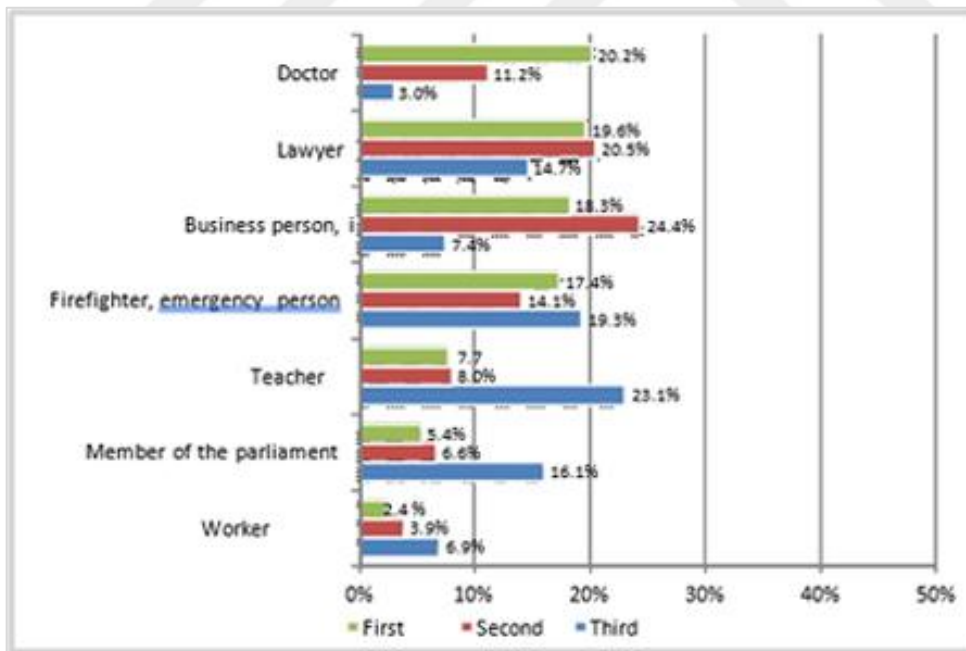


Figure 2.5 Occupational Ranking

3

Abstract Conceptualization of the Occupation: “The Ideal Teacher”



One fact that emerges clearly from these accounts is the attention educators give to the 'mundane' realities of daily life in schools. These stories remind us that the most powerful meaning of democracy is formed not in glossy political rhetoric, but in the details of everyday lives. In these schools, people take seriously the realities of curriculum development, teaching, assessment, and the lives of students and teachers who must cooperate to make schools actually work...What is striking about these educators, however, is that they refused to allow difficult financial stringencies we are all under, the often unwieldy bureaucratic regulations of many school systems, and the immense social pressures and demands being placed on schools to get in the way of building educational experiences take make a real difference in the lives of their students...And in the process, these educators have shown a quality that more of us should aspire to, the quality of common courage.

– Michael W. Apple & James A. Beane, *Lessons from Democratic Schools*

As Apple and Beane state above, being a teacher means touching lives of many children which in turn leads to a real, tangible change in the society. Here, the writers mostly associated teachers with the concepts of “inspiration” and “courage.”¹ Part of the aim of this dissertation is to discover the conceptual associations of this occupation and to hear teachers on this topic. However, before looking at the actual phrases from the field-

1 Michael W. Apple, *Democratic Schools: Lessons in Powerful Education* (Heinemann, 2007), 152–53.

work, the first part of this chapter briefly explores some views and contributions in the previous literature on the assigned topic. The second part investigates the wide range of works of literature that focus on “being a teacher” in Turkey. The novels and short stories of the early Republican era, multi-party era and the period of the post-1980s constitute a valuable resource for scrutinizing the concepts around the constructed image of “the ideal teacher” and an entity to complete the composition of conceptual associations around the occupation. The rest of the chapter is organized around teachers’ actual words from the survey results and their life stories and words from the in-depth interviews.



§ 3.1 Basic Descriptions around “The Ideal Teacher”: Teachers as Intellectuals vs. Teachers as Babysitters

...it becomes possible to illuminate the role that educators and educational researchers play as intellectuals who operate under specific conditions of work and who perform a particular social and political function. The material conditions under which teachers work, constitute the basis for either delimiting or empowering their practices as intellectuals. Therefore, teachers as intellectuals will need to reconsider and, possibly, transform the fundamental nature of the conditions under which the work. That is teachers must be able to shape the ways in which time, space, activity, and knowledge organize everyday life in schools. More specifically in order to function as intellectuals, teachers must create the ideology and structural conditions necessary for them to write, research, and work with each other in producing curricula and sharing power. In the final analysis, teachers need to develop a discourse and set of assumption that allow them to function more specifically as transformative intellectuals.

-Henry A. Giroux, *Teachers as Intellectuals*

As Henry A. Giroux accentuates, the definition of being a teacher includes the role of a being ‘transformative’ intellectual who researches, reads, contemplates and produces.² One of the premises of this dissertation is to highlight the loss of the intellectual side of teaching in Turkey while

2 Henry A. Giroux, *Teachers as Intellectuals: Toward a Critical Pedagogy of Learning* (Greenwood Publishing Group, 1988), xiiv–xiv.

considering the expected values from teachers. As the title of this chapter suggests, despite the conceptualization requires an intellectual thinking and acting process, due to many factors mentioned in Chapter 2, teachers in Turkey has mostly missed their intellectual role within the definition of the occupation which is illustrated in the third part of this chapter with the help of the phrases by the teachers.

In the context of Turkish teachers, Girgin makes another similar definition regarding the ideal teacher which includes an intellectual tendency and a resistance to the system that seeks to block this tendency. Atilla Girgin is an elementary school teacher, a journalist and a writer. In his book called *A Brick in the Wall*, he collected his essay on the education system in Turkey and on the practice of teaching. Hence, his essays are like excerpts of long interviews which are based on his own experiences and life story. Girgin uses the metaphor “*a brick in the wall*” which has a connotation to the famous song “The Wall” by the distinguished music band Pink Floyd. According to Girgin, many teachers in Turkey have become “*bricks*” of the system, the regime, the order of the state which could be interpreted that they have become the soldiers, voluntary missionaries of state ideology. Girgin uses this metaphor for late twentieth and twenty-first century, especially after the 1980s which could have actually been used for the idealist teachers of early Republican era as well. However, here in his definition, a brick can also be someone who is ordinary and similar to the other bricks, other colleagues. Even though, teachers of the Republican era could be seen as the carriers of Kemalist ideology, this “*brick*” metaphor would be a rather superficial definition for that idealist generation of teachers since it signifies mediocrity. When we look at the description of the ideal teacher that Girgin makes, we can find many common elements that are accentuated by teachers:

When it is evaluated as an abstraction, teaching is the art of raising a human being. It requires knowledge, it needs sophistication. It requires patience. But this is still not enough! It needs sensitivity and creativity. Just like an artist, it requires the unification of sensitivity, creativity and the skills of teaching. Still not enough! It requires moulding all these with love. Moreover, it needs not to yield

to anger, nor to give in. It requires being someone who always asks, questions, researches, improves and regenerates her/himself, it also needs not being the servants of the powerful. And it also requires having an ethical consistency in one's thoughts, words and behaviours without discriminating with respect to age, religion, race, skin color, gender, economic status etc.³

This definition by Girgin lists his expectations from the ideal teacher. According to this definition, a teacher is not a passive agent conveying the instructions of the central government and/or state but an active figure who questions, researches and molds just like Giroux's "transformative" teacher.

In his work on the teacher training system of Turkey Okçabol also defines the ideal teacher by comparing between "old" and "new" teachers. In his work of 2005, there is no exact cutoff date for "old" or "new"; however, he defines these teachers as being either the graduates of Primary School Teachers' Training Institutes, Education Institutes, Village Institutes or Higher Teacher Training Schools all of which closed before the 1990s. Quoting from Arslankara,⁴ Okçabol first describes the old teachers, and then makes his comparison as noted below:

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- 3 Atalay Girgin, *Öğretmen Düzenin Duvarındaki Tuğla*, 1st ed. (Algi Yayıncılık, 2009), 13. The original text is as follows: "Bir soyutlama düzeyinde değerlendirildiğinde, bir yanıyla insan yetiştirme sanatıdır öğretmenlik Bilgi ister, birikim ister. Sabır ister. Yetmez. Duyarlılık ve yaratıcılık ister. Yetmez. Tıpkı bir sanatçı gibi duyarlılığını yaratıcılığını bu işi yapabilme becerisiyle birleştirmeyi ister. Yetmez. Tüm bunları sevgiyle yogurabilmeyi de ister. Dahası öfkesine yenilmemeyi, yılmamayı da...Sürekli soran, sorgulayan; düşünen, araştıran, okuyan, kendini geliştiren ve yenileyebilen olmayı da... Egemenlerin kayıtsız şartsız işgüderi olmamayı da ister. Karşısındakinin yaşı, dini, etnik kökeni, derisinin rengi, cinsiyeti, ekonomik durumu, vb. ne olursa olsun, ayırım yapmaksızın, her daim düşünüşü, söyleyişi ve eyleyişiyle etik bir tutarlılıkla davranabilmeyi de...".
- 4 Mehmet Sadık Arslankara has been a columnist in the Cumhuriyet book supplement. He is a story and scenorio writer and a director. The article he wrote in 1996 about Turkish teachers entitled "Nerede O Öğretmenler? / Where Are Those Teachers Now?" inspired

They were teachers. They were shown as the examples of the city they lived in... When a new theatre play was on the scenes of the city or a new movie was aired in the cinema, they were the first on the queue, to get a ticket... They used to show the new the book [to the students] as soon as they enter the classroom.⁵

After quoting this paragraph, Okçabol added the following statements to complete the definition of the ideal teacher:

In these words, the teachers who are truly missed...those old teachers, they are missed because they used to be with people being their leaders/lights/future and that's why they were being missed. Even though, [some of] those teachers had less years of education and got graduated in a shorter time than the new ones, generally, they were the most cultivated, best readers in their regions, and they were the most interested people to the students, parents, schools, the region they live in and the world.⁶

Some analogies, such as being a “light”, a “leader” for students and “being the future” of the society, are common terms also uttered by the teachers participated in the fieldwork of the this dissertationbut before going on with the answers for the actual fieldwork, I would like to look at some publications by the Ministry of National Education to see answers of the questions of “What is a teacher?” and “How should a teacher be in the

professor Okçabol, who works in the field education. ‘M. Sadık Aslankara’, accessed 19 August 2016, <http://www.biyografya.com/biyografi/5832>.

- 5 The original text is as follows: “Öğretmendiler. Yaşadıkları kentin örnek insanıydılar...bir tiyatro geldiğinde kente, iyi bir film başladığında sinemada; ilk önce onlar girerlerdi sıraya, bir bilet almak için...Dersliğe girişlerinde daha, koltuk altlarından ya da çantalarından çıkardıkları yeni bir kitabı gösterirlerdi” Aslankaya quoted in Rifat Okçabol, *Öğretmen Yetiştirme Sistemimiz*, 1st ed. (Ütopya Yayınevi, 2005), 11.
- 6 Ibid. The original text is as follows: “Bu söylemde özlemle aranan o eski öğretmenler...o eski öğretmenler, halkın yanında ve halkın önderi/ışığı/geleceği olduğu için aranmaktadır. O eski öğretmenler, bugünküne göre daha kısa sürede ve daha az eğitim dersi alarak mezun olmuş olsalar da, genelde geldiği yere göre, toplumun en çok gelişim göstermiş; en çok okuyan; öğrencisiyle, velisiyle, okuluyla, bulunduğu yöreyle ve dünyayla en çok ilgilenen kişilerdir.”

ideal sense?" In order to answer these questions MEB has prepared and published a set of comprehensive qualification criteria for teachers. These criteria are composed by a series of meetings of a commission comprised of teachers, academicians, educational inspectors and experts and representatives of the ministry, participants from unions and the final version of the list is published in 2004. Even though these criteria are rather technical, it is possible to distinguish some concepts regarding the ideal teachers. Looking at the list of qualifications by MEB under the title of values regarding personal and occupational traits of teachers, some terms do stand out: "respectful and understanding towards students", "an efficient motivator (who believes in the success of the students)", "follower of national and international values", "being self-critical", "supporting personal [students'] improvement", "following occupational developments, contributing to these developments" etc.⁷

Looking at the definition of ideal teachers and the qualifications expected of them, it is apparent that these criteria differ entirely from the the aforementioned idea of teachers as intellectuals of the society. Even the traces of a questioning and a critical mind, a progressive soul, appreciation of art, creativity, being a follower of cultural events, being a good reader were the main characteristics identified with being a teacher in the texts above. Furthermore within the following parts of this chapter, it will be seen that these ideals were mentioned in the works of literature especially before the 1980s and within the phrases of interviewed teachers with between fifteen and forty years of experience. However; the characteristics of being an intellectual or any concept reminding of it is not present in the listed qualifications from MEB and not aimed at all and the definition suggests a rather technical list composed of instructions-like phrases and this perspective supplies an evidence for one of the premises of the thesis which argues that in twenty-first century, MEB sees the teacher as an intermediary teaching agent and educational robot rather than an intellectual.

7 'Öğretmenlik Mesleği Genel Yeterlikleri...', accessed 11 December 2016, <http://otmg.meb.gov.tr/YetGenel.html>.

§ 3.2 Teachers, Concepts and Turkish Literature

...our novelists have been more independent than our authors who write about history and society and the reason for this is easy to determine. Even if their writings would be in conflict with the reality, historians should defend that they are in accord with what was going on. Otherwise, she would be condemning her own work. Novelists, on the other hand, can create defence mechanisms against possible criticisms by claiming that everything they wrote was fictional even though they analyze events in a much more realistic way... I believe there is one more benefit to be a novelist other than a historian. While historians and public observers are restricted their works by the frame of political life, novelists have have a broader perspective and help us to learn about both traditions and daily habits and the complex integrity of [social] evolution that Braudel calls "material civilization."

-Taner Timur, *Osmanlı-Türk Romanında Tarih*

As Timur states and many scholars accentuate, the works of literature are often beneficial as secondary resources for historical works.⁸ Works of

8 Taner Timur, *Osmanlı-Türk Romanında Tarih, Toplum ve Kimlik* (AFA Yayıncılık, 1991), 7-8 The original text is as follows: "...romancılarımız, tarih ve toplum konularında eser veren yazarlarımıza göre daha özgürdüler. Bunun nedeni kolayca açıklanabilir. Bir tarihçi, yazdıkları gerçeklere çok aykırı da olsa, onların olup bitenlere uygun olduğunu savunmak zorundadır. Aksi takdirde kendi eserini bizzat kendisi mahkum etmiş olur. Buna karşılık bir romancı, toplumsal evrimi tarihçiden çok daha gerçekçi bir biçimde çözümlerse bile, romanının bir hayal olduğunu öne sürerek-olası eleştirilere karşı-

literature are often compared to the historical documents on the issue of whether they reflect reality or not, however I do find this controversy trivial. The significance of works of literature is their ability to reflect the details of the ambiance of the era and to convey the social, emotional details of the past which could be lost in the documentation of historian. Furthermore, they are the products of the witnessing of the novelist. With respect to Turkish novels up to the 1980s, social realism had been the dominant trend. Being the forerunners of the Republican regime, teachers are seen as both respected idealists and agents of the state and it will not be inaccurate to say this understanding had continued up to the 1980s. Hence, it is not surprising to see that Turkish literature chose teachers as protagonists of many novels and stories, and even though some examples are schematic and stereotypical, novels and stories could also be seen as secondary sources while following the traces of the ideal teacher image.

One very well-known novelist of early Republican era is Reşat Nuri Guntekin who had been a literature teacher himself in Istanbul in prestigious high schools and been an educational inspector starting from 1927. As an inspector he had seen almost all Anatolia and visited many village schools. After being a parliamentarian for ten years between 1933 and 1943, he returned to the field of education and worked at various positions in the Ministry of National Education. He became the cultural attaché of Turkey in Paris Embassy and got retired in 1954.⁹ *Çalikuşu* (1922), *Yeşil Gece* (1928), *Acımak* (1928), *Kan Davası* (1955) are four of his novels having teachers as their leading characters. He has his memoirs comprising his years as an educator and inspector in Anatolia in

kendine savunma mekanizmaları yaratabilir... Özgürlük sorunu dışında romancılarımızın tarihçilerimize göre başka bir avantajı daha olduğunu sanıyorum. Tarihçiler ve kamu gözlemcileri eserlerini daha çok siyasal hayatla sınırlı tutarken, romancılar topluma daha geniş bir perspektiften bakabilmişler ve gerek örf ve adetlerdeki, gerekse Braudel'in 'maddi uygarlık' dediği karmaşık bütünlükteki evrimi daha iyi tanımamıza yardımcı olmuşlardır".

9 Cahit Kavcar, "Bir Öğretmenin Romanı: Yeşil Gece", accessed 19 August 2016, <http://dergiler.ankara.edu.tr/dergiler/40/489/5743.pdf>.

Notes from Anatolia/ Anadolu Notları (1936). Guntekin's novels and notes are important since they have biographical details regarding teachers' lives and ideals of teachers up to the 1960s. Looking at Guntekin's novels, some common points stand out. For instance, protagonists, who are assigned as primary school teachers in the villages in all four novels, come to the villages from cities where they were raised and born. Hence, they do not know village life and villagers are strangers to them. They feel themselves weird, isolated and alone since they are different and more educated than the villagers and since it is almost their first time in the village they are in a sort of shocked mood. The difference between Istanbul and Anatolia is shown with details almost with a documentarist's sensitivity. Even though teachers got surprised with the poor conditions of villages and "ignorance" of the villagers, they try to get adapted to the conditions with their idealism. The gap between developed cities and rural parts of the country are also depicted in detail in the novels. Going to poor and undeveloped parts of Anatolia is perceived as a duty for teachers and therefore "making sacrifices" is an integrative concept for being a teacher. The concepts of "enlightenment, sacrifice and determination" are still valid concepts of being a teacher when we check the answers of the participants of in-depth interviews who are composed of experienced and retired teachers. This trait of portraying teachers as "aliens" to the villagers is common until the 1950s. The same trait can be seen in the works of other novelists of the same period, such as Hüseyin Rahmi Gürpınar; Halide Edip Adivar and Halide Nusret Zorlutuna.¹⁰ The first literary period of early Republican era could be prolonged to 1950s and in addition to aforementioned characteristics, it can be stated that before the multi-party period of the 1950s teachers (specifically primary school teachers) are portrayed as fighters against religious bigotry, soldiers of enlightenment in Guntekin's and other contemporary author's novels. In these novels, teachers are mostly excluded and or condemned

10 Hüseyin Rahmi Gürpınar, *Mürebbiye* (Atlas, 1973); Reşat Nuri Güntekin, *Çalığışu* (İnkılap Kitabevi, 2008); Halide Nusret Zorlutuna, *Benim küçük dostlarım: okul hatıraları* (Kültür Bakanlığı, 1976).

or slandered by straitlaced villagers even though in some of them, their contribution has been seen and they are accepted by the villagers.¹¹ Guntekin had some schematic idealist characters who are not detailed and developed fully and could be interpreted as functional characters to function as the defenders of Kemalist regimes such as Ali Şahin, Omer, Zehra and Feride. They sacrificed all their lives to enlighten village children and their parents. At this point, it is significant to suggest even though these characters were schematic and only created to fulfil the mission of Republican teacher, they were efficient examples for next generations. Teachers who grew up reading these novels such as some members of the retired generation especially the teachers, who had their education before the 1980s and some of which members participated into my fieldwork as well, adopted these ideals also by novels. In accordance with reception theories in literature and history¹² which focuses on understanding and interpretation of the reader and the consequent act of him/her due to the effect of the text, I do believe that for that generation of teachers, novel characters are exemplary and teachers saw them as ideal models.

Within these novels, bigotry is built with antagonists and they are depicted as enemies of the new Republic. However, starting from the 1950's, with the genre of village novels, this tendency has changed in the mainstream works of literature. The new leading characters, teachers are depicted as people who are also from villages, having a village origin and/or are usually graduates of the Village Institutes rather than the urban originated teacher within the previous period. Furthermore, contrary to the novels of the earlier period, in most novels, they got along well with villagers by earning their admiration. As a change, in this period's novels, they face with some problems caused by bureaucracy and public employees in addition to zealot villagers, agas and imams who exploits villagers. Thus, it can be proposed that starting from the 1950's, with village nov-

11 Feride from *Çalıkuşu* is one of them Guntekin, *Çalıkuşu*.

12 A review of reception theories in literature is made by Martyn P. Thompson, 'Reception Theory and the Interpretation of Historical Meaning', *History and Theory* 32, no. 3 (1993): 248-72, doi:10.2307/2505525.

els, teachers have their first confrontation with the state and its implementations. The well known village writers of this period who wrote on teachers, teachers life and who chose their protagonists among them are Mahmut Makal, Cevdet Kudret, Sunullah Arısoy, and Fakir Baykurt.

Before looking at the novels that have the village theme, I would like to scrutinize an outstanding collection of memoirs by a primary school teacher and a village school graduate written in the period that this part of the dissertation focuses on. As a very young teacher Mahmut Makal penned letters describing the village life in Anatolia and then his famous book entitled *Bizim Köy: Bir Köy Enstitülü Öğretmenin Notları/Our Village: Notes from A Village Institute Teacher* is compiled out of these letters in 1950¹³ Soon after the publishing of the book, Makal was arrested with the suspicion of subversion, most probably with the common accusation of the period, “communism”. Even though he only served for a month and got released, with an unfair treatment, Makal was suspended of teaching for a while as well. Mahmut Makal was a pure secularist and a very young man at that time who devoted himself to the reforms of the early Republican era but this idealization did not prevent him from criticizing local authorities and depicting the failure of the regime in the development of villages. On the contrary, Makal wanted to demonstrate the poor conditions of the villages and contribute to the ideal of enlightenment starting from villages and spreading to whole country. In the distinguished English translation¹⁴ of the book, Professor Lewis V. Thomas highlights Makal’s work with his foreword as following:

13 Mahmut Makal, *Bizim köy: bir köy öğretmenin notları* (Ankara: Piramit Yayıncılık, 2004).

14 I also would like to comment on the translator notes that are added to the book, by the translator Sir Wyndham Deedes, since with these notes, the translator makes comments on the validity of the information that Makal provides. As a former army member and Military attaché, Deedes assumed the right to comment on the statements of Makal and presented them with his “corrected” version in his notes to the Western reader. Three example topics for which the translator “needed to give extra information” are the issues of bride price, child brides, and polygamy. The translator thinks Makal is biased on these issues and claims that the child brides and also bride deaths after marriage are rare in

In the election of May 1950, the Turks made the transition from a one-party state to a much fuller use of the forms of multi-party self-government. *Our village* had appeared shortly before, and served as a campaign document in that election. Turkey's literate, urban upper class had traditionally remained comparatively ignorant of, and uninterested in, the life of the peasant mass, and *Our Village* was a politically effective exposé. Makal's attack on the attitude of local officials and of the Central Government towards the villager, the general failure of the literacy campaign on the lower levels of society, and the persistence of the supposedly abolished Dervish orders in village religious life, all of which were matters that the previously fostered official party-line had purposely ignored- were more sensational in Turkey in 1950 than the foreign reader can well imagine. In this, as well as in the fact that *Our Village* is probably the first book that any *bona fide* Turkish peasant ever published, one finds the principal explanations of why it is that Makal's work has outsold any previous book in the history of the Turkish press.¹⁵

The memoir is considered the first work of village literature in the social realist form depicting village life also because they are written in the form of short stories. Aside from the details about village life in the late 1940s, these works portray the life of a teacher in Anatolia at that time. A teacher assigned to the village seems to be an organic part of the village

Anatolia. Bride price is a bilateral issue: "the girls are not sold" but brides' families also pay money to the grooms' families *ibid.*, 72. Thirdly polygamy is lawful according to Islam (hence could be seen normal by the secularist teacher as well) and 'may work out satisfactorily'; *ibid.*, 123 with in the society. Considering 1950's of Anatolia, I consider these additions not only truth bending but also the product of poor and superficial Orientalist observations within the perspective of a translator who was confident enough making additions without providing evidence from any works of sociology or anthropology of Turkey at that time. Even though these do not devalue either the work or the translation, it is despairing to see that this prominent book was presented to Western world with these assertive translation notes.

15 Mahmut Makal, *A Village in Anatolia. Mahmut Makal*. Translated from the Turkish by Sir Wyndham Deedes, (Vallentine, Mitchell and C°, 1954), x.

especially if s/he was also raised in the same setting. Looking at the memoir, one can see that the teacher does everything including working in the construction of the school which is (most of the time) also the place he dwells in. The conditions of the schools are poor. Most of the time, schools are converted from barns, in need of repair and having earthen floors. The pupils are underfed, thin and sick most of the time. The teacher is a brother, a father, a pharmacist and a veterinarian the same time. He mostly lives at the same place where he teaches. I find these details primal because I do believe that the soul of the ideal teacher lies in the memoirs of the teachers of the late 1940's and the 1950's. In the next episode of this dissertation and in some other chapters as well, I quote from the experienced teachers who are the participants of in-depth interviews. There are similar quotes from the survey as well, and while following the traces of "the lost ideal teacher soul" which was a common phrase uttered by many teachers and cited authors for this work, I believe that soul was partly composed out of the works that the previous teachers written works which paved the way for the upcoming generations of teachers of the 1970's and 1980s. Hence, the striking work of Makal (and his contemporaries) describing his teaching conditions is valuable, as a sample of his living and working conditions, the poem below he wrote after the school and his living place is flooded, imitating the style of Orhan Veli is of the essence:

[In the chapter titled "Our School is Flooded Out"]

There's a lake in my house; My tent is at the lake head. Rain falls on my tent, And I, the hero of a novel, as a soldier in the struggle for primary education, clenching my teeth, try to play my part. It began two years ago, who knows where or how or when My part will end.¹⁶

From this poem, the phrase "*as a soldier in the struggle for primary education*" can also be recognized. This "being a soldier of education and enlightenment" is also a common term for the term.

The teacher could also work in harvesting and shepherding although the villagers see him "too educated" to work with them in the field. As for

16 Ibid., 5.

his status, the teacher is still overlooked by the Aghas, since he is not a region or city governor. Makal summarizes the status of teachers as follows:

On the road I meet a certain Agha. He scolds me... "being a gentleman is one thing, working the land is another. I couldn't see you father, to tell him not to take you along with him... Everyone was cross with your father, and said: 'He's lowering his son in the eyes of other boys'...But in reality, I know they think otherwise! They look at me with an expression that suggests that if I were to study for a hundred years, I should still not be a gentleman. This hurts me. I haven't forgotten what they said at the time when I left school. 'Now that you've studied', they told me, "you must go and be Governor of a Province or a District. What future is there for you if you stay with us and waste your time in the village?"¹⁷

As a village teacher, Makal declares his disappointment throughout the book. The first thing that he notices is the sharp difference with what he learned and became accustomed to during his education in the village institute and what he experiences in the village. He says he was introduced periodicals, journals and newspapers during his education and he loved reading them since he felt he simply learned "thinking" by reading other people's thoughts. However, in the village he starts to work, he barely has had the chance to see any periodicals since the villages are far away from centre, they lack roads and connections to the cities.¹⁸ Furthermore, there has been a scarcity of food and a variety of food which make his pupils tired and sick and therefore sometimes uninterested to education. The concept of religion and superstitions and their impact to education is an important concern for the writer. In the late 1940s, religion lessons were added to the curriculum as a manoeuvre of Republican People's Party (Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi or CHP) just before the elections of 1950. The ruling party wanted to show that they were not less religious than the rising opponent Democrat Party (Demokrat Parti or DP.) The is-

17 Ibid., 31.

18 Ibid.

sue of religious education which could be seen as an alternative to secular, scientific education has been an obstacle for teachers of the era. However, when we look at the statements cited during in-depth interviews regarding the 1990's, these tendencies could be seen as reviving with the impact of the main ideology of the 1980s, Turkish Islamic statements which profoundly affected Turkish primary school education especially curricula and which is one of the major topics that this dissertation has adopted. As Tahsin Yucel commented on these memories, most of these facts and propositions are valid in the 1990's as well¹⁹ and as I aforementioned this is also because the 1980 coup as a rupture and its consequent educational policies.

Other contemporary writers also portrayed the conditions of the villages and the teachers with similar phrases. In 1958, Sunullah Arısoy's novel *Karapürçek* has an idealist primary school teacher as the protagonist. However, this novel differentiates from the other contemporary ones with its emphasis on class distinction and struggle. The novel starts with an idealist teacher (who was first assigned to Istanbul but changed his place of work to Anatolia as some previous characters in the early Republican period) travelling on train to a village in Anatolia. The novel starts with a scene having a road to the train station and the teacher (he does not have a name) meets miners and workers on the train and this meeting is actually the first meeting of teachers with workers in the late 1950s which portrays the conditions of the working class in total even though the novel focuses on the details of being a primary school teacher in a village. With respect to the characteristics of the ideal teacher, the teacher in the *Karapürçek* is determinant, honest and is schematically depicted as "a candle" that burns in the end to enlighten the society.²⁰

Another teacher novel published in the same year was Cevdet Kudret's *Havada Bulut Yok*. Just like the teacher of *Karapürçek*, teacher Suleyman is also a candle who had problems with the villagers and also

19 Tahsin Yucel quoted in '[BIAMAG]: NAZİFE ŞİMŞEK'TEN: Bizim Köy Hala Başyapıt', *Bianet - Bağımsız İletişim Ağı*, accessed 18 December 2016, <http://www.bianet.org/biamag/toplum/161933-bizim-koy-hala-basyapit>.

20 M. Sunullah Arısoy, *Karapürçek: roman* (Varlık yayınevi, 1972).

public employees. Within these two novels, inspectors as the representatives of the state are prejudiced and hostile. Hence, with in the second period novels teachers not only confront with the bigotry of Anatolia but also unjust officials of the ministry, therefore up to the 1960s the state pressure on teacher, misunderstandings and false accusations and suspension from the occupation are common points which lead teachers to be alone and defenceless in front of the state. This is also a common concept with the results of my fieldwork that I do think became a factor to pave the way of non-idealist teachers of the twenty-first century.

In 1960s, a legendary author of village and education themed novels was Fakir Baykurt. He was also a graduate of the Village Institutes and a primary school teacher. Baykurt was one of the founders of the Union of Turkish Teachers (Turkiye Ogretmenler Sendikası) and he also served as the head of the union. Between 1954-1980 he wrote thirteen novels and two of them *Onuncu Köy* and *Kaplumbagalar* do focus on teachers' lives and problems of education. In 1960s, the place of teacher is changed in the works of Baykurt. Here we see a teacher who is next to the common people, who struggles with them against the unjust governments or the dominance of local authorities and Aghas. Therefore, enlightenment and reforms were not thwarted by religious bigots and ignorant villagers, but actually by rich opportunist authorities who are against the poor people and the teacher is with them in this class struggle. In Fakir Baykurt's work, public employees except for some doctors and teachers are allies of the bureaucratic system and they are opportunists. The conflicts among villagers and townspeople, district and city governors, party representatives, aghas are portrayed in detail. Compared to the first republican novels, villagers are oppressed and some of them want their children to have education so that their ignorance will be alleviated. As one villager says to the teacher:

We are villagers. Being villager means being blind. It means, he does not know which door leads in and the door takes him out.²¹

With respect to teacher novels of 1970s, two novels of Ferit Edgu could be inspected. Two novels of the author, *Kimse/Someone* and *O/Him* were written in late 1970s. Within these novels, a new concept, Kurdish issue is included in the teachers' life. One main aspect of Kurdish issue is the problem of the language of the education. This novel mentions the mother tongue issue because the city is in the Kurdish area and the children only knows at around 50 words of Turkish. It deals with the language barrier in the teaching process. The teacher does not only try to transform an ignorant passive mass as in the Republican novels, but he wants to understand them and he wants to be understood. Still, the idealism of the teacher is apparent.²² In *O*, the story reminds me of the memories of one of my in-depth interviewees since both the teacher in the novel and my fieldwork participant teaches in a village in Hakkari. One striking difference regarding teacher's attitude is hidden in the last farewell sentence of the teacher to the students. At one point, the teacher recognizes the difficulties in children's lives and notices that it is almost impossible to handle the real-life problems. Hence, having a completely different utterance from the previous generations of teachers Edgu's teacher accentuates the following:

... in the land, on the mountain, with other people, with malnutrition, seeing the death of babies I learned. I learned that one can live without becoming insane or dying, meanwhile I learned some words of their their language, I learned how the sheep breed, how

21 The original text is as follows: "Biz köylük adamıyız. Köylük adamı demek kör demek. Hangi kapıdan çıkıp, hangi kapıdan girecek, bilemez demek." Fakir Baykurt, *Onuncu köy: roman* (Remzi Kitabevi, 1961), 97.

22 To find these novels, I benefited from several literary critics and their works listed as follows: 'Romanlardaki Öğretmen Tipleri/ A. ÖMER TÜRKEŞ', *Blogcu*, accessed 03 December 2016, <http://romanyazilari.blogcu.com/romanlardaki-ogretmen-tipleri-a-omer-turkes/76458> ; Şevket Toker, 'CUMHURİYET SONRASI TÜRK ROMANINDA ÖĞRETMEN VE SORUNLARI', *Ege Eğitim Dergisi* 1, no. 2 (2002): 1-10, doi:10.12984/eed.19372 .

wolves go down to villages, how dogs bite, I learned all of these. Along the way, I learned how to live in exile, how one does not freeze in winter when the weather is minus 25 C degrees and how one can heat oneself with his own breath. I learned how a person talks to himself, how he shares his problems with himself and how he makes up short stories... And I told them this: My children I am going, time is up, I do not know if we will meet again in the future but in the period I stayed here, I tried to teach you a lot of things and you learned a lot, for instance you learned that the world turns around itself, you learned how the planes fly, how the ships sail, how the mountains rose up, where the human beings come from, how we eat, how we digest, how we shit, how we die, you learned all of these didn't you my children? But just before I go, I want you to do something: Now, forget all this. The world is turning around, yes, but perhaps, it is better not to know about these facts, here, in this place, on the top of a mountain. I gave you a course on "Life Sciences," but actually, you will learn the real science/knowledge of life when you leave this village which is between two borders when you are conscripted for your military service and sent to distant cities. Never forget that the things that are written in books, taught in classes are not always true. Something true for me is not always true for you... Because, I come from another place my children, and as you see, I leave with the melting of the snow, my children.²³

23 The original text is as follows: "...karada da, dađ bařında da, břka insanlarla da, kti beslenerek de, bebelerin lmn grerek de, lmeden, ıldırmadan da yařanılabilceđini đrendim, bu arada onların dillerinden szckler đrendim, koyunlar nasıl dođurur, kurtlar nasıl kye iner, kpekler nasıl ısırır, bunları đrendim. Bu arada ben de đrendim, srgnde nasıl yařanır, ben de bu arada đrendim, btn bir kiř boyu, sıfırın altında yirmi beř dereceyi bulduğunda sođuk nasıl donmaz insan, nasıl kendi soluđu ile ısırır, bunu đrendim nasıl kendisiyle konuřur insan, nasıl dertleřir, nasıl ykler uydu-rur...Onlara řyle dedim: Yavrularım ben gidiyorum, zamanım doldu, bird ah karřılařır mıyız bilemem, burda kaldıđım sure iinde sizlere bir ok đretmeye alıřtım bir ok řey

With an effective epilogue, teacher Turan summarizes the gap between East and West of the Turkey, or the difference between big cities and rural areas. This farewell is significant, since it notes the circle of knowledge and the emotional state of the teacher. Secondly, the teacher feels sorrowed and ashamed since he goes back to the developed parts of the country. And last but not least, Turan mentions the dichotomy between wisdom of life and the theories in books. Not being that much hopeful, he expects those theories not to be useful for many of his pupils.

In 1980, Selim İleri published his novel *Yaşarken ve Ölürlen/While Living and Dying* which has his leading character as an art teacher Turan, however this novel has many teacher characters. They work in the same school in a rural region of Turkey and they are teachers in late 1970s. In this novel, teachers have intellectual discussions, they cite from distinguished writers such as Lukacs and Dostoyevsky. In 1980s the characters are rarely schematic and they depict the lives of the sophisticated teachers of 1960s and 70s. However, just as his predecessors, Turan, as an idealist teacher, is also very disappointed with the educational facilities of the small town in Anatolia. Political conflicts of the period are also mentioned. The universities are closed and candidate teachers and students do not receive have proper education.

In the twenty-first century, it is difficult to find novels on the same topics and with the same literary taste. I do believe that, this point is also a signifier in the prestige and popularity of the occupation. The change to

öğrendiniz, örneğin dünyanın döndüğünü, uçakların nasıl uçtuğunu, gemilerin nasıl yüzdüğünü, dağların oluşumunu, insanların türeyişini, nasıl yediğimizi, nasıl özümlediğimizi, nasıl sıçtığımızı, nasıl öldüğümüzü, bütün bunları öğrendiniz değil mi yavrularım? Ama ben şimdi giderayak sizden bir şey istiyorum: Bütün öğrettiklerimi unutun. Dünya dönüyor, evet, ama belki de, burda, bu dağ başında dönmemesini bilmek daha doğrudur. Size hayat bilgisi dersleri verdim sevgili çocuklar, ama hayatın gerçek bilgisini, siz, kendiniz, burda iki sınır arasında, bu dağ başındaki köyünüzden, uzak kentlere gittiğinizde askerliğinizde öğreneceksiniz. Unutmayın ki kitapların yazdığı, okullarda öğretilenler her zaman doğru değildir. Benim için doğru olan sizin için doğru değildir...Çünkü ben başka yerden geliyorum yavrularım ve gördüğünüz gibi karların erimesiyle de gidiyorum yavrularım." Ferit Edgü, *O: Hakkari'de Bir Mevsim*, 3rd ed. (İstanbul: Ada Yayınları, 1983), 199–200.

the mission of distributing Republican ideals is obvious and the fact that teachers are a less popular topic in novels also indicates the fact that teachers are not that significant, respected, and guiding members of the society. Most of them are simply turned into the agents or, tools of education which is one premise of this dissertation.

§ 3.3 Fieldwork Results

According to me a teacher is the foremost person in the whole society. Teacher is the enlightened person in the society; a teacher is the future of a society.

Öztürk, (29'36")

Given this brief look at the twentieth century, novels and memoirs written by teachers or that have teachers as main characters in the image of ideal teacher and the concepts around this image are blended. Following the traces of these concepts not only supplied an idea about the ideals and realities of primary school teaching, but also displayed the literary examples that inspired teachers. In this part of the dissertation, the actual phrases of the teachers are compiled.

Teachers are asked to list the concepts that they associate with being a teacher. This question is important since the answers indicate the perception of teachers about their own occupation. (see table 5) The consequent table reveals the features of "an ideal teacher." (see table 6) Therefore, comparing and contrasting the results of two tables reveal the image of being a teacher in teachers' mind. A teacher is associated with the concept of "*an educator*" by the majority of teachers (27 percent). Moreover; many teachers still believe that teachers can shape individuals and the society. (13 percent) Some claim that teachers are "*guides*" and "*leaders*" for the students. These positive connotations show us that even though the status and prestige of the job are decreasing, teachers still perceive their occupation as important.

Regarding the description of the ideal teacher, the survey states that “*being a researcher*”, a constant “*learner*”, “*going on with his/her self-improvement*” are the phrases that are uttered by 27 percent of the participants in the survey. Furthermore, more than a quarter of the participants, 26 percent of them listed “*love*” “*compassion*” “*tolerance*” “*empathy*” and “*affection*” as the qualities defining the ideal teacher.

In-depth interviews enable us to qualify these results. Most of the interviewees associate teachers with the concept of “*formers*” who can shape the individuals and the society. For instance, Öztürk sees teachers as artists but a special kind of them. He defines a teacher as “*an artist who does not have a chance to redo his work*” and goes on to say that

teaching is a very difficult job which requires a lot of self-sacrifice so that you cannot actually compare it with any other occupation. There is a possibility of correction for any other job, for example a carpenter can reshape its masterpiece however we are molding individuals and there is no compensation for that. (Öztürk, 14’23’’) ²⁴

With respect to the ideal teacher, Öztürk makes the definition as follows:

A teacher should work a lot and make many sacrifices, s/he should know to love. If you are not a humanist, if you don’t know how to love children and human beings, this job is drudgery for you and the salary does not matter at that point that much. (Öztürk, 11’40’’)... Being a teacher is not only a job, it is a life style. A teacher never says that I am going to my workplace but he says I am going to school. We are different than other state workers. (Öztürk, 14’ 26’’) ...An ideal teacher is someone who loves his country and people, who sees serving to his country as his duty,

24 The original text is as follows: “Öğretmenlik çok fazla fedakarlık gerektiren, çok zor bir iş, bu yüzden diğer mesleklerle kıyaslanmaz. Diğer mesleklerde düzeltme yapılabilir, örneğin bir marangoz eserini yeniden yapabilir ama biz insanları şekillendiriyoruz, bu işin telafisi yok-tur.”

who has love for human beings, who was raised with love for humanity and someone who is very hardworking. (Öztürk, 01' 14".00)²⁵

He lists the concepts associated with teachers as follows: *"love", "hard work", "education", "preparing people for future", "development of the country."* (Öztürk, 14' 18") Going on with the concepts related to teaching, he deals with the practicality of the job and he defines the characteristics of a teacher as follows: *"A teacher should know how to get the attention of the children, how to motivate them and how to keep them focused."*²⁶ (Öztürk, 21' 25") Öztürk sees teachers as key actors of the society and he cites from Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's famous phrase *"Teachers the new generation is your masterpiece"* and adds as follows

I completely agree with Atatürk, and whenever I see a problem in society, I guess a teacher should have done something and [otherwise] contributed to this fault." (30'00") ...Actually everything is touched by a teacher. It means teaching is very important for everything in the society (15'27")²⁷

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- 25 The original text is as follows: "Öğretmen çok çalışmalı, çok fedakar olmalı ve sevmeyi bilmeli. Eğer humanist değilseniz, çocukları ve insanları sevmeyi bilmiyorsanız bu iş sizin için bir angaryadır. (Öztürk, 11'40") ... Öğretmenlik sadece bir iş değildir, bir yaşam biçimidir. Bir öğretmen ben işe gidiyorum demez, ben okula gidiyorum diyorum der. Biz diğer devlet memurlarından farklıyız. (Öztürk, 14' 26") ... İdeal bir öğretmen ülkesini ve insanını sever, ülkesine hizmeti görev olarak görür, insan sevgisi vardır, insanlığa sevgi ile yetişmiştir ve çok çalışkandır." (Öztürk, 01' 14".00)
- 26 The original text is as follows: "Çocuklar bedenlen sınıftadırlar ama ruhen ya da kafa yapısı olarak ya da düşünce olarak başka yeredirler. O motivasyonu sağlamak, çocukları belli bir noktaya odaklamak orada sorun...İşte orada öğretmenlik açığa çıkıyor. Bir şekilde o çocukların ilgisini, motivasyonunu bir edeceksiniz. Başka türlü zaten öğretim olmaz."
- 27 The original text is as follows: "Atatürk'e kesinlikle katılıyorum, toplum içerisinde bir problem gördüğümde, bir öğretmen bir yerlerde bir hata yapmış ya da bu duruma katkıda bulunmuş diye düşünüyorum (Öztürk, 30'00") ... Aslında öğretmen her şeye dokunur. Bu da öğretmenliğin toplum için çok önemli bir şey olduğunun göstergesidir." (Öztürk, 15'27")

He believes that a teacher is an intellectual and the leader of the society and continues as follows:

According to me a teacher is the foremost person in the whole of society. A teacher is the enlightened person in the society, a teacher is the future of a society. (29'36")²⁸

Öztürk comments on ideal activities of a teacher as well as emphasizing his belief on the constant self-improvement of a teacher and underlies the fact that low salaries constitute an obstacle for achieving the constant goal of self-improvement:

Teachers should read books, go to theaters, travel around the world to update their knowledge but with low-level salaries these activities are hard to achieve (6'52")²⁹

These comments of Ozturk are mostly related to his understanding of "the ideal teacher"; however, the way he tries to behave as a teacher and the way he replies his young colleagues' questions as an administrator are also in accordance with the definition he makes. Hence, Ozturk actually has always tried to fulfill the conditions for embodying the ideal teacher that he defines in the interview.

According to Elibüyük, the first concepts that come to one's mind when the word "teacher" is uttered are "*science*", "*affection*", "*love*", "*raising a tree*", and "*future*". She argues that teachers are influential on the future of an individual and a society.

Of course! They [teachers] definitely transform the future. A teacher can change a point or just by being herself - with her attitude - can be an example. (41'26") ... Because of this, the im-

28 The original text is as follows: "Bence bir öğretmen toplumun en önde gelen, en aydın kişisidir, öğretmen toplumun geleceğidir. (Öztürk, 29'36")

29 The original text is as follows: "Öğretmenler bilgi düzeylerini arttırabilmek için kitap okumalı, tiyatroya gitmeli, dünyayı gezmemliler ama bu düşük maaşlarla bu işleri yapmak çok zor" (Öztürk, 6'52")

portance of the teacher is significant since a student with potential [for development] can have an important achievement with the help of a teacher since the educational system is not beneficial at all (45'26'')³⁰

When asked to list the concepts related to teachers, she utters the following sentence indicating that teaching is for the ultimate benefit of a society: "Being beneficial to society and helping other people should be in the nature of a teacher." (56' 18'')

Özçiftçi states that Village Institute Teachers were ideal teachers. They were experts on a vocation and with this knowledge they were the leaders, the wise people of the village. (02'54'') According to him, an ideal teacher

should not remain removed from to actual events, otherwise cannot be useful. Every day you should follow newspapers, new proceedings and published books. If you read a nice story at home, take it to your students, discuss it with them. If there is a new novel, then read it together with your students. (21'55'')

According to Özçiftçi, village institute teachers were the model of ideal teachers. He states that those teachers who used to live with villagers, were educated in a way that they had many skills to deal with the daily life in the village.

30 The original text is as follows: "...Kesinlikle var. Bence [öğretmen] kesinlikle dönüştürücü, yani şöyle, bire bir belki nokta atışı da yapabilir bir öğretmen ya da genel durumuyla örnek olabilir. Çünkü çocukta çok büyük bir potansiyel vardır, orada da öğretmenin çok önemi vardır...çünkü bu müfredat öğretmensiz bir işe yaramaz." (Elibüyük, 45' 26'')

31 The original text is as follows: "Gündemden kopmamanız lazım, koparsanız yararlı olamazsınız. Her gün gazeteleri izlemeniz lazım, yeni yayınları izlemeniz lazım. Çok sevdiğiniz bir hikaye okudunuz akşam, çok hoşunuza gitti, götürün ertesi günü öğrencilerinize okuyun bunu, tartışın. Yeni bir roman çıktı, bu öğrencilerinizle birlikte okuyun, tartışın." (Özçiftçi, 21'55'')

Teachers were raised to be the leaders of the village. For example, they could give an injection, they could heal the plants and animals. They were not obsessed with money or privileges. (02'54'')³²

Going on about the ideal characteristics of a teacher, he describes one of his own teachers a model for himself.

He was not only teaching us translation but also how to stand, how to behave, how to talk in classrooms. They were transferring their positive energy to us and we became teachers filled with the love for occupation." (23'57'') ...We used to have a teacher called Ms. Safiye. She used to be our mother, our sister and our teacher. She was acting us as if were her sons and daughters." (27'49'') ... Our teachers used to deal with us until we learn. Hence, 'not learning' was not an option. I cannot tell a subject and let the student go without learning. Because some students may lack courage to ask questions or say that they did not understand since they might be stigmatized with being fool [by their peers] (33'23'')³³

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- 32 The original text is as follows: "Bizim öğretmenlerimiz bizimle uğraşmanın yanısıra köyde bir liderdi... Örneğin bağ bahçe budanaksa öğretmene danışırlar, öğretmen gider gösterirdi... Bunları öğretmen köylülere anlatırdı... Bütün öğretmenler iğne yapabiliyordu, köy enstitüsü mezunu olan. Aşı yapmayı bilirlerdi, hem hayvanlara, hem ağaçlara, hem çocuklara...İşte biz bu öğretmenler eliyle yetiştik... Öyle paragöz, çıkar düşkününü insanlar değillerdi. Köyün kahvesine gittiği zaman herkes [sevgiden, saygıdan] ayaga kalkar, 'hocam şöyle buyrun' derdi." (Özçiftçi, 02'54)
- 33 The original text is as follows: "Çeviri dersine girerdi, hani sadece ceviri yapmazdı. Çeviri yaparlar Türkiye' nin o kültürünü de gösterirdi, nasıl öğretmen olmamız gerektiğini de gösterirdi. Sınıflarda nasıl konuşmamız, nasıl durmamız gerektiğini de anlatırdı...Bunlar o kendilerindeki enerjiyi, pozitif enerjiyi, öğrencilerine aktarırlardı...Öğretmenlerde böyle bir aşk vardı, onu bize aktardılar...Bizim idollerimiz öğretmenlerimizdi mesela Safiye Hanım diye bir öğretmenimiz vardı. Bizim hem annemizdi, hem öğretmenimizdi, hem ablamızdı. Bize çocukları gibi davranırdı...Bizim öğretmenlerimiz bize bir konuyu kavratıncaya kadar uğraşırlardı. Kavramamak diye bir şey yok, öğrenmemek diye bir şey yok. Mesela ben öğretmen olarak... [konuyu] anlatıp geçemem, söyleyip geçemem. Çünkü çocuğun kimisi cesaretinden, kimisi yetişme

Özçiftçi defines the characteristics of a teacher as follows:

You need to teach children to question, to teach how to analyze, understand, [and by this way] you change their way of perception." (01.56'31") ...and [in order to achieve this] there should be excitement, enthusiasm and love for one's occupation. One [a teacher] should not look at the job as a source of money. Teachers do not concern the ways of efficient teaching, they do not worry about how to teach, not anymore!" (02.02'35")³⁴

A teacher could thus be defined as a sort of missionary Çığ defines ideal teachers should be idealistic, they should have the wish and ability to be a teacher.

A teacher is the guide, the organizer, the leader of the learning environment." (08'08") ... When you look at the history of education even in Mesopotamia, Roman civilizations, in Egyptian, Ottoman, Seljuk Empires the teacher is the head priest. In Babylon, the head priest is a teacher, the King and God at the same time. Thus, teaching is an occupation that forms the society; it is not like a judge, or an ordinary engineer. A teacher is the one who forms or shapes society. If we want a healthy society, we need very good teachers." (19'20") ... A teacher is the agent for a change in a society. My teacher used to say that the real teacher is the one who inspires (19'48") ... A teacher should be knowledgeable and skilled. They should be an authority in the classroom but this authority is not based on fear or pressure. It is based on interaction. (36'46") We

tarzından kimisi başka nedenlerden dolayı anlamadım diyemez. Anlamadım demek 'aptal' damgası yemektir biraz da, oradan biri [arkadaşlarından] diyecek: 'nasıl anlamadın ya?'" (Özçiftçi, 33' 23")

- 34 The original text is as follows: "Çocuğa...dünyayı anlamasını, kavramasını öğretiyorsun. Algısını değiştiriyorsun...Ve bunun için de heyecan duymak lazım, şevk duymak lazım, coşku duymak lazım, mesleğini sevmek lazım. Mesleğe sırf para getiriyor diye bakmamak lazım. Bu dersi şöyle mi vermeliyim daha iyi anlatmak için, yoksa böyle mi diye, öğretmenin bir problem kalmadı, yok artık!" (Özçiftçi, 02.02' 35")

[as teachers] should work as professionals but should not lose our amateurish soul. (01.05'17") Overall, a teacher should be inspiring. My source of inspiration is Hasan Ali Yücel.³⁵ When a person becomes lonely, teacher is the only one who can give a secret power to him by supplying some inspiration. (01.19'14")³⁶

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- 35 Hasan Ali Yücel was a Turkish intellectual lived in Early Republican era who also served as the former minister of education in Turkey from December 1938 to August 1946 during the 11th government of Turkey. He is well known for the educational reforms he brought, and with the establishment of The Village Institutes. Yücel himself was a teacher of literature and during his service as a minister, he organized the first "National Congress of Education" with the well known scientists, educators, writers, and artists of the era. He founded the "National Bureau of Translation" to convey the world classical works to Turkish citizens. In order to encourage artistic production and contemporary music, theatre, opera and ballet, he organized the first Public Painting and Sculpture Exhibition and initiated the foundation of State Conservatory in Ankara. While restructuring the Ministry of National Education he pioneered the vocational and technical schools in Turkey. Yücel also prepared Higher Education Act to encourage university education and by means of this act, new higher education facilities were opened and universities became autonomous. Gökhan Kiliçoğlu, Derya Yılmaz, and Selahattin Turan, 'Hasan Ali Yücel: A Leader Transforming Turkish Education and Culture between Years 1938 and 1946', *İnönü Üniversitesi Eğitim Fakültesi Dergisi* 15, no. 3 (2014), doi:10.17679/iuefd.15352657 With all these extraordinary services and his dedication to education and science in Turkey, Yücel has been an exemplar for educational scientists and teachers in Turkey.
- 36 The original text is as follows: "Öğretmen rehberlik eden, organize eden, düzenleyen ve öğrenme ortamlarına liderlik eden bir misyonla şu anda hareket ediyor. Eğitim tarihine baktığımızda Sümer, Mezopotamya uygarlığından Roma uygarlığına, Mısır, Osmanlı ya da Selçuklu İmparatorluklarına baktığımızda, Uzakdoğu uygarlıklarına baktığımızda öğretmen baş rahiptir. Mesela Babil'de baş rahip aynı zamanda öğretmendir, aynı zamanda Tanrı'dır, aynı zamanda Kral'dır. Yani öğretmenlik mesleği toplumların biçimlenmesini sağlayan bir meslektir. Yani bir hakim, bir savcı gibi değildir, bir mühendislik gibi değildir...Öğretmen toplumu şekillendirir, bizler sağlıklı bir toplum oluşturmak istiyorsak, çok iyi öğretmenlere ihtiyacımız var...Öğretmen toplumun değişim ajanıdır...Benim öğretmenim derdi ki: 'Usta öğretmen, ilham verir'...Öğretmen donanımlı ve becerikli olmalı. Öğrenci seni bir otorite olarak görecektir, ama bu otorite baskıya, korkuya dayalı değil, etkileşim iyi [olacak], etkileşim yönünde [olmalı]...Amatör bir şekilde çalışmamız gerektiğini, o ruhu kaybetmememiz gerektiğini hala kavrayamadık...Öğretmen ilham

Gunaydın lists the features and concepts that are related to being a teacher with the following sentences:

In my first workplace which was a village with no water and electricity at home, I learned that not everyone can be a teacher, [in other words] everyone cannot teach. It is a very difficult job, you experience many deprivations, you need to make a lot of sacrifices. However; if you are a strong person, and if you have an adventurous soul and if you can easily adapt to changing conditions, you can create a world for yourself. (04'12")³⁷

Gunaydın recounts an anecdote that summarizes her ideas about being a teacher. When she was a teacher in Konya, an inspector comes to the village where she works and asked her why she was so elegant and added that she did not have to wear nice clothes, she could even have had head scarf since she was teaching in a village. Gunaydın's answer to this phrase summarizes her perspective about being a teacher:

I am a teacher. I need to be different from ordinary citizens. I have a mission. I am a model for my students. I need to respect them, I have respect for myself and my occupation [as well], [that's why] I need to be clean, neat, and elegant." (50'55") ... A teacher should

vericidir, benim ilham kaynağım da Hasan Ali Yücel'dir. Öğretmeni kişinin tek başına kaldığı bir alanda ona gizli güç veren insan olarak düşünüyorum., yani ilham darken o anlamda [da] söylüyorum." (Çığ, 01.19'14")

- 37 The original text is as follows: "Önce bir şehirde yaşamışsın, köye gidince çok farklı oluyor. Su yok, elektrik yok, hiçbirşey yok, kültür farkı yok, karşındakiler köy çocukları, eğitimleri eksik. Orada ben şunu öğrendim, herkes öğretmen olamaz, öğretmenlik yapamaz. Orada bunu öğrendim. Çok güç bir meslek aynı zmaanda çok mahrumiyet yaşadığımız bir meslek. Gittiğiniz yerin kültürü size çok yabancı. Yaşadığımız yer çok güç bir yer. O zamanlar maaşlar da çok az sizi tatmin edecek bir durum yok. Ama güçlü bir karakteriniz, biraz maceracı bir ruhunuz varsa, uyumluysanız da, orada da kendinize bir dünya kurabiliris-iniz. Lojman yarısı okul, yarısı ev. Orada bir hayatım yok. Onları alıyordum resim dersinde, haydi dağlara tepelere çıkıyordum. Kendimi hep mutlu etmek için hep noktalar buluyordum."

be very careful, act intelligently since parents should have a confidence in her while they are leaving their children in our hands. (56'00") ... A teacher should be a decent person, at first. Someone who does not love children, should not perform this job. This job needs ideals; it is not a job for making money. A teacher should be open to the environment, should educate children while updating herself with new things available, and should consider the capacity of the child. A teacher should work hard and update her knowledge. (29'39")³⁸

Sönmezışık uses a phrase "*the soul of teaching*" while listing the concepts that are essential to teaching. According to her, "*loving children*", "*trying to understand adolescents*" are fundamental characteristics for being a teacher. Furthermore, "*being knowledgeable, being a researcher, improving herself constantly*" are the traits of an ideal teacher. (Sönmezışık, 10'11")

Şen notes that being "*dominant*" is one of the characteristics of teachers. According to her,

an ideal teacher should love people,-should be humanistic. Loving children is not sufficient to be a teacher; a teacher should love human beings. A teacher should value and respect herself. Sometimes I see teachers wearing an ordinary t-shirt and pants. I tell them not to dress like that, [they should be dressed elegantly. An

38 The original text is as follows: "Ben farklı olmalıyım, ben öğretmenim. Yani bunun lamı cimi yok. Ben köylülere oturmaya giderken de gayet güzel giyinip gidiyordum. Senin şekline de bakıyor ona göre değer veriyor sen onlardan farklı olmalısın. Benim orada bir misyonum var. Seni öğretmen olarak say-mazlar (50'55") ... Çünkü öğretmen çok dikkatli olmak zorunda, çok uyanık, çok akıllı olmak zorunda, çünkü veli öğretmene çocuğunu emanet ediyor. (56'00") Önce iyi bir insan olmalı. Çocuk sevmeyen bu işi hiç yapmasın. Bu ideal işi, para için yapılmaz, verilen para da çok bir para değil. Bir de öğretmenin gözü kulağı açık olacak, çevreden haberi olacak." (Günaydın, 31'26")

ideal teacher] should always read and improve herself. (Şen, 1. 55:00)³⁹

According to Bolat, the associated concepts that come to his mind offhand when the word “teaching” is uttered are as follows: “*students, attitudes, architect of the future, working hard-earning less*” (15’ 25”). According to him, a teacher should “*illuminate, form, and help.*” He says, “*education is the future of a country, and the ones who lead the future are teachers.*” (25’ 08”) He believes that no other occupational group could take the place of teachers. Bolat states that he grew up in a village and recalls his primary school teacher as an ideal one. He also praises the Village Institutes model and teachers being the wise people of villages even though he does not pronounce the phrase the Village Institutes. As a teacher he believes that he is a model for students and he never walks into the classroom without having a book in his hand. He also says that some parents perceive teachers as babysitters. He observed some parents sending their kids just to spend their time out of home and away from their hair and see teachers as baby sitters having a university degree. (Bolat, 46’ 32”)

39 The original text is as follows: “İdeal öğretmen insan sevmeli, humanist olmalı. Çocuk sevmek yetmiyor, insan sevmeli. Kendine değer vermeli. Geliyorlar, atıyorum bir pantolon giymiş, üstüne bir tişört atmış, nedir bu ya? Yapmayın diyorum ben kendime değerimden dolayı yapmamaya çalışıyorum. Ve okumalı, kendini hep yetiştirmeli.” (Şen, 01.55:00”)

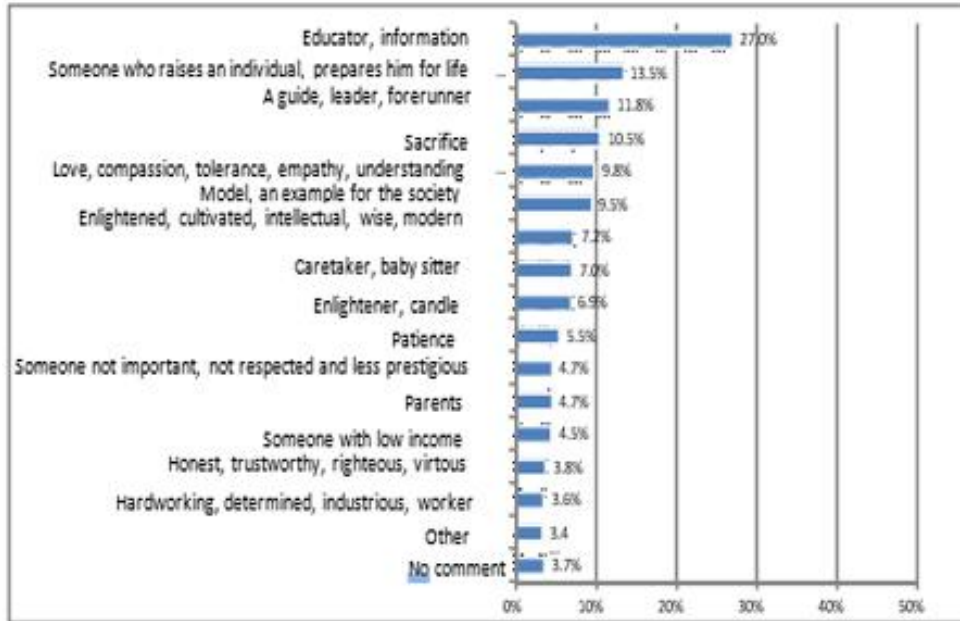


Figure 3.1 Teacher and Associated Concepts 1

Other phrases that were uttered by the participant teachers were grouped under the following table.

Table 3.1 Teacher and Associated Concepts 2

Other phrases	%
Researcher, learner, open to new things, different, intelligent	3.2%
Architect of the future, director of the future	3.1%
Respected, prestigious, loved	2.9%
Should love their occupation, someone who devotes themselves to thier job	2.8%
Someone who does every work, slave, servant	2.6%
Working under hard and tiring conditions	2.2%
Discipline, rules, order, dignity	2.1%
The foundation or the most important unit of the society	1.8%
Pious	1.6%
A job which is easy to get and achieve ,	1.6%
A social person having high skills of communication	1.2%
An artist, a creative person, an actor/actress	1.2%
Respectful to equality, human rights, diversity of ideas and in favor of peace	0.6%
Mirror of society	0.5%
Able to foresee	0.5%
Kemalist, Republican	0.5%
Friendly	0.5%
Psychologist, behavior expert, good judge of character	0.5%

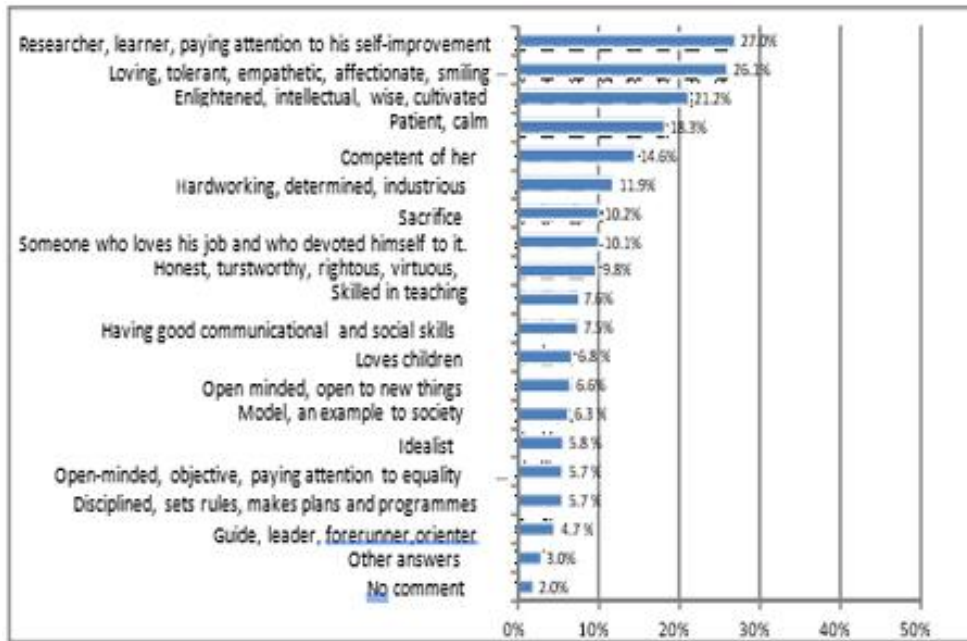


Figure 3.2 Characteristics of an Ideal Teacher

Participants were asked about the ideal characteristics that a teacher should have and their answers were grouped under the following phrases which are selected among their own words.

Table 3.2 Characteristics of an Ideal Teacher 2



Other phrases	%
Interested in the activities of students, following their improvement	2.2 %
Having a good diction and presentational skills	2.1 %
Good at human psychology, emphathetic, having command of pedagogy	2.1 %
Respectful	2.0 %
Able to get along with children	2.0 %
Confident	2.0 %
Consistent	1.5 %
Foreseer	1.4 %
Patriot, having national values	1.4 %
Chosen carefully, having a good education	1.2 %
Creative	1.1 %
Critical, frank, straight forward	1.0 %
Rational and realist	1.0 %
Skilled in class management	0.9 %
Responsible	0.6 %
Authoritarian	0.6 %
Having a scientific perspective	0.6 %
Kemalist, Republican	0.6 %
Punctual	0.6 %

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Other phrases	%
Modest, not arrogant	0.5%
Problem solver	0.5%
Open to criticism	0.2%
Able to make themselves heard	0.2%
Having a sense of humor	0.2%
Patient	0.2%
Having power to punish students	0.1%

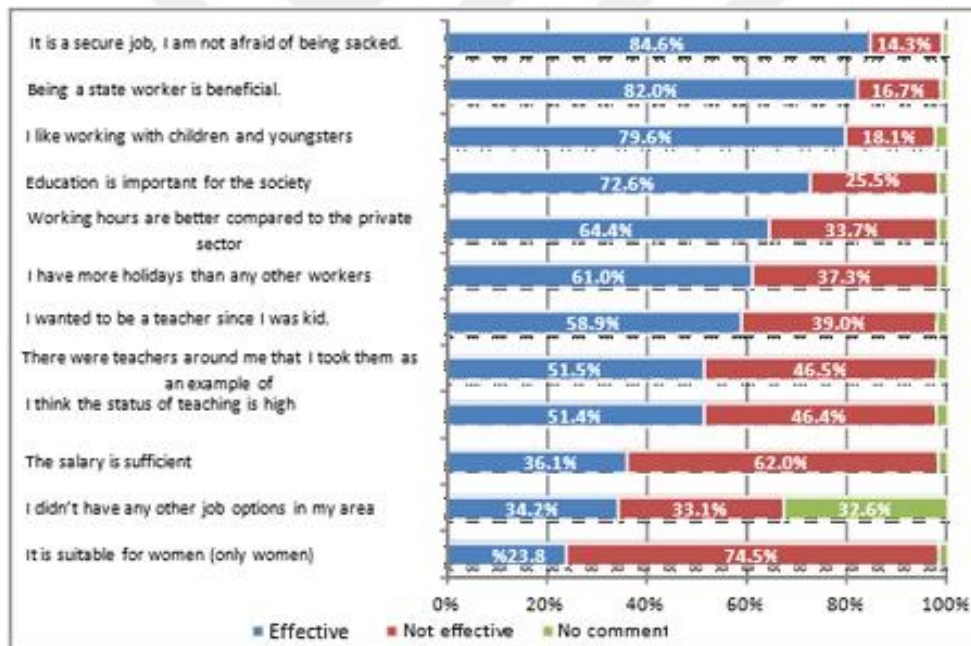


Figure 3.3 Reasons to be a Teacher

4

Daily Life of a Teacher at School: Occupational Experience

This chapter focuses on the main aspects of the teachers in their daily routine. In state schools of Turkey, in 2013, the whole lesson plans and curricula of teachers are sent from the centre, from the Ministry of National Education. In this chapter, by asking several questions in the survey and in-depth interviews, the basic aim is to find the flexible areas within that fixed curricula that teachers could be creative and participant teachers are interviewed to see how they could use their creativity under these strictly determined conditions. This point is significant for the dissertation since without creativity and a free occupational area teachers are just turned into the agents of the system, who only follow orders coming from the ministry. Hence, without any authority assigned to them and any freedom that they could use while they are working, teachers are transformed into “educational robots” of the authority which is mostly aimed by the governments after 1980 coup and in the Turkish version of the neoliberal system.

In order to compose the data for this dissertation, teachers are asked to describe their actual occupational experience by particular questions in the survey and interviewed teachers described “life of a teacher” with all its aspects in detail. There are four main themes through which to explore the occupational experience of teachers. Along with in-service

training, the education of teachers is one of the most discussed topics among all parties interested in the area of education and the first part of this chapter focuses on both subjects. Actual teaching practice is dealt in the second part which is entitled “classroom practices”. Interactions with other partners, namely students, parents and administrators are portrayed in the third part of the chapter. Last sub-heading of this chapter briefly gives a perspective of teachers on general educational issues in Turkey.

§ 4.1 Teachers’ education and in-service training

Teachers’ education and in-service training is one of the most debated issues when social status of teachers is taken into consideration. The type and quality of teachers’ education have been changing within the period of 1980-2013 and it has been claimed that teachers’ education is not sufficient for being an adequate teacher; furthermore, despite the increase in the years of teachers’ education, the change in the quality of teachers’ education contributed to the loss of aforementioned premises of this dissertation like “teaching soul” and “the concept of ideal teacher”. In this frame of discussion, looking at the first noticeable fact pointed out by survey results and in-depth interviews is the variety of education that teachers had acquired. Since this study covers a range of teachers aged between twenty-three and sixty-five, it is clear to see that within 40 years, the policies regarding teachers’ education has changed vastly and teachers who work together in the same schools had different degrees with different education methods while doing the same occupation. The first table below shows the variety of the education of the participants of the survey.

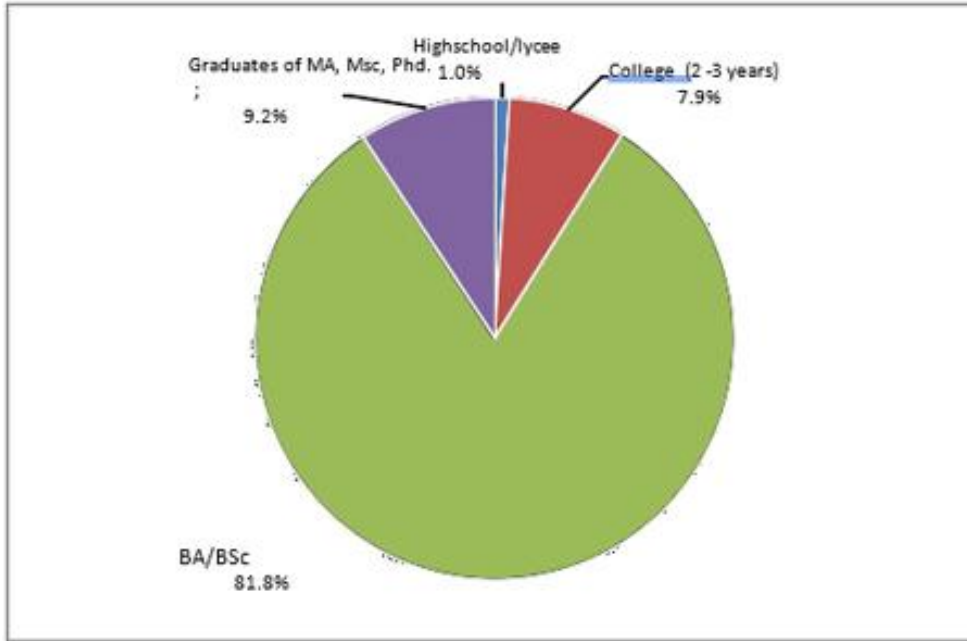


Figure 4.1 High School and University Degrees of Participants

As it is seen in Table 6, most of the primary school teachers have at least a bachelors' degree, composing a group of 91 percent of the participants and 9.2 percent of them has a master's degree. 9 percent of the participants is either a graduate of high school and/or 2 to 3- year-college graduates. While trying to interpret these results, there are two crucial questions to be answered. First one is "Why is there a difference between the years of education to be acquired by teachers?" and the second one is "Does prolonging of the duration of teachers' education provide a higher quality of teaching and help candidate teachers be ready for classes?"

The first question is related to changing educational policies of Turkish state regarding teachers' education. Between the years of 1940 and 1973 primary school teachers were raised either in the Village Institutes or in Primary Teacher Schools¹. For the secondary stage of elementary

1 In Turkish these schools are referred as İlköğretmen Okulları

schools, there used to be Educational Institutes.² Gazi Educational Institute was the first one constructed in 1926 and within 1940s other institutes to raise teachers for the secondary level of elementary schools in İstanbul, İzmir and Balıkesir were established.³

With the excuse of some political claims proposed by the DP government, the Village Institutes of which numbers already decreased during CHP in late 1940s were gradually shut down in 1954 while Primary Teacher Schools were established to take their place in 1953.⁴ Both the Village Institutes and Primary Teacher Schools were in the level of high schools; therefore, 11 years of education was enough to be a teacher for the first level of elementary schools.

In 1960s, with the increasing number of students, more teachers were needed and some short-term solutions were proposed and implemented by the governments of the period. First solution was giving the title of the “primary teacher” to high school graduate male candidates who were on their obligatory military service. These male candidates had short-term teaching courses and completed their military services in villages as elementary school teachers. In 1963, these high school graduates were given a permanent position of being an elementary school teacher. The second solution was known as “*being a teacher through letters*”. This method was started in 1974 and actually it is a type of long-distance education for being a teacher. A new medium called “Center for Correspondence Education” is established and it became possible to be an elementary school teacher by registering to this center. However, with this implementation; the duration for being a teacher was decreased to just a couple of weeks and since teaching is a job which depends on practice as

2 In Turkish these schools are referred as Eğitim Enstitüleri

3 Adnan Küçüköğlü, “Türk Öğretmen Yetiştirme Sisteminde Eğitim Enstitüleri (Bir Model Olarak Kazım Karabekir Eğitim Enstitüsü)”, accessed 22 January 2017, http://egitim-arastirmasi.ueuo.com/ogr_egitimi/2006.pdf.

4 Ahmet Selçuk Akdemir, “Türkiye’de Öğretmen Yetiştirme Programlarının Tarihçesi Ve Sorunları”, *Electronic Turkish Studies* 8, no. 12 (2013), http://www.academia.edu/download/46605631/Turkiyede_Ogretmen_Yetistirmenin_Tarihcesi.pdf . 18.

well as theory, this measure was highly criticized as well. The third easy way or “shortcut” to becoming a teacher was taking an intense or accelerated program for teacher candidates. Two-years-educational college students who could not complete their education due to political conflicts in the years between 1975 and 1980 were accepted to this program. They were given a three-months-education during the years 1979 and 1980 and got their teacher diploma.⁵

Even though in 1973, Basic Law of National Education Article 1739, ratified and teachers were subsequently expected to have a college degree⁶, the aforementioned methods were applied to increase the number of elementary teachers. These easy and quick solutions to raise teachers not only created a non-standardization for the occupation but it also contributed to the degradation of the prestige of the job. One of the outcomes of these solutions has been a widespread belief that elementary school teaching is an easy job which could be done by any higher school graduate. Furthermore, these methods were based on the premise that high school graduates could get the adequate skill of pedagogy within a short-term education such as three months. Furthermore, it was assumed that they could obtain it by letters with long-distance correspondence training. Hence, this perspective has become one of the first steps of the degradation of the occupation. One similar recruitment policy would be adopted in 1990’s, this time to all undergraduate degree holders of that era would be assigned as elementary school teachers as discussed in chapter 2.

For primary school teachers, in the academic year of 1974-1975 two-year-colleges/educational institutes started to prepare candidates to become elementary school teachers. In 1982, these colleges were connected to universities. In 1989, all two-year-colleges were turned into

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- 5 Yahya Akyüz, *Türk Eğitim Tarihi Başlangıçtan 2001’e*, 8th ed. (Alfa Yayinlari-Ders Kitaplari, 2001), 207-10.
- 6 Gülsün Atanur Baskan, Ayhan Aydin, and Tuğba Madden, ‘Türkiye’deki Öğretmen Yetiştirme Sistemine Karşılaştırmalı Bir Bakış’, *Çukurova Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi* 15, no. 1 (2006): 35-42.

four-year-undergraduate programs.⁷ In year 2014, the number of educational faculties numbered ninety; however many new teachers note that their education did not fully prepare them to perform their jobs. Furthermore they could not even be assigned as teachers since they must additionally pass the State Personnel Examination (Kamu Personeli Seçme Sınavı or KPSS) and this examination is based on multi choice questions which do not test their performance as teachers.⁸

As it is seen above, in 1990s, by which time most of the survey participants were working as teachers, there were three types of teachers; those who had a high school degree, those with a two or three-year college degree, and those with a four-year undergraduate degree. However, according to many teachers who participated into pre-interviews of this study, the quality of teachers' education is not related to the years of education that they acquire, thus through survey questions and in-depth interviews, there is more to explore about this topic. During the pre-writing process of the survey, many pilot interviews and informal chats were conducted and most of the teachers and administrators noted that teachers' education in many universities of Turkey was not sufficient for preparing candidate teachers.

In the survey and in-depth interviews, several questions address the quality of teachers' education. The results of the survey confirmed the statements acquired from the pre-interviews. The table below listed 15 statements and the participants indicated whether they agreed those statements or not. The 11th statement of the table asks their opinion about the efficiency of their education and interrogated if it prepared them for the practice of teaching and 56.4 percent of the participant teachers think that teachers' education did not achieve the goal of preparing teachers to actual practice of teaching. With the answers of in-

7 Ibid., 37.

8 There are many news on this topic on the press. One is titled as "The number of educational faculties are on rise; however, the quality of teaching does not improve" 'Eğitim Fakültesi Sayısı Artıyor, Öğretmen Kalitesi Artmıyor', *Dünya Bülteni*, accessed 19 August 2016, <http://www.dunyabulteni.net/egitim/354695/egitim-fakultesi-sayisi-artiyor-ogretmen-kalitesi-artmiyor>.

depth interviewees, this phrase is qualified and enriched with details regarding teacher's education.

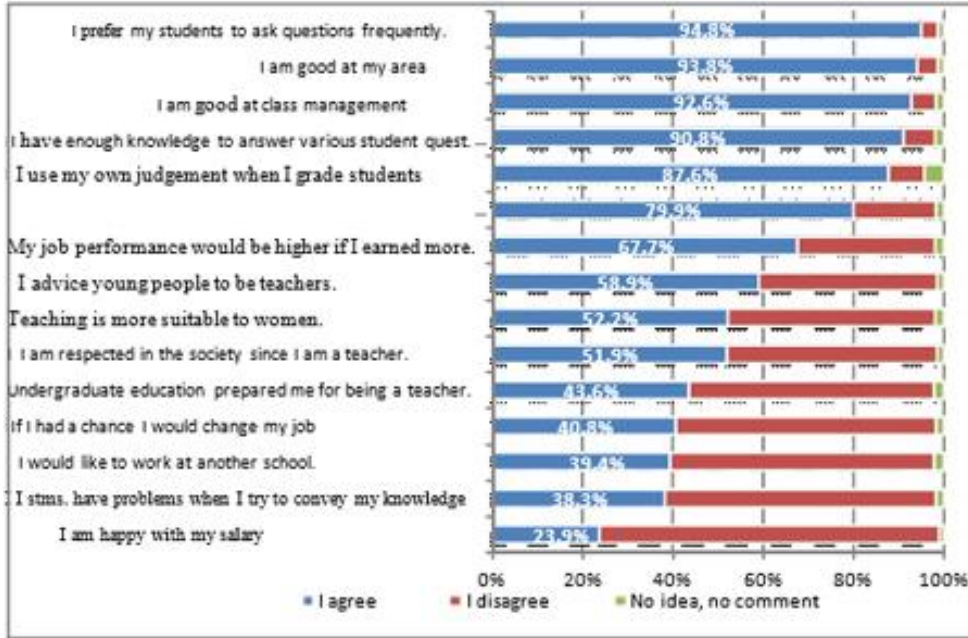


Figure 4.2 Teaching Experiences

With respect to in-service training many teachers participating into pre-interviews stated that the methods and organization of trainings are insufficient. Participants in the survey and interviews almost universally agreed on the fact that a more beneficial in-service training is needed. Before going on with the results of survey, it seems explanatory to cite some general information on the steps of in-service training by MEB.

To conduct in-service training is the duty of The Chamber of In-service Training⁹ which is a unit under the administration of MEB. The Chamber of In-service Training organizes the trainings in coordination with local units mostly with Provincial Administration Units of National Education.¹⁰ The Chamber of In-service Training prepares the programs for both intern and current teachers who would need further education

9 In Turkish "Hizmet İçi Eğitim Daire Başkanlığı"

10 In Turkish "İlçe Milli Eğitim Müdürlükleri"

while teaching.¹¹The primary area courses which in-service training programs of The Chamber of In-service Training provide are “*Pedagogical Formation*”, “*Teaching Principles and Methods*”,

“*Research Methods and Techniques*”, “*Program Development*”, “*Principles of Kemalism*”, “*Management of Education*” “*Computer Education*” and “*Foreign Language Courses*”; however, other courses proposed by teachers as a need for further training could be organized.¹² In-service trainings conducted by The Chamber of In-service Training could be either obligatory or optional. Some teachers may voluntarily be teacher trainers and get education on a topic demanded by other teachers. Moreover, The Chamber of In-service Training invites some private institutions to deliver trainings on specific topics.

There are also several recent academic works on the issue of in-service training for primary school teachers regarding their benefits and deficits. Four of these studies seem to be the most related and their basic premises could pave the way for an enriched discussion on the issue.

First research to cite for this dissertation is conducted by Günbayı and Taşdöğen who carried out 14 interviews with primary school teachers and shed light on the expectations of them regarding in-service training. This research is one of the rare qualitative works on the subject of in-service training and it is based on 14 interviews. According to the obtained results from the interviews, teachers ask for trainings to be optional, they wish to have the training in clean and better organized venues which have sufficient facilities for education, they complain about the lack of expertise of the trainer, they ask for a better variety of courses and propose that universities should be involved in the preparation of the courses. Furthermore, according to this research, teachers note that the preparation of the in-service training should be made in cooperation

11 Ministry of Education Regulation for In-Service Training “Millî Eğitim Bakanlığı Hizmetiçi Eğitim Yönetmeliği” ‘Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Hizmet İçi Eğitim Yönetmeliği’, accessed 20 August 2017, <http://mevzuat.meb.gov.tr/html/51.html>.

12 Ibid. Article 25.

with teachers themselves and planning committee should consult teachers in order to inspect the required subjects and the trainers should prepare efficient presentations rather than reading verbatim from printed documents or slights.¹³

The second academic publication is by Yalın and titled as “The Evaluation of Teachers on In-Service Training”. Yalın agrees on the premises stated by Günbayı and Taşdöğen and confirms that the trainings should be planned according to the expectations of the teachers and teachers’ willingness, the continuity of the training and a pleasant and motivating environment boosts the efficiency of the training.¹⁴ Some additional criticisms from teachers stated in this research are on the excessive number of trainees and the streaming of the trainees according to the level of knowledge on the subject matter.

The research by Karasolak, Tanriseven, Konokman also deals with similar concerns regarding in-service training. According to their quantitative work, general perception of teachers toward in-service training is not positive. The survey that the research was based on was conducted in 2012 in Adana on a sample of 422 primary school teachers. They concluded that the reason for this negative attitude is due to the problems during the process of planning, application and evaluation of the in-service training preparations by The Chamber of In-service Training and they declared a point of attitude which below the average level for satisfaction.¹⁵

One latest research on the issue of in-service training was conducted in the city of Elazığ, located in Eastern Turkey. The sample of this research is large comprising 1600 primary school teachers and it was conducted

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- 13 İlhan Günbayı And Bilge Taşdöğen, ‘Compulsory School Teachers’s Views On In-Service Education Programs: A Case Study’, *Journal of the Human and Social Science Researches* 1, no. 3 (2012): 87–117.
- 14 ‘Milli Eğitim Dergisi-150’, accessed 20 March 2017, http://dhgm.meb.gov.tr/yayimlar/dergiler/Milli_Egitim_Dergisi/150/yalin.htm.
- 15 Kürşat Karasolak, Işıl Tanriseven, and Gamze Yavuz Konokman, ‘Öğretmenlerin Hizmetiçi Eğitim Etkinliklerine İlişkin Tutumlarının Belirlenmesi’, *Kastamonu Eğitim Dergisi* 21, No. 3 (2013): 1005–1006.

in 2016. According to the results of this study, even though more experienced teachers believe that in-service training is efficient and beneficial compared to the less experienced teachers; all teachers indicated that in-service training lectures were not well planned and therefore this factor decreases their motivation of their self-improvement.¹⁶

These works which are the most recent examples regarding the topic of in-service training for primary school teachers preceded the part of the fieldwork that this chapter reveals.¹⁷ However, all these research in the previous literature either used a qualitative or a quantitative research method. This dissertation aims to contribute to the existing literature by providing data conducted with both tools and therefore to supply a deeper analysis. Most of the recent works focus on only one region of the country whereas the following data covers whole Turkey which target to draw a broader picture on the issue. The common point of the examined literature is the premise of the negative perception of primary school teachers on the topic of in-service training.

§ 4.2 Results from Fieldwork on the Topics of Teacher Training and In-service Training

On the issue of in-service training this chapter conveys the data via survey results and tries to fill in the blanks with in-depth interviews by giving detailed explanations out the cited quotes of participants. The survey participants conveyed their experiences regarding in-service training with several questions in the survey and the results are illustrated in tables 7 and 8

16 Ezlam Pepeler, Aysel Murat, and Ezgi Akmençe, 'İlkokullarda Hizmet İçi Eğitim Seminerlerinin Öğretmenlere Yararlılığı (Elazığ İli Örneği)', *Journal of Research in Education and Training*, 5, no. 18 (May 2016): 2106–9169.

17 For Further Reading: İbrahim Ethem Başaran, *Örgütlerde İşgören Hizmetlerinin Yönetimi*, 1st ed. (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Basımevi, 1985).

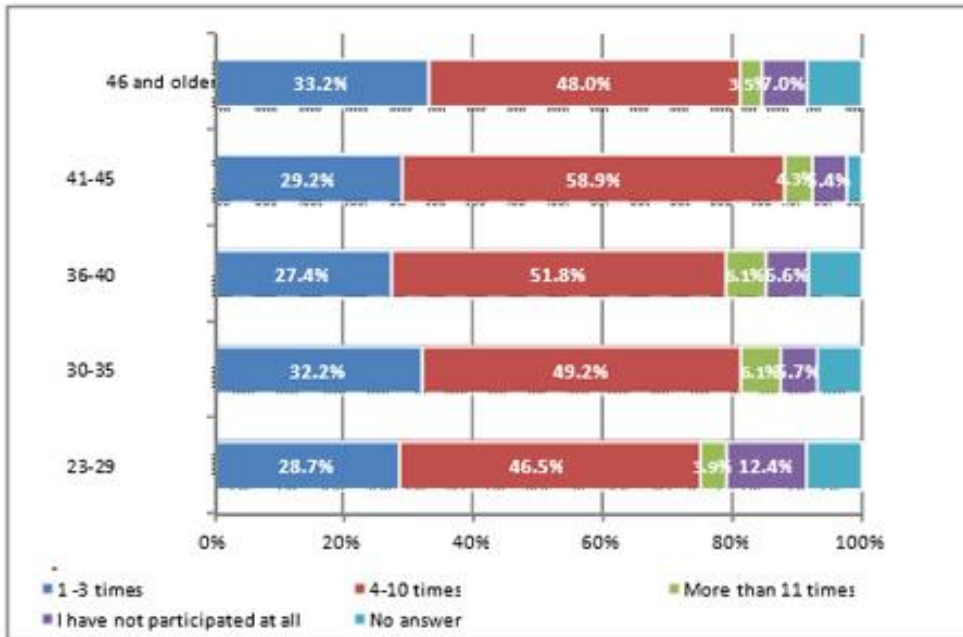


Figure 4.3 Participation into Inservice Education

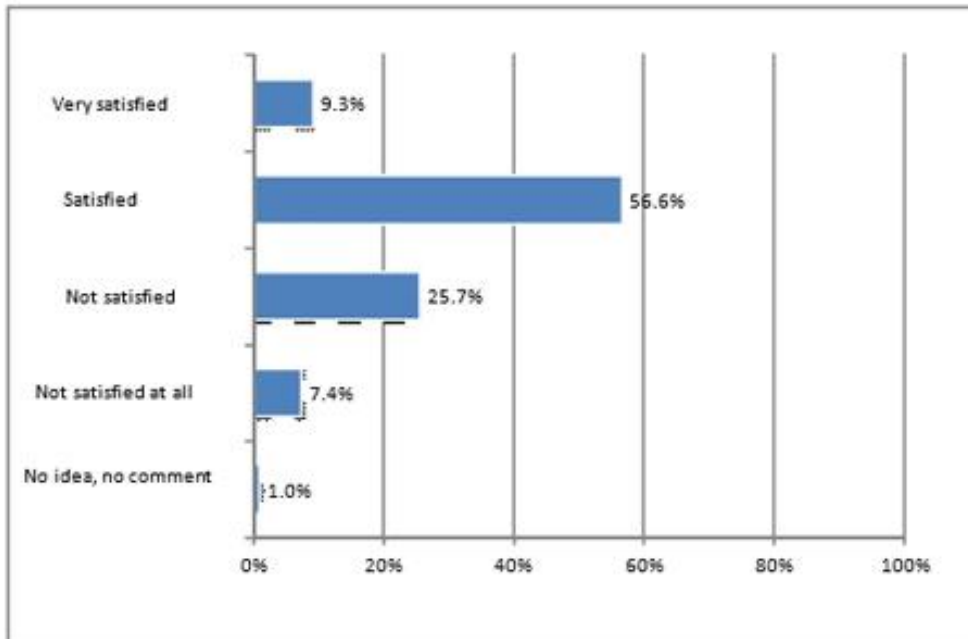


Figure 4.4 Satisfaction with In-service Education

By looking at Table 7 and 8, one can conclude that participation into in-service training is quite high. Half of the participants from all age groups took in-service training at least twice. Since many in-service training programs are obligatory for primary school teachers, this high percentage is predictable. Actually, at the beginning and end of educational years, for 15 days, teachers have a seminar term in which they need to get prepared for the coming term. During the seminar terms, teachers might have to take an obligatory in-service education as well as some optional training lectures provided by MEB. Hence, almost all teachers participate into in-service training programs. Their satisfaction of in-service trainings is also investigated by the survey and the answers reveal that more than half of the participants seem to be satisfied with the in-service education. (65.9 percent, see Table7) This percentage contradicts with the information gathered from the pre-interviews and in-depth interviews since during these interviews teachers claimed that in-service trainings are not that much beneficial. In order to find the reason for this contradiction, it seems useful to look at the detailed answers gathered from in-depth interviews which will help to qualify the answers of the survey by supplying many details about the issue. Therefore, the answers of in-depth interview participants below reveal the detailed perception of teachers regarding teachers' education and in-service trainings. A clearer understanding of teachers' statements about these topics will be derived out of the analysis of these statements.

One of the in-depth interview participants, Çiğ, has focused on the topics of in-service trainings and teacher's education more than other participants, most probably due to the fact that, other than being a primary school teacher, Çiğ has worked as an inspector for many years. Çiğ had a two-year-college degree from Department of Classroom Teaching in Çukurova University Education Faculty and completed his college degree to a bachelor's degree in Gazi University Classroom Teaching and Inspection Department. He had his Masters degree from Inspection for Education Programs Unit of Educational Sciences Department of Sivas Cumhuriyet University. He had seen a variety of teachers' education pro-

grams, worked as a primary school teacher and as an inspector; therefore, he has met many teachers and been to many schools. Çiğ argues that all teachers' education and in-service training programs should be prepared with the collaboration of Education Faculties of universities and Ministry of National Education. He states that teacher training programs that are followed by Ministry of National Education are not linked with the new studies that are conducted by academia. Therefore, they are not that much efficient. He also notes that the lecturers in teacher training programs should be competent both in practice and in theory. Because, these people would be "*teachers' teacher*", they should be quite skilled and knowledgeable. On the topic of in-service training Çiğ argues that today's in-service training is less than adequate in terms of its content and definitely insufficient for teachers. According to him, in-service training is perceived just like a social activity and meeting time for teachers after summer holiday. He proposes that the system should find out the lacking skills and/or information of a teacher and design in-service training accordingly. However, he believes that since the number of teachers to get in-service training is high and the personnel working for the planning of such trainings is outnumbered by teachers, the coordination of in-service training becomes difficult.

Another teacher who describes the flaws of teachers' training and in-service education in detail is Özçiftçi, who has been observing Turkish education system for more than 40 years. Among the interviewees, Özçiftçi is the one who stated most complaints about teachers' education. He proposes that today's teachers are way different than the teachers' of his term and he believes teachers' education plays an important role paving the way for such an outcome. He states that in 1960s of Turkey, dealing with literature, music, fine arts and politics was also part of teachers' education. He is a graduate of Gazi Institute for Education and he expresses that like the other institutes, the impact of the Village Institutes could still be seen in his faculty. For instance, all candidate teachers were trained to play a musical instrument and they used to have a music department coordinated by Jewish musician Edward Zürckmacher and he adds that in Hasanođlan Institute for Education, even in every music

room there was a piano meaning that in order to practice, there was no need to wait in a queue. He also tells that the students used to gather in the garden of the school and dance before breakfast. (17'16") Candidate teachers were taking both vocational courses including psychology, testing and evaluation and also area courses such as physics, literature, math etc. With these words, one can conclude that in those years, primary school teachers were being raised by a holistic approach. The aim of teacher training was not only raising a well-informed teacher in a specific area but also raising a sophisticated individual who has an art appreciation and a decent general knowledge.

Özçiftçi goes on describing these candidate teachers as always raised with the enthusiasm and love for being a teacher. Furthermore, teachers were motivated to follow daily events and advised to follow newspapers, new proceedings and published books. He emphasizes that their teachers were presenting not only area related information but also attitudes regarding "*how to stand, how to walk in the classroom, how to behave and how to talk to the students*". Furthermore, he says their teachers conveyed "*their positive energy and love for the occupation.*" to their students. (23'57") Besides, Özçiftçi also notes that their education was focused more on application of teaching. He believes, application of teaching is not that much emphasized in today's teacher training curricula and adds that there is a scarcity of institutions to raise administrators. With respect to in-service training, he almost agrees with Çiğ and states that teachers see in-service training as a leisure time activity and in-service training seems to be just on paper and a waste of time.

By listening to the memories of Özçiftçi, one can see that there is a clear difference between the teachers' education in Higher Institutes for Teachers (Yuksele Öğretmen Enstitüsü) and Faculties of Education of 21st century's Turkey. The fact that candidate teachers were not only to be educated for being a teacher but also for being a cultivated individual, is an effective factor which leads to the decline in the prestige of teachers' prestige.

From a similar perspective, Şen also states that a holistic approach in teachers' training was dominant during 1960s and the qualified, enthusiastic, cultivated teachers were the outcomes of such an efficient system. Şen, is a teachers' high school graduate and had a degree from inthe area of child psychology. She describes her high school education as follows:

We were not only raised to be teachers. We had a music room, we all needed to play an instrument. We had a painting workshop. It did not matter if we had talent or not, our education helped us to appreciate art.¹⁸ (Şen, 01.42'03")

She also states that their education was much more based on application and when they were students in teachers' high schools, they were going to village schools and making teaching practices under the supervision of their teachers. Furthermore, she believes current in-service training of the MEB is useless. She states that she had noted this fact to inspectors as well, and she believes that in-service training should be based on application of teaching skills. She cites her own experience about "*cursive (long-hand) writing*" for primary schools. She recites that she did not want to teach cursive writing to primary school children since she does not know how to teach it. That is why she did not want to teach first graders since teaching cursive writing needs a specific education. She says wanted to be retired because of this reason and if there was a proper in-service training on how to teach cursive writing to first graders probably she would not have resigned. She thinks there should have been an efficient in-service training especially on this topic.

Elibüyük, who is a graduate of Mathematics Department of Art and Sciences Faculty of Istanbul University, states that her education has not helped her when she started teaching mathematics to the students of secondary school aged 11-14. However, since she got pedagogical formation certificate, she studied some theories regarding education and child psychology. Nevertheless, she says the education was only theoretical and

18 The original text is as follows: " Biz sadece öğretmen olarak yetişmedik. Bizim muzik atölyemiz vardı, bir enstrüman çalmamız isteniyordu. Bizim resim atölyemiz vardı. Yeteneğimiz olmasa da...biz daha donanımlı yetiştik, sanat ile tanıştık." (Şen, 01. 42'03")

she only took written examinations. She did not learn anything regarding the actual practice of teaching and during her teaching practice no one either guided her or observed her.

I did not get any support from the staff of the first school I worked at. The internship period was a fuss. I had to work as a normal teacher not an intern. No one corrected me or checked me. Just for my personal development and by my own wish, I read books about teaching techniques and tried to learn teaching from them...In-service training by Ministry of Education is incredibly poor. (Elibüyük, 14'08")

Another block of comments on teachers' education and in-service training is by Öztürk who has been a teacher and a school principal for 40 years. He is a graduate of Teacher's High School and became a teacher by taking some courses of pedagogical formation. A couple of years later, he attended a two- year- education institute. Since he has been working for 40 years in public schools, his experiences are illuminating on the issues of teachers' education and in-service training. With respect to in-service training he believes that in-service training should be focused on supporting new teachers since new teachers have many questions, concerns and they need to be guided on many issues. (Öztürk, 20'00").

About intern teachers, I can say that new teachers and their internship periods are not taken seriously. Most of the time without having a proper training period, they start teaching without any supervision of an experienced teacher(26'54")¹⁹

He believes that for adaptation of new teachers, the school administrators should be in duty and they should be responsible for their orientation process. According to Öztürk, school administrators can help new teachers to be more efficient and feel better about what they do. (28'33")

19 The original text is as follows: "Şimdi aday öğretmenlik var ama, adaylık eskisi kadar sıkı denetlenmiyor [rehberlik edilmiyor], çoğunlukla tam eğitim almadan, deneyimli bir öğretmenden rehberlik görmeden işe başlıyorlar." (Öztürk, 26'54")

Gunaydin is a graduate of Sinop Education Institute, which is a two-year college. She believes that she could not get an efficient teacher's education since she was a student during a term which was just before 1980 coup d'état and there were many political conflicts in the university. However, she believes that her teachers were idealist intellectuals who became role models for her.

Our lecturers were intellectuals. Also, they were very understanding towards us. I remember that there were many poor students, and our teachers were even giving them allowances.²⁰ (01.00'00")

She noted that teachers' education partly prepared her for teaching practice. She believes that theoretical courses helped her but she notes she learned teaching while teaching.

At the university, you take courses like child psychology, but as soon as you enter the classroom, you get puzzled [you ask to yourself:] "How will I teach to these little kids."²¹ (01.35'00")

Just like other participants, Gunaydin thinks that the in-service training sessions are prepared hastily without considering the needs of teachers. Hence, she believes these sessions are useless. She also thinks that having six hours of training a day is exhausting and quite boring, therefore she proposes the trainers to prepare the courses with an efficient time table. She states that the classes are very crowded and she had some courses with 300-500 teachers, and many teachers leave the training venues in the middle of the instruction. (1. 38'07")

Koyuncu, who is a music teacher and a vice principal in an elementary school, expresses that the undergraduate degree she received from the

20 The original text is follows: "Ama çok değerli öğretmenlerimiz vardı. Çok aydın, öğrencinin halinden anlayan, arada çok fakir öğrenciler vardı. Öğretmenler onlara harçlık veriyorlardı." (Günaydın, 01.00'00")

21 The original text is as follows: Okulda çocuk psikolojisi filan öğreniyorsun, Sınıfa girdiğim anda böyle bir dank ediyor. Nasıl öğreticem? Çünkü çocuklar çok küçük (Gunaydın, 01.35'00")

music construction unit of a department of education has not corresponded with her actual teaching practice in the classroom. She emphasizes that she had a strict education on music; however, other lessons including pedagogical proficiency and foreign languages were insufficient. She says she has learned many songs of which lyrics were completely meaningless to her. She believes that a teacher, especially a music teacher should know at least a foreign language in order to deal with pieces of art from different cultures. In the classroom, she felt overeducated for primary school children and she had difficulties to cope with the level of students. She did not have a particular education on how to teach music to students aged between 9 and 14 and she tried to discover some methods on her own.

Over all, With respect to teachers' education, both survey results and in-depth interviews reveal that teachers' education for primary school teachers is described as inadequate. Many teachers believe that the university education for teaching which started in 1980s has not been a solution. In fact, for being a primary school teacher, the Village Institutes and high institutes for teaching are seen more efficient on teachers' education. The reason for the success of these institutions are described with several factors and one of the most important among these is the criteria for student admission. By the combination of education faculties with universities, the students are chosen with centralized examination system by Student Selection and Placement Center (Öğrenci Seçme ve Yerleştirme Merkezi or ÖSYM) and students are chosen with a general examination which is to be taken for having any kind of professional experience. However, With respect to High Institutes for Teaching, students had the aim of being a teacher from the beginning of the process and most of them were enthusiastic of their future occupation. Another factor that can explain the inadequacy of departments of education is the lack of a qualified curriculum and motivated lecturers. Old teachers describe their lecturers as motivated, idealistic lecturers with whom they could identify themselves with. This bond between lecturers and students do not exist anymore. Furthermore, teaching in a primary school requires one to one

contact with children. Teachers note that without “*love, affection and patience for children*”, it is difficult to teach to pupils; however, while choosing students for teachers’ education departments, there is no interrogation on their intentions, dreams and skills. Relatively new teachers state that most of them chose education faculties randomly. Some say that they could not get higher points to be an engineer or lawyer and some of them expressed that in becoming a teacher, they had aimed at not losing any time to find a decent job since they came from poorer families. Hence, in universities, teacher educators face with a crowd of candidate teachers who actually do not know why they are in that faculty or who do not have that much enthusiasm to a primary school teacher. Since the teachers’ education does not seem to be based on application of teaching and/or applied courses are not sufficient, teachers start their careers in an unprepared way.

With respect to in-service training, most teachers agree that in-service training of MEB is less than adequate. Teachers express that they participate in courses within the training programs just because they are obliged to. Furthermore, teachers state that those hours are often seen as a waste of time. In order to enhance in-service training programs, teachers have some common proposals. It seems that since there are many changes in the curricula of Ministry of Education, teachers need some special education programs especially on the newly introduced topics. For instance, in 2005, for primary schools, it is decided that pupils would learn writing by using cursive writing. This change affected many teachers. Teachers note that they need in-service education in order to cope with the ongoing changes in the curricula. They need specific programs for education so that they can catch up with the requirements of new steps. For instance, many teachers state that the new schedule which was introduced in 2013 along with a program called “4+4+4” brought multiple changes and if they received an efficient in-service training, it would have been easier for them to cope with the new system.

§ 4.3 Classroom practices

We believe that the intended modern school curriculum, which is designed to produce self-motivated active learners, is seriously undermined by classroom management policies that encourage, if not demand, simple obedience.

-MaryMcCaslin & Thomas L. Good, *The Misalliance of Management and Instructional Goals in Current School Reform*

Classroom practices are used to be associated with the concept of obedience as stated above by the scholars of the educational sciences.²² This dissertation is led by the curiosity for many details regarding the daily routine in classrooms and the level they involve the understanding of “non-obedience” that could pave the way for creativity, expression of students which could eventually lead them to be cultivated individuals of a democratic society. Therefore, the details of classroom practices can create a dimension in understanding a society. Most studies focusing on Turkish education system in the literature often do not deal with teachers’ experiences in classrooms in a detailed way. In this part of the dissertation, the experiences of teachers regarding their classroom practices are cited through the results of the survey and in-depth interviews. The main subheadings of this section are class management and teaching process.

4.3.1 *Class management*

Class management, is a significant concept that is directly linked to both the degrees of occupational satisfaction of teachers and academic success of students. Before going through the statements of teachers conducted

22 Mary Mccaslin and Thoma S L. Good, ‘Compliant Cognition: The Misalliance of Management and Instructional Goals in Current School Reform’, *Educational Researcher* 21, no. 3 (1 April 1992): 4, doi:10.3102/0013189X021003004.

in this research, let us look at the various aspects of the term “class management” within the existing literature. Class management is briefly defined as the decisions and actions taken by the teacher in order to create and maintain an efficient environment.²³ In their work entitled “The Key to Classroom Management”, Marzano & Marzano focused on the components of efficient classroom management. According to them “teachers can exhibit appropriate dominance by establishing clear behavior expectations and learning goals and by exhibiting assertive behavior” and in order to achieve this “*dominance*” they listed the following steps in relation to classroom management: teacher determines the rules and procedures, helps students to follow the rules and follows up the activities of discipline, organizes the relationships between students and herself and maintains the environment to manage these steps.²⁴ Within this model, we can see an active model of the teacher where the decisions are mostly taken without the approval of the students. However, more flexible perceptions on the concept of classroom management do exist. For instance, Harry Wong and Rosemary Wong defined classroom management as all the activities that the teacher performs in order to create a learning medium, an efficient learning time and to invent related sources for the use of students.²⁵ Similarly, Burden indicates that “*classroom management focuses on ways to establish and maintain workable systems for classroom groups rather than on ways to spot and punish misbehavior, resolve behavioral disorders, or capture the attention of individual students*”²⁶ As seen in this quote, a positive approach by the teacher and student oriented models are emphasized as being significant in establishing

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- 23 H. Jerome Freiberg, *Beyond Behaviorism: Changing the Classroom Management Paradigm* (Allyn and Bacon, 1999), 43.
- 24 Robert J. Marzano and Jana S. Marzano, ‘The Key to Classroom Management’, *Educational Leadership* 61, no. 1 (September 2003): 6–13.
- 25 Harry K. Wong, Rosemary Tripi Wong, and Chelonnda Seroyer, *The First Days of School: How to Be an Effective Teacher* (Harry K. Wong Publications, 2009), 5.
- 26 Paul R. Burden, *Classroom Management and Discipline: Methods to Facilitate Cooperation and Instruction* (Longman, 1995), 3.

classroom management. Several fieldworks that point out similar perspectives are summarized and cited by Emmer & Stough.²⁷ They summarized that well managed classrooms depend on two basic principles. According to this perspective, an efficient class management is “*preventive rather than reactive*”, involves teachers’ creativity by “identifying and teaching desirable behaviors to their students.”²⁸

The process of establishing classroom management is defined as making students understand the concept of desired and expected attitudes at the beginning of the school year. Hence, by monitoring student behaviours at the beginning of the teaching process, the guidelines are established and possible deviations from guidelines are detected in approximately the first weeks of the semester which prevent inappropriate attitudes to be acquired. The researchers reported that this initial intervention created a positive environment for the whole education year. The efficient strategy to establish classroom management is stated as a close follow up of students’ behaviours, giving instant feedbacks on their performance, scheduling daily activities and being consistent on the application of class rules.

Freiber and his colleagues also suggested a set of methods to establish class management and conducted a research on the subject.²⁹ Freiber and his colleagues included school-wide changes both the physical changes within the school environment and student participation into the decision process while obtaining classroom rules. They applied and validated this set of methods and they concluded that improving classroom environment and giving responsibility to students in the establishment of classroom management by involving them into the decision mechanisms vastly helped students’ attitudes and academic performances.

27 Edmund T. Emmer and Laura M. Stough, ‘Classroom Management: A Critical Part of Educational Psychology, with Implications for Teacher Education’, *Educational Psychologist* 36, no. 2 (2001): 103–112.

28 Ibid., 106.

29 Feiberg, Stein & Huang cited in *ibid.*, 107.

With the insight gathered from the literature, this chapter traces the concept of class management within the results of the field of the dissertation. The results of the research conducted for this dissertation reveal that many participant teachers believe that they are capable of establishing and maintaining class management. Looking at the survey results, a high percentage of teachers, 92 percent, states that they are successful at class management (see Table 10). However, teachers also express that some of their colleagues are incapable of establishing class management even though 92 percent of the participants believe in their own success. Some common challenging factors that spoil class management, teachers' concentration and teaching process are put into words in the survey. Mostly uttered phrases as negative factors ruining class management are "*uninterested, indifferent, chatty, problematic, attention disordered, hyperactive, disrespectful, naughty, spoiled, undisciplined*" students; and "*crowded classes*"; "*schools without adequate facilities*"; "*the attitude of some teachers*" and "*the incapability of teachers in the punishment mechanism.*" (see Table 9). These statements are mostly repeated during the in-depth interviews. Teachers described their teaching process and the challenges regarding class management so vividly as if they opened the doors of their classes.

Looking at the survey results with crossed analysis, teachers belonging to Age Group 2 who are between 30 and 36 years old are the most confident group about the issue of class management. (30.57 percent see Table 11) The second most self-confident group about class-management is composed of the teachers who are between the ages 46-65. In agreement with the previous researchers in aforementioned literature, the least confident group is composed of the youngest ones (aged between 23 and 29) which shows age and the skill of maintaining class management is significantly relevant.

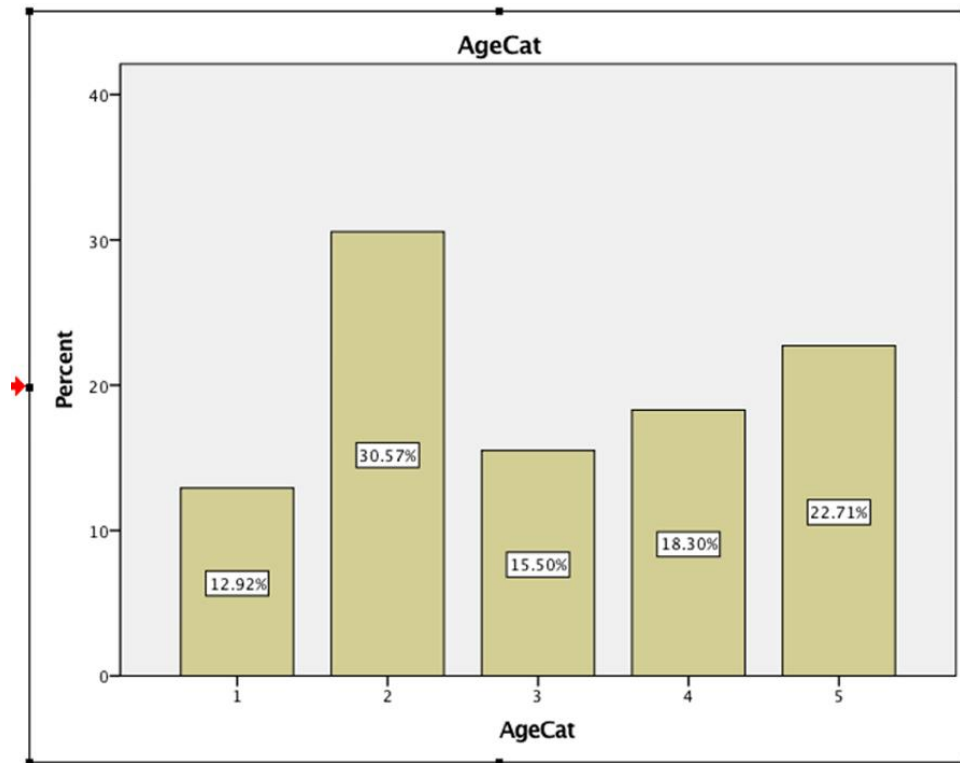


Figure 4.5 Class Management and Age Relationship

The fieldwork of this dissertation also focuses on the the factors challenging teachers to maintain classroom management. Peeking into the classrooms, it is noticeable that many teachers note that the excessive number of students and lack of facilities of the schools as the most challenging factor for difficulties of class management. In addition to facilities, the appreciation towards the concept of education within the society and students' and parents' understanding regarding education also affects the maintenance of classroom management, as they affect many other aspects of the concept. Some teachers express that in many regions of Anatolia, having an education is not perceived valuable and therefore pupils are not that much interested in being educated and sophisticated especially after 1980s. For instance, Günaydin recalls her years in Konya in late 1980s and states that the students were mostly unmotivated since most of the parents perceived education as an unnecessary activity that

would not be directly linked to earning money. Especially in Spring time, boys used to help their parents for farming and animal herding and only girls attended schools in working seasons.³⁰ The lack of motivation due to social conditions is cited as one of the factors undermining the appropriate student behaviours and peaceful environment of classes.

In relation to teachers' age and class management correlation Gunaydın suggests that young teachers are less skilled in class management not only because of their ages but also because of the quality of the teachers' education they acquired. She states that most of new teachers lack influential communication with pupils due to the lack of practice in teachers' education. Günaydın argues that new teachers' teaching skills are not enhanced enough to maintain an efficient learning environment. She adds that even though some new teachers are very hard working, they come to the classes in an unprepared way and they suffer from insufficient class management.³¹

Özçiftçi also notes that many new teachers are not good at classroom management. He thinks the lack of presentations and application in teachers' education is the main reason for their inability to sustain classroom management and efficient learning environment. He recalls a colleague of his and notes that he even could not teach because of the noise coming from her class. He thinks that classroom management is not only important for that specific class but also for the whole school building since noisy classes could be made examples of and could be distracting for other classes as well.³² Özçiftçi also states that inspectors should be

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- 30 The original text is as follows: [Konya'da] "Öğretmeye ve öğrenmeye merak yoktu. Okusun diye bir teşvik yok. İlkokula kızları da gönderiyorlardı. Nisan'dan sonra hayvanlar yavrular, erkek çocukları kuzuya gider, okulda genelde kızlar kalır." (45'30")
- 31 The original text is as follows: "Yeniöğretmenlerin içerisinde de çok çalışkan olanları var. .. Tek eksikleri insan-çocuk ilişkileri çok zayıf. Sınıfa hakim olma, seviyeye inme, öğretmen tekniklerinde zayıflar." (1.36'30")
- 32 "She was a part-time teacher; she was not starting her classes on time. She did not have any class management. I was not able to teach because of her noise. One day I told her she should either leave or be a proper teacher, that place was not a medium to satisfy her amateurish skills!" The original text as follows "...ücretli derse gelen bir öğretmen;

guide for teachers on class management issues. He expresses that inspectors do not observe classes carefully and only deals with paper work. Hence, practical issues such as class management and lecturing are often not evaluated by inspectors and teachers can not benefit from the guidance of inspectors.³³With respect to lecturing and classroom management, Ozciftci expresses that he deals with the students until they fully understand the topic and learn it. Hence, “not learning” is not an option.

Çığ agrees with Özçiftçi on the fact that new teachers are most of the time not successful at class management. However, he proposes that the reason for their incapability on class management is not only teachers' education but the selection criteria for recruitment since there are no interviews, presentations among the selection criteria for the recruitment of teachers. Since candidate teachers are appointed on the basis of central multiple-choice examinations, it is not possible for the measuring the skills of presentations and class management. Therefore, candidate teachers focus on enhancing their testing skills rather than teaching ones. Recruitment process of teachers seem quite detached from the necessities of the actual practice of occupation.

zamanında derse girmez. Öğrencilerine hakim değildir. Yanyana sınıfta ders yaparız ben ders yapmam onun gürültüsünden yani sınıfın gürültüsünden. Bir gün dedim ‘ya adam gibi öğretmenliğini yapacaksan yap ya da çek git. Burası amatörce zevklerinizi tatmin edeceğiniz bir yer değildir, senin yüzünden öğretmenlik yapamıyorum burada dedim.’ (Özçiftçi, 01’38’’.30)

- 33 “Inspectors do not observe teachers. The inspectors’ duty should be a guide to the teacher not to point fingers or find mistakes...Inspectors do not look at the practice, class management, teaching, etc.” The original text is as follows: “Yani, öğretmeni değişik derslerde müfettiş öğretmeni izleyip...Müfettişin görevi öğretmene rehber olmaktır, eksikliğini çıkarmak değildir. Rehber olacaksınız. Her derste öğretmeni izleyece, nasıl anlatıyor, öğretmenin öğrencisiyle diyalogu nasıl, sınıfa hakimiyeti ne... (Özçiftçi, 02. 06’ 52’’)”

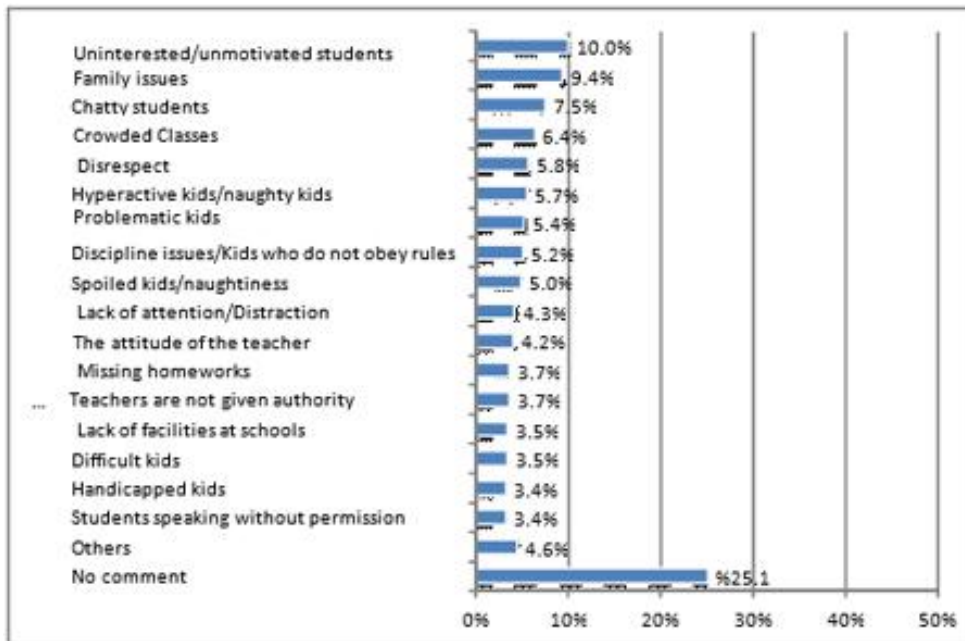


Figure 4.6 Behaviors of Students that Challenge Classroom Management

4.3.2 Teaching process

We travelled to Van from Ankara, we stayed there for a night, then hit the road to Hakkari. [On the bus] I was sitting by the window. Everyone was talking in Kurdish. I was crying on the bus, because I left Funda [Funda is her baby daughter. She could not take her, since that time the village conditions were not suitable for the baby] My mother looked after Funda. We met a young man on the bus. He asked: "Mister, why is your wife crying?" Then without waiting for an answer, "Our region is not that bad." Then, he took an orange out of his bag. Then, he asked me "Would you like to have an orange?" I have never forgotten this incident. At the hotel, there was no water, there was nothing, we spread our coats as bed linen...

I was assigned to a school in the centre and Ze-kai [her husband] was assigned to a village. We wanted to resign...At last they assigned us to a town, Beytüşşebap, where there were almost no houses, all the houses were out of mud and at last they found us a flat in a state residence constructed 50 years ago.

Gunaydın, 11'49" talking about her 3rd obligated rotation in 1982 which would take three years in Hakkari where she could not take her baby daughter with her due to lack of health and day care facilities and harsh weather conditions.

The quote above is like an opening scene from a movie called “Teaching in Turkey”.³⁴ Actual teaching process includes lots of challenges as participant teachers reported. In this part of the dissertation, several titles regarding teaching process are addressed and these titles are description of actual teaching practice, challenges regarding teaching (working hours, parents, students, lack of facilities etc.), material preparation and grading as pieces of a puzzle aiming to cast a clear picture of actual teaching practice in Turkey.

The fieldwork results supply teachers’ statements that describe the teaching process both obtained from the survey and in-depth interviews. Most participants think that they do not have major problems while introducing topics to students and they express that they would like their students to ask questions when they could not grasp the topic fully or whenever they have hesitations. However, some of them argue that new generation of students do not have a questioning mind and it is difficult to urge their curiosity. For instance, Şen thinks that children of twenty-first century often prefer superficial ways of communication rather than comprehensive understanding and expression.

In my first years of teaching, children were more questioning. Their mentality was full of question words: ‘what, how, why’”

34 The original text is as follows: “Ankara'dan Van'a gittik, orada 1 gece kaldık, oradan Hakkariye gittik. Pencere tarafında oturuyorum. Hep kürtçe konuşuluyor. Ben otobüste ağlıyordum. Çünkü Funda'yı geride bırakmışım. Fundaya annem baktı. Otobüste bir delikanlıyla karşılaştık."Abi yenge niye ağlıyor” dedi. Sonra cevap beklemeden."Bizim buralar o kadar da kötü değildir."dedi. Sonra çantasından bir tane portakal çıkarttı, "Portakal yer misininiz" dedi. Bu olayı hiç unutmuyorum. Otelde su yok, hiçbirşey yok, çarşaf yerine paltolarımızı serdik...beni merkeze Zekai'yi köye vermişler. İstifa etmeyi düşündük. Oradaki Milli Eğitim Müdür Yardımcısı kötü davrandı. Ama Milli Eğitim Müdürü istifamıza izin vermedi. İkimize de Beytüşşebap ilçesinde kadro çıktı. Fakat ev yok, evler toprak ve 50 yıl önce yapılmış merkezde lojman ayarlandı. “(Gunaydın, 11’49”)

(01'36'') Now, a student can not talk about even himself. Self-expression, talking on a subject disappeared, students can not express themselves (01'32'')³⁵

Almost all survey participants agree that despite being very good at using technology, new teachers are not proficient at class management and teaching and they add that their relationships with children and with their colleagues are not adequate and it is difficult for new teachers to introduce a topic in the level primary school children.

According to the survey, a majority of teachers expresses that they prefer their students to ask questions during learning process (94 percent, see Table 10) and they add that they encourage their students to do so. Furthermore, most of them believe that they are knowledgeable enough to answer all the possible questions coming from their students. (90 percent see Table 10)

35 The original text is as follows: "Öğretmeliğimin ilk yıllarında... Kesinlikle, sorguluyorlardı. 'Ne, nasıl, neden ?' hep bu sorular vardı . Saygıları da eksik değildi... Sorulayan bir şekilde yetiştirdim onları ama devamı gelmiyor. Kendini ifade etme, konu üzerinde konuşma bitti, öğrenciler kendilerini ifade edemiyor. (Şen, 01.32'.00')

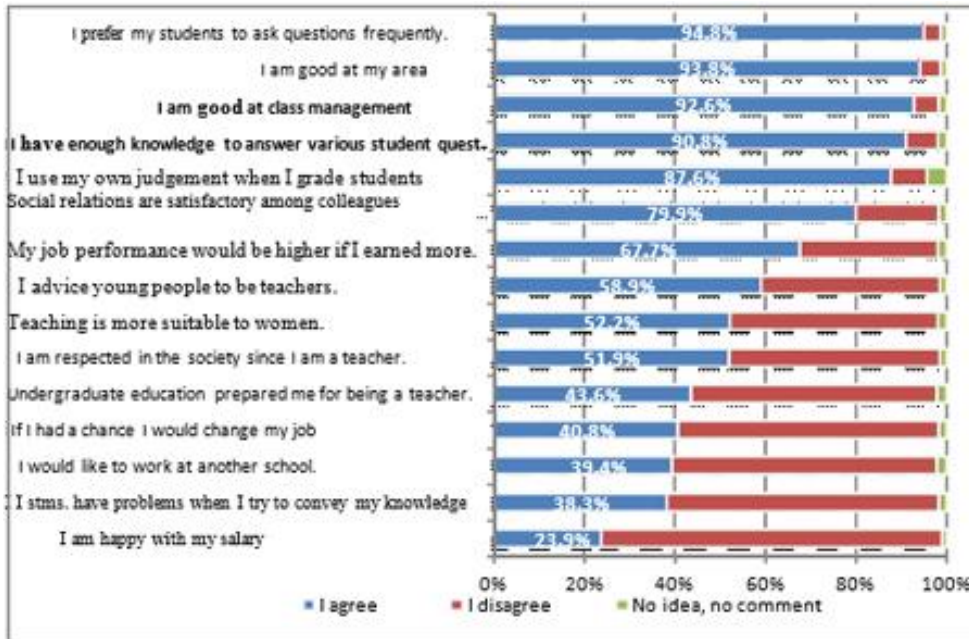


Figure 4.7 Teachers Statements Regarding Teaching Practice 1

With respect to material preparation, teachers express that all the course books and materials are chosen by ME since 2003 with the rule of Justice and Development Party (Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi or AKP). However, even though they are not officially allowed to do so, teachers feel that they need to assign some other books and materials since the centralized examinations are very difficult and the regular curricula is not sufficient to prepare pupils for those hard examinations. Other than additional text books and journals, teachers say that they use multimedia tools for presentations (45 percent), some pages from internet (9.9 percent), movies, documentaries, audio-visual sources (5.9 percent) (see Table 11)

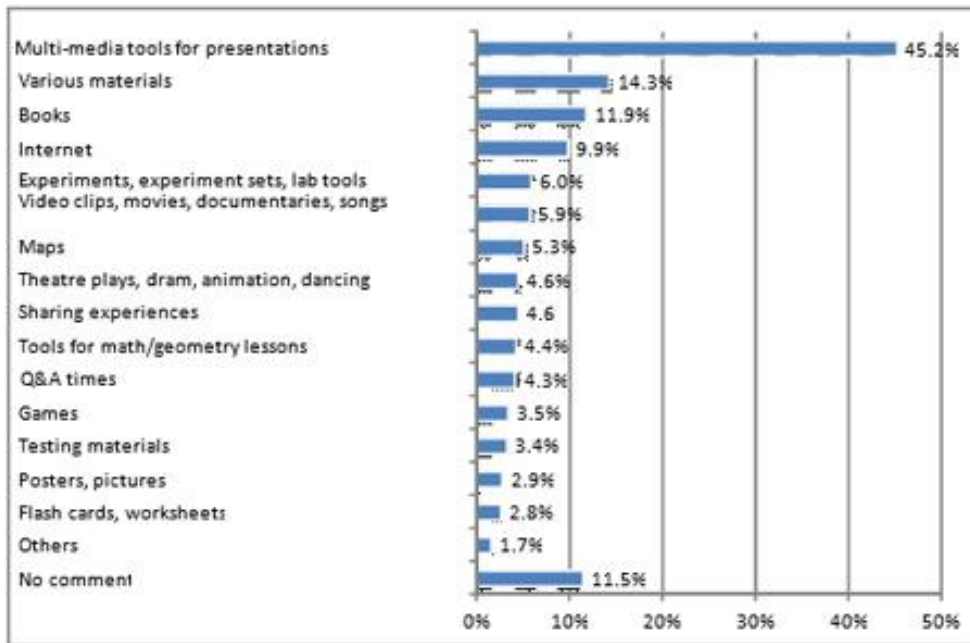


Figure 4.8 Teachers' additional methods and materials

With respect to grading, the survey reveals that even though the majority of them believes grading system is fair (56.2 percent), a high percentage of teachers believes that grading students does not lean on a fair system (41.6 percent). Hence, teachers do say that they try to evaluate their students' performances fairly within an unjust system. Furthermore, most teachers state that they use their own evaluation and judgement in addition to students' test scores while submitting the final grades. (87.6 percent) Teachers have an aversion to multiple choice examinations and think that testing decreases the reading writing activities and presentation skills. (67 percent) (see Table 12) In depth interview participants confirm these results and qualify these answers by denoting that the understanding and expressional abilities of children are reduced due to centralized examinations based on tests. Furthermore, they do believe that taking tests in early ages damage pupils' psychology and students feel under stress at young ages since they need to be prepared for centralized examinations in a short time with intense studying. They need to take extra courses in order to deal with testing techniques and difficult questions. The reasons why many teachers do not believe in the fairness of

the system is teachers' mistrust in centralized examinations. Some centralized examinations were cancelled due to the risk of leakage of questions before the examinations.³⁶ Another reason is the incapacity of testing for the evaluation of children's ability. In order to eliminate those, MEB advised the project preparing methods and portfolio presentation for primary school children, however teachers believe that these preparations are mostly done at home and by parents rather than students.

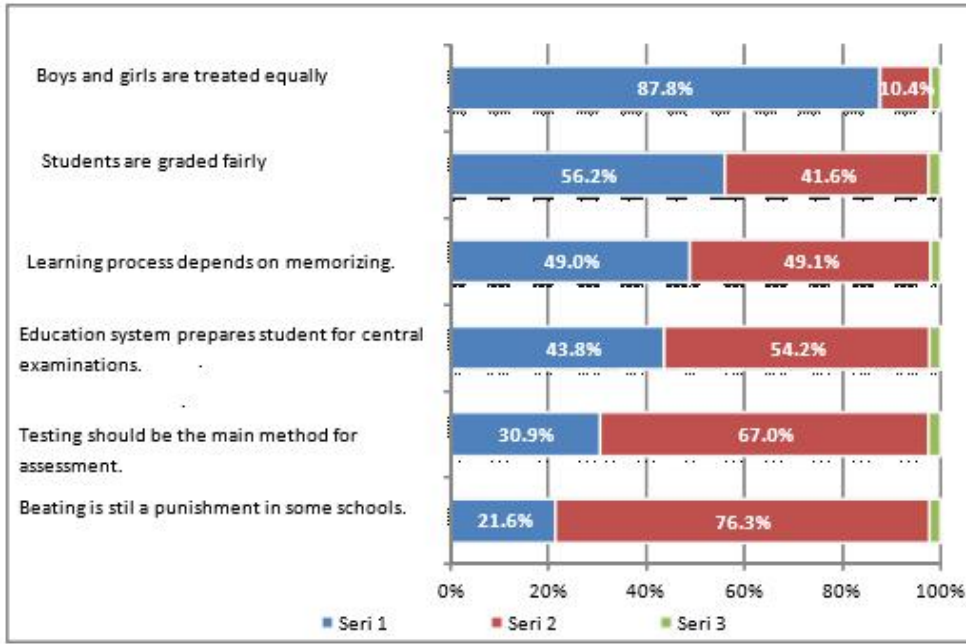


Figure 4.9 Students and Education System

While dealing with the process of teaching, teachers are also asked about the difficulties they face with. With respect to difficulties, several headings are revealed by the participants during both the survey and in-depth

36 Centralized examinations for the admission of universities, high schools and middle schools have been conducted since 1974. With in this period, there have been some scandalleous stealing of the questions and examinations with the suspect of cheating were repeated several times. For the last 14 years under the rule of JDP, the government claimed that questions for many centralized examinations were stolen by the members of Gulen Sect and interrogations were started in January 2017 'ÖSYM'nin Son 15 Yıllık Sınavları İncelenecek', accessed 13 April 2017, <http://www.trthaber.com/haber/turkiye/osymnin-son-15-yillik-sinavlari-incelemecek-293691.html>.

interviews. The main headings of the challenges that are stated by teachers could be listed as parents' and students' profile; lack of facilities and technology in schools, relationships with school administrations; state related topics such as educational system, the policies of ministry, low salaries, work load, lack of participation to decision mechanism within the educational system, lack of authority towards students and lack of rights to speak up against unfair regulations.

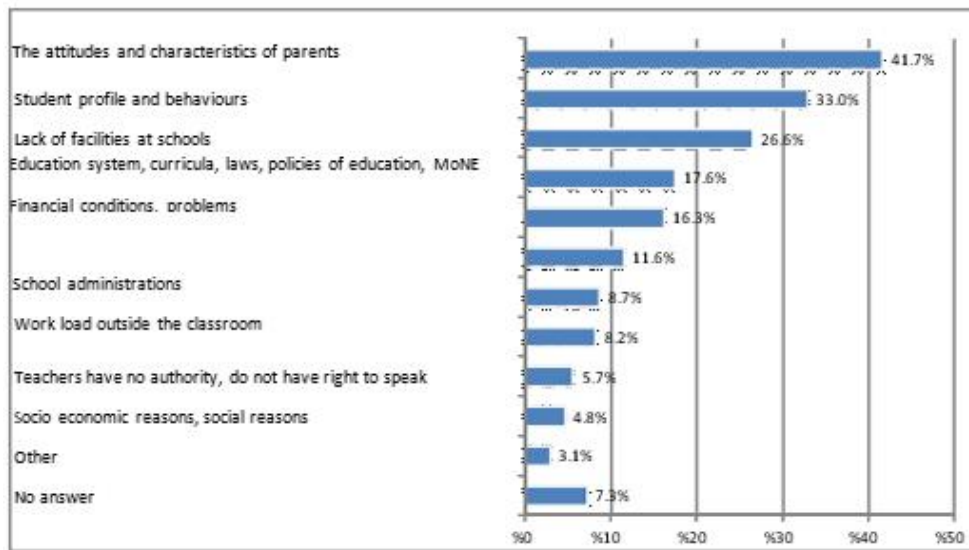


Figure 4.10 Challenges Faced in Teaching Process

The attitudes of parents and their thoughts about education seems the foremost difficulty that teachers face with. Almost half of the survey participants (41.7 percent) noted that the profile and attitudes of parents makes teaching difficult. The same point is mentioned while dealing with factors for the degradation of the occupation in Chapter 1 Part “b” and it has been argued that many parents do not respect teachers and the concept of education since in the neoliberal times education is not as related to social mobility as it used to be or in other words being more educated does not mean being richer. Hence, many parents actually wish their children to get an education due to the needs of the market, most of them are not interested in the sophistication of their children. Furthermore, a

teacher, an “enlightened person”, not having neither political power/priority in society nor capital does not seem as a person to be respected. Instead, s/he is perceived as a baby sitter, a maid or a civil servant who assists the needs of students and parents. This degeneration of occupational perception could be seen for other state white collar workers such as doctors and academicians. Violence towards doctors, teachers and other public employees has become common especially in the twenty-first century. A newspaper reports that only in 2012, almost 200 doctors were beaten or killed while giving service to their patients.³⁷

Moreover, teachers are the intermediary party between state and parents. During the early Republican era, they used to be seen as the missionaries of the state who were both respected and supported by the state. However; as it is explained in chapter 2, in neoliberal times, the emotional support and respect for teachers coming by the state is not available anymore. Teachers are seen as the conductors of the state who collects money for educational expenses. Additionally, when the parents feel for complaining about the teacher, to fill in a complaint is quite easy. Hence, the state puts the teachers forward when there is a general problem in the education system and parents and teachers come face to face. That is why almost half of the survey participants perceive the attitudes and profile of parents as problematic.

The survey reveals that student profile is listed as a challenge for teachers. 33 percent of the teachers express that the profile and attitudes of students is a difficulty for their teaching process. During in-depth interviews, participants also described the student profile and compared it with student profiles during their training as well as with the students of the 1980s and 1990s by which time they were new teachers. Challenges due the policies of the ministry are also dealt in chapter 2 where difficulties related to state were listed as the top fourth on the list of challenges. 17.6 percent of teachers think that policies and attitudes of MEB, the whole system and frequent changes in the curricula constitute a difficulty

37 ‘En Fazla Dayak Yiyen Doktor!’, *Sabah*, accessed 13 April 2017, <http://www.sabah.com.tr/yasam/2012/09/21/en-fazla-dayak-yiyen-doktor> .

for teachers. Furthermore, low salaries are also listed as a major challenge, which is noted by 16.3 percent of the teacher. “Low salaries” for the workers of state have been a characteristic feature of neoliberal Turkey and is also explored in detail in Chapter 2.

The challenges regarding student-teacher relationships through in-depth interviews are stated by Elibüyük uttering that the basic reason that leads students to misbehave is the lack of “open communication.” She says she would like to have a friendly relationship with her students; however; she wants them to be respectful as well. She thinks the most challenging thing while trying to maintain the class management and to create an efficient medium for learning is to establish an open, friendly relationship with students while still commending their respect. (52’ 14’)

Work-load and teaching hours are cited as problematic by teachers. Looking at the amount of working hours, in 2013, primary school teachers stated that their average work-load was twenty-five hours and their extra work-load such as course preparation and grading is an additional 8.4 hours. The total is thus 33.4 work hours per week according to the survey results. (see table 9, table 10 and table 11) The lacks of facilities and technological equipments as well as crowded classrooms are also listed as difficulties by teachers.

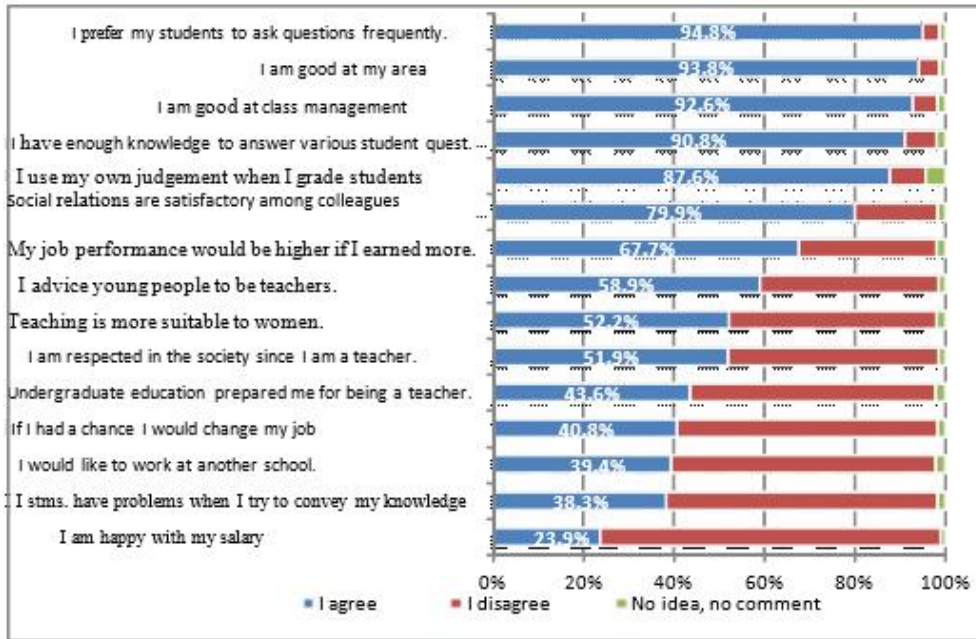


Figure 4.11 Teachers Statements Regarding Teaching Practice 1

TRANSFORMATION OF TEACHING IN TURKEY

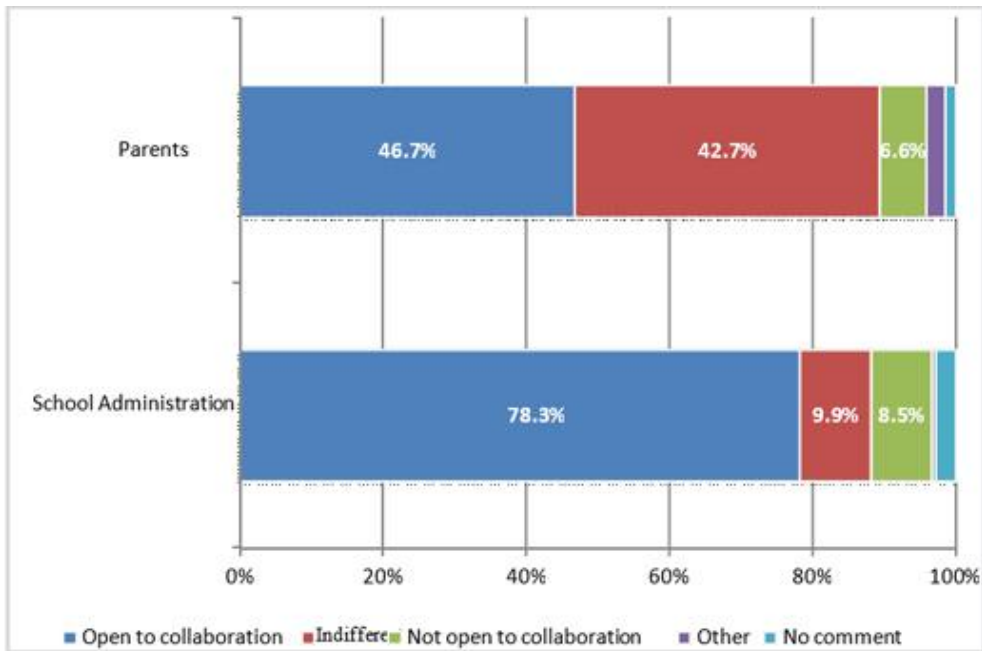


Figure 4.12 Parents and School Administration

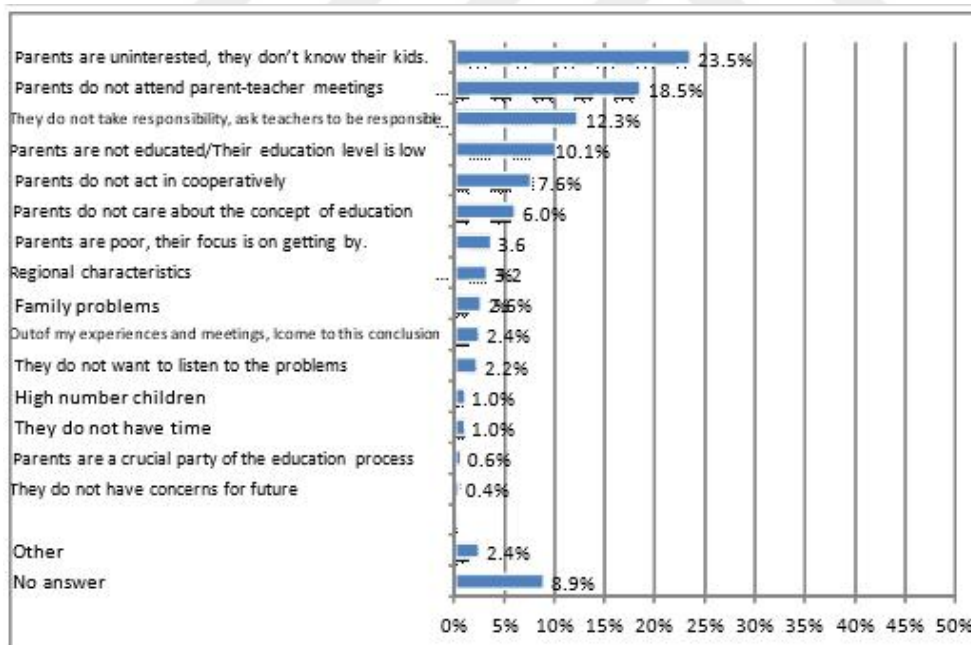


Figure 4.13 Why are parents indifferent and/or not open for collaboration?

Feminization and Gender Roles in Teaching in Turkish Primary Schools: “Women Teach, Men Manage”

Gender and traditional gender roles are other hegemonic areas where Turkish primary school teachers are concerned. In Turkey, primary school teaching is mostly associated with female teachers where as the management positions in the educational institutions are mostly occupied by their male colleagues. Citing the 19th Meeting of Educational Council¹ gathered in December 2014, daily newspaper Al Jazeera Turk describes the gender division in the area of education and uses the following phrase as a striking headline: “*Women Teach, Men Manage*”² The article reports that out of 81 cities of Turkey, only one city, Denizli, has a female city director for the bureau of national education in 2014 and only 11.8 percent of the positions regarding principals and vice principals and province managers for state schools are taken by female teachers despite the fact that 55 percent of Turkish teachers are female overall.³ These numbers are unsurprising to Turkish citizens living in a country where professional life of a woman is still of secondary importance compared

1 The Turkish term is “19. Egitim Şurası”

2 ‘Öğreten Kadın, Yöneten Erkek’, *Al Jazeera Turk - Ortadoğu, Kafkasya, Balkanlar, Türkiye ve Çevresindeki Bölgeden Son Dakika Haberleri ve Analizler*, accessed 22 September 2017, <http://www.aljazeera.com.tr/al-jazeera-ozel/ogreten-kadin-yoneten-erkek>.

3 Ibid.

to being a proper “housewife” or a “mother”. Traditional gender roles are still the basis of behavioral pattern for families of Turkey and especially with 1980 coup, which presented the Turkish-Islamic synthesis as the ideology of the era and proposed a conservative life style, the traditional roles, which were already common in many regions, became set of norms for the majority of Turkish society believing that women work only if the family needs extra income. Hence, professional life for a Turkish woman is not a voluntary path she follows but rather an activity of which conditions are determined by the bread winner of the house, by her husband. Furthermore, Islam, which is a religion that underlines the segregation of male and female members of society in both private and public realms, strengthens the impact of patriarchy by putting the right of free labor of wife under the permission of the husband. For the case of twenty-first century, Toksöz examines female labor in the context of gender relations and states that despite the differences between segments and different classes of society, women labor is allowed only when men cannot provide family household.

Due to the spatial distinction shaped by Islamic values and the prevalence of single gender socialization in conservative and traditional circles, working life, besides education, is the area allowing combined socialization of both sexes. Even men who allow their wives to work have a negative attitude to their working in places with other men and regard their paid employment as something that threatens male authority in the household and hegemony over women. Thus many men either keep their wives from working, unless it becomes absolutely necessary, or approve employment only at home or in places where all other employees are women. These ideas and convictions are also behind girls’ limited access to education and training.⁴

Although Republican reforms enabled Turkish women to participate more into social life and to educational and vocational realms compared

4 Gülay, Toksöz, “The State of Female Labour in the Impasse of The Neoliberal Market and Patriarchal Family” in Saniye Dedeoglu and AdemYavuz Elveren, *Gender and Society in Turkey: The Impact of Neoliberal Policies, Political Islam and EU Accession* (I.B.Tauris, 2012), 60.

to the Ottoman Era, in the the twenty-first century, as Demirel et al. states, two-thirds of female workers would need their husbands' permission to work. Moreover, 19 percent of university graduate women accept that they would definitely need their husbands' permission if they want to start working.⁵ On the existing nature of gender relationships regarding participation of women in labor in Turkey, I suggest that it is inversely related to the level of conservatism in the country. In twenty-first century, especially in the period that this thesis written, Turkey has been under the rule AKP and this party is known with its conservative policies regarding female labor and fertility. The governments in charge between 2002 and 2016 had a conservative discourse regarding not only the working life of women but also on their decision of reproduction with the claim of raising population which is seen as a matter of public rather than a private issue by the government. The statement of Turkish president Erdogan on the definition of being a woman and womanhood is a summary of the discourse of Turkish state under the rule of AKP government and his presidency. As Erdogan stressed below, the first and foremost duty of a woman is being a mother and taking care of her family:

With the excuse of working, a woman who avoids having children is actually denying her womanhood. A woman who rejects being a mother, who gives up doing the chores of her house, is a half woman even if she is successful at business life. A woman, who comprises half of the humanity, is a real woman with her motherhood, with her influence on her children and home, with her elegance, her sense of aesthetics, her instincts and her differences [than a man]. We reject the perception which puts this fact aside and sees men and women as enemies and rivals.⁶

With this approach, the participation of women into professional life is tolerated if extra income is needed for the family for some occupations

5 Demirel et al. cited in *ibid.*, 61.

6 'Erdogan: Anneliği Reddeden Kadın, Eksiktir, Yarım'dır', *BBC Türkçe*, accessed 30 September 2016, http://www.bbc.com/turkce/haberler/2016/06/160605_erdogan_kadin.

which are seen more “feminine”. Primary school teaching is one of them. Primary school teaching is an area where women are expected to work more often since it is directly associated with concepts of “child-care”, “motherhood” and “compassion”. In this regard, Cortina and Roman defined pre-school and primary school teaching as feminized areas of professional life because of their “so-called feminine nature that made a woman suitable candidate to be put in charge of young children in the role as a social mother” and they argued that this approach directed women to teaching mostly in pre-school and primary school levels while keeping them away from manager positions and decision making mechanisms.⁷ However; as for Europe, North America and Latin American countries Cortina and Roman also stated that men got involved into primary school teacher positions when they needed and especially in the periods of economic instability. They also noted that

not only are levels of feminization highest when there is an extreme teacher shortage, but after feminization has been established the only times when men can be seen to start to re-enter the profession is during periods of economic dislocation and unemployment, often until they find other opportunities.⁸

My fieldwork shows that this same perception has been internalized by Turkish female teachers as well. The answers of the teachers will be analyzed in detail in this chapter.

As noted above, female administrators are in minority, however among the small number of female managers, my fieldwork and some other researches show that, many of them stated that they came to this position without their own wish or they waited for being pushed, or directed to these positions. Among my in-depth- interviews there is a case coinciding with this point. One of the female participants who has been a vice principal for 14 years noted that she wanted to be a vice principal

7 R. Cortina, S. San Román, and Sonsoles San Román, *Women and Teaching: Global Perspectives on the Feminization of a Profession* (Springer, 2006), 5.

8 Cortina and Roman cited in Fatimah Kelleher et al., *Women and the Teaching Profession: Exploring the Feminisation Debate* (UNESCO, 2011), 12.

because of her husband's occupation. Her husband has been an engineer and did not have any summer vacations, hence she said she would not go on a holiday alone or with her children. She noted that if her husband was a teacher as well, she would not apply to be an administrator. In the pilot interviews of my fieldwork, Sonmezşık noted that she was the only experienced candidate to be a vice principal and nominated by the male school principal whom she admired as a father.

For both cases female vice-principals noted that they were most of the time dealing with secretarial works. Furthermore, both vice-principals noted that many women stay away from administrative positions because of their responsibilities at home and similarly most of the male administrators do not offer female teachers positions since they think women cannot have enough time for the position especially if they have young kids. (Koyuncu, 22'17")

In her research in Diyarbakır district, Koyuncu also stated that women in the administrative positions did not nominate themselves, but most of the time they were being "pushed" to these positions. They were shy and they needed encouragement unlike their male colleagues. Furthermore, they waited to be approved and or supported by other parties, such as their spouses and male administrators. Overall, this shows the lack of self-confidence of female teachers even though they eventually become administrators.⁹

The present dissertation also attempts to illustrate the premise that the hegemonic attitude over female teachers creates its counter-hegemony and despite the traditional gender roles, women found ways to escape with and within their occupations. This premise originates from the point when being a teacher has had an important role for emancipation of women in Turkey. Being an "acceptable" job for Turkish society, teaching seemed a suitable job by for Turkish women by their families. Furthermore, being a teacher is seen as a "holy" occupation which coincides

9 Öznur Koyuncu, 'Kadin Öğretmenlerin Sorunlari Ve Toplumsal Cinsiyet (Diyarbakir İli Örneği)' (Ankara Üniversitesi, 2011), 81.

with the concept of “sacrifice”. These abstract concepts are mostly associated with female teachers and had their traces also in Turkish literature, especially in novels and autobiographies dating back to the late Ottoman era and early Republican period.

§ 5.1 Works of literature, novels and female teachers

With respect to late Ottoman era and especially for early Republican period, the “female teacher” is the representative of working women among Turkish society as well as the female nurse. The first female teachers school, “Dar-ül Muallimat” is established in 1869, 21 years later than the male teachers school, “Darü'l Muallimin-i Rüşdi”. Female teachers’ school is opened with the aim of raising female teachers for female students since there had been segregation based on gender within the Ottoman society. In 1876, with the announcement of the first Amendment, “Kanun-i Esasi”, the right for education is approved and accepted by the Ottoman Sultan and every citizen male or female had the right to pursue their educational goals. It has been a trend among rich families to hire private teachers, mostly female teachers (mürebbiye) for tutoring girls.

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For the republican era, female teacher is a model for the image of Turkish Republican woman who is educated and who is ready to enlighten the masses. Being a teacher took women out of their homes and many young ladies went to rural areas of Anatolia to educate children in elementary schools. As discussed above, even though early Republican era did not rule out the traditional patriarchal values, it did supply women to have higher education and the opportunity to work outside home next to men. The mission of enlightenment given to teachers also enabled female teachers to have more prestige and status in society especially in rural areas. Early Republican literature has taken the image of

10 Engin Yılmaz, ‘Türk Edebiyatında Kadın Öğretmen Tiplerleri’, *Sakarya Üniversitesi Eğitim Fakültesi Dergisi*, no. 14 (2007): 240.

“new female teacher” as a man topic and many novels and short stories had female teacher protagonists.

Among the literary works, five of them highlighting Turkish female teacher image stand out. These works are *Mürebbiye* (1897) by Hüseyin Rahmi Gürpınar; *Çalikuşu* (1922) and *Acımak* (1928) by Reşat Nuri Güntekin, *Tatarcık* (1938-1939) by Halide Edip Adivar and *Benim Küçük Dostlarım* by Halide Nusret Zorlutuna (1948). First four of them are novels and the last one is an autobiography. All female teacher characters are distinguished with their difference than traditional Turkish women including the parents of the children that they deal with. Considering the depicted era (1897- 1928) these women are independent and confident to appear in male dominated public spheres. Among five characters, only Anjel is non-Turkish and non-Muslim and she constitutes an example of an anti-heroine creating a contrast to the example of “virtuous” Turkish teacher. These female teachers are adored by their students, and sometimes the members of traditional community mostly living in small towns in rural areas are afraid of the possibility that their girls would take their teachers as examples and imitate their attitudes.¹¹ The features of these teachers will be evaluated with the anecdotes from the fieldwork; however, these characters constitute an example of counter hegemony of women within the patriarchal Ottoman and Turkish societies even at the first half of the twentieth century. These novel characters are the representatives of the first pioneers of teachers of Kemalist regime and they inspired following generations of women to be female teachers. Even though there are many controversies regarding the position of women in

11 Halide Edip Adivar depicted the life of a young teacher Lale via diaries. Lale is admired by her students and in the novel, their parents are worried that girls would imitate her and follow her to be independent women. “Tatarcık’ı pek kimse sevmemekle beraber, gençler ona çok ilgi gösteriyor. Ya onu taklide kal-karlarsa...”Halide Edib Adivar, *Tatarcık* (Can Yayınları, 2014), 36 For more reading on the analysis of the novel characters, one short article could be helpful; Yılmaz, ‘Türk Edebiyatında Kadın Öğretmen Tiplerleri’, 240–51.

the framework of Kemalist reforms¹², teaching, and especially primary school teaching, has been a way of freedom, a first step that lead women to professional life and my fieldwork is in accordance with this premise.

§ 5.2 Survey and In-depth Interview Results on Gender Roles: Teaching as a “Female Occupation”

As discussed above, feminization of primary school teaching as an occupation is almost a universal issue. As well known developmentalist social scientist and activist Kamla Bhasin indicates, womens’ careers are often a reflection or extension of their duties in the family. A significant number of women work either as preschool or elementary school teachers, or as nurses or they become airline stewardess. Hence, the occupations which comprise decision making, authority, power and control are associated with men where as the occupations requiring the skills of care giving and service are perceived as being suitable to women.¹³

Corresponding to the above premise, primary school teaching is mostly associated with women on the basis of some stereotypical “feminine” characteristics such as being “affectionate”, “caregiving”, “attentive,”

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- 12 The controversy on the female identity in Turkish society can be briefly summarized with referring to two main arguments. As FerhundeÖzbay argues, Kemalist regime did take the women out of their homes, invited them to public domain and supported their educational and professional progress especially in the urban context. Ferhunde Özbay, ‘Woman’s Labour in Rural and Urban Settings’, *Bogaziçi Journal Review of Social, Economic and Administrative Studies* 8, no. 1–2 (1994): 5–19 However; as Durakbasa argues, the regime also offered an asexual identity to Turkish women and did not change the patriarchal moral principals. (Ayse Durakbasa, “Kemalism as Identity Politics in Turkey”, in Zehra F. Arat and Zehra Arat, *Deconstructing Images of the Turkish Woman* [Palgrave Macmillan, 1998], 139–56 With Kandiyoti’s words, women are “emancipated” by the Republican ideology yet unliberated”; Deniz A. Kandiyoti and Deniz Kandiyoti, ‘Emancipated but Unliberated? Reflections on the Turkish Case’, *Feminist Studies* 13, no. 2 [1987]: 317–38, doi:10.2307/3177804.
- 13 Kamla Bhasin, *Toplumsal cinsiyet: bize yüklenen roller* (Kadınlarla Dayanışma Vakfı, 2003), 30.

etc. These stereotypes not only reproduce traditional gender inequalities, but more specifically guide women away from managerial positions in the area of education. In the year 2012, in Turkey, according to the statistics of Ministry of Education, out of all primary school teachers 47 percent of them are female and 53 percent are male¹⁴ where as 89.5 percent of the managers are male.¹⁵ When statistics of 2012 are considered, it can be seen that male teachers still outnumber their female colleagues. This situation is explained by the fact that working life in Turkey is still a male-dominated domain where only 30.8 percent of women participated into working life in 2013 while the percentage of working men was almost 70 percent according to the annual report of Turkish Statistics Office (Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu or TÜİK).¹⁶ When we look at the literature regarding the participation of women into business life and making a career, it can be seen that several hinderances which prevent women pursuing their career goals stand out and these are glass ceiling effect¹⁷;

14 'Meb_istatistikleri_orgun_egitim_2011_2012.Pdf'.

15 'Türkiye'de Yöneticilerin Yüzde 90'ı Erkeklerden Oluşuyor', accessed 11 November 2016, <http://www.egitimtercihi.com/biliyormusunuz/10884-turkiye-de-yoneticilerin-yuzde-90-i-erkeklerden-olusuyor.html/>.

16 'Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu Web Sayfaları', accessed 10 November 2016, <http://www.tuik.gov.tr/PreHaberBultenleri.do?id=13458/> and also see "Tuik Kadın İstatistiklerini Açıkladı"; 'TÜİK, Kadın İstatistiklerini Açıkladı - Memurlar.Net', accessed 15 December 2016, <http://www.memurlar.net/haber/503959/>.

17 The glass ceiling metaphor defines a transparent barrier blocking (mostly) women from reaching upper positions. Glass ceiling is a subtle barrier and not apparent for the ones below it, therefore the term suggests those in the lower ranks continuously try to access upper levels in vain. The phrase was first used in the Wall Street Journal in 1986 and then transferred to academia by A. M. Morrison and his colleagues who published a book and various articles showing the impacts of this transparent block on women and minorities. For further information, see Ann M. Morrison, 'New Solutions To The Same Old Glass Ceiling', *Women in Management Review* 7, no. 4 (April 1992), doi:10.1108/09649429210014360.

judgements related to gender roles; family oriented hinderances; the perspectives of women on working life.¹⁸ Looking at these factors, the perspectives of women on working life could also be a construction of patriarchal society. Besides the related literature, this dissertation is based on the evaluation of the phrases of teachers and the phrases are more illuminating and explanatory on the facts; therefore, in this part of the thesis the basic questions regarding the feminization of the occupation, gender stereotypes and inequalities are epitomized.

The first and most important gender related question in both the survey and in-depth interviews is about whether primary school teaching is more suitable to women rather than men. Survey results reveal that more than half of the survey participants consisting of primary school teachers think that teaching as an occupation is more suitable to women than men. (52 percent) After obtaining these results, a further analysis is made looking at the gender breakdown of the responses. Hence, out of this 52 percent percent of participants, males approved of the statement “*Teaching is more suitable to women than men*” significantly more than female participants. Among participants that agreed with the statement, male participants are almost 22.4 percent more likely than female participants to think that primary school teaching is a more suitable occupation for women. (See Table 21)

Table 5.1 Teaching is more suitable to women than men

	Men	Women
A1804-Teaching is more suitable to women I agree	57.9%	35.5%
I do not agree	39.8%	63.0%

Primary school teaching is mostly associated with female teachers by the teachers themselves since primary school teaching is perceived as an occupation which is similar to motherhood and furthermore primary

18 Yusuf İnandı, Saynur Özkan, and Sevinç PEKER & Ümide Atik, ‘Kadın Öğretmenlerin Karriyer Geliştirme Engelleri’, *Mersin Üniversitesi Eğitim Fakültesi Dergisi* 5, no. 1 (2009): 77–96, doi:10.17860/efd.93661.

school children are still seen as kids in need of motherly love. Hence primary school teaching is associated with motherhood and it seems more suitable to female teachers. These responses are actually in accordance with the literature and especially the above cited arguments by Cortina and Roman. The results regarding male participants agreeing with the statement being more than female participants is in accordance with the traditional gender roles even though male participants are primary school teachers themselves. Hence, this result is both interesting and confirms the stereotypical gender roles even among teachers. Even though, men who chose to become an elementary school teacher and has been performing this occupation think that this occupation is characteristically a female job.

Another reason for the occupation to be seen more suitable to women is the flexible working hours since women are still not considered as the main bread-winner of the house. Teachers note that the amount of holidays and shorter hours that teachers spent in the workplace compared to corporate workers are advantageous for female teachers since the main responsibility of child care and household chores are still on the shoulders of women in Turkish society in the year 2013. More importantly, this approach is a part of a system, a society in which female fertility and therefore female sexuality and body is under the control of society and even the state itself. The origin of this premise, the premise that a woman's first and foremost duty is to have and raise a child, restricts women and takes them away from pursuing their own life and career. The private realm and public realm of female is so perplexed and mixed that women can go for their career wishes only after they complete their duty of bearing a child. Looking at the women with a career, it could also be concluded that, after a certain age and with the relief of raising their children to a certain age, women go for their ideals in their occupations. The society is also affected with the official discourse of the government of Turkey in the first decade of the twenty-first century and this point is discussed above with citing the speeches of the head of the government.

At this point, Çelikten explains that women have been indoctrinated with the ideals of being a good housewife and a mother for many years and with the effects of these roles they did not have enough time to improve themselves and/or time for going to conferences, participating into research projects etc. They are not that much involved in union activities either.¹⁹ Starting from this point, I can add that eventhough women in Turkey could get 16 years of education, the ideal of being *"a perfect mother and a housewife"* not only keeps them away from managerial positions, but also takes them away from intellectual thinking, questioning and production. These women reproduce the domestic ideals and create a sub-culture shaped around these. Commodity production accompanies this subculture in a capitalist society like Turkey and just like a fashion it spreads among women, and certainly this kind of a subculture takes women away from intellectual work and/or career making. Hence, it can be concluded that women in Turkey may have an undergraduate education and become elementary school teachers, may earn money; however, this does not lead them to pursue their own careers and be independent from conservative female roles.

The discussion above and the results of the survey can be verified and evaluated by the answers of in-depth interviews. During the long interviews, teachers cited anecdotes regarding the feminization of the occupation, traditional gender roles and their reproduction within the occupation, the image of female teacher, the responsibility of motherhood and housework on the shoulders of the female teacher.

§ 5.3 "Men Wish to Have Teacher Wives"

Looking at the in-depth interviews, one point directing women to be teachers seem to be a preference of Turkish men to the option of marrying a teacher. One of the female teachers argues that being a primary school teacher is a favourable job preference for women in Turkey since

19 Mustafa Çelikten, 'The Women at Principals' Chair in Turkey', *The Journal of American Academy of Business*, no. 6 (2005): 85–94.

“many men wish to have teacher wives” (Koyuncu, 19’00) She claims that, even though both husbands and wives are educated, men prefer to leave the responsibility of house running to women and therefore having a teacher wife is very advantageous for them since teachers can have more free time to deal with “feminine duties”. This witnessing is a representation of a common trait within Turkish society and this factor contributes to the feminization of the occupation. Furthermore, some dating sites and popular internet forums also reflect this tendency. “Sour times” (Ekşi Sözlük) is one of these online hypertext portals. As a collaborative digital platform, Ekşi Sözlük, was established in 1999 and has been one of the biggest online communities in Turkey. In 2010, it is estimated that Ekşi Sözlük had around 200,000 registered users.²⁰ Ekşi Sozluk has become an online public sphere in a very short time and has not only used as a means of informal information sharing by thousands of people but also has become a medium for commenting and conveying personal views on any topic including social and political ones. Ekşi Sözlük has also been a subject for academic research as well, and there are several master and doctorate theses that focused on or partly dealt with this enormous platform.²¹ Checking the entries of Eksi Sozluk is like reading the personal blogs of writers which actually gives us an idea of general tendency on a specific topic.

Regarding the area of gender roles, elementary school teaching, and teacher wives, Eksi Sozluk authors have also some contributions. In Eksi Sozluk, there are various main entries regarding female teachers and marriage.²², Some titles from the entries are “female teachers as being

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- 20 ‘Kutsal Bilgi Kaynağı “Ekşi Sözlük” Üzerine...’, *Yeni Medya*, 27 June 2010, <https://yenimedya.wordpress.com/2010/06/27/kutsal-bilgi-kaynagi-eksi-sozluk-uzerine/>.
- 21 For further reading following MA. theses could be helpful: Hatice Akça, ‘The Internet as a Participatory Medium: An Analysis of the Eksi Sozluk Website as a Public Sphere’ (University of South Carolina, 2005); Erol Maral, ‘İktidar, Teknoloji ve Maskülinite / Power, Techno Logy and Masculinity’ (Yıldız Teknik Üniversitesi, 2003).
- 22 For further information, the related links are as follows ‘Annelerin Öğretmen Gelin Sevdası’, *Ekşi Sözlük*, <https://eksisozluk.com/annelerin-ogretmen-gelin-sevdasi->

ideal candidate of wives” (“öğretmen kadınların ideal gelin adayı olması”), “mothers’ adoration for female brides/ daughter in laws” (“annelerin öğretmen gelin sevdası”) “the obsession of Turkish society with teacher brides” (“türk halkının öğretmen gelin saplantısı”), “nice and neat single female teacher” (“eli yüzü düzgün öğretmen kız”), and “the details/reasons that make female teachers attractive” (“öğretmen kadınları çekici yapan detaylar) and within these entries there are more than 200 comments on the advantages of having a teacher wife.

By merely looking at these titles, one could conclude that being a teacher (especially elementary school teacher) is like a preparation stage for young women for marriage. There is a common belief that men and future mother-in laws wish their brides to be teachers. When we look into the entries for the reasons that many people proposed, it can be seen that the main reason is the expectance of “being a servant” and “a mother” from a woman. Being an elementary school is underestimated and devaluated by the society hence any academic contribution, any kind of research, or any endeavour outside the classroom is not considered. Therefore, elementary school teaching is restricted only in the time of actual teaching and is seen as a part time job. This approach put women in the prison of house and in the circle of traditional housewife practices. Teachers stay away from any kind research activities and see their job composed of only dealing with kids in the classroom. In a nutshell, even in the twenty-first century, within a “modern” platform, a digital public sphere called Ekşi Sözlük it is easy to recognize that the traditional gender roles are reproduced and this reproduction diminishes the soul of an occupation.

1505916 ; ‘Türk Halkının Öğretmen Gelin Saplantısı’, *Ekşi Sözlük*, <https://eksisozluk.com/turk-halkinin-ogretmen-gelin-saplantisi--1518249> ; ‘Öğretmen Kadınların Ideal Gelin Adayı Olması’, *Ekşi Sözlük*, <https://eksisozluk.com/ogretmen-kadinlarin-ideal-gelin-adayi-olmasi--2480121> ; ‘Eli Yüzü Düzgün Öğretmen Kız - Ekşi Sözlük’, <https://eksisozluk.com/eli-yuzu-duzgun-ogretmen-kiz--1393398> ; ‘Öğretmen Kadınları Çekici Yapan Detaylar’, *Ekşi Sözlük*, <https://eksisozluk.com/ogretmen-kadinlari-cekici-yapan-detaylar--4354692> .

Considering household chores, female teachers claim that women still are on charge. However, male teacher participants tell that they share the chores at their homes even though they admit this does not reflect the general tendency within the society. Şen believes that primary school teaching is more suitable for women and the reason for this is her belief that female teachers could behave with a motherly compassion towards students which is in line with both theory and the general premises of traditional gender roles and stereotypes. The other reason that Şen accentuates is the length of holidays. Şen states that in Turkey, housework is still a responsibility of women in Turkey and this is a fact for every woman from many different careers. However, she says there are exceptional families and she cites her sons as examples mentioning how she raised them with an understanding of gender equality and thought them to share the responsibilities of the housework and children with their wives.

Similarly, Koyuncu states that in their house, she is the one who does the chores and his husband used to help her (instead of sharing) in the beginning of their marriage. She says that her mother-in-law started to live with them and with the existence of his mother, her husband stopped giving even his already little help since helping his wife would be a shame in front of his mother.

She says she sees examples of gender inequality and discrimination in course books and she states that those parts should be removed in order to sustain gender equality. "I wish my sons would help their future wives. My sons do not help me with chores right now, they rarely take out the dishes from the dishwasher, if I say 'please'" (Koyuncu, 19'00)

Bolat, underlines the feminization of the occupation and notes that the number of female teachers has started to surpass the number of male teachers and he says teaching has become more of a female job day by day. As a young married male teacher (aged 38) he states that in their house, they share the chores and he even does more chores than her wife and adds that ironing for example is his duty. He also adds that in course books there might be some examples of gender inequality especially when the chores are considered.

The only participant that thinks primary school teaching is not inherently a female occupation is Cıĝ. As an inspector, after observing many teachers on duty, Cıĝ does not agree with the statements that teaching is more suitable to women. He believes that men and women are equally talented to be primary school teachers and he also cites that his primary school teacher was male and a very successful teacher that he as a model inspired Cıĝ to be a teacher.

One last resource on the issue of gender roles and female teachers could be Çitçi's very comprehensive work entitled "*Women Issue and Female State Workers in Turkey*."²³ Çitçi makes brief observation on the situation of female workers and bases her work on statistics. However, what we can see 35 years ago in Turkey is same with today's situation:

It is assumed that [this research assumes that] the reason for working women to participate into labour is mostly economic needs. As a consequence of the social values that condition women as a mother and spouse first, it is not possible to expect a woman to have a career since she sees it as a value of interest. Even though there are some differences due the level of education and marital status, one can argue that for all women the real reason to work is the problem of inadequate family income.²⁴

§ 5.4 Gender roles at the workplace

Gender roles and stereotypes create a social pressure on female teachers at their workplace. The pressure could come from the administrators, colleagues or parents. In this part of the dissertation, I will first explore some related works on the topic in order to create a comprehensive perspective. For this dissertation, one unmentioned narrative on the subject of gender discrimination rests on the literature about the concept of "silence at workplace" or "organizational silence" and their relations with the concept of gender.

23 Oya Çitçi, *Kadın sorunu ve Türkiye'de kamu görevlisi kadınlar* (Türkiye ve Orta Doğu Amme İdaresi Enstitüsü Yayınları, 1982).

24 Ibid., 186–87.

Organizational silence could be basically defined as the conscious withhold of workers on their thoughts or ideas based on the contributions for the sake of the progress of an organization regarding its technical, behavioral issues because of the workers' fear of being humiliated, punished, fired or simply their belief that nothing would change by stating their ideas.²⁵ It is a phenomenon that was termed first by Morrison and Milliken²⁶ and has been widely used to define the passive-aggressive reaction of the employees rather than their open expressions on their concerns related to the conditions of the workplace. In other words, workers remain silent even though there are some mechanisms to convey their ideas or anxieties because they presume and/or feel that expressing their ideas would be hazardous for their career.²⁷ This behavior could also be interpreted as a conscious strategy of the employee or punishment vis-à-vis the employer which would harm the workplace eventually.

With respect to female teachers and the concept of organizational silence my fieldwork supplies some valuable data but before that I would like to go through a previous article on the behavior of silence and female teachers. Regarding the concept of silence and teachers, fieldworks are rare. The research by Kutanis and Cetinel conducted in 2010-2011 in an Anatolian city Sakarya focuses on female teachers working in eight elementary schools, and the fieldworks is conducted through semi-structured interviews with fifty female teachers.²⁸ Even though there are drawbacks with respect to the work, the results could give insight to this dissertation. Looking at the results of the research, it can be concluded

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- 25 Ghodratollah Bagheri, Reihaneh Zarei, and Mojtaba Nik Aeen, 'Organizational Silence (Basic Concepts and Its Development Factors)', *Ideal Type of Management* 1, no. 1 (Spring 2012): 47-58.
- 26 Elizabeth Wolef Morrison and Frances J. Milliken, 'Organizational Silence: A Barrier to Change and Development in a Pluralistic World', *Academy of Management Review* 25, no. 4 (10 January 2000): 706-25, doi:10.5465/AMR.2000.3707697.
- 27 Gökhan Kahveci, 'İlköğretim Okullarında Örgütsel Sessizlik Le Örgütsel Bağlılık Arasındaki İlişkiler' (MA Thesis, Fırat üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, 2010).18.
- 28 Rana Ozen Kutanis and Emine Cetinel, 'Silence of Women: A Research on Public Schools', *Amme İdaresi Dergisi* 47, no. 1 (2014): 153-173.

that gender roles are significant determinants with respect to the concept of organizational silence in the context of female teachers in Sakarya. After reading this research, it can be inferred that female teachers need to be very cautious and careful about their behaviors and statements due the patterns and social codes related to the traditional gender restrictions and it is difficult for them to express their concerns not only at the workplace but also in society. One important argument that this work presents is on the situation of female teachers who seem to be in “silence” although teaching as an occupation needs to open way free expression and female teachers should be models for independent, expressive generations.²⁹

In my fieldwork, “organizational silence” could be seen as well. According to survey results, 85.1 percent of the participant teachers state that “*Teachers do not have any means or right to contribute to the determination of educational policies*” and furthermore 56 percent of the participant teachers declared that “*teachers’ committees at schools are not efficient at all.*” Within the in-depth interviews, when I asked teachers about this point, they answered that they have been feeling very ineffective since nobody would listen to them. Hence, they mostly expressed that they preferred not to convey any ideas since nobody would take care of their ideas. These comments, both expressed in survey and in-depth interviews, are examples of “organizational silence” however the gender factor was not exposed. This could be due to the restrictions of this study and for further studies this point is needed.

Another academic research that I find illuminating on gender roles and their reflections at the workplace of teachers in the context of contemporary Turkey is a master thesis by Öznur Koyuncu. In her dissertation Koyuncu deals with the gender related problems of female teachers in the eastern city of Turkey, Diyarbakır, where she also worked as a teacher. Even though some problems she epitomized are reinforced by local traditional and cultural norms, most are representative of the general cases throughout the country. According to her research, female

29 Ibid., 170–71.

teachers working in the public schools of Diyarbakır stated that the school principals gave more importance to the ideas of male teachers. Furthermore, some female teachers noted that they have been humiliated, disrespected and verbally harassed. Some female teachers faced with some phrases starting with the addressing “You women...” For female teachers, it was also difficult to maintain classroom management because of the patriarchal attitudes. Especially in the secondary part of the primary schools and in high schools, since students are relatively older, women teachers felt disturbed by male students and had difficulty to establish their authority to guarantee an efficient learning environment. Moreover, in Diyarbakır, students behaviours towards their female teachers are in the same way they interact with their sisters and mothers or boys simply take their fathers as a role model. Therefore, female teachers witness disrespectful acts such as the use of slang words, swearing or some cases of misbehaving. Even though the incidents are rare, some female teachers even experienced verbal or physical violence both by students and or their male colleagues and administrators.³⁰ Furthermore, due to their religious beliefs and patriarchal mentality, in Diyarbakır parents segregate the parent days according to gender of the teacher and for instance male parents only visit male teachers.³¹

In their separate works, two researchers Coleman and Smulyan also dealt with gender inequality at the workplace of teachers. They argue that parents prefer male administrators or female ones with a masculine attitude.³² This point is also noted in pilot interviews. In Turkish society, education is culturally associated with an autocratic medium. Therefore,

30 Koyuncu, ‘Kadin Öğretmenlerin Sorunlari Ve Toplumsal Cinsiyet (Diyarbakir İli Örneği)’, 92.

31 Ibid., 93–94.

32 Lisa Smulyan, ‘Feminist Cases of Nonfeminist Subjects: Case Studies of Women Principals’, *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education* 13, no. 6 (2000): 589–609.

most of the parents prefer an authoritarian manager who would discipline their children during the educational process.³³ Moreover, parents suspect that female administrators can establish discipline.³⁴ (Coleman 2005) Hence, these attitudes create additional factors that contribute to the gender inequality especially at the workplace of female teachers.

Another point that women felt disturbed is the interruption to their clothes at the workplace. In my in-depth interviews, one of the female teachers accentuated an anecdote regarding the administrators', an inspectors' intervention on her clothing at the workplace. This incident is cited below and the same issue is also cited by Koyuncu in relation to the conditions of female teachers in Diyarbakır. Koyuncu signified that some administrators in Diyarbakır requested the teacher to get dressed in accordance with the "values of society" and some female teachers reacted against this intervention.³⁵ One of the teachers explained the situation as follows:

Here again there is mistrust towards women. They act as if women do not know what to wear in what context, or it is as if a woman would wear inappropriately seductive without considering social values. Once more, the will of the woman is disregarded. Her ideas are disregarded. And again, we see [a case of] "dominance", here. The logic behind their [male administrators] intervention is "you will get dressed as I wish" and because of this logic, I have been continuously judged³⁶

From my interviews, there is a very similar incident regarding female clothing at the workplace. As a female teacher, Gunaydın recalls this event as a very discouraging and discriminatory. It happened during her three-

33 Ibid., 593.

34 Marianne Coleman, *Gender and School Leadership: The Experience of Women and Men Secondary Principals*, 2003, 7.

35 Koyuncu, 'Kadin Öğretmenlerin Sorunlari Ve Toplumsal Cinsiyet (Diyarbakir İli Örneği)', 57.

36 The original text is as follows: "Burada yine bir güvensizlik var kadına. Sanki kadın nerede nasıl giyineceğini, toplumun değer yargısını bilmeden açılıp saçılacak bir şey olarak düşünülüyor. Yine kadının iradesi yok sayılıyor. Kadının 'ön görüşü' yok sayılıyor. Burada yine bir 'hükmetme' var. 'Ben nasıl istersem sen öyle giyineceksin.' Mantiğinden kaynaklı ve sürekli eleştirildiğim de oldu." Ibid.

year service in a village in Konya. Konya is one of the most conservative cities in Turkey. Even though the city is conservative, Gunaydın explains that the villagers had not judged her and had respected her as a teacher, as a cultivated person. However, in the late 1980s an inspector came from the capital city Ankara, and visited her class. He inspected her class and observed her teaching and asked her why she was dressed so elegantly. The inspector reminded her that she had been teaching in a village, and she did not have to be that elegant and he added that as a female teacher, she could have worn a headscarf if she had wished. During that time, wearing a headscarf was not legal for any state worker since it could easily be interpreted as a religious symbol and it could affect the children and create an Islamic model for them at very early ages. The headscarf ban for state workers (including the controversial cases such as doctors, judges and teachers) was abolished in October 2013 during the rule of the AKP government.³⁷ Gunaydın, got a very low grade (60 out 100) on this inspection and she was sure that there was nothing missing in her class and she had been a hard-working, skillful teacher. She officially applied for a re-inspection and her grade was corrected. (Gunaydın, 48.00)

This incident above is an exemplary case and coincides with some cases in Diyarbakır cited in the previous literature with research of Ko-yuncu noted above. As my in-depth interview participant also describes, the officials and/or administrators may expect women to get dressed in a conservative way even though it was not written in regulations. In the incident in Konya described above the inspector did not expect a female teacher to be elegant but rather wished to see her religious and conservative and actually advised her to wear a headscarf. Female teachers are seen as models to girls and just as other female members of the society their clothing is a matter of administration and an area of intervention. This is a reflection of a general attitude within Turkish society towards female body, sexuality and freedom. Even though being a teacher created a counter-hegemonic area for women, the restricted freedom had been

37 'Kamuda Başörtüsü Yasağı Kalktı', *Sabah*, accessed 22 November 2016, <http://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2013/10/08/kamuda-basortusu-yasagi-kalkti>.

intervened and in the twentieth century Turkey, the intervention has surpassed the mainly criticized “asexual Kemalist female image” and even targeted that image to turn into a conservative Turkish-Islamic female image. Although, the abolishment of headscarf ban was presented and welcomed as an initiative of freedom by some groups and the AKP supporters, it could easily be seen that female teachers clothing at their workplace is still an area of intervention, and perhaps even more than ever.

According to the survey results, relationships between teachers and administrators constitute an area of inquiry regarding gender inequality. When the figures are inspected we can see that 17 percent of teachers believe that the school administrators do not behave equally to male and female teachers. However, with a closer look to the survey results, it can be understood that with this statement most of the participants address to a positive discrimination towards female teachers. During pre-interviews, many male teachers accentuated that female teachers are favoured by the school administrations. However; out of 17 percent of the teachers who believe there is gender inequality in the working place, 7.5 percent of them state that there is positive discrimination for female teachers; however still 8,7 percent argues that there is discrimination towards women and it is because of the patriarchal values and tendencies of Turkish society. (see. Table 21)

With respect to concepts, 6.4 percent of the participants states that women seem more “*fragile and sentimental*” and 2.9 percent says men seem “*tough*”. The survey results simply make it clear that some stereotypical concepts are adopted by the teachers themselves, as well. It seems that the classical gender roles’ comprehension of Turkish society is also reflected to teachers’ community. Child care and household chores are perceived as duties of women, and the concepts “fragility”, “sensitivity” “being emotional” are associated to female teachers by both male and female participants. Teachers verify that the responsibility of bread winning is still on the shoulders of men and therefore with longer holidays,

primary school teaching seems to be a female job whereas the administrative positions are mostly filled with men since salaries are higher for these positions and men do have less or no responsibilities at home.

In a nut shell, when the occupation of primary school teaching in Turkey is considered, gender differences seem to be an important factor. First of all, in 2013, primary school teaching is a feminized occupation still in Turkey, and there are several reasons for this outcome. The discourse of the conservative governments of AKP has contributed to already existing gender patterns of Turkey in the twenty-first century regarding the participation of women to labour and traditional definitions on “being a woman” has been flourished. Secondly, the ratio of female administrators is very low, almost 1/9, when compared to the male administrators even though primary school teaching mostly seems as a “female job”. This image is still valid in the first half of the twenty-first century despite the fact that there are slightly more male teachers working in the both first and second level of primary schools which is a direct consequence of the participation ratio of women to Turkish labour market where only one third of women are a part of working life. Women who participated into working life in Turkey still seem to make this choice due to the needs of their family. For most married female teachers, their job is of secondary importance compared to their family lives and a high amount of university graduate women has stated that they would ask for their spouses’ permission for work. However, looking at the answers of retired female teachers, who could still be accepted as an extension of the Republican generation, it is apparent that these women started their careers with idealistic tendencies and rather than supporting family budgets, these teachers chose this occupation with several reasons such as educationg children in various regions of Turkey, carrying the values of enlightenment and becoming an “independent, modern woman” unlike the majority of female teachers in charge today. While working, female teachers had some difficulties caused by their administrators including inspectors. In addition to regulations, female teachers’ dresses are still under observation by school administrations and inspectors who has brought pressure suggesting a more conservative style. It seems that the

abolition of the headscarf ban in 2013 did not liberate female teachers on the issue of clothing. Women in Eastern Turkey (here the Diyarbakır case is reviewed) has difficulties with parents and students and some violence incidents were reported. For the fieldwork of this dissertation, female teachers did not declare any disturbances on sexist manner and/or violence from students or parents. As a last comment, female teachers believe that they tried to raise their children with an understanding of gender equality. Even though, they could not escape traditional gender roles of Turkish society, they wanted their children be free of gender stereotypes. Most women choose to be teachers because they have already internalized established sexist stereotypes. They consider it to be the best job for women, allowing them to carry out their main responsibilities as care-givers and house-keepers. However, most of them are aware of the concept of traditional gender roles and the female interviewees expressed that they would not want to reproduce these gender biased roles when raising their own children.

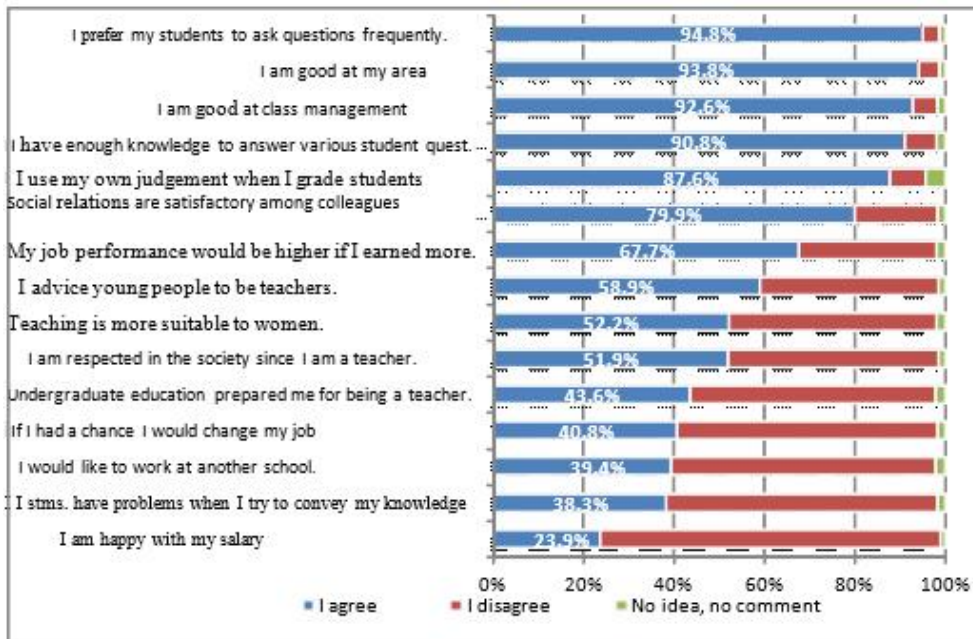


Figure 5.1 TeachersStatements Regarding Teaching Practice 1

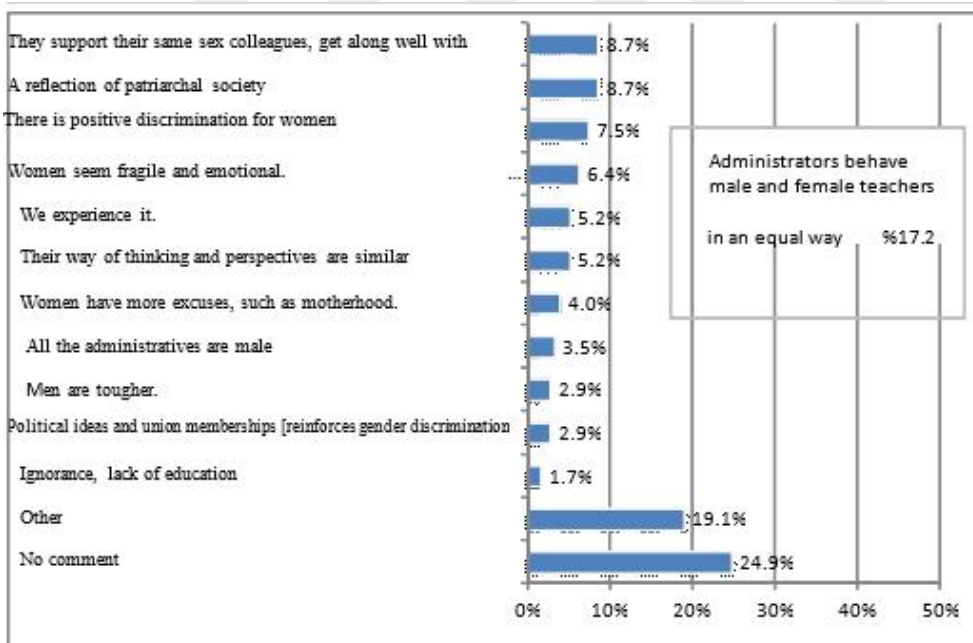


Figure 5.2 Why do you think the school administrations act differently vis-à-vis male and female teachers?

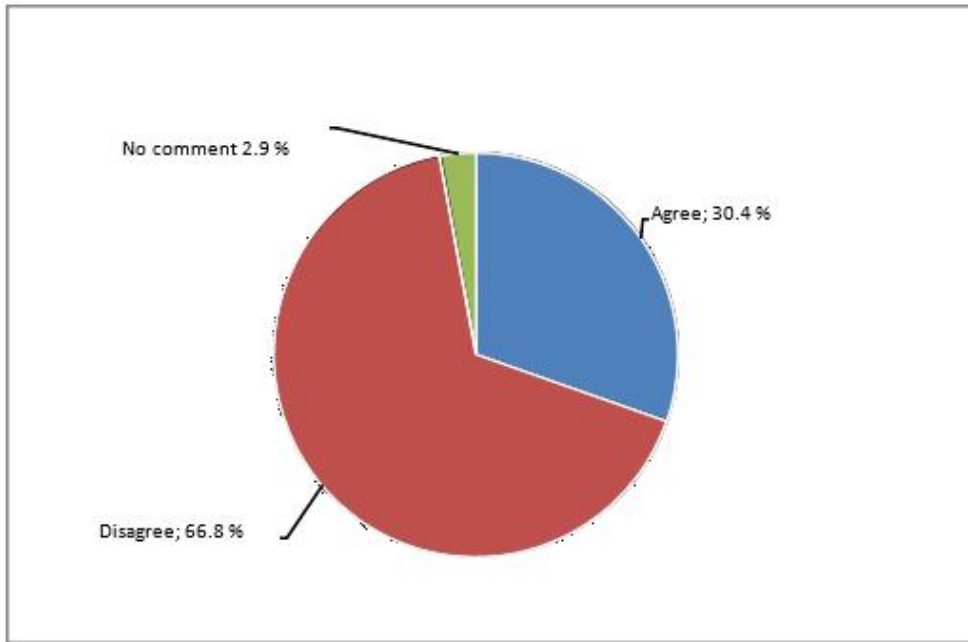


Figure 5.3 Parents do not act fairly vis-à-vis both male and female teachers. Agree or Disagree.

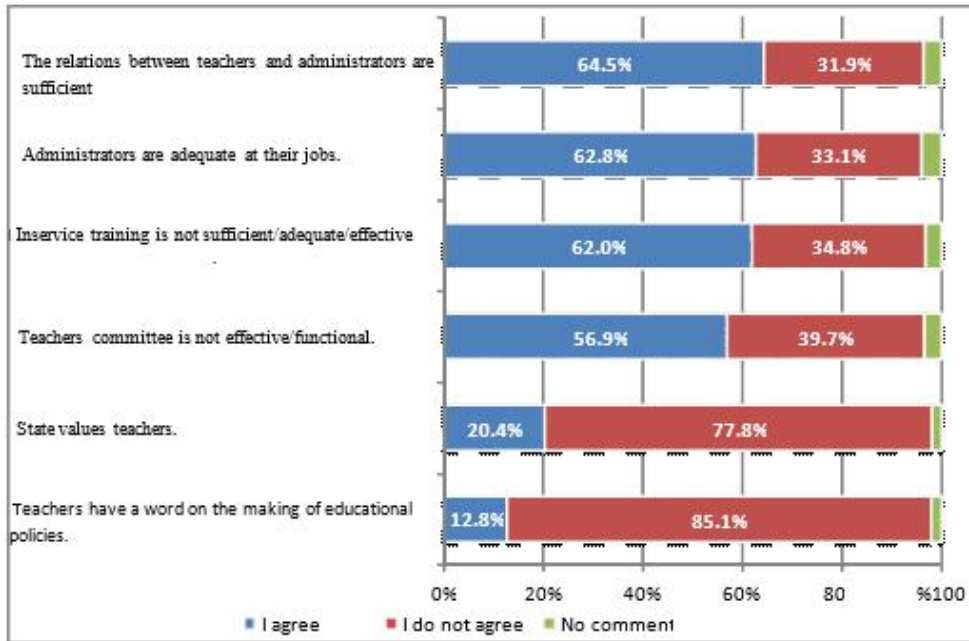


Figure 5.4 Teachers' Relationships with Administrators and Institutions

6

Conclusion



Figure 6.1 A mathematics teacher of thirty-one years old got mentally ill and stripped in front of the City Hall in Manisa- a conservative city in the Aegean region of Turkey- in order to protest his prolonged unemployment; because he had never been assigned to a teaching position since graduating due to his “insufficient performance” on centralized government tests that Turkish government applies to all newly graduated teachers.

April 2017, Turkey¹

I ran across this item of news while working on the conclusion part of this dissertation and I thought nothing better suited the conclusion of this study which was completed in 2017 than this image. This dissertation scrutinized the conceptual change of an occupation, namely primary school teaching, in the period of 1980-2013 in Turkey, a period in which the Turkish society underwent tremendous changes with the implementation of a neoliberal economic system and values colored by the so-called Turkish-Islamic doctrine initiated by the September 1980 coup and then was reinforced during the fifteen-year-rule of AKP governments. While at the start of this dissertation focusing on the process of transformation in teaching as an occupation, I initially accepted the September 1980 coup as a rupture and turning point for educational policies, especially with the introduction of the set of values proposed by the Turkish-Islamic Synthesis and neoliberal economic system; however, during my study I noticed that fifteen-year-AKP rule was another turning point in a process that, at times, parallels the 1980 coup both in the senses of ideology, a Turkish-Islamic Synthesis and the authoritarian, centralist attitudes of AKP governments especially after 2010. In this context, the consequences of the transformation of the occupation are directly described by the image of this teacher who was in the headlines in early April, 2017. By starting the conclusion part of the dissertation with this picture, it is easier to express the aim of this study, which is to explain the diversion of a route that starts from a recent point in Turkish history when the teachers were perceived and honored as the “makers of the future” and transforms to a point a “naked, troubled teacher in the street” runs and protests in front of the City Hall. To explore the complexity of this striking transformation, this dissertation adopts a comprehensive

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- 1 ‘Ataması Yapılmayan Matematik Öğretmeni Valilik Önünde Soyundu!’, *Birgun.Net*, accessed April 2017, <http://www.birgun.net/haber-detay/atamasi-yapilmayan-matematik-ogretmeni-valilik-onunde-soyundu-156209.html> The original header of the news is as follows “Ataması yapılmadığı için bunalıma giren ve Manisa Ruh Sağlığı ve Hastalıkları Hastanesine sevk edilen 31 yaşındaki matematik öğretmeni, hastaneye götürülürken yakınlarının elinden kaçarak Valilik önünde soyundu.”

perspective including a large field study (both a survey and in-depth interviews) and a literature review of scholarly works, excerpts from the press, and works of literature.

The dissertation starts with the historical context of the September 1980 coup and how it initiated the erosion of a set of values within positivist framework emphasizing the significance of knowledge, science and secular education in Turkish society with the introduction of neoliberal economic terms and the doctrines of the Turkish Islamic Synthesis. The dissertation argues and illustrates that the neoliberal turn in Turkish society culminated in a loss of prestige of “knowledgeable and sophisticated” individuals who were outdated by the *nouveau riche* of the time. An era in which “having more money” became the utmost aim for the country’s citizens staged the degradation of an occupation based on cultural capital, and therefore, this study claims that alongside the help of a sharp decline in teachers’ salaries, one reason teaching became a less prestigious occupation, was the *zeitgeist*, the soul, and the mentality of the 1980s.

While looking into the degradation of the occupation, several theories are illuminating, and I use these in order to establish a theoretical framework which aims to explain the data gathered in the fieldwork. Gramscian notions of hegemony and counter-hegemony have been one tool used in this dissertation as well as it had been used in many others. One premise of the dissertation is that teachers have not been passive agents within the hegemony of the Turkish state that has become increasingly authoritarian following the 1980 coup, but on the contrary they created areas of counter-hegemony which was nourished by self-made freedom and creativity. Hence, one issue on which the dissertation focuses is the limited, but effective counter-hegemonic areas in teachers’ daily practices and it follows the traces of these counter-hegemonic areas in all the dimensions of teachers’ lives that the dissertation covers.

As a very brief description, this dissertation looks for teachers’ agency by exploring the relationship between teachers and other actors such as the state, society, and colleagues; it deals with abstract notions

related to the occupation and the actual practice of teaching and, moreover, it entails the socio-economic and demographic details of teachers in Turkey in order to round out the exploration with concrete data.

After introducing the theoretical framework and methodology, this study explores the dynamics among the main actors around the occupation of teaching, namely the state, society and teachers themselves. The roles of these actors prominently contributed to the degradation of the prestige and status of the occupation. How the intervention of the state affected the status of the occupation was detected and examined by means of four headings: The first one is the intervention of the state in the occupation by economic means. Since the decrease in the purchasing power of teachers vis-a-vis their income is directly related to the degradation in the prestige of the occupation, it led to teaching becoming less popular among the most hardworking young students in the country in the 1980s, and it accelerated the feminization of the occupation. The results of the survey and in-depth interviews suggest that in the 1960s and 1970s, hardworking, intelligent children of lower middle-class families and especially students from villages chose to be teachers enabling them to have a permanent and respected work and use the channels of social mobility. For women, teaching was one of the ways to become emancipated since it was a prestigious way to earn money and get out of their homes since working outside home or business life had been a male dominated area in the context of traditional Turkish society. However, in the 1990s, I can conclude that the choice of being a teacher among upper classes has been less frequent and being a teacher started to be an option for individuals from more disadvantaged strata of society including women; moreover, many people who had become teachers started to change their jobs or took a second job in order to get by. Periods of severe economic crisis in Turkey - such as in 1994 and 2001- can be taken as exceptional cases for this conclusion; however, the temporary increase in number of those choosing teaching as an occupation during these periods was neither enduring nor did it affect the occupational choices of smart, and hardworking young people in the country. Most of them changed jobs after earning their degrees in teaching, particularly if their

subject area was in demand outside the profession- such as teaching of computer sciences, teaching of mathematics or teaching in the area of guidance and counselling. Another exceptional situation was the case of unemployed occupational areas in the 1990s in Turkey. In 1997, because of the implementation of eight years of compulsory education, the number of primary school teachers was insufficient, and the MEB decided to change the criteria for becoming a teacher in primary school. Therefore, starting from 1996, the unemployed graduates with degrees in various oversaturated engineering fields such as agricultural engineering were appointed since they preferred teaching to unemployment. Thus, this could be a factor in the slight increase in the popularity of becoming a primary school teacher.

The second intervention of the state regarding teaching was the formulation of an overlooking, sometimes humiliating and therefore degrading discourse, of by state vis-a-vis teachers. This dissertation revealed the effects of statements by high officials about teaching both in the press and in quotations gleaned the survey and in-depth interviews. One major example of degrading discourse was the information of a call service called Alo 147, which was designed to collect complaints about teachers and administrators in which the callers neither had to give any information about themselves nor to prove their claims. The dissertation states that this service is used and is perceived as a means of espionage and of punishment for teachers and it makes them insecure and feel as if they are under surveillance. Teachers noted that Alo 147 was used to silence opposition teachers, and it gave the MEB the right to open file an official interrogation without having any concrete reason to do so. This service also legitimized arbitrary accusations against teachers and it supplied an easy tool for anyone with a personal grudge. Hence, "Alo 147," a call service as an example of state invention to check and control teachers in an unconventional way, became a part of the discourse and attitudes that decreased the prestige of the occupation in the eyes of the members of society by diminishing its respect and making it vulnerable to unjust criticism.

The degrading discourse has been accompanied and reinforced by political oppression of teachers especially during and in the period just after the 1980 coup. Political oppression which was impeded under the military rule of 1980 coup, was illustrated by the recollections of participant teachers who had been scared, and expelled from their jobs, or imprisoned. All Teachers Unity and Solidarity Association was closed and banned, and many members of the union were interrogated and sent to jail. The dissertation presented the statements of participant teachers who believe that they were stigmatized as “terrorists” and/or “dissidents” who were supposed to be members of groups responsible for the demonstrations, protests, and therefore the internal conflict and civil war that preceded the 1980 coup. Around 5000 teachers were expelled and 210 were killed in the period just before and during the coup.² Furthermore, since the largest union of teachers, which had more than 220,000 members and comprised of 60 percent of teachers in Turkey in 1980, was closed by the junta. A new union Association of Educators (Eğitimciler Derneği, Egit-Der) would only be established in 1988, so teachers were deprived of occupational solidarity in addition to all these negative consequences. Therefore, the dissertation reached to the conclusion that acts of state intervention tremendously decreased the prestige of the occupation by creating a negative image of the occupation in society.

Frequent changes to the educational programmes created unstable policies that are the fourth prominent factor due to the interventions of state paving the way for the degradation of the status of the occupation. Teachers note that even as they try to adjust to important changes in the curricula, new applications start and all these changes happen with neither their knowledge nor their consent. Almost all teachers claim that any changes to the political cadre making key decisions in the MEB lead to new implementations which undermine stable educational policies. One example is the case of the old teachers resigning when the teaching of long hand writing for primary school children became compulsory. In

2 ‘Türkiye’de Öğretmen Örgütlülüğü ve TÖB-DER- Tahsin Doğan’, *Ana Fikir*, accessed 1 April 2017, <http://www.anafikir.gen.tr/turkiyede-ogretmen-orgutlulugu-ve-tob-der-tahsin-dogan/>.

this case, in 2005-2006 cursive became the standard writing style for primary school students despite the disapproval of a majority of teachers and some participants in the in-depth interviews stated that this led to the resignation of older teachers since teaching children to write long-hand requires new skills. However, in the 2017-2018 educational year, the MEB decided to abolish the longhand writing system which required a new process of adaptation for primary school teachers.³ One major problem stemming from these sudden changes is the fact that teachers are not involved in the decision-making mechanisms, and the fieldwork reveals that they feel useless and lost among all these changes about which they have no right to say a word. Regular surveys have been conducted by the MEB; however, teachers believe that their thoughts are not heeded and that political authorities decide every change that affects teachers' daily routine in schools. Furthermore, the way surveys of the MEB are implemented is inefficient since question forms are usually dropped off in teachers' rooms and they are completed not with so much attention. Central decision making makes teachers feel hopeless and totally ineffective and one premise of this dissertation is that teachers are perceived as educational robots rather than questioning, thinking, decision-making individuals-in other words, intellectuals. This dissertation focused on the reasons and consequences of this change in the perception and definition of the occupation and listed the reasons for this shift in meaning -that is, first and foremost based on the change from "cultivated" individuals to "consuming" individuals that is a consequence of neoliberal policies of the 1980s. Therefore, the mentality regarding teaching that used to be composed of concepts such as "questioning," "cultivation," "sophistication," and "intellectual thinking" have been outdated. Furthermore, political oppression in the 1980s continued to be effective on the conceptual change of the occupation. Lack of political participation and threats by the state also separated teachers from the activities of reading, writing, translation, and discussion and therefore

3 'Bakan Yılmaz Açıkladı: Eđik El Yazısı Kalkıyor, Dik Temel', *Birgun.Net*, accessed April 2017, <http://www.birgun.net/haber-detay/bakan-yilmaz-acikladi-egik-el-yazisi-kalkiyor-dik-temel-harfler-geliyor-153381.html>.

paved the way for the lower production of the country's intellectual which has become one factor in the demeaning of teachers' social role into teaching agents rather than intellectuals in the society.

According to the results of the survey and in-depth interviews, one reason for the degradation of the prestige and status of the occupation is the attitudes of colleagues who have lost their idealism and respect for the occupation they perform. One of the major concepts frequently uttered by teachers is the loss of the "soul of teaching," which in this context is directly related to the definition of the occupational group. Based on the general tendency of participant teachers, this dissertation claims that the self-created image of the occupation has effectively formed and changed the image of teaching in society.

The dissertation also attempted to the abstract conceptualization of the occupation and the definition of the "ideal teacher." One striking perception that many teachers expressed in the fieldwork with respect to primary school teaching in society concerns the term "babysitter." Other metaphors articulated by teachers regarding their occupation are "light", "leader", "researcher", "[constant] learner", "the future of the society", "educator" "guide", "former [one who can shape individuals and society]" as well as associated concepts of "love and affection," "tolerance," "empathy," "hard work," "education," "[contributing to the] development of the country," "science," and "raising a tree"⁴. These articulated concepts illustrate that even though the prestige of the occupation seems to be decreasing, teachers still describe their jobs with positive concepts, they value their jobs and think that teaching is an important profession for society. By looking at these expressions, I can conclude that despite being aware of the fact that the status and prestige of their occupation is not at a desired level, teachers still believe that they are influential on the future of their students and the country. Hence, this belief is a strong motivation for them to remain in the occupation, and it is prominent factor that makes them to be hopeful about carrying their occupation to the level of their ideal.

4 Literal translation

Another important outcome that the dissertation reaches is that there is a distinct difference among the attitudes of different generations of teachers with respect to their perception of their occupation. The retired teachers who participated in the in-depth interviews see themselves as models for students and believe that they have the mission to benefit society, however; this emphasis on definition of occupational duty is not present among participants of the younger generation. Furthermore, teachers with over twenty years of experience believe that a teacher should first become a cultivated individual and should be following current events and developments in the world. However, bringing these events to classroom could be difficult at the political conjuncture of twenty-first century Turkey; therefore, young teachers seem to perform the act of teaching without possessing a political and intellectual identity. Some teachers claim that many parents send their children to primary school just to get them out of the house and thus perceive teachers as babysitters -which in accordance with the non- intellectual occupational identity of new teachers' of the twenty-first century. The dissertation also compares the definition of the ideal teacher depicted in the regulations of the MEB and found out that the ministry's definition does not refer to a questioning or critical mind, a progressive soul, creativity, following cultural events, or an arduous reader, which are the traits of an intellectual. Instead, it underscores characteristics such as "respectful and understanding towards students," "efficient motivator," and "follower of national and international values."⁵ Therefore, the MEB has declared a list of rather technical qualities defining the occupation of teaching, and the characteristics of intellectuals are not in the MEB's description of a competent teacher. For this reason, this dissertation argues that the MEB perceives teachers as intermediary teaching agents and educational robots rather than as intellectuals.

In order to compose a picture of the concept of "ideal teacher," the dissertation benefited from works of literature and combined the images

5 'Öğretmenlik Mesleği Genel Yeterlikleri...'

of teachers in the literary works with the statements of participant teachers. By doing this, I noticed that despite the sometimes sketchy depiction of characters, Turkish novelists influenced generations of teachers, especially those educated before 1980. The novels effectively outlined the ideal teacher, and teacher protagonists in the novels were exemplary models for certain generations. However, in the twenty-first century, novels with teachers as main characters (sketchy or non-sketchy) are rare. Hence, I argue that this is also related to the prestige and popularity of the occupation. The mission of disseminating Republican ideals had made teachers influential members of Turkish society as well as prominent novel characters. However, I can conclude that the gradual degradation of the status of teachers also led their lack of presence in literature. Therefore, it seems that new teachers are not be inspired by the kind of idealistic teacher protagonists who were role models for older generations.

The dissertation contextualized the occupational experience of the teachers, as well. The professional routines of teachers were scrutinized under three main headings: teachers' education and in-service training; classroom practices; interactions with students, parents, colleagues and administrators and on each title the dissertation has several claims. With respect to teachers' education, the fact that participant teachers have different education years is an intriguing point. Participant teachers are aged between twenty-three and sixty-five, and they work together in the same schools despite having different degrees and numbers of years of education. Hence, I sought to learn if the prolonging of teachers' education helped teachers prepare themselves for classes and what they thought about teachers' education in general. One general statement by older teachers is that their education emphasized practice. Both older and new teachers articulate that teachers' education in educational faculties is not focused on practice and teachers coming out of them do not feel ready for the classroom. Furthermore, most of them express that teachers' education is not sufficient to prepare students for being teachers. Older teachers cited that their educations had a holistic approach;

and the courses were versatile and intended to raise sophisticated members of society with an appreciation for art and possession of culturally valued knowledge by building teachers' schools with music rooms and drawing and sculpture workshops. Furthermore, they stated that the bond between lecturers in educational institutions and students were once close and strong since many of the institutions were boarding schools. Moreover, lecturers were defined as motivated, idealistic such that students saw them as models and identified themselves with their lecturers. Due to many factors, such bonds no longer exist in the twenty-first century. In brief, the thesis illustrated that teachers define contemporary teachers' education in Turkey as inadequate even though four-year-education faculties opened in the 1980s. One striking general comment made by participant teachers concerned the efficiency of the Village Institutes and high institutes for teaching. The criteria for student admission is considered to have been the basic reason for the success of these institutes since, in these schools, students wanted to be teachers from the beginning of the process and most were enthusiastic about being a teacher. Given the results of the fieldwork, I conclude that many teachers chose to study in education faculty randomly and some noted that they preferred to be primary school teaching departments since they had not performed sufficiently on university entrance exams to be engineers, doctors or lawyers. Some said that they could not afford to waste time with job hunting since they came from poorer families, and for years almost every education faculty graduate was immediately granted a teaching position. One suggestion with respect to choosing students for education faculties is to have a closer inspection on teacher candidates, to see whether they are sufficiently motivated to be primary school teachers and to question their intentions, dreams, and skills since they will be working with children. Therefore, I believe the process of selecting university students for primary school teaching departments should be different than the selecting process for students in other departments and should be an attentive process that should consider personal inclinations, motivations, and skills and should include alternative methods of valuation rather than relying only on multiple-choice examinations.

With respect to teachers' education and recruitment process, some cases in recent Turkish history became effectual. There were several periods in which the number of primary school teachers was less than needed. In the late 1970s and early 1990s, quick remedies were taken in order to find teachers for the classrooms of primary schools. Under these regulations, any undergraduate degree holder could become a primary school teacher with only a couple of months of education in pedagogy. In addition to disrupting the standardization of the occupation, these implementations contributed to the degradation of the prestige of primary school teaching by creating the perception that the occupation is so easy and that any person with no other job can become a primary school teacher in a short time period. Therefore, an ordinary citizen in Turkey just witnessed a veterinarian or an engineer of agriculture having become a primary school teacher, which created problems in schools because of lack of needed skills and the "easy" image of the occupation that does not seem to require a specific education. However, in 2006, these regulations were abolished and since then, only graduates of education faculties can become primary school teachers, and graduates from related fields such as arts and sciences faculties who acquire a teaching certificate could teach subject-area lessons after the first five years.

With respect to in-service training, teachers state that it is far from beneficial and that it is often inefficient training period for teachers which they participate because they are obliged to do so. Many teachers express that most of the time in-service training is seen either as a leisure time activity or as a waste of time. Several reasons and suggestions are proposed in this study regarding the topic of in-service training. The methods used for teaching and organizing the trainings sessions are said to be inefficient. The points taught should be chosen on the demand of teachers, and in-service training should be prepared cooperatively with universities and the MEB. More importantly, primary school teachers would benefit from literature, art, and music workshops if such topics were included in in-service training.

This study explored the main aspects of the teachers' occupational life in their daily routine. One of the basic research questions of this dissertation concerns the flexible areas within a very fixed and, restricted schedule prepared by the ministry since all the lesson plans and curricula are prepared and sent to schools by the MEB. This is one of the significant arguments of the dissertation, since it points to the zones where teachers can use their creativity and compose counter-hegemonic occupational areas within their daily routines which were determined by the central authority. Hence, the description of their occupational routine supplied a general picture of primary school teachers' lives and it is scrutinized under the headings of class management and actual teaching practice, material preparation, testing, relationships with colleagues, and difficulties teachers face with while working.

With the help of the fieldwork, the dissertation detected a difference in confidence levels and the skills vis-a-vis class management among the various age groups. The most self-confident group is teachers between the ages of thirty and thirty-six and the second mostis between forty-six and sixty-five. It could be estimated that age and years of experience are important factors with respect to the issues of confidence and class management; however, the fieldwork illustrates that teachers who are thirty years old are more confident about classroom management than those aged forty-six. Accepting the personal differences by default, this dissertation makes a detailed and a different proposition than other scholarly works on the topic and therefore aims to contribute to the existing literature. In accordance with several previous works on the topic of classroom management, my field study shows that the least confident group is the youngest, aged between twenty-three and twenty-nine, which is to be expected. However, regarding the reasons for this lack of confidence, being inexperienced is not the only factor that posited by this dissertation. According to the statements of both older and younger teachers, younger teachers lack classroom management and teaching skills also because the teachers' education they acquired did not involve practical skills, supervision, and teaching sessions were formerly part of the curricula of the Village Institutes (Koy Enstituleri), Teacher Institutes nad

High schools (Ogretmen Okulları/Liseleri), and Higher Teaching Institutes (Yuksekok Ogretmen Okulları).

Another conclusion at which the dissertation arrives is the non-functional inspection process vis-a-vis new teachers. Young teachers seem to be good at technical skills but they have difficulty teaching at the level of primary school students. Teachers state that inspectors should observe new teachers attentively, and then they should give them useful feedback rather than pushing them to deal with excessive bureaucratic paper work and/or creating a punishment system which mostly aims to find mistakes in their teaching process instead of contributing to their career and learning process.

Peeking into the classrooms, preparation of materials is also scrutinized and it is found out that since 2003 (coinciding with AKP government rule) all the course books and materials are chosen and sent by the MEB, but teachers think that these resources and suggested activities are insufficient for preparing pupils especially for centralized examinations. Thus, in spite of not being allowed to do so officially, many teachers plan their own activities, suggest different books, and create freedom within their classrooms which actually becomes one reason they remain in the occupation. However, it is obvious that, pressure on teachers from the center has led to a loss of motivation since it kills the desire of teachers to contribute to the teaching environment and reduces their agency.

Testing and evaluation is also part of the occupational life of a teacher, but it is an even more important subject for Turkish parents and students. Participant teachers note that testing students with multiple-choice exams reduces their verbal abilities since this way of evaluation does not motivate students to read, write, and speak. Moreover, at a young age, students are put under pressure and become stressed due to the centralized examinations. They need to prepare for the examinations with intense study for years. Most of the time, students need additional, outside lessons; furthermore, the credibility of examination centers have deteriorated due to many cases of cheatings and the leak of questions and some examinations were cancelled because of these incidences.

The dissertation conceptualized the feminization of primary school teaching and reviewed gender roles in Turkish primary schools. Even though in 2013 male teachers slightly outnumbered female teachers in Turkey (which is correlated to women workers' participation in Turkish labor market that includes only one third of women in Turkey) primary school teaching is still perceived as a female job. This study worked on the reasons for the feminization of the occupation and its process in neo-liberal Turkey. Scrutinizing the 1980 coup and conservative policies, the dissertation portrayed the effect of the conservative discourse of the AKP governments in the twenty-first century which reinforced the traditional gender roles of Turkish women as mothers and requested they raise children first and foremost rather than be independent and take part in the labor market. This attitude is in tune with the ideology of the 1980 coup which is accepted as a turning point in this dissertation, the socio-political framework of which was the Turkish-Islamic synthesis. It can be concluded that in the 1980s, wealth took place of education as the main status symbol in society; therefore, men started to leave less prestigious and lower-paying jobs such as teaching in state schools and began to pursue high-salary jobs in the private sector while young educated women took their places especially in civil service positions since women are not supposed to be the primary breadwinners of families which is seen as a common characteristic in patriarchal societies. One difference here is the special place of teaching for the empowerment of Turkish women since the occupation coincides with the values of enlightenment and the image of Republican women who are educated, and work just like her contemporaries in the Western world who was depicted in Turkish literature as an independent, single, idealist woman who fights with ignorance and bigotry in the rural regions of Turkey. Even though these protagonists are depicted only in a sketchy way in most of the works of early Republican literature, the fieldwork of this dissertation clearly reveals that these idealist female teacher characters were the models for generations of female teachers especially for those who were educated before the 1980s. For the Turkish case, this dissertation emphasizes that teaching as an occupation was important for the emancipation of women in Turkey, and

among female teachers there is a generational difference in the attitude on the basis of gender roles. The responses of female teachers who had their education before the 1980s show that, unlike the majority of their younger female colleagues, they started their careers with idealistic attitudes. Rather than to bolster family budget, these teachers opted to teach for several reasons such as to reach children in rural regions of Turkey, to carry the values of enlightenment, and to be an “independent, modern woman” like their Western counterparts. I do believe that these female teachers contributed to the empowerment of Turkish women today even though they remained bound by the “asexual” or “motherly” role drawn by the patriarchal state of the 1930s. I do think that it was an efficient start for Turkish women to have work positions in the era of early Republic despite lacking an understanding of total equality of genders, and this process had been ceased by the conservative governments within recent Turkish history and as for female teachers, the dissertation focused on the related specific time span and detected the term of the 1980 coup and the following policies in accordance with the period dominated by the ideology of the Turkish Islamic synthesis and the recent 15 years of AKP rule as the two very influential periods having a backward effect in the issue of female workers’ more specifically teachers’ emancipation.

Today, their jobs are of secondary importance compared to family for most married female teachers in Turkey. Most female university graduates have expressed that they would need their husbands’ permission to work. Even though the numbers of male and female teachers are close, the majority of school administrators, 90 percent, is male. The high ratio of male administrators is scrutinized in the dissertation, and the factors paving the way for this result as well as the consequences of this situation are depicted. The fieldwork shows that women stay away or are kept away from administrative positions since the responsibilities of childcare and house chores are on their shoulders. For a woman, being a primary school teacher in Turkish society means working “part-time,” and she will deal with household chores in her “free time.” This idea is so prevalent in Turkish society that having a teacher wife or teacher daughter-in-law is advisable, even in internet forums. Since administrators work full

time at the office and also during the summer, female teachers often do not apply for these positions even though they have the skills. The fieldwork suggests that unlike male colleagues female administrators-who are already a minority-were most of the time reluctant and, were “pushed” into the position, or needed encouragement to apply. Furthermore, whether as a teacher or as an administrator, female teachers are implicitly or openly pressured with respect to how they dress, act, or speak-more so than their male colleagues. Even though the dress code is determined by law and female teachers follow it, they are closely monitored and sometimes warned by administrators or inspectors. The abolition of the headscarf ban was introduced as a liberating by the AKP government in 2013; however, it seems that the way female teachers dress and act is more than ever an area of authoritative intervention, since the headscarf is perceived as a sign of being more “religious” and therefore a “morally upright woman”.

As my last comments, I would like to state that primary school teachers in Turkey still comprise an influential group in Turkish society in the twenty-first century since they are in touch with every family and as they themselves declare that they contribute to future lives of children. It is easy to guess that the degeneration of occupational values and degradation of prestige and status of the occupation would lead to the eventual deterioration of society. An increasing lack of respect can also be observed vis-a-vis other white-collar civil servants such as doctors and academics, and random violence by citizens towards them has become quite common especially in the second decade of the twenty-first century. One issue not that much touched upon in the thesis is the subject of unemployed teachers and those working without permanent contracts since the dissertation focused on full time primary school teachers, but I believe this discussion can inform studies about such specific subjects. Last but not the least, a major change in primary schools took place while I was conducting my fieldwork and eight-year-compulsory education was abolished and a new model called 4+4+4 was established in 2013 despite the huge disapproval of many scholars in prominent educational

faculties. Now, in June 2017, it seems that this system has caused tremendous problems and it is about to be changed once again. Just by looking at this case, one can conclude that the MEB in Turkey works by way of trial and error rather than by the careful long-term planning which is a merit that national education requires. The other conclusion that I reach after working on this thesis for four years is the following proposal: Because of random policies and frequent policy changes, it is extremely difficult to conduct an academic work on educational sociology and history of Turkey since every detail is subject to constant change and it is not easy to find a pattern or stable inclination within educational policies that are mostly controlled by political authorities rather than educational scientists and experienced educational policy-makers.

Appendix: Survey Instrument

Anket No: id. [.....]
İl: il. [.....]
İlçe: ilce. [.....]
Okul: okul. [.....]

Doğum yılı dtarih. [19]

Görüşülen Kişinin Cinsiyeti cins. [.....]

Doğduğu il? il. [.....]

Oturulan ilde kaç yıldır yaşadığı? il_yil. [.....]

Lisans eğitimi? okul. [.....]

Lisans bölümü? bol. [.....]

BÖLÜM A: ÖĞRETMEN PROFİLİ

A.01. Hangi branşta öğretmenlik yapıyorsunuz? A01. [.....]

A.02. Kaç yıldır öğretmen olarak görev yapıyorsunuz? A02. [.....]

A.03. Şu anda görev yaptığınız okulda kaçınıcı yılınız? A03. [.....]

A.04. Şu ana kadar kaç farklı ilde görev yaptınız? A04. [.....]

A.05. Son beş yılda toplamda kaç hizmet içi programa katıldığınızı öğrenebilir miyim?
A05. [.....]

A.06. En son girdiğiniz sınıf ya da sınıfları düşündüğünüzde sınıfınızda ortalama kaç öğrenci var/vardı? A06. [.....]

A.07. Katıldığınız hizmet içi programdan/programlardan memnun kaldınız mı? A07. [.....]

1. Hiç memnun kalmadım
 2. Memnun kalmadım
 3. Memnunum kaldım
 4. Çok memnunum kaldım
99. Bilmiyor/Cevap Yok

A.08. Geçen dönem haftalık ders yükünüz kaç saattir? A08. [.....]

A.09. Ders yükünüzü dışarıda bırakarak düşündüğünüzde mesleğiniz için ders hazırlığı, kağıt okuma gibi faaliyetler için haftalık kaç saat harcıyorsunuz? A09. [.....]

A.10. Öğretmenlik mesleğinin toplum içindeki yeri size göre, bugün nasıldır? A10. [.....]

1. Hiç itibarlı değildir
 2. Pek itibarlı değil
 3. İtibarlıdır
 4. Oldukça itibarlıdır
98. Fikri Yok / Bilmiyor
99. Cevap yok

A.11. Neden bu şekilde düşündüğünüzü öğrenebilir miyim?

A.12. Aşağıdaki meslekleri Türkiye toplumdaki itibar/prestijlerine göre nasıl sıralarsınız? A12. [.....]

1. Doktor
2. İşadamı/İşkadını
3. Avukat
4. İtfaiyeci/Arama kurtarma çalışanı
5. Öğretmen
6. Milletvekili
7. İşçi
8. Banka memuru
9. Yatırım uzmanı
10. TV yıldızı
98. Fikri Yok / Bilmiyor
99. Cevap yok

A.13. Öğretmen dendiğinde aklınıza hangi benzetme, kavram veya tanım gelir? Neden bu şekilde düşündüğünüzü öğrenebilir miyim?

A.14. Sizce ideal bir öğretmen hangi özelliklere sahip olmalıdır?

A.15. Sizce öğretmenlik mesleğinin toplumdaki prestiji ve saygınlığı son yıllarda değişim gösterdi mi? Gösterdi ise nasıl bir değişim içinde olduğunu düşünüyorsunuz? A15. [.....]

1. Arttı
 2. Azaldı
 3. Değişmedi
98. Fikri Yok / Bilmiyor
99. Cevap yok

A.16. Neden bu şekilde düşündüğünüzü öğrenebilir miyim?

A.17. Mesleğinizi yaparken karşılaştığınız zorluklardan en önemli bulduğunuz üç sorunu, sırasıyla söyler misiniz?

A.18. Mesleki deneyiminizle ilgili şimdi okuyacağım ifadelere ne derece katıldığınızı söyler misiniz?

1. Hiç katılmıyorum 99. Fikri Yok / Bilmiyor / Cevap Yok
2. Katılmama eğilimindeyim
3. Katılma eğilimindeyim
4. Tamamen katılırım

A	Gençlere öğretmen olmalarını öğütlerim.	A1801 [.....]
B	Maaşımdan memnunum.	A1802 [.....]
C	İmkanım olsa isimi değiştiririm.	A1803 [.....]
D	Öğretmenlik mesleği kadınlara daha uygundur.	A1804 [.....]
E	Maddi getirisi daha fazla olsa mesleki performansım artardı.	A1805 [.....]
F	Öğretmen olduğum için toplumda itibar ve saygı görüyorum.	A1806 [.....]
G	Sınıf yönetiminde başarılıyım.	A1807 [.....]
H	Başka bir okulda çalışmak isterdim.	A1808 [.....]
I	Alanımda konulara hakimim.	A1809 [.....]
J	Öğrencilerimin sıklıkla soru sormalarını tercih ederim.	A1810 [.....]
K	Bildiklerimi öğrencilerime aktarırken bazen sorun yaşıyorum.	A1811 [.....]
L	Çalışma ortamımda arkadaşlık ve sosyal ilişkiler tatmin edicidir.	A1812 [.....]
M	Üniversite beni öğretmenlik mesleğine hazırladı diyebilirim.	A1813 [.....]
N	Bilgi birikimim çocuklardan gelebilecek farklı sorulara cevap verebilmek için yeterlidir.	A1814 [.....]
O	Öğrencilerimi not ile değerlendirirken kendi kanaatimi de kullanırım.	A1815 [.....]

A.19. Genel olarak öğrenci merkezli sorunlarda öğrenci velisi ile olan iletişiminizi nasıl tanımlarsınız? A19. [.....]

1. Veliler işbirliğine açık
2. Veliler ilgisiz
3. Veliler işbirliğine kapalı
99. Bilmiyor/Cevap Yok
90. Diğer.....

-
- A.20. Neden bu cevabı verdiđinizi öğrenebilir miyim?**
[Lütfen yazınız] A20. [.....]
-
- A.21. Genel olarak öğrenci merkezli sorunlarda okul yönetimi ile olan ilişkinizi nasıl tanımlarsınız?** A21. [.....]
1. Okul yönetimi çözüm üretimine ortak
 2. Okul yönetimi ilgisiz
 3. Okul yönetimi çözüm üretimine ortak değil
 99. Bilmiyor/Cevap Yok
 90. Diğer.....
-
- A.22. Neden bu cevabı verdiđinizi öğrenebilir miyim?**
-
- A.23. Sınıf yönetimini zorlaştırdığını düşündüğünüz davranış biçimleri nelerdir?**
-
- A.24. Müfredatı uygularken kendi bilgi ve deneyimlerinizi öğretim sürecine dahil ederek; yöntem, aktivite, öğretim malzemesi vb gibi araçları kullanır mısınız? Bunlar nelerdir?**

A.25 Sizi öğretmenlik mesleğini seçmeye iten nedenleri düşünecek olursanız, okuyacaklarımdan her birinin ne kadar etkili olduğunu belirtir misiniz?

1. Hiç etkili olmadı
 2. Pek etkili olmadı
 3. Biraz etkili oldu
 4. Çok etkili oldu
99. Bilmiyor/Cevap Yok

A	Devlette çalışacak olmam	A2501 [.....]
B	İşin garanti olması	A2502 [.....]
C	Kadınlara uygun olması <i>[-!- Sadece Kadınlar]</i>	A2503 [.....]
D	Tatil sürelerinin geniş olması	A2504 [.....]
E	Çocuklar ve gençlerle çalışacak olmak	A2505 [.....]
F	Alanımda başka iş olanaklarının olmaması	A2506 [.....]
G	Ailede ve çevrede öğretmenlik yapanları örnek almış olmam	A2507 [.....]
H	Çocukluğumdan beri bu mesleğe heves ediyor olmam	A2508 [.....]
I	Eğitimin toplumsal olarak önemli olması	A2509 [.....]
J	Mesleğin toplumsal itibarının yüksek olduğunu düşünmem	A2510 [.....]
K	Özel sektöre göre çalışma saatlerini daha uygun bulmam	A2511 [.....]
L	Maddi getirisi	A2512 [.....]
M	Diğer.....	A2590x [.....]

A.26. Genel olarak düşündüğünüzde hayatınızdan ne kadar memnunsunuz? **A26.** [.....]

1. Hiç memnun değilim
 2. Memnun değilim
 3. Memnunum
 4. Çok memnunum
99. Bilmiyor/Cevap Yok

A27. Sizce Türkiye'nin en önemli sorunu nedir?

A27a. Türkiye'nin ikinci önemli sorunu nedir?

A28. Toplumsal sorunların çözümünde bir öğretmen olarak katkınızın olabileceğini düşünüyor musunuz? **A28.** [.....]

1. Evet, düşünüyorum
 2. Hayır, düşünmüyorum
99. Fikri Yok/Bilmiyor/Cevap

BÖLÜM B: KURUMSAL YAPILAR İÇİNDE ÖĞRETMENLİK

B.01. Toplumda genel olarak öğretmenlik mesleğini düşündüğünüzde şimdi okuyacağım ifadelere ne derece katılıyorsunuz?

1. Hiç katılmıyorum 99. Fikri Yok / Bilmiyor / Cevap Yok
2. Katılmama eğilimindeyim
3. Katılma eğilimindeyim
4. Tamamen katılıyorum

A	Devlet öğretmenlerine yeterince önem vermektedir.	B0101 [.....]
B	Öğretmenler Türkiye'deki eğitim politikalarının belirlenmesinde söz sahibidir	B0102 [.....]
C	Çalışma ortamında kadın ve erkek öğretmenlere öğrenci velileri tarafından eşit davranılmamaktadır.	B0103 [.....]
D	Öğretmenlere sunulan hizmet içi eğitimler yeterli değildir.	B0104 [.....]
E	Öğretmenler kurulu yeterince işlevsel değildir.	B0105 [.....]
F	Öğretmen idareci ilişkisi yeterli düzeydedir.	B0106 [.....]
G	Okullardaki idareciler görevlerinde yetkindir.	B0107 [.....]

B.02. Sizce okul idarecileri çalışma ortamında kadın ve erkek öğretmenlere eşit mi davranmaktadırlar?

1. Hiç eşit davranmamaktadırlar 99. Fikri Yok/Bilmiyor/Cevap Yok
2. Pek eşit davranmamaktadırlar
3. Eşit davranmaktadırlar
4. Kesinlikle eşit davranmaktadırlar

B.02a Neden okul idarecilerinin kadın ve erkek öğretmenlere yönelik eşit davranmadıklarını düşündüğünüzü öğrenebilir miyim?

BÖLÜM C: EĞİTİM SİSTEMİ

C.01. Öğretmenlik mesleğinin içinde yer aldığı eğitim sistemini düşündüğünüzde, genel olarak, şimdi okuyacağım ifadelere ne derece katıldığınızı söyler misiniz?

1. Hiç katılmıyorum 99. Fikri Yok/Bilmiyor/Cevap Yok
2. Katılmama eğilimindeyim
3. Katılma eğilimindeyim
4. Tamamen katılıyorum

Eğitimde Materyal Kullanımı	
A	Materyal ve müfredat içeriğinde, kadın-erkek eşitliğine aykırı unsurlar bulunmaktadır. C0101 [.....]
B	Devletin sağladığı eğitim materyallerinin miktarı yeterli düzeydedir. C0102 [.....]
C	Ders kitapları ve müfredatın içeriği niteliklidir. C0103 [.....]
D	Ders kitapları Türk aile yapısı, örf ve geleneklerini yansıtmaktadır. C0104 [.....]
Öğrenciler ve Eğitim Sistemi	
A	Eğitim sisteminde öğrencilerin değerlendirmesi adil bir şekilde yapılmaktadır. C0105 [.....]
B	Öğrenme süreci ezbere dayanmaktadır. C0106 [.....]
C	Eğitim “merkezi sistem sınavları”na cevap vermektedir. C0107 [.....]
D	Test sistemi öğrencilerin değerlendirilmesinde esas olmalıdır. C0108 [.....]
E	Kız ve erkek öğrencilere öğretmenler tarafından eşit davranılır. C0109 [.....]
F	Eğitim kurumlarında dayak cezası uygulanmaktadır. C0110 [.....]
Eğitim Sisteminin Yapısı	
A	Devlet okullarında öğrenciler için eğitimde fırsat eşitliği vardır. C0111 [.....]
B	Eğitim sistemi farklı düşünce ve inançlara saygılıdır. C0112 [.....]
C	Eğitim sistemi din ve devlet işlerinin birbirinden ayrılması ilkesini benimser. C0113 [.....]
D	Türkiye’de eğitim politikaları siyasetten bağımsız olarak belirlenir. C0114 [.....]
E	Eğitim sistemi öğrenci odaklıdır. C0115 [.....]
F	Sendikalar eğitim politikalarının belirlenmesinde söz sahibidir. C0116 [.....]

C.02. İlköğretim finansmanı hakkında bazıları eğitimin tamamen parasız, bazıları tamamen paralı olması gerektiğini, kimileri ise burslu öğrenciler olması şartı ile paralı olması gerektiğini düşünmektedir. Bu üç görüşten hangisi sizin görüşünüze daha yakındır?
C02 [.....]

1. Eğitim tamamen parasız olmalı
Yok
2. Eğitim tamamen paralı olmalı
3. Burslu öğrenciler olması şartı ile paralı olmalı
99. Fikri Yok / Bilmiyor / Cevap

BÖLÜM D: ZAMAN KULLANIMI VE İLGI ALANLARI

D.01. Serbest zamanlarınızda en çok yapmayı tercih ettiğiniz 3 etkinliği, en sık yaptığınızdan başlayarak belirtir misiniz?

D.02. Gazete okuma alışkanlığınızın okuyacağım seçeneklerden hangisine en yakın olduğunu düşünürsünüz?
D02. [.....]

1. Hergün gazete alır ve okurum
Yok
2. Sadece hafta sonları gazete alır, okurum
3. Arada sırada gazete alır, okurum
4. Arada sırada satın alırım, ama hergün internetten okurum
5. Sadece internetten gazete okurum
6. Hiç gazete okumam
90. Diğer.....
99. Fikri Yok / Bilmiyor / Cevap

D.03. Genel olarak, okul döneminde, gün içinde ortalama kaç saat televizyon izlersiniz?
D03. [.....]

1. Hiç izlemem
Yok
2. 1 saat izlerim
3. 2 saat izlerim
4. 3 saat izlerim
5. 4 saat izlerim
6. 4 saatten fazla izlerim
99. Fikri Yok / Bilmiyor / Cevap

D.04. Kitap okuma sıklığınızı öğrenebilir miyim?
D04. [.....]

1. Hiç okumam
Yok
2. Ayda bir kitap okurum
3. Ayda 2 kitap okurum
4. Ayda 3 ve daha fazla kitap okurum
90. Diğer.....
99. Fikri Yok / Bilmiyor / Cevap

D.05. Evinizde kaç kitap olduğunu öğrenebilir miyim? D05. [.....]

1. Çok az var (0-10 kitap) 99. Fikri Yok/Bilmiyor/Cevap
Yok
2. Bir rafı dolduracak kadar (11-25 kitap)
3. Bir kitaplığı dolduracak kadar (26-100 kitap)
4. İki kitaplığı dolduracak kadar (101-200 Kitap)
5. 3 ve daha fazla kitaplığı dolduracak kadar (200'den fazla)
90. Diğer.....

D.06. Düzenli olarak kullandığınız bir internet bağlantısı var mı? D06. [.....]

D.07. Genel olarak, okul döneminde, hafta içi bir günde kaç saatinizi internet'te geçirirsiniz? D07. [.....]

D.08. Genel olarak hafta sonu bir günde kaç saatinizi internet'te geçirirsiniz? D08. [.....]



D.09. Internet'i genel olarak, okuyacaklarımdan hangileri için kullanıyorsunuz?

	Ev 1	Hayır 2	Fil kri Yok / Bilmi yor / Cevap Yok	
A Sosyal ağlar (Facebook vs)	1	2	99	D0901[.....]
B Mail ile haberleşme	1	2	99	D0902[.....]
C Görüntülü ve sesli haberleşme	1	2	99	D0903[.....]
D Chat, Messenger, hızlı mesajlaşma	1	2	99	D0904[.....]
E Haberleri takip etme	1	2	99	D0905[.....]
F Alışveriş	1	2	99	D0906[.....]
G Video izlemek	1	2	99	D0907[.....]
H Bilgi edinme (adres, yemek tarifi, tıp, yasalar vs., ürünlerin özellikleri)	1	2	99	D0908[.....]
I Oyun	1	2	99	D0909[.....]
J Film izleme	1	2	99	D0910[.....]
K Müzik, film gibi çeşitli dosyalar vs. indirme	1	2	99	D0911[.....]
L Forumlarda tartışmaları takip etmek, konuşmalara dahil olmak	1	2	99	D0912[.....]
M Mesleki ağları, sayfaları takip etme	1	2	99	D0913[.....]
Diğer.....	1	2	99	D0990x[.....]

D.10. Abone olduğunuz bilimsel mesleki bir dergi var mı? Hangisi?

D.11. Yaz tatilinizde, okuyacağım etkinliklerden hangilerini yaptığınızı evet, hayır diyerek cevaplayabilir misiniz?

	Evete	Hayır	Fikri Yok / Bilmiyor / Cevap Yok	
A Akrabama giderim	1	2	99	D1101 [.....]
B Kamu tesislerine giderim	1	2	99	D1102 [.....]
C Yazlık evimize giderim	1	2	99	D1103 [.....]
D Otel ya da pansiyon'da kaldığım tatil mekanlarına giderim	1	2	99	D1104 [.....]
E Evimde geçiririm	1	2	99	D1105 [.....]
F Ek iş yaparım	1	2	99	D1106 [.....]
Diğer.....	1	2	99	D1190x [.....]

D.10. Şimdiye kadar Kıbrıs Türk Cumhuriyeti dışında yurtdışı bir ziyarette bulundunuz mu?
D10. [.....]

D.11. Son 6 ay içinde okuyacağım etkinliklerden hangilerini yaptığınızı evet, hayır diyerek belirtebilir misiniz?

	Evete	Hayır	Fikri Yok / Bilmiyor / Cevap Yok	
A Bir müzeyi ziyaret ettim	1	2	99	D1101 [.....]
B Sinemaya gittim	1	2	99	D1102 [.....]
C Tiyatroya gittim	1	2	99	D1103 [.....]

D.12. Türkçe dışında hangi dilleri biliyorsunuz?

[Belirtilen Dil]

D1201. [.....]

D.13. Yabancı dil bilmenin, kariyerinizi etkileyeceğine/etkilediğine inanıyor musunuz?
D13. [.....]

D.14. Şu anda bir sendikaya üye misiniz? Değilseniz geçmişte bir sendikaya üye olmuş muydunuz?
D14. [.....]

1. Şu anda bir sendikaya üye Yok 99. Fikri Yok / Bilmiyor / Cevap Yok
2. Eskiden bir sendikaya üye idi ama şimdi değil

D.1401. Şu anda üye olduğunuz sendikayı öğrenebilir miyim?

- D.15. Sendikalar dışında bir sivil toplum kuruluşuna ya da derneğe üye misiniz, ya da böyle bir kurum için hiç çalıştınız mı? D15. [.....]
1. Evet, üyeyim
 2. Hayır, üye değilim/ hiç çalışmadım
 3. Eskiden üyeydim/ çalıştım
99. Fikri Yok / Bilmiyor / Cevap Yok

D.16. Bu kurumla ilişki biçiminizi okuyacaklarımdan hangileri tarif etmektedir?

	Evete	Hayır	Fikri Yok / Bilmiyor / Cevap Yok	
A Bağış yaptım	1	2	99	D1601 [.....]
B Çalıştım	1	2	99	D1602 [.....]
C Çalışma ya da bağış yapmadım.	1	2	99	D1603 [.....]
Diğer.....	1	2	99	D1690x [.....]

D.17. Listede bir öğrencinin büyürken sahip olması gerekebilecek bazı özellikler bulunmaktadır. Sizce bu özellikler arasında, en önemli üç tanesi sırasıyla hangileridir?

[Belirtilenler]

1. Hoşgörülü olmak
 2. Özgüven sahibi olmak
 3. Esnek düşünebilmek
 4. Çalışkan olmak
 5. Azimli ve sebatkar olmak
 6. Dindar olmak
 7. Büyüklerine saygılı olmak
 8. Yaratıcı olmak
 9. Mizah anlayışına sahip olmak
 10. Disiplinli olmak
 11. Akılcı olmak
 12. Sağduyulu olmak
 13. Barışçı olmak
 14. Farklı düşünce ve inançlara saygılı olmak
 90. Diğer.....
99. Bilmiyor/Cevap Yok

BÖLÜM Z: DEMOGRAFI

Z.01. Okuyacaklarımdan hangisi medeni durumunuzu en iyi açıklamaktadır? Z01. [.....]

1. Evli
 2. Bekar/Hiç evlenmemiş
 3. Boşanmış/Ayrı
 4. Dul
 5. Dini nikahlı veya beraber yaşayan (Resmi nikah olmadan beraber yaşama)
99. Cevap yok

Z.02. Çocukunuz var mı? Z02. [.....]

1. Evet, var. 99. Cevap yok
2. Hayır, yok.

Z02a. Çocukunuzun/çocuklarınızın yaşını ve cinsiyetini öğrenebilir miyim?

Çocuk	Cinsiyet	Yaş
1. Çocuk	Z02. [.....]	b07c01. [.....]
2. Çocuk	b07b02. [.....]	b07c02. [.....]
3. Çocuk	b07b03. [.....]	b07c03. [.....]
4. Çocuk	b07b04. [.....]	b07c04. [.....]
5. Çocuk	b07b05. [.....]	b07c05. [.....]

Z.03. En son mezun olduğunuz okul düzeyini belirtir misiniz? Z03. [.....]

Z.03a. Babanızın en son mezun olduğu okul düzeyini belirtir misiniz? Z03a. [.....]

Z.03b. Annenizin en son mezun olduğu okul düzeyini belirtir misiniz? Z03b. [.....]

Z.03b. Eşinizin en son mezun olduğu okul düzeyini belirtir misiniz? Z03b. [.....]

1. Okuma yazma bilmiyor 99. Cevap yok
2. Okul mezunu değil, okuma yazma biliyor
3. İlkokul mezunu
4. Ortaokul (veya ilköğretim okulu) mezunu
5. Lise veya dengi okul mezunu
6. Yüksek okul (2 yıllık) mezunu
7. Üniversite (en az 4 yıllık) mezunu
8. Yüksek lisans veya doktora mezunu 90. Diğer:.....

Z.04. Şimdi sayacaklarımdan hangisi EŞİNİZİN iş durumunuzu en iyi tanımlıyor? Eğer eşiniz şu anda çalışmıyorsa, lütfen en son işinin ne olduğunu açıkça belirtiniz. Z04. [.....]

1. Ücretli/Maaşlı ve tam zamanlı (yani haftada 30 saatten fazla) çalışıyor
 2. Ücretli/Maaşlı ve yarı zamanlı (yani haftada 30 saatten az) çalışıyor
 3. Zaman zaman çalışıyor veya geçici olarak çalışmıyor
 4. Kendi işinin sahibi
 5. Ücretsiz aile işçisi
 6. Çalışmıyor
99. Fikri Yok/Bilmiyor/Cevap Yok

Z.05. Şimdi sayacaklarımdan hangisi EŞİNİZE en uygun olanı? Z05. [.....]

1. Emekli
 2. Ev kadını
 3. Öğrenci
 4. İşsiz / İş arıyor, balsa çalışmak istiyor
 5. Bir işte çalışmıyor, kira-faiz benzeri gelire geçiniyor
 6. Çalışması mümkün olmayacak ölçüde engelli
99. Fikri Yok/Bilmiyor/Cevap
90. Diğer.....

Z.06 Yaşamakta olduğunuz hanede sizinle beraber kaç kişi yaşamaktadır? Z06. [.....]

Z.07. Okuyacaklarımdan hangisine sahip olduğunuzu belirtir misiniz?

1. Var
2. Yok

Bulaşık makinesi Z0701. [.....]

Otomatik çamaşır makinesi Z0702. [.....]

Evde kullanılan bir kişisel bilgisayar Z0703. [.....]

Sizin kullandığınız bir kredi kartı Z0704. [.....]

Otomobil Z0705. [.....]

VCD-DVD Oynatıcı Z0706. [.....]

Mikrodalga fırın Z0707. [.....]

Dijital fotoğraf makinesi Z0708. [.....]

Plazma veya LCD Televizyon Z0709. [.....]

Video Kamera Z0710. [.....]

Evde Internet bağlantısı Z0711. [.....]

Z.08. Halen oturduğunuz yer için aşağıdakilerden hangisi sizin durumunuzu belirtmektedir? Z08. [.....]

1. Ev sahibi
 2. Kiracı
 3. Lojman
 4. Kendi evi değil ama kira ödemiyor
99. Cevap Yok

Z.09. Arabanızın marka ve modelini söyler misiniz?

[Marka, model, yıl] Z0901. [.....]

Z.10. Okulunuzdaki işiniz dışında, maddî getirisi olan işlerle uğraşıyor musunuz? Z10. [.....]

1. Evet, sürekli
2. Bazen, arada sırada
3. Hayır

99. Cevap Yok

Z10.b. Okuldaki işiniz dışında uğraştığınız işi öğrenebilir miyim? Z10b. [.....]
[Ek iş]

Z.11. Toplam aylık hane halkı gelirinizi öğrenebilir miyim? Z11. [.....]

1. 750 TL ve altı
2. 751 – 1.000 TL
3. 1.001 – 1.200 TL
4. 1.201 – 1.500 TL
5. 1.501 – 1.800 TL
6. 1.801 – 2.400 TL
7. 2.401 – 3.000 TL
8. 3.001 YTL ve üzeri

98. Fikri Yok / Bilmiyor
99. Cevap yok

Z.12. Toplam aylık kişisel gelirinizi öğrenebilir miyim? Z12. [.....]

1. 750 TL ve altı
2. 751 – 1.000 TL
3. 1.001 – 1.200 TL
4. 1.201 – 1.500 TL
5. 1.501 – 1.800 TL
6. 1.801 – 2.400 TL
7. 2.401 – 3.000 TL
8. 3.001 YTL ve üzeri
98. Fikri Yok / Bilmiyor

99. Cevap yok

Z.13. Şu anki gelir düzeyinizi, 1'in "az", 10'un "Çok iyi" olduğu skalada değerlendirecek olursanız, hangi skor gelir düzeyinizi en iyi ifade eder? Z13. [.....]

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
Az				Orta					Çok iyi	Fikri Yok/ Bilmiyor/ Cevap Yok

Z.14. Evinizin aylık ortalama gideri ne kadardır, öğrenebilir miyim? Z14. [.....]

1. 750 TL ve altı
2. 751 – 1.000 TL
3. 1.001 – 1.200 TL
4. 1.201 – 1.500 TL
5. 1.501 – 1.800 TL
6. 1.801 – 2.400 TL
7. 2.401 – 3.000 TL
8. 3.001 YTL ve üzeri
98. Fikri Yok / Bilmiyor

99. Cevap yok

Görüşülen Kişinin

Adı Soyadı: isim. [.....]

E-Posta Adresi:@..... email. [.....]

Açık Adresi: adres. [.....]

Posta Kodu: pkod. [.....]

Telefon Alan Kodu: tel_alan. [.....]

Telefon Numarası: tel_no. [.....]

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