WOMEN ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TEACHERS IN TURKEY: CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN THE FORMATION OF A GENDER IDENTITY VIS A VIS PROFESSIONAL IDEOLOGIES AND STATE POLICIES

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ABSTRACT

WOMEN ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TEACHERS IN TURKEY: CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN THE FORMATION OF A GENDER IDENTITY VIS A VIS PROFESSIONAL IDEOLOGIES AND STATE POLICIES

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This study examines the gender regime of the elementary school teaching profession and the continuities and changes that has taken place in this gender regime within the recent period, drawing upon the life story narratives of the women from different generations. As such, it addresses the gender dimension of the neoliberal transformation in this field, focusing on the changes in professional ideologies and state policies.

Elementary-school teaching has come to be considered as proper and respectable occupation for women. Main reason for this is the imagined harmony and complementarity between the nature of womanhood and early-grades teaching, house and classroom, and housework and classroom work. This cultural convention constructing (proper) womanhood and elementary school teaching with reference to each other has created a modern past for the nations, where histories of the profession and of women appear interwoven.

This thesis looks closer to the near past and current dynamics of the feminization in the profession which has taken place mostly upon neoliberal transformation. It analysis the gender regime of the profession and the continuities and changes therein throughout the experiences of three generations: Graduates of pre-faculty teacher education institutions, faculty graduates, and those who met the KPSS (PPSE) grade criterion in assignment during times of teacher unemployment. Findings of the study indicate that the female respectability codes once dominated the gender regime has been debilitated in the occupation, with both negative and positive consequences for women's empowerment.

Keywords: Intergenerational Change, Gender and Occupations, Gender and Teaching

ÖZ

TÜRKİYE'DE KADIN İLKOKUL ÖĞRETMENLERİ: MESLEK İDEOLOJİLERİ VE DEVLET POLİTİKALARI İTİBARİYLE BİR TOPLUMSAL CİNSİYET KİMLİĞİNİN KURULUŞUNDA DEĞİŞİM VE DEVAMLILIK

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Bu çalışma, yakın dönemde Türkiye'de ilkokul öğretmenliği mesleğine ait toplumsal cinsiyet rejiminin, farklı kuşaklardan kadınların deneyimlerinde sergilediği değişim ve süreklilikleri, yaşamöyküsü anlatılarına dayalı olarak incelemektedir. Meslekte profesyonel ideoloji ve devlet politikaları odağında ele alınan yeni-liberal dönüşüm sürecinin, toplumsal cinsiyet boyutunu irdelemektedir.

İlkokul öğretmenliği, kadınlar açısından uygun ve saygın bir meslek olarak kurgulana gelmiştir. Bunun sebebi, kadınlık ve sınıf öğretmenliği, ev işleri ve sınıf işleri, ev ve sınıf mekanı arasında hayal edilen devamlılık ve uyumdur. (Uygun) kadınlık ve ilkokul öğretmenliğini birbirine referansla kurgulayan bu kültürel çerçeve, bütün ülkelerde, mesleğin tarihi ve kadınlarınkinin iç içe geliştiği bir modern dönem yakın geçmiş ortaya çıkarmıştır.

Bu çalışma, meslekte yeni liberal dönüşümle gelen kadınlaşmanın yakın tarihi ve güncel dinamiklerine odaklanmaktadır. Mesleğin toplumsal cinsiyet rejimi ve bu rejimde gözlenen süreklilik ve farklılıklar farklı kuşakların deneyimleri üzerinden analiz edilmektedir: Fakülte öncesi öğretmen eğitim kurumlarından mezun olanlar, fakülte mezunları ve KPSS sınavı koşulu ile karşılaşan, öğretmen işsizliği dönemi öğretmenleri. Çalışmanın bulguları, bir zamanlar mesleğin toplumsal cinsiyet rejimini belirlemiş olan kadın saygınlık kodlarının zayıflamakta olduğuna ve bunun kadınların güçlenmesi açısından hem olumlu hem olumsuz sonuçlar ortaya koyduğuna işaret etmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kuşaklararası Değişim, Toplumsal Cinsiyet ve Meslekler, Toplumsal Cinsiyet ve Öğretmenlik

To My Family and Friends

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To all the wonderful women in my life …

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This thesis is about women elementary school teachers in Turkey. It explores the women's experiences and identity development in the occupation as it is changing under neoliberal rule today[12]. It targets to reveal the gender regime specific to the

[1] For some examples over the subject, neoliberal transformation in teaching, see following works. They provide a comprehensive framework of neoliberal turn in education and teaching, rather than focusing on a sub-set of related issues:

Ünal, L. I. (2005). Öğretmen imgesinde neoliberal dönüşüm. *Eğitim Bilim Toplum Dergisi*, *3*(11), 4-15.

Demirer, D. K. (2012). Eğitimde piyasalaşma ve öğretmen emeğinde dönüşüm. *Çalışma ve Toplum Dergisi*, *1*(1), 167-186.

Buyruk, H. (2014). "Professionalization" or "Proletarianization": Which Concept Defines the Changes in Teachers' Work?. *Procedia-Social and Behavioral Sciences*, *116*, 1709-1714.

Buyruk, H. (2015). *Öğretmen emeğinin dönüşümü*. İletişim.

[2] Dilek&Işık (2014) in their life history study on two women who were born in the early 1920s and the other in 1950s mention that the older women had entered in teaching education unwillingly, upon insistence of her father, married an inspector and served in city schools and the younger one had herself desired to continue her education and become a teacher, married a teacher and served generally in villages. Social class differences find reflection in differential engagement with teaching in those cases.

Dilek, G., & Işık, H. (2014). Kadınların Özyaşam Öykülerinde Kadınlık ve Öğretmenlik Kimliklerinin Kuruluşu: Emekli Kadın Öğretmenlerle Mikro Düzlemde Bir Sözlü Tarih Çalışması.

Gürses (2003) tracks the changing image of women teachers in media representation in Turkey and summarizes how they turned into a matter of victimization and suspicions on their morality, in line with the status loss they faced.

Gürses, F. (2003). Medya ve kadın öğretmenler.(Türkiye'de yazılı basında kadın öğretmenin temsili). Eğitim-Sen.Ankara.

Sarı (2012) discusses the impact of gender over women's teaching practices and the way they interpret them. She reveals that, gender is crucially important in women teachers' professional identities since women are expected to behave in a feminine way, for "they are also mothers". Here the medium gendering the professional identity appears as parents/mothers as well as school managements:

Sari, M. (2012). Exploring gender roles' effects of Turkish women teachers on their teaching practices. *International journal of educational development*, *32*(6), 814-825.

Buyruk (2014) looks at the history of school education in the modern Turkey; identifies different periods based on women's representation in the occupation, and discusses whether a feminization trend is discernable:

Buyruk, H. (2014). Öğretmenlik Mesleğinde Kadınlar: Türkiye'de Öğretmenliğin Feminizasyonundan Bahsetmek Mümkün mü?. *Eğitim Bilim Toplum*, *12*(47).

occupation, which has been structured in relation to broader gender order in the contemporary Turkish society and to identify the dynamics of neoliberal change in its terms, drawing upon the life story narratives of three different generation women, active today in the occupation. Main categorical focuses of the study in exploring the changes in the gender regime of ES (elementary school) teaching, representing the characteristics of the neoliberal regulation, are changing professional ideologies and state policies.

This project is motivated by a simple curiosity towards the commonly accepted reality that our public cultures hinge upon an "unproblematic" acceptance of women into public life of the society, in teaching roles. Woman teacher, as a generic social figure, has come to symbolize a particular type of proper womanhood. Education has changed in institutional organization and social missions, since the times of early popular education movements, to home education, elite education, public education, and recently new models of private education and private, non-school educational services. However, throughout this history, rarely has women's becoming teachers in the educational institutions been made subject of questioning. This common approval for women's being and becoming teachers renders teaching a critical socio-historical venue, where a constant accumulation of normative understandings on women's place and womanhood and particular gender cultures in public life have developed.

This study draws upon the now canonic argument that modern public elementary school teaching has critically involved in making of public patriarchy, hence in historical structuring and operation of the modern gender divisions (Steedman 1985; Grumet 1981 and 1988; Jacobi 2000; Tamboukou 2000 and 2003). Thus, as an occupation that has come to recruit women in mass numbers and universally deemed as a feminine realm, elementary school teaching has involved in making and reproduction of the public patriarchy[3] which has structured women's place in

[3] Public patriarchy denoting the term Walby (1990a) used first to describe how with the new possibilities of women's inclusion in public sites and institutions, patriarchy acquired new areas and mechanisms of reproduction beyond the domestic realm. There are new gendering processes, divisions and normativities regulating women's place in public under liberal reconciliations and

patriarchal divisions, cultures and identities in modern times, beyond the arrangements of the domestic realm. This is closely related with expansion of child care duties of women into elementary school classrooms and inflection of it with gendered divisions, men holding the positions of management and intellectual authority in the whole education apparatus and women taking the teaching positions at the bottom (Dillabough 1999). Another way, feminization of the occupation has structured patriarchal divisions in the public is considered to be association of women's public roles with the ethical script of the occupation, moral responsibilities and service to others and to the society, rather than individual rights and liberties, in the figure of woman elementary school teacher (Steedman 1985).

Woman teacher figure, in its historical emergence, has capitalized on the common associations of teaching with femininity, as a social task and role. Appearing as a continuation of women's domestic roles, caring and nurturing small children, teaching could be understood as a simple relocation of women's domesticity in the schools and classrooms (Read 2003). As such, in symbolic meanings, women's inclusion in teaching seems to have not posed a big challenge for the patriarchal codes of the society. It did not constitute an open contestation of the male public life in the society through inclusion of women in highly power-charged realms of elite education, professions, and politics. Woman elementary school teacher was even accepted as epitomic of the modern patriarchal reconciliation of societies on women's proper place in public life. According to this popular view, feminization of teaching was reiterating the feminine domesticity in the modern public (See for ex. Jacobi, 1997). However, such a reductionist view could easily confuse women's negotiations and coping strategies as well as the state-society-citizenship projects of

women's gains in participating in education, work life and politics. Although, the concept was implying a period where patriarchy totally relied on domestic realm organizations and this is underlined as a mortal weakness, I find it productive in some important ways. It was effectively pointing out a period of urgent need to reinvent and project patriarchy in public realms where the latter was itself in radical reorganization. In many country contexts, modern nation states had to remold the public life, relation of individual with the state and public, the citizenship and its institutions. It was an important stage in development of the public life, as we know it today. Furthermore, this period was also a milieu where historical gains of women's movements had reached a certain point but patriarchy presented a flexibility in reconfiguring its mechanisms. This fin de siecle period marks a radical reorganization of societal systems and then bifurcate into liberal, welfare (or post-war), and neo-liberal periods.

their times with their already existing eternal femininity and perpetuate the gender reductionism structured in our societies. Against this pitfall, feminist researchers have argued that femininity of elementary school teaching had not been achieved with transpositions of the existing feminine domesticity into teaching; but teaching had been the social ground for invention and promulgation of the middle-class femininity in modern terms, of good mother, modest and respectable woman citizen, and a moral agent (cf. Steedman, 1992; Tamboukou 2003). Its gender regime, thus, ought to be examined through its semi-autonomous relation with the gender orders, macro patriarchal structures of the societies.

Furthermore, besides being a historical construction, as a cultural embodiment, teaching was not easy and unproblematic site for women[4]. Living up to the social expectations from the woman teacher figure is particularly difficult for women due to the strong moral code specifically targeting gender subjectivities of women, as they have to prove that teaching is a calling for their feminine selves, that they are naturally oriented to the occupation and love children, get spiritual satisfaction out of being with children and engaging with caring work; could balance their family and work lives -as professional and domestic roles are considered similar and harmonious for women. Thus, moral, familial, and work based expectations from them have always been highly burdening.

Early grades teaching has come to be commonly accepted as a woman-friendly job for near two centuries by now. Hence, gender regime of teaching is well-entrenched in the lives of societies. Similarly, teaching enables naturalization and reproduction of many patriarchal divisions and norms in broader social area.

[4] Tamboukou (2003) examines the literature developed around women teachers' own auto-biographical writings in detail and points out the lack of attention to some aspects of the issue, including feelings of loneliness and isolation felt by women especially in remote areas of work and in classrooms. She also indicates that classroom is itself a very problematic for women as it appears as a disciplinary space for women and their "feminine selves".

Social Class Dimension

Seen from the side of women, elementary school teaching has come to be a social field where women have found a path to public space, the fields of education, work, and occupations; through which they have worked out common representations, identity claims, and negotiations: a place in the public. This path has held a critical importance during the time of nation states and obligatory public elementary schooling, for the intersectional production of social class and gender, in a particular image of *respectable working-class womanhood in public*. As such, there is a social class and mobility dimension specific to the field.

Elementary school teaching as a track of education, work and occupation, has achieved to reach and include women from diverse class origins, including women of the rural lower classes. As such, it is not comparable with the wide array of core professions in which women's high levels of representation has constituted a popular study subject and conceived as a particularity of Turkish modernization history (c.f. Öncü 1979; Bayrakçeken Tüzel 2004). Not necessarily being a precursor of women's attaining the high privileges of the professions, and inclusion in the ranks of elites, teaching has opened up a popular public field in the ranks of lower middle classes, which has been more extensive in reach, and, as a role, humbler, less aspirant, more adapted and attentive to common negotiations and agreements on women's place and roles in the society. In other words, woman teacher has not been an elite, conversely, a commonplace figure, part of the realities of everyday life of the societies, seemingly not disturbing the gender-based regulations of social space. This is especially the case for the period in which daughters of educated middle classes started to share their places in teaching with an ever more dominating number of rural working-class girls, after obligatory public schooling necessitated training of a mass number of teachers and turning to lower classes for recruitment[5].

[5] This is a universal phenomenon (Coffey & Delamont 2000) repeated also in the Turkish context. Arat (1998) mentions that at the first decade of the Turkish Republic, women teachers, in majority working at urban schools, were coming from educated and well-off urban families. In the course of the wide scale mobilization for mass and obligatory primary schooling, daughters of rural poor entered into the occupation to reach dominating numbers in a short time. Dilek&Işık (2014) in their life history study on two women who were born in the early 1920s and the other in 1950s mention that the older women had entered in teaching education unwillingly, upon insistence of her father, married an inspector and served in city schools and the younger one had herself desired to continue

A Gender Regime Spread across Professional, Social and Private Lives of Women

My main assumption, here, is that elementary school teaching is a field, where a specific gender regime operates in a semi-autonomous relation with the broader gender order in the society. This gender regime, therefore is the context where women develop their individual identities in and through teaching. Although it has been historically a gender-balanced occupation in Turkey, elementary school teaching has a strong gender regime, which draws upon the universal cultural construct arguing for differential female capacities for nurturing and educating small children, based on "woman as a mother" imagery. This imagery has facilitated patriarchal organization of ES teaching work, women having to respond bigger demands; present more emotional work and engagement; undertake relational aspects of teaching work more; comply with stricter norms of morality, limit personal searches for career and income; and combine family and work. Meanwhile women's teaching labour is largely deemed a labour of love and immediately translating into spiritual satisfaction, not inclusive of skill but simply operation of gender-role capacities. Teaching being considered as allowing work-life balance for women, as a broad-base common conviction, also indicates how the professional ideology naturalizes gender-based domestic division of labour; and that the gender regime of teaching profession and ideology cross-cuts social, private and professional realms.

Women's identities, formed in reference to elementary school teaching, cannot be considered solely a professional identity, or a social identity, or a gender identity, justifying a conceptual framework drawing upon one concept among others. Rather, based on the social status positionings and mobilities represented and enabled by teaching; and the occupational gender regime effectively orienting women towards certain role-takings and career understandings; and finally, as a discipline and

her education and become a teacher, married a teacher and served generally in villages. Social class differences find reflection in differential engagement with teaching in those cases.
Uygun (2003) drawing on the profile of his interviewees and Buyruk (2015) on his informants' comments, indicate that women teachers still have higher class familial social origins.

context of femininity where identity is organized along the continuum of work and domestic life, this identity work is spread to different realms of life for women and in each and all of those realms teaching maintains its centrality for their identity formation.

The figure of woman ES teacher persona is a very well-known figure, representing the way women have responded and adapted to the gender regime traditionally structured in the profession. My initial curiosity was about how could the informants of being a proper woman teacher, traditionally invested and incarnated by the woman ES teacher representation, namely, modesty, motherly authority, missionary and idealist commitment, self-sacrificial endurance, intellectual accountability, and disciplining vigilance towards the students, be remolded into the one endorsed by the neoliberal discourse of new professionalism: urban, elegant in appearance, attire and communication, accountable towards managements and parents, versatile in responding to their demands and coaching towards pupils.

Historicity of the Gender Regime of Elementary School Teaching

Teaching occupation carries the history of proper womanhood in its existing organization, as well. Women, have been in the occupation for centuries and become teachers more than professionals of any other occupation. Thus, as Apple (2013) mentions, histories of (early grades) teaching had developed interconnected with the histories of gender (also see, Weiler 1989). That means, in teacher training institutions and in regulation of teaching work, women's high representation in the profession has been taken into consideration, such as in structuring of school-level authority relations where men manage and women enter classrooms in teacher roles; and organization of work hours and calendars in a way supposedly enabling women to balance work and family responsibilities; in organization of employment relations turning teaching into a secure but low-paying job and in its public representation as holding a respectable but powerless social status, and others. In all those arrangements as well, seemingly making teaching woman-friendly, the basic believes about women and femininity are being institutionalized and reproduced:

That women are naturally talented and enthusiastic for caring roles; women have the responsibility for taking care of the family and ideal work roles for women ought to be enabling for them to fulfill family responsibilities; women lack the authority thus need to be supported by men in authority roles in carrying out their work roles; women are second earners for their families and their priority is to have respectable and spiritually fulfilling work engagements than high wage levels and attaining high power-high authority positions; and so on. These are some of the suggestions of the gender ideology underlying the gender regime of the profession that has been institutionalized and reproduced by teaching. At that level, gender ideology of teaching relies on myths, thus the suggestions about women's common, natural and eternal features, like loving and motherly nature, domesticity, subordination and dependency on men. Where ideology claims, there is a harmony, it is worth, looking for contradiction. Thus, those capital assumptions seem deeply problematic: Are women really getting into teaching out of natural callings? Are they really that able to reconcile work and family? Is it really that simple and natural for them to perform teaching at the early-grades being already women? Are they really spiritually satisfied in their works; and is it all they looked for, instead of monetary and career promotion rewards? Women, themselves can tell if they can manage to distance themselves from the impact of this powerful ideological narrative of teaching, eliciting a commonsensical approval on the part of women.

Notwithstanding, within those broader patterns, that are shared by the experiences of diverse range of countries, local specificities, turning those mythological fundamentals into culturally specific institutions, are nested, reflecting varieties of gender orders, institutional regimes, and in the cultures of societies. Histories of women teachers in different countries subtly express the paths, the politics of women's modernization and modernization of gender relations have followed in their localities. Those historical paths are closely related with the way woman question was addressed in particular contexts. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, governments of an array of -mostly non-Catholic- countries introduced marriage bans to reject women after marriage in the occupation as to restrict the feminization in teaching and to relieve social anxieties over women's inclusion in

work life, with the support of the teacher unions. Some others, on the other hand, organized teaching work in a way conducive for women's balancing work and family lives right from the very beginning. Co-education principle and the timing of its introduction was also impacting the feminization trends and accompanying types of womanhood values, exalted in woman teacher figure. In majority of the countries with Islamic political regimes, separate education principle, for example, fixated the share of women in the occupation to around fifty percent; and women-only schools constituted, no doubt, unique contexts with distinctive gender regimes and ideologies. Still, in those countries, all levels of education, not only elementary level, women's representation was significantly high as a consequence of the same separate education principle. Turkey has its own specificities, as well, my initial research showed: Feminization has appeared to be a laggard phenomenon in elementary school teaching. Yet, in stark difference with all its contemporaries, upper level teaching positions have come to be pointedly feminized even at the periods as early as 1930s, although Turkey was early to introduce co-education principle. One important reason for this pattern was that women and their families preponderantly preferred working in urban schools, rather than rural ones, which has been most attainable a preference for upper grade teachers. For the elementary school teachers, there has been a traditional emphasis on teachers' being adaptable and resolute characters, emblematic of masculine virtues. This is because they have been considered likely to meet difficult conditions at the periphery at least during their obligatory service years. Those values have not been different for women ES teachers, since, the codes of sexual modesty ordered women to appear as desexualized, masculine figures in exchange of their acceptance into public world without spatial-segregation measures and without hijab. This was also unique, considering that in a significant number of countries, highly-feminized elementary teaching occupation was complemented with public discourses praising the ladylike attire of teachers, prioritizing disciplining of working classes with the values of urban middle-class domesticity. Turkish elementary school teacher is more of an educated, working-class idealist than a lower-middle class lady. Hence, even a brief inquiry indicates the ideosyncracies of the Turkish case, thus that feminization has

developed, in a distinctive historical route and produced different social types, life opportunities for women and ideals of femininity.

Neoliberal Period

It is truly intriguing for me to understand how teaching is and will respond to neo-liberal pressures of market integration. Even more captivating is the question, how the gender regime of the occupation, the gender-based arrangements and ideologies, inscribed in the work and identity of teaching, can change and is changing.

It is not possible to study the subject of ES teaching within the context of the contemporary change the profession is going through without addressing the rise of "status loss discourses" appearing as the typical frame of judgement regarding the situation of teaching and teachers today. Since the time, neoliberal policies started to set in, in different sectors of life, it is a common phenomenon that professions are losing their previous collective power, autonomy and public ideologies. Once associated themselves effectively with public good, after increasing market integration they are starting to lose their traditional sacred auras and, instead of public, they are pushed to serve to markets and their individual interests, as "professionals". The weakening in the professional associations are rendering professionals devoid of collective power and their practitioners atomized in their work engagements and identities. Meanwhile, some members of the occupations are attaining eye-brightening positions and economic privileges at corporate world, whereas the majority is simply testifying that the currency of their educational and occupational titles are eroding, and they are getting proletarianized.

Similar developments seem to be taking place in teaching, as well, with two major differences: First, the decline discourses, thus the popular themes of status loss, are going back to 1950s rather than 1980s in teaching. Second, teaching is commonly considered a semi-profession and this quality is the first thing that is put up in de-professionalization discussions. Teaching has never been qualified as a profession, due to lack of authoritative professional organizing and thus control over work and

employment conditions and because of the power of state in determining terms of employment relations in teaching. Still, it has a strong public discourse, stressing moral, patriotic missions of teachers for raising future generations. Moral informants of the teacher identity, the duty of being model citizens, acting as public intellectuals, are equally difficult to commodify, thus translate into professionalism or to labour processes, nor is the female respectability and proper womanhood scripts it incarnates. Yet, teachers have already started to be stratified according to the advantages of their work places (urban vs rural and center vs periphery) and employment statuses (tenure track vs temporary positions) and that is a big source of reaction from their side. Assignment problems and soaring teacher unemployment are pushing down the charm of teaching as an occupation, traditionally associated with secure public employment. Central exam systems are now standardizing teachers' work, swallowing their autonomies, and creating performance pressures over them, while largely cutting out the non-cognitive (behavioral, relational, artistic, moral, physical) aspects of education. Teachers are more likely to be represented with victimizing narratives compared to the past, due to their poverty-level wages and assignment problems. All those trends have come to be accelerated and deepened by **decade** long rule of conservative AKP government[6].

Why Elementary School Teaching?

Elementary school teaching stands at a distinct place among the other grades of teaching. Historically, elementary school is the place of the most classical type of education, in that it aims to give basics of civil social life and national identity, in difference with the technical education that has come to target skill and technical knowledge cultivation like in the older forms of crafts or guild education or vocational education of our day, or professional/intellectual education, meaning acquisition of a privileged body of knowledge and skills. Within the context of this

[6] Governments with conservative agendas programmatically worked to eradicate the legitimacy and advocacy capacities of "old professions", since "they were the major opponents to restructuring the public sector" (Blackmore 2013: 78).

categorization, elementary education has been known as community education or citizenship education, for it primarily targets proper socialization of children into common social life and collective identities (Tonguç 1946). Women's role in elementary school education, thus, has built upon their being considered as the bearers of shared cultural and civil values, abilities, and identities of communities and nations, as well as their accepted timeless skills in dealing with small children. For those very reasons, along with pre-school education, elementary school education has been envisioned as the most likely and approved places for women teachers (Steedman 1985; Hoffman 2003; Tamboukou 2003).

Elementary school level is chosen to understand the gender regime of teaching as the focus for a couple of reasons. First, elementary school is the most feminized level of teaching and has traditionally been considered closer in scope to domestic feminine duties of child raising than higher grades teaching works. Second, elementary school has universally been among the basic institutions of citizenship. Therefore, issues of elementary school teaching have been considered indisputably public and national in nature and thereof regulated. Third, elementary schools have come to be more in numbers and more scattered ones covering both urban and rural, and center and periphery. Therefore, ES teaching has not been an urban occupation nor has been belonged to middle-classes solely. As such, elementary school teaching is more typical for women, more widespread in geographical coverage and more modest in terms of the social class profile of women in the occupation. This study, therefore, touches the realities of more women, including those with modest socio-economic lives and their experiences extending to more diverse parts of the country.

Restrictions and Limitations

This study does not portray the overall transformation going on in teaching occupation, aiming to cover every aspect of it or in a holistic way. This is not a project on teaching occupation. Rather, it focuses on the themes and aspects of the subject, that are focal for deriving insights about the changing gender norms and regulations in the society, regarding proper places and the proper and operating modalities of presence for women in primary social institutions of education, labour

market, and family. This thesis follows this tread, as it is reflected in the field of ES teaching. Hence it is selective over the themes and dimensions focused on, rather than examining all the main themes and building a dialogue with all the existing cannons in the literature of teaching profession. Doing this way, it sheds light upon a commonly studied phenomenon of neoliberal transformation in public occupations, from a different, rather unusual angle, its impact on the gender regime in the occupation.

The research solely covers women elementary school teachers in the public schools. Recently growing at an increased pace, and being highly feminizes, private sector ES teaching positions have become important alternatives for women. On the other hand, not to add another layer to the already complex research categories, coverage did not include women in private sector, in this study.

It also needs to be added that the post 2011 process has been full of rapid changes in Turkish political atmosphere and in regulative and institutional frameworks in elementary school education and teaching. Those developments amount to even qualifying a new chapter in establishment of neoliberalism, this time in clear interrelation with the neoconservative political project, that involves Islamisation moves and rolling back some of the progressive enterprises of 1990s accepted in regulation of the basic education. Having completed the data collection in the early months of 2011, those trends have not found reflection in the research data.

In providing an insight on this following current phase in regulation of basic education and teaching, it is critical to refer to the successive terms of the AKP government as the policy making actor. AKP government once introducing itself as Conservative Democrat in government perspective have turned to pro-nationalist and Islamist policies after the 2011 period when a number of developments shaking future government prospects of the party took place. The most important turns were marked by the government policies around 2011 which started to dilute the democtatic structures like independent boards and institutions via placing them under administration of Prime Ministry and an attitude at national and local levels

hostile towards secular life styles. 2011 elections were further a milestone in AKP's state politics for majority of the candidates for Parliament were coming from bureaucracy than party organization, putting up a new reconciliation between traditional state cadres and the party, pruning the reform potential of the AKP governments. Although in 2013 a peace process was kick-started with the political representatives of the Kurdish movement, in the 2015 June General Elections, the party fell back to the 40 percent vote share and blaming this fallback on peace policies, gave up on its progressive dialogue with Kurdish party, HDP (Peoples' Democratic Party) and on the peace process that had been continued to solve the "Kurdish Problem". Having consolidated its pro-nationalist and Islamist alliance (and later catching a further the opportunity window upon the 2015 attempted coup of former Islamist ally, Fettulah group, for total institutionalization of authoritarian rule through state of emergency) AKP government took deregulative and Islatist decisions in regulation of many sectors, including teaching and education, in a row.

Prior to all this momentum, in 2011, a new basic education system, popularly called 4+4+4, abolished the former 8 years continuous basic education system, allowing opening of Imam Hatip Schools (Schools with Islamic curricula and school order) at secondary and tertiary levels more easily and allowing dropouts breaking the same school system in first and second levels of education and complicating effectiveness of student-tracking systems, possibly leading into deteriorating school attendance and risened dropout rates for especially girls and poor children. Removal of the ban on teachers and students' carrying religious symbols in school and later conversion of the majority of the normal schools into religious ones, forcing parents to send their children to religious schools, have followed this initiative. Purging of an important number of the teachers after the attempted military coup, based on allegations of political and ideological connection with the accused religious sect, also changed the profile of teachers and caused disincentive among teachers and school administrators in criticizing Islamization programme of the government. Therefore, long accepted as one of the strongholds of secularism and secular life, schools and the school system have been taken over by the anti-secular ideology and political programme. The critical importance of those shifts for this study which

looks at the prior period are complex. To say the least, in retrospect, it is possible to see the connection of decreasing professional power of teachers in 1990s and 2000s as conducive of the later coming neoconservative turn.

1.1. Conceptual Framework: Gender Regime, Femininities and Neoliberalism

At the theoretical level, this study relies on two main assumptions. First, the femininities like woman ES teacher, as the socio-cultural products of the historically formed gender politics, are distinctive identities, reflecting the norms and negoitations regarding gender relations in a particular field of the society, and bearing significant consequences for the general social order in the society. Therefore, it is possible and vital to study the gender-based regulations in those fields, like ES teaching, in relation to the broader gender regulations in the society at a given historical period. Second, neoliberalism can be read as a discourse, "governance at a distance" penetrating in the identities and subjectivities, thus femininities as well as class and status identities, in company of the structural transformations it instigates. Hence, woman ES teaching, which can be considered one of the most distinct moral femininities with an entrenched place in life and imagination of the society, is to be expected to be transformed under impact of neoliberalism and it is critical and multi-variable question to which direction the impact would push this identity / femininity. Both lines of discussion lead me into adopting the concept of gender regime in studying the gendered arrangements, categorization and ideologies in ES teaching in the contemporary Turkish society. This concept is enabling to examine the problem of neoliberal impact over women and gender orders of the societies, as contextualized in a particular profession and grounded in historicity of varying phases of neoliberal enterprise.

1.1.1. Historically Feminized Public Roles and Distinctive Femininities

In presenting the conceptual framework of the study, the first task is to deploy the concept of distinctive femininity within the universe of patriarchy literature. That necessity is a result of my assumption that ES teaching has been a critically special site for negotiation and re-production of patriarchal gender relations, according to

the intersecting realities of modern state, markets, and gender relations. I further argue that, the historic negotiations and resolutions on women's place in public have been inscribed in the distinctive femininity of the woman ES teacher. Put in other words, my arguments are, there is a patriarchal gender regime, operating in ES teaching; this regime is focal for the overall gender order of the societies; and it is incarnated in the popular distinctive femininity of the woman ES teacher as a socio-historical construct.

I argue that ES teaching is a field with distinct importance, where broader gender structures find an intersection and articulation with each other. According to Walby (1990b) six structures of patriarchy, which she then started to call gender regimes, semi-autonomous but re-producing women's subordination at the aggregate level, are paid work, household production, culture, violence, sexuality and the state. In ES teaching most of those regimes were making a critical intersection: ES teaching employs a notable number of women as a typical occupation women are welcome; ES teachers are champions of reconciling family and work, thus epitomes of good housewifery for working women; ES teacher is one of the common cultural types where typical working women and a type of proper womanhood was represented and teaching reflects the culture of women in public occupations for centuries; in the social type of woman ES teacher, the codes of sexual decency are invested and have been attempted to be re-invited at different historical turns (challenging Victorian femininity norms in Anglosaxon countries, religious ones in Republican countries with Islamic cultures and Catholic countries, …), state as the modernizer and/or employer of teachers found chances of regulating women's conditions in education and labour market simply regulating teacher education and teaching job.

Women's entrance to teaching role in mass numbers historically marks the shift from the rule of women's exclusion in critical sectors in public life, like paid work, into the segregationist regimes where women are accepted to take part in some "feminine" roles; and emergence of the public patriarchy as the hegemonic mode of partiarchal domination: the rule of regulating the norms of proper womanhood

through public feminine roles, designated as distinctive femininities, alongside and more dominantly than done through the domestic ones.

In contemporary feminist theory, the concept of patriarchy simply denotes the systemic male domination over women[7]. As a concept of feminist theorizing, patriarchy has a troublesome history of development. This is particularly because, arguing for a systemic power relation necessitates theorizing *a social base* for the dominant to exert power over the subordinated and *reproduction mechanisms* ensuring endurance and stability of the system. Furthermore, as a macro system, patriarchy would proceed and manifest itself within differentiated sub-form(s). For all those reasons, uses of the concept has been subject to various political and theoretical stakes of argumentation (Acker 1989; Gottfried 1998).

Walby (1990a) claims that patriarchy is an open system, available to be transformed by other societal systems, due to its interrelations with capitalism, ethnic and racial regimes. In discussion of the apparently changing gender politics in the modern world, she argues for a shift from private to public patriarchy. Privileged site of reproduction for patriarchy is no longer the domestic area and domestic mode of production, where women undertakes the majority of the domestic tasks and men benefit from women's labour due to their marital/household status. Instead, public sphere as an arena of institutionalizations and broader scale impacts, also reproduces gender subordination. This shift is a shift in primacy where older forms remain salient as well:

> In the private form, household production is the dominant structure; in the public form, it is replaced by employment and the state. In each form, all the remaining patriarchal structures are present - there is simply a change in which are dominant (Walby 1990a:24).

Since "public" embodies a wide range of institutions and differentiated arenas of social life and lacks the simplicity promised by the area of "private" in theorizing gender relations in dyadic relational forms[8], feminist scholars have faced the

[7] In early liberal feminist movement and theorizations, however, patriarchy appears as more of a sum of arbitrary and cumulative disadvantages women are suffering.

problem of theorizing multiple bases of gender order. Patriarchy having been relocated in the realm of non-dyadic cultural relations, the problematic shifts from singular abstract imagery provided by man-to-woman relations of the private sphere to multiple venues and relational forms of public sphere. Accordingly, feminist scholars have developed different perspectives on how it is possible to detect different patriarchal structures in public space and a particular relation between them. Walby (1990a), for example, differentiates 'patriarchal production in household', 'paid work', 'state', 'male violence', 'cultural production', and 'sexuality' as the six different structures of patriarchy. She asserts that though connected they define different structural features or borrowing the term of Connell (1987) different gender regimes.

In Connell (1987)'s perspective, gender order denotes the whole repertoire of historically accumulated power asymmetries and believes and definitions on masculinity and femininity. Gender regime, on the other hand, is a term used to mean the "state of play in sexual politics" in a certain time and social context like welfare era industrial labour market or the Victorian middle-class domesticity. Changing relations between those structures amount to different *forms* of patriarchy. For example, according to Walby (1990a), upon the shift from private to public patriarchy, patriarchal production in household had lost from its primacy[9].

[8] In criticism to Pateman's sexual contract approach and master&servant model, Fraser (1993) articulated this point, revealing the imagined relational template behind large area of theorizing patriarchy:

> Women's subordination is understood first and foremost as the condition of being subject to the direct command of an individual man. Male domination, then, is a dyadic power relation between two individuals in which a (male) superordinate commands a (female) subordinate. ... It is the symbolic template of patriarchal culture. ... All, rather, are problems that escape that conceptual grid, since they involve more abstract forms of social mediation and impersonal mechanisms of action coordination. ... (G)ender inequality is today being transformed by a shift from dyadic relations of mastery and subjection to more impersonal structural mechanisms that are lived through more fluid cultural forms. One consequence is the (re)production of subordination even as women act increasingly as individuals who are not under the direct command of individual men. Another is the creation of new forms of political resistance and cultural contestation.

[9] In Connell's (1987) framework, the structural variables of modern patriarchal society are sexual division of labour, power and cathexis and they differentially reconciled into gender regimes in different fields. He refuses mechanistic notions of interconnectedness between capitalism and patriarchy, capitalism appropriating patriarchal norms to its benefit or they are arriving at a reconciliation, uniform and homogenous throughout the entire social world.

Individual fields, the public life of work and labour, like others, appears as already gendered and this is best described by the typical femininities and masculinities constructed in them. Connell (1987) suggests "cases include the making of jobs like receptionist, air hostess and secretary as a combination of particular technical skills with a particular femininity" (103). Similar to the example, historical making of a public (work) role as (female) gendered and sexualized, is a simultaneous production of a particular femininity[10] defined with her features in a broader social area, of sexuality, family, and politics.

Although elementary school teaching has not been totally or significantly feminized one in the Turkish history of the occupation in numerical terms, important number of women in formal occupations has been teachers and women's way of living this identity has crucially been different than men, as also approved by the narratives of women, demonstrated in the following chapters. Therefore, elementary school teaching has a gender regime, resulting in women's living this experience and identity differentially in a patterned way, and enabling historical construction of a distinctive femininity as the conjugate of this gender regime.

Drawing upon the conceptual framework of Connell (1987), hereby I assume that the woman ES teacher is a distinctive femininity, constructed with her typical features and in a historicity, reflecting the broader reconciliations on women's access and roles in social institutions like work and family, as well as those specific to the ES teaching context, and ideologically mystified as a simply reflecting the imperative/effect of a work role (educating for early-grades pupils) rather than

[10] There are critical consequences running out of this ascertainment for conceptualizing gender as an analytical social category. Regarding the analysis of a field, the gender turns into a relational and regulative category, calls forth avoiding any essentialism or simple empiricism in giving content to the masculinities and femininities. Gender is historically and culturally produced as femininities and masculinities, as context specific constructions, making use of broader patriarchal normativities (Scott 1993). It cannot be considered as a simple consequence of structural forces of patriarchy uniformly applying to varying categories of women and neither could it be proved and ascertained in the regularities of women's or men's behavior. Rather, "what we should be doing is 'noting the ways that cultural codes of sexual difference structure social relations of human identity and signify relations of power and status' (Jones 1993: 176)" (Davies 1996:665).

giving away the patriarchal regulation behind. This distinctive femininity is simply the summary of the gender regime historically structured in and through the elementary school teaching and reflects the way women coped with and negotiated this regime, as well as its rules and structures.

1.1.2. Classical Era and Feminization of Elementary School Teaching: Historical Roots of the Cult of Woman Teacher

In understanding the gender regime of ES teaching, it is essential to present the problematique with a historical background. Only doing this way, it would be possible to comprehend ES teaching beyond an ordinary female work area and as a disciplinary context for educated working class women, and as an identity which has been respected for women, because of its historical symbiosis with the founding mythologies of mother and ideal citizen. But also, historicizing is necessary to ground the issue with the particularities it has in specific contexts, countries and historical periods.

Decades long existence of women among schoolteachers have enabled a woman's culture to sprout in and through the occupation, and gave way to a womanhood cult which have reflected the historical dynamics that made this cult possible initially: first, the social demands for education and participation in work life for the women from lower and lower-middle social classes; second, historical demands of basic education institution for affordable female work force proportionate to the aspirant large scale schooling mobilizations and also for alliance with the modern streams in the pedagogical approaches (based on 'discipline through love and care' principle, child-centered instruction … and others); and third, in some cases nationalist political urges for states to invent a new woman type in the image of public servants. As such, gender regime of ES teaching, has been historically shaped under the influence of modernization of lower middle and working classes through women's education and inclusion in employment life, modern nationalist pedagogies and institutional rationalities of basic education system -rendering choosing teachers from women optimal economically and pedagogically-, and the gender policies of the state-led national modernization experiences. Last decades of the 19th century

and the first decades of the 20th covered the period where the histories of women teachers have taken a new turn under the above described dynamics.

Educated working classes were the main source of recruitment for elementary school teachers. Although as Clifford (2014) documented in the USA example that women were coming from more diverse familial socio-economic backgrounds[11] vis a vis the men in the occupation, as Coffey and Delamont (2000) effectively argued, after introduction of obligatory basic schooling and inclusion of working classes in education project, profile of ES teachers turned more lower-class due to declining economic standards and professional status of school work. Hoffman (2003) argued that, in Britain, the women teachers were the daughters of labour aristocracy. Fathers holding stable and urban jobs, daughters had the chance to attain education. But still, they were working class and women's education had to be in instrumental relation with future work life. This class profile has been also characteristic to Turkish experience. Akyüz (2008) in the early years of the Turkish Republic, Uygun (2007) for the village institutes period (1940-1954), and then Okçabol and Gök (1998) for the following period, reports similar findings about the socio-economic profile of teachers. They were concluding, more or less, the same way: Elementary school teachers are coming from poor families, women teachers slightly improving the profile.

Late 1800s and early 1900s was the critical period in feminization of elementary teacher work force at world level. At the ideological plane, the historical replacement of the strict authority with loving care as the methodology of early grades teaching was gradually paving the way of replacement of men teachers as authority figures with women schoolteachers as mothers in the classroom. Thus, love was appearing as a disciplinary technique of teaching for the first time in the

[11] Clifford (2014) indicates the wide range of socio-economic backgrounds of the women teachers in 18th and 19th century USA, compared to their male colleagues and underlines that for the educated families with intellectual leanings in the middle classes, it was a pattern to encourage their daughters for teaching, besides those of lower classes considering teaching as a respectable alternative of breadwinning for women. Furthermore, teaching might be a remedy for economic shocks middle class women may face and in American cultural history, the figure of middle class women, making ventures into teaching for this or other reasons, was a popular one.

history (Tamboukou 2003). Froebel, as the pioneer of kindergarten education, was dissipating his doctrine of early school education, suggesting that women are the natural teachers, "mother made-conscious", thus capable of bringing moral virtues they acquire in the domestic sphere into the public realm of classroom (Steedman 1985). The supportive block for this historic shift was not bringing together solely pedagogues, but also political leaders, bureaucrats and intellectual pioneers of their times. Inspired by Froebel, even the young nationalists of the 19th century Latin America were trying to direct women into teaching, aiming to achieve complex transformations in women's social roles at the broader level and in education system in general (Cortina, San Ramon & San Ramon 2006). In USA, women were being invited to teach in public schools as personifications of "Good Gertrudes" for their moral superiorities, by G. Standley Hall, the famous education specialist and the child psychologist like many others (Copelman 2014) [12].

All that debate, revolving around how to make use of women's motherly virtues in classrooms[13], according to Walkerdine (1986) and Dillabough (1999), led into a patriarchal construction of teacher role as a feminine one, where woman teacher demanded to sacrifice herself for the development of the child, through child-centered pedagogies. Classroom education and child-centeredness in education history, the emergence of classroom order and single school-teacher principle, were all inseparably linked to emergence of the woman schoolteacher, through which the "pedagogy for patriarchy" have been historically built (Grumet 1981).

Meanwhile, feminization of early grades teaching and also the lower level teaching positions in school hierarchies was on rise since women were constituting a cheap labour force available to erect a huge obligatory education system (Cortina, San Román, & San Román 2006). This economic rationale was difficult to ignore or

[12] See Preston (1993) for how the ideology of domesticity fed the imagination of reformers on school education and women teachers.

[13] "Femininity has negative capital in a field of educational management that is masculinist, but positive capital in the field of early childhood, where discourses overtly link young children to the naturalness of 'mothering.' We argue that women moving into management assume material and symbolic capital in terms of control and power but retain the negative capital associated with their gender" (Blackmore 2013:77).

hide under the pedagogical philosophies of the time (Albisetti 1993; Cortina, San Ramon & San Ramon 2006).

Consequently, the parallel development of femininization of early grades teaching positions and emergence of modern pedagogical approaches prioritizing (motherly) love and care as an educational technology, resulted in construction of the woman ES teacher cult. This cult enabled social regulation of motherhood, and womanhood in the trope of motherhood, through a standard set by the ideal woman teacher figure[14]. Since, "within the theory and practice of the primary school is a particular elaboration and formalization of the 'feminine' as the teacher" (Burgess & Carter, 1992: 352). Yet it needs to be also underlines that not total feminization in teaching workforce but institutionalization of common care and authority relations in gendered ways is equally effective in construction of patriarchal pedagogies, like women's near total exclusion from authority roles (inspector, principal ..) and near always appearing in classrooms (Acker 1989).

As aptly indicated by Steedman (1985) this woman was originally imagined as the middle-class mother and positioned against the other dominating motherhood styles of their times. Akşit (2005) similarly points out the woman teacher could effectively be positioned against the "ignorant mother" of the past regime in the young Turkish Republic, in pursuit of a modernizing transformation in the proper woman image in the country. As such, regulation of motherhood ideals in the society became possible through the regulation of teaching practices of women in early grade classrooms.

[14] Steedman (1985) tracks the history of regulation of mothering through woman teacher figüre and through he notions of parent participation in education and other disciplinary ways like parent education/training to 19th century:

> The conflation of the mothering of small children with educating them has left a significant legacy for child-care in the west. 'The increasing pressure on teachers in day care centres, preschools and primary classes, to respond to the apparent needs of children assumed to be unmet by their busy . . . mothers', that Lilian Katz noted in the US in 1982, along with 'a growing enthusiasm for parent training and parent involvement in schooling'," is not a recent development in this country. … As the arena of public education widened in midnineteenth century Britain, many attempts were made to extend the educative role of the middle class woman from the domestic schoolroom to the public classroom (Steedman 1985:152).

Steedman claims that Froebel, as the inventor of the modern woman teacher formula as mother-made-conscious, had taken the motherly pedagogy, inspiring his works, from the rural working class women's mothering practices and re-located it in urban classroom and as an intellectual capacity of middle class women.

Any attempt to understand the gender ideology invested in woman teacher figures of any given time and space context, thus, must address the fact that this ideology is connected with the ideologies of mothering.

The problematic of creating and socializing a modern but patriotic proper woman type in the society was troubling the nation states, especially those built upon a rupture from the past in forms of revolutions, independence wars, regime changes. Recruitment in public service positions was an effective mechanism of moulding existing life prospects, praxis and thus normative structure of lifeworlds of women and their families. This is part of the overall politics for turning people into citizens. In such a picture, teachers, themselves coming from a rural and/or poor origin, were not solely commissionaires in facilitating development of people into citizens but were also ideal examples of such a transformation. Thus, they were all agents and targets of this citizenship project (see for the discussion, Z.Arat 1998). In other words, they were the personification of the values, preached in describing ideal citizen of the time, and they were aimed to be motivating for the target population of peasants to participate in the citizenship project.

This review of the literature on the history of women ES teachers, adds further theoretical dimension to the research problematique. For women of the entire nation, the women ES teacher figures and their "natural" -though taught- pedagogies, provided a model for proper motherhood and in the trope of motherhood, the proper womanhood, be them teachers or mothers of the school-age pupils. As indicated by the modest social class profile of the woman teachers, it is a disciplining medium, first and foremost, for the women who become teachers, themselves. The ideals, projected in the ES teacher femininity, thus, give us clues over the deeds of the hegemonic reconciliation on the values of proper womanhood which is inclusive of social class politics as well.

Social class and motherhood ideologies are both, hence, central to the problematique of gender ideology of ES teaching: In the world practice, the women from the lower-class origins have been adapted to the hegemonic middle-class values of

womanhood, becoming teachers, meanwhile attaining this middle class feminine capital of proper womanhood and mothering. At the other side of the coin, for mothers of elementary school age children, the relations with school has constituted a disciplinary context, failing working class and championing middle-class women.

Naturally, countries had their own historical paths not necessarily overlapping with this story on the origins for woman ES teacher figure. It is a task of this thesis to explore the Turkish history with broad lines as to understand the gender and social class terms included in the tradition of the woman ES teacher figure. Similarly, a lot must have been changed between the liberalism of 1800s and the welfare era and then between the welfare and neoliberal eras in the gender ideology carried by the figure and the social class politics it represents.

1.1.3. Neoliberal Turn for Teachers

Just like in the notable number of other countries, in Turkey, the reform policies for teachers are inseparably big parts of the general reform agenda for education. In many ways, teachers' work and employment conditions are getting worse[15], and in the meantime the demands from them as "professionals" are mounting. Really, as I go through the political announcements, discourses and policies, I was getting stunned by the size of the discrepancy between the imagined school and education system, assumed in those discourses as the very institution of teaching work, and the reality, teachers face.

A similar cleavage was observable between the official new-professionalism discourse, used to introduce new policies regulating teachers' work, and the re-proletarianization thesis scholars had developed, looking at the contemporary picture created by those policies. New professionalism discourse is suggesting that teaching have turned into a career occupation promising chances of promotion for teachers if they perform well, since teachers' performance are measurable now,

[15] Detailed account of neoliberal policies on teachers were given in the Chapter III.

thanks to centralized curricula and exam systems. Other camp argues that teachers' works are indeed intensified under heavy performance pressure and the new tasks introduced for promoting parent-school communication and fund raising; their autonomies and initiatives are weakened for centralized curricula and test systems; they are facing highly differentiated opportunity environments depending on the economic profile of the parents and the schools they work for.

Reality reflects a mixed picture: Some teachers are attaining better chances for assignment to a center school or for a transfer to a high-ranking private one -possibly thanks to her superior socio-economic resources to hold out before settling for a bad job option for longer time- and having students academically performing well and thus consequently they are solidifying their high-achievement records and enjoying the resources of the schools and more genereous parent finance. Others, on the other hand, are obliged to accept temporary teaching positions in peripheral schools, not having the resources to refuse poor jobs and to invest on themselves- and getting trapped in a circuit of low track performance in periphery schools, where poor economic resources feed poor academic performance for families and children, and naturally for teachers. It is reasonable to see professionalization in the first case and proletarianization in the second. The important thing is that teaching seems much more likely to be making a reinforcing and consolidating, than changing, impact for the pre-entry socio-economic standings of women and men.

Meanwhile, the peripheral school as the representation of poor and disadvantaged, and the idealist but working-class teacher is being pushed out of the picture in the policy discourses. Cultural hegemony over the education policy is shifting and leaving behind the privileged relics of its previous discourse, picking new ones. The peripheral school and the modest but idealist teacher are being replaced by the urban center school and its professional teacher in the iconography suggested by the education policy. Populist nationalist coalition between state and lower classes, keeping public provision principle in elementary schooling on foot, is leaving its place to the rule of the coalition between markets and middle classes and the principle of market provision.

Consequently, teaching is contributing to socio-economic stratification among teachers and suggesting differentiated tracks for the teachers with varying socio-economic resources; they are being "highly stratified and differentially powerful in the sense of being able to construct and demand professionalism" (Evetts 2003:410). Even so, to be able to qualify the work status of better-off as professionalization and others' as proletarianization, it is required to reach an agreement over the concepts and their usage in the contexts of teaching occupation.

Teaching has never been accepted as a profession but kept a public service philosophy which is intrinsic to professions only, therefore being an important occupation always added to discussions on professions and professionalism. Recent debates on professionalism have revolves around the critical difference between the old and classical type of profession. Old professional is an independent expert, mainly accountable to the professional organization that is acting as the reulative and supervisory body on professional conduct and towards the public and serving fore and foremost to the public good (as symbolized on the oaths and ceremonies of admission to the profession), having a work ethos based on professions service to the society than individual interest. However, a new professional type is defined recently, mainly based on the efficiencies it creates for the organization, markets and clients s/he works for. In teaching similarly, there is a debate about new professionalism, attacking at the autonomous teacher as a social development actor and reconstituting instead a professional that is acting according to the short run interests of, not the society, but individuals, school managements, and themselves. In connection with this comparison, professionalism is suggested to be a managerial regulation over workers regardless of their respective fields. Therefore, professionalism is a self-regulatory aestehics and disciplinary subjectivity of new kind.

Neoliberal policies of market integration, that impose the terms of new-professionalism in work identities, homogenizing them across occupations and fields, and undermining the possibilities of the other identities, thus subject positions

(traditional public and independent professional, idealist teacher/doctor, traditional artisan …) is not the only aspect of the social change process where the traditional ES teacher identity has been challenged. Teaching has simultaneously been facing an even longer trend of losing from its common ideological charm -of being a critical investment area for the state, as well. Shift from ideological control to bureaucratic-managerial control, thus from indirect to direct rule (of state control over teachers), around 1950s, has eliminated the need for state to have teachers as an ally on its side, through status group privileges. With the advent of neo-liberal period, control through market integration became the rule (Lawn 2005). Social consensus over the citizenship values, specifically the need to have, first, the same moral frame society-wide and then standard public provision in elementary school education has been breached. Simultaneously, parenthood/motherhood values have gradually changed to center individual performance and interests of the child than social good and civic integration (Bora 2001). Provided that the ideals on the roles of mother and woman ES teacher have developed in close connection, this transformation gives clues about the route followed from "civic education in public elementary school" to "status competition in urban middle-class elementary school" and the shift from teacher as "the moral educator" to the "coach". Meanwhile, changing ideals in the hegemonic motherhood cult would necessarily impact women ES teachers they are being the epitome of proper wife/proper mothers in the society. Middle-class, conscious mothering, based on close follow up on and assistance for educational attainment of the child, thus, constitutes another informant of the proper womanhood narrative in the society, to which ES teachers cannot be impervious. Similarly, rise of urban service sector as the employer of educated women, alongside blue-collar workers of 1950s and the public services workers in education, health and state bureaucracy sectors, has created another source of identity and repertoire of images and experiential contexts for working women.

1.2. Research Questions, Design and Analysis

In this study, gender regime of the occupation is examined with a focus on women's engagement with the ES teaching work and identity. Two important targets of the study, therefore, are, first, to reveal the gender ideology of the occupation as it operates in the contemporary Turkish context, looking at the life story narratives of the first-generation women; and, second, to identify the trends of re-production and change in this gender regime, examining the life stories of the women in the younger generations. Therefore, the research questions guiding this inquiry are as follows:

What are the main components (technologies) of the gender regime in ES teaching in Turkey? What are the gender divisions, gendered categorizations, and ideologies structured in the work and career of ES teaching?

What are the emerging trends of change in this regime, that can be identified through cross-generational thematic analysis of women's life story narratives?

1.2.1. Research Problematique and Design

It is possible to assume that ES teaching, as "the true profession of women", has never been as an unproblematic and empowering for women as has been imagined in the mythologies of the occupation. Gender regime in organization of teaching work and identity, at the professional front, turns women's relational and emotional work invisible and limits their career mobility; and discourses of domesticity of women finds a perpetuation and approval in the myths claiming a superior capacity for teacher women in balancing work and family roles; and they have been the main elements of the gender regime structured in ES teaching. Moderation (in aspirations and searches for career mobility) and reconciliation (between roles) principles forming the very foundations of the ideal womanhood discipline for ES teachers are, therefore, emblematic of the huge size of the expectations from women teachers and an indication of a strong and deep-seated gender regime in the occupation. Therefore, the relation of women with ES teacher identity have appeared not as

comfortable as assumed in the common social imagination. First task of this thesis work, hence is to reveal the main elements of the gender regime of ES teaching in Turkey, with mythical and ideological components and actual operation in women's experiences.

Meanwhile, there are important trends of change in the way the status and social mobility is distributed to different professions, and the professional mobilities are organized; domesticity and family life is organized and managed in tandem; and how gender regimes operate within those fields. Pertaining to the gender regime of the ES teaching, the most significant trends that could result with trends of change have been, again related with, diminishing status and social mobility prospects for teachers; diversification and individualization of the career plans and increasing workloads at the professional front; and lastly growing roles and works of women in domestic area as "conscious mothers" and "champions of feminine balancing duty". Live stories of two younger generations are, accordingly, analyzed on the basis of the problematic, how those trends have been reflected and responded in women's experiences and impacted the gender regime in the occupation.

As such, this study draws upon the life story narratives of women ES teachers, chosen to represent three different generations, active in the occupation in today's Turkey. Separation between the generations is made based on the stages of the long transformation teacher management policy has gone through, in which teacher training turned into a university-level formation; urban school replaced the norm of village school in dominance; and teacher employment policies lived a historic shift from the organizing principle of "teacher shortage" to "teacher unemployment". Diversity in the educational formations of the teachers, active in the duty, today, including graduates of pre-faculty teacher training institutions, teaching department faculty graduates, other faculty graduates assigned in 1990s, science-art faculty graduates, and the faculty graduates whose assignment was tied to KPSS (PPSE) (central assignment examination) condition, presents a generational schema, comparing and contrasting through layers of which it is possible to understand the

continuities and change in the experience of women in ES teaching, and therefore in the gender regime of the profession.

1.2.2. Interviewee Selection and Data Collection

Interviewees are 52 women from 13 cities. While making the interviewee selection, it was required to observe representation of the women working in different settlements, east and West, town and city, urban center and periphery, for achieving an even distribution of teachers into generational groups. It is because, in the Turkish system, teachers are starting their work lives at the disadvantaged areas, determined, ranked, and announced by the Ministry of National Education as "obligatory service regions"; and as they gain seniority, they are typically moving to urban and Western centers. Hence, as to attain the desired diversity in age group, geographical diversity was to be secured. In addition, those contexts are seriously different from each other in terms of work and life conditions of women and were critical to be separately evaluate in that respect. Meanwhile, the temporary teaching positions had already started to concentrate in the periphery and thus obligatory service regions and settlements. Therefore, including periphery in the research coverage was necessary to reach and represent temporary-status teachers and their experiences. Furthermore, the route teachers follow from periphery to center throughout their work lives had a symbolic value, in the social imagery on teachers, to be addressed: being willing and ready to traverse every part of the country as a patriotic mission. Therefore, covering the periphery, as well as introducing the topic of serving in the different part of the country as an analysis category, was essential to address this side of the teacher identity.

As the data collection method, life story interview is chosen as a special type of in-depth interview. This data collection technique allowed women to structure their stories as personal ones and distance themselves from the clichés of teaching. The second reason, made me choose life story interview method is my theoretical suggestion that teaching is beyond a work identity for women, but critically linked with the socio-historical femininity associated with woman ES teacher figure. Hence, it would not suffice to collect stories of work life only or to make predictions

about looking at which periods or sectors of life I could reach the totality of the experience and identity and expand the life periods covered in interviews thereof. Last reason is my desire to provide women the authority, space and initiative to form their own stories. So, I decided to have life story interviews with women and limit my initiative to ask questions when feel necessary and leave the rest to them to tell their stories.

1.2.3. Generations as the Units of Comparative Thematic Analysis

Analysis of women's life story narratives are made according to the principles of thematic comparative analysis; each generation being taken to represent the group, most directly experienced the distinct stages in restructuring of the occupation[16]. First generation (pre-faculty generation) are the last graduates of the high-school level teacher education institutions, who started their practice in the late 1970s and 1980s; second generation (faculty generation) are the first faculty graduate teachers who testified opening the occupation to other faculty graduates and who entered the occupation in 1990s; and the final generation (KPSS -PPSE- generation) are the youngest who started teaching in 2000s in a period of assignment problems, teacher unemployment, performance assessment pressure and fluctuation of central testing systems at each education grade.

First generation is represented by the women entering teaching in times of *elementary teacher schools*[17]; when rural was the dominant service place for teachers; and teacher shortage is the rule and therefore teacher training was retaining its image of guarantee path to work life. Women from the second generation, on the other hand, entered the occupation after introduction of faculty education criterion; mobile education (taşımalı eğitim) principle started to decrease the number of village schools in favour of city schools; temporary shortage of teachers was

[16] This approach to dividing age groups into generations is in line with the Mannheim's approach, considering age groups more than chronogical entities but determined by the common historical experience they have (Mannheim 1970).

[17] Those schools are high school level education institutions and educates teachers in line with the specialist colleges tradition.

responded by opening the occupation to other faculty graduates by the state and thus the road to "managing through unemployment" was opened. Members of the last generation faced more difficult conditions in entering teaching; they could be assigned to teaching only if they out-performed others in the central public employment examination (KPSS -PPSE-); they are face-to-face with the serious risks of unemployment and likely to have insecure positions at the peripheral schools than tenure-track statuses.

First generation, in this schema, is the last representative of the classical generation of elementary school teachers who took their teacher education in pre-faculty institutions and who enjoyed unproblematic assignment processes and relative dominance of colleague control over the identity and practice of the occupation. Socio-economic profile of the generation is commonly pictured in the popular culture persona of the young modest and idealist men and women with rural origins (Gümüşlü 2005; Ertürk 2010). Really, during the reign of the elementary teacher schools, as the high-school level institutions of teacher training, there had been a deliberate policy of recruiting rural poor, as well as urban working classes, in the occupation. This preference reflected the governmental realities of earlier times, primarily of the necessity of keeping teachers in the rural schools via choosing them from the rural in the first place; and then contributed a lot to shaping of the popular occupational narrative, scripting teachers among the most illustrative examples of the Republican egalitarianism, they are having excelled from the family origins in rural poverty to urban educated classes, being extended with life chances in education and professional life by the young Republic[18].

[18] However, it is also worth noting that for the women from different social class backgrounds, teacher education and the occupation had been among the limited number of acceptable tracks in the educational and occupational engagements, unlike men for who elementary teacher schools and the occupation nearly always indicated rural and poor family background. Uygun's research (2007) confirms that teachers themselves expect women to come from relatively higher-class backgrounds than men teachers. Therefore, in difference with men, ES teaching has been open to women with varying socio-economic realities and social class belongings. The fact that as well as women with lower class and rural family backgrounds, urban and lower middle-class women have also been enthusiastic about the ES teaching shows that the occupation has come to have a differential value for women. Taken together with the widespread common conviction that ES is among the best jobs for women, it can be deduced that the occupation added to the female respectability in society.

In Turkey, the rate of men in the occupation has significantly been higher in comparison with other countries. Turkey has historically pursued a recruitment model prioritizing educational development of the rural countryside as the main body of the nation. In this model, rural working classes were targeted for recruitment as to encourage their serving in the rural parts of the country. Men took the lead in the teachers' army, since they were thought to be naturally better suited for working in the rural countryside. Slow phase of increase in better education alternatives and white-collar jobs for rural men, early introduction of co-education principle[19] and thus limited dependency on women teachers for education of girls have also been among the reasons why Turkey presented a slow and laggard feminization in ES teaching. Till the end of the classical period with introduction of university education criterion for teachers, thus, a steady and slow rate of feminization had continued to be the case. For the pre-faculty generation ES teachers, their occupation was, in legacy and in practice, a gender-balanced one with a heavy weight of rural and countryside in their professional lives.

All-in all, the occupation has come to be associated with rural working classes; both for the weight of rural in work environment of teachers and because of the dominance of the men with rural family origins in the general profile of ES teachers. This image maintained its rule till the relatively late years of university-generation teachers.

Elementary teacher schools are the emblematic institutions educated this generation of teachers. Spread to various parts of the rural Anatolia, for many of the rural families, those schools had been the only alternative for their children to continue education after elementary school and to enter a public occupation (for "public occupation" term, see Tan 1994). Those free-boarding teacher education schools were promising a short way to a public occupation with employment security.

[19] Dale (1969) discuss mixed education in terms of its consequences for women teachers' careers and elaborate that not only less women could entered teaching positions after abondonement of girls' schools as the main model, but they also concentrated more at lower echelons of the teaching career.

Meanwhile, the integrated management of schools and teacher education institutions by the Ministry of Education, an institution, cadres of which were filled with educators and teachers, was adding to fertility of the colleague culture among teachers. Although teachers had been well targeted by the state bureaucracy on the grounds of the undesired political leanings of teacher groups and teachers' movements, existing installation of the education management system allowed teachers to consider themselves as agents in shaping of education policy and retain and exert a practical autonomy in schools. This practical autonomy was depending, as well as others, on the intergenerational transmission of teaching techniques, classroom management and reporting systems (Buyruk 2015). In professional politics and self-image, that was what allowed and justified teachers in introducing their occupation as a semi-profession. Lawn (2005; Ozga & Lawn 1986) argues that though teachers were under state control rather than holding a professional autonomy, they were mainly subject to political control than professional control. Many others argue that with university education, assignment of other faculty graduates as teachers, then KPSS (PPSE) criteria for teacher recruitment deteriorated the professional status of teaching and autonomy of teachers, causing proletarianization of teachers and teachers' work (Buyruk 2015). Pre-faculty generation testified this long process of "deterioration" and generally adopted the interpretative frame of "status loss" in the occupation. This widely shared theme of "decline" lead teachers into the reactionary attitude of exalting the golden past and overemphasizing the downsides of the "new ways" in referring to their teaching experience and identity.

Second generation composed of the teachers who had their education in teaching departments of education faculties and who are other faculty or department graduates. Passage from pre-university to university education rule in teacher training caused a temporary teacher shortage due to lengthened teacher education duration during 1990s. Education bureaucracy responded this shortage hiring other faculty graduates. This policy attracted criticisms for professional status of the occupation was tainted, specialized education criterion being breached. Other faculty and department graduates took their places among teaching work force along

with previous generation of elementary teacher school graduates and new generation teaching department graduates. In the daily language of other faculty/department graduates, teaching become an occupation in which they *entered*.

Yet, it also needs to be emphasized that the period when the faculty generation entered the occupation, there were also positive trends feeding discussions, experiementations and diverse encounters in the field. Apart from faculty education, expansion of private sector, admission of other faculty graduates into the occupation, discussions on curricula and instruction were expanding the vision of diverse actors in the field about ES education and teacher professionalism.

The period of last generation ES teachers was separated from others with the central exam- KPSS (PPSE)- condition, introduced for teacher candidates to be assigned to the teaching posts in public schools. This exam is eliminatory than being a qualification exam and used simply to eliminate ever increasing number of teaching department graduates. This is a period of teacher unemployment, due to increased number of education faculties, continuing policy to assign science faculty graduates as teachers, on the condition of pedagogical formation certificate acquisition, and other policies limiting the number of teacher recruitment in general, including norm staff policy, and mobile education (taşımalı eğitim) model causing closure of village schools. Management with unemployment became a paradigm in those years for policies towards teachers, also with introduction of temporary positions. Contract teacher positions (sözleşmeli öğretmenlik) were distributed alongside tenure-track positions by the Ministry of National Education, based on the KPSS (PPSE) grades of applicants and for the open positions left after central assignments, provincial administrations of MoNE and even school managements were allowed to hire service teachers (ücretli öğretmen). In this period, entrance grades of education faculties showed a tendency to rise; women achieved numerical dominance in teaching department students of education faculties and in ES teaching, indicating continuing attraction of the occupation for women. Therefore, in experience of this generation of teachers, feminization, urbanization and neo-liberal re-regulation

trends, long been identified in the occupation, have gained an unprecedented momentum.

Throughout this route of change, the occupation has popularly deemed to have lost its "old respectable status". This study has loosely conceptualized the period as the neo-liberalization, composed of a series of historic developments and policy interventions in the occupation: abandonment of high school-based, locally scattered separate teacher education institutions principle; urbanization of school system and rising primacy of urban middle class school in return of the decline in importance of the village school; de-professionalization policies deploying the principles of "management through unemployment" and bureaucratic-managerial performance assessment (policies introducing an eliminatory central examination system in teacher assignment, temporary status employment schemes, formal and informal grading systems based on exam performance of the students, assignment and promotion examinations, increasing roles and works in school management … and others).

Examination of the issue of intergenerational change and persistence in the gender regime of ES teaching through women's life stories, is presented in three analysis chapters. They discuss, respectably, the terms of social status and mobility, ES teaching promises to women; gender regime in organization of teaching work and career; and management of work life balance in teaching career for women, together with the emerging trends observed in those parameters throughout the experience of younger generations. This three-layered approach is the reflection of the insight that ES teaching ought to be conceptualized as a complete and combined identity for women, knitting together the fields of social status and mobility, professional work and private life[20].

[20] In discussion of the gender-based divisions of labour in work life Crompton and Sanderson (1990) aptly suggest that, what is necessary is 'in the first place a recognition of the limitations of existing concepts and, in the second, a willingness to adapt and modify empirical measures in the light of a changing empirical reality' (p. 160).

Analysis chapters, look at the issue of women's -changing- relations with ES teaching from the perspectives of social status and mobilities, professional experience, and work-life balance issues. The chapters present and discuss the life story narratives of women teachers according to the questions summarized above. In each of the three chapters, analyzing women's life stories, first generation women's narratives are presented and analyzed to reveal the main terms of the gender regime operating in and through the elementary school teaching as a work and identity. In all of them, again, experiences and narratives of younger generations are put under scrutiny to delineate trends of change and lines of continuity in this gender regime.

First analysis chapter investigates the "becoming-teacher stories" of the women and mainly deals with the issues of social position, status and mobility, women bring up in narrating the work and identity of teaching. Here, the typical social identity, life-plan, status and mobilities associated with teaching, by the first generation, is presented and the accompanying feminine morality of being and becoming proper young women teachers is explored. Following two sections looks at the continuity and change tendencies in the perceived common identity and life plan, and the accompanying norms of feminine respectability, represented by ES teaching in other two generations' life story narratives.

Second analysis chapter probes into the gender regime of ES teaching as experienced by women in the professional life. Main terms of this regime in teaching work and professional identity are identified, by examination of the narratives of the women from the first generation. Experiences of the Faculty and KPSS (PPSE) generation women have been examined in the following sections, as to track the changes and continuities, emerging in this gender regime, organized in the professional realm.

Third analysis chapter looks closer at the way women organize and consider their private lives according to elementary school teaching. Once again looking at the experiences and narratives of women from the first generation, the classical

regulative and ideological patterns are identified and the changes taking place in those patterns are traced through the narratives of the younger generations.

1.3. Structure of the Chapters

This thesis composes VIII chapters together with the Introduction. The Chapter II looks at the history of the ES teaching in Turkey tracing the tradition and dynamics of change in the contemporary period in teacher identity and professional and cultural politics of gender involved. Chapter III explores the emerging trends in organization and regulation of elementary school education and teaching under neoliberal transformation. Chapter IV is the methodology chapter and discusses the concept of narrative and narrative analysis as the frame of interpreting the data in connection with the study problematique and research design. Here life story interview as data collection method and cross-generational thematic analysis as the data analysis method are further elaborated with their uses in the study. Chapter VI, VII, and VIII cover the part presenting the analysis of the research data, conducted according the themes and treads suggested in the literature to understand the relation between teaching, women and the neoliberal period of change. Chapter V of the parts evaluates the roots and routes in the women's stories of becoming teachers and explores the generational patterns indicating changing social story of being women ES teachers, along with their status, social class, and social mobility dimensions. Chapter VI focuses on the issue of gender regime of the ES teaching drawing upon the women's stories on professional life. It looks closer to feminization dynamics, work ethos of women, and the reflections of the professionalization / proletarianization dynamics into their experiences. Chapter VII examines the marriage, motherhood and intergenerational collegiality in women's life stories as to find out how the condition of womanhood promised by ES teaching changes in time and through generations.

CHAPTER 2

TURKISH HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Woman elementary school teacher has come to be a vivid figure in the social imagery, in all the historical periods and in all societies; providing a shortcut understanding for the images, social and material conditions of particularly large groups of women and keeping alive a certain set of norms over the women's proper place in the society.

Historically, the figure of woman elementary school teacher has progressed in tandem with the stages of, first, institutionalization in public elementary education and then gradual replacement of the primacy of rural one-room-school by the urban school model (Prentice 1975; Prentice& Theobald, 1991; Oram, 1996). Naturally, the figure has changed through those different historical stages in line with the social class profile of teachers, and in terms of the typical life style and trajectory the occupation promised to women. Yet, it has never lost from its focal significance for understanding the society-wide conditions faced by women in public life.

Turkey has significant idiosyncrasies in the history of the feminization in ES teaching occupation. Unlike in other country contexts, in Turkey, the women in teaching has not been concentrated exclusively and/or significantly at the elementary school level. On the contrary, since secondary education schools were in urban areas, women historically preferred to practice secondary school teaching, instead of elementary education as the latter was more often necessitating working in rural. This preference of women and their families was decisively significant, in that respect. During the period when for village and urban teachers, separate teacher-

training programmes were provided (1927-1954), women maintained their share in the teachers' army, by around only 30 percent. They were mainly urban teachers having taken their education in urban centers and serving in urban schools (Buyruk 2014b). That was already a low ratio for the time, considered that the biggest feminization surges in the contemporaries of Turkey have already taken place, latest at the beginning of the 20th century. After 1954, when separate teacher training policy was abandoned, this time, a noteworthy decline took place in women's ratio among elementary school teachers. Later, their share in the occupation stayed stagnant for a couple of decades. This is because, due to unification of teacher education, obligatory service condition had been issued and teachers started to spend their early years of work in rural peripheries, which might be predicted to have caused some young women to quit teaching and some to give up on choosing teaching in the first place.

This period was also presumably testified re-shaping of woman ES teacher profile to include mainly working classes. Daughters of the working-class aristocracy -in Turkey mainly public servants- sent their daughters to teacher education -refusing to send them to industrial jobs[21]. Meanwhile, in Turkey, the share of women among secondary and high school teachers have continued to be higher compared to other contemporary country contexts. Only after 1998, the rate of women among elementary school teachers passed the rate of women among secondary school teachers, in stark contrast to other modern education systems. This is closely related with women's strict choice to work in urban settings rather than in village schools. Only after urbanization reached at a critical level, women started to choose ES teaching on a par with the young women in other countries. Similarly, it is reasonable to suggest that after introduction of the policy for transporting village children to center schools and closing the village schools, starting from 1989 and expanding since then in geographical coverage, feminization has gained momentum in line with the increasing share of urban schools in the education system. The upward trend in women's representation in elementary teachers became most visible

[21] Copelman (2013) pictures a similar social class profile for women teachers worked at the beginning decades of 20th century London.

in the late 1960s. Still, the decisive feminization in the occupation could be dated to 2000s, the period of which is discussed commonly with neoliberal "reform" agenda.

Another remarkable aspect of women's general condition in elementary school teaching is that private sector is largely dependent on women teachers. It is commonly known that the private sector of education in Turkey has been composed of poor job alternatives for teachers, due to insecurities in employment, poor pay and long hours of work. Hence feminization of teaching in private sector seems to have stemmed from women's secondary place in labour market characterized by their being "second earners" for the family and low-skilled, low-profile jobs they are concentrated. Yet, the flexibilities offered by private sector jobs in teaching needs to be mentioned in addressing the issue. Although work and employment conditions are poor on avarage in the sector, it allows career intervals and choice of work place unlike public education system which has come to had strict and centrally regulated assignment conditions. Meanwhile, it is worth mentioning also that private sector presents a variation across the schools, in the quality of education and the profile of jobs offered to teachers. Although majority is low profile in job alternatives for teachers, there are also highly prestigious ones, providing high-track careers for teachers.

Statistics show a steady rise for women's general level of education (TÜİK Statistics 1923-2009; TÜİK Formal education completed and sex ratio, 1975-2015) since the 1920s. However, the same cannot be said for the employment rates of women. Especially after 1950 and with accelerated rate of rural to urban migration, women mostly turn into housewives in the cities from being unpaid family workers in the rural. Therefore, teachers -together with women working in public administration and public banks- have been the face of the formally employed women in urban till 1970s and teaching has never lost its significance even after, for being the major employment sector for women.

Table 1. Women in Elementary School Teaching, (TURKSTAT)

Period	Primary School	Higher Primary School	High School	Period	Pre-school	Primary School (State)	Primary School (Private)	High School (State)	High School (Private)
1924/24	11,9	15,4	24,3	1999/00	99,1	42,8	73,5	41,2	56,7
1933/34	31,8	24,2	21,7	2006/07	95,2	46,8	70	41,5	52,5
1943/44	29,1	42,2	34,8	2009/10	95,2	51	68,6	41,7	49,8
1953/54	27,4	45,3	46,1	2011/12	94,7	52,8	68,7	43	49,4
1963/4	24,7	31,2	42,9	2012/13	94	56	75	43	52
1973/4	37	34,8	35,9	2013/14	95	57	76	44	53
1983/84	41,4	33,8	37,7	2014/15	94	57	76	45	52
1993/94	43,6	38,2	41,7	2015/16	95	58	77	45	49

The history of women teachers has evolved through a couple of stages in regulation of the Turkish elementary education and teacher training system: Prior to the period of village teacher training schools, women teachers were, in majority, daughters of the urban educated classes. Later becoming more significant upon opening of village teacher training institutions, the women village teachers were limited in number compared to that in the urban Turkey. However, their cases were critical in modernization of rural Turkey in gender relations and in terms of changing women's prospects in work life. Following period was determined by the unification of teacher training schools and compulsory service condition in the rural. Teaching started to be seen as an occupation to be "practiced in villages" but also a path from rural to urban mobility, profile of women teachers getting skewed to involve more women with rural family origins. By the time faculty education criterion for ES teachers was introduced, the range of women's educational and occupational alternatives had already been radically expanded. However, women's representation continued to rise. Exam condition for assignment into teaching positions and other accompanying policies shaking the securities and autonomies associated with teaching complicated the picture even further during the following period. Currently, the women from last three generations who entered teaching in successive stages of regulation in ES teaching are active in the occupation.

Table 2. Historical Periods and Women Teachers

Hegemonic Representation of Women ES Teacher Figure	**Time Period**	**Significance / Explanations**
Elite women as intellectual supporters of cosmopolitan values in education Semi-formal community education and lower-class women teachers		Other Figures: * Live-in foreign women teachers * Women in neighborhood basic education/teaching Education as an elite privilege
Patriotic middle-class women in search of political and personal identities Urban ES women teacher and their self-sacrificial journeys into provincial Anatolia	From the II. Meşrutiyet (the Constitutional Regime) to the 1920-30s	State feminism
Pathway to education and occupation especially for urban middle-class girls Village teacher training schools educating a limited number of women teachers	From the 1930s to 1950s	State feminism (Republican foundation ideology)
Consolidated profile of ES teachers coming from modest urban and heavily from rural working-class family backgrounds Activist teachers- people's intellectuals	Late 1950s, 1960 and 70s	End of ideological state paternalism and full emergence of civil political identities
Professionals and Proletariats - Variegated routes to occupational identity	From the 1990s onwards	Vague content of neoliberalism: Professionalism

Thus-summarized is the story of the route for the socio-economic formation for the classical generation of women teachers in the modern Turkish history, appeared in parallel to world experience. This framing of the issue focuses on the developmental shifts for institutionalization of public education and thereby triggered changes in woman ES teacher profile.

In its historical journey from being an intellectual orientation, to patriotic identity, and then a vocation of respectable kind, teaching cannot be considered solely as a professional identity for women. Rather, being among the most significant socially-approved roles for women in public space, woman teacher figure has come to describe a normative universe for gender relations in each respective historical period.

In the Turkish context, the cosmopolitan intellectual woman of the elite schools was representing the separated worlds of the elite and the people in the late Ottoman

period, as well as the iconic though limited role, the women of high social classes could attain. Later emerging cult of patriotic middle and lower middle-class women teachers were signaling advent of the era of nationalism; a populist reconciliation between lower and upper classes in the public world, along with inclusion of women in this public world with a prefix of "the good of the nation". Women's participation in public sphere, then, would soon reach at a level to include lower class women's engagements in formal labour market. In teaching as well, lower classes and peasants would appear more emblematic of woman teacher identity during the coming years. As a working-class vocation, teaching would be a respectable work alternative for lower class women, also accommodating concerns of middle-classes for work-family reconciliation.

Recent twist, on the other hand, in the image -social attributions- of woman teacher figure, reflects more than any others, the gendered consequences of neoliberal turn over lower and lower-middle-class realities of work, professionalism and public representation. In this current picture, ES teaching does not command a female respectability per se; but caters to the social status of well-off (those working in tenure track status, in center schools, with supportive sponsorship and family support networks) and adds to the precarity of those with disadvantaged status (working with temporary employment status, having to juggle with extra work and side incomes). Gender and social class conditions, therefore, are further consolidated for women by and through teacher identity than being necessarily improved/excelled -as they used to be.

The path, followed by the story of woman elementary school teacher in the historicity of Turkish Republic, has created a distinctive legacy concerning the relations between women, occupation and social class. This Chapter aims to look closer at this legacy as to understand gender politics of Turkish modernization within the context of ES teaching vocation and to explain what is at stake for women in and through the current change process of the occupation and how so.

2.1. New Women of the Republic

It is by now the very old agreement that the area of public is critically hinges upon the invention and regulation of 'private' (Sennett, 1992:1976). Similarly, in establishment of public area in social-political imagination and in the institutionalized order of modern society, the area of private has been invented with new boundaries and qualities, and thereof regulated heavily. This same route was followed in the Turkish modernization experience with some genetic idiosyncrasies. The top-down, projected and aspirant character of Turkish modernization process created even further pressures for transformation of the private area. Furthermore, because in the power struggles of the public space issues, Kemalist elites were the only decisively powerful party without any structural enemies (like local bourgeois class or land-owners) apart from a few conservative bureaucrats, the main friction in modernizing project emerged in the transformation of socio-political relations, identities and subjectivities, thus in the areas of 'social' and 'private' (Keyder, 1997).

For Sirman (2007), the socio-political relations system of Ottoman society was depending on a particular type of extended household model, which includes and demarcates kin and non-kin in its regulative universe (Sirman, 2007). In order to transform this model, new femininities and masculinities were required. While these femininities and masculinities were supported with practical possibilities, created through structural regulation (institutional intervention of state via education, employment, social activity areas like Halkevleri…etc.), they were also trying to reach a phenomenological depth through fluctuation of new writing types, translation, and other cultural narrations. Answering to this search, normativity was the rule in the genres which first appeared during the period from Tanzimat to the 1950s and each voice in narratives was preaching their 'rights' in the area of 'social' life (Sirman 2007) in an urge to invent modes of embodiment and narration for those abstract categories, rights and identities. Here, it is possible to identify

individualizing and totalizing effect of modernization in emergence of selves and the common preoccupation with private area issues, in addition to public ones.

It is quite rare and relatively new in analysis of modernization in Turkey, to accept family, gender relations and the sphere of private as the actual sites of transformation, on which different parties in the modernization negotiation as well as traditionalists had a stake to negotiate (Sirman 2007; Akşit 2009; Kandiyoti 1997). Challenging this tendency Sirman (2007) argues that because of the centrality of the need to regulate and transform the private area, the cultural history of transition from empire to nation state can be traced in the arguments about gender and family. Furthermore, just as the analytical focus on subjectivity is insightful about the importance of self-representations (as well as identities as representations) in constitution of stable origins of new subjects; families and the spheres of private (against public) and social (against political) are the critical sites of social transformation in emergence and stabilization of new public cultures and identities.

Likewise, both the Meşrutiyet and Tanzimat reformers and the young Ottomans were aiming to transform the household structure of the classical Ottoman society as to stabilize their new political identities. Sirman (2007) enunciates that since the socio-political order of the Ottoman population was based on particular household structures, this transformation project was tantamount to a total project of socio-political change including culture as well as structure of social formation.

The way, this change was realized, resulted in labeling of the area of household, family and gender relations as belonging to ‘private’ and ‘social’ rather than public and political realms. However, it was crucially important to mold households as to produce subjects of modern nation state and its project of modernization through nation building and presenting this operation as the *necessity of civilization*. The project of change in the private area, thus, was presented to be an issue of *social progress* but not a political choice. This move placed the whole issue within a naturalizing discourse.

In transformation of gender relations, this naturalization was achieved through investments in men's desires to marry loving wives, who could be proper intellectual partners for them (Salmoni 2005; Sirman 2007). Personhood, for both men and for the intellectual women of the time, was symbolized in a *love marriage*. This desire was in accord with state's demand for modern and professional women, who would serve the Republic. Those modern professionals of the Republic would be recruited from the high-class families with already modern cultural identities, instead of men of lower class families whose cultural formation was more unreliable and incompatible with that of elites (Öncü 1979).

On the other hand, in a short time, it would occur that elite women would also pose a danger, not to the civilization project but ideological program of the regime, determined by populist egalitarianism principle between classes, preservation of a type of private patriarchy in domestic area as the symbol of "hars" (essence of the primordial national identity); and finally, it was not enough to limit the target population in teacher education to elite women in transforming the social and familial parameters of the new society (Arat, 1998). As a paramount cultural text, as well, elite women of the time had risen their stakes in gender emancipation to include private and familial realms as well as the field of politics, which was hard to accept and build a consensus upon for the young Republic (Akşit 2005).

After the establishment of the Republic and development of its necessary institutional apparatuses, like national education system, accordingly, the pending reaction towards "the rise of elite women" took place with a now official program. Some powerful elite women of the late Ottoman period, were denied from entering into the political area and, as Yeşim Arat (1998 and 2000) argues, forced to live in an intellectual exile. In these early periods of Turkish Republic, "woman teacher" started to constitute a middle figure between modernized-Westernized, high class cosmopolitan women and the Anatolian rural women of the time, as is also reflected in the separate education principle for urban and rural teachers. Akşit (2005), at this point, indicates that the woman teacher symbolized the idealized woman for the nation, in replacement of the elite women who had been politically and socially

active during the Tanzimat period and the Republican War times, like Halide Edip Adıvar, Nezihe Muhiddin, and Fatma Aliye (11). This is in line with what Chatterjee (2000) suggests for westernization morality of the Eastern societies regarding woman issue:

> "There is a simple limit to the extent of reform required: Basic difference between the roles of men and women in terms of pecuniary and nonpecuniary merits should have been maintained. In the modern world, men and women had to be significantly distant in terms of level and style of Westernization " (107).

The woman teacher was different from the types of all the modern women of the Ottoman elite, the old Ottoman woman teacher[22], and the rural traditional woman of the time. An important number of women who were chosen to be educated as teachers were generally coming from rural Anatolia, a significant number of them were orphans, and near all of them were daughters of lower or lower middle-class families[23]. Becoming teachers, they were having the chance to move up to the ranks of middle classes via education and marriage (Akşit, 2009). Thus, the symbolic currency of woman teacher, in the republican foundation period, along with some others, depended on her being a substitute and re-invention of -idealized- womanhood. Symbolically, they were the face of the *new woman* of the period. With the advent of this figure, woman question was re-formulated to be contained in the pedagogical space of education discourse and put into relevance with the concerns about the integrating the ignorant and traditional people of the nation to the modernization project via reaching their localities through state institutions. Therefore, woman question was co-opted in the agenda of national modernization and development. Meanwhile, the displacement of Republican project from center to periphery, for Kandiyoti, (1997:112) produced figures of kaymakam and village teacher who would then be accepted as ideal intellectual, social, and marital matches.

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[22] Those women teachers were generally non-Muslim single women teaching high class girls at their homes or fee-paying prestigious schools (Akşit, 2005).

[23] Meanwhile, those women teachers who came from more powerful family origins were also existing, but they were less likely to be represented in woman teacher figure.

At this period of the Turkish history, women teachers were employed to educate new citizens of the republic and then to turn people (halk) into citizens. In this task, they were placed antagonistic to the figure of the ignorant mother of the traditional family, connecting institutional politics with the politics of private sphere.

In classical modern version, woman teacher identity was a one enabled by ideological project of modernization which aspires to extend into and transform the private order of family and gender relations in the household, as well as the place of women in public. However, we can also define "operation of social class", highlighting the classificatory character of the dualities, old-new, traditional-modern, traditional-westernized-*moderate* femininities, which are displaced and played out, in and through the figures of femininity, traditional mother, teacher, educated mother, elite-westernized and professional woman, and others. Displacement of femininities are classificatory for women, signifying and performing their belonging with a certain social class position.

Seen through this understanding, the fin de siècle picture gets clear that, against *ignorant mothers*, enlightened and enlightening *daughters* were commissioned to take care of the children of the nation. Westernized cosmopolitan intellectuals were equally excluded leading that, now national, project. Those women, as teachers, were also denoting a retreat of male elites from promoting a purely Westernized woman and cosmopolitan culture as the ideal types. The time was that of a new search for a gendered reconciliation in national identity, which would combine the authentic private self of Anatolia and with the Westernized public world of elites. In Durakbaşa's (2000) words, the gender approach of the regime, from the 1920s and to 1960, was marked by (though not so-called) traditional Islamic female modesty and national and professional ethic of conduct. Woman teacher was one of the embodied representations of this combination, and the epitomes of the morality of private/cultural sphere in public area[24]. Gender ideology of the time was instilling

[24] The figure of "woman teacher" has been represented as a privileged persona in two prominent historiographies. First historiography is inspired with emancipation movements of the Victorian period women and stories their taking up roles in community and public education, at the cost of social marginalization through engaging with teaching. Second historiography is related with the

the values of modesty, patriotism, self-sacrifice and in the woman teacher type those values were coded as the elements of an occupational ethic, a type of professionalism.

Association of education with school education and later with public education, says Akşit (2005), was the maneuver that defeated the historical attempt of women to enter the area of political in the example of Halide Edip Adıvar, Nezihe Muhiddin, and Fatma Aliye. This move also devalued in-household education processes which had been professed generally by women. Meanwhile, as to make her existence in public sphere conditional, the woman teacher was forced to adopt some strict codes of behavior with respect to her sexuality as an absolute guarantee of her loyalty to state-led modernization project, which further debilitated her prospects of achieving a subjectivity and social agency. However, what needs to be kept in sight is that with teaching in public education, women from *lower and rural social classes* had the chance to participate in public social life, in difference with the well-known middle and upper class figures (Halide Edip, Nezihe Muhiddin..) of the previous era. They would identify with the gratitude of the life chance extended to them by the founding ideology of the state for decades as personal and also professional identity.

2.2. The Classical Period

In Turkey, teacher education and recruitment policies and specificities of institutional development in public ES education, have created a *classical/golden/reference period* in the legacy of the occupation. As will be discussed further in the following parts, this reference period was characterized with village teacher schools (1927-1954) and elementary teacher schools (1924-1974), ideological primacy of educating rural and poor masses, a tradition of status group

construction of a new womanhood cult of the early modern Republican regimes. There, women teachers were suggested to be lower and lower middle-class women who were seeking their social and political emancipation in the histories of non-Catholic countries. In Catholic -then Republican- countries, on the other hand, women teachers were the lower-class women who achieved social mobility through their occupational orientation and ideological formation developed in tandem with the state project for *new women*. In the Turkish history, too, it is possible to argue that early Republican period was marked a shift from the former figure to the latter. Here, it is possible to identify a passage from urban lower middle-class women's searches for political and individual liberation to lower-class women's idealism and nationalist and self-sacrificial public-mindedness.

formation among the state employees at the countryside and balanced -even slightly skewed in favor of men- representation of men and women in the occupation.

However, it is critical that, this legacy of that reference period predicates upon realities of specifically village institutes and first years of the following period, roughly till the 1960s - as that is the period that could be known via the testimonies of the working members of the occupation today (Uygun, 2010). Teachers, looking at that reference period, which could be better described with some qualities than being dated at a specific time interval, are forming their self-images and their claims for personal and public identities and professionalism. Reference to this period is framed by a general heuristic of "status loss" that is believed to have been experienced by teachers afterwards. For this reason, this part of the study aims to frame this classical period in historical course, and also as it appears in cultural memory, thus as a past referenced in the present stakes of identity politics.

The earliest story of women teachers *in Turkish public schools*[25]*in obligatory elementary school system* is actually the story of women entering in state employment and having first managerial positions in public administration structure, via becoming principals in the girls' schools of their times. This is particularly important in the contexts of the Ottoman and early Republican period, since state employment and inclusion in state administration had been definitive of high status positions in work life and society; and were the only bulwarks of career-pursuits and intellectual and professional engagement for educated groups.

During the Tanzimat period (1839-1876), women, though limited to daughters of the urban well-off families, had educational opportunities ranging from elementary schools to vocational-technical high schools. However, educational structure of the time was based on exclusive privileges of those institutions that were training state employees and they were the lot of men. Still, separate education principle was

[25] As will be presented, popular education schools in earlier elementary education system (sıbyan mektepleri) and girls' high schools of minority communities had also been employing women teachers.

allowing women to have small niches in big male education institutions like the nursery school established within the body of School of Medicine (Mekteb-i Tıbbiye) in 1842. Yet, due to comparative unimportance of feminine occupations in the state administration and bureaucracy, women's education was developing considerably slow. For girls' education to appear high in the political agenda, a shift from the perspective of "education for state administration" to "education for citizenship" were to be institutionalized. This shift would take place through gradual introduction of obligatory public schooling and settling of a mass public education system.

In fields of popular and elite education, on the other hand, women were already included in elementary level education even before the Tanzimat period (1839-1876). In popular education, they had a role, similar to the women in other country home-education and popular education institutions (Akyüz 2006:21). Not only popular education but also elite education was in place for girls at the elementary and high school level. The famous examples were the schools run by the associations of Ottoman minorities (Kurt, 2012).

In 1876, with the introduction of Kanunu Esasi constitution, the Ottoman Empire released provision of private education. Then, as well as private schools burgeoned further, home teaching became widespread especially among the well-off İstanbul families. In home education, favorite teachers were live-in foreign women teachers who were called *mürebbiye* (see Ulu 2014, for more detail).

2.2.1. Educated mothers

In a historical lag with Western countries, the first school, educating women teachers, opened in 1870 during the Ottoman Empire time (Dârülmuallimât)[26]. The

[26] Before then we see foreign women teachers coming to Ottoman territory for missionary aims. As has been examined partly by Wollons (2003), during Ottoman era, a significant number of Christian (generally American, and Evangelican) women missionaries had come to Anatolia and built missionary schools. Those schools were for non-Muslim population of the Ottoman Empire and it was forbidden to propagandize Christianity through opening Christian schools for Muslims.
There were also women teachers working at their homes or some places in mosques. Akyüz (2006:21) calls them as sıbyan mektebi (elementary school in Ottoman era) with woman teacher.

Government Regulation decreeing establishment of Darülmuallimat, also set forth the assignment of a woman principal to the school[27]. Darülmuallimat was to educate women teachers for women's tertiary schools (Rüşdiye) and elementary schools (sıbyan mektebi). Akyüz (2006) presents the legal justification for the opening of the school in an Education Circular released in 1869. Darülmuallimat was the first official call for women to become teachers in the modern Turkish history. A small quotation from the justification for the Law indicates that the school was considered to be an important part of the policy for "educating mothers" for the social development of the society:

> "Just like they are being worthy of all types of respect by nature, women need to be cared for their education. This is because, a child, starting from cradle till the beginning of his school education, is under training of his mother; and since for this duration there is nothing occupying the child's consciousness, everything they perceive get imprinted in their mind. Therefore, mothers clearly have a big role in education of their children" (quoted in Akyüz 2006: 51)

It is striking that opening of a girl's teacher training school was justified with reference to the need for educated mothers. It is possible to reason that separate education principle had naturally necessitated opening up of girls' schools and recruitment of women teachers. However, beyond being a practical need, till the period of II. Meşrutiyet, women were invited by state discourse to be "knowledgeable and enlightened educators" of the society for healthy establishment of nuclear modern family and thereof prescribed public morality (Üstel 2004). This understanding would support the genealogical foundations of the later emerging Republican women teacher figure. Nationalist imagery on women's moral and maternal roles would anticipate socialization of good mother cult in public as well as in domestic roles. However, those roles, like that of teacher, would be understood through the master signifier of mother, in rejection of the intellectual bourgeois womanhood, personified in some notable figures of the past. Thus, intellectual,

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They were teaching Kor'an and religion and were paid by parents of their students with small amounts.

[27] However, it also ruled that that woman principle would have been paid 1500 kurus and her teachers 750 kurus, while men principles of the time were paid 5000 kurus and their teachers 2000 (Unat, 104-106). Furthermore, Tan (1996:40) mentions that till 1932-33 there had not been any women principles except for those taking care of domestic responsibilities whereas a male colleague of higher status was responsible for general and outside administrative tasks.

cosmopolitan and bourgeois references of the intellectual women of the time were being effectively manipulated in favor of patriotic moral womanhood. Simultaneously, with public education (in general and teacher training schools), educated citizenship were becoming more at reach of middle and lower classes.

2.2.2. Eligible Wives

Another call towards women's inclusion in public roles was coming from the reformist male elites of the time. Male reformers of the time were in search of an extensive social transformation and they were aware of the fact that without women's change and modernization in their roles through participation in public life, such a task could not be achieved. The problematic had a very practical and personal dimension for them, instead of being a sole political formulation. Women's inclusion in public realms would turn them into ideal *modern mates*. Making educated and modern couples with those women, male elite, themselves being differentiated making the educated strata of the society, would be able to form ideal couples, competitive social status groups and make models for the rest of the society. Therefore, it is possible to differentiate perspectives of educated male elite on women's education for prioritizing a new household, marriage, and status group formation strategy. However, their vision for women's public participation was also limited to their education and then representation in distinctively female public roles. Namık Kemal was mentioning this perspective in the example of his support for women's becoming elementary school teachers:

> There are countries where more than half of the teachers in their schools are women, or to be more precise, women under 25. Presidents, ministers, members of parliaments, generals, public servants, scholars, men of letter mostly choose one of these women as their wives (Durakbaşa 2000:98, quoted in Taşkıran 1973:34)

In the example of Namık Kemal's above quoted statement, representation of the new ideal woman type in the figure of women teacher is worthy of attention. This figure is differentiated by her public role in a feminized realm of elementary school teaching and suggested as an ideal mate for state elites and intellectuals[28]. This

[28] Emphasizing the youth of woman teacher figure, Kemal might have desired to differentiate foreign women teachers teaching at homes during the former period, from prospective young woman teachers of public education. That figure of woman teacher, "matmazel", represents the degenerated

statement indicates the genealogical particularities of the later emerging (though partial) feminization in elementary school teaching in Turkey: They would be the wives of emerging public employee army and be the model woman citizens of their time.

In the Turkish case, feminization of elementary school teaching was fed with an enthusiasm to create a brand-new social type for women in the image of woman teacher, rather than taking over the previous period's legacy of women teachers in popular, elite and home education. Characteristics of Turkish modernization was prioritizing a break with the past, rather than a continuity and also aiming to arrive at a new reconciliation for the roles of women and men. This reconciliation would take the shape of a national and secular identity formation in the case of woman teacher figure with negation of former foreign women home-teacher (in the case of mürebbiye) and of the women engaged with teaching religious deeds (in the case of sıbyan mektebs with woman teacher). Women teachers would be different from higher class Westernized women and traditional rural women[29] and be eligible wives for state elites.

2.2.3. Alliance with State Employees

Early-embryonic emergence of woman teacher notion in Namık Kemal's vision indicates that women teachers could, and then would, enter the scene as symbols and even agents of a national social change project, thus having a socio-political support, rather than victims of social marginalization. This is crucially noteworthy, considering that in many country examples, women's entrance in teaching went hand in hand with the marginalization of their social status and of their gender

envy of Turkish high classes for European values and education in the literature of the period. Those women are generally not young and derided as being failures in their society and searching a chance of good living in the Ottoman country (Ulu, 2014).

[29] After the Balkan War, the theme of "ignorant mothers" was increasingly strengthened as a codification of social criticism of nationalist reformists of the Ottoman Empire (Mardin 1974:438: quoted by Durakbaşa 2000:157). This was a manifestation of growing discomfort with the existing political system and its socio-cultural underpinnings in family.

condition through poor remuneration and marriage bans[3031]. In Turkey, however, in similarity with some Catholic countries[32], women were encouraged to become teachers and were aimed to be empowered through public employment on equal terms with men and being represented as eligible wives and patriotic figures.

[30] In difference with the American experience, which had been repeated in several local and unique experiences like the one in American Irish community (Raftery, McDermid and Jones, 2007) and later by black communities (Waite, 2001), women primary school teachers of early modern times in Britain, Canada and many others were placed in a common cultural narrative of poverty, loneliness, and social failure. The crucial reason for this negative image *marriage bans* that lasted for decades. As identified by Linda Mahood (2009) turning to the media representations and political discourse of the time, "gentlewoman school mistress" narrative reigned in those country and community cases; and those women seemed to their contemporaries as stuck in their undesired living conditions, economically and socially. They were single women, working in remote parts of the country, paid poorly and holding a despicable social status. However, for others, that insulting discourse on "gentlewoman school mistress" was a product of the Victorian perspective on femininity aiming to keep middle class women out of paid work; and, that in fact, many lower-middle class women had achieved status rise or at least individual empowerment with taking up elementary school teaching (Steedman,1985). Tamboukou (2003) also indicates that writings of those early time women teachers constituted the first attempts of women to perform a modern feminine self beyond the constraints of the Victorian premises.

[31] Marriage bans were making an overwhelming negative effect over the social image ans status of teaching: "The social standing of the profession is unfortunately low, and this excludes more capable than incapable persons. Particularly damaging, probably, is the belief that is abroad in the community that only persons incapable of success in other lines become teachers, that teaching is a failure belt, the refuge of ‘unsalable men and unmarriage- able women’" (Waller, 1932, p. 379).

[32] Comparing France and Britain, Trouve-Finding (2005) describes how feminization of teaching in France outpaced that in Britain, because of France's adoption of central administration principle, while Britain was adhering to the decentralized community administration rule for teacher training and schooling. In France, Republican decisiveness to take over the jurisdiction of education and schooling from the Church initiatives had resulted in robust, continuous and uninterrupted recruitment of women teachers and was grounded within, with some intermittent disruptions, over provision of free, secular state education and commitment to the Republican ideology. In England however, local domination of Churches and non-programmatic approach of central governments towards girls' education and training resulted in slower progression in feminization of elementary school teaching.

The striking difference between the two country experiences is also connected with the considerably larger rural population France had in the late 19th century. Unlike their English sisters, French women teachers had not faced marriage bans since they were desired to be agents of a secular society than sacred -celibate- relics of religious societal organization in the countryside. This way, they could be able to form model families and better mix with the society and socialize them into values of the Republican regime. Hence women teachers were demanded to be involved with the life of the society, as married women, rather than nun-teachers or "spinsters". French women teachers were actually encouraged to marry their colleagues. So that, women could better their socio-economic conditions as respectable married women and having dual earner families. This respectability would compensate for the former sanctity of *nun teachers*. As a consequence of this training and recruitment policy for women teachers, in France, teacher couples became significant social figures. They were making one quarter of the entire French teaching force by 1921 (Touvre-Finding 2005:487).

This promise of an empowering relation between the rising state (elites) and women teachers of the coming generation may be discussed in connection with the Republican patriarchal contract, having common validity in the entire Middle Eastern context. Hatem (1986) argues that in Middle Eastern contexts, women were desired to represent both modernity and national identity, thus a civilized nation with its own authentic culture. While women's presence and roles in public would represent the modernity/civility of the nation, their loyalty to domestic feminine roles would represent the culture of the nation (Arat, 2000). In those countries, the national culture in the past was re-invented in a selective fashion as to distance themselves from both the pre-civilized old regimes and the West. Some participation rights, like education and paid work have been given to women as a part of the contract foreseeing women's patriotic and dutiful engagement with some public roles, and not demanding a change in their domestic or familial roles. Sometimes called as state feminism (White 2003), this nationalist contract between women and the state was anticipating women's public participation and maintenance of their traditional domesticity[33]. Turkish Republic would, too, attribute a notable symbolic value to women's public presence and grant them a public citizenship status in an attempt to rearrange the societal relations on a broader scale (Göle 1997). Sexual decency of women, however, was continuing to be at the heart of the social morality. The difference from the old era was that, this patriarchal contract was resting upon replacement of the measures like segregation of women at homes and family and head-covering for controlling women's sexuality, with a moral identity for women in their public roles as the guarantee of sexual order. Women would appear as patriotic, social-service-minded, dutiful, and de-sexualized figures in public life. This new code critically hinged upon women's not claiming an overall individual liberation (liberation at domestic, political and sexual fronts), protecting their sexual and familial decency, and acting selflessly in the name of the nation and the society. Not coincidentally, that public citizenship would grow within the feminine public roles like teaching, not tainting the traditional domestic feminine image of women and processing the public scripts on national modernization and development.

[33] Papanek (1994) argues that young women removed from the constraints of segregation and veiling were the best allies of young nation states.

Originality of Turkish case, however, would appear with the preference of realizing this morality via co-socialization and mixing of women and men in their social and occupational roles, rather than institution of women-only niches. In a way, controlled mixing of genders in institutional sites, was itself a pedagogy for moral sexual identities. Being at the center place of such an extensive social change project, new women, and among them women teachers, would enjoy the support of the state and the other reformist agents.

2.2.4. Long Lasting Resistance of Families

However, raising that generation of women in the imagined ideal virtues was not an easy task. Dârülmuallimât being founded specifically for the education of women teachers, accepted the rule of women's employment in the public sector for the first time in the Ottoman history. The first graduates of the school started with their jobs in 1873. Following this date, women, as a principle, started to be appointed as administers in various levels of education system, as principles and inspectors although not on a par with men (Kurnaz 1999). Yet, in 1909, the number of women teacher schools reached only 29 (Kurnaz 1999). Meanwhile, all colleges and teacher education schools were continued to being considered as the examples of indecency by the conservative circles of their time, putting them in the center place of the conflict between reformers and traditionalists (Akyüz, 1978).

Those schools followed a historical evolvement in search for a working teacher education model for women, taking only years later a final form. That search reflects the difficulty of training and effectively assigning women as teachers. According to Kurnaz, in 1910, girls' teacher schools are ineffective for educating women teachers, because their graduates were tending to marry and not to work after education and were especially reluctant to go to the provincial/rural areas to work. Women and their families were still clinging to the legacy of old elite schools in which women had been acquiring not occupational or vocational qualifications, but social merits and cultural capital for being good wives. In the face of that difficulty, a reformer, Emrullah Efendi offered turning Darülmuallimats into boarding schools and taking

girls from the provincial/rural areas in order to be able to send them after their graduation, back to their home areas as teachers. However, this project, too, then, failed and the girls taken from their countryside homes were placed in a private place for living and they had to follow the nearby Girl Industrial School's[34] courses. Only in 1914, this ideal, that of establishment of a boarding school system for educating women teachers', (Dârülmuallimâts) was realized.

One reason for this late coming success was that Industrial Schools for Girls (Kız Sanayi Mektepleri, opened in İstanbul first in 1869) was accepting the same profile of girls, who are poor and in need of earning small incomes. In those schools, constituting an alternative to girl elementary teacher schools, income earning was starting immediately, thus they were responding better to the needs of poor girls. Later, those schools abandoned being production-oriented institutions and were turned into Girl Institutes (1927-28), the socio-economic profile of students also starting to display more middle-class characteristics, again converging with the elite girl schools giving good housewifery education in the previous decades.

The crucial point in years-taking vacillation, the teacher education schools had lived in reaching their final institutionalization, was the difficulty of socializing the value of white collar public employment among the poor families and their daughters. Pressing need for income and girls' labour among the poor and rural families had caused for a long-time preference for and eventual arrangement of teacher education schools as organizations for income generating industrial work. For those schools to become able to recruit the daughters of poor families on mass scales, relative

[34] Girls Industrial Schools (founded in 1865) provided the first high school education opportunity for women in the Ottoman Empire. They adopted the principle of the unity of education and (industrial) production. They were producing for the needs of several state institutions, army being the foremost example. They were in time turned to schools for lower classes and disadvantaged, educating those girls who were orphans from generally non-Muslim origins and poor (Akşit, 2000). Together with the Girl Institutes (founded in 1929) they are considered as the two faces of the policy of girl's education in the early Republican history. The Girls Industrial Schools turned into Girls Institutes in 1927. While the former was offering technical education and was appealing to girls from lower classes who would be likely to engage with paid employment, the latter was offering ideological education and serving the aim of creating new woman of the Republic who would serve to the Republic at home as mother and wife.
In 1934, Girls Technical High Schools were opened in order to educate teachers for Girls Institutes and for the technical schools for girls.

worth, status of *teaching* versus *industrial and agricultural work* was to be established. Meanwhile, erasing the previous legacy of lady schools in which daughters of the higher-class families got some elite feminine arts and skills before marriage was essential. In a sense, teacher education schools of earlier times had long searched for their social identities tackling with the double hardship of convincing lower classes into a non-traditional formal vocation and middle classes into a type of girl's education which aims vocational formation than feminine social arts education.

Darül-muallimat had 560 students in 1899-1900 education period; and in 26 years following its foundation, Darül-muallimat had graduated 348 women teacher candidates (Akyüz 1999)[35].

Table 3. Students and Teachers in Dârülmuallimât[36]

Year	Number of Students	Number of Teachers
1914	253	33
1916	803	-
1917	1005	-
1919	6000	-

For years, Dârülmuallimât served as a two-grade school, one, educating teachers for primary schools; and the other, anticipating continuation of the education after the first division in order for girls to become secondary school level teachers. First part was renamed as elementary teacher education school in 1932, and the second part of the schools was abolished in the same year to be replaced by another school system for educating secondary education level teachers (Kurnaz 1999). According to Akyüz (2006), Darülmuallimat, in spite of all the difficulties and necessary re-arrangements, it had gone through, served to the education of women, spreading the reforms for women and enabled the attainment of a big number of women to higher

[35] In the 1923-24 Education Year, there were 1.217 women teacher in total. In 1930-31 education year, the number was risen to 4.814 and in 1940-41 education year, to 5.981.

[36] 7 of the 20 elementary teacher schools taken down from the Ottoman Empire were girls' schools.

education even if they did not serve as teachers then[37]. Teacher shortage was such a big problem that with a law issued in 1926, those not having teacher education were openly accepted as eligible for teaching upon a modest education criterion[38].

Historically, till the year 1927, as women gained the right to enter an educational level (secondary, tertiary, …) as students, the next higher-level education had opened to future women teachers (Başgöz and Wilson, 1973). As such, separate education principle was contributing to the opening of new teacher training education institutions to women. This situation changed, however, after the acceptance of co-education principle at the beginning of the 1927 education year[39]. Although in view of Başgöz and Wilson (1973: 107), co-education of boys and girls at primary school level had not posed a problem even during the time of Ottoman Empire[40], co-education was officially accepted in primary schools in 1924, in secondary level schools in 1927-1928 and in high schools in 1934-35 (initially in the places where there was only one high school). As had been in some other country experiences, in Turkey, too, public education and acceptance of universal education principle concurred with secularization and mixed education.

Primary teacher education schools had been organized according to separate education of future men and women teachers before the Republican period. After the republican constitution, co-education principle was accepted though separate

[37] In fact, there is a serious problem of teachers who did not take teacher education for the early republican years. In 1923, for instance, 2.734 of total 10.102 teachers were those not having teacher education formation (Yücel, 1994-1938:92).

[38] The Law on Elementary School Teacher and Assistants (İlk Mektep Muallim ve Muavinleri Hakkında Kanun), 20 May 1926.

[39] Co-education was first introduced in Faculties in 1921; in the Republican period, they were followed by upper primary schools, primary schools and lastly by high schools (Akyüz 1999). In İstanbul İnas Darül-fünunu (university), women students refused to take separate courses and insisted on taking their courses from the İstanbul Darül-Fünunu and co-education at university level was actually started with this initiative of women students.

[40] Akyüz (2006:52) states that in the 1869 Education Circular there is the ascertainment that even though there are schools for girls in Ottoman Empire, since there were not enough women teachers, girls had to quit school after ages of 9-10. This is one of the reasons why Darülmuallimat was considered as a necessary institution.

education continued afterwards, and even in 1940s mixed elementary teacher education schools were still limited in numbers (Akyüz, 2001:358, quoted in Uygun, 2007: 6). Existing mixed schools were actually not mixed but co-education was the rule in them, spaces of male and female students being carefully separated to such a degree of assigning different external doors for two groups.

Early adoption of the co-education principle, at the other side of the coin, might be considered as one of the reasons why in ES teaching women could not reach an equal representation at the first years of obligatory public schooling system. Since, recruitment of women teachers for the education of girls was not a necessity, education policy did not feel the need to intervene for securing equal representation of women in the occupation. This is reflected in the number of women's and men's teacher schools throughout the time of elementary teacher schools. By the 1923-1924 school year, the number of elementary teacher schools for women was 7 against 13 for men.

In the early years of teacher schools, covering both Darül-Muallimat and, as they were later named, Elementary teacher schools period till the mid-1940, continuing low rates of women teachers in elementary schools[41], more than anything else was showing a couple of important issues concerning hegemonic understandings on women's place in society: Failure in persuading urban middle classes to educate their daughters for future vocations and paid employment instead of conceiving girls' education as a social status symbol and a way of preparing their daughters for marriages as eligible educated wives; and a parallel failure in persuading rural poor into the value of having formal occupations for their daughters. In each case, the main negotiation was taking place over the gender status of women and particularly on the issue of timing and status of marriage for the girls. In the rural, approval of teaching as an appropriate vocation for women have partly been bolstered by gradually developed understanding that teaching contributes to prospects of good marriages for women.

[41] In 1933-43 Education year against 12.680 men teachers in basic education, there were only 5.524 women teachers. Numbers are 19.194 and 8.738 in 1943-44 education year.

2.2.5. Mixed-Sex Institutional Fields as Disciplinary Spaces for Republican Selves

Early insertion of co-education principle has been one of the most unique characteristics of the Turkish modernization history. Introduction of the co-education system was early considering the short time that had passed after the establishment of the modern Republic, thus the regime change. Unlike Egypt and Iran, as a country with a dominant Islamic culture, Turkey refused to adopt a gradualist approach in introducing coeducation principle (Salmoni, 2003). According to Baltacıoğlu (1946), a famous pedagogue, teacher and later an education bureaucrat, rather than constituting a problem, immediate introduction of coeducation principle would actually play into the hands of Republican reformers, boosting political socialization of the values of the Republic, particularly those of "egalitarianism and feminism". Salmoni (2003), in his comparative work on Egyptian and Turkish education systems in early reform periods, indicates that this divergence of country policies on separate and coeducation choices later matured into full-fledged paradigm differences, concerning the image of modern women and women's place in society. Sprouting out from the genealogies of the dominating social classes in modernization reform periods in the two countries Egypt and Turkey, Turkey depended on mostly educated state elites than traditional bourgeoisie and led the country into adopting a populist (halkçı) paradigm of reformation where egalitarianism appeared as a general principle and promise in difference with Egypt[42]. Within such an environment, women were not openly called with their traditional roles and femininities like in the experience of Egypt, but also indexed into generic *public equality* principle. Thus, a new public morality, narrated in the persona of new patriotic modern girl and woman, was the basis of that early Republican gender ideology, rather than simple re-charging of the images of traditional femininity within a modern nationalist narrative through "teacher as social mother" iconographies. Concomitantly, women's sexual morality would

[42] However, as must be kept in perspective, lower class men did not have the mobility opportunities as much as the state discourse had suggested, due to skepticism of the state elite for their cultural and social values, believed to be traditionalist and Islamist in essence. Articulated by Öncü (1979), this skepticism would better facilitate middle and higher-class women's progression in professional occupations.

hinge upon their equal public citizenship and mixing of genders than segregation as it was in the previous, pre-Republican era. Other well-known pedagogues as well were seeing a clear substantiation of this new morality in coeducation:

> Responding to a writer who had claimed, ostensibly based on Freud, that coeducation at the intermediate level gives excessively free rein to sexual urges, Ali Rıza Seyfi opined that segregated education did not offer a solution. If these drives indeed proved so powerful, separating boys from girls during their youth would just postpone their encounter with these feelings, denying students the skills or training in how to deal with them. Only through struggling with sexual and other, 'dangerous' urges and conquering them in the controlled environment of the closely monitored school (Salmoni 2003: 495-6).

Therefore, *controlled encounter* between girls and boys and their socialization in school environment was itself suggested to be the social basis of the new sexual and ideological morality, rather than being a controversial issue, for the Republican society project. State feminism was also depending on this modern economy of control, and moral discipline over not just behavior but further on self and temperament, working though mixing of genders in public settings. Unrivalled rule of the governing elites as radical intellectuals had as well provided power to political authority for uncompromising implementation of its reform agenda. Coeducation was one of the most crucial instances, crowning this power and the overall reform agenda.

2.2.6. Dual Earner Teacher Couples at the Periphery and the Village Teacher Cult

Still, recruitment of women in ES teaching was defended, not only by the Republican governments as to secure education of mothers, or by intellectual elites of old Ottomans, Tanzimat Period and then the New Republic as to have eligible wives and in Republic to change the women's place in the society; but also education bureaucrats and technicians were making a case for employment of women. Their justification, however, was depending on a much more practical a challenge Turkish public education had to face: extending the schooling into rural periphery at a lowest cost possible on teacher wages via encouraging dual earner teacher families. Still, in time, more than a simple pragmatism, their projects would develop into a full-fledged ideological approach in the "village teacher cult". Women, as well as men

of the rural Anatolia, would become teachers, form dual earner nuclear families, socialize the very principles of modern Republican life in the periphery and be a part of the bloc of Republican agents together with other public employees in remote parts of the country.

Turkish teacher training system had followed a dual strategy for educating the teachers for the urban and rural parts of the country till the closure of Village Institutes in 1954. In this framework, not educating enough number of teachers but educating teachers for villages had been the actual problematic for long to the Republican governments (Küçükahmet et all. 1999)[43].

In terms of administrative rationale, part of the reason why in the world level, the governments in almost everywhere in the world opted for recruitment of mostly women in elementary school teaching was to lower the costs of teacher wages to the state. Really, it was difficult to institute a whole web of public schools and finance the whole army of teachers serving in them. Seemingly, two different solutions had been developed in face of this problem, that could be discerned with diverging ideological programs informing the respective education policies. Anglo-Saxon countries with decentralized education systems were handing down administrative responsibilities to localities; and local administrations were coming up with the solution of creating segmented structures of teacher employment, women taking the most dead-end, lowest strata jobs, taking down the overall cost of teachers to the schools. In Republican countries of the Catholic West, centralized training and recruitment policy was anticipating a smaller differentiation between women and men teachers but opting for their forming dual earner families at the low cost rural settlements. In this latter case, although women and men start at the same status to their teaching careers, in terms of practical outcomes the situation was different: ES classrooms were filled by women teachers and upper grades teaching and school management positions were left to male teachers. But more importantly, those

[43] This problematic impacted also the approach to instruction and curricula both in teacher training and in general education; and principles of Dewey and his model of "education in work" was adopted.

women and men teachers may form couples and dual earner families, creating another economic parameter of cost-reduction.

The administrative rationale of recruiting women into teaching was not different for the Turkey. However, in Turkey, secondary education schools and their teaching posts were late to be institutionalized; and existing elementary schools were poor in teaching staff and generally lacked managerial posts. That might be the one reason why ES teaching had not feminized to a comparable level with its Western contemporaries: Men could not be employed in managerial positions of the schools or in higher grade teaching positions in an equal size. Thus, in that important public institution which provides a way to public employment and good employment terms relative to other common rural work alternatives of the time, rural men actually competed with women teacher candidates over ES teaching positions, instead of leaving ES teaching to women and preferring school management positions and higher grades teaching. All in all, the consequence was, for public elementary schools, to employ both men and women from poor strata of the society; and encourage their marriage -or marriage between public employees in the countryside in general.

Darüleytam system (handed over from the Ottoman Empire and abolished in 1926) may be considered as the antecedent of village institutes, thus separate education of the teachers who would serve in the villages. Darüleytam is the name of the village schools where orphan children (including children of martyrs) were both boarded and taught a vocation to be able to earn their livings afterwards. In some of them, teacher education was given for those children to educate village people[44]. Thus, years before the establishment of Village Institutes, İsmail Mahir Efendi who is also known as the founder of the Darüleytam system was mentioning the main financial underpinnings of the village teacher training system for Turkey to pursue, as follows:

> "We have approximately 70 districts. In an area with farms or where there are fields, we build schools for men and women each. Then you calculate the number of

[44] In his 1924 visit to Turkey, famous educationist John Dewey approved that those orphanages could be taken as models in the reformation of Turkish education system.

> villages within that district. We get one boy and one girl from each prospective place of schools and we enroll them to those schools. Girls school should have many programmes such as weaving, cooking, sewing, poultry husbandry etc., while the courses for men would be completely based on agricultural works. Then we educate them for four years. And then they get hands-on training for one year. Has it been eight years? You force those villagers for eight years so that they can build houses and schools for masters. Then you marry that man and woman. They go back to their village feeling happy about two liras salary they get. Because those masters take the whole profit from the sample field to be formed next to the villages. We don't have any other choice. In time, you can see village institutes all around the Ottoman land, and you are also in charge of the masters. Don't think these schools would cost a lot. Additionally, what village people eat is not lamb ribs. They drink ayran and eat ayran soup and rice. They need some blankets, a woolen cloth and kerchiefs. Therefore, you see development. If you don't do this and want masters to graduate from these schools, then you have to wait for three hundred years, at least."6

In his projection, education of women, besides men teachers, is essential for the model, since teachers would be able to marry teachers and form dual earner families, bolstering their socio-economic status and contributing to the social impact and prestige of the occupation.

After unification of education institutions under the state regulation in 1924, and the acceptance of a political mobilization for literacy and education, education and assignment of teachers gained further urgency[45]. Moreover, teachers were mostly needed in rural and provincial parts of Anatolia, rather than in urban cities[46]. Thus, there emerged a problem for taking girls to teacher education schools and convincing these prospective teachers to serve in the future at the rural Anatolia. This was clearly an issue, considering that the urban teacher schools of girls were still partly serving as educational opportunities for the girls looking for further education opportunities, but not planning to serve as teachers or to serve in the Anatolia. Likewise, the teacher education schools, which were located in the urban

[45] People's schools issued to be established by the related 1928 Directive, was one of the most prominent milestones of this mobilization. Those schools were aiming to quickly increase the rate of literacy among the adult population. The official ideology and discourse on primacy of national education mobilization are most clearly manifested in this Directive. All local governments, military, peoples' schools, several types of mobile education teams were commissioned with making a contribution to the struggle with illiteracy (Sakaoğlu, 1993).

[46] According to the 1927 census, only % 10,7 of the whole population in Turkey was literate. In the rural parts of the country where school system had not satisfactorily extended, this ratio was falling down to % 6.

Turkey, were not attracting girls willing to work in the rural places (Cunbur 1992)[47]. The same problem was relevant for boys taking their education in city teacher schools, but not at the same degree with girls.

Although the first elementary teacher schools in provincial Anatolia started their education after 1875, they were boy's schools and did not achieve to have recognition over the local people towards the competency of teachers they educated; and till the Law on Unification of Education (1924), old teachers had continued to give traditional education alongside teacher education school graduates (Tonguç 2005).

In 1926, Latin alphabet was introduced and this move added to the cleavage between old and new education and between old and new teachers. Starting from 1927, village teacher education schools were in service[48]; but their capacity was not satisfactory. Then emerged the attempts to solve the problem of educating village population, through assignment of military cadets as instructors in 1936[49] and that was followed by establishment of village elementary teacher schools in 1937. Village teacher education schools would turn into Village Institutes in 1940 after a trial period was completed in the two village schools. (Akyüz, 2008)

2.3. Village Institutes

Early Republican mobilization for institutionalization of schooling and school system was depending on a nation-formation program in which citizens would be made up of '*respectable working classes'* in the rural Turkey. Teacher identity has

[47] (In 1940) There were no schools in 22.778 village. In the cities, there was a need for 5.594 teachers and in the villages, it is 44.289 teachers. In the villages where there are schools, authorities have complaints about girls nor being sent to schools or being taken from it before graduation. Another complaint typical for the period is that girl teachers were refusing to the villages and those who had accepted to go were not staying long (Cunbur, 1992).

[48] With the Law 1789 (1926), village and urban teacher education schools were introduced as two different types and thereof regulated till the year 1930.

[49] Between the years of 1936 and 1946, 6.533 instructor has been trained; and they were mainly engaged with adult literacy courses organized for villages (Sakaoğlu, 1993).

been developed under strong influence of the education and occupation ideology, sprouted around such a vision of the nation, teachers being one of the most critical agents of state at the periphery. Thus, the genetic and legacy of the elementary school teaching has come to include a imagination of citizenry, made up of rural lower classes, who would through the course of socio-economic developments, and institutional intervention, transform into *respectable* rural and urban working classes, not disturbing the political program of creating "non-differentiated and united people" of the Republic. The occupational field has been shaped over that underlying society vision and thereof derived missionary roles for teachers. This is related with the overarching policy priorities guiding the education policy in a particular track.

In the first decades of the young republic, creating a citizenry from a population in which rural poor dominated, is the officially declared political priority. This discourse would gradually integrate anxious overtones, expressing the concern for *securing* the regime against the backlash that could come from the old regime's agents. Meanwhile, rural-to-urban migration was an rising issue of concern for the regime, in view of the probable adverse effects of dissolution of rural population and their economic formations. Both against the defenders of the old regime and against the pending danger of rural classes turning into militant urban proletariat, it was crucial to develop policies focusing on development of the rural periphery. Meanwhile, in 1940s, political positions have already started to polarization between different approaches to the problems at hand: Governing ideology organized in the ruling party, CHP (Republican People Party), and its opponent DP (Democratic Party) had different views over the main issues troubling the Republican government. CHP was programmatically implementing radical modernization policies anticipating a rupture and total renewal in social institutions, whereas DP was advocating recognition of the legacy of the past. Concerning the pending mass scale rural to urban migration, former was formulating a political program based on continuation of small producer, farmer economy and overall small rural subsistence formations in villages and controlled migration to the urban industrial centers; while latter was more on the side of big land owners and emerging

industrialists and tacitly suggesting non-intervention to existing dynamics of rural-to-urban migration (Eroğul, 1969).

Village Institutes were the last and the most emblematic political enterprise of the former view. They would not only train children of the peasant as teachers; but would recruit them as the agents of ideological and economic development in villages. In line with those socio-political priorities and anxieties, prescribed social missions of teachers were communicated within the tropes of "teachers'' army", and a notion of "teacher as the Republican hero", "teacher as the ideal citizen".

The "danger" of peasants' turning into vicious urban working class was a big issue for the republic for a very long time. In 1930s, this is openly uttered in many occasions, explicitly valuing the notion of people (halk) as a homogeneous and harmonious group, incarnated in peasants and their small production economy, in contrast to urban industrial working classes and the implied social disorder caused by class conflict. In 1940s, this state approach matured into Village Institute projects, suggesting peasants' staying at their villages and keeping up with their productive, moral and respectful lives as mythologized in the Turkish nationalist ideology of the time. Karaömerlioğlu (2009) indicates that, "village-ism" (köycülük) of the early Republican period (between 1920 and 1950) was based on serious anxieties for escalating class struggle in developing societies, coming with the growth of urban industrial economies, and was conservative in nature as well as reformist by its political program. II. World War and following Cold War atmosphere were also contributing to the anxieties of the Republican regime. Land reform and initiatives aiming to cultivate the small producer/owner economies in rural was developing in tandem with the policies targeting to lessen the rural-to-urban mobility of peasants.

In connection with this Republican program, teacher education was divided in schools and programme into two paths, one training teachers for urban and the other for the rural. Those latter group of teachers were specifically trained to work in the villages in village teacher training schools as to serve to the purpose of creating

socio-economic development contributing to the sustenance of small producer, small land owner economies in the villages. Those teachers would be heroes of the Republic standing against agents of the old regime, work in a spirit of army, and instill values of hard work, modesty, and good citizenship to the peasants. All those missions were already in a perfect overlap with the previous discourses on teachers. However, this time, they were supported with a powerful institutional base: village institutes.

Born in such a socio-political atmosphere, with the advent of village institutes, girl student became a more salient figure in teacher education due to political and administrative sensitivity to enroll girls in those institutes and the popular resistance towards the coeducation in boarding schools they offered. A similar rise in visibility was the case for women teachers since institutes followed a clear equality principle in employment of their teaching force[50]. Still, against all the efforts, in education period of 1945-1946, 1.396 out of total 14.464 students were women. Numbers were reflecting the difficulty of convincing families in the villages to send their daughters to village institutes. Autobiographical testimonies (İnan 1986; Balkı 1974) also mention this difficulty and the painstaking efforts of local administrators and village teachers to enroll girl students. This socio-historical context of mobilization for enrollment of girl students in village institutes generated a public debate on a number of issues related with women's education and their role as teachers. Acceptance of girl students as boarders in those mixed schools continued to be the soft belly of the village institutes project.

Common critiques towards institutes were revolving around the arguments that village institutes were entrapping village children into a parallel education path and an eventual rural living due to 20 years of obligatory village service condition; they were not catering intellectual, but practical education for rural children replicating

[50] Hasanoğlan High Village Institute is educating especially high rates of women students. Hasanoğlan High Village Institute was educating teachers for village institutes and was the first higher education school village children could attain. The reason for the outstanding rate of girls in the High Institute is that Hasanoğlan was the model institute for all and probably there were more extensive efforts for the inclusion of girls in the High Institute.

urban rural-division with new terms; institutes were actually engaged with production and students' labour was exploited in them; and the institutes were acting as the socializing agents of communist world view (Aysal 2005). However, the controversy over the adolescent girls being educated in boarding schools together with boys raised more popular reaction and sharpened the opposition between critiques and advocates. As had been already turned canonic, the dispute between conservatives and reformers integrated a dimension of "woman problem". Hence, along with the girls in the institutes, their women teachers acquired edgy visibility.

Meanwhile, according to one of Tuna's interviewees (2009), the village institutes were actually getting gradually *accepted* by village people for their daughters, since they were promising them to enter into public service and earn a decent living in a quick and low-cost way, but also because it was turned out that their marriage prospects were getting better than being adversely affected.

In comparison with the other primary level teacher education schools, village institutes were particularly targeted to be integrated and in interaction with the social environment they were located at and then they sent their teachers to, thus were intended to be in close ties with the villages, because of their mission for being pioneer institutions for socio-economic development of rural Anatolia. The schools were in interaction with the village, since the principle of 'education in work' (reference) was anticipating an interdependency between schools and villages. Health care services, techniques of farming, sewing and dressing, motor engineering were the targeted areas to be developed by institutes in village economies; and village teachers in return, schools and teachers were given farm lands and production tools to trade and to stay embedded in village social and economic life as to ensure sustainability of technical capacity increase in village economies.

Schools were open only to village children. Students report that villagers and parents could pay visits whenever they wanted and did visit the schools frequently (Tuna 2009). When examined in curricula, Institutes' observance of gender difference for the future missions as teachers is clear. While girls learned to use sewing machines,

embroidery and home economics, boy students were given courses on the agriculture machinery[51]. Girl students were taught to educate and modernize village women when they became village teachers. Sewing machines were the tools they commonly used in this mission (while male teachers were given farming tools and vehicles, particularly motors and tools to use and to repair them with). During their services as village teachers, women sewed what the village people needed and taught them how to sew (Kirby&Berkes 2010; Türkoğlu 1997). In a way, those women were educated and trained to modernize and change themselves as well as other village women, with the institute education and their service as teachers, by the channel of their traditional gender performances (sewing), but jumping up to the scale of public sphere –school and teaching- and in a disciplined, industrialized– in the ateliers of the schools-, and technically regulated way –as symbolized in the sewing machine-. Thus, traditional features considered to be feminine were disciplined, modernized, institutionalized and technically developed in their images and roles (as women village teachers) (Tuna 2009).

In village institutes, girl students' sexuality was strictly controlled through regulation of even their most irrelevant conduct, like the way they comb and tie their hair. Uniform dresses of students were designed as to the requirements of sexual neutrality as well as physical work. Relations of girls and boys were closely observed and subjected to control by direct means and through the discourse suggesting each being sisters and brothers of all others (kardeşlik) (Kirby&Berkes 2010). In spite of all central and school level efforts, boarded school co-education model became a target of widespread rumor and discomfort and eventually counter-propaganda (Uygun & Kıncal, 2006).

In 1950, the village institutes lifted the principle of co-education. After schools of girls and boys were separated, the number of girl students fell dramatically as they

[51] "So the teachers should have been able to teach ironworking, construction, carpentry, cooperation, house-related skills such as child care (women teachers) for women, sewing etc., agriculture and patients care" (Sakaoğlu 1993: 45).

had small number of schools which were generally distant ones, physical distance being an obstacle especially for women (Tuna, 2009:27).

For women, as well as men teachers, village institutes raised a different generation of teachers. Their legacy continued in the teaching practices of their graduates for about 20 more years after their closure. Co-education in those schools, which was organized within boarding school fashion, was something revolutionary. Provision of both technical and theoretical education was also important in terms of interaction of schools with their social environments and being places where gender division of labour was all re-created and negotiated as it was re-organized in a public space and within public contexts. Finally, village institutes expanded the girls' chances of engaging with teaching, to village girls and girls from the poorer strata of the society. That would continue to reverberate in future generation teachers' understanding their occupation with reference to "debt to state and society".

It is striking that village institute graduates were obliged to serve in villages for 20 years. Partly because of this practical reason, future marriages of institute graduates had become a concern for the institutes. Women graduates constituting a numerical minority were expected to marry their colleagues and refrain from marrying a village man, while the common narrative tells that male teachers were promised to marry "the most beautiful girl of the village" (İlker 2012). Later the theme on undesirability of women's matching with village men would reverberate as a sensibility in women teachers of the coming generations.

After closure of the village institutes and their conversion into elementary teacher schools[52], and with the abandonment of the principle of commissioning graduates

[52] Elementary teacher schools are the special teacher education institutions in which for decades elementary school teachers had been raised. Those are free, boarding schools in which majority of the students were educated as boarders. Turkish Republic handed over 13 elementary teacher schools from the Ottoman Empire. 7 of them were girls' schools. Schools have had different education durations after village and urban teacher education schools were separated. Those high-school level education institutions provided 4 years education after primary school before 1924; 5 years between 1924-1933; 6 years between 1933-1970. With the year 1970, 7 years education after primary school and 4 years education after upper primary school became the rule. After closure of village institutes in 1954, elementary teacher schools were unified along village and city school criteria. Erdem

of Village Institutes in villages, and thus upon the re-appeared need for a model to meet the demand for teachers in the villages, the compulsory village service model was developed. In this model, new graduates of education schools were obliged to spend some of their (early) working years in village elementary schools. In the later phases of the social history of occupation, rural and countryside maintained its weight through obligatory service condition for newly assigned teachers.

After village institutes were converted into elementary teacher schools, they continued to educate primarily the children of the poor and rural strata, being located in rural and the teacher education continued to be provided on free boarded education fashion. However, though they stayed as co-education institutions, they started to provide their boarding facility either to girl or the boy students, pursuing a separate boarding model.

After closure of Village Institutes and conversion into elementary teacher schools, in 1950, the principle for training ES teachers for villages and cities separately in separate schools was abandoned. Instead of sending those educated in former village institutes to villages, an obligatory service provision for all teachers were issued, obliging them to work in villages during their early service years. Since then, ES teaching started to be associated with "serving in villages", loosing its charm for urban families and their daughters to a significant degree. Meanwhile, only in 1970, teacher education (then started to be covering 6 years after primary school), was accepted as equal to normal high school education and graduates of elementary teacher schools were accepted to further their education at higher education level. As such, during the interim years, enrolment in elementary teacher schools meant giving up on a higher education route in education life and accepting service in the rural periphery. In 1974, elementary teacher schools were turned into teacher high schools and with introduction of the higher education principle, education institutes were founded to train ES teachers. In the meantime, a special regulation is put into

(2005:95) mentions that the number of elementary teacher schools is 89 by the 1974-75 education year. In 1976, with introduction of the higher education principle, elementary teacher schools were converted into teacher high schools.

implementation allowing men, who were having their military service and holding a higher education degree, to serve as village teachers as to catch the gap in teachers at the rural. They are then accepted to the occupation if they demanded.

At the end of 60s and during 70s, demographic and economic trends that made a beginning in Turkey around 50s were set to a certain level. Economic protectionism was gradually replaced by economic liberalism through extensive changes in political direction. In terms of demography, it should be noted that a large influx from rural to urban was first seen during this period. Naturally, significant transformations were observed in socio-economic development policies including education.

With commercialization in agriculture and in broad terms, in rural production, small agricultural economies began unraveling and the population migrating to urban areas to become the working class of industry started to increase. Teacher education policy is closely related to this process. Closure of village institutes is in association with the end of policies towards preventing villagers from migrating to urban through rural development. Village institutes anticipated that the children in villages would be educated to become teachers within a framework that would support development of the village and that they would serve again in villages. In a way, this is a project towards ensuring the enlightenment of the village by itself. Village Institutes were also designed in accordance with traditional teacher training approach to enroll students based on their geographical locations and to make serving in their own villages and rural areas easier following the education. After the replacement of Village Institutes with teaching schools, and the practice of mixed-boarding schools for teacher training at the time, hands-on training practice of these schools as economic units and development bases came to an end. It’s seen that educational level of women increased and their formal employment capacity, especially at public administrations, was extended during the same period.

With the momentum in migration from rural to urban, mobility towards urban and the resulting socio-economic opportunities become more important for the

individuals and their families. Movement from rural to urban, having a formal public occupation have turned out to be the aspects determining motivation of families living in the countryside and rural areas and their daughters in terms of educational life. At this stage, although teaching still meant education and having a decent work, it began to lose its prestige in the eyes of daughters of families living in urban compared to other jobs under public administrations due to its relation to villages.[53]. Regular high-school education, university education and resulting opportunities indicate the opportunities that unearthed in parallel with teaching. On the other hand, as analyzed in more detail under the analysis section, negative perception of public servants and working classes in rural towards industrial workers in urban, their understanding of serving all around the country and their respectable socio-economic status in rural and of course, its convenience for women ensured the continuing trend among parents with regard to directing their daughters to become teachers.

2.4. The Legacy of the Elementary Teacher Education Schools

Elementary teacher education schools are high school level education institutions. Turkish Republic had handed over 17 (7 of them being women's schools) elementary teacher schools from the Ottoman Empire and their number reached up to 89 by the 1974-75 instruction year (during 1950s this number is around 50, 21 of them being village institutes). Till the 1924, education period of those schools had been 4 years after primary school. In 1924 this duration was raised to 5 and in 1932-33 to 6 years. They had kept their rural profile in students they accepted till near 1970s. Eşme (2001) reports that in 1958-59 education year, there were 19.835 students in 52 elementary teacher schools; and near two third of them were village children.

[53] This is clear in women's accounts on teacher education during elementary teacher schools period, implying that although they affirm the legacy of older times where those schools had been the only alternatives for rural girls students, they would like to have followed different educational courses including normal high school degree and university education.

The classical legacy, which, in this research also have constituted the reference period in women's life story narratives, has been, above all, attributed to ***elementary teacher schools.*** Those schools had been the primal institutional characteristic of the Turkish teacher education policy at large for a long time. Similar elementary teacher schools had been the very basis of teacher training in many countries, too. This model depended on separate education of teachers at pre-faculty level schools and enabled training of big number of teachers in a short time. "Normal schools" of French ecole could be considered as the antecedent of the different teacher training schools in many countries and they had developed against a counter model which suggested training of teachers in academia (Angus 2001).

In Turkey, as well, those schools were defining a separate track of education and targeting mainly the lower middle and upper level working classes, including those in the rural and provincial Anatolia. For many of the families in the periphery, they were the only chances for their children to continue their education. Till the year 1970, elementary teacher school graduates were not accepted as normal high school graduates; thus, could not continue their education in higher grades. Even after this year, for the graduates of those schools, it was determinably difficult to afford to continue their education instead of start working as teachers, because of the poor economic condition of their families. On the other hand, after equalization of the degrees of elementary teacher schools and normal high schools, a relatively well-off stratum of the society also started to turn to those schools, especially in the urban Turkey, as a precaution for their children's future. Especially under conditions of a growing expectation for an upcoming crises or war, middle classes have directed their children into teacher education, for them to have a "golden bracelet", a vocational certificate, that could be used in case of an emergency. However, many of those who completed elementary school teacher education considering it as a "golden bracelet" did not practice teaching finding chances of further education and entering in other occupations. Elementary school teaching, thus, was an unrivalled alternative for education and work for the upper strata of working class and lower segment of the middle classes (Uygun, 2003).

Elementary teacher schools, as such, was mainly targeting lower strata of the society especially by the schools at the rural Anatolia, providing a chance of upward mobility to those with limited economic means and those in rural and provincial parts of the country. In teachers' work lives, too, rural and non-metropolitan settlements were occupying a big space in practical as well as ideological terms. This has for a long time meant teachers' standing close and connected to the primal political concerns of the period prior to 1980s, revolving around mainly enlightenment of peasants and controlled migration of the rural population into urban -thus, in a way not causing emergence of a dangerous working class-.

Occupational philosophy facilitated in elementary teacher schools were reflecting the particular organization of teacher education in those special occupational schools according to the principle of teachers (not academicians) educating teachers, colleague control of particular type and teachers' better participation in development of education policy. Regarding the similar teacher education model of Argentine that had lasted till the 1970 military coup Morgade comments: "Control over the education and certification of all elementary and secondary school teachers, gave these institutions a central role in impacting curriculum and educational policies, and thus bestowed them with a quasi-professional capacity". (Morgade 2006:353).

Teachers were less vulnerable to intellectual dependency on other authorities, including bureaucracy and university, elementary school teachers were being educated by teachers and teacher education being under authority of the Ministry of Education, the same ministry responsible for the schools. This professionalizing impact (intellectual authority) was partly offset by vocational-technical status of the teacher education. On the other hand, not being university graduates were also contributing teachers' sense of being people's intellectuals, rather than professionals; corresponding to a divergent but powerful interpretation of professionalism (Baykurt 2000). Their attainability and closeness to the people have produced a certain type of popular and ideologically informed understanding of professionalism.

Elementary school teachers' social standing was also in line with their professional narratives of being *people's intellectuals* than an elite professional group. They were spending an important length of their work years in villages and provincial Anatolia due to obligatory service system. Their wages were moderate[54]; although women elementary school teachers are reported to have been from slightly higher status born-families; and because being seen as eligible wives, they had consistently better marriages in terms of socio-economic status of their spouses. However, it must be remembered that this philosophy is largely a product of village-institute graduate teachers and the teacher movements of their times. They encountered criticisms towards their educational and socio-political formation on the grounds of not being real teachers, from within and out of the teachers' circles.

2.5. Peasantry, Elementary School, and the Village Teacher as the Male Hero

During the first decades of the Turkish Republic, primary target of the education was to ensure reaching out of schools to rural population and geographical expansion of school system; due to rural profile of the population and for the preoccupation of the regime at the period towards gaining peasants into its citizenship project (Arat, 1988). This understanding was manifest in official, institutional and also popular understandings on primary school education.

> The bureaucratic civilizing arm of the Republic was too weak to reach the far corners of Turkey, at that time fairly inaccessible, although the central government in Ankara sent newly trained teachers into rural areas. These graduates of the Teachers' Training Colleges, many of them women, were sent not only to impart education, but also to represent and model the cultural norms of the new state[55].

[54] see Methodology Chapter for detail.

[55] The Law on "Promotion and Punishment Measures for Elementary and Secondary School Teachers" (İlk ve Orta Tedrisat Muallimlerinin Terfi ve Tecziyeleri Hakkında Kanun) that has passed on June 10, 1930, anticipated several subjective norms teachers were expected to comply with even in their social (extra-school) lives: drunkenness, gambling, morally and sexually indecent behavior, virtually every act of teachers, regardless of whether it is done in or out of school, "that does not accord with the dignity of being a teacher" (Gümüşlü 2005: 199-200). Here, instead of intellectual and civic, quite moral a framework is drawn in defining the norms teachers expected to appear in public. This shows the state's authoritarian approach to teachers and moral quality of good citizen account, hegemonic at the time.

> *Idealistic young women, many themselves of rural origin*, trained as teachers and went to live and work in rural towns. (White 2003:147)

In the radical modernization period (1920 to 1950), elementary school education was at the heart of the Republican project. Meanwhile, peasantry was the primary target for the future citizen of the Republic. Historical manifestation of this association of primary schooling with the Republican project of citizenship and the two with education of peasantry are ample. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, founding leader of the Republic, was popularly called as the Chief Teacher due to the historical fact that in his leadership Turkish Republic accepted Latin alphabet, introduced the Unification of Education Law (1926), and started a mobilization for schooling. Cırıtlı (1999) aptly indicates that in M. Kemal's addressing "public", within the context of education, *public of the republic* is peasantry. Peasantry would take its place in the Republic as citizenry with the virtue of primary education. With gaining of the peasantry to the citizenship project, the Republic would win the second war - the war against ignorance- following the victory of the War of Independence. Hence, the terms of Republic, peasantry and primary school education were stitched together in the state discourse of that period. Later, Tonguç (2005:1946), one of the famous educationist figures in the Turkish history and the prominent supporter of Village Institutes, in his work "Primary Education Concept", draws upon the -then already well-established- assumption that 'primary school education is the basis and future of citizenship project of the Republic', and takes one more step towards articulating the ideological connections between peasantry, primary schools and the Republic. He suggests that it is essential to educate "village teachers" with better awareness on the situation of villages and special equipment for supporting village development. Decades later, teachers themselves were presenting their identification with that mission towards peasantry and working class, by the time having distanced from the state ideology of their time, but still loyal to the founding Republican ideology of earlier period for enlightening peasants and working-class poor; and educating them as (this time, equal) citizens. In his opening speech for the Forum of Revolutionist Teachers, Fakir Baykurt, the head of the TÖS (the Union of

Teachers in Turkey)[56] defined the missions of teachers being "actually towards peasants and working-class poor". At another part of his speech, he mentioned that as teachers, they were also coming from peasant and working-class families. Çağlar (1999), an academician and a former teacher, much later uttered, the same connection between republican ideals and primary education, mentioning that "first school means the Republic". But, this time, peasantry is not a direct element of the formulation. Peasantry and village education are mentioned, however, in order to call *a particular spirit*, to define the importance, historical mission, and legacy of the primary school education. Thus, village and peasantry has continued to articulate the conception of primary school education, as a heuristic, in spite of the changing realities and agenda of the basic education policy.

Republican political discourses of the 1920s to 1950, calling teachers to duty, was stressing the political missions of the occupation rather than its maternal qualities and concordant services that is assumed to be undertaken by women teachers. This indicates that the regime did not target massive participation of women in elementary school teaching and did not follow a feminization agenda, at least at the state discourse level. Instead, in an urge to replace the values of old regime and to reach out the whole country population, women, as well as men, were represented as the motivated young political agents of change. In the image of teacher, youth was the most significantly highlighted feature. Young women teachers would take their part in socio-political imagination as they became visible in the life of the society and the discourse of "domestic virtues as the feminine assets for teaching" would be operative at institutional level, at girls' elementary teacher schools and in organization of the school relations, rather than at the political discourses of the time.

In parallel, while former instruction programs for elementary schools had used the template of *one big family* for its vision of society, 1926 program displayed more

[56] Teachers founded TÖS (Turkish Union of Teachers) on July 8, 1965. (Altunya, 2008: 76). Fakir Baykurt became the head of the Union in 1965. In 1968 he would be elected as the general president of the National Federation of Unions of Turkish Teachers.

militant a view envisioning the society as a *disciplined army* (Üstel 2004: 134). As the dramatic themes of homeland, enemy and the need to stay vigilant for external threats weighted heavier in the curricula, motherly virtues for peace, harmony and daily order were being cast with their militarized versions. At the discursive and curricular level, hence, elementary schools and their teachers continue to be commissioned with socializing an apostle spirit. In terms of the vague and weak representation of women in the public discourses, Turkish case, converges to the Latin American countries, where consolidation of the new regime in the image and organization of an army constituted the priority and women's civilizing missions in education and other public services were co-opted into this militarist agenda and language. Hence, women and their ways in contributing to society mission could not attain a resilient discursive visibility:

> In the contemporary history of Mexico and Latin America, a feature shared by many women who distinguished themselves in public life was having been a teacher. In the first decades of the twentieth century, especially in the 1920s and 1930s, years in which nationalist movements triumphed in countries such as Brazil, Mexico, and Argentina, the leaders of these movements and their ideals were focused on masculine aspirations to consolidate military power and design authoritative national governments. Yet it was women who worked to achieve social reforms and expand civilizing ideals to rural areas. Lacking in sufficient numbers in domains where power was being concentrated and re-defined, they were not able to project their contributions into the *public discourse of nation building* (Cortina, 2006:108).

Hence, it is not surprising that in Turkey, there has not appeared any powerful public discourse calling women into teaching like those Froebel-inspired ones which left important legacies in other countries; and neither has appeared any programmatic efforts for feminizing the occupation. Instead, exclusive provision of boarding facilities in each elementary teacher school either to boy or girl students, has actually supported balanced and even men-dominated profile for schoolteachers.

Salmoni (2001) discusses, though without touching the gender dimension of the issue, how teachers were discursively constructed as ideal citizens and what role were assigned to education for development of citizenry. Referring to the widely used visual representations, comparing the old Ottoman era classroom with that in the new Republic, Salmoni (2001) comments that

> (T)hus the Republic has ushered in an era of rationality, cleanliness, nationalism, and new opportunities for all the members of society, redefining what faith would mean. In this effort, the teacher and the classroom were integral to the transformation from old to new (Salmoni, 2001:70).

What is further striking is that in those representations, Ottoman period classroom is pictured with an old male instructor and boy students and the Republican one with a young woman teacher and girl as well as boy students. Description also gives the impression that Republican classroom belongs to an urban school. This comparative representation of old and new classrooms, actually offer a quite complex symbolic discourse not limited to the imagined relation between teacher and students. Salmoni (e.g.) suggests that classroom is a metaphor of the Republican society, a "miniature" of it. Without focusing on the gender dimension of the social change, signified in that trope of "new classroom", he indicates that prospective citizens of the Republic were targeted to exercise with the liberty and modern institutions in their school lives and the ideas on modern citizenship and governmentality of controlled democracy evolved in that pedagogical space of articulation and practice. However, in the figure, it is also clear that “education of girls” and the figure of “woman teacher” were also employed as distinctions and ideological markers, as well. Girl child becomes an educational subject and young woman turns able to have a public role and task.

Throughout his study, Salmoni (2001) gives several examples of the political discourse of state and pedagogues, in the period between 1920 and 1940, on the traits of an ideal teacher. In *apparently ideological* discourses, teachers are called to duty of securing the societal basis of the Republic, being a defender and even a soldier of it. In that discourse, 'going to the remotest parts of the country, standing against agents of old regime' and in the trope of 'soldier', teacher appears as a *male hero*[57]. In pedagogical discussions, on teaching tasks of teachers, teacher becomes a suggestively gender-neutral figure - a practicing pedagogue. In classroom representations, on the other hand, the teacher is a woman. Overlaid is the symbolic

[57] See Abbott (1991), for a discussion of women teachers’ condition in the rural in the example of turn of the 19th century Canada.

and actual spatialities in women's accommodation of the field of teaching[58]. While male teachers were part of the dramatic and heroic scripts, women teachers were representing the idealized daily order, the regime desired to be established.

Elementary schooling had been for long at the heart of the concern for gaining the rural and poor populations of Turkey to the Republican project in Turkey. Elementary school teaching, as well, was informed by the socio-political vision for the social-practical necessities of dissipating the school system to the provincial and rural Anatolia and educating youth into citizenship values of the young modern Republic at the countryside. This predominance of the symbolic and actual place of "rural" in teachers' lives impacted shaping of teacher identity and images. The discourse of national mission was positioning them as the pioneers of enlightenment and modernization of the rural sites of the country, based on the tasks getting well-beyond classroom teaching. Social, "civilizing" missions of teachers were including guiding local people into modern style of life as families, communities and economic organizations, in collaboration with other state officers. But more importantly they have to stand against the agents of the past regime. Teachers, however, were more often than not, alone in rural schools and a limited number of state officials existed in small settlement contexts of the time. They had limited means and resources, insufficient infrastructure and educational environment, poor bureaucratic connections and support, a yet-to-be recognized social identity and in significant cases a general non-familiarity with the locality (Akyüz, 2000). They had a difficult task for gaining the rural masses into schooling and Republican modernization project. In a sense, teachers were at the center of the social change project of the Republic in a milieu of rural poverty, conflict, and loneliness. State discourse, therefore, were positioning teachers as heroic figures with a metonym of loneliness and difficulty involved in their task at the countryside. As the political conflicts arose to a certain level enough to create more anxiety in the regime, heroism, used in representation of teachers in the official discourse, became more

[58] In a similar vein, in the representations of the rearrangement of the public-private and feminine-masculine with introduction of national education and the Republic, classroom is frequently emerges as a mimesis of familial and domesticity.

noticeable (Salmoni 2003). Meanwhile, till 1948, schools and teachers were financially dependent on local councils of 'notables' (eşraf), who were the main adversary of the regime in most of the cases, teachers were desired to be ideologically gained in the ranks of the regime with radical discourses on education and teachers[59] (Çakan 2002). Ideological/missionary importance of teaching was a kind of compensation for the poor socio-economic conditions of teachers and their schools.

Especially after 1930s, when village teacher schools became widespread and the profile of ES teachers turned more rural and poor in family origins, indeed, public image of teachers had developed in a way losing their associations with the cosmopolitan intellectual-educated persona (münevver) and privileged public employee of the previous era, into a worker/soldier of the Republican nation state ideology, in line with the emergence of patriotic educated classes. Although the question, whether this new educated group of public employees had actually lost their interest in cosmopolitan knowledge and universal "book culture", thus lost their intellectual qualities, or generated a new type of intellectualism, more concerned with the national and local issues, issues of "people", is a debatable one (see Gümüşlü 2005 for a discussion)[60]; it is a fact that the state discourse of radical

[59] It was crucial that till 1948, finance of elementary schools, was provided and administered by local administrations. Employment conditions and criteria of school teachers were included in the jurisdiction of that authority. The main source of the finance was the school tax (mektep vergisi) arranged and collected by special local councils. In fact, arbitrary and inconsistent application of the tax was a source of discomfort. Meanwhile, teachers were under pressure of the local policies vying to decrease their wage levels and to destabilize their employment terms. They were also subject to partisanship and nepotistic discrimination in the localities. In many of the cases, the related local administrative committees were in the hands of local notables (eşraf), who as a social group posited as the most important adversary of the Republican regime, in creating a new socio-economic order. Thus, local administration of the elementary school finance was a contradiction for the regime. While the Republic was determining teacher education policies, curricula and teaching ideology at a central level, it was leaving the recruitment and management of teachers and schools to local agencies, whose allegiances were at best dubious, if not simply contradictory with the new Republic's social vision. Furthermore, due to local finance principle and unsystematic implementation, the number of schools remained limited contrary to the plans of the state. This situation indicates that the public/state discourse emphasizing the importance and sanctity of teachers' works was a support deemed as balancing and compensatory for their ailing socio-economic conditions at the period . That must be counted among the factors limiting early feminization level in the occupation.

[60] Especially in 1960s and 70s, the discussion of teachers' organizations, on the intellectual status of teaching revolved around a notion "people's intellectuals". In this discourse, intellectual qualities of teachers were believed to be depending on their closeness to the realities of working classes and

modernist Republican era addressed teachers with their potential militancy and dutifulness in their mission of enlightening people than with their intellectual authority.

The context of teacher identity construction, which was based on ideological searches for strengthening nation formation at the rural periphery and the consequent discursive templates of "teacher as the modernizing agent of modern Republic", and then "teacher as the national hero", used in construction of official ideology on teaching, had some significances in regard to woman teacher identity and representation. First, weight of "rural" context in teacher education and schooling restricted the number of women working as teachers during the period. Secondly, the masculine overtones of the teacher heroism partly alienated women in identification with teaching and partly moved them to produce female versions of this heroism[61].

Although, it has been generally claimed that the mission of teaching and teacher education school for girls was to educate lower class women into values and practices of middle class womanhood, exclusive discursive and practical weight of rural in lives of those women necessitated their separating themselves from both traditional rural womanhood and urban middle-class womanhood simultaneously. Women's heroism was just depending on distancing from those known femininities of the time, the capacity to shift between and adopt to changing requirements of their work in rural and in urban. As echoed later in the interview accounts of women

strategical advantage for creating social change. In this account, intellectual status is rejected to designate status group or class privileges, like in the personas of bureaucrat or bourgeoise intellectual. This might be considered as a radicalized appropriation of their early modernist era legacy, which had been produced by praising state discourse for modesty and self-sacrificial idealism of teachers in view of their ailing status among state employees and also educated classes of their time.

[61] Female types of heroisms are pictured at the backdrop of the deep bigotry and fanatic conservatism of the traditional rural elites. In the famous novels Vurun Kahpe'ye (Halide Edip Adıvar), Aliye, in Çalıkuşu, Feride (by Reşat Nuri Güntekin), partly in his character Zehra in Acımak, and in Kemal Tahir's novel, Bozkırdaki Çekirdek, village institute teacher, Emine Öğretmen appear as examples of this female heroism. As is rightfully depicted, this heroism was not complemented with a satisfactory social power; but self-sacrificial idealism of the characters.

in this research, the danger of assimilation of women to rural and traditional values of the provincial Anatolia is accompanied by another equally important danger of their giving in to higher class urban indulgences, in the institutional teachings they lived by. Heroism of those women, thus, depends on their dutiful and self-sacrificial distance from (urban) femininity and pedagogical distance from traditional femininity: re-invention.

2.6. Teachers' Organizing and Professional Identity

Late 1940s was a period of rapid teacher organizing. While Tonguç (2005) mentions that teachers' first organizations were seen in 1918 around the Edirne province; for Akyüz (1970) they go as back as the period of the 1908 Constitution, Encümen-i Muallimin founded in İstanbul. However, till the last part of the 1940s, roughly overlapping with the first period of Village Institutes, teachers' organizations had retained their organic and ideological bonds with the governments of their times (Gümüşlü 2005, Buyruk 2015). Encümen-i Muallimin, in line with its allegiances with the regime, refused to support 1920 strike of teachers. In 1921, Türkiye Muallim ve Muallimeler Dernekler Birliği (Union of Associations of Men and Women Teachers) was founded as a bureaucratic enterprise aiming to maintain coordination of teachers and to ensure their ideological loyalty to the regime during this time of schooling mobilization. Its perspective on the occupation was based on an understanding of public responsibility for creating enlightenment, and the themes of "sacred duty of teachers" and "education army", commissioned to win the war against ignorance frequently appeared in the policy discourse of the organization.

Village Institute graduate teachers, on the other hand, brought a different interpretation to teaching and teacher organizing. TÖDFM (National Federation of Turkey Teacher Associations) was opened in 1954. While in the initial years of the organization, the sole enlargement it introduced in the agenda of teachers was defending socio-economic interests of teachers, in the coming years, TÖDFM (1948-1969) would radicalize through the initiative of village institute graduate teachers and start addressing the education policy at large. In 1950s, education

policy was shaping under ideological atmosphere of the Cold War and the Marshall Program was effectively implemented. Village Institute graduates were critical of closure of the Institutes and seeing it as emblematic of the overall abandonment of the national independence and development perspective in state policy. DP government had opened the religious education schools again and rapidly increased their number throughout its rule; changed the cadres of education bureaucracy and recruited conservative names; followed a policy for re-locating progressive teachers in remote and poor parts of the country as a political punishment. After 1960 military coup, which ended the DP government period, a relative democratic air was felt and teacher organizing gained further dynamism. TÖS (Turkish Teachers' Union) appeared as the locomotive of teacher activism and soon incorporated other teacher organizations, TÖDFM (which defended a political line, focused on furthering the socio-political interests of teachers as an occupational group) and İlk-Sen (which advocated an organizing strategy based on separate organizing of different grades teachers). TÖS organized one of the biggest labour demonstrations of Turkish history in 1963 (Big Education Meeting) and as a consequence of its powerful impact on teachers, leftist political perspective, and militant stand, faced serious pressure from the state and education bureaucracy. Meanwhile, although incomparably weak, nationalist rightist teachers' organizations were also flourishing. After military memorandum in 1971, teachers' rights for unionization was lifted; and teachers could only organize again as late as 1978 in TÖB-DER (Association for the Union of All Teachers). 1980 Military Coup, however, would outlaw all types of political organizations and activities, including teachers' and till the year 1995, unionization of public employees would be banned. Teachers did on the other hand got organized in Eğitim-İş starting from 1990, after the general revival of the opposition movements in leadership of labour unions in the Spring 1989 mass demonstrations. Still, as elaborated by Buyruk (2015) those organizations could not get beyond engaging with "trade unionism" -limiting their program to advocacy of teachers' socio-economic rights-, not satisfactorily voicing teachers' views regarding education system and education policy (which is, as a unionization approach, named as "professional unionism") till 2000s. As such they fell behind the unionism of 1960 and 1970s.

The strongest dynamics for teachers' organizing from the 1950s onward, complying with the principles of programmatic and ideological independence from the state, have been the leftist movements becoming significant since 1950s, Village Institutes which had raised a generation of politically conscious teachers, and the democratic atmosphere of post-1960 military intervention[62].

Till 1950s, teachers had a tradition of organizing in associations than unions, and with a program for furthering the social respectability of their occupation. Unionization of public employees was allowed in 1924 Constitution; yet, the legal basis of such enterprises was so vague that unions were practically not viable legal forms. In 1938, unions were legally banned. 1937 Law on worker unions exempted teachers together with other public employee groups from those granted with the liberty of organizing. That is why, teachers preferred to organize in associations and cooperatives. Furthermore, as has frequently mentioned, as a public occupation, teaching has long been deemed as a civilizational mission than a vocation; therefore, teachers themselves considered organizing in unions, *like workers*, inappropriate, tainting the respectability of their professions (Buyruk, 2015a). However, they have never reached the power of professional groups to organize in associations, that have been recognized to have a public status, and thereby influence education policy and their work conditions. Their semi-professional power was largely depending on the social respectability granted to their work. But, especially their alliances with the early Republican state, and its modernization program had been the basis of differential social status they enjoyed. Therefore, after radical single party government of the earlier period left the rule to populist conservative Democratic Party (DP) government in the multi-party regime, teachers' missions became controversial in the political vision of the state. This is especially relevant for the village institute graduates who were trained in one of the most radical enterprises of

[62] Women's movements partly feeding from those dynamics as well engaged with political organizing. Association of Progressive Women (İKD-İlerici Kadınlar Derneği) was the foremost active in those organizations and essentially the first socialist organization recognizing the need for women's independent organizing. Politicization of the period would later contribute to post-80s mobilization in the Turkish women's movement (Pervan, 2013).

the former regime, and thus loyal to the prescribed social role of teachers in those institution for being militant enlighteners of the people. Thus-broken ideological contract of teachers with the state led teachers into projecting ideological independence and independent organizing. In their new self-assigned social roles, teachers would position themselves as intellectuals and servants of working classes, inspiring from the socialist world views of the time. Borrowing from the lexicon of Lawn (2005), he developed while making use of the work of Webb (2006) who set the main discussion on the distinct ethos of public occupations, it is possible to argue for dominance of "indirect rule" of the state over teachers, during the radical modernist early period. Indirect rule, as a concept, converges to an account of ideological control, with a particularity for state's representation of its ideology as non-political but solely derived from timeless universals of the civilizational development (educational mission). In indirect rule, teachers are called not to engage with politics because of the sacred mission of their duties, but to be loyal to state ideology since it is itself the higher cause of education. After teachers have appropriated the modernizing ideology of early nation state formations, with an interpretation of their own, direct rule enters the scene. Here, controlling teachers through administrative and managerial mechanisms was appeared as the purpose of the state. Simultaneously, a state discourse on a social danger, caused by politicization of teachers also emerged. This danger was primarily stemming from independent organization of teachers. Administrative measures, investigations, use of inspectorate, assignment of politically engaged management cadres to the schools, banishment widespread till 1990s, would be followed by gradual development of managerial control techniques, later to be diagnosed as the mechanisms of de-professionalization of teachers' work or proletarianization of teachers. In managerial control, not solely political and bureaucratic mechanisms but also neoliberal policies restructuring teachers' work as less skilled and more subordinated to performance assessment, and assignment policies were employed.

Starting from the period of multi-party regime and more visibly with DP governments, teachers, but especially elementary school teachers, serving in villages had become targets of a backlash against the radical modernization policies

of the previous regime. Populist conservative policies were based on use of religion lessons entered in the curricula with ever increasing weight, to create controversy between villagers and village teachers (mostly village institute graduates) and education inspectorate was then entering in the scene to put more pressure on the secularist teachers[63]. In the political discourses of the conservatives, pro-secularist stand was effectively equalized with communism propaganda and thereof made subject to accusation and investigation on teachers (Makal 1969). Meanwhile, conservative educationists and the mounting teaching staff of religion lessons and religious schools (İmam Hatip schools) were being positioned against the progressive teachers and their organizations[64].

Following the Village Institutes and their conversion to elementary teacher schools, teacher training schools have continued to be home to politically involved youth. In the 1960s and 70s, having also impacted from the conjecture where politicization and social movements were high on the social scene, teacher identities have ideologically fed by political streams and elementary teacher schools became noteworthy venues for youth political activism. Thereupon developed teacher training models in other pre-faculty institutions, thus served, among other objectives, to governments' urge to oppressing the political engagements among teachers and teacher candidates.

[63] In fact, education inspectorate had come to be an inspitution which is oppressive and not-collaborating in its relations with teachers. Teachers made up the lowest strata in the overall education system, inspectors were considered superiors of them and Inspectorates had had the tradition of bossing rather than supporting over teachers (Akyüz 1987).

[64] Baykurt (2000) mentions in his memoirs about the second post-1060 discussion meeting on Village Institutes convened with an agenda for evaluating whether to re-open the Institutes. In this meeting, Imam Hatip school students and teaching staff as well as prominent names from the Inspectorate provocatively voiced the DP propaganda claiming that Institutes were the centers of communist world view, other rebellious doctrines, and sexual indecency. Baykurt adds that graduates and staff of the religious schools would later constitute an important "counter-revolutionary" force (428-433).

CHAPTER 3

ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TEACHING IN CONTEXT OF NEOLIBERAL AGE

This chapter aims to discuss the neoliberalism as the main dynamic behind the recent change process in the work and identity of teachers. Following sections summarize and discuss the neoliberal transformation as an overarching phenomenon as the context where work identities changed into market-driven, self-regulatory tools under discourse of professionalism; and how this discourse of professionalism makes intersections with gender at practical and symbolic levels. Second part puts under scrutiny the recent trends of urbanization in the school system, faculty education criterion in teacher assignment, and neoliberal policies as the three main treads to follow the transformation in teacher identity and work, looking at the Turkish context.

3.1. Neoliberal Globalization and Teachers

Neoliberal period is determined by the radical changes in the traditional parameters of social status/class and mobility and how those categories produce social identities. Popularization of higher education to include working classes has followed by credential boom and a rapid devaluation in the previous currency of university degree; urbanization causing emergence of provincial cities, inner segregation, and complexities in metropolis; growth of service sector causing proletarianization of the white-collar jobs traditionally associated with middle-class status and potentials for upward mobility; and finally rise and fluctuation of choice discourses in varying fields, education, occupation and professional live, paradoxically accompanied with ever shrinking chances of upward mobility.

Eventually, it has become a common phenomenon that, urban, university graduate service sector workers, deemed to be living the outcome of their free choices (in faculty/university choice, career steps, professional development…etc); face an "unexpected" precarity in work lives and social status; and simultaneously vie to keep up with the new professionals who are urban middle-class cosmopolitans, without having the proportionate resources in life styles and through their claims to the status of professionality.

Old middle-classes, largely composed of white collar workers, bureaucrats and old-style professionals, are contested by new middle classes, representing newly-rising areas of specialization in international and cosmopolitan service economy, which is concentrated in the world metropolises. Bernstein (1975) differentiated old professional middle classes from new "symbol manipulators" drawing upon the structural changes in education:

> "Old professional class leads to an individual with relatively unambiguous role identities while new class of symbol manipulators leads to a concept of the person, with ambiguous personal identities and role performances" (Lauder et all 2006: 23)

Individualization is thus the basic mechanism where professional identities are reshaped and, in a way, dissolving old professional collectivities and blurring the boundaries between professional and personal lives. Professionalism, thus, appears as a complete discipline for persons, cutting across different realms of their lives, professional, personal, and others and based on self-management of the personhood. Highly exclusionary and classificatory, due to dependence on the economic resources and the accumulated cultural capital, these dispositions of personhood are reproductive of socio-economic differences in new ways and in different cultural contexts.

New labour control regime, came along with neoliberal globalization, has, above anything else, eradicated the certainties and secure paths in education and employment, thus in life plans of the working classes (Sennett 2011). Public school and social mobility prospects it invests has lived a sharp decline. Cosmopolitan,

corporate institutions and private services have appeared as new venues of empowerment and upward mobility.

As welfare sector workers, teachers have taken their share from the policies of de-securitization and flexibilization, in the form of barriers against access to teacher education, several difficulties in assignment to work and insecure and temporary employment positions. As teachers, they have testified the diminishing of the guarantees promised by the public education, after privatization and market integration aggravated the differences between the schools of rich and poor in delivering life chances. Not only previous higher-class elites but also middle classes turning away from standard public education as a source of educational privilege, has severely affected public schools for they were now dependent on parental contribution and placed on a managerial race to raise parent and sponsor funding in schools. This trend has been complemented with a new organization in school relations and teaching work, where the power shifted from teachers to school managements and parents. New managerialism in schools, openly invited school managements to the responsibility of self-sufficiency through fund raising. New professionalism in teaching demanded teachers to perform well in preparing students for central examinations and in their relations with the parents. Performance assessment systems based on management and parent evaluations and the central curricula further inflicted on teachers through central examinations have eroded teacher autonomy at practical level. Temporary positions in teaching have expanded in size and concentrated in peripheral schools. Teacher professionalism is promoted in central schools to push teachers to put more efforts into their works which had already expanded to cover etude classes, extracurricular activities and, therefore intensifying their workloads. In peripheral schools and in the case of temporary status teachers, on the other hand, this professionalism has been blended with an invitation to traditional teacher idealism in the face of the difficulties involved in those contexts. However, this time, teacher idealism was emerging as a particular discourse of state, not aiming ideological indoctrination in exchange of status and autonomy for teachers as had been before, but as an authoritarian one,

simply reminding the weakness of the teachers in bargaining for status, thus of their proletarian status.

Development paradigm of the new liberal period prioritized self-investment of households and individuals through making out-of-pocket payments for market services in health and education, rather than provision of public services and equal opportunities for minimum standards. Gradual privatization trends and weakening public services, including education, have been the main evidences of this policy preference. Self-investment principle, have not only fueled expansion of the private sector in welfare service sector, but also increased the tension between service providing professionals (teachers, doctors, ..) and beneficiaries at the public sector. The classical alliance between public service professionals and working classes, once relied upon equal public provision principle, have been breached, former losing the holy aura in the eyes of the latter. 'Everybody for him/herself' principle has lead into participatory governance schemes for upper-middle and upper classes in benefiting from welfare services like health, education and infrastructure. Yet, those examples of "democratic governance" through beneficiary participation, like parental participation in private schools, have proved to be a privilege of well-off, rather than being a societal principle, democratically anchored in professional identities like teachers and public institutions like schools. Therefore, modes of socialization for those new social relations between bureaucracy, school managements, teachers, and parents, varied along social class lines. Similarly, the problem of teacher professionalism has been different for the teachers trying to be accountable to the demands of professional school managements and middle-class conscious parents through self-investment, multi-tasking and over-work in urban middle-class contexts and for those trying to cope with the vicious circle of lack of resources and insistent demands of parents and school managements for teacher performance at the peripheral schools. While the former subject is regulated in the disciplinary context of the 'urban professional in charge of her performance', the latter is positioned now as the failed subject of professionalism, devoid of access neither to professional resources nor to the classical status claim of teacher idealism.

Meanwhile, teachers have come to hold a debatable status regarding whether they belong to the ranks of professionals, knowledge workers, and/or intellectual classes. However, recent policies put a decisive end to those discussions. With a few exemptions like Scandinavian countries, new reform packages, regulating teacher training and teaching standards, have positioned teachers as practitioners than intellectual workers or professionals.

Table 4. Paradigm Shift in Regulation of The Profession

	Old Paradigm	**New Paradigm**
Hegemonic bloc determining the education policy	Populist alliance between lower classes, professionals and the state	Alliance between market actors and middle classes
Provision model of educational services	State provision rule	Privatization and residual provision of public education
Main objective of basic education	Moral development and adoption of basic citizenship values and educational skills	Educational competency and privilege
Instruction methodology	Teacher-centered instruction	Student-centered learning/teaching methodologies
Teacher education	Specialized college education	Faculty education + certificate acquisition for university graduates
Teacher employment	Only initial internship periods after assignment	Eliminatory exams at central level for first assignment
Teacher assignment procedure	by drawing lots	by the grades in the central examinations
Employment status	Standard, tenure track	Differentiated, including temporary positions
Teaching market	Public employment guarantee	Teacher unemployment is the rule
Paradigm case informing policy & discourse	Rural school	Urban middle-class school
Control over teachers	Ideological- bureaucratic control	Managerial-parental control
Relations with parents	Parental thrust - teacher authority	Parental control - teacher "accountability"
Relations with the school managements	Conflict and moral superiority of teachers	Authority of managements
Teacher professionalism	Idealism and people's intellectual understanding	Accountable with the individual performance

Diminishing teacher autonomy and poor participation in preparation of education policies, coupled with lack of flexible, diverse and/or intellectual education and

training opportunities have contributed to intellectual/professional proletarianization of teachers. On the other hand, paradoxically, teachers are "called" to act as professionals by those very same reform initiatives, which majority of the scholars believed to have proletarianized teachers.

3.1.1. Professionalism as Ideology and Professional as the Neoliberal Subject in Teaching

This contradictory situation is indeed an appearance of the shift in the use of the concept, professional. Once indicating membership in an occupation with some distinct features, professional is now a flexibly used term bringing together the hegemonic norms on worker behavior and identity.

Professionalism is now indisputably the paradigm concept in regulation and management of work identities. This concept, once used to refer to the technical-intellectual specialization, independence and autonomy of some work fields and their members, today seems to have evolved into a set of proper behavioral patterns and/or individual styles of workers. Teacher have not been exempted from the impact of this transformation in the meaning of the concept, they are being invited to stick with the principles of professionalism just like the practitioners of other vocations.

Traditional use of the concept of profession suggest a categorization between vocations some being qualified as professions and some others not. It is, according to this understanding of the term, critical to differentiate the professions from others as to regulate the education and practice of a particular field properly. This is because, professions could be only effectively deliver their benefits to society if the regulative conditions of colleague control, independence from state in organizing, and autonomous rule-setting about the employment and practice of professionals are secured. It is commonly agreed that three dimensions of professions and professionalism are knowledge, autonomy and responsibility:

> The three concepts of knowledge, autonomy and responsibility central to a traditional notion of professionalism, are often seen as interrelated. It is because professionals face complex and unpredictable situations that they need a specialized body of knowledge; if they are to apply that knowledge, it is argued that they need the autonomy to make their own judgements. Given that they have autonomy, it is essential that they act with responsibility- collectively they need to develop appropriate professional values (Furlong et al. 2000: 5).

Professions have come to be discussed through (1) the skills, traits and competencies held by the members of specific occupations; (2) special class positions and middle classes; (3) status groups, professional ideologies and social power differentiating professionals from other groups and actors in the society. Most notably, functionalist accounts emphasize the special traits of professionals and social functions of professions (Parsons 1937; Greenwood 1957). Marxist approaches frame the issue within the context of middle social categories between bourgeois and proletariat and emerging contradictory class positions, due to relative control professionals have over their employment conditions and labour process. Weberian approaches, on the other hand, focus on the status group features, strategies of closure and autonomous institutionalization of the social power of professionals.

The academic literature on professions goes back to the times of functionalists and the theoreticians adopting traits approach to understand the status and qualifications of a profession. Those scholars, inspired by the core professions of their times, suggested that a classical profession has some traits, specialized body of knowledge and intellectual education based on transfer of this knowledge to new members, professional associations and their institutional control over codes of conduct and terms of employment. Professionals are certified for practice, based on special criteria on their education, training, and other terms of intellectual development; and they are organized in a body of association, regulating the roles of entitlement-to and the conduct in the field. The most well-known examples of professions are church system, medicine and law. Autonomy of professionals in terms of occupational conduct, thus their control over their labour process is secured by their associations and their public discourse communicating the high purpose for their being independent servants of public good; than their being controlled by

employment status and thus employers, state and markets (unlike managers) (Witz 1990).

Neo-Weberian approaches would draw more upon process and the dimensions of power and politics in professionalization processes than the generic traits a professional field of practice should include. These approaches claimed that professionalization is a project for members of an occupation to collectively protect and further their interests in the labour markets and in social status. Occupational groups may find critical allies supporting their cause like state, academia, and others. Those actors could critically contribute to the professionalization projects of those groups. In professionalization projects, the main target is to achieve occupational closure, thus building up barriers against unregulated entry and claims. In occupational closure strategies, the historically detected main tactics are "credentialism and certification" and "establishment of legal monopoly", according to Larson (1977). The first tactic rests upon utilization of university education and test/certification systems for closing the license to practice an occupation to outsiders. They are considered as the heteronomous tactics by Larson (1977), since it was mainly mobilized by civil organizations (occupational associations) and academic institutions. Similar to Larson (1977), McClelland (1990) suggest that “professionalization from above” and “professionalization from below”. Professionalization from above develops as an initiative of an actor other than the professionals or their associations in a certain field, whereas professionalization from below expresses the initiative and struggle of the group and their organizations for this aim. Evetts (2003) differentiates “organized professionalism” from “occupational professionalism”. Organized professionalism means a professional style of work in an organizational setting based on standardization, performance measurements and thus defined accountability and use of specialized (sometimes technical) knowledge in a series of given situations. Occupational professionalism, on the other hand, means use of initiative, ethical and political power by the professional association, representing the collective body of professionals in a field over a broad area including codes of conduct, terms of employment, policies regulating the field and the social philosophy underneath. Hence, in organized

professionalism we cannot talk about the social power or work-based control or autonomy of the professional. This type of professionalism rather defines a type of management instrument to increase labour efficiency for the organization and thus for the employer. In Evetts' words, "those who as workers act like 'professionals', are self-controlled and self-motivated to perform in ways the organization defines as appropriate" (Evetts 2003:408). The case of teaching under neoliberal reform agenda is generally deemed to be an example of organized professionalization: central curricula and exam systems standardizing teachers' works and causing deskilling for them, complemented by performance measurement and assessment systems, differentiated employment statuses set to guarantee accountability of teachers (Buyruk 2014).

New professionalism is a part of the reform package of new-liberalism and a component of new public management (NPM) approaches. New professionalism invites workers into manage their professional lives without pursuing any collective project. In case of teachers, new professionalism means teachers being responsible for their professional development and in competition with each other while accountable workers for parents and managements.

NPM approaches are critical constituents of neoliberal policies for rolling back the state or community provision for public services. Without discriminating between the nature of the unit and services at concern, this new managerialism anticipates rationalization of management through market integration and atomization:

> "New organizational models are introduced by NPM. The most-discussed is the shift from many-levelled, finely graded bureaucratic pyramids with strong professional specializations, to 'flat' organizational structures and generic skills. But more fundamental is the shift to what might be called fractal organizational logics, such that each part of an organization is a microcosm of the larger unit in which it is embedded. In particular, each part of an organization functions like a profit-making firm, with its managers held accountable for the income/expenditure balance. Under neoliberalism, this principle holds down to the lowest level. Individual workers are treated as firms, expected to follow a profit-making logic; and are held accountable to the organization in these terms, through 'performance management' schemes. Both organizations and individuals are required to make themselves accountable in terms of competition. Hence the tremendous growth, throughout the public sector, of performance indicators, league tables, and the like" (Connell, Fawcett & Meagher 2009:334)

Evetts (2003), argues that there needs to be a shift in focus in the studies on professions and professionalism from qualities and status of professions to the phenomenon of “appeal to professionalism”, thus professionalism discourse as a tool of organizational change. Larson (1980) also indicates that after the shift from professions as occupations to professionalism as an overarching ideology in labour markets, bureaucracies and education systems, regardless of being professions, members of the diverse occupations have been invited to project their identities according to professionalism. Hence, without having the collective and overarching control, political voice and reflectivity, and thus protection, workers are called to act as “professionals”. New professionalism discourse of teacher policies, is, too, a typical product of “ideology of professionalism” (Evetts 2003) and an expression of the political will to impose terms of organized professionalism to teachers.

Meanwhile, Witz (1990) points out this ideology involved in professionalism discourse is not only a part of class struggle but also have a patriarchal agenda. She stresses that the paradigmatic cases, constituting the prominent professionalization cases, according to which generic profession and professional is defined, have all been those of "class-privileged male actors" (35). She indicates “professionalism” is a mode of domination within a variety of other forms (capitalist, manager, husband… others) used by the men from the higher classes; and as such typical professions are simple expressions of this higher class male privilege than anything else.

Dillabough (1999) makes a discussion on the complications of imagining a female subject in the place of the professional. She indicates that the classical description of professional portrays a male person, rational by the virtue of being detached from its work subject, work relations, and environment -thus as a detached specialized expert. Not being capable of detachment, feminine subject is already denied from this status. Accelerated by the neoliberal policies, investments on this account of professionalism in teaching, where teachers are considered as instrumental in educational projects, deepen ignorance towards authentic and discursive selves in

educational field. Thus, it feeds undermining of teachers' realities, based on meaningful relations with others in work processes (authentic self) and their reflexivity as ethical and political conception and voice (discursive self) as tools of constructing a self-identity. As such, she underlines, the ideology of professionalism contradicts with realities of teachers and particularly women, who are deemed to have been naturally shouldering relational and social aspects of teaching work.

Davies (1996), in a similar vein, elaborates that gender and women are the terms already included in professions and their work organizations at subordinate positions. Although discursively ignored, thus professional is mythologically depicted as independent and lonely in his conduct (counter-posed to the bureaucrat), each profession necessitates an assistant feminine role complementing the main male one, nurse, secretary, assistant, others. The difficulty of overcoming low levels of representation for women in certain professions stems from the very existence of those other assistant femininities, structured in the institution.

Grumet (1981), just like Terhart (1992), consider feminization in teaching as a consequence of the reaction of the society towards discontents of modernization and an expression of the will to preserve classroom as a niche of care and nurture than rationality and discipline, thus as a non-professional. It is important to underline, at this point that, just like the new-professional is an impossible and always flawed subject[65], because it projects a huge and inhuman capacity for flexibility, rationality, multitasking…etc., but it constitutes a productive ideological tool just for this reason -it perpetuates the frame of thinking attributing failures to the individual (than the system) and pushes him to put ever more effort- professionalism discourse is effective when directed to women. Women (teachers) never being truly accepted as professionals are constantly invited to prove otherwise or to compensate for this fact. This is how the professionalism discourse makes a very effective disciplinary mechanism and a means to intensify the work of women teachers: portraying them capable of professionality (for natural skills in teaching and because having the soft

[65] For a broader discussion over the issue, see Walkerdine (2003).

skills most praised in the contemporary labour market, flexibility, relational-emotional management...etc.) and as failing to realize this capacity (for being family oriented, over-emotional, morally weak…etc.).

Jacobi (2000) turns to the history of the teaching occupation and arguing for the importance of empirical studies to understand gender dimension of the professionalization story of teaching, rather than working with polar gender stereotypes. She underlines women's contribution to the history and professionalization of teaching and exemplifies how rewarding to use gender in a way expanding the definition of professionalism and ascertaining diverse types according to the specialties of the occupation at hand.

Meanwhile, professionalism is seen as a disciplinary discourse on proper selves in the work life, serving the neoliberal governance[66] (i.e. Scharff 2012): It is a call for self-management according to the principles, described in the 'rational and self-regulating expert, accountable to organizational demands' formula. As elaborated by Walkerdine (2003) this self-regulation necessitates constant introspective audit, and is deeply performative, leaving no space for critical thinking. It is an individualistic modality of thinking effectively constructing work life as a technical, rather than a social field. Since the demands from the professional are limitless and the professional is accepted to account for the flaws of the system as well, the project of professional self is doomed to fail. However, failure is part of this neoliberal governance, nudging the person to start again, do more and feel responsible.

[66] Late modernity or the post-industrial society and globalization are other dynamics creating new identities, determined less by class references and more with consumption styles, taste, desire and professionalism, thus individuality than social relations. New individualism (Marshall et all, 2005) has been a discourse and theoretical template in class analysis since the late 1970s. Many theoreticians identified trends of increasing individualization coming with de-traditionalization, rise of reflexivity (Beck, Giddens, and Lash, 1982), mobility (Eliot&Urry, 2010), collapse in public and political realms into private (Sennett, 1996; Sennett, 2002; Sennett&Cobb, 2006), and emergence of multiculturalism (Zizek, 1997). Some approaches considered those phenomena as indicators of growing mobility and liberation from traditional belongings (Beck, Giddens, and Lash, 1982) and some indicated re-appearance of politics of private, rise of intimate and private realms with their moralistic ethos, as a fertile ground for new conservative agenda (Hall, 2003).

This call, for a managerial self has been found problematique to be answered in the work contexts based on personal relations, care, idealism. However, in almost all types of femininities associated with an occupational role one or more of those dimensions are included. In case of teaching, care, relational/emotional work, and idealism appear as the primary characteristics of work resisting new formula of professionalism.

All in all, professional and professionalism are fuzzy ideological constructs, entangled in the gender and class politics of a given context -be them raised by the members of the occupation or the others aiming to control them. New professionalism discourse targeting teachers, hence, cannot be conceptualized separate from the ideological context it was unfolded within.

Lastly, while trying to understand the responses of women in the occupation towards this new teacher professionalism discourse, it is vital to be vigilant for any sign of emergence or quest for democratic professionalism, too. Democratic professionalism in teaching, in accounts of Apple (1996), Preston (1993), and Sachs (2001), means opening the field up to the democratic participation of and solidarity between different stakeholders in education, including community, students, and educational experts, instead of turning it inaccessible against them -as outsiders- as suggested in the classical formulations of professionalism.

As the subject-ivity of neoliberal policies and governance system, self-managing professional worker is suggested. But it is not unrivaled; or although is the hegemonic discourse in work life, not even victorious in life worlds of people, as reminded by Dillabough (1999). She warns that the policies deeming teachers, as instrumental pieces in education processes, fail to account for the richness of relational and cultural dimensions of teaching work, thus to capture authenticity and agency in the teacher identity. Communities, collegial and social relations, resistance movements, civil society initiatives, international solidarity projects, unexpected alliances give ground to projections for other selves. The historic femininity, constructed in the ES teaching in Turkey, thus, has been under impact

of more complex process of change rather than simple and effective imposition of this neoliberal subject-ivity.

Neoliberalism provides various subject positions serving to the neoliberal market hegemony project; yet, the issue of their being embodied and internalized in individuals as coherent and authentic is another issue and discursive positions of neoliberalism is "not coterminous with the person" (7). They also show how Foucault's concept of subjectification better demonstrate the operation of power structures over individual selves, pushing them to be self-regulatory. Yet, although victorious in being hegemonic form of self-discipline, entrepreneurial subject was not totally exhaustive of the late-modern selves. Following from this very same point, Blackman et all (2008) elaborates that not the persons but the emotional impact of their subjection to hegemonic cults of subjectivities can be studied (Scharf 2014):

> And although neoliberal discourse – like any other discourse – does not hold absolutely, neoliberal subjectivity seems to evoke a range of affective states that are linked to anxiety, depoliticization, the repudiation of vulnerability and an internalization of competition.

Previously squeezed to a number of public service occupations and state administration positions and limited range of industrial work, labour market opportunities for women have been diversified and expanded with the rise of global economy and services sector. However, as has been explained, feminization in the services sector has been coincided with de-professionalization tendencies and rising insecurities in those sectors (Witz 1990).

Women and femininity have been considered as harmonious with the terms of new trends of professionalism. Femininity is the favorite subject of attention for Foucauldian analysis, as it is represented self-care and reflexivity, making connotations with the role of choice and style in individualized production of the disciplined selves, thus the neoliberal notion of technologies of self as suggested by Foucauldian scholars. She is pictured to have a re-invention capacity and flexibility, in responding to the multiple and changing demands in the labour market and insecurities of post-industrial work conditions:

The links between youth, femininity, consumption, self-transformation and notions of choice suggest that young women have been hailed as neoliberal subjects (Scharf 2015:4)

> Qualities of reinvention and making-over the self, which are core psychological characteristics for the adaptation to market forces required by neo-liberalism, contribute to the individualization and feminization of both work and upward mobility (Walkerdine & Ringrose 2006:33).

This femininity reflects the gender politics of the neoliberal labour market and specifically the culture industry: Flexibility and adaptation are the main virtues in ever more complex and insecure conditions of work; workers are to be regulated in subjectivities by themselves instead of simply complying with the given work definitions; autonomy means personal distance to collective and organized identities and behavior; freed from private life and family responsibilities (either by being single, or financial and cultural capacity to handle them without any complications for work life). However, despite the fact that service sector constructs the image of professionalism for its workers with reference to the main qualities of this young woman worker type, for the femininities associated with female morality, it is hard to imagine a rapid and unproblematic transformation in the classical subject-ivity underlying the figure, regardless of the size of the regulative and ideological investments made towards this aim.

In public services sector, where female workforce traditionally dominates, commodification and privatization surges have produced a pressure for neoliberal professionalization of workforce. Within the context of teaching, this project has been interpreted to cause proletarianization[67] and de-professionalization for teachers by some (see the discussion in Hargreaves 1994[68]) and a new opportunity

[67] For proletarianization thesis, see Ball, 2005; Ozga, 1995.

[68] According to Hargreaves teaching profession have arrived another phase in excelling professionalization. He argues that after a period of pre-professionalism, determined by in-classroom discipline requirement of teaching work, alternative/progressive pedagogies and education movement and a stress on teacher autonomy as the basis of teacher professionalism took over. Following period have evidenced the need to school communities and colleagial and community learning for teachers. Finally, recent context, what is termed as neoliberal period by many, underlined the need for teacher-school-parent collaboration.

environment for professionalization by others. Yet, in overall, a ground-breaking transformation in teaching work and occupation has taken place, possibly shaking once famous cult of femininity associated with women teachers.

In the feminization process of Turkish ES teaching, currently coinciding with the neoliberal period, thus, there are important treads and linkages to follow and evaluate through the debates in the neoliberal governmentality literature. ES teaching has turned a decisively feminized an occupation in Turkey, after getting tied to higher education criteria, urbanization of the school system and the settling of the neoliberal regulatory framework. Meanwhile, becoming an urban, university-level entry occupation has not risen the status of the profession for teachers or neither has improved their images. However, for the women entering the occupation the fiction of the experience and identity has changed for certain, they are graduating from universities, being more likely to start working in urban contexts, and being introduced as "professionals" by the public policy discourse. All those conjectures and contexts are crucial in production of neoliberal subject-ivities as capable of choice, self-invention, individual taste, style, and initiative. How far, those new contexts and situations have changed the traditional femininity invested in woman ES teacher cult and in which direction, is a subject of discussion which requires first-hand account of the experiences of women and the way they make sense of those experiences.

3.2. Contemporary Field of Elementary School Teaching in Turkey

Education policies has been shaped as one of the main planks of the established and changing socio-political hegemonies in the Turkish history. Between the 1920 and 1950s, single party rule, radical reformist agendas of the state, exclusive preoccupation with peasantry and village education, innovative enterprises like Village Institutes and the public discourses depicting an apostle spirited teacher figure (in his war against tradition and ignorance in rural Turkey) were the main characteristics of Turkish basic education policy. This radical modernization period, as has been named by İlhan Tekeli (1980), was based on a classical contract between teachers and the state: Teachers were serving to "no ideology" but modernization

and development, a mission crystallized in the political program of the state (see Lawn, 2005). Thus, official modernizing cause was not a political but occupational ideology on their part, a necessary pillar of the ethos of education and teaching. Their occupational ideology was depending on Kemalism with its promises for individual and social progress. Following period, advent of multi-party regime and the Democrat Party rule, yet, changed the ideological contract between teachers and the state. This change is in line with the change in state organization in and through education:

> ".. A move away from the notion that the teaching profession should have a professional mandate to act on behalf of the state in the best interests of its citizens to a view that teachers (and indeed other professions) need to be subjected to the rigours of the market and/or greater control and surveillance on the part of the re-formed state (Whitty 2002:66)"

In educational policy and the policy concerning training of teachers, Democrat Party program was suggesting retreat from radical rural education and development policy, based on separate education of village and city teachers with abolishment of Village Institutes and turning privileges of state employees and teachers, problematic in their roles for modernization and development. However, the old cadre and institutional pillars of teacher education schools were largely remained at work, in spite of the changes in administrative positions; and teachers developed their independent organizing strategies. They preserved their ideological perspective primarily resting upon Kemalist modernization; but a significant majority re-interpreted it in a civic leftist -than official- version where teachers were attributed with a popular but programmatic mission for enlightening peasants and this time also urban poor (Baykurt, 2000). In many ways, the perspective of teachers' organizations and of state were in conflict. This "populist modernization period" (Tekeli, 1998) was anticipating popular reconciliation between the interest groups in the society, without state intervention for radically changing the socio-economic formation. Land reform and other projects for creating a re-distribution of resources and rights between social groups had already been shelved. Organized movement of teachers, on the other hand, taking advantage of the relative democratic environment created by 1960s military coup, largely sided with their social ethos informed by radicalism, social justice and modernist principles of the previous era.

In the mid 1960s, this occupational ideology has produced one the of the biggest labour organizations (TÖS- Turkey Union for Teachers) among teachers. Not surprisingly, bearers of this ideology were more likely to be elementary school teachers (school teachers) who have taken over the legacy produced by the radical agenda once developed on elementary education as a Republican citizenship project: service in rural Anatolian schools and teacher education for village schools including Village Institutes which were institutional manifestations of the early Republican stakes for transforming rural structures of inequality. More importantly, school teachers were still coming from relatively disadvantaged strata of the society being graduates of pre-faculty level elementary teacher schools than universities. Thus, a class alliance with lower classes and an occupational ethos based on such an alliance had more of an ideological and practical viability considering their social realities. However, ideological polarization in the country well generated a reflection in teachers' movement: the groups of conservative and nationalist teachers got more significant than they had been in the past. Elementary teacher schools were not late to get politicized according to this surge of teachers' movements and of the conflict between different political groups. Indeed, elementary teacher schools became the pockets where militant political groupings were concentrated in the localities. Eventually, those schools turned unable to continue education and graduate teachers due to fierce political conflict; and other models for elementary teacher education (Vocational Higher Education Schools for Teachers and Education Institutes, then Education Faculties) were accepted. During the 1970s and after the military coup of 1980 onwards, management and teacher assignment policy in teacher education schools and also the teachers themselves in terms of assignment to teaching and changing service places, have been used as a punishing tool for "divergent" teachers and in a way establishing conservative management cadres in schools and education bureaucracy.

In the intervals following the periods elementary teacher training model or duration left their place to upper grade and/or longer-term education, there has appeared serious temporary shortages of elementary school teachers. Transition models for teacher training, thus, were developed, like crash programs and remote (letter)

education programs (between the years 1975-1980). Also, in this same period, the model of elementary teacher education school was abandoned and higher education models were created. Education Institutes and Vocational Education High Schools were deemed as a part of the government program to surpass the teachers' movement and leftist leanings of the prior elementary teacher schools, they are being introduced in such a historical context (Akyüz 1987).

Reactionary culture of teachers, based on skepticism towards all kinds of political and programmatic changes in education and teachers' tasks which is typically salient in Turkey, hence, can be dated to have derived its contemporary themes and tones with, first closure of Village Institutes (first break of ideological contract between teachers and the state) and more determinably with the abolition of elementary teacher schools. Teachers, first lost their privileged places in state's social development program, which was determined by economic development and cultural enlightenment of peasants and symbolically represented in village schools where teacher is the "autonomous agent of modernization". Then, they lost their intellectual privileges upon a gradual shift of expertise to academia and Higher Education Institution rather than teacher schools. Due to those row of historical events, spreading the deck always to the disadvantage of teachers, they have developed a reactionary culture to socio-political change, highly skeptical to new implementations and programs.

This attitude was further consolidated during the Military Tutelary period, known as the February 28th period (1997), when the teachers, that are considered connected with Islamic political connections, were purged and forced to resignation. In this period, women teachers were typical targets of state action, since their Islamic political leanings were more visible for headscarf use. Right-wing public employee union, Memur-Sen reports that, during this Military Tutelage period, around 11.000 teachers, approximately 95 percent of them being women, had to submit their resignations where some 3.500 were officially discharged. This large-scale operation once again demonstrated the state-centered ideological construction of the norms of being a proper (woman) teacher and the continuing possibility of state’s

using direct intervention methods (rather than ideological, organizational, and administrative mechanisms) over teachers to control their conduct and identity. In the same year, 8 years continuous obligatory basic education system were introduced. This forward-looking reform step, on the other hand, exemplified traditional authoritarian state progressivism over the issues of education, not involving any programme of professional development and participation in policy decision-making for teachers or a vision of democratic professionalism in school and education relations.

Weakened professional power of teachers would later create a conducive political environment for establishment of the neoliberal governance systems in education and teachers' work. In the following period, mostly covering the period of successive AKP governments, the issues of teachers have largely focused on their diminishing securities in employment market and growing managerial control techniques in schools, later to be complemented with a new wave of large scale discharge and accompanying oppression for their taking up Islamic lifestyles and doctrines in education and a pro-government stand in politics. Introduction of performance assessment systems, temporary teaching positions, soaring assignment problems, expanding private sector jobs, that impose poor work conditions and poverty-level wages have been the cornerstones of this agenda.

Faculty education, increase in the number of urban schools and school age pupils, and neoliberal policies causing privatization in education, and proletarianization for teachers, concomitant de-professionalization tendencies of elementary school teaching have paved the ground for another historical change in the social identities of teachers.

3. 2. 1. Urbanization in the School System

Even in such a short duration, from 2007 to 2014 the percentage of students and teachers in villages has dropped significantly. As can be followed through the numbers, urbanization has been a significant and rapid phenomenon in primary school teaching. However, overwhelming share of village schools in the total

number of schools is still striking; and this distribution illuminates a special type of urbanization process in the recent historical development of the Turkish school system. In this system the weight of one-room, one-teacher village schools is still significant[69]. Comparatively large share of rural schools is continued to be complemented with obligatory service system in which young teachers spend their early years in village schools as the only teachers of those schools[70].

Table 5. Numerical Developments over the Years

Education Period	Men Teachers	Women Teachers	Classrooms	Schools
2014/15				
Total	122.174	173.078	237.760	16.969
City	110.553	159.423	206.556	14.172
Village	11.621	13.655	31.204	2.797
2010/11				
Total	237.254	266.074	339.653	9.281
City	171.141	204.482	224.495	8.459
Village	66.113	61.592	115.158	822
2007/08				
Total	223.406	222.046	315.887	8.280
City	153.568	166.167	196.620	7.416
Village	69.838	55.879	119.267	864
Source: Turkish Statistics Institute, Education Statistics				

Number of Women and Men Teachers, Classroom and Schools in City and Village Schools along Chosen Years, (000), TURKSTAT.

Urban schools are bigger organizations, bringing together crowded number of teachers, more organized managerial systems and hierarchy, with detailed labour

[69] The large variation in the number of village schools is related with the changing implementation of the center school policies (merkez okul, taşımalı eğitim). In 1997/98 education period, together with the introduction of 8 years continuous education system in primary schools, center school system was accepted. According to this system, in the small settlements with geographically dispersed populations, primary school students would be transferred to a center school on a daily basis. This policy reduced the number of village schools to a considerable degree. In 2011, near %6 of the total primary school age students were under coverage of this center school system (MEB Statistics 2011). However, rationality and cost of this policy has been on a constant check by related commissions and in 2012 a significant rise in village schools took place, later to drop again in 2014. This policy was met with criticisms towards ignoring the role of teachers and schools in villages, getting well beyond school education; being costly unlike what had been anticipated, and imposing a daily travel condition to students.

[70] Between the period 1997/98 and 2012/13 due to 8 years obligatory basic education, primary education instead of primary schools were held as statistical units. But after 2012/13 education period, that policy was abandoned and turning back to the old statistical practice, primary education were divided into primary and lower secondary schools.

divisions in tasks, managerial tittles and responsibilities. In cities, school managements are more oriented to competitive management ethos and market-customer rationality. Furthermore, in cities, being more relevant in metropolitan cities, status group privileges of teachers tend to get weaker. There are a couple of reasons for this tendency. First, in metropolis, notables' circles include diverse groups, not limited to senior public employees like in provinces; thus, teachers' involvement in those social groups are both more difficult and less visible. Second, standards of living, teachers could attain, are considerably lower in the urban. Highly differentiated population in cities, also constitutes a source of difficulty in practice of teaching, and in teachers' relations with parents and wider social circles.

Furthermore, national geographies of urban-rural, or village-town-city have an historical importance in construction of teacher as a social actor in socio-historical imagination. As can be traced in many comments of the teachers themselves, teacher has been an example and messenger of the Urban, urban standing as the space of civilization and the 'from rural-to urban movement' as a civilizing route[71]. However, modern metropolis emerged as a geography crucially different from it had been projected in the classical social imagination that had historically fed teacher identity. Therefore, "getting lost" in the social landscape of urban, has become a theme largely articulated in discussions on contemporary teacher identity. In the below quotation that historically shaped spatial organization of social identity of teacher finds a clear expression:

> "It's for sure that most of the competence that let teachers become persons whose ideas were regarded and made them respectable figures in the society and that were important in old times aren't considered as distinct differences. Teachers who were role models for the villagers who dreamed about the urban they would migrate one day seeing knowledge, clothing, speaking, behaviors and good manners of teachers thirty years ago got lost among these people who were a part of unplanned urbanization. However, it seems likely to reveal teacher's ability of old times that is unused today to forge a bond with the society that put her into position of an intellectual. When they are reminded about the class they belong, the above ominous retrograde aggregation can be reversed. A teacher can take her/his place next to the society despised based on class, culture, race and religion that s/he

[71] The noteworthy exception to this underlying symbolism and narrative is the Village Institutes enterprise. Institutes aimed to achieve social development in villages, not encouraging urbanization. In doing this, Institutes valued educating village teachers among children of the peasants, as to consolidate its philosophy and cultural base of "village enlightenment".

> supported when fighting against the predominant culture's oppression while living in small groups in the village" (Özmen, 2013)

Rural schools are lean and simple organizations mostly including one or a couple of teachers. Among them, one teacher or the only teacher of the school acts as substitute principal. They are relatively distant from education bureaucracy unlike urban schools. Thus, teacher autonomy is larger in practice, and not restrained to classroom space. Furthermore, in villages the simplicity and accessibility of the social environment enables teacher to interpret her task in broader terms including in person relations with families, supporting schooling of children at individual basis and meeting their needs better. In town or countryside schools as well, the teacher has better means to enter in the social resources being accepted as a member of a social status group (public servants). In city and city schools, however, feeling of being lost is inescapable: "Lost to the city teacher were the autonomy and agency that were hers for the taking in the ungraded rural school" (Hoffman 2003: 230).

3.2.2. Becoming a Faculty Education Level Occupation

Elementary school teacher training was delivered by high school level elementary teacher schools (between 1924[72] and 1974), then in education institutes (1974-1982), in teacher education colleges (1982-1992) and lastly, since 1992 in education faculties. Changes in teacher training provision model for elementary school teachers, have been crucially important developments, marking the turning points in the education policy.

Elementary school teacher education was the last, in being issued as graduate level formation. In 1992, faculty education criterion was accepted for elementary school teachers, after others, upper grades teachers. This is related with pedagogy-intensive and so-called academic, thus, science/branch-knowledge-weak, scope of the primary school teaching; and the difficulty of educating required number of primary school teachers for the following period if faculty education is introduced (Lortie, 1975).

[72] Turkish Republic took over this model from the Ottoman Empire period.

Indeed, at each step of regulating primary school teaching as a graduate level occupation, thus with lengthening of the education duration from 2 to 4 years (1990) and introduction of faculty education criterion (1992), serious shortages of elementary school teachers were experienced and graduates of other faculties (engineering, science, language faculties) had to be assigned as elementary school teachers.

Elementary school teaching was the last teaching position that has been bounded to faculty education criterion. Therefore, educators' circles have a longer history of discussions on the different models of teacher training for field teachers (Eşme 2001; Özmen 2013). During 1950s and 60s two models for secondary school teacher education, education collegiate schools and education institutes were co-existing. This was a period when a fierce discussion developed over which model was better. In education collegiate schools, both generic teaching courses and field science courses were delivered by the teachers of those schools. In education institutes, on the other hand, while teacher training courses was delivered by the institute teachers, science/branch education is taken from science/arts faculties. The main issue instigating that heated debate of the time was related with teacher autonomy within the context of the problematic of how to position teacher education vis a vis the academia. In education collegiate schools, autonomy of teacher education was, believed to be, better preserved as the teachers in those schools were not academicians, but teachers; and thus, teacher education had an institutional integrity in producing an autonomous culture and ethos of teaching. However, this model was, after a short lifetime, abandoned in favor of the education institutes model. After a relatively brief period, institutes were also closed and teacher education was carried up to the level of faculty education. Since then, circles of teachers and educators continued to argue that intellectual and bureaucratic autonomy of teachers and teacher training were seriously damaged by this move (Eşme, 2001).

Different views over which model of teacher education, occupational or academic, is better, still run their course within several contexts of discussion. Objections

against academic education for teachers asserts the claim that with faculty education, teacher education were placed within the jurisdiction of (Higher Education Council) instead of Ministry of National Education. This move had broken the link between administration of schools (by Ministry of National Education) and teacher education (by Higher Education Council) whereas both were previously regulated and administered by the same institution (Ministry of National Education) (Şimşek, 2005; Eşme, 2001). Another consequence of this regulation was abandonment of the principle of 'teachers educating the future teachers'; which has allegedly disrupted, what Lawn (1996) terms as the "craft wisdom", in the occupation[73]. Craft wisdom was enabling the occupation to develop and transfer an occupational culture and work ethos, in a relatively autonomous and monolithic fashion. Thus-defined autonomy in culture and ethos of teaching, though does not amount to an independence from ideological informants of the occupation (state discourse, institutional and doxic formation of the occupation), but, as Lawn&Grace (2011) elaborates, constitutes a different mythology for teachers, a different heuristic template in identifying with the teaching and society. That mythology was depending on the self-perception of teachers towards being autonomous social actors. What was arguably damaged with faculty education, was this mythology and heuristic.

Moreover, elementary teacher schools were providing a solid basis for teachers to claim a say in production of education policies, central curricula, education techniques and teacher education policy. Including the staff of the Ministry of National Education, in time, education bureaucracy has started to recruit mostly specialists with academic origins. In public discussions on education and teaching, teachers had to share their position with the academics and "education debate" has been placed in an academic-bureaucratic framework. It is believed that although teacher was the performer of teaching work, his/her view has lost its former

[73] "An underlying assumption of this conceptualization is that ‘teaching is to a great extent an uncertain and spontaneous craft, situated and constructed in response to the particularities of everyday life in schools and classrooms’ (Cochran-Smith and Lytle, 1999:20)" (Sugrue, 2002:21). In such a perspective on intellectual side of teaching, learning communities and interaction between teachers and in schools acquire critical importance.

authority and become subject to the tools and technologies (authorization) of academic-bureaucratic discourse (Akyüz 2008).

Those tools and technologies, in turn, rather than being open to appropriation of teachers, have started to be a type of power-knowledge that can only be used in assessing performance of teachers. In line with those power-knowledges, teachers were tried to be re-defined as social actors in their institutional roles only. As a widely accepted identification of the trend, a new professionalism is offered for their role (Hagreaves 1994). New professionalism was a compliment to an overall new-managerialism, anticipating financial and organizational self-management of schools according to the principles of market rationality and customer demand. A number of programs were introduced to socialize teachers into their new role definitions in Turkish context. However, those programs were largely ineffective in analyzing the realities of teachers and teaching work (Demirer 2012).

In Turkey, after redefinition of teaching as an undergraduate level occupation, the number of education faculties have fluctuated all around the country. This development has been part of the university boom starting in 1992 (Günay&Günay, 2011), but even in that conjecture, education faculties were the most rapidly spreading ones in number, among others (Şimşek, 2005). As such, teacher education stayed still relatively accessible to the general population, though more selective in terms of socio-economic profile of students, compared to the period of teacher education schools. Education faculties, furthermore, have continued to bear the stigma of low track education, associated with high school level primary teacher education schools. Several policies have been adopted to better the student profile of education faculties like Anatolian High Schools[74]. In time, a remarkable improvement in the image of the Education Faculties seems to have taken place, as ranks of the Faculties in university exam results show. This accelerating phenomenon of increasing preference towards education faculties is also surprising,

[74] Anatolian High Schools are special in their science and foreign language education and accepting students with exam. In university exam, Anatolian High School graduates are given extra grade if they choose education faculties.

since central exam condition caused less and less education faculty graduates being assigned as teachers. In fact, its image of "an occupation of guaranteed employment and earning capacity" has weakened over time but maintained its relative importance in view of the rapidly deteriorating employment prospects in the economy.

Therefore, the reason for high ranking standing of teaching departments in university entrance examinations may be found in proliferation of even less prestigious faculties in university boom period and lagging behind of the university system to give up on the faculty departments which became redundant in labour market. Even now, the so-called primacy and salience of the motivation, believed to be orienting students to teacher education, "having a secure and regularly paying occupation", ails the image and prestige of education faculties. Although academically eligible, that's successful in central university entrance examination, general opinion has continued to hold the idea that, education faculty students are from the lower ranks of the society, who holds dear occupational, rather than academic orientation in university education. This perception plays an important role in social class connotations education faculties and teacher education have in social imagination and provides a continuity with former teacher education institutions in public image.

Yet, faculty education rebranded the 'occupational' in teacher education in a totally different way than did education schools, collegiate schools and institutes. Former teacher education institutions embraced what is "occupational" in teaching, suggesting crafts-like character and specialization requirement of teaching and also stressing the need for this education to be directly responsive to changes and demands in schools and population. Thus, teaching is a position of "learned professional" (Kumashiro, 2004[75]) but also of a public intellectual (instead of professional). Faculty education, however, accepted a differentiation between fields of "occupational" and "scientific/intellectual". Due to this definition, new streams

[75] He suggests that in the US, teachers have one of those three images of "learned practitioner", "researcher", and "professional".

of state and expert discourses found the chance to suggest that with academic level education, teaching has gained in its professionalism. However, others objected to this idea; saying that, academy has been believed to have kept the scientific to itself and accredited occupational in prospective teachers (Arnot&Barton, 1992). Moreover, they add, it is ambiguous what has replaced the myth of "public intellectual" in teacher identity with dominance of those discourses of p*rofessionalism* and *academic quality*.

Faculty level teacher education has its critiques in the academia as well. Okçabol (2016) and Ünal (2016) elaborate that Education Faculties have been forced to function as if they are vocational higher education schools, for they were allowed to focus only on the task of teacher training and for long years could use a centrally ordered fixed curricula, prepared by MoNE and YOK expert commissions. In that sense, Education Faculties have been distanced from the core mission of conducting scientific research and thus been devoid of academic independence and authority over the subject of education. Suggestion of those scholars is delegation of teacher training to institute or center-type of university components and setting education faculties free to act as "educational science faculties", not training teachers but engaging with academic research on education.

Weiner (2006) elaborates that, the governments have been forced to adopt reform measures against the challenges of globalization posed for national education systems. Primary aspect of those reform agendas was to improve teachers' professional capacities and practical capabilities in order to boost human resources development (in Anglophone Countries), and to improve the mechanisms of social justice (in mainland Europe). Here, Western countries have come up with two different models: Anglophone countries introducing market rule in management of schools and teachers and limiting their autonomies and professional authorities and Continental European countries bringing up university education, even graduate education opportunities for teachers and supporting teachers through academic education, research and professional autonomy. They make up the Neoliberal and Social Democratic models:

> Anglophone countries have been driven by a variety of neo-liberal policies including imposition of national standards; increased diversity of school forms; expansion of private sector provision; heightened surveillance, inspection and accountability; and emphasis on the importance of continuous professional development (Scott & Freeman Moir 2000), whereas Europe more generally, although experiencing similar pressures, has placed greater emphasis on education as a social good of democracy, together with a belief in the importance of teachers, and their need for professional autonomy and respect (Erixon et al., 2001).

In this schema, Turkey is close to the category of Anglophone countries, since it has mainly followed the neo-liberal agenda, in its effort to adjust the Turkish education system to contemporary imperatives. While doing this, university education has also been introduced for ES teacher training. However, unlike in the continental European countries, "universification" in teacher training has served the aim of de-professionalizing both teachers and the academy in its studies on educational sciences, through limiting their professional and intellectual autonomy and co-opting them in the state ideology and bureaucracy (reference).

In the meantime, as elaborated by Hansel (1992), university education criterion in initial teacher training could contributed to the feminization of the occupation through giving another venue for gender stereotypes to effectively involve in determining of the occupational orientations of the young women and men. In Turkish example, this is the case since, university exam preparation and preference process and the professionals involved therein seems really contributed to gender-typing of the occupation, mainly motivating women into teaching departments.

3.2.3. Neo-liberal Policies on Education and Teachers

Frequently, the studies evaluating the changes in education area address the neoliberal dynamics of transformation and draw upon an economy-politic analysis. Those studies focus on the manifestations of macro structural changes in the overall public policy orientation and they are valuable in highlighting some general trends of change impacting the field of education and elementary school teaching. The main arguments of the literature evaluating the neoliberal change in education in Turkey, are as follows:

First, there is a trend of privatization and commercialization in education system. This trend can be identified in the increasing number of private schools, diverse kinds of fluctuating private education institutions (like exam preparation institutions -dershane), and lastly, quasi-market regulation and consequent differentiation-stratification among public schools (as those more competent ones with science-foreign language intensive curricula and others providing *normal* education at every stage of education) and upholding of the system through central examinations in which students compete for better schools or opt for private schools. Another channel of privatization and commercialization has been reported to be feeding on the large scale social projects like "100 percent support for education", "Supporting Computer Use in Education", "Girls to School" and others. Those projects and campaigns are considered to be shifting the perspective, defining education as a public service and a right and substituting a *social responsibility* understanding in the place of it (Ünal 2005). It is widely agreed on that, education and school system is getting more and more reproductive of existing social inequalities, as it integrates various elements of privatization and commercialization through surrender to market regulation.

Second, overall education administration is being restructured according to the neoliberal principles of market efficiency, cost effectiveness and private sector customer relations, at the cost of traditional progressive aims of education like ensuring equal opportunities and social mobility. Introduction of a new system of school management (School Development Model[76]) based on total quality management is one of the most tangible manifestations of the stated orientation towards supporting new-managerialism. This system anticipates educational regions as the organizational units, for appliance of a governance model. That model depends on school-based financial management and towards this aim anticipates formation of School Development Management Teams. Those teams are to be

[76] The model was offered, develoed and tested within the scope of a World Bank Project (Ministry of Education being the beneficiary institution), Developing National Education (METGE, 1990-96) and started to be implemented in all the schools starting from the year 1997.

formed with the participation of school-family boards, private and civil sector representatives and those of local administrations. This system works through school level sub-teams which would tackle with various problems schools face, like renovation and maintenance of infrastructure, fund-raising for routine and special activities. Discourses on involvement of parents and social partners in school and education management have been part of this process and practically served to replacement of state financing and pushed the schools, teachers and parents into searching ways of financing and sustaining the quality education in their schools. This system has caused further differentiation in the quality of education between schools and contributed deepening social class differences in educational attainment (Buyruk, 2014b).

Third, there has been an ever more visible phenomenon of proletarianization for teachers. This trend follows a variegated route. As the first lynchpin of this policy trend, appointment of teacher education graduates was tied to the criterion of success in the central examination (KPSS (PPSE)), which has been obligatory for all prospective public employees. Only a limited number of positions has been opened for appointment of new teachers in schools and there emerged an ever-mounting phenomenon of un-appointed teachers. Those teachers, who "failed" in KPSS (PPSE), started to accept jobs which are insecure and poor in terms of prestige and income level, in private education institutions. Many others are offered temporary positions, known as *contract teaching positions* and state has institutionalized this temporary status actively appointing large number of teachers as contract teachers. Worse still, adoption of another hiring status, created a category of *paid teachers* who are appointed by local education administrations or school managements for one semester and paid accordingly. Last category of teachers had to work without social security registration for long years. Especially, un-appointed primary school teachers populated that staff positions in the face of constantly rising KPSS (PPSE) exam minimum grades, necessary for appointment. A complementary regulation is still tried to be accommodated, which is known as "norm staff" regulation. This regulation has distributed schools into administrative regions and accepted a norm number of teaching staff for each, meanwhile approving their

involuntary-forced mobility within regions in case of a need. This regulation has restrained the average number of teachers in schools and regions and resulted in shifting of "redundant teachers" to other schools in the region or to other regions. Lastly, various attempts to devise a performance assessment system for teachers have emerged. Though still there is not a consolidated system, up and working; some stones have been put. Starting from the procedures concerning teachers' passing from apprenticeship status to permanent status, performance assessment criteria based on exams, manager and inspector evaluation, were introduced.

Meanwhile, further standardization of curricula through preparation of teacher handbooks, and computerized reporting responsibilities thereof devised, indicates a serious deskilling process at work concerning teachers' labour. Some tasks previously fulfilled by teachers including planning of courses at weekly and semester basis were lifted; teachers are now demanded to comply with ready programs and report accordingly. This shift has also enabled more strict monitoring and assessment of teachers' work, based on standard criteria, which is called by Apple (1996) as pre-post testing, irrespective of the variations in local and individual conditions. Such a system of performance assessment as well as hardening the surveillance pressure on teachers, also contradicts with the traditional teacher idealism exalting "teaching to needy", since the better the student profile and parental resources the better would be the teacher performance. This, in turn, amounts to replacement of public good principle with the rule of market efficiency, in which initial resources (parental income) effectively determine the welfare that could be thrived out of services. Connected discourse in the world context, calling teachers to comply with the system of new managerialism and be efficient, competitive and accountable in their occupational conduct is named as "new professionalism" (Ozga 1995).

With neoliberal policies, not only schools have become more reflective of the social class differences in terms of the resources they could command and concomitantly the quality of education they offer, but also among teachers a hierarchical differentiation has emerged, roughly overlapping with their social class

positionings. Time and resources needed to be invested in KPSS (PPSE) exam preparation appeared as the primary dynamic of this differentiation. Those who could not get a required grade from KPSS (PPSE) exam have started to enter in private education institutions and to work as paid status teachers. Although KPSS (PPSE) is just a selective exam not measuring the teaching qualification of candidates, being a "non-assigned teacher" became a synonym of professional failure. Assignment, on the other hand, includes another phase, too: lifting of the apprentice status. Regulations concerning the passage from apprentice to permanent teacher status have imposed ever more difficult and debatable criteria, soon to be including school management evaluation and interview grade (TEDMEM 2015).

The "ALO 147" hotline run by Ministry of National Education has become an important mechanism of public denunciation. Practically, the line was envisaged to serve individual case management and performance assessment / inspection of teachers. This line collects complaints of parents, generally about teachers, submits to the attention of administrative ranks, and sometimes leaks the information to media. As such it serves as a channel of popular degradation of teachers' image in public opinion[77]. The line has caused the educational inspection system's frequently taking action against teachers upon the information from non-transparent channels and becoming open to arbitrary and politically factionist uses.

Acar (2014) summarizes the pillars of the current neo-liberalization policy in transformation of teacher employment regime:

> Considered from the side of the education personal, transformation of education, as a formerly public service targeting maximization of public interest, into a market service, would create irrevocable consequences for both the form and provision of the service and for the secure and tenure track working scheme of the education staff. Norm staff, education regions and councils, total quality management and concomitant curriculum laboratory schools may be counted among the main underpinnings of the transformation of the service and flexibilization of employment (30).

[77] For official information about the line:
http://www.meb.gov.tr/duyurular/duyurular2012/basinmus/alo147.html

There is a fierce debate in the literature on whether with the neoliberal interventions and other late modern developments, teaching has changed for better or worse, for teachers. While all the above summarized developments and discourses on assessment of teachers' performances have flooded in, a simultaneous notion of new professionalism for teachers started to gain ground. This notion of new professionalism, emphasizing the same trends changing teacher education and work, faculty education, urbanization, new managerialism, monitoring & assessment systems, and success criteria[78], offered that with the increased quality of teacher education and systems of quality management in school management and teaching performance, teachers became professionals. Ozga (1995) points out that professionalism should not be treated as a neutral or unchanging category; rather, its employment needs to be deconstructed historically and politically. This suggestion, too, corresponds to a new re-definition of professionalism, in the face of new self-management models for schools and new performance assessment techniques. Troman (1996) draws attention to the impact of new tasks projected for teachers within the scope of the agenda of new managerialism. Those tasks increasingly include managerial and organizational ones, like forming, leading or reporting to the school committees with specific purposes of fund-raising, organization of extracurricular activities and social events in interest of the school. They both enlarge the task definition of teachers and intensify their work (Apple, 1987; Larson, 1980) and also provide teachers with new roles enabling them to act in the name of the school.

New professionalism has not been seen that negative or victorious by all the researchers. Especially, those inquiring into how far those regulations and arrangements of state policy have found a response and compliance on the part of teachers, indicate that teachers have developed their own counter-strategies and even new forms of collegiate collaboration (Hargreaves, 1994).

[78] In the recent past, Ministry of National education tried a system of promotion and status differentiation between teachers, with an exam for becoming "specialist teacher" and "chief teacher". However, the exam didnot repeated and anticipated career promotion system became inactive.

Analysis of neo-liberalization runs the danger of describing current state and market project for teachers as a lived reality, confusing discourse with reality; and anticipating historicity of the occupation as a story of rupture and contrast between old and new. Nevertheless, teaching is an applied occupation and teacher practice feeds on intergenerational learning and support more than it does on formal education and managerial directing. Teaching and teachers have, moreover, quite strong a historical legacy as social actor. For those very reasons, despite the constant changes in managerial models and cultures and teaching curricula and techniques, there are important structural factors, supporting continuity in teacher culture and identity. Furthermore, as enunciated by Hargraves (1994) neoliberal policies may well produce unexpected consequences, like in the example of prevalence of exam systems, causing heightened value parents to attach to school teachers of their children.

CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY

4.1. Study Problematic and Research Questions

Main problematique of the study is the gender regime of the ES teaching and the contemporary trends of change in this regime in Turkey, as the occupation defines a historical and sociological field of significance for women and gender relations. Main focuses of the study, in researching the change in gender regime of the occupation, are professional ideologies and state policies. This is because, it is argued that the neoliberal period is determined by rising discourses of professionalism, based on a shift from public intellectualism to managerial professionalism in the meaning of the term, and by the changes in the state policies, based on the general transformation from populist welfare regimes to neoliberal and neoconservative ones. Main objective of the study is to deploy a broader discussion over the typical characteristics of gender regimes of welfare era and those of the neoliberal era in occupations, understood in a comparative fashion, as well as to identify the trends of change in the particular gender regime of ES teaching in Turkey. Research questions of the study appear as follows:

(1)What is the impact of the changes in the professional ideologies and state policies on ES teaching over women teachers in Turkey?

(2)What continuities and changes does a cross-generational comparison of women's narratives indicate in the gender regime of the profession?

Life story interview is the main tool for data collection and narrative analysis is the interpretative method, for a specific reason: The main assumption underlying the research questions of the study is that gender regime in professions not only regulate the professional structures, identity and conduct but extends into social and private lives of women, according to the practicalities in life organization (work-family balance issues), role expectations (mother-teacher analogies) and the ethical codes (imagined connection of womanhood and care) attached to professional identities. Therefore, the life story interview is one of the most suitable data collection methods and narrative analysis is its counterpart in the interpretation phase, as they allow researcher to capture the entire extent of the gender regime of the profession, as it spreads out to social and private spheres for women, rather than being restrained in the professional realm. Based on this conception of the gender regime of the profession, the further probing questions can be classified into three different -but interrelated- sets:

First set examines the changing story of ES teaching as a social status and life trajectory and its consequences for gender identity development of women in and through the profession: Is ES teaching a high-status engagement for women as a life-track and does it continue to be so? What is the specificities of the gender identity that has come to be formed in and through teaching?

- Does teaching define a common social identity and a life trajectory for women? What are the public stories and identity discourses reflected in the women's narratives of being and becoming teachers?
- Regarding the gender identity development, what type of assumptions and rules underlie in those social identity discourses?
- Are the myths common about the relation between women and ES teaching holds true in the Turkish case and are women present themselves as feminine characters and therefore oriented to teaching in childhood and youth?
- Which changes are available to be identified as moved to the younger generations? Do common stories leave their place to diversification, as the status guarantees and mobilities associated with the profession diminish and individualized performance and education paths have become the basis of the

becoming teacher stories? How those trends are narrated by women, in terms of the status and mobility concerns and based on their reflections over their formation of professional and gender identities?

Second set of questions delves into the teaching work and career for women and the gendered structures in the profession along with the frames of understanding they are based in their narratives: What are the elements of gender regime of the ES teaching in Turkey and which trends of change and continuity can be pinpointed in younger generations' experiences and in relation with the changing professional ideologies and state policies?

- What are the specificities of the gender regime of the occupation in Turkey as disclosed in the life-story narratives of women?
- Do women think that being a woman provide them with advantages for fulfilling their roles and works in the school? What are the consequences of this myth for women's work definition and work load / intensity?
- Do women fulfill their daily teaching work differently than men, and in what particular processes? Are there duties women undertake which are often denied as work proper? Is there a patriarchal definition of teaching work excluding women's contributions and valuing men's?
- Do women share a common career plan in teaching which appears different than men's in particular aspects? If so, how do they explain it? Do they provide practical, professional or moral reasons? Do their preferences add to and consolidate the vertical gender divisions in the profession?
- Do women enjoy the commonly assumed advantage of being in a profession enabling women to balance work and family? What specific consequences does this myth hold for women in daily life organization and in professional life?
- How do the women from the younger generations deal with the expanded demands from "conscious parents" and "professional school managements", as the putative authorities of the new school relations, introduced by state education policy reform and privatization policies? How the increase in the relational work component of teaching impacts women's work, career plans and identity formation?

- What is the nature and extent of the marginalization imposed by temporary teaching positions for women, concerning professional life and identity and regarding their career plans?

Third set of questions addresses the family and private life arrangements and the perceptions developed around teaching life and teacher identity for women: How does the gender regime of ES teaching operate to organize and extend into family life of women? What lines of change do emerge in the narratives of younger generations?

- How the myth of teacher women's ease on balancing work and family is being established and operated in family lives of women? Do women themselves buy this myth? Does it still stand in the experience of the younger generations? What are the consequences of this myth?
- What is the practical basis of the teacher women's respectability? What moral codes does this cultural construction impose on women?
- Are women still seen as eligible wives; for which groups; and on what grounds? Are there trends of change in the younger generations?
- Are women's mothering styles changing in the younger generations in line with the changing norms of middle-class conscious mothering? Do they have the resources and are they normatively oriented to adopt the rules of this new mothering style?
- Does the agency of women increase or decrease regarding marriage decisions throughout the generations?

In this research, life story narratives of 52 women teachers from 13 provinces of Turkey, who were born between the years, 1949 and 1993 were collected, covering women's experiences in teaching between the 1970s and the 2010s. For "teacher" is not only a professional identity for women but qualifies an overall gender identity, life story interview method is preferred as the data collection method. By life story interview, it is possible to explore the entire extent of realms of life, that teaching relates in the experiences of women.

In data collection, life story interview technique is employed; while the research is based on narrative inquiry, for it defines its data as *narrative*, thus with a particular form -story-wise-, and authorship -entangled with subjectivities and identity claims- and analyze them accordingly. This design is related with the central concern of this study for focusing on co-produced categories of lived experience and identity, in line with critical feminist theorizations (Smith 1987). Intergenerational thematic analysis is adopted as the analysis technique. Generational profiles, intergenerational continuities and changes in women's experiences and narratives regarding teaching are explored and presented.

4.1.1. Studying the Commonsensical

Despite the high levels of women's representation in elementary school teaching and gender associations of the work, gender scripts in the field are not easy to capture as they slip easily into commonsensical thinking, off from the field of critical analytical investigation. As Harding (1989) elaborated years ago in her seminal work on feminist methodology, male rationality in scientific inquiry plays down those dimensions of social life, relating to private realm, what is informal and not dramatic (not story-wise for existing social scientific canons) and invisible; against public, formal, dramatic and visible, the ones belonging to the lot of men. Seen through her reasoning, it seems paradoxical that as a formal public institution of a popular kind, being visible and entrenched in daily realities of society and public and having its own dramas (of realms of education and pedagogy), teaching provides researchers such an elusive subject when it comes to analyze the gender bearings of it beyond commonsense understandings. Tackling with this issue necessitates calling into question the face value, unproblematic status of women in elementary school teaching, the seemingly impenetrable harmony between the terms of women, femininity and elementary school teaching. Harding (1989), continuing in her critique of male rationality in social research, interprets the subjects, achieving embodiment without a problem and automatically fitting in the structures of the social world, as representative of the (male-stream) scientific magic. They turn invisible their genealogical formation, constructed-ness, and all

the passages, negotiations, resistances, failures and achievements involved in their construction. Such a picture presenting the social world as already out there, hides the power investments lying in there and the constant challenge and change they are subject to. Therefore, representations of elementary school teaching, as so unproblematically *suitable a realm for women*, are required to be seen as enabled by power investments aiming to perpetuate the existing gender divisions of labour and dominating cultural formations of femininity. Resistance of the gender regime scripted into the very terms of elementary school teaching as a work, role and identity, towards being subjected to a critical gender analysis, lies in it primacy for and the extensive scale of operation specific to the field, in reproduction of the public patriarchy[79].

Formulating a study over a subject, reality of which is not "lying there", not giving itself to a mere systematic observation, but necessitating having a stake in a critical reality, calls for subscribing to realist research methodologies. Marxist and socialist feminist approaches would provide the needed research epistemologies and methodologies, in such a case. Reaching the reality-behind, necessitates adoption of realist perspectives (Walby, 1990) in evaluations of the surface reality[80]. Having

[79] Pringle and Watson (1998) discuss the centrality of *public occupations* in regulating the gender norms of the entire society due to their special location where state policy on women's place in public, and popular-professional ideologies of specific occupations merge.

[80] Feminist standpoint is a strand of critical theory. Standpoint theories support knowledge production on, for and by the subordinated, and in the case of feminist standpoint theories this category of subordinated is women. As such, feminist standpoint is an epistemological approach, claiming that women hold an epistemic privilege to produce knowledge on patriarchal society.

Feminist standpoint approaches do not target objectivity believing that it is impossible since the research and researchers are socially positioned (Harding 1986) or situated (Haraway 1988) and have access to only a partial representation of the world. However, scholars argue, addressing the social positions and engagements of the research and researcher, instead of hiding them and playing god's trick (Haraway 1986), the resultant knowledge would attain a strong objectivity, (Harding 1986).

However, since such claims to epistemic privilege in philosophy of science require robust theoretical underpinnings -clarifying who exactly, over which subjects, by the virtue of which categorical features and through which means have a superior social positioning to produce knowledge.

Therefore, feminist standpoint approach is also known as a bunch of theories having unique perspectives on society and subject (for a brief discussion of the theoretical approaches within standpoint epistemology see, Braidotti 2003).

conceptualized gendered operations in social, professional and private life of women elementary school teacher as organized by a gender regime and an accompanying gender ideology, this study, too, sides with feminist critical realism.

> "… there are deep social structures, the discovery of which is key to our understanding of gender relations. These structures are not necessarily visible or immediately knowable. this approach contrasts with both positivist and standpoint epistemologies. Systematic study and scientific analysis are necessary to uncover these structures, which are emergent properties of social practices. They contain a duality of both structure and action (Giddens 1984). The theoretical project in this book is realist, in the sense that it is engaged in an identification of the underlying structures of social life. However, I do not think we need to make the distinction between necessary and contingent structures of a social system in the way that Sayer (1984) suggest, since patriarchy is an open social system which can take a variety of forms" (Walby 1990:19).

Those three scholars argue that with the de-industrialization, rise of service sector, consumption culture, and neoliberal policies, social world and relations have been re-organized; social class markers and references started to disappear from the identity accounts of the people from all classes. People no longer identify themselves with their work roles but tend to adopt identity references from practices of consumption and life style, thus through the popular technologies of self. However, in the meantime "life" becomes a matter of success and failure at each front for the individual. Ever increasing insecurities and discontinuities in work life causes inescapably recurrent "failures" and calls for therapeutic and self-managerial solutions. The person becomes a managerial project for herself. However, such a capacity itself demands resources in the form of economic, social and cultural capital. Hence, only middle class is capable of a sustainable self-management in subjectivities. In that sense, neoliberal subject, as well as being managerial, is a middle-class self. Feminization, in the literature, is used to point out the decline of class identities and the dominance of new type of self-management qualifications being all typically associated with femininity, like flexibility, emotional labour, and self-surveillance.

Scholars, on the other hand, indicate that this analysis on the rise and decline of class identities is itself gender-biased. It portrays a class-conscious subject in the image of a male industrial worker of old times, while representing conservative working-class subject in working class women of the same period. Similarly, with feminization of identity politics in neoliberal times, the same conservative quality of working class women is hinted as the cultural phenomenon that has been generalized. Skeggs (1997) aptly argues that class signifiers on working class women only emphasize class-envy instead of class-consciousness and militancy due to inherent sexism in the society and its replication in the theory. Women's moral decency is evaluated looking at her sexuality and they are counted as respectable (even though working class) only if conservative in sexualities. However, when respectable, thus conservative in sexual inscription of body and presence, this time, they are considered as conservative, thus not class-conscious, envious of middle class domesticity. As such, working class women face double subordination, their identity is not passing neither in middle class nor in working class worlds in macro cultural politics.

Other non-positivist feminist approaches include feminist constructivism and deconstructivism. Feminist constructivism is based on diverse analyses over the nature and power in production of gender difference and indicates that gender needs to be reproduced. Its aspiration lies in meso or micro level analysis depicting how reproduction of gender difference is achieved. Feminist poststructuralism or deconstructionism turn to the level of symbolic, representational and investigate production of gender difference in wider socio-historical frame.

Inspired from the Marxian understandings of bourgeois ideology, feminist scholars have suggested a patriarchal ideology embedded in immediate realities and perceptions of social life (Walby 1990a). As to capture this ideology with patriarchal qualities and functions, women's self-experience was considered as focal entry points. This approach is named women's/feminist standpoint.

Coming a long way to our times, discussions on feminist standpoint approach has had to deal with the problems of the nature of women's experiences, how to employ those experiences which were apparently already registered in the patriarchal counters. Thus, those experiences are always already inscribed by patriarchal forces. This question overlies the *problem of ideological* in standpoint theories. Furthermore, women's experiences were both manifold in their contextually unfolding presentations, and difficult to reach as lived realities (Stanley, 1990). This is the *problem of epistemology* in standpoint theories. But do we really need to reach at the exact lived reality of women's experiences, of their original times of living or peel off the patriarchal forces surrounding, grounding and informing those experiences and their presentations?

For instance, Hartsock (1983) says, yes to this question. She follows a clearly Marxian schema of knowledge production when she offers her "feminist standpoint" approach. Looking from the point of view (derived from the experience) of subordinated was the principle tenet of her methodology. However, hers was not women's but feminist standpoint, since bare experience of women was accepted by her as determined by their subordination and close to being devoid of any emancipatory power. Smith (1997), in addressing this problem of constructed-ness of women's experience, takes a different stance. She furthers the analysis of Hartsock by suggesting a re-formulated version of "women's standpoint" approach. She points out that experience is never an unmediated category. It always reflects the power structures and political entanglements; and re-presented with different dimensions in different contexts. For her, rather than being a handicap, this constitutes an opportunity. Enunciating this point, she offers the concept of *actuality*. She argues that experience is always a local knowledge of everyday life

(of various women). What all those knowledge(s) need to live up to is a working and active engagement with the (patriarchal) social world. She elaborates that the notion of " location", underlying the standpoint theory, does not mean conceptual coordinates marked by the theory but living and communicational contexts of the informants and researchers. As such she argues that,

> "As I use the term, actuality is not defined. The notion of "actual" in my writing is like the arrow on the map of the mall saying "You are here," that points in the text to a beyond-the-text in which the text, its reading, its reader, and its concepts also are. It is, so to speak, where we live and where discourse happens and does its constituting of 'reality'" (393).

Hence, women's experiences in actuality are located in social space, so are the researcher's. Opening up those experiences requires placing them in the social space properly. Those experiences would then speak for their *actuality, regardless of* they are true or not or whether they are reproductive of patriarchal structures or not. Actualities of social space is produced not solely by experiences per se, but reflections, presentations, representations, desires, projects, and ideologies relating to those experiences. Those elements are not distortions but inseparable from the actual nature of the realities we are looking for.

Ideology can be defined as orderly and coherent set of beliefs, ways of interpretation and commensurate attitudes that are shared by a group or by whole of the society and which reproduce the essential categorizations bolstering institutionalized power and privilege inequalities[81]. In the case of this study, gender ideology of elementary school teaching is the mental and behavioral templates shared by the members of the occupation and by the entire society approving women's becoming teachers and simultaneously contributing to sustenance of gendered divisions structuring the occupation in its existing patriarchal organization. As such, not only occupational practices, ideologies and institutionalization, but broader social regulation of gender relations are included in production of the gender regime and ideology of teaching.

[81] This definition of ideology is based on the discussions of Eagleton (2006) and Gerring (1997) on ideology.

As Witz (1990) argues in many of the cases, individual occupations are dominated by either men or women; or men and women specialize in different fields in the same occupation (but men always tend to occupy the more privileged niches). Occupational identities, cultures, and ideologies of the occupations are, similarly, gendered in complex ways and at multiple levels. Ideologically, the requirements, qualifications, ways of doing, and the types of authority in an occupation is put into connection with assumed gender characteristics (Connell 1987). Elementary school (ES) teaching, as well, is gendered as the role is likened to mothering and thus associated with women, and women have high rates of representation in the occupation at the world scale. In Turkey, less visible a gender association of the occupation is the case, and a more limited feminization has so far taken place. Still, gender regime of the occupation is identifiable: women are invited into modesty, self-sacrificial dedication and in-person responsibility, demonstrating disinterest towards politics and monetary matters, especially personal finance, flexibility for adapting to changing social environments of work are the typical expectations from the teacher figure and those characteristics manifest themselves as gendered and gendering norms in concrete situations. (c.f. Grumet 1981; Steedman 1985; Acker 1989; Acker & Feuerverger 1996) For example, when interpreting the diverse socio-cultural pressures, commonly experienced in rural and provincial settings for being a young single woman, women could easily argue that they had to adjust and make sacrifices from their ways of life, as teaching necessitates such an approach: adaptation to the local context. However, *not challenging / adapting to* the local cultures has strict gender bearings; and in many cases men teachers enjoy larger range of exemptions. Furthermore, as elaborated by Walkerdine (2003) institutional demands for flexibility are itself gender-specific enterprises.

Individual women, women teachers are, of course, far from solely being victims of the gendered occupational regimes and ideological assumptions. Their stories include more than an ideological achievement of the related cult of femininity scripted in the ideology; but also the story of negotiations, tensions, false associations, difficult and contradictory performances of embodying the woman teacher role. Moreover, the field, along with the whole societal project of classical

modernism, has been undergoing a radical process of change everywhere in the world and in Turkey, for the recent couple of decades (Ünal 2005; Demirer 2012). University level teacher education, urbanization of the identity, and neoliberal restructuring have come to be the main themes of scholarly discussion (Apple 1996; Hargreaves 1994; Lawn&Ozga 1986) since 1980s. Women's stories would give clues about the gender schema of this change process, as well as how the codes of feminine modesty and proper public engagement are being changed within neo-liberalism and late modern phenomena of urbanization and mass provision of university education, in the example of gender regime of the ES teaching profession.

4.1.2. Studying the Research Problematic through Life Story Interviews

This study aims to understand the elementary school teaching in Turkey with its gender regime, impacting lives of women from different generations; and thus, targets to capture the women's experiences in the occupation as meaningful, structured and generative *stories*, that are resonating within the gendered and generational outlook of the occupation. Here, not the reality nor the pure subjectivity, but women's orientation to the reality, through making sense of the outside reality from her situated-ness is desired to be identified. In life story, as well, women produce stories and meanings, which make sense for the others due to the shared reality and phrases of interpretation employed and which creates a sense of identity for women themselves and the listening others. Life story interview constitutes a rewarding data collection technique, for its sensitivity towards subjective, reflexive and story-wise accounts of the experience. Life story narrative as a genre (Chanfrault-Duchet 2002) necessitates conceptualizing the narrative as reflective of primarily habitus of the narrator (than the material reality or her pure subjectivity)[82].

[82] The relation between self and the outside reality is structured in the habitus, habitus being a person's "socialized subjectivity" (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992, p. 126), knowledge in action, sense of normalcy (Webb et all 2002:XII), durable and transposable dispositions enabling answering to changing situations through general matrices (McNay 1999). Here, women's habitus would have developed through learning the rules of their respected field ES teaching, in getting adapted to, negotiating and embodying the rites, rituals, conventions, dispositions of this field (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992).

Life stories are accepted to narrate the lived relation between women's self and the social world at large. They do this by the help of the narrative modality of telling about one-self and for the narrative framework based on setting a past-present trajectory (Riessman 2001). They reinforce the perception of being herself, under naturalizing and authenticating effect of the sense for having a history and depth in the personal past / self (Stanley 1993).

Life stories, on the other hand, not original and unique in their individuality; but critically reflect the social world/experience and the hegemonic ideologies of their times. Michielsen (2002) mentions that " a combination of social reality, current ideology, personal capacity for remembering, language and cognitive mapping dictates the life-story" (183). Thus, life stories of different generation women would show how the experiences of women in teaching are changing, along with material reality and operative ideologies.

Apart from designating the routes of change, life stories as personal narratives would picture the occupational conditions as they seem to women than they are described in patriarchal stereotypes. Having a critical account of women's habitus through life stories, the research would get the chance to approve or debunk the popular assumptions, related with women teachers' "feminine" subjectivities, like that women choose teaching out of natural feminine love for children; women get exclusive spiritual satisfaction from teaching work; normally women love each of the children in their classrooms sincerely and equally, and others.

In teaching, all the questions about occupational practice, philosophy and ethos, gender matters have already been asked and answered in several institutions and media; and those questions and answers are so canonic that it is difficult not to get caught in their overarching matrices. Concepts, terms and forms of interviews were so overwritten that they could be treated only as common heuristics than personal meanings. It is possible to read them at personal level in their contexts and modalities of narration only if research do not restrict the interview format to

traditional question-answer fashion[83], provide an extensive modality of narration and emphasize the personal dimension strongly. This research study employed life story interview method for data collection, moving out from this concern; reasoning that, life story interview would give women the narrative authority[84], an extensive and affirmative enough[85] interaction space for them to story themselves and teaching, in personal meanings beyond the cultural clichés.

In fact, those are also the principles of feminist research in designing the relation between researcher and research participant women: empowering women as informants (knowing subjects), building a thrust relation (interactive production of knowledge) and being reflexive on the impact of interview interaction (Stanley, 1990; Reinharz, 1992; Smith, 1997). This is elaborated by Haraway (1988) in her suggestion towards accepting the research as a part of the social reality under research and being ethically and politically accountable to feminism and feminist research, they are being the systematic guides followed in managing research interaction.

It must be accepted that, life story interview does not target capturing the "true" events of the past or "true" selves of women (Chanfrault-Duchet 2002). Women's stories do not necessarily represent the true events of their individual past; nor are

[83] Riessman (2002) discusses the traditional interview methods with respect to how they are ineffective to catch the personal contexts within which the meanings on particular subjects are produced. In common conditions, where the question does not appeal to the understanding, feeling and experience of the interviewee, she mentions, interviewee offers stories, actually refusing to comply with the interview convention for answer-question form. Therefore, she comments, stories should be encouraged to be told though designing interviews in open ended schemes and in a way accommodating a story-wise narrative, rather that going after parts and pieces of truths.

[84] Narrative authority is the precondition for an individual informant to provide a narrative account of an experience, without totally giving in the demands of the audience, thus public expectation.

[85] The only ethical and activist target for a feminist interview relation is this *affirmation of the narrative and the woman narrator* by the end of the interview. Rather than equality, empowerment is relevant, since interview relation depends on inevitably unequal positioning of the parties, researched and researcher. As Gleshne and Peskhin (1992) elaborates there are differential and unequal interests of the researcher and the participant from the interview and they cannot be equals of the process. However, effectiveness in satisfaction of the both parties may be sought and this satisfaction on the part of the participant is generally the affirmation of the person and her narrative performance.

they necessarily truly realistic presentations of their subjectivities and identities. Life stories are selective reconstructions of the past. They reconstruct self and identity in the milieu of a 'representable' personal past in terms of social norms, common understandings, cultural cannons, and available narrative tools they interwove. Furthermore, they include self-reflection, interaction with audience, and fictionalization motivated by *desire* just like all types of identity representations. Thus, they can be read in their **actuality**, as a part of a universe of socialized subjectivity and as a working orientation in the social world (habitus) but not as the personal reality per se. Hence, life stories communicate the social reality as it has been interpreted and acted upon by the storyteller; show how social reality, identity and self are practically integrated. This knowledge is related with the social world than the individual subjective reality of the person.

Life stories include an understanding of the social world, which has been differently habituated and acted upon by different women. Since life-stories are also contingent performances (given in a context, time and place, setting of interaction and upon a motivation) they are available for analysis of that **common "social"** –layered by categorical differences and inequalities-, rather than diverging personal and individual truths (Chanfrault-Duchet 2002). This common "social" term in this study is elementary school teaching as a context of gendered experience and identity development. Following from the same point, a proper interpretation of life story narratives for an understanding of a field in its gendered scripts, calls for a **proper contextualization** of the life-story narrative in the field, and with respect to its historical grounding and cultural specificity.

Langellier (1999) suggests that the stories we tell about our lives are the performances of our desired identities. Since storytelling assumes a personhood in the author, narratives always include the identity performance of the author. Those identity is not simply represented but formed and re-formed in the story telling practice, as the identity, self, and self-story is not fixable, but multi-layered, enabling variations in their performances. Performances are always determined by the partiality and contingency of the identity involved and the desire as the

facilitating force behind it. In reference to Goffman (1981) Riesmann (2001) also reminds that

> (G)ender identity is performed, produced for (and by) audiences in social institutions. To emphasize the performative element is not to suggest that identities are inauthentic, only that they are situated and accomplished in social interaction.

As mentioned by Mishler (1986), in his seminal work, researcher does not find narratives but participate in creation of them. This collaborative relation is quite dynamic and complex. Researcher introduces a series of frameworks and conventions to the narrative. Relation between the researcher and narrator traverses the entire narrative, flow, change and create macro patterns. Narrator organize her story around the interests of the research and in recognition of researcher's personal and institutional positions vis a vis the research subject, the field in concern. Furthermore, the generic social encounter templates positioning both parties according to their gender, age and other salient social identity references come in. Mattingly (1998) argues that in order to adequately capture and reflect on those complex interaction between researcher and the narrator, interview should be conceptualized as an experience, an experience getting inseparably interwoven with the experiences of the narrator, research aims to reach. Interview in this vein, is an experience, performance and achievement for both parties.

It was a generic problem, for a feminist researcher, how to position herself vis a vis the women she interviews. Haraway (1988) argues that we should accept that it is impossible to get detached from the researched while it is also impossible to be her. *Passionate detachment* must be the principle in interactive settings, revealing both our difference and relation at the first place. Since we can know the other (women) only partially and contextually, and temporally, and the other is always plural like us, we can only have partial knowledges about others. Researched as well, have every right to give only a partial look into her than her entire reality. This is a politic and ethic principle beyond being a practical limit in research encounters and data development in feminist research. In a similar vein, Haraway (1988) argues for a politics of positionality, in which we should adopt a position which is not fixed in

identities but *fixed in social space*. Therefore, we have to be accountable to politics of research not having refuge in the auspices of feminist solidarity.

I tried not to project *sameness* as the imaginative form of relation between me and the women I interviewed, though I sought for strategies of for making it an open relation, equally important for both parties. Here, I cared to emphasize the multiple-layers of my identity as a researcher, social scientists, intellectual, educator, young women, urbanite to facilitate them in constructing their stories via referring the dimensions of relations they wish and forefront either our shared sides or the divergences.

4.2. Research Design and Data Collection

This research project was planned in the first half of the 2010 and interviews were conducted in the second part of 2010 and during the year 2011. Research targeted to reach and cover, the diversity of the general profile of women ES teachers among the interviewees. In defining diversity, general categories of work place, age, education, and work status are determined.

Covering geographical differences in service places of women along the spatial polarizations of East-West, Rural-Urban, Center-Periphery turned out to be crucial in order to capture the realities of women upon the pilot interviews. Moreover, as I have observed during the field research women teachers were directly categorizing their experiences according to the socio-economic formation of the settlement and neighborhoods they worked. In the social history of Turkey, too, teaching has been understood to have different social missions and meaning different work engagements for teachers, depending on whether they work in the urban or rural, west or east, rich or poor provinces, towns and neighborhoods (Akyüz 2008).

Including spatial diversity in the research necessitates a multi-place research design and therefore travel for the researcher. In sum, 13 provinces were chosen, among them two (Silopi and Şarköy) being districts than cities. In Diyarbakır and Kars, teachers from the village elementary schools are also reached as interviewees. In

cities, center and periphery schools are tried to be equally represented. Meanwhile, in order to better understand school relations between women teachers, a number of women working at the same school are particularly targeted. In Antalya, Silopi, Malatya, more than one women working at the same school are included among the interviewees.

Table 6. Interviews by the Provinces

Provinces	Number of Interviews
Ankara	8
Antakya	4
Antalya	5
Çorum	3
Diyarbakır	3
İstanbul	5
İzmir	1
Kars	5
Kastamonu	2
Malatya	3
Şırnak/Silopi	5
Tekirdağ/Şarköy	3
Trabzon	5
TOTAL	52

4.2.1. Interviewee Profile

In this study, design of the interviewee profile was not an easy task. This profile had to reflect the diversity in work geographies, educational backgrounds, employment statuses, and the age groups/generations of women elementary school teachers[86]. However, there was also an important advantage, the respondent interviewee selection could draw upon: Compulsory service system, tying the first appointment place and later changes in teachers' service places to strict rules, resulting in a geographical pattern in age-education type-employment status couplings for teachers[87]. Thus, compulsory service system was already resulted in young teachers

[86] By the year 2010, the number of women teachers in primary schools in Turkey have reached 252.729 and this number is 232.948 for men. Women primary school teachers make the 54 percent of teachers in urban primary schools and 48 percent of those working in the rural Turkey.

[87] This field is regulated by the Directive on Assignment and Relocation of Teachers (Öğretmenlerin Atanması ve Yer Değiştirmesi Hakkında Yönetmelik, 06.05.2010*).
* Later changed again on 17.04.2015.

or those having their hometowns in periphery or those working with a temporary status at the periphery and the older ones with urban familial origins and tenure-track employment status in the center.

Elementary school teaching has always been a traveling task; and only a few women could enjoy the chance to serve in their hometowns and/or at urban settlements at young ages. Compulsory service system categorizes service places into more and less developed, more and less desired groups and places younger teachers in less developed and less desired places (lately depending on their grades in the central appointment examination, KPSS (PPSE)). Less desired places are villages, small towns, underdeveloped provinces and Eastern provinces ailing from poverty and the risk of armed political conflict.

Thus, the geographies of work largely overlap with the age groups of teachers (younger at the periphery, older in the center); with their education type (university graduates at the periphery elementary teacher school graduates at the center) and lately with their employment status (tenure track teachers in the center and temporary status teachers at the periphery). Consequently, KPSS (PPSE) generation and temporary status teachers were concentrating at the rural and provincial schools; while tenure track teachers were distributed evenly at the time of the interviews.

Therefore, the research design targeted to evenly include the less and more preferred service provinces in selection of the interview provinces, assuming that criteria of selection for provinces/schools would guarantee proportionate representation of age groups and women with different employment statuses.

4.2.1.1.Places of Interview

What has characterized the elementary school teaching policy in Turkish practice, more than any others, has been the assignment system for teachers. Turkey, unlike

a number of Western countries (USA and UK)[88], had introduced a unified public education system early on and this move aimed to provide standard education to all school age children and central level administration of the entire education institution. For years, elementary school education system has quarreled with the problem of expanding the school system to rural periphery and tried to solve the problem of teacher shortage at the periphery, first by instituting separate schools for training of village teachers and then by anticipating some years of compulsory service for the early work years of teachers (after closure of Village Institutes in 1954). Apart from the periods of serious teacher shortage (and teachers were coming from other educational formations than teacher training and assigned to the places they wished), that compulsory service model necessitated elementary school teachers to start their work lives in rural areas, particularly in villages.

Before abandonment of the pre-faculty level teacher training systems in 1974, teachers' compulsory service places were determined by casting lots. In that system, applicant teachers were all assigned since teacher supply and demand were in a relative overlap. After 2000, however, the number of new graduates, applying for teaching positions, exceeded the state demand for teachers and a need for a selection system showed itself. Use of public employee assignment exam (KPSS (PPSE)) for selection of teachers among all the applicants started at that context. Obligatory service system was also anticipating some grades for each service year, according to the level of disadvantage of the service place. Therefore, teachers could be assigned "better" places only after collecting enough scores[89] having spent enough time in the periphery.

[88] In those countries shift to mass education was accomplished in a more decentralized school system in which municipalities were responsible to administration and finance of the schools.

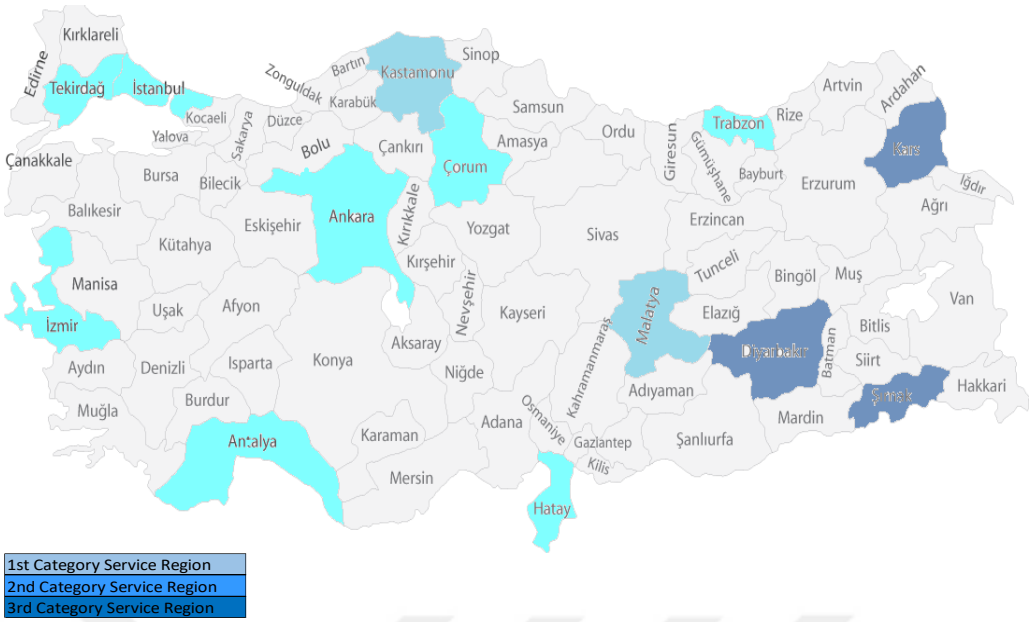
[89] See the details of the system in the Ministry of Education's regulation on Teachers's Assignment and Mobility (Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Öğretmenlerin Atama ve Yer Değiştirme Yönetmeliği): For 2010,
http://www.turkegitimsen.org.tr/konsol/upload_doc/mevuzuat/zorunlu_hizmet_alanlari_cizelgesi_2010.rar, Reached at, March 2 2015.
For 2015 (draft):
http://egitimgundem.net/milli-egitim-bakanligi-ogretmen-atama-ve-yer-degistirme-yonetmeligi-taslagi/
Reached at, March 2 2015.

Interviewee selection was made to include the provinces, that could be accepted as center and periphery, equally. In the below map, the numbers on the provinces shows the categories of service class, 3 and 2 constituting compulsory service provinces and 1 the center provinces in 2010. Darker colors indicate 3th category of service places (Diyarbakır, Kars, Şırnak/Silopi), moderate blues show 2th category of service provinces (Malatya and Kastamonu), and light blue show the 1th service places (Ankara, Antalya, Çorum, Hatay, İstanbul, İzmir, and Tekirdağ)[90].

One particular consequence of this appointment system is the concentration of younger teachers at more peripheral and rural places, they are being classified as areas of compulsory service; and older teachers in urban parts of the provinces they had been moved from obligatory service regions having completed the required duration. Still this distribution has been impacted by the fact that themselves being obligatory service regions, in the Eastern provinces, it is easier for teachers to meet the criteria and move to urban centers of those provinces.

Making use of that geographical distribution of teachers, an even age distribution is achieved in the general interviewee profile. In addition to those pre-retirement active group of teachers, a group of retired women teachers were interviewed, as to include the older generation who were generally retired by 2010. Those retired women were chosen mainly from Ankara.

[90] In 2010 regulation, there are 43 first degree service provinces, 22 second and 16 third category service provinces in Turkey.
http://www.eokulegitim.com/dogu-gorevi-sayilan-okullar-zorunlu-hizmet-bolgeleri-meb-2011/
Reached at, March 2 2015.



MEB, Provinces by their compulsory service status

Picture 1. Interview Provinces by the Service Status

4.2.1.2.Education type

As can be seen in the Table 2, ages of women interviewees are quite evenly distributed into 10-year- intervals by their birthdays.

Table 7. Interviewees by Birth Years

Birth Dates of Interviewees by Decades

Date Interval	Number of Women
1949	1
1950s	13
1960s	12
1970s	14
1980s	11
1990	1
TOTAL	**52**

There are a number of age cohorts among the interviewees, that can be differentiated according to the corresponding conditions of ES teaching profession (education, assignment, urbanization, regulation of work) of their period. It is possible to roughly categorize those age groups into generations –for the practical objectives of the study- according to changing teacher education and assignment policies: Pre-

faculty education generation, faculty education generation and KPSS (PPSE) generation.

(1) Pre-Faculty Education Generation is the last generation of trained by the pre-faculty teacher education institutions that long had been used. They are also the last generation who lived the period of serious political conflicts in which teachers also took place as an organized group. Being the oldest group active in teaching they have the longest experience enabling them to compare periods corresponding to different phases for implementation of neo-liberal policies.

(2) Faculty Education Generation brings together those teachers who started working as teachers at a period determined by admission of faculty education criterion for teachers and assignment of other faculty graduates in mass numbers. As such, theirs is the initial phase in implementation of neo-liberal reform agenda

(3) KPSS (PPSE) Generation graduate as teachers in a period of increased admission grades for education faculties; escalating assignment problems and teacher unemployment. As well as mounting number of education faculties graduating ever bigger number of teachers, neoliberal restructuring policies over the occupation have restricted the number of teacher assigned annually through introducing temporary positions, closing village schools and intensifying teachers' roles and thus workloads in schools.

First group includes the women who had their teacher education at high school level elementary teacher schools till the year 1974. To this group, it is logical to add the women who graduated from later coming education institutes and higher education colleges (between 1974 and 1992). This is basically because those higher education schools are also pre-faculty level institutions and provided free boarding school facilities. Therefore, during their period, ES teacher education had maintained its attraction for lower classes, being a relatively short and low-cost educational formation. Furthermore, in spite of the fact that with the regulations introducing education colleges and institutes in ES teacher education, the governments of the

time were primarily aiming political intervention and pacification, cadres (apart from managerial cadres) and occupational ideologies of those new institutions were not radically altered. However, it must also be added that especially in the late 1970s, different types of accelerated training programs for teachers were put into place; because teacher education schools were unable to graduate their students due to fierce political conflict (Akyüz 1987).

In 1992, with the introduction of university education criterion for ES teaching, school teacher education departments started to be opened one after another, later to cause uncontrolled rise in teacher supply. Some of the higher education colleges were converted to Elementary School Teacher Education departments of education faculties.

Faculty education, though might have been considered as a factor of status rise in teaching occupation, has conversely been a source of disempowerment in teacher education institutions. This is because they have lost their already limited autonomies after transference of the authority of administration from MEB to YOK (in 1982). Faculty education was standardized in curricula, in 1982, through a centrally determined education program delivered by YOK to the faculties. After 1997, within the scope of the outputs of the WB Project for in Service Training of Teachers, YOK made the last touches to that program. In the Program, the courses on educational sciences, like education history and philosophy were omitted from; and field and teaching courses started to dominate the curricula. Such a policy is interpreted as serving to equation of teacher training to technical education and treatment of teachers as technicians by the education administration (Ünal 2005). Meanwhile, standardization in curricula also cleared the way for production of teaching materials, including textbooks and teacher handbooks, by the YOK commissions, formed specifically for this task. Later, this inclination towards using standard support material would lead into use of teacher guide books in replacement of previous model based on teachers' preparing individual plans of the education terms on daily and weekly basis; and thus would restrict the skilled role of teachers in education further, further widening the gap between conception and

implementation. That standard teacher education program of 1997 was revised in 2007; and in 2010 respectably. Though still restrictive, elective courses were allowed to be inserted in the curricula by the faculties. Although with introduction of faculty education, it was expected that the scientific and intellectual basis of teacher training programs would be improved, neither educational science courses nor the general arts and science courses have occupied a satisfactory space in faculty teacher education programs, nor Faculties have become independent institutions with academic authority.

Table 7. Education Faculties Over the Years

Year	Number of the Ed. Fac. Opened	Year	Number of the Ed. Fac. Opened
1987	1	2004	1
1992	11	2006	8
1995	4	2007	4
1997	4	2008	5
1998	6	2009	5
1999	5	2010	8
2000	3	2011	5
2001	2	2012	2
2002	4	2014	2
2003	1	2015	4
TOTAL		**85**	

1990s, as the decade where faculty generation of ES teachers have had their educations, were also known for huge number of recruitment from other university and faculty graduates into the occupation. In overall, between 1924 and 1989, teacher education institutions had failed to give graduates 7 years with intervals, in sum. However, only in 1998, approximately 41.000 other faculty graduates were assigned as teachers. Thus, during 1990s as to compensate for the teacher shortage incurred by the renewed criteria of the ES teacher education, big number of other faculty and department graduates was assigned as ES teachers, too.

That generation of teachers has not lived any serious assignment problems at vehemence encountered by the KPSS (PPSE) generation ES teachers[91]. Partly for this reason, traditional interest of lower and lower middle classes for ES teaching continued. However, for a long time, academic quality of ES teacher education continued to be debated and kept its quasi-vocational education stigma. Second-generation women have faced the restructuring policies concerning teachers' assignment, performance assessment and school managements after having already spent their early years in the occupation.

Table 8. Assignments over the Years, MEB Statistics

Years	Assignment Ratio of ES Teachers Taking KPSS (PPSE)
2007	41,6
2008	35,8
2009	35,9
2010	65,5
2011	45,7
2012	1,9
2013	16,8
2014	35
2015	23,6

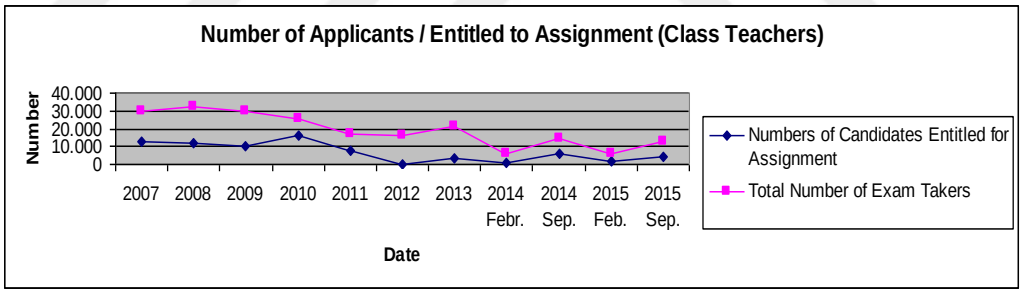


Figure 1. Number of KPSS (PPSE) Exam Takers and Achievers for Classteacher Candidates along the Years
Source: MEB Statistics

Women from the last age group -KPSS (PPSE) generation- has faced increased admission grades for ES teaching departments in spite of the growing number of

[91] Teachers are assigned according to some central examinations since 1985. Between the years 1985 and 1991, this examination was the Proficiency Exam given by Ministry of Education (MEB Öğretmen Yeterlilik Sınavı). Since 2001, however, Proficiency exam has been replaced with Public Employment Examination (KMS in 2001 and KPSS (PPSE) since 2002) of the OSYM (Student Selection and Placement Center) (Yüksel 2004).

faculty departments and mounting assignment problems[92] roughly starting from 2000, when the KPSS (PPSE) exam was first used for teacher selection. KPSS (PPSE) is a typical eliminatory examination, where rather than qualifications, targeted number of teachers to be assigned determines who passes the exam and who does not. KPSS (PPSE) examination have become ever more difficult a barrier due to increasing number of unemployed teachers and new graduates.

The Figure 2 clearly shows that in spite of the fact that class teachers are the most crowded group among the candidate teachers who have attained the right for assignment; since 2007, the ratio of assignment has not gone above 65 percent (2010 figure); but could go down to 1.9 percent in 2012 -due to new arrangements in obligatory education duration and primary education system in general (known as the 4+4+4 system) which shortened elementary school period to 4 years, turning at least 1/5 of the already in service elementary school teachers redundant. Many of the elementary school teaching department graduates have changed their fields into minor specialization areas for a couple of years from 2012 on.

In 1990s, for the first time, important neoliberal restructuring projects have fully emerged through introduction of temporary employment types for teachers and school personnel, privatization, and quasi market organizations of school

[92] Assignment problems of Education Faculty graduates are not limited to KPSS (PPSE) examination. Latest regulations anticipated performance assessment for the teachers at their apprenticeship period. April 2005 Ministry of Education Circular on "Teachers's Assignment and Relocation" issued a condition of positive performance assessment of school management for those teachers who have completed their first years in the occupation.

TEDMEM 2015 Education Assessment Report summarize the steps to be taken to be a teacher in Turkey as follows (56):
(1) Graduation from an education faculty / Completion of pedagogical formation certificate training program
(2) Getting the grade enabling them to be assigned to a position from KPSS (PPSE) exam (General knowledge, General abilities, Educational Sciences, Teaching Field Knowledge)
(3) Attaining the ranks of those in the pre-determined assignment quote among the teachers applied for assignment
(4) As a candidate teacher being successful in three assessments organized within the context of performance assessment
(5) Passing the "Permanent Status Exam" (/ Asli öğretmenliğe geçiş sınavı)
(6) Passing the interview exam which is organized in cases deemed necessary by the Ministry

managements and teachers' work, altogether discussed with the term "new-managerialism" and "educational reform agenda" in the related scholarly literature (Ozga 1995; Demirer 2012). Central budget allocations for investment in education have gone down significantly (MEB Statistics)[93] and private education institutions have started to enjoy several incentives and contributions from the state[94]. In 1999, a Regulation for implementation of the 1999 Law, anticipating standard rules of teacher employment in schools and education regions was issued. This regulation is commonly known as Norm Staff system, determining the number and title of teaching staff that is optimal and officially accepted to be employed in each school and education region centrally. This system was complemented with a "quality control system" that had already been under exploration through the MEB-World Bank "Curriculum Laboratory Schools Project" (As a part of the overall World Bank assisted Improvement of the National Education Project-1992) and establishment of the Directorate on Assessment and Development of the Ministry Management in the body of Ministry of Education (Yönetimi Değerlendirme ve Geliştirme Dairesi Başkanlığı) instituting a specialized administrative structure in the bureaucracy.

In parallel to Norm Staff system, a total quality control management (Kalite Kontrol Yönetimi) regime has been developed (1999 Ministry of Education Regulation on Total Quality Management) and school-level management of staff and finances were accepted. In connection, School Improvement Management Teams were ordered to be formed by the schools with participation of teachers, School Family Council representatives, civil society and chamber representatives as to plan the management of the school for consecutive years. Apart from the management teams, work groups, primarily led by teachers, were to be organized. In those groups, teachers have been held responsible for fundraising and other financial-technical resource development for specific tasks, renovation, cleaning, cultural activities and

[93] Tezgiden Cakcak (2015) summarize that from 2002 to 2014 investment budget of MEB was reduced down 9,32 from 17,18 and household expenditures on education was risen fourfold.

See MEB Statistics on Formal Education (for investment expenditures of state on education), http://sgb.meb.gov.tr/www/resmi-istatistikler/icerik/64

[94] See TEDMEM reports on Education at a Glance,

others. Teachers have been subjected to new performance assessment systems (which is expected to be better clarified with National Teacher Education Strategy Document drafted in 2011 but not legislated yet). They are justified on the grounds of ongoing projects for determination of the standards of teaching work and teacher qualifications (2006 MEB General Teacher Qualifications Document). Some other control systems like the hotline for complaints about teachers, ALO 147, have aggravated the pressure on teachers and despite the claims for harmonious internal relations in schools through TQM (Total Quality Management) systems, relations of teachers with managers and parents have gotten more contradictory and tense. Meanwhile, with the 2004 law, school-family councils were allowed to organize as legal personalities and this was crucial for their, thus their schools', engagement with commercial activities.

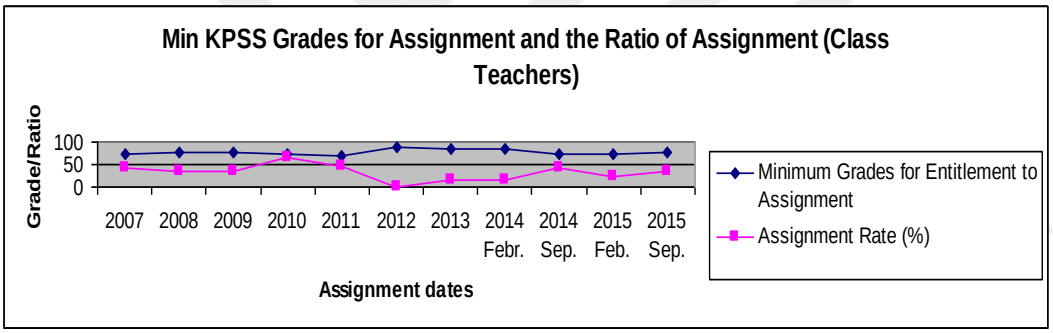


Figure 2. Minimum KPSS (PPSE) Exam Grades for Assignment and the Rate of Those Entitled for Assignment by Years for Schoolteachers

This period is also characterized with accelerated feminization in student profile of the education faculties' ES teaching departments and in the occupation. In Turkey, feminization of ES teaching is a rather laggard phenomenon, compared to its Western contemporaries and presents a similarity with generally Arab and South and Middle West Asian Countries. This is intriguing, since Turkey accepted the rule of mixed education at a very early time (1926-27 education period) and there seems to be no readily identifiable reason for this laggard feminization in the occupation.

Therefore, the socio-historical particularities of Turkey and Turkish education system deserves to be examined with that aspect, too[95].

Table 9. Women Representation over the Years, MEB Statistics

Years (%)	1980-1981	1990-1991	1995-1996	1999-2000	2000-2001	2001-2002
Women's Representation - Primary School Teachers	40,7	42,4	43,6	..	43,8	44,1
Years	2002-2003	2003-2004	2004-2005	2005-2006	2006-2007	2007-2008
Women's Representation - Primary School Teachers	43	44,9	46	46,8	48	..
Years	2010-2011	2011-2012	2012-2013	2013-2014	2014-2015	
Women's Representation - Primary School Teachers	52	53,2	57,8	58,2	58,6	

Women's representation in school teacher education departments has presented a significant rise in the last decade. According to Higher Education Council (YOK) statistics, women were 40.5 percent of all the students in 1995 while the ratio has risen to 54 in 2000, and after a slight decrease in 2005 (51.7) have reached 66.3 in 2012-13 education year. Following table shows the continuing increase trend via figures of the new admissions, total number of the existing students, and graduates of Education Faculty, "Training of Teachers at Basic Levels" section, by gender. Those numbers and ratios show the numerical developments in feminization of education faculty student profile.

[95] This late and slow feminization is generally considered to be connected with continuing interest of rural lower-class men to the occupation. Since the occupation had long been open to entering of high school graduates during the time of elementary teacher schools (till 1974) and then also sporadic assignments for other department-faculty graduates have continued, ES teaching has been a decent chance for unemployed to enter into professional life. Considering that industrial employment for men have not been expanded on a par with the Western countries, ES continued to have a relative charm for men with limited job alternatives. Additionally, since the occupation have long necessitated extensive terms of service in the rural and in the villages, women have not been that willing to enter the occupation.

Table 10. Women in ES Teachers in the World by Regions and Years

Regions	1991 (%)	1999 (%)	2007 (%)	2011 (%)	
	% F	% F	% F	Sum	% F
North America and Western Europe	80	82	85	3.801	84
South and West Asia	31	36	45	...	...
Latin America and the Caribbean	75	77	78	3.079	78
Central Asia	85	86	86	340	89
Central and Eastern Europe	82	83	80	1.127	82
Arab States	52	52	59	1.931	57
Sub-Saharan Africa	-	43	44	3.190	43
East Asia and the Pacific	48	55	60	10.355	63
Turkey	42,4	43,8	48		53

Source: UNESCO Institute for Statistics database (UIS) database; EFA Global Monitoring Report Team calculations as for the pupil/trained teacher ratio & MEB Statistics

Women's representation in undergraduate students have been on constant rise as well. In 1983, %36 of the undergraduate students were women and this rate increased to %43 in 1999 and %46 in 2016 (Higher Education Council, YÖK Statistics). However, in education faculties numbers were further in favor of women and on a more rapid rise.

Table 11. Women in Faculty Students, New Admissions and Graduates, 2014-2015 Education Year

Education Faculty, "Training of Teachers at Basic Levels"	Number of Men	Number of Women	Percentage of Women in Total
New Admissions (2014-15 Education Year)	6.033	15.061	71,4
Total Student Number (2014-15 Education Year)	39.186	69.731	64,0
Graduates (2013-14 Education Year)	1.058	2.192	67,4

Source: Higher Education Council, YOK Statistics Statistics

In the third quarter of 2015 the numbers related to students and teaching in Education faculties' staff has been as follows:

Table 12. New Admissions in Education Faculties, 2015, Higher Education Council (YOK) Statistics

Number of Students	Number of Units	**New Registration**			**Student**		
	92	**M**	**F**	**T**	**M**	**F**	**T**
Faculty of Educational Sciences[96]	2	163	438	601	731	1.537	2.268
Faculty of Education	90	14.783	34.333	49.116	73.329	143.767	217.096
Percentage		30,1	69,9		33,8	66,2	

Table 13. Education Faculty Academic Staff, 2015, Higher Education Council (YOK) Statistics

Number of Teaching Staff	**Professor**			**Associate Professor**			**Assistant Professor**			**Faculty**		
	M	**W**	**T**	**M**	**W**	**T**	**M**	**W**	**T**	**M**	**W**	**T**
Faculty of educational sciences	14	26	40	10	12	22	16	34	50	4	4	8
Faculty of education	496	246	742	728	388	1.116	1.758	1.341	3.099	579	450	1.029
Percentage (F)	65,2	34,8		64,9	35,1		56,3	43,7		56,2	43,8	
	Instructor			**Specialist**			**Research Assistant**			**TOTAL**		
Faculty of educational sciences					6	6	15	43	58	59	125	184
Faculty of education	44	37	81	28	39	67	1.110	1.433	2.543	4.744	3.935	8.679
Percentage (F)	54,3	45,7		38,4	61,6		43,3	56,7		54,2	45,8	

[96] Educational Sciences Faculties are the oldest Faculties in the field, not aiming to educate teachers but to conduct academic-scientific studies over the subject of education. In fact, "educational sciences" is largely accepted as the core academic field and teacher training is considered as only a subfield than actual work area of Educational Faculties. In 2004, Seçkin Özsoy, Sabri Güngör, Ahmet Yıldız and Neşe Ünal called a discussion over the issue with a declaration titled, "Let's re-think educational sciences". They claimed that teacher training schools and educational sciences faculties ought to organize in separate institutions, since "educational sciences" defines an academic field whereas teacher training is an occupational area of training in the existing system. This separation is particularly important in view of the recent institutionalization of Education Faculties as institutions solely instructing the centrally given curricula for teacher training. Authors interpreted such an institutionalization as part of an agenda which aims to reduce teaching into a technical occupation and education as a technical area of educational practice, not requiring intellectual and academic organization; thus as both deskilling teachers and seizing the intellectual authority of educational sciences in academia in the name of autocratic bureaucracy -YOK (Ünal et all 2004).

Those figures show that lately emerged acceleration in feminization phase in the occupation is likely to be continuous one in the coming decades.

Table 14. Wage Levels of Teachers (1) by School Grades and Years, DPT (State Planning Organization)[97] Statistics

	Primary School		**Tertiary School**		**High School**	
	Wage + Salary		**Wage + Salary**		**Wage + Salary**	
Years	TL	$	TL	$	TL	$
1938	20	20	40	40	50	50
1950	35	33	45	42	60	58
1960	350	40	400	45	450	50
1970	-	-	-	-	-	-
1980	12020	171	13216	188	13936	199
1982	22477	157	26669	186	2801.9	195
1984	36604	124	38366	130	40130	136
1986	60280	104	70071	Oca.21	72411	125
1988	150350	148	161577	158	201417	197
1989	503633	235	507361	236	515461	240
1993	4350000	312	4450000	318	4550000	322

Purchase power of teachers has seriously deteriorated especially following the period of 1965 and then 1975, justifying the theses of status loss, impoverishment and proletarianization. Especially the post-2000 period, in which teacher supply exceeded demand and temporary positions were introduced, decrease trend in the average wage level has been striking.

Table 15. Wage Levels of Teachers (2) Along Years, by Purchase Power Parity

Years	**Avarage Wages of Teachers / Price of Republican Gold**
1960	18,50
1965	28,6
1975	9,2
1980	1,5
1993	5,9
1997	5,2
1998	7
2001	3,5
2004	4,3
2005	9
2012	2,8

Source: http://www.okulsoru.com/2015/07/yllara-gore-ogretmen-maaslar-ve-alm.html, June 2015.

[97] Organization turned into the Ministry of Development in 2011.

Consequently, changing conditions of education, assignment and service in the ES teaching enables identification of three different generation of teachers. First, pre-faculty education generation were educated and assigned according to the traditional systems of the 1970s. Then with the advent of reform projects, developing through, first, introduction of faculty education, and then, full employment of neo-liberal restructuring policies, realities of the occupation have significantly changed. Those, experiencing this restructuring at later phases of their work lives, faculty generation and the KPSS (PPSE) generation, present important generational differences, as well.

Table 16 Generations of the Interviewees

Generation	Number of Teachers
Pre-Faculty Generation	23
Faculty Generation	16
KPSS (PPSE) Generation	13
TOTAL	52

Table 17. Third Generation by Employment Status

Employment Status	Number of Women
Paid	4
Contract	6
Permanent Status Teachers	3

Temporary status teachers, though constitute a small number among the interviewees of the research, have apparently been concentrated in disadvantaged regions and in villages: Paid teachers, interviewed in this study, were working in villages school of Trabzon, Kars and in Antakya/Samandağ. Another woman works in a special education center in İzmir-Aliağa. Contract teachers was working in Kars (3), Şırnak/Silopi (2) and Diyarbakır.

As has already been shortly referred, in making the interviewee selection in a conducive way for the purposes of the research, there were a number of challenges depending on changing institutionalization of elementary school teacher training in

Turkey. First of all, teacher training model in elementary school teaching has been on a constant change between 1970s and 2010, during the time span this research has covered in women's life stories. Training was being provided in post-secondary high school level special teacher education institutions till 1973. Meanwhile in 1970, those elementary teacher schools, was accepted as equal to normal high school education. This change was important over the profile and initial motivations of the students of elementary teacher schools, for they had acquired the chance to continue their education in universities upon this arrangement. Thus, students of elementary teacher schools were no longer losing their chances of furthering their education and shifting to another study field in the university. As the history of teaching in Turkey is full of stories about girls, going to elementary teacher schools to have a *golden bracelet* (occupational certificate to be used in cases of contingency) this move was particularly important (Öncü 1981). Teacher education, equalized to normal high school education, would gain in its golden bracelet quality for girls and this was crucial for their orientation to the education and occupation of elementary school teaching.

In 1973 some of the 89 elementary teacher schools, serving throughout the country, were converted to vocational higher education schools giving 2 years education; and in 1989-90 education year, they started to give 4 years education. Graduate education criterion for elementary school teachers was issued with the Higher Education Council decision in 1989.

Teacher education has been raised to faculty institute, vocational high school and later to faculty degrees. All those changes meant lengthening of the teacher education period. For the traditional elementary school teacher candidates, the lower classes, each change has postponed some more years their starting in wage-work and constituted bigger burden for their families. Introduction of faculty education in 1989 was especially critical since it denoted a rupture from an educational model depending on the free boarding school provision. Those, thus, are the important developments possibly impacted the class composition of teacher education students.

The other thing has been the sporadically issued legal arrangements enabling atypical teacher education models and assignment of other faculty graduates as elementary school teachers. In 1970s remote education model and in 1978 rapid education model (45 days) were implemented since teacher schools were unable to continue their education due to intense political conflicts (Akyüz, 2008: 35). Shift to faculty education and lengthening of the education duration have constantly caused teacher shortages, which in turn managed by assignment of other faculty graduates as teachers. All along the 1990s and especially in the year 1998, a big number of appointments from other faculty graduates took place and that continuing assignment model making science-literature faculty graduates eligible for application has similarly resulted in their being a significant group in teaching work force.

This constant change and the intervening atypical models of teacher education have resulted in a mixed profile in elementary school teachers in terms of educational formation. Abazoğlu et all (2014) refers to the 2012 data of MEB on teachers and presents that, of all teacher workforce; 52 percent are education faculty graduates, 14 percent are science and literature faculty graduates and 22 percent are other faculty graduates.

Interviewees of this study, in parallel, includes elementary school teachers with a wide range of educational formations. In line with the age group composition, 14 of the 52 women are elementary teacher school graduates; 7 are vocational school of education and 2 are education institute graduates.

Table 18. Educational Formations

Education Institution	**Number of Women**
Elementary Teacher Schools	14
Education Institutes	2
Education College	7
Faculty	29
TOTAL	52

Of the faculty graduates, 17 women are graduates of Education Faculty Elementary School Teaching Departments and 12 women are other faculty-department graduates. The latter has entered in the occupation upon chances temporarily granted to faculty graduates to become ES teachers in 1990s[98].

4.2.1.3.Employment Status

As a rule, during the period of elementary teacher schools, and vocational higher education schools, newly graduated teachers had been asked to make a number of preferences for their first service province and been placed in one of them. For a certain period, village institutes and elementary teacher schools had served together (till 1952) and educated teachers for urban settlements and villages on parallel and separate tracks. After closure of village institutes and abandonment of separate training of village and city teachers, compulsory service system was adopted to distribute teachers to villages and less desired regions and schools. Pre-faculty period teachers had the compulsory service of 1.5 years for each year they studied in free boarding teacher education schools (Uygun 2010).

The first year, teachers started to be assigned upon their exam grades is 1985. However, that exam, Qualification Exam for Teachers, was a qualification exam than a eliminatory one and although other faculty graduates were also competing with teacher school graduates on the same terms, teachers were evaluated on teaching and field knowledge. The exam took the name of Exam for Public Employees in 2001 and finally in 2002 it was re-named as the KPSS (PPSE) (Assignment and Placement Examination for Public Employees / Kamu Personeli Seçme Sınavı) and merged with the central examination given to choose public employees in various fields[99].

[98] But for the science and literature faculty graduates, entry in the occupation has near always possible upon their completion of a short graduate program on Pedagogy.

[99] For the science and literature faculty graduates, a post graduate degree condition was introduced but they have continued to be assigned as teachers, most notably in 2001 KPSS (PPSE) exam without post-graduate degree in pedagogy was sought.

Recently, new employment schemes have been introduced for teachers. In those statuses, teachers can be assigned, depending on their KPSS (PPSE) grade, to either conventional tenure tack positions, or as *contract teachers* on annual basis (though the contracts are generally renewed) or assigned by regional MEB directorates and/or schools on the teaching-term basis as *paid teachers*[100].

After introduction of KPSS (PPSE) exam condition and temporary employment statuses for teachers and in the face of the reality of mounting teacher unemployment, the political debates have focused on assignment problems. As indicated by Demirer (2012), with the increasing intensity of the unemployment problem for teachers, other employment options like private schools, private education institutions (dershane) and special education institutions have, though not that desirable, become commonplace.

4.2.2. Interviews

Life story interviews were conducted during the second half of 2010 and first half of the 2011. Research included 1 to 5 interviews in each province. Regarding the interviewed teachers, diversification was targeted as far as possible, according to the criteria of age, service-district and hometown of the interviewed women teachers. In places with limited diversity, in terms of hometowns and age, the number of interviews was decreased, sometimes limited to only one interview. I have reached the first interviewee in each province through my own contacts in Ankara. With the other interviewees in the same province, on the other hand, I got into contact with the reference of the first interviewee or the people already reached in the province prior to the visit. Doing this, the risk of covering only one social circle of teachers is tried to be minimized. In some cases, the most typically in Antalya-Kepez and Silopi interviews, I chose to interview a couple of women

[100] Legal basis of those temporary teaching positions is the MEB (Ministry of Education) Decision for, Part-time Temporary Employment of Teachers from Particular Field in the Provincial Organization of the Ministry and the Wages to be Paid(Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Taşra Teşkilatında Öğretmen İhtiyacının Karşılanması Bakımından Alanlar Bazında Öğretici Görevinde Kısmi Zamanlı Geçici Personel İstihdamı ve Bu Personele Ödenecek Ücretlere İlişkin Karar), which was published in the Official Gazette 2005 September 10.

teachers in the same school, because of the striking diversity observed between teachers in the first school and to test and understand the particular dynamics at work in the schools at the city periphery, serving to marginalized populations in both cases. In those particular cases, the school in the Kepez district of Antalya was educating children of Roman families and Silopi the poor children of the Kurdish natives and the latter was also an area of serious danger of armed conflict.

Interviews were designed in the format of semi-structured in-depth interview. Before beginning with the interview, I informed interviewees that by this research, I aimed to obtain their life stories and was primarily interested in their teaching experiences. Hence, interviews usually started with asking about the women's life stories starting from their childhood and developed accordingly with questions where felt necessary.

Life-story interview being a semi-structured in-dept interview type tackles with the common problematics associated with feminist interview enterprise: contextuality of the experience (of women interviewed and of the interview as a shared experience between researcher and women), power asymmetries in the relation between researcher and women and others. In-depth interview in feminist research practice reflects an understanding about the nature of feminist knowledge and about the way women's experiences may be thrived as research data. Complexity of the knowledge in its contextuality and interactive (re)production inflicts some difficulties in the interview process, like the tasks of acquiring a thrust relation[101] between the researcher and research attendant women, cultivating a self-confidence on the part of the latter for narration, working through the power asymmetries of diverse kind between two parties. On the other hand, proper handling of those issues is the only way to reach at women's realities within the context of a feminist research endeavor. As Reinharz (1992) emphasizes, what makes feminist research distinctive is its

[101] Thrust relation is indispensable basis of the interview method. Thrust means an open relation, not informed by another agenda than that is acknowledged. Thus, rather than equality in research relation between researcher and the participant, it denotes an honest presentation of the research project and researcher to the participant. This point is important, since a fantasy of a thoroughly democratic relation between parties may cause covering of differential benefits parties can obtain from the interview and addressing of the power inequalities involved in interview and data (Kvale 2006).

special approach towards the process of knowledge development through adoption of long abandoned principles of interaction and empathy. Therefore, interaction, while rightfully being a complication, is actually the basis of feminist knowledge production. Thus, interview as an interactional setting and as an experience getting involved in the very experiences told by women, necessitates acknowledging how interview interaction has developed and which reflections that interaction would possibly make in the data.

Life-story interview, on the other hand has some distinctions vis a vis the conventional in-depth interview. First, and the most important distinction of life story interview in this study is that life story interview invites the interviewee to provide personal and experiential knowledge. Provided that teaching and being a (woman) teacher are the popular public subjects surrounded by a normative universe determined by the common believes about teaching and requirements of being a good teacher, it is crucially important to reach personal and experiential dimensions. This is vital to portray women's experience of the field instead of reiteration of the prevalent clichés. Furthermore, since I conceptualized the ES teaching as a complete gender identity instead of a professional identity for women, life story interview helps making the first-deemed-to-be secondary connections of different life courses and fronts with the teacher identity.

Life story interview provides an extensive space of telling, articulation for the interviewee since it delves into personal experiences; and for the very same reason, it grants the interviewee with a significant authority over the process. Because it was based on stories, structures of meaning are better presented in life story interviews. Meanwhile the historical background would be reflected in the interview accounts. All those qualities are crucial assets in this research and life-story is deliberate choice in the research design. This is because, in studying a field like teaching, seriously full of commonsensical convictions, norms of political correctness and clichés, it is pretty difficulty to reach the personal experience, making a way out of commonsense and impersonal statements. Difficulty of life story interviews lies at their very same quality rendering them superior to semi-structured in-depth

interviews: Convincing the interviewee to tell about her life, herself, including personal dimensions. Thus, thrust relation is a must.

Arranging the interviews, introducing myself to the interviewees, were one of the most difficult parts of the research process. In this research, however, moving through the references of common people, opened the way and set the initial thrust relation between me and the interviewed women. Another advantage of mine was teachers' obvious sympathy towards the entire education institution and the researcher's being a research assistant working on her thesis at the time. Furthermore, I was studying sociology and the traditional social concerns of teachers could find a ground of articulation in the typical issues teachers bring along upon learning that I was a sociologist. In a sense teaching and sociology had a family resemblance in their subjects of work.

In the interviews, I was asking the questions if needed, thus if a subject is skipped in the account of the narrator. Following this method, I paid attention women's narratives to include below themes as a check-list:

1. The perceived relation if any, between family background and early orientation to teaching,
2. Education and the status and distinctions of teacher education,
3. Family and other agents impacting educational orientations and teaching,
4. Education and personal development/empowerment relation and approaches towards experiences of personal independence during high or higher education period,
5. Perceptions on relevance of gender in teaching work and profession
6. Approaches and values in teaching as an occupation
7. Diversity of teaching experiences across the divides of rural-urban, periphery-center schools, life periods
8. Relations with parents,
9. Attitudes towards career promotion,
10. Marriage and motherhood practices

11. Woman teacher image and their interpretations

Teachers' initial idea that, I would evaluate education policy in my work had apparently invoked enthusiasm in some women and reservation in some others. Therefore, upon the explanation that I would work life stories of women teachers and try to understand status and gender patterns in the occupation, created mixed reactions. Some felt relieved and mentioned this, since they were "actually anxious and not really that interested in politics" and some others felt sorry for not having the ground for the comments they had planned to make (on education policy, cultural deterioration, status loss of teachers and other issues). In each case, however, I caught them by surprise and luckily not met with any serious foot-dragging to give an interview in view of the openly changed subject of it. This may be because it was sympathetic (though in some cases challenging) to be asked about their life story, about themselves.

Still, a number of interviewee women resisted to talk about their "private lives" or give an account of their life stories and mentioned that they don't remember many things and they were not really apt in telling about themselves. When such a resistance emerged, I tried to convince them that I would help them with my questions and their accounts did not need to be literary products but ours was a conversation and so long as we talk to each other and understand each other, that was enough. Those women's resistance was not related with their seeing interview as a waste of time. On the contrary, they approved the claim of this study that giving a life story narrative (making a self-representation) was requiring having some cultural talents (language, storying...) and was taking place in the power invested -highly classificatory- field of self-representation (Steedman 1989; Skeggs 1997). They were not feeling capable, authorized or ready enough for such an experience, since apparently providing an account of oneself as a life story is something serious for them being teachers. That was directly related with their seeing this interview as a part of their performance as educators, and desire for not to make a ‘mistake’. Such was the depth of their association with the educator identity and thus difficulty in personalizing this highly normative field.

Interviews lasted 1,5 to 2,5 hours and interviewee women's initial hesitations disappeared gradually in the course of the interview. Furthermore, my biggest advantage was making a life story interview, not solely focused in teacher identity and allowing them to an important symbolic venue to set their stories themselves. Women did feel in their worlds, in their jurisdiction at an increasing level, as we go through.

4.2.3. Socio-Economic Profile of the Interviewees

Different generations of women interviewees in the research present no serious variation by their father education level and their father occupational status. In all age groups, lower and lower middle class socio-economic profile is poignant. This is characterized by predominantly high school graduate fathers, employed in state administration, elementary school teaching or in public industrial enterprises. In fathers' works, public employment constitutes another dominant characteristic of the interviewee profile. Thus, interviewees are generally daughters of public employees. Mothers' average educational level is primary school. However, mothers' education level present striking increase from older to younger generations.

Table 19. Mother and Father Education

Mother/Father Education Level by Numbers		
Education Level	**Mothers**	**Fathers**
İlliterate	2	1
Literate	3	3
Primary School Graduate	30	10
Tertiary School Graduate	9	8
High School Graduate	8	21
Higher Education Graduate	-	9
TOTAL	52	52

Mother and father education levels differ dramatically while mothers are as a rule housewives and fathers are generally public employees and industrial workers (in public industrial enterprises), petty traders and primary school teachers.

Table 20. Father Occupation

Father Occupation, Numbers	
Father Occupation	
Public Employee	20
Industry Worker	7
Petty Trader	6
Elementary School Teacher	6
Own Account Worker	5
Farmer	4
Small Enterprise Owner	2
Professionals and Managers	2
TOTAL	**52**

In the younger generations, however, mother education level raises to high school, although only in faculty and KPSS (PPSE) generation mothers seem to have paid work engagements.

Table 21. Mother Occupation

Mother Occupation by Numbers	
Mother Occupation	
Primary School Teacher *	3
Industrial Worker	1
Nurse	1
Tailor **	2
Farmer	1
Housewife	44
* One of those teachers had quit teaching after a couple of years' practicing.	
** Although asked to reveal the invisible paid work engagements of mothers, only two have	

Women primary school teachers have multi-child parental families. Average number of children in the families is 4,2. Majority of the families have 3 (13 families), 2 (9 families) and 4 (9 families) children.

Families have preponderantly countryside origins (43), women having spent at least the early years of their youth in villages or towns. Parental families have then moved to more urban places at least one time (40). Especially in the oldest generation, this move is necessitated or facilitated by children's education. Sons and rarely daughters

might be sent to towns or cities for high school or higher education and in time families generally moved to those settlements, too, in a couple of years. Thus, it seems education of children is critical in rural to urban mobility of (public employee) families, especially in the pre-faculty education generation. Some families have travelling public employee fathers and hence travelled more often (14 families). Fathers being employed in the public and state administration sector, have work conditions enabling for geographical mobility, allowing them to ask for relocation in another city.

Table 22. Occupations of Brothers and Sisters

Occupational Status	**Number**
Non reportable	7
A	15
B	18
C	12
TOTAL	52
A: At least one professional & manager & state officer	
B: Teachers, petty traders and public employee status dominate	
C: Housewives and low skill, own-account-workers dominate	

The generation of women, they are being represented by the women, their sisters and brothers, has attained slightly better occupational status than their fathers as given in the Table 18, indicating a slight upward social mobility across generations. However, women's education and occupational status have presented a sharp upward progress vis a vis their mothers.

In sum, majority of the parental families of women primary school teachers have rural origins, high number of children, lower status father occupations, and slightly better father education levels. In those families, fathers are generally state officers and primary school teachers; thus, low or middle level public employees; mothers are housewives and as a rule have no occupations due to poor education levels. An evaluation based on father occupations by women's age cohorts indicate no

significant increase in the social status of families (of women elementary school teachers) since 1960s[102].

In the faculty generation, there is a tendency for the families to send their daughters to the university in their hometowns. This turns out to be a pretty strong inclination since 15 of the women have gone to same province university and 5 of them to the closest university due to familial preferences for their not leaving hometowns completely.

Table 23. Location of the Higher Education

Province of Last Level Education	Number of Women
Same province with the family	15
Different province	18
Closest province	5
Boarding school	14
TOTAL	52

Women's housing arrangements during their higher education period shows that student house sharing has not become a noteworthy alternative to dormitories.

Table 24. Housing Arrangement in University

Housing Arrangement	Number of Women
boarder	17
dormitory	17
student house	3
family home	15
Total	52

Of the interviewees, 25 women are married, 11 divorced, 14 are single and 2 have lost their husbands. Divorced women are evenly represented in the pre-faculty and

[102] This socio-economic profile of teacher families are in line with some other studies inquiring the same point. Among them the one with the biggest research sample is of the Okçabol and Gök study, known as teachers' survey (1998). Research sample covers 259 teachers and school managers from 19 cities. Questionnaire was applied to both men and women teachers working in different educational levels, thus not limited to primary school teachers. The study indicates that most of the teachers have lower class rural families according to the father's occupation criteria with women teachers' families presenting slightly better status. In almost all cases, fathers' education levels are overwhelmingly higher than mothers' and mothers are as a rule housewife.

faculty generation. On the other hand, in the older generation, divorce after considerably long duration of marriage is the rule, whereas in the younger generation, marriages that would end up with divorce has lasted for comparatively shorter time.

Table 25. Marital Status

Marital Status	**Number of Teachers**
Single	14
Lost her Husband	2
Divorced	11
Married	25
Total	**52**

Interviewees are married to generally elementary or high school teachers, professionals or public employees. For only a limited number of women, husband occupational status is higher than that of father and in general a continuity is observed.

Table 26. Husband Occupation

Women Elementary School Teachers by Husband Occupation, Number	
Professional	8
Public employee	5
Technician	3
Primary school teacher	11
High school teacher	7
Low status own-account-worker	2
Petty trader	2
Single	14
Total	52

Interviewed women, if any, prefer to have 2 children and generally have two children. This constitutes a significant generational fall in average number of children compared to their parental families. In the first generation, children have university education and highly professional or managerial occupations as a rule. In the second generation, educational and professional achievement of the children are not that significant regarding the occupational paths they have taken.

Majority of the women mentioned their desires to move to a more metropolitan city, as big cities accommodate better opportunities for education of their children. Thus,

the motivation for moving to more urban settlements because of the institutional needs of children's education seems to be the continuing theme.

4.3. Narrative Analysis

Life story is a type of personal narrative. Personal narratives are rich materials and any research, drawing upon life stories as their main material, at some point face the issue of making generalization out of the dense but not-representative stories at hand. Discussing this problem, Maynes, Piearce and Laslett (2012) present the arguments of pro-narrative research scholars:

> However individual the evidence base, most personal narrative analysts who are social scientists or historians aim to generalize in some sense by claiming that an individual story either speaks to **a broader social experience or positionality** or **illuminates a symbolic framework** or **a historical event**. (Maynes, Pierce & Laslett 2012:128)

This study takes up the issue of identity and experience of becoming and being ES teachers in the life stories of women from different generations. While doing this, it elaborates the focal importance of the field of ES teaching in re-production of the broader social structures, norms and imaginations on women's place in the society; due to the empirical fact that ES teaching has come to be one of the paradigmatic occupations deemed ideal for women in both normative and practical terms. As such, it is claimed that there is a close relation between the dominant gender ideology in the society and the gendered experiences, roles and identities prescribed in the field of ES teaching. Therefore, broader social structures and operations of patriarchy are addressed via an analysis of the distinctive gender ideology of the field. In this design, life stories of women are resorted to as actualities, producing and reproducing this gender ideology in actual life situations -habitus and praxis of women. Hence, life stories are introduced as indicative of *broader social structures*, and generalizations are offered through their analysis, depending on this theoretical framework.

At more practical level, as well, personal stories are difficult to analyze. One problem is connected to the ethical concern for doing justice to the individual narratives, each of which include precious personal knowledge and stories.

Representing narrators and narratives with their independent individualities is not always possible or desirable for the objectives of the research; although entire process of eliciting personal stories creates a tacit expectation and desire in the researcher towards deciphering the individual and personal depth of each single story. Informants and readers may have a similar expectation, too. However, when researcher have a large number of stories at hand, in-depth analysis of individual cases is difficult; and it becomes problematic to present and analyze the data in convincing ways. The primary strategy in analyzing those narratives is to make a comparative study over them via categorizing narratives and narrators through some theoretically-informed criteria.

In such cases, relevant in this study, successive steps for analysis would include categorization of stories and narrators according to theoretically informed criteria and then making a comparative analysis over their variations based on research problematic.

In this research on women ES teachers, categorization of the narratives and narrators is made through delineating different generations among women, according to the decisive changes taken place in the Turkish ES teacher recruitment system (elementary school teacher education and assignment), as they have produced significant variations in the profile and possibly in experiences of women ES teachers. Women who had taken their teacher education in pre-faculty institutions, constituted the oldest generation in the research and their life stories have extended back to cover the period of 1970s and 1980s. Second generation are formed by faculty graduates of the 1990s period. In 1990s, both education faculty and other faculty graduates were the new entrants of the occupation and the demand for ES teachers were well exceeding the supply. Post 2000s period, on the other hand, was marked with serious and progressively escalating assignment problems for teacher candidates; and this grave picture would later be complemented with introduction of temporary and insecure positions in teaching and employment status differentiation between teachers. In this schema, periodization roughly divides the time episode of the study into three: pre-1990s, 1990s and post 2000 period. Here,

generations are accordingly differentiated between those starting their teaching lives in pre-1990s, in 1990s and post 2000 period.

In terms of socio-economic realities of the occupation, those periods present crucial differences which reflected in women's life stories. In historical terms, this division corresponds to a shift from classical-welfare to neo liberal regulation of education and teachers' work, and from modern to late modern institutionalizations. Hence, the categories are formed around an account of social change. Therefore, after properly contextualizing this period of change on the sociological ground and with related particularities, the primal way of analyzing the data is to make a comparison between different generations of women elementary school teachers and identifying *continuities and change*. This method, is qualified as *cross generational comparative analysis*, as it depends on comparing the experiences of different generations over a subject (Riessman 2008). Therefore, a study comparing the life stories of women teachers from different generations could be conducted, focusing on the major issues of the research subject, being an ES teacher as a woman:

1. Teaching as a life trajectory; thereupon constructed social and gender identity

a. Childhood and youth orientation to teaching: A pedagogy for lower classes and/or women?

b. Self, Status and Identity within the context of Teacher Education: Direction of change from the times of elementary teacher schools to the period of mass provision of university education and gender identity formation through public experience contexts

c. Social Status of Teaching, Identification and Dis-Identification: From de-professionalization to proletarianization, changing framework of the decline narratives

2. Gender Regime of the Occupation: Relevance of gender in relation to teaching work, gendered divisions, categorizations and ideologies; and thereupon developed gender identities and gendered subjectivities of women

a. Teachers' Work: Scope and organization of the work, career understandings of women in change.

b. Balancing work: teacher women's perceived virtue in the form of ability to balance work and family

3. Being ideal women with public respectability and private eligibility: family front of the gender regime of the profession

a. Marriage: Being "ideal" wives and arranged marriages of pre-faculty generation and love marriages in faculty generation

b. Motherhood: Shifting values of good mothering and growing suspicion over the taken for granted advantages of being children of teacher families

c. Divorce: Divorce as a type of arrangement on family relations in the earlier generations and as break up in the faculty generation

Cross-generational-analysis is used, in order to understand commonalities and divergences, as patterned by primarily generational differences. Within this context, the major change trends in the policies on and regulation of the occupation -thus education institutions, assignment and relocation policies, employment conditions, status perception, changing parameters of professionalism and professional practice- are presented as they appear in the stories of women and women's experiences and identity work have been the primal focus against this background.

As to understand the elementary school teaching as a gendered work and life organization, the following chapters examine the social status, professional and private realm experiences of women in their own narratives and identify the intergenerational continuity and change trends. Based on initial claim of this work that the gender regime of elementary school teaching does not only regulate the professional work and identity of women, but extends into other realms, social and private lives of women. Chapter V looks at the narratives on social status positions, mobilities and life trajectories associated with teaching as they appeared in different generations and tracks the consequences of changing social status of teaching and the mobilities involved, for the way women from the younger generations experience teaching and construct their identities. Chapter VI focuses on the professional gender regime of teaching and how it operates through gendered divisions, categorizations and ideologies, together with intergenerational patterns of

change and continuity. Chapter VII puts women's work-life balance efforts under scrutiny and investigates whether women are really able to be balancing champions and their lives are examples of harmony between work and family roles, as endorsed by the gender ideology of teaching.

CHAPTER 5

TEACHING AS A LIFE-TRACK: ROOTS & ROUTES IN THE PROCESS OF 'BECOMING A TEACHER'

Main aim of this study is to identify the patterns of change and continuity in the proper womanhood cult represented by women ES teacher figure in Turkey, based on the contemporary transformative trends of feminization, neo-liberalization and urbanization in public elementary school system and teaching. Doing this, it is claimed that changing parameters of gender politics in Turkish society can be captured in its intersections with the institutions of public education and teaching work. This is because, it is argued, as a historical venue of women's earliest and massive integration to public life of education, work and profession, and still accepted as the ideal job for women, ES teaching constitutes one of the few distinctive public institutions where gender politics of the broader social context is crystallized, negotiated and reproduced.

Following chapters cover the main themes and story lines suggested by women in their stories of "becoming teachers", "teaching as a professional engagement", and "teaching in the social and private life experiences". In each chapter, the plot is designed to present generational differences and continuities. In line with this preference, the life periods and themes are demonstrated as they are prioritized by a certain generation and then compared and contrasted with the related accounts in the stories of the other generations.

What is your life story being a woman elementary school teacher? This is the question asked to the women at the very beginning of the interviews. Framings of

the life stories, expectedly, turned to present a significant generational pattern in terms of the life periods covered and specifically focused and in terms of the major themes involved, in storying, thus making sense of, teaching. Those patterned differences, continuity and discontinuities, clearly indicates that first, teaching does provide a common experiential and interpretative framework to women from the same generation and second, although teaching maintains its status value for women in general and looking at the macro indicators; the story of teaching, the way as a medium it structures the relations between women and the social world has pointedly changed.

Following sections examines the stories of women from different generations focusing on the critical periods and themes in their life stories, suggested to depict how they became teachers and where teaching stands in their lives. For the first generation, childhood and early youth is suggested as the critical period in shaping of the educational and occupational orientations, thus as the formative years for themselves as teachers. For the second generation, generally the stories of education take hold. For the third generation, stories on assignment, employment and unemployment, thus later stages of life course, are more focused upon. Sections of the chapter, therefore, are organized to discuss those life periods in terms of the qualities rendering them critical in the women's life stories of women from different generations, in generational and cross-generational patterns.

5.1. Pre-Faculty Generation: Becoming a Teacher

For the first-generation (pre-faculty generation) women, the story of teaching covers a story on becoming teachers and starts from the childhood and family stories. This is mainly because, growing up in the rural Anatolia and moving to the ranks of urban educated classes is the main plots of the entire life story, connoting with a public ideal of modern mobilities; and teaching clearly appears as the very organizing principle of those cannons for their period.

This chapter commits to address the basic questions surrounding the issue of the relation between the women's gender identity and teaching. Since majority of the first generation women and some women from the second generation, insistently suggest childhood and youth as the reference periods to begin with their stories on teaching, this first section inquiries into how the relation between the women's gender identity and teaching is suggested to have developed within the context of women's childhood and youth stories -thus narratives of growing up- in the Turkish experience: How do women present themselves in their personal origins, through narrative construction of their childhood and youth? What type of femininities are projected in those stories? Do the narratives on gender identity converge or diverge in a patterned way along the generations? What is the significance of those narratives regarding gender consequences of the cult of "woman teacher as a social type" in the Turkish case?

It is a common conviction in our cultures that girls find early grades teaching charming as a future engagement. Nevertheless, evaluation of the data of life story interviews in this study indicates that: the women who later became teachers do not present themselves as *feminine* characters right from their childhood as a causal term for their then becoming teachers, in contrast with the suggestions of the romantic fiction of the occupation (Cortina & San Román 2006)[103].

In the stories of all three generations of women, being girly and feminine in disposition during childhood and youth denote a negativity. As canonic as it appears in the stories of women, frequently appearing theme of tomboyish and dutiful orientation to education indicates that women considered the education and occupation as a means to leave behind the *particular femininities* they were born

[103] Being among the noteworthy curiosities driving the research from the beginning, the gender meaning of the expression, teachers immediately provide if asked why they preferred teaching -especially elementary school teaching- for "already loving children", therefore is not straightforward and transparent as it first seems. Considering that many men alongside women teachers give that answer and in a very direct and intuitive manner, loving children is not indicative of women's maternal and feminine callings who are not holding the majority in the occupation. On the contrary, it is a more complex and near gender-neutral social construction that calls for a more detailed investigation.

into in their childhood localities and they pursued strategies of suspending the gender identity to this aim. In their stories, *feminine leanings* in childhood and youth is an impediment than an enabling term for *future achievements*. First generation women, thus, present themselves as victorious for not having been trapped in their gender identity, and for having moved beyond it by becoming teachers. However, in the stories of younger generations, teaching could mean falling back to the initial feminine references they once achieved to get over -through education- and a complication for the individual identity or a pragmatic settlement.

When asked about their personal stories on teaching, pre-faculty generation women and some members of the younger generation turn back to their childhoods and born families as the reference period in their narrative. These are the most extensive 'becoming teacher stories' in terms of the length of the life period narratively covered and the discursive power of the themes involved in referencing teaching. Teaching is constructed, in their accounts, as a natural consequence of their upbringing and early character development in the family. It, thus, is a type of life orientation building upon early character development inputs. This perception of teaching stems from the fact that the childhood and early youth of those women, as a rule, take place in the country -Anatolia- and the mobility they afterwards had off to the education and the urban is the critical life events of the stories and teaching and it is teacher training schools that had enabled this mobility. For many of the members of those early generations, the narrative on *the rural girl having a chance to education and occupation through teaching and teacher education* is quite strong. Teaching and rural-to-urban movement through education, therefore, appear as interchangeable terms. Not surprisingly, typical stories on teaching are stories of success.

In those stories, family values and childhood and youth orientations do not express classical feminine values of being loving, nurturing and domestically oriented. Instead, hard work, orientation to literary world of study and reading or sometimes masculine tasks and explicit dis-identification with typical feminine roles and characteristics are at the forefront.

Master frame embedded in the narratives of the first -pre-faculty education-generation presents a cognitive map of the social world which is largely accommodating and enabling for women in exchange of initiative, heavy effort, and moral commitment to life plans on the part of them. Education is the primary institutional medium of this exchange and women presenting a dutiful behavior, feel that they could change their lives by education. Narrative opposition between locality-country-hometown and center-urban-metropolis and the mobilities between, read as the transposition of the imagined relation between self and society (Chanfrault-Duchet, 2002), overlap with the life courses which are sequenced in a developmental path and culminating in women's becoming teachers.

Women's narratives indicate that elementary school teaching is a respectable occupational alternative for the daughters of progressive and upwardly mobile families of the Anatolia. For women, being teachers proves their morally correct and intellectually sophisticated orientations carried right from their childhood and born family. Their life stories tell a lot about the importance of reaching education, even though some openly indicate their resentment for not furthering their education in normal high schools or in university. Women's narratives on elementary teacher schools, similarly, approves the educational gospel preaching that education is the primary means of change at personal and societal level, later to feed their ethos in their teaching lives.

As such, women invest on the established narrative of their period on "women teachers", bringing together the main building blocks in the narrative, enlightened families, commitment to modern ideal of education and disciplined study. Still, their stories also describe how their realities included somehow controversial elements like families settling for only teacher education but not normal high schools and university education for their daughters, elder sisters dropping out earlier than small sisters to take up supportive roles in the family, and how their education in elementary teacher schools were different in their time than they were in their classical age.

5.1. The Motto of "growing out of town" and "duties of life"

For the first generation of women elementary school teachers, villages and small rural towns are common childhood settlements. Second generation childhoods, in large majority, are settled in towns and non-metropolitan cities. At the background of the rare cases of village childhoods in the second generation, lie stories of poverty and orphanage.

Teachers from both pre-faculty and faculty generations, despite some exceptions, live their childhoods in non-metropolitan settlements, thus in *the country*. Although the time span between childhoods of two generations is long and accommodates ground breaking social change, in accounts of both groups of women, resides a specific, shared sense of space. This sense of space is discernible in descriptions of the childhood landscape and can be caught with the term, *country*, literally corresponding to rural and provincial and bringing together meanings of periphery, being outside of the urban, of the center, and being at a distance. Country, though not in fact uttered as "country" by women, appears as the heuristic framework, they recourse to describe symbolisms and feelings of *distance* and being *outside the urban,* and more importantly in an effective *process of preparation for the future life* imparting an overall positive meaning to the interpretative universe of the term.

Distance (of country) is a distance from the dominant socio-cultural forces as well as resources and simultaneously means both freedom and exclusion. For the first generation, this spatiality symbolizes the chance for disciplined study, educational success, and rightful moral development as young women away from the distracting and complicating effects of the center (center standing for urban and middle class), while for the second and particularly for the youngest generation, a problematic of not being able to reach cultural and educational opportunities on a par with their urban middle-class peers. As such, distance is a space, both accommodating and isolating, protective and separating: Older women mention that they could effectively prepare themselves throughout their childhoods and youth in the country for their future adult lives that would take place in the urban, away from disturbances

and distractions of the urban and middle class socio-cultural world. For the younger women, however, the country as a childhood space represents isolation than accommodation systematically separating them from the opportunities urban classes could enjoy. Considering that in both generations, country is associated with distance, withdrawal and secluded study, differentiation of the meaning of "the country" as a childhood space, across different generations of women indicates, above everything else, the decline in the status of "isolated disciplined study" and a change in "schoolgirl image" as a moral reference to women's roots.

Some scholars (see, Cloke & Little 1997; Jones 1999) argue that such a sense of space and place in childhood stories is a narrative expression of the perceived time distance between present time and childhood period, and of difficulty of explaining what figurative / imagery (childhood perception) is in literal. Thus, expressed sense of space in childhood story comes close to being a representation of perceived and insurmountable time distance between one and her childhood and of difficulty of narrating the imagery. Accepting that country, rural, communal and provincial are largely used figurative tools of childhood narratives, in this study it is claimed that center and periphery as spatial dimensions of narration, relates to the socio-cultural assets and self-status perception of the individual. In childhood stories of women, which are told referencing country and taken place in the country, feelings of being at the periphery and desire to be mobile -able to move from the periphery- are discernible. That elements, it is argued, demarcate a claim for upwardly mobile lower-class origin and a femininity determined by the motivations and learnings on a certain type of mobility.

Within the scope of this study, the context of "country" gains crucial importance as it occupies a big space in women's narratives and sets the stage of the childhood story. Not only childhood stories take place in the country -be it a village, town or neighborhood of a non-metropolitan city, but narrative distinction granted to the context in the stories are critically important and voice a distinct sense of place.

Appearing as another common pattern, childhood narratives of women are constructed in a progressive story line which would reach at their climax with education and educational attainment. Education is presented as an achievement in the life story, particularly consonant with the theme of growing out of periphery/country. The macro pattern of those childhood stories, hence, can be described in the theme of "growing out of country" through education.

5.1.2. Backgrounds of Self-Narratives

Landscape of childhood is generally constructed with references to the *outdoor places* where children had the chance to play games freely -"unlike their peers and children of today". Women as a rule mention that they were "lucky to have grown up playing outside" when starting to tell their stories on childhood. Those outside places may be village rural areas, town or city neighborhoods, or corporate housing areas (lojman).

> I was quite a restless kid to begin with. I was really, really mischievous. Therefore, they used to call me a tomboy. I used to love playing marbles. I used to love riding bicycle. I always had some wounds on my knees. I was always the goalkeeper in football games... I had a great childhood. I enjoyed my childhood to the fullest, I was always on the streets. I used to go out even at night. Around nine o'clock in the evening, my mother used to shout around to bring me back home… Yes, it was a safe place. Uşak was a small place. And our block was very close to the street. What can I say, it was the street right behind the centrum. But there was one dead end street. We used to play there all the time. I had a great, wonderful childhood. Blocks were very close to each other. We used to tie a net between two blocks and play volleyball. It was great. (Nimet, Şarköy, 1980)

> We had this feeling of freedom thanks to growing up in a small town. My mother never restricted my play times since we knew everyone in the neighborhood. We used to spend summer nights playing fun games in the neighborhood. (Serap, Silopi, 1966)

Women's descriptions on all those places are very similar and are coined in the term "outside". The term signifies almost a dream space, determined by security and freedom for the children; and this freedom is expressed with being not restrained in bodily activities and movements[104]. In classical depictions, pastorally-described-

[104] . As examined by Jones (1997), unrestrained bodily activities and bodily vitality of children is a part of the idyllic descriptions on rural landscapes; and a similar romance can be identified for childhoods in small/provincial settlements, neighborhoods. Association of children with natural and

outside areas seem to be the founding element of childhood romance and emotionally invested proper childhood, marking innocence, purity and normalcy in child. However, gender difference does implicate the narrative construct. Bodily freedom is commonly pictured in the image of boy child and considered problematic for girls. For this reason, Giddings and Yarwood (2005) claim, girls associate themselves with a boy child image and express themselves as tomboys.

> I was raised to be free. My father used to say, "I don't have any sons, but I consider both my daughters as my sons. (Yıldız, Diyarbakır, 1975)
>
> Therefore, they used to call me a tomboy. I used to love playing marbles. I used to love riding bicycle. I always had some wounds on my knees. (Nimet, Şarköy, 1980)

Though the argument elaborated by Giddings and Yarwood (2005) is debatable, it is a fact that women resort to more complex and conditioned narratives describing their outside plays, bodily activities and that state of freedom. Some women give examples of the direct involvement of the societal images of female body in construction of "the body of childhood *out* in the realm of freedom of movement":

> I don't remember a lot about my childhood. I guess I grew up fast... I believe I didn't have that much of a childhood. I was mostly at home. I didn't play on the street so much. I grew taller fast. That's why I settled and grew up all of a sudden. (Selda, Çorum, 1968)

So long as the children are imagined and associated with female body, they are ousted from the realm of childhood proper. Therefore, women claim a non-sexed body in childhood. Rejection of female body, and passivity and sexuality in the following, presents itself in narrative production of *other* sexualized and passive figures as the resources for positive self-identity representation.

In considerable number of cases, women explain their freedom of and devotion for playing outside in childhood, suggesting their difference with some other children and childhoods. They may be urban children devoid of that chance of enjoying and appreciating the nature and outdoor plays, children in the locality (who are perceived as more local than the daughters of the travelling state employees or those

communal purity and bodily vitality is particularly constructed in depictions of children playing joyfully in rural and neighborhood, the country.

having a life chance of moving outside), and sisters and other girls who had started to display more girly and feminine character features right from their very early ages.

> "(Why didn't your older sister study?) So, my older sister is the first daughter and the first grandchild to both mother's and father's side. That's why she was kind of spoonfed. She knows it, too. My family also tells the same. She was always a homebody. Especially after high school, she was into dressing up, doing handcrafts in which she is really good, baking cakes and pastries and etc. She didn't even play outside. Since she was quite into that stuff, she wasn't into studying that much. All her educational life was a period where my parents forced her to study. Then she didn't wait long and got marriedShe prefered to have that type of a life. And she kept living that way. (How is it for the family?) ... So so. I was not a sensitive girl. I used to play football with boys. There were mostly boys in the corporate housing area (lojman). It wouldn't be possible if we lived in the city center. I wasn't a sensitive child. I was also not a fragile girl. Thus, I didn't have the idea to become a teacher. (Ayça, Malatya, 1975)

> As children, we were lucky to be able to play in the street, parents were too busy, they didn't tend to look for our mistakes when they were back in the evening, we used to play, come back home, eat, get tired, was ourselves and went to bed without getting a slap on the wrist, we grew up playing games and our identity wasn't affected, that's why we were lucky. We were also lucky in the sense that expensive toys weren't the most precious things you could get from your parents. These values are now being replaced by material values within the city life. (Su, İstanbul, 1952)

Those other characters populating the stories reveal that, unlike them, narrative representation of the women as children in their childhood stories are neither urban, nor marked with belonging to the locality or has openly feminine identifications. Therefore, they are not sexualized, and able to play outside as proper children. Girls' separating themselves from feminine characters is based on rejection of identification with what is perceived as "local" womanhood and existing class situation. The condition of the narrative to charge proper meanings out of "child in nature / country" scenes depends on emphasis on *mobility rather than locality* and denial of *'urban' indulgences* in favor of disinterestedness in narrative representations. Girl child is no different than boy child and presents no awareness about sexuality; appears different than local children directly by spatial segregation or those others' impatience for getting adults, being 'womanly'; and display no search and envy for material joys of consumption and other elements of urban culture. This picture gets further clear as the childhood stories make their ways to adolescence period.

Tomboyish scent in the women's narratives, constructing childhood story around the theme of "playing outside", does not solely stem from the lived reality of having been assimilated into a boyish childhood identity; but also based on the role of the theme in the entire retrospective account of childhood. In the early childhood, gender identity of the children is commonly ignored. However following period of adolescence is marked with salience of gender and simultaneously women's open rejection of the local femininity -what they perceive as typical on local girls and women and what is girly, even when they are also locals- and suggesting this non-identification as a continuation of their *early childhood predispositions* (and which will culminate in educational success). Steedman (1989) evaluates this self-presentation in writings on personal past as a strategic attitude, *suspension of womanhood*.

Adolescence is marked with salience of sex due to intrusion of the societal gaze into childhood scenes. It covers school age period; and for the earliest generation, extends into their primary teacher school years. Concerning the adolescence years, activities of women change and outdoor plays leaves their place to generally "reading at home".

> It was already a girls school. Most of the students were enrolled with boarding. We used to attend in the morning. I was a good student who focused on the lectures. I was happy with my books, my family, and I wasn't willing to study away from my family. I didn't have many friends, I only had couple of them from the teacher school, and I didn't like to go out often. I finished teachers school happily. I had friends who used to stay at school's dormitory, they used to get bored and I used to get permission for them to host them, then they would stay at our place and go out. They used to get bored, but I didn't (Begüm, Ankara, 1956).

Normally in that period, children start to use wider spaces of the settlement, village, town or city, with starting to school and emergence of peer culture, rather than using solely protected spaces of neighborhood, housing area, and other areas emerging as the extensions of home. In the narratives of women, with the diversification of the available peer activities in adolescence, a tangibly reserved attitude takes hold. Women's reservations target the activities signifying a "girly or womanly" disposition.

> I was twenty-eight (when I got married). My sister also got married when she was twenty-eight, but my older sister was twenty. She didn't go to university, she was admitted to child development department in Ankara after high school, but she didn't go, she wanted other things in life, so she got married. As you know, women don't study when they are busy with marriage and family... But she was never happy, and she still is, and she has grandchildren now. But my older sister could never be happy. Therefore, her marriage was kind of a lesson for us... (Hale, Antalya, 1968)

Women's childhood accounts are full of "cautionary tales" as such. The feminine/girly character from which women try to separate themselves is judged on the ground of being reflective of a general *disinterest towards education* and/or family, and for simultaneously being lower class in disposition and "envious" towards urban middle-class culture. Envy, frequently appears in the childhood stories as an indication of what is not desired in girl children. Envy and enviousness mean engaging in -untimely- searches for "experiences", flirt and sexuality and other peer activities not approved by society and families, indecorous and immoral for adolescents. While what is envied is urban middle-class material culture and experiences, lower class femininity and sexuality is the inescapable end for envious girls.

> You may ask what these girls became, they became nothing. Most of them didn't study. They were into hanging around, going to cafes, patisseries. They thought they were cool. They had overdone hair, make-up even at that age. That's not nice. Looks cheap. They don't even realize it. These people are badly criticized. (İnci, Antalya, 1967)

In the related accounts of women, envious girls cease to study for their education, either have early marriages or start to be drifted by divergent peer culture into trivial and flirty time-passes in spaces of youth culture that makes connotations with promiscuity and immorality in social imagery, namely patisseries, cinemas, cafes, city centers and others. When there are no such places in the hometown, envy directly means feminine attitude, outfit, humor, and flirting. Women mention that instead of being envious and girly, they preferred to read during their adolescence years: "I was a child fond of reading /reading a lot". Reading symbolizes, on the one hand an attachment to education, on the other hand a withdrawal to home and family.

Girls are not described to have engaged with housework very much. Even if they have tasks in family, they are secondary in importance in their growing up story. In some cases, furthermore, girls openly dissociate themselves from home and family roles, suggesting a contrast between them and their sisters as to strengthen the theme.

> People in Kastamonu were against women drivers at that time, but they are comfortable about giving you the car when going to somewhere else. I went to Boyabat even though I am a woman. My father always respected us. He could tell me to take the car for repairing when it was broken, he introduced me to the mechanic he knew. So that I could take the car if needed. Once the car was broken and he told me to go and show it, and then I went to the mechanic, but my father-in-law didn't consider this appropriate after I got married… My older sister was a true homebody with all the house work. Our distribution of tasks was almost like the ministry of interior and foreign affairs. For example, I used to run the errands outside, while my sister used to take care of the tasks at home. […] If there a task including going outside, it would usually be me or me and my little sister. [...] I could say that I used to do things that boys would do without any restrictions… And my sister could sew anything we wanted or she saw and liked. She has that ability, she knows how to sew… But I am the one who could drive a car comfortably… My older sister also got a driver's license. She learnt how to drive, however she drives like a robot. I used to drive even when I was in the middle school. That how I have been raised… My older sister is more practical when it comes to craftsmanship. She took tailoring course. And also typewriting course. She is better at this kind of things. (Yasemin, Kastamonu, 1954)

Girls' dedication appears first and foremost towards education. Education is the means of "growing out of the country/homeland" which symbolizes stagnancy in class and gender situation; and they choose to adopt a "dutiful engagement with life" as will be better articulated in their narrative accounts of later life stages. Education, means 'growing out' of the life, culture and femininity of the locality, locality being rural or provincial, thus country. Mine provides a typical example of the way girls perceived education:

> I made my own way. I thought I had to study, my circle was not enough for me and I felt lonely. For example, when my mother's friends visited, I couldn't be involved in anything, everything felt wrong, I didn't have anything in common with them, studying was my savior and therefore, I was always away from my circle. I never wanted to be a lazy student, go into my shell and wait for a husband. I could succeed somehow in my own means, and if I didn't I would go to somewhere else. (Mine, İstanbul, 1955)

Home and spatial extensions of home, village, neighborhood, close corporate residential areas, appear as the places of early childhood. Later in adolescence,

wider areas of the settlement enter the scene, but in a way symbolizing dangers of adolescence sexuality. Girls turn towards education and family in a motivation of *growing out of the settlement* and of the femininity embodied in the life of the hometown locality, thus off the existing class and gender condition. This motivation constitutes the dynamic dimension, *the route*, shaping self-identity presented in the childhood story: growing out of the origin, locality and localized femininity via continuing with / getting higher in education, thus through deploying a dutiful engagement with life.

5.1.3. Education of Girls as a Cultural Capital of the Family

Women start talking about their born families, mentioning the exclusive value their families placed on education and "having their daughters educated". This reference to education comes even before occupations and hometowns of their parents.

> When it comes to my childhood, we have lived in several different cities. The worst time was when I was in the middle school but I believed that I was lucky since my parents never gave up on my education. I don't know if you are familiar with Osmancık road, but my dad took me back and forth on that road for two years experiencing many difficulties. On the other side of the story, we were so scared every time we passed that road since one side of it was a high cliff which is fixed now. We had many difficulties, therefore I had to grow up fast. I always felt responsible. I though he was going back and forth just because of me. But at least I had a profession and returned their favors. Although I studied to build a better life for myself, my parents also got return for their efforts. (Selda, Çorum, 1968)

The primacy given to *education as a family value* indicates its symbolic quality. In women's accounts, family support for daughters' education defines a cultural asset of the family. It signifies a progressive attitude towards societal life and this attitude is generally connected with an implied secular world view. Underneath that pattern of cultural orientation, also placed a claim for middle-class values, by the women, represented to be firmly rooted back in the family origins. However, Reay (2004) articulates that education (as she evaluates in the case of higher education) is a cultural capital that is validated by "absence of choice". Thus, real holders of the educational capital do not *choose to continue education* but this constitutes a natural way of things, normal course of life, that goes without saying. Hence, women's claims qualify not an educational/cultural capital for the family but a moral

statement of loyalty to socially sanctioned norms and life styles: girls' education and modern lifestyles, secularism, progressivism… others.

The theme of "continuing to education life" means high school level teacher education for the first generation; and university education for the younger generation. Regardless of the generational differences, it is possible to track the working-class elements in women's experiences of "continuing education". First, in women's stories, educating girls requires "unusual" family arrangements. Those arrangements include convincing of the relatives and others objecting to education of girls, mothers compensating for girls' household labour (help to mothers), (families of) sisters, brothers and other relatives that are living in school settlement providing support for the living necessities of girls, and off course financial sacrifice of the family. Furthermore, generally one of the daughters of the family is kept at home with family to help mother and to be a reserve caregiver in cases of sickness, disability and old age of parents, elders and children. Such an arrangement seems to be the precondition of the other -generally younger- daughters' furthering their education. Moreover, education of girls is instrumentally justified with a future earning capacity. Instrumental orientation is particularly visible in the case of teacher education. Teacher education for elementary school teachers had been covering a relatively short duration before introduction of faculty education criterion and had been provided in free boarding schools rendering them attractive alternatives for lower class families.

After introduction of faculty education as well, education faculties seem to have continued to carry that historical stigma. As is discernible in the contrasting accounts of women teachers coming from other university educations, "vocational quality" of teacher education taints education's value *as a cultural capital*, although there will be ups and downs in attractiveness of education faculty education according to changing employment prospects in teacher shortage (faculty education period) and unemployment times (KPSS (PPSE) period). Partly because of this reason, and partly meaning to valorize the currency that education per se commands in society, women typically do not specify their education as teacher education but

prefer to use *continuing their education* (for the first generation) and *taking university education* (for the younger generation). In fact, in pre-faculty generation, women's desires for furthering their education in university was not satisfied; but, this side of the story gets only a limited reference:

> I was in Konya as I said, you don't have many options in Konya, and you have a certain financial status and you don't have the chance to send your child to another city for university because of that financial situation. There are only one or two universities, couple of faculties and teacher's college around. First, I went to high school, and since my father said he couldn't send me anywhere else after that and I had siblings coming after me, I took my father's advice and taking advantage of my high grades, went to teachers college starting from the 10th grade. And then I continued with pre-faculty education. My life changed immensely. I am happy about becoming a teacher. And all my siblings graduated with higher degrees (1955, İstanbul, Mine).

> I took the exam for teacher's college, I was crying and didn't want to go there, and surprisingly, I was admitted in the first place and my parents enrolled me to that school without my will. I wanted to go to university. But in the end, I had a very reputable profession. (Irmak, Ankara, 1949)

> I actually wanted to go to university, but it was pre-faculty back then. If you studied two years after finishing the teachers high school, you could become a branch teacher. However, my parents didn't allow me, and they had five children with the economic situation of the time, we wanted to study but they didn't let us, so I studied to become a class teacher, and I remained as one. My family were happy with my profession. I couldn't study any other thing and have a profession like this. (Gökçe, Çorum, 1951)

For the pre-faculty generation women, "furthering education" is simultaneously a story on settlement of the rule of nuclear family. Shift from extended family and community-oriented life to nuclear family organization, is in many cases constitutes the backdrop of women's childhood story on education. Elders, losing their say on the family decisions concerning education of daughters, in time withdraw from the stage. Fathers, elder sisters or brothers move closer to cities through their works and marriages. Mothers appear to put more limits to their community and kin roles and responsibilities, prioritizing education of children in organization of the family life. This process, in some cases, takes time and elder daughters cannot continue their education; and only second and later coming daughters have that chance. Nuclear families, whose fathers had acquired modern education and occupations, experience material and then cultural rupture from their families and from the rule of elders.

Meanwhile, childhood families of women experience a transition and mobility towards more urbanized settlements as well. Upon varying contexts and motivations[105], families move to towns, bigger towns and cities during women's youth period. Therefore, the mobility from existing state of gender and class, literally and narratively spatialized in the childhood locality, is a dominating pattern not solely in women's desires as little girls, but also in the family habitus.

Most of the fathers being public employees, teachers, and industrial workers in state enterprises, majority of the families in the first-generation change their living settlements a couple of times throughout childhoods of the women. Families, therefore, often do not have traditional ties with the localities, those localities generally being non-metropolitan settlements. This mobility is what seems to have strengthened decision making capacity of parents and the dynamic of nuclear family formation. Yet, unlike daughters, nuclear family demands sacrificial contribution from mothers, unburdening former at the cost of the latter.

Despite their low levels of education, virtuous mothers are important relics of childhood stories. As for the primary virtue of their mothers, women mention "supporting their education" and "keeping away the housework and neighborhood-based feminine communal life". Those two motherly virtues are also interrelated since women are freed from housework and not engaged with feminine activities and culture early in their life, they had had time and motivation for education: “When we were meant to study no one was used to accepted as guest to our home. My other did not allow us to do any other work at home. That was how she raised us. I do not remember making my bed even” (Begüm, Ankara, 1954)

5.1.4. Education and Morality of Being a Young Woman: Life in the Boarding School

About the boarding school lives in pre-faculty level teacher education, women narrate their experiences with the key phrase[106] of "learning": learning life,

[105] 37 of the 52 families have moved to more urban places during the course of women's lifetime, some because of children's education, and some on the grounds of shifting economic opportunities.

womanhood, and teaching. With "learning (all those roles and identities)", they describe transition to adulthood and imagine that teacher education period as a phase for transition to *adulthood* through *learning* adult roles. Among those who had taken faculty education, younger generation teachers, in difference, often choose to describe their university lives with the narrative frames of "independence", "freedom", "exploration" and "experience". They mention that they explored and experienced their “actual selves”, “life”, “urban”, and “university life” during their faculty education. Their account indicates that as well as future adult roles and identities -of teacher, woman, and adult-, being young and being a young woman is worth exploration and experience. In their narratives, youth is not only a transitional phase of life but a category and period in itself, having its own cultural context and pedagogical specificities. This shift in narration of the period justifies raising the question, if this shift could be interpreted to represent a gradual weakening of the strategy of postponing womanhood in social life and a recent emergence of women as gendered subjects upon university life.

Boarding school environment seems to be accommodating for women to "learn the life" for they are obliged to "do everything themselves" at a very young age and away from their families. They count setting a daily routine, a personal financial order, doing cleaning, washing clothes, sewing, repairing, shopping at the city center, making friends, developing leisure activities, adjusting to social group life, in relevance with what they mean by "doing on their own" and "learning the life". Unlike boys, those are not simple temporary difficulties but what it takes to be an adult woman.

> You wake up with the morning bell, make your bed. If you don’t make it well, then the hall monitor turns it upside down and gives your number to administration. We used to have our student IDs with all our information including our student number, class etc. and they would check us according to that every morning. Every now and then they checked lockers to see whether they were tidy or not. This is how we learned everything, how to be a wife. Your learn how to keep order, you do your laundry by yourself, (Güldane, Antalya, 1960)

[106] Françoise Chanfrault-Duchet (2002) uses key frames as an analytic category for delineating recurrent frames contributing to construction of self as a continuous entity (67).

In primary teacher schools, where girls are accepted as boarders, boys are day timers, that's not using boarding facilities and several other parts of the schools except for the classrooms. Therefore, the life in primary teacher schools is based on same-sex living environments for girls (in other cases, for boys), with the exception of course hours. Despite the single sex fashion of the schools, girls are closely monitored by teachers and school managers and girls' daily mobility were tied to strict rules by the school administration. Any flirty attitude of girls is a matter of investigation and warning. Even in their weekly city center permits, girls are sometimes secretly followed and observed upon suspicion of their walking around in inappropriate outfits or of talking to boys and men.

> So there weren't many boys at the school since it was a girls school. Say, there were one or three boys in a class of forty, and when it was institute of education sciences, then flirts began. Of course, our friends who had their flings outside the school kept seeing them, they used to see them and come back to school when they had weekend permit to go outside. And in the meantime, some of the teachers used to go around in the places we used to go when we were allowed to go out, so you also feared to be seen by them. Yes, they used to check what we do, where we go, who we meet and if we did anything inappropriate. We used to come across couple of our teachers every time we went out, and they always pretended to be there by chance, but we used to know they were there to check on us. (Güldane, Antalya, 1960)

> I wasn't that willing to go out to downtown. The school had many rules. This was because it was a girl's school, and they wanted to protect us. It was also dangerous, Ağrı was a small, but conservative. They used to see students from other cities in a different way. (Begüm, Ankara, 1954)

Those are the most common stories told by women upon being asked about their school lives and they indicate the degree of sexualization of the girls and the dangers they face and how determining this view for the daily lives of women in elementary teacher schools. Authoritarian attitude of teachers and managers are justified in schools' and teachers' roles for taking care of girls' honor in the name of their parents and the state. Strict prohibition of the intimacy with boys seems to be matching with the norms of society and have had gained in primacy out of widespread rumors. Those rumors were prevalent and have sporadically caused moral panics in the public. Co-education and pension system for girls' education have been issues of common suspicion in Turkey, starting from the first years of the Republic and those boarding teacher schools have been remembered with the rumors about the sexual lives of girl students. Interviewees, too, mention some of those well-known rumors:

> When I won the exam, I later learnt that they tried to take me from going saying she become pregnant there. (Sedef, Ankara, 1955)

> Bad. They saw them as bad examples. If you ask me how. Hundreds of girl together. What they do, how they are doing. With whom?? You cannot believe the rumors we heard (Nesli, Ankara, 1956).

It seems that the moral suspicion of that time, concerning girls' sexuality, also focuses on letters, notes and any types of written material with which girls might deemed to be communicating with boys. This may be seen related with the fact that girls and boys rarely come together in extra-educational activities and thus away from surveillance of teachers and school administration, and they only have the chance of writing to each other.

> When I was admitted to teacher's school, some people pushed my parents to not send me saying that I would be knocked up. (Sedef, Ankara, 1955)

> Bad. They used to see us in a really bad way, if you would like to know how they used to see us. Hundreds of young girls together, people used to wonder what we did and with whom we did it. You can't imagine the rumors we heard. You can't even think of a single one (Nesli, Ankara, 1956).

Parents caution their daughters against the notes and letters, boys may give them. School administration and teachers as well approach even the diaries of girls with anxiety. She grabbed from my hand, saying what are you writing here. I cannot forget. What is the point? You are just a child. I got so afraid. (Begüm, Ankara, 1954). That obsessive distrust also seems to have targeted writing and reading capacity of girls in general and as such stemmed from the disturbances of expanding difference between rural, traditional families and communities and school girls stepping into the culture of literacy[107]. Writing and corresponding letters are the things symbolizing the distinctive capacity and a different culture, girls acquired with schooling and that capacity, girls from the poor social strata attained, is hard to limit to educational and other instrumental objectives of families and schools. Rather, girls seem to have developed a peer culture with memory notebooks, a

[107] About the societal suspicion towards working class girls' interests in writing, their development of a subjective account of world and themselves-subjectivities, see:
Setting out from the perspective suggested by Tamboukou (2000), writing, apart from being a means of various types of communication, may also be considered to be an own-place for women to excercise their subjectivities in boarding school settings.

personal reflexivity and history by their diaries and friendships and romantic ties through correspondences. This empowering impact of literacy, therefore, appears as a matter of suspicion.

> It was serious. Everyone used to care about what other wrote and said. Now they are just beautiful memories. What else? Who remembered and told? (Sedef, Ankara, 1955)

> So, Aslı, keeping a diary was such a unique experience. It was all yours. When you look back, you see how you felt back then. Maybe you wouldn't remember it otherwise. And you thought twice before writing. these were all new and all beautiful. (Gülnur, Ankara, 1955)

Letters, diaries and memory notebooks are all not-coincidentally one of the most held-dear pieces among the school memories of women. Women, just like in their earlier ages, continue to "read a lot"; but during elementary teacher schools, they also write. Yet, their new interest, personal writings and correspondences, is not welcomed as their previously surfaced reading habit. As such we may comment, by writing, women put forth an individual and peer group level resistance to the urge of parents and schools for rendering every act and experience of women observable, thus a subject of surveillance and regulation, and limited with the aim of becoming a proper adult woman (Tamboukou, 2000). That also underlines the still precarious status of self-surveillance (than surveillance and direct-control of others/institutions) in production of the modern lower middle-class selves for women. On the other hand, formal rejection and disapproval of women's engaging with personal writings may be interpreted as the early age reasons why women teachers in later ages produced only a few written auto-biographical works compared to men teachers.

As well as personal development and transition to adulthood, the stories on teacher education in boarding schools is about friendships and peer ties. Women, often, would not lose trace of those friends even decades later and in the interviews quickly tell about how their lives get shaped later. Letters, memory notebooks and diaries are again the primary sources of reference in remembering and storying them. "A couple of days ago, I was visited by one of my teachers' school schoolmates. She

had brought her memory notebook. There was nothing about us working on lessons" (Semiha, Ankara, 1952).

Flirt and some other expressions of sexuality exist as *little mischief and flings* in the women's stories on their boarding school life. Girls talk about boys and sexuality; exchange short glances and small notes with boys; change their cloths secretly after leaving school for market permit; and feed romantic feelings for their male teachers or sometimes for soldiers whose army houses are generally located next to the rural elementary teacher schools converted from village institutes.

> Girls were on the one side, while the boys were on the other. everyone used to play with each other out of boredom, the ones from whose classrooms you could see the soldiers used to act like playing hide and seek with them, hiding under windows and they revealing ourselves. It was great. We had such beautiful memories. One of us would dress like a man, wear a hat, make mustache, extra eyebrows etc. with crayons. then we would wave them or talk in sign language. We did these to have fun. ... There were also men teachers. Actually, two of our men teachers were single. they had a room at the school. It wasn't in the dormitory building though, it was in the main building including classrooms. They gave them a small room. they used to stay there. Even they were intimidated by us and left. Girls were so bad. Of course, were outnumbered them. When they came to dining hall, they used to come before us to eat before we arrived and go back to their room. Because girls didn't leave them alone. They would go next to them to ask questions. (Güldane, Antalya, 1960)

Social life and mixing with boys take place in peer groups and in front of others, accepted as wrong-doings, but as small and fun ones. This is reflected in the way women add smiles and funny facial expressions when telling those stories, emphasizing innocence, childishness and triviality of those deeds. Those small acts of disobedience are always group activities or festively open to the testimonies of peers and close friends. As will be repeated in the case of women in faculty education life, experiencing "dangerous" things as a friend group protects women from having worst consequences and decrease the moral precariousness of the acts.

> 'Always, be with others', she used to say. 'Walk away together, spend time together. It would be weird otherwise. And happened that way. We never wanted to stay alone as two at home. … never felt such a desire (Gülnur, Ankara, 1955)

There are only a few factors differentiating girl students based on social class and status. Among them can be counted orphanage and extreme poverty. In addition, in elementary teacher schools, students are granted with the opportunity for continuing

their education in higher education schools / institutes upon nomination of their teachers and selection of higher education school committees to become subject/secondary-school teachers. While some students consider this as an opportunity to profess a field of specialization or coming closer to their dream occupations and furthering their education; for some others, it is not affordable to procrastinate work life with additional years in education. Nomination process and some students leaving for further and specialized education negatively affects the sense of justice and equality between students that had been built upon the belief that they will all graduate with the same statuses as teachers.

> I was not an unsuccessful student. In fact, after I showed my abilities in mathematics, my teacher recommended to continue with higher education. Also the Turkish language teacher recommended me. 2 students were recommended to go on with higher education, however they didn't select me. And the reason they didn't was that I was petite. The other student was flashy, so they selected her… That I will always remember... I started as a music teacher, and 1 month later, I received a letter stating that I should take a verbal exam. I took the exam, but I couldn't pass. This always remained as a "what if?" question in my mind. (Begüm, Ankara, 1954)

Narrative accounts of women, on their elementary teaching school years, always bear the socio-politic criticism raised against later-coming moves in reforming teacher education policy. This criticism seems like a very condition of giving a proper account of being a teacher in those years. Their lines of criticism repeat some common discourses voiced by education critiques and historians. According to women, teachers in primary teacher schools were much more idealistic and dedicated to education mission, be that rendered within the context of more systematic accounts of social development and modernity or humanistic objectives of equality and personal development; and elementary teacher schools were the organizations embodied that spirit. According to their narratives, in elementary teacher schools, education of teachers was done within more complex and multi-dimensional programs encouraging excelling of teachers in various fields of general culture and their adopting artistic skills, thus development as complete intellectuals[108].

[108] Those areas, which elementary teacher schools had provided a command over for girls, general culture, science, philosophy, and music were actually typical fields of high culture during the period.

> But being a teacher is fun and during all my career, I had the chance to see that the teachers who graduated from teachers high-school as part of Kemalist ideology were always more successful in this profession. I mean, it was us who taught in every subject including music. Now they became separate branches. So now we are not supposed to know how to teach music, physical education, but the teachers of those times knew all this, they were well-educated and they had become real teachers... But the next generations became uniform teachers who didn't like children that much. It's really important to love children, and you must love your job whatever it is. (Nihal, Ankara, 1952)

> When we graduated from teacher's school, we would graduate as teachers who were jack-of-all-trades. We knew how to teach PE like a real PE teacher, music like a real music teacher, we knew well about all the subjects. (Semiha, Ankara, 1952)

> All students were really raised as social individuals. We used to go to the movies every weekend with the students who used to stay at school dormitory... We were social as students, so we have grown up as social teachers of the future... Recent university graduates are not that social at all. (Yasemin, Kastamonu, 1954)

> They thought us the real spirit of working as a teacher... They educated us as teachers, mukhtars, imams… They even trained us as midwives, doctors of villages. This is not about handcrafts. Your duty is to enlighten that place, they trained us as the person who could take care of anything when we were there. They trusted us with great responsibility. I am retired, and when I look at new teachers, and when I compare them with me when I first started teaching, I think that our generation was trained very well. We have been raised very well. We might not know everything or have all the skills needed, but we learnt the true spirit of being a teacher. In that sense, closure of teacher's schools is a huge loss for Turkey. Now teachers become teacher just to have a job, they are not conscious, or willing. Of course, there are always exceptions, bu it seems like they couldn't pass on social responsibilities and idealism of teaching. I know it because I experienced it. They approach students differently. We were like their parents. We were very self-giving. (Begüm, Ankara, 1954)

In women's narratives, this teacher training model was reflective of a sensitive approach to multiple level personal and intellectual development of teacher candidates as enlightened and model citizens and agents of development especially in the rural Anatolia. They were not solely prepared for in-classroom and in-school teaching practice; but they would have a social role in multiple sectors in life of the society. Teacher candidates as well had "chosen" teaching not "for money" but for this broadly defined mission of teaching. Young teachers -who had taken their education in faculties- were weak in basic universal culture -of books, literature, history-, do not have artistic capacities -of playing an instrument- and most

As such, references to those fields in the testimonies of women also narrates the high cultural capital of and differential socio-political investment on teachers of the time.

importantly, understand teaching as something to be done in classroom only as a vocation. This is related with the quality and program of education they acquired. Deformation of teacher education programs as well is part of a historical policy turning against the educational mission (of spreading enlightenment, modernity, development and equality) and against teachers as bearers of that mission, according to pre-faculty generation women.

In women's perspectives, each step taken in reforming teacher education and teacher education institutions has been "motivated by a political urge to limit the role of teacher schools and teachers". "Indeed", it is a fact that, administration of those schools had started to turn "politically corrupt" even in their times. "In fact", 1970s was the period of big political conflicts in which youth and elementary teacher school students were deemed active agents and those schools were the targets for authoritarian de-politicization policies of the state. The accounts idealizing teacher schools, in the image of the legacy of "village institutes", and those criticizing authoritarian management and de-politicization efforts in the schools get interwoven in testimonies of the women: Although inheritors of famous village institutes, girls' teacher education schools had turned into places where authoritarian and restrictive management rules prevail.

> Now I understand, I didn't understand it that time indeed, but it wasn't easy to deal with 200 girls. There was no radio, no TV, no newspapers, and you don't know anything about the world. One of my friends have this memory in her diary, Inonu died, and we didn't know about it, we were just playing during our break time. somebody complained about us, the Principal was angry at us. How could we know when there were even no newspapers at the school since it wasn't allowed. And as my friend explains it in her diary, I was the first one to tell something to the principal and I asked him how we could know when there weren't even any newspapers. ... We have become good teachers, but we never had any political opinions. ... I don't know... Deniz Gezmiş's sister and Hüseyin Cevahir's sister were going to the same school as I did. After Deniz Gezmiş's death sentence, sister of Dursun Kuzu who was the first one to be killed among students went to the same school as me. Now we still see each other. One of them is a rightist, while the other one is leftist. However, we still shared everything together including sadness and happiness. I was never in favor of one side, I didn't think it was logical, and I was never happy about someone's death. My parents are leftists, mu husband is a rightist, and I'm just hanging out in beert… The they started bringing newspapers to the school. We used to read "Cumhuriyet", for example. (Begüm, 1954, Ankara)

The criticism of Begüm towards restrictive and authoritarian management of girls' schools points out the fact that gender-based concerns that had been used as a pretext of introducing stricter rules in running of the girls' schools were being mobilized in 1970s instrumentalized for the purposes of depoliticization policies. Her statements also indicate the difficulty of being a part of the political history (of elementary teacher schools) and not having had a political identity or agency back then.

Those successive steps in changing teacher education models have, they feel, also caused "forgetting and oblivion" towards those education institutions, and unfamiliarity in the common culture towards the social history shaping their past and educational memories. Therefore, their accounts are also guided by an urge to record and transfer their testimonies of the education model, offered by elementary teacher schools, as well as their education story largely determined by them.

> What was different? It was all forgotten. That is such a shame. It's also not easy to tell them like this, you know? People listen them like fairy tales, but they don't really understand. We were raised differently. They do hear, but they don't understand. (Semiha, Ankara, 1952)

This structure of feelings is largely communicated by the antagonisms suggested between their times and education and those of new generation teachers. That antagonism is projected as the basis of main moral issues, frequently appeared in relation to ethos of teaching, including "loving teaching", and "material concerns".

> Right now, teaching is a job that you can have after passing an exam, but it's about to become a profession that people have just because of financial benefits. We became teachers since we liked it, but the new generations are the ones who become teachers because of their fear of being unemployed, who don't really like to do it. And that is a disadvantage for students in my opinion, you either like a job or you take it since you are afraid of not finding any jobs after graduation. so the new teachers have that concern/fear, but it shouldn't be that way, people choul become teachers because they love it. (Neriman, Trabzon, 1952)

Elementary teacher schools, together with village institutes, is the reference point of the teachers' stories picturing a **golden past**, even in the younger generation university-graduates. This pattern indicates a "reactionary culture" in teachers, suspicious of the change and reforms in the occupation and in teacher education model. This reactionary attitude is not unsubstantiated in the social history. Reforms in teacher education have mainly targeted growing political movements of teachers

and practical autonomy of the elementary teacher schools (thus of teachers, as they educate teachers), as aptly described by Akyüz (1987; 2008) just like a significant number of other notable names writing about Turkish education history.

5.2. Faculty Generation: Becoming Teachers and Entering Teaching

For the younger generations of women, faculty and KPSS (PPSE) generations, ES teaching occupies a more problematic status in the overall life story. It is critical that women refrain from seeing the ES teaching as a part of the story on personal roots, thus reaching back to childhood and family stories. Rather they tend to start their stories on teaching from higher education period. Other faculty graduates on the other hand narrate their teaching life starting from their entering the occupation - grabbing the opportunity granted to other faculty graduates starting from 1990s. Their stories reveal the status differences teaching education and teaching occupation for women, and how women expect a higher performance from themselves at higher education than in professional life.

5.2.1. Narratives of "ending up being teachers": Two Generation of Teaching Department Graduates

Spending their childhood mostly in rural or provincial parts of the country, majority of the second-generation women share the same themes in their childhood narratives: Tomboyish character orientation, being fond of reading and reclusive study, valuing education over social life. However, "educating their daughters" is suggested less as a distinction -cultural asset- for women's born-families.

Younger generations, as well, tend to share with the pre-faculty generation the same family landscape of parents, sisters and a childhood in the rural/country. However, the "primacy given to education of daughters" loses its edge as the privileged term of the family story. This is because, family attitude for education of girls, cultural and educational capital of the family cease to be the visible explanatory factors for educational success/failure, for the girls. Girls' education becomes practically more central to the lives of the families but seemingly less effective, largely irrelevant,

over the educational outcomes girls would attain. Girls turn lonely in their stories on education.

The critical years in education take place not in schools but in preparation for them, in dershanes. Institutionalization of this transition period for higher education in dershane sector contributes to unhinging of the account of “educational success” with the entire life story. It is the university admission exams and the prior preparation process where women evaluate the value of their educational performance on an "objective criteria". 'Preparation for exams' and 'grades/performances' replace former generation's narratives on personal inclination, character development, and family support as the causal terms of educational story and ousts any social explanation for educational success or failure. Objectification of educational potential in preparation period performance and in exam grades disconnects the narrative of passing to higher education from the stories on family and personality[109]. Bourdieu (1986) calls this as the 'performative magic of the power of institutionalization'. Getting objectified in the dershane and exam performance of the girls, potential for higher education loses its connection with the family story, family's cultural capital and social class situation in general and becomes indisputable basis of evaluation, thus *the story*.

Education stories of youngest university generation teacher candidates are determined by the strategic lack of the theme, organizing childhood and youth stories of the former generation, 'growing out of the existing situation of class and femininity through education'. Complexity and girls' lack of initiative in faculty entrance process provides a strong account of *ambiguity* associated with higher education in their life stories.

In the faculty-generation’s narratives, the story of teaching starts at the period of university entrance examination. University entrance exam and prior exam preparation period appear as the decisive chapter/episode of the entire education life

of women. Educational attainment in those stories is an outcome of individual success; not connected with personality or upbringing linked with the cultural capital of the family as it was in the accounts of pre-faculty generation women.

For women, who had their university education in ES teaching departments, their educational formation is far from reflecting their initial will. They often mention about the dream fields they wished to study, all falling in the category of professions. Other faculty-department graduates, on the other hand, seem to better own their formations as their "choice". This contrast calls forth a discussion around two important arguments: ES teaching education has been connoted with working classes and thus is a subject of dis-identification for middle classes, setting a norm for the entire society. Furthermore, "meritocratic" discourse of university education ranks the fields of study according to future earning capacity and/or level of professionalization in the occupation, and based-on this criterion, teaching appears as a low-track field of education. Therefore, it is significant that women's accounts on university education carry overtones of dissatisfaction, if they studied teaching.

Faculty education, diversification of the study fields and occupations open to women, higher education, emergence of urban youth culture and youth as a distinct life course, thus all the social institutions feeding the discourse and practical search on opportunities, alternatives, availability of choice and preference seems to have impacted women in complex ways and generally creating a sense of ambiguity, "not complete task of self-realization" or "having made something wrong"[110]. Despite all the promises of the expanded area of initiative for women, gender and class situation rarely changes and presents a new recalcitrance. Education, in this new installation of social institutions and life course experiences deploys ambiguous and contradictory meanings, as a frame of reference, for women.

Feminine and lower-class outlook of elementary school teacher education continues to prevail. But this time, it unfolds in a framework where, because of the gender and

[110] This structure of feelings finds expressions in women's turning back to their hometowns years after they start to work or after graduation in the later life courses.

class conformity of teaching, women are determinably directed to the occupation; and dreams and aspirations, sometimes potentials of them are, therefore, thwarted. Stories on 'unfulfilled dreams', 'lost chances' and "necessity" start to occupy a huge place in education narratives of the women. Also, it needs to be remembered that women generally enter elementary teacher departments in university after failing in their previous attempts to get an admission from their "dream departments".

> I actually wanted to study **law**. When I didn't have enough points for that, I was first admitted to Business Administration under Vocational School of Higher Education at Dicle University. When I graduated as the highest ranked student, I was granted a right to vertical transfer. But since Diyarbakır University didn't have a Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences, **my father didn't allow me to go** to another university. Therefore, I started working. After a while, I started studying again with my willingness to study. So, becoming a teacher was a **coincidence**. If I studied at another department, I guess that could also be a coincidence. (Serap, Silopi, 1966)

> (And how did you decide to become a teacher?) **by coincidence**... I didn't very conscious about my choices, I added teachers college to my choices with the idea that the worst could be teacher college since I had **being a lawyer** in mind all the time... I wanted to become a lawyer, but I couldn't, **I was admitted to department of teaching**. So that's how I began. (Sevgi, Hatay, 1971)

With emergence of the mass provision system in the university education, there appears a seeming availability of higher education for all and, along with it, possibility of studying any field desired on the condition that satisfactory hard work is invested for preparation. In this cultural representation of higher education, "choice of study field" is presented to be reflective of individual philosophy on life, as a choice between professional formations, work life and occupations, life styles, and simply futures. More importantly still, related stories are presented as women's statements on their own personalities, values and priorities concerning those sectors of life. This is in parallelism with the late modern phenomenon of shift in the reflexive identities and thus life stories from "normative biographies" to "choice biographies" (Beck 2000)[111]. Under influence of the post-industrial reshuffling (deterritorialization and detraditionalization[112]) of the previous couplings,

[111] Rising insecurities and uncertainties, according to Beck (2000) have created a risk society where not categoric belongings but individual lives are the rule. Here, typical life paths and their narratives (normative biographies) are being replaced by individualized life stories (choice biographies). Unlike the former, choice biographies are organized around the gist that life story is an outcome of individual choices, not ethnic, social, economic and cultural formatiaon and belongings.

continuums and configurations between educational, occupational and familial ranks and belongings previously streamlined by social class positions, and individualization in perceived capacity and risk to shape life chances and social mobility steer people away from defining and representing themselves with reference to categorical and collective belongings (of class, gender … others) and drive into new, individual level identity affirmations based on creatively and performed identity works (Giddens 1993). Walkerdine & Ringrose (2006) also elaborates that among the factors triggering the emergence of the subject of neo-liberal choice (241) are rise of service sector and expansion of the university system. Both, she underlines that, creates an illusion of becoming middle class for the working-class individuals and thus creates contexts of narrating "choice" as the basis of individual identity.

Hence, whatever happens to the individual is the responsibility of the individual, not a consequence of categorical positionings like social class, gender and family condition. Faculty education is increasingly perceived with the terms of the choice biographies. Meritocratic ideal, suggesting that "competition is the rule" and "one always chooses what is the best she can attain" substantiates the chose biographies in the higher education and the tacit consequence of this biographies is categorization of teacher education as an underachievement or poor value-orientation.

Irrelevance of the study area choice with 'material concerns towards future' seems to be another implicit condition of a positively valued narrative, regarding the faculty preference process. Within the classificatory coordinates set by the narratives, choosing a faculty/department for future earning capacity or occupational and material security is accepted as a lower class, hence, low-aspiration disposition. Narratives stressing the individual interest in *art and science -intellectual- basis* of a field and *personal value orientation to occupational culture*

[112] De-traditionalization means a break with the traditional categories and couplings in the lives of individuals and de-territorialization expresses the break with olf couplings between spaces and life courses, belongings, and experiences.

and mission are the building blocks of representing cultural refinement, sophistication and qualifying a proper "choice" and individual capacity for decision making. In this frame, art-science basis of teacher education is considered poor. Yet, what is surprising is that culture and mission of teaching is also evaluated negatively[113].

> For example, I don't know anything about foreign languages, architecture or medicine … Teaching is not like them. Therefore, you can't really say "I thought it would be like that, so I applied." But you like it in time. (Nimet, Şarköy, 1980)

In general, the discursive field available to women in narrating their orientation to the field of elementary school teaching constitutes a limited resource in representing themselves with personalities, visions, and orientations proper. Material necessities, feminine ethic of nurture or traditional teacher idealism, surrounding historical formation of teaching ethos, are the main discursive reservoirs. "Ok, I do like children. And I accept that teaching is a holy duty. But, I believe I could have dealt with more serious works" (Zeynep, Antalya, 1976).

As a rule, the language of material conditions and necessities is employed in explaining "choosing" elementary teacher departments, unlike the narratives of pre-faculty generation women:

> Classrooms, documents, books were very limited. So, I wanted to study engineering but I couldn't. And when you got enough points, we would make choices and apply to schools without knowing our points for sure. So I was admitted by the department of physics under Science and Literature Faculty at Erciyes University. First, I wanted to quit, but then I couldn't, I was afraid of öys- öss results. (Yeliz, Silopi, 1978)

> I actually didn't wan tot study teaching when I graduated. I always wanted to become a school counsellor. But I couldn't. I was admitted in my first year, and I was admitted without studying, maybe the other possibilities would be possible if I

[113] Teacher training departments of education faculties and educational sciences in general have been fighting to be recognition as a scholarly field and thus pursuing some strategies in relation to main subject fields and core disciplines in academia:
"As teacher training became more firmly embedded within university departments of education, the distinction between subject-based knowledge (biology, history, physics, etc.) and knowledge of the founding disciplines (philosophy, psychology, sociology) came to be of crucial importance. Initial teacher educators became caught up in the increasingly more professional world of higher education, where specialist knowledge had become the hallmark of professional distinction. Their strongest claim to specialist knowledge was through the practical application of philosophical, psychological and sociological insights to the field of education" (Nixon, Cope, McNally, Rodrigues, and Stephen 2000: 246)

> had studied a little bit. I would probably pass if I took the exam again. My father didn't want me to freeze my education since there would be only one salary. I had to pay a tuititon fee. They thought I would lose a year. They thought teaching was a good and appropriate job for women. It was really good, but maybe it would be better if I had studied to become a school counsellor. (Nimet, Şarköy, 1980)

Feminine ethic of nurture enters the stories as a reason of choosing to teach in the form of very common and *sometimes very crude* retrospective statements on having been loving children since childhood. This justification for choosing teaching generally offered by women as an additional factor or the statement is simply used as a punctuation. In fact, women use this as a frame of ending a story, cutting short, shifting to another theme, depersonalizing the story and jumping to a general level instead of detailed and personal one. Melahat's example is exemplary. As a typical story line, after mentioning all her disappointments for not having been able to practice her university education field (chemistry teaching), Melahat suggests "loving children" as to end her story on education and to move to telling about her teaching life. Emotional consensus the statement of "loving children" creates between the the narrator and the listener is the effortless way to finish a story.

> (Did you ever think about teacher in your subject?) Of course, I did. I actually thought about it in the first years. Then, this was my job. And I really liked children. Maybe this is what happened because I liked children. (Melahat, Malatya, 1970)

As manifested in the narratives of women, student preference for and placement in elementary school teaching departments is largely lived as a reality of lower social class reality of limited opportunities. This context of experience keeps producing the current cultural frames that classify elementary school teaching as a lower-class educational and occupational path and vision. However, the tacit suggestion of equal opportunities in the meritocratic ideal, which has discursive hegemony in the field of university education, reiterates this context of "lower class limited opportunities" as "low aspirations of the lower classes, dragging them into an urge for having an occupational and material security in a modest public occupation". In narratives of women, it is crystal clear how lower-class origin is rapidly associated with low intellectual capacity, with low aspirations and guarantee seeking motivation and all in turn are metonyms of moral weakness. They narrate this

conviction, referring to their class-mates who they deem fitting in the famous stereotypes on education faculties and their student profile.

> Frustration. When I went to university at Atatürk Faculty of Education, I thought everybody wanted to become a teacher as much as I did. But no, they had just gotten out of their villages, they didn't have a clue about the world. Being a teacher didn't mean too much to them, they considered it just another profession, they had this state of mind where they could become a teacher in the worst case if they couldn't become anything else. There was no KPSS (PPSE) (civil servant assignment exam) at that time, so they had that mentality. I don't know how much they have grown after four years. (Zeynep, 1976, Antalya)

> The ones studying to become a class teacher were somehow coming from the the rural areas. I don't really want to say it, but they weren't intellectuals. We can say the same thing about the profile of the schools at the moment. It was especially like that in our time. Yes. They had the idea that teaching was a good profession with **guaranteed welfare**. This was the profile of students. There were few of us who were special. Some of them were from regular high schools like I was. Most of them were coming from teachers high schools thanks to the additional points they received. We were selected, we built a life as we wanted. My friends at the dormitory were studying at **foreign languages department**. The profile is known to be a bit better at those departments of the **university**. We were friends with them, it was nice. (Hatice, Hatay, 1975)

Arzu is an economics department graduate and discusses a similar point, putting stress on "low quality education and lower-class students of education faculties":

> I believe that the colleagues who are from other departments of the university are better at this profession, that we create a better synergy. You can't teach a person how to become a teacher. There are couple of class teachers I know here who are not even close to being a real teacher. I don't want to be so harsh on them, but that's the situation. You can't make people teachers, so I don't think that it should be something that is taught at university. It should be in you. It starts with loving children. If we consider it as a profession where you go in and out of classroom, then yes, faculties of education should train people to become teachers. But if teaching for you is a process that starts from the moment you wake up and ends when you go to bed, then you are real teacher. So, loving a child, taking care of any of her/his problems, thinking about her/him, embracing her/him, embracing the school is what being a real teacher is. If you don't like children and you are making money out of teaching, that is totally the opposite of my idea. I look at the class teachers who are past graduates of faculty of education, they are literally like Joe Schmoes. Both in terms of appearance and mentality. So, (us, graduates of other faculties/departments) gave life to teaching, we took it to another dimension. They culturally developed so much. (Arzu, Trabzon, 1973)

Asked about why they preferred an elementary school teaching department, women react as if they are questioned for 'keeping their aspirations low'. This is the hidden script intervening in the interview. It is mentioned in the plainest way by Buse: "You mean, what could not I do better, huh?" (Antalya, Zeynep, 1976; Antalya, Buse, 1983). This cultural frame constitutes the optical unconscious in women's accounts

on teacher education faculties and especially primary school teaching departments. Though not seen within the narratives openly, the historical stigma of primary school teaching institutions informs and regulate the stories of women[114].

In general, academic education is evaluated as an important dimension of professions and with introduction of university level formation, an occupation is accepted to have excelled in professional status. However, the *lower-class* stigma attached to teacher education seems to have become far **more obvious** at the faculty level teacher education, as university education opens a dimension of "choice" for the narratives of educational -occupational orientations. It is assumed that rather than being a material necessity, as it was during the time pre-faculty education criterion was applying and only rural lower-class children were getting into teacher education due to poverty, faculty education grants the *chance of choice*. If one can afford having a university education, s/he can choose any department and this choice between fields and *departments* clearly show approaches, motivations, values and concerns about life. Here, imagined questioning in the life story interviews is viewed to target embodied cultural capital, -visions, (family) values- rather than economic capital, therefore acquires a tone of *moral judgement* (Reay, David, and Ball 2005). Faculty preference stories of other faculty graduates present major differences. The reasons they suggest for choosing a particular faculty and field are much clearer, and narrate specific culture and vision of, for example, engineering or science and provide a stronger personal identification with the field.

> I liked studying Chemical Engineering and I finished it successfully. Studying a science was always my thing. It was what I saw fit for myself, studying by pushing myself, following world trends... Then, I wanted to become a branch teacher. Science, chemistry, my own branch. I never thought I would become a class teacher… I did like my job, but it wasn't enough for me. I wanted to become a branch teacher. Especially I liked the idea more after working as a science teacher for a while… I applied for the change of area. But it didn't work. (Hande, Malatya, 1974)

[114] Teacher education has been associated with low aspiration towards achieving the best one could, in realizing one's full potential, due to a fondness on material security. This understanding has found a new ground after introduction of faculty education, instead of getting disappeared. Similar lines of argument later emerge in discussions of ideal teacher where obsession with money and material concerns are mentioned to be an epidemic moral problem among teachers.

Ayça suggests a continuity between childhood orientations, family story and field choice in university education, just like majority of the women from the pre-faculty generation do. This continuity points out that women claim agency in their education lives, generating stories of personal kind, producing meaning and explanation for their experiences:

> I am originally a geophysics teacher. Applications to become a teacher were open the year I finished faculty of engineering. That year, 87 teachers were assigned to Malatya... Then my dad … My dad was one of the reasons why I wanted to study geophysics engineering. Since he used to work at Turkish Oil, staff going from Batman to Black Sea Region always stayed here when we were kids. And there weren't many personnel at the housing area (lojman). It was only four houses. And the children in these houses used to spend time with them for 4-5 days. They were always in their caravans, in machinery etc. So that was quite a motivation for me to choose that area. And I was always interested in strange things. Tools, machines… To use them and and of course, to become and engineer and work in that area… So, I was never a fragile girl. (Ayça, Malatya, 1975)

In Fatma's case, the theme, common in the statements of teaching department graduate women for "having made a mistake" and therefore having ended up in teaching is the main pattern of her story on education and work life.

> My husband is also a teacher, a history teacher. Our subjects are different. I didn't study to become a class teacher. Before thirteen years, I remember that thanks to the Minister of National Education, Mehmet Sağlam, all university graduates were granted the right to become teachers due to need for teachers, so we used this opportunity and became one. Otherwise, I would never become one. I mean, I had a pedagogical formation training, but I still would not become one. I would have liked to work at different places. History and archives attracted me. I could have done researches in that field. I applied to Master's Education. I made a mistake and left it during thesis period. I worked at the National Library. I got my thesis from there. It was quite difficult but I got married during the best times of my education, unfortunately. And you know, it's hard for women to study when married with children. My thesis was about a religious registry, a registry of a cadi (a muslim judge) in Mersimilik province. (Hale, Antalya, 1968)

5.2.2. Narratives of Entering Teaching: Other Faculty Graduates

Stories of the women with other university and faculty educations, on their entering in elementary school teaching, reveal the social mechanisms directing women into the occupation and the way the common understanding that "elementary school teaching is the most appropriate job for women" is re-produced by families, husbands, women themselves in a number of common contexts.

It is striking that, those women, in their narratives, emphasize their being *proud* -of not having their higher education in this typical feminine field (of elementary school teaching) and having followed their dreams in others, and yet, rapidly shifting from this idealist paradigm to realist one in narrating their choice of elementary school teaching as their job in following life stages. They assert, in view of their *adulthood conditions*, determined by being a woman in work life, being married, having families and children to take care of, it was smart to choose ES teaching. Thus, whereas in youth, being aspirant and going after dreams in faculty education and study field choice are valued tendencies; in adulthood, women had better comply with the social norms and expectations.

Meanwhile, regarding the reasons why ES teaching is a smart choice for women, typical features of the occupation are mentioned: public employment; leave rights for pregnancy, maternity and emergency situations; limited hours and work days; inexistence of career schemes, the promise of respectability for women.

Women's motivations in entering ES teaching and the way they end up being teachers need to be examined in terms of gendered negotiations of the particular life stage it corresponds. Almost all the women teachers with different educational formations -than teacher education- mention reasons which relate to women's typical needs in balancing family and work responsibilities at early years of both marriage and work life, for entering teaching. While, for some, this is dramatic due to the dreams lost thereof (of practicing the profession they studied in university), for some others, it is a smart move since unlike teacher education, teaching occupation is respectable and desirable in many ways for women. This part examines the stories of women with different educational backgrounds who later entered ES teaching, at a more detailed level than rest of the analysis chapter. Doing this, it aims to present with clarity that women from different educational backgrounds and different socio-economic groups feel similar pressures in the work life and approach ES teaching upon similar motivations. Following part looks at the individual stories of women with other faculty education formations as to illuminate better the similarities and particularities in their stories.

Arzu

Arzu's (1973) story of entering in elementary school teaching covers all the common experiences, young women would go through in small provincial cities regarding education, work and marriage issues. She is the second daughter of her family, living in a village. She had a difficult university education period during which she had to stay at her brother's house. She studied economics.

Arzu, after having endured all the difficulties of living with her brother's family throughout her university education, ended up being unemployed as it was typical for economics department graduates, at that time. Unemployment meant being obliged to turn back to the village, her parents' home, for her. This was intolerable for her, since she had embraced education, above all as a way of getting out of the village and rejecting becoming a housewife. She tried to work as a paid teacher in her subject field, economics, in a high school. Just like many of the young people, she accepted low wages and insecure employment schemes not to spend her unemployment period at home.

> that year I graduated from the university, and my father was released from the hospital. Then, I was **of course unemployed**. Could I stay **at that village**? Of course, I started getting stressed about it. Then one of my friends offered me to work as **a part-time teacher** at this business high school in Surmene where s/he worked. I went there. **The payment was low, but the important thing for me was to get out of the house and work**. I started teaching at the business high school. I taught for one year. And after that, I was of course looking for other jobs.

She then tried her chance for a position in an institutional company, İş Bankası, in spite of the fact that she was overqualified for the position. Her narrative over this attempt carries overtones of resentment. She was rejected "despite her university degree". She explains this situation with the "favouratism" involved in the selection process although she was informed that this is an institutional and office work which requires being "presentable" and she herself doubted whether she had this qualification.

> Meanwhile, **İş Bankası** opened a call for exam to work at that bank. I took the exam in Istanbul. I passed, and they invited me for an interview. Of course, **nepotism was at its best,** and they didn't hire me. Most of the people who were there were **high**

> **school, distance education graduates.** I was a university graduate, but they still didn't hire me. After I came back from Istanbul, I was still looking for jobs.

Eventually, she found a secretariat work in one of the market chains in her town. There were some early signs of coming problems with the management. Yet, although not so high prestige, it was a well-paying job.

> You know the market chains called "Kiler" today in Of, I heard that they were looking for someone like a secretary, and it was paying well. It was almost as good as the teachers' salary of today. I went to that store in Of. I met my late husband there. He was quite an annoying person at first. But he told me to come back and start working the other day.

Meanwhile, (she confuses the order of events) she enrolled in a certificate program to be a high school teacher.

> In those days, wait, I must have confused the order of events. Semester ended, it was summer holiday, my friends told me that Selçuk University had a pedagogic formation certificate programme and that I should become a teacher for business high school. There was only one institution educating people to become teachers at business high schools, the rest was from the department of economics. I went to Selçuk, Konya and talked to my father. He had full trust in me by then. He didn't say no to anything. I applied to the programme and there was a tuition fee. My father lended me that money and I deposited it. There was a dormitory next to the fair, I enrolled there, and I obtained a formation certificate from Konya Selçuk University in three months. And my father passed away when I was studying there. I went to the funeral and then came back. I completed the programme.

She got the education certificate but she was about to start working in the market chain. In the intervening time, she took her little sisters and brothers to her house for them to continue education, just like once her brother had done for her. Her relation with the manager of the market, she was working for, took a romantic twist and then evolved into marriage.

> Then it was the second year and I was asking myself what I would do. There were no other teaching jobs. Then my colleagues at school told me that Kiler was looking for employees. I went there and talk to the manager who then became my husband. He told me to start working the next day. And I started. I was happy since I had a job. But I had to work until late every day. I rented an apartment in Sürmene. I took my three siblings with me. I was looking after them financially and house work-wise. My father had passed away. I can't say I was taking good care of them. I was coming home late, they used to arrive home before and took care of themselves but I was still cooking for them. I was first annoyed by that manager. Then it turned into love. He was quite older than me, like 12-13 years old. I had never thought about him that way but then we got married.

Her husband did not want her to "work". However, in his understanding, Arzu's working apparently meant her working at private sector, in insecure and demanding jobs which are also open to sexual harassment for women. For this reason, it is telling that her husband who did not want her to work, made the related applications for her to be assigned as an elementary school teacher, acting on the temporary chance for recruitment.

> After we got engaged, he didn't want me to work. Meanwhile, I got pregnant. We slept together before marriage. I wasn't married yet and I was pregnant, and my soon to be husband told me not to work, I already had the risk of miscarriage, I was pregnant to twins. I quit my job at Kiler. There was an opportunity to become a teacher at that time. My husband took care of all the proceedings, and I applied to become a teacher when I was pregnant. I was assigned to Bingöl, I got married, and then I gave birth to my children. Six months after marriage, I gave birth… I was assigned and went to Bingöl. My children were very little, they were nine months old. How could I work in Bingöl when I had that little children? I took a casual leave and left. I took a casual leave, after starting there.

Arzu would not work in another city, where she was assigned as class teacher, since her children were small. However, assignment procedures took time and she wanted to use maternity leave. Yet, she could not since the school management did not have adequate knowledge about the procedures. It was striking that in an occupation which employs so many women, school managements do not have required knowledge about the maternity leave procedures. She had to profess the procedures herself and follow the process.

> I came to Trabzon and obtained a medical report. After three months, I went to Ankara, and they told me that they would assign me again during the semester break, but I should take a maternity leave until then. They didn't approve my leave in Bingöl. Since they didn't attend seminars etc., they didn't follow the regulations well. Back then it was like that. There was no way they could approve my leave. They told me that I hadn't given birth recently. Then the officials in Ankara told me that the school administration in Bingöl should provide me a letter of objection regarding the rejection. I was not that easy to reject. ı went to Ankara of course, they had to approve a leave since they couldn't give me a letter of objection, I got an unpaid leave, went to Ankara, found the branch director of national education and told him that he promised me an re-assignment from Bingöl. I told him that he should take care of this in one hour. He told me that it was obvious I was from the Black Sea Region, and that it was one day, not an hour. He kept his promise, I got my assignment that day and came to Trabzon. (Arzu, Trabzon, 1973)

In Arzu's story, work proper is openly defined as public or quasi-public employment in a state institution or in a big, old, institutionalized private organization. An

eligible work for her needed to be a safe work in terms of both employment-security and harassment possibilities.

In her each shot to attain such a job, she has felt embarrassment: with the paid teacher position in the high school, upon the rejection from a bank position for which she is overqualified with education criteria. It is possible to see how her social background ("not being presentable enough") causing failure in entering in a secure office position in an institutional bank is read to be "favoritism of middle classes", in distributing proper office work to the applicants. Eventually, as a part of her undesired early pregnancy, her husband made an application to elementary school teaching position, considering teaching as the only option left to her to engage with during her pregnancy. After being accepted in teaching, she started to grapple with the management and bureaucracy as a pregnant woman for her leave rights. Here, instead of "being presentable", primary competency is "knowing the ways" (how things "really work differently than what is prescribed by the book"/official procedures) and she held this competency. For Arzu, elementary school teaching would finally give her dues she deserved "holding a university degree".

Arzu is from one of the first generations for whom university education failed to deliver its promises due to university boom, sky-rocketed number of university degree-holders, and youth unemployment. In refusal of İşbank for "not having the manners and styles" associated with middle classes she saw favouratism; but reality is connected with the increasing irrelevance of university degrees for high profile office jobs and introduction of further criteria for admission.

Hande

Hande (1974) is the eldest daughter of the 4 children of her lower middle-class family. Although their father did not support their education much, she always achieved to have "a bright academic record".

However, Hande had to put aside all her individual desires for, first, studying the field she idealized which matched her level of academic success (medicine); then for working in her field of education in the private sector; then, of working as a

subject teacher of her field (chemical engineering), due to changing patriarchal restrictions unfolded through her life stages. After sudden loss of her mother, she was forced by her father to have her university education in her hometown (Malatya) and thus had to give up studying medicine in spite of her high exam grades. She, as the eldest sister, had to take care of her younger sisters and brothers. Her romantic attachment with a man from her hometown and their eventual marriage, then, caused an interval in her professional life that had actually taken a lucky turn in a laboratory in İzmir and later her pregnancy cut short her dreams of getting assigned as a chemistry teacher in a high school.

Later she acquired some certificates enabling her to work as a teacher at precarious teaching positions (substitute teacher, paid teacher...). Eventually she became redundant in her school as a result of a new regulation restricting number of teaching personnel in schools (norm kadro). All those trials to study medicine, to practice her university formation, chemical engineering, as a professional engagement or in teaching fails and thus she entered elementary school teaching as a consequence of her gender condition and gendered life course shifts.

> I was admitted to Istanbul University. Again, it was Teaching Chemistry. And my **father didn't let me go** (laughs...). (Why?) I was **the oldest child, you know, so he wanted me to stay in Malatya**. He didn't want to let me go... I was admitted to Department of Chemical Engineering. I was admitted at the first place with my mathematics score of 449... It was school, house work and my siblings at the same time. It was very difficult, but I finished my studies in 4 years. Then I said: "Okay, **now I'm done with studies and I will not stay here and work (laughs.) No, not Malatya, no way.** First, I went to my aunt's in Izmit. There are many companies located in İzmit, you know. I was hired by the first company I applied. My father did not want to accept it of course, but I left anyway. I went (to Izmit) and **I was hired by the first company I applied**... As an engineer, I was at the lab. But we still had a thing with my **husband back then**. We knew each other from the university. He was also from Malatya. Let me see, yes, then I worked for 7 months. Then I told myself: **if what we have continues, then I would go back to Malatya**. And so it happened. I went back after 7 months... **I taught agriculture – business**. Before, I was a **substitute English teacher**. Here, at Atatürk. **I had certificates. So, I taught English**. After that, I was **assigned as a class teacher**... We were in Yağmurlu… ☺ **Our principal** was kind of a problem. It was not only my case, it was the same with all the teachers. I wasn't leaving the class that much. I was in good terms with the colleagues at middle-school, but I wasn't with the ones at the primary school. It was unitl 2003 for 4-5 years. Then **I became an extra teacher**. They merged my class with another one, and I became an extra teacher. I taught to first grades. I had 10-12 students when it was the second grade. Then my class was merged. And it's really problematic to leave your child and go when you actually don't teach. I taught English at a high school with many programmes in Akçadağ. **I taught science** at several schools in the center. (laughs) I did that for one semester,

> the science teacher was on maternity leave. **I really liked that job**. (At least you are versatile in that sense…) I don't like to sit and wait. It wasn't nice to sit and do nothing and still get paid for me. I worked. Then, I always wanted to become **a branch teacher**. Science, chemistry, I mean my branch. I had never considered becoming a class teacher… I mean, I liked doing it, but it wasn't enough. I wanted to become a branch teacher back then. I wanted that even more after working as a science teacher for one semester… I applied to change branch. But I couldn't. There were many formalities including my low score, the obligation to become an extra teacher etc. Then when I was pregnant, **a science teacher position was opened in a village called** Akçadağ-Levent-Çobanuşağı. But it was 80 km away. You had to pass valleys. I was 6 months pregnant by then. So I had to stay at a housing (lojman) there. **And my husband didn't want that**. Then I couldn't accept the position. But **I wish I did**. (Really?) Because I didn't get any other chance like that again.

Hande tried her chances of studying the field she desired and practicing it in private sector and then in subject area teaching. Elementary school teaching, in her case however, became the only alternative left to her, after shouldering the responsibility of caring of her sisters and brothers at young age, then marriage and having children.

Melahat

Melahat (1970) graduated from Atatürk University, Agricultural Sciences Faculty. She "filled" her unemployment years after graduation through working as a paid teacher in high schools. She denied this as a status of work proper. Just like others, paid teaching did not constitute a work life -although a teaching experience in her own education field made her happy. She presented this distance and dis-identification as a consequence of her unfamiliarity with teaching, mentioning she "actually did not know anything about teaching".

> I was a contract teacher for 1 year before at the Agriculture Section. Since it was a vocation. But now I compare my present knowledge with my knowledge back then. Even with the first year of my assignment. Then it was like **filling in time**. **Or I helped about the subjects regarding my profession.** But I wasn't qualified enough for that teaching. I took courses about that education. Since we didn't know anything about that vocation, it was helpful.

Despite her paid teaching experience, she mentions that she did not work for 6 years after graduation. Her later assignment as an elementary school teacher was a "chance" (kısmet), as she made her application at the "last minute", after "coincidentally" learning about the opportunity and thanks to an "unexpected" extension in application deadline.

> I didn't have teacher education. I graduated from the Faculty of Agriculture in Erzurum. I studied at Department of Horticultural Crops of Atatürk University. **I waited for 6 years after graduation**. Then there were assignment. My friends and I applied. It was very interesting. It was on the last day and in the last second almost (laughs). It was like that back then. We used to hear from someone else. One day, a friend of mine and I were out in downtown. She asked me if I heard about this thing. And I said, "Really? I never heard." And she told me, "How come you didn't?" There were applications for one month and then they extended it. **We immediately applied**. They asked for many documents including committee report etc. There were so many procedures. Luckily, then extended the period for two more days. That's how we applied. There were people on the road who couldn't make it. I guess it's faith, after all.

Melahat was raised by her relatives after losing her mother and father and again she got married "with their support" after completing university education. At the progressive stages of the interview, she states that her being an orphan (kimsesiz) girl child was effective on her getting married immediately after graduation. She also mentions that after marriage her chances of getting a job turned limited. A suitable position could be only in the state sector (devlet bünyesinde). But entering in the public sector through her own educational formation would be difficult. Therefore, she dealt with "putting her marriage on track" for 6 years. Elementary school teaching then emerged as a peerless opportunity to her.

> I married as soon as I came with someone from Malatya. I got engaged in the last year... **We lost mom and dad when I was in my second year at the university.** I was the oldest child. I had one sister and one brother. My sister was still very little when it happened. She was 12. Then my uncle and my grandmother stepped in. They were with us. Thanks to their help, I could **finish my studies.** And I immediately got married after graduation. **They also helped about my marriage.** And my husband was the older brother of a friend. My family didn't know him but they liked him after they met, so we got married. **I was at home for 6 years since I couldn't find any jobs.** I tried to find a couple of times. **You are already not able to just get any job when you are a woman. And the state didn't hire any civil servants** after my graduation. They weren't hiring agricultural engineers. **It was a big nothingness.** I spent those 6 years settling with married life at home, getting to know my husband's family and getting myself accepted by them.

Another key aspect of the Melahat' story depends on her wearing headscarf. After graduation, her headscarf discouraged her from considering public employment on serious terms. Today, her wearing it did not constitute a problem in teaching, as she takes off her headscarf in school. This is not an issue in classroom where only primary school children exist and also in teachers' room which was abandoned by male teachers who preferred to gather in the tea-room to give her space.

Ayça

Ayça (1975, Malatya) opted for studying geophysics engineering in university for her desire to practice her father's occupation. But as his was a "field job" and because "it would not suit a married woman", instead of geo-physics engineering, she chose teaching in her work life. Ayça neither lived an unemployment period, nor attempted to practice her occupation. This was closely related with inexistence of a teaching branch in her field. Further, noteworthy aspect of her story stems from the fact that she thought it is *not problematic* that she studied an engineering field and then chose teaching as her occupation. There seems to be a smooth passage between the two phases and the accompanying self-images of "idealist tomboyish aspiring young women choosing engineering for education" and that of "a married woman shifting to elementary school teaching rationally calculating the realities of life".

In fact, neither of the other women chose their departments planning to practice the subject field teaching, either. Hande (chemical engineering) wanted to work in laboratories; Melahat (garden planting engineering) wanted to get a public employment in her branch; Arzu (economist) tried banking. But, all of them considered subject field teaching as an appropriate employment alternative. Only after their chances for continuing teaching in those positions were disappeared, they opted for elementary school teaching. For Ayça, there has not been an alternative of subject field teaching due to her university field. The shared orientation between Ayça and other women is that they all prefer a secure public employment at teaching positions, after getting married, over other alternatives.

Ayça's story reveals three important points. First, general perception towards elementary school teacher education for its being historically lower class and close to vocational education has continued to complicate the charm of elementary school teacher education even after it became a faculty level formation. Extension of university education to include previously vocational education fields (and lower classes) has caused in middle classes a tendency towards distancing themselves

from those fields where they assume a preoccupation with future earning capacity, wage security and practitioner occupational identity predominate, and turned to intellectual and "professional" fields, even if they do not provide practical chances of employment. On the other hand, teaching is seen as an acceptable position in labour market even for women from middle classes. Thus, taking a university education in a more prestigious department and then entering in elementary school teaching may be understood as a perfectly middle class behavioral pattern. Second, and following from the first point, in this way of engagement and as articulated by Ayça, elementary school teaching appears as a type of *practical occupation* which requires on-the-work learning and experience than necessitating a specialized education. This is a particularly significant frame of thinking about elementary school teaching in the accounts of other university graduate women. Third, Ayça's story sheds light on the disproportionate success women present in higher education in terms of being spread to more diverse fields of study and their narrow range of activity in paid work. On the part of the women, women's idealism in university age and in youth and relatively conformist behavior they adopt in later life stages, thus in work life, may well present a continuity than a rupture; and this depends on the dominant norms of acceptability and respectability in society for women of different age periods.

> I am originally a geophysics engineer. Applications to become a teacher were open the year I finished faculty of engineering. That year, 87 teachers were assigned to Malatya including other branches. No, wait, 97 teachers. And then, after seeing that I was happy with teaching, I kept doing it. All my life, if somebody asked me what I wanted to become, **I never said teacher.** Not that I haven't thought about it for a while. But later, **especially as a woman, when you get married and have children**… And it was hard for me to carry out my profession since **it was a field work. When I realized that it wouldn't be possible or would be hard because of being a woman,** I kept teaching. This is my 14th year. Right now I'm happy. Everyone is happy. Apparently this was my destiny (laughs).

Fatma

For Fatma (1973, Trabzon), too, her field (aquaculture engineering) promising a limited area of employment, it was pretty logical to enter teaching.

> Then it was possible as you know the deal. I really like my profession, I think aquaculture engineering is a good and an active job if you could do it. But as a woman, you are a bit more restricted and your family doesn't give you that chance. So you keep in the background… (My family) liked the title of engineering but then

> they saw the hardships and they leaned towards teaching and thought it was better for a woman.

Fatma considered to pursue an academic career in her department but "as to keep up with her husband's life", opted for teaching.

> My goal was actually pursuing an academic career and I really wanted it, but I had to keep up with my husband's life. After university, he served in the military for a year, and another year passed that way, then one year after I started teaching and became a **civil servant,** we got married.

In fact, hers is a very controversial suggestion. Her husband's job was in Trabzon, her university province. In case she had got an academic post, she would have be able to stay in the same city with her husband. However, in teaching, her assignment would have most probably been to outside of the city. Really, her first place of assignment was a district of Mardin and only after one year, she could be assigned back to Trabzon, benefiting from the article on family-reunification in the legislation.

In perception of Fatma, an academic position is not as public employment (memuriyet) as teaching. Thus, public employment means a type of work and employment which is *moderate* in occupational status, with limited career opportunities, thus encourages a family-oriented than a career-oriented life for women.

İnci

İnci (1967, Antalya) was born in a town of Burdur and from the age 9, whe lived with her brother and then sister's families for her education; and according to her statement that was severely oppressing experiences for her. She then graduated from Atatürk Üniversity French Language and Literature department. Her university life had passed pretty active and hectic. She got a graduation exam in the last grade of university education and "only 2-3 succeeded in the exam at the time of her graduation". She turned back to her hometown, got a tourism certificate and started working in a Denizli hotel. She valued the opportunity of using her French language skills in this job. Meanwhile, she worked as a paid teacher in a nearby village. Then

she got married and because of their moving to another city, she got another job in an airways company in which she worked under heavy pressure and in a shift order. She had the "chance to talk" to the passengers of French airways company using her language skills. She applied to elementary school teaching under the pressure of her late coming pregnancy as to put her life into an easier order. She hesitated about teaching at first but then like all other women in her position, "loved teaching a lot".

> It was 1994, my father-in-law passed away, I was 4 months pregnant, he couldn't see the baby. Meanwhile, I received a letter from the Ministry of National Education regarding application to becoming a class teacher. I thought if I could do that job or not for a while, and then I applied in 1994 and I was assigned. I immediately went to my supervisor at the airport and told him, "I was assigned to become a class teacher, and my first place is Yozgat, I have to got here but I don't know how to handle the situation, I would like to go there and see, and quit if I like it, and if not, I would like to come back and keep working.

For her, a job allowing her to use her French language skills is a longing. After a couple of years in teaching, she caught the chance for going to France for practicing teaching in a special program supported by the Ministry of Education. After a couple of years, she turned back and then worked as a school principal for some time.

As is seen in the interviews with the other faculty graduates of the Faculty generation, the women entering the occupation without a teacher education are more likely to have searches for career expansion and progression; and get beyond typical woman interpretation of the profession and career in teaching. Among them a noteworthy majority have channeled their diverse searches and aspirations into teaching and tried different career paths and styles. Ayça has developed a managerial vision in teaching and already succeeded in getting the specialist teacher grade. Hande has focused on organization of extra-curricular events which would later encourage her to shift to private education sector for its better resources for similar events. İnci has caught the chance to work in France as to put into use her education in French language and latter brought her experiences to her school back in Turkey. In their unconventional interpretations and appropriations of the profession, their coming late to the occupation, without a schoolteacher education, is effective in two ways. First, they desire to use the skills they acquired during their university education in different fields. Second, they develop an outsider perspective

in which they imagine they have to tackle with the criticisms stemming from their not holding a schoolteacher education diploma and prove that they are just as good as others and even better.

5.2.3. Education and Changing Morals of Being a Proper Young Woman, University Life and Education

Differences between the accounts of women who take their education in pre-faculty- and those in faculty level schools are particularly significant in depicting two generations through school lives and their approaches to the youth culture/activities. In pre-faculty education schools and for relatively older generation[115] in faculties, the general attitude tangible in women's narratives indicates that, women believe, being too *desirous and active* in peer activities is morally wrong, not decent for young women. The frame of "not being eager" (for the indulgences of urban youth life) appears in descriptions of boarding school and university life experiences as a moral limit not to be trespassed. Within the same frame, they refuse any sign of desire for having their education away from their families and the independence defined within this context:

> I never had the urge to be in Malatya. (Did you want to go to another city?) I wasn't that into it. Since I already knew how it was. (You mean being independent from your family?) I mean, getting away from Malatya. I was a child that never got bored of anything… I never had any problems. I never had the urge to go somewhere and live my youth… I was never interested in that. But of course, university life is totally something else. Don't I miss those years now? I do, but I also never felt like there was something missing… Since I have been there and done that, I always acted reasonably. This includes socializing, studying, everything. I never had any problems. And when I was leaving, I wasn't so willing to do that. (Ayça, Malatya, 1975)

> I was a good student who focused on the lectures. I was happy with my books, my family, and I wasn't willing to study away from my family. I didn't have many friends, I only had couple of them from the teacher school, and I didn't like to go out often. I finished teachers school happily. I had friends who used to stay at school's dormitory, they used to get bored and I used to get permission for them to host them, then they would stay at our place and go out. They used to get bored, but I didn't. (Begüm, Ankara, 1954)

[115] There is a middle generation between oldest and youngest generation. They are generally late graduates of vocational education schools and education institutes and early graduates of education faculties. Their narratives suggest a mixed pattern over the common themes of education story.

As indicated by the word, eagerness, being too enthusiastic for youth peer culture experiences are not only inappropriate for girls but also a lower-class disposition as well; and lower class is a trope for moral deficiency. In narratives of the previous generations, desires of *independence* and *freedom* is taken to mean being (promiscuously) eager for funs of urban youth and a manifestation of lower class femininity by women.

Moral inferiority of being eager for the fun and joys of having an independent life during their higher education away from families and together with peers is also explained to be stemming from 'boredom'. Boredom suggestively leads women into off-the-track vis-à-vis education and family life. It also denotes idleness in mind and in activities. Implied idleness covered in the term of “boredom” in women's narratives is placed in contradiction with the dutifulness in women's character ("I was not a child get bored") and family upbringing ("I was not a kind of child getting bored thanks to our lifestyle").

Promiscuous connotations and perceived moral danger of the notion of independence (which would come with education life) starts to loosen in the last generation women, born in late 1970s and in1980s. Participation in urban youth culture and activities, as signifiers of independence and freedom, starts to get positive references in the answers of the youngest generation. Independence attained by leaving family and furthering education is positively valued as the first time in women's life stories. They do not refrain from openly stating their search and desire for freedom and urban activities.

> I always said that I would go here, I would go there, I would see this and that, so I was always hungry to do something as a person who could never go to the movies or theatre. I did them, I believe I did good about my personal development. I liberated myself. In this sense, I had a social environment in Trabzon. We did some things there. At the end of that period, we experienced political and social consequences, as we are also experiencing right now. (Şule, Trabzon, 1988)

Contrary to earlier generations' interpretations, urban youth culture and urban experiences qualify a hallmark of being a *proper young person*. Indeed, failing to achieve a sociable standing and an active social life is a symptom of character

problems. “I mean she was never getting out. I never see her sitting at a café. She has only one friend, that’s all. She has problems for sure” (Nur, Silopi, 1983).
Still, there are some specific limits to the types of activities approved by women. Approved activities include sharing house with girl-friends, hosting groups of friends -not in private but in a group activity setting -, going to cinema, theatre and picnics, and short travels. Flirt is partly accepted and labeled as "having friendship with boys" but sexuality is strictly excluded. “We were knowing each other from the university. We had a friend group. In that sense there was flirt. But it does not mean that we used to spend time alone as two” (Deniz, Silopi, 1983).

Friend groups are the common term of the narratives on women's social life in university period. Friendship, when lived in groups, seems to be protective against sexual and moral dangers that may be lived in mixed sex environments.

Regarding the education in teaching departments of the universities, women’s accounts are similar. Curriculum of elementary school teacher education is generally evaluated as comparatively "easy to study". Women describe that easiness upon their testimonies on the hard work other faculty/department students had to put for their courses.

> They hadn’t taught us anything. What they taught was some sociological terms, philosophical approaches like Jean Jacques’s philosophical approach etc. That’s what we focused on. Actually, you can learn how to do this job by practicing. I really didn’t know what “goal”, “achievement” meant. I studied for 4 years but for what?! And I graduated with a GPA of 70 something. I was asking myself why I didn’t learn anything at all. There were people studying French literature at the university. They constantly studied while we… (laughs) (Seda, Kars, 1976)

> When I came here, it was evening education. In the first year, the courses felt too superficial since it was all physics and chemistry and the course about teaching was only 1 hour a week. (Tuğçe, Kars, 1984)

Women try to remember a specific art or science pillar of their education but generally fail. In response to their search for a solid basis of their "field", they soon find applied component of their education. Although they mention that they did not actually preferred elementary teacher education departments, again almost uniformly state that after they started with practical studies in the faculty, that's

exercises of course lecturing, supervision of the courses in schools and the like, they turned more enthusiastic towards teaching.

> very appealing. I wasn't that willing to study when I first went, but then, courses, lecturers, education at the school motivated us. We studied more and more, I graduated in 4 years, and I immediately started working after graduation. (Sevgi, Hatay, 1975)

> The reason why I loved teaching was the internship course I took in the first year. When I was with children, I realized I loved children and that I could do this job well. (Esin, Serap, 1966)

> the first year was actually very superficial, but internships started after 2nd year, then I liked it more. (Beril, Kars, 1987)

> With time, I felt more like a part of it, we started giving lectures. Then the pedagogic formation course started... I felt like a true teacher when I was in my 3rd year since we started giving lectures and had courses in teaching. And then we started doing internship in the 4th year. (Tuğçe, Kars, 1984)

> Actually, my professors at the university couldn't really make us feel like were going to become teachers. The education was the same as in high school. That's why I couldn't really feel it. When we were doing internship in the last year, then we started getting involved with students. But this embracing happened when I started working, not when I was studying at the university. (Fatoş, Trabzon, 1978)

For the pre-faculty and the early faculty generation women, "growing out of the country" does not necessarily refer to a positive evaluation of the urban but represent a principle of mobility against and as antagonistic to getting immobile and stuck in 'localities' of the country. As such, the femininity and occupational identity is not really desired to be formed in the image of middle-class urban figures. For the Faculty generation, as well, the same values prevail, in spite of the urban locations of the faculties. KPSS (PPSE) generation women, on the other hand, identify the urban quality of the faculty locations as one of the strong reasons for their desiring admission to a certain university[116] and emphasize more and rates higher the urban

[116] I studied in Demirci, Manisa. But I actually never wanted to go there. I always wanted to study in Izmir, but I couldn't be admitted to any universities there. (Nimet, Şarköy, 1980)
(Back then) I didn't like Mersin, I used to compare the possibilities there to the ones in Ankara and I didn't like it. Now it's the complete opposite, I might even be in love with Mersin [Beril got her university education in Ankara]. (Beril, Kars, 1987)
I could have had a university life in Kars, I feel very sorry about the students here; first of all, if you ask where is Caucasus University, it's all over the place, it's a university that was established in 1992, but they still don't have a campus culture both physcially and socially. Indeed, Ataturk University gives you this opportunity, there are many social activities, they have a library, the campus is a whole another world with it structure and everything. Everything was very good there. Plus,

quality of higher education. Thus, urban values are more of an informant in women's perception of education and teaching and the gender identity promised by them in tandem. “I always say this. I chose the university and the city. A lot changed in my life” (Beril, Kars, 1987).

Another dimension of faculty life in teacher education is related with women's interpretative framework on the period of youth. Youth is increasingly framed to be a period of *exception and mistake*. In other words, in women's life stories, 'what happens in youth is to be left behind in the youth'. “You do live plenty of different things. But all meant to be lived in one certain period. Then they stay there and you move on. Still, it is nice to have lived all these” (Buse, Antalya, 1983).

It seems youth is an episode of life, where women from the young generation are granted with larger freedoms and relatively unrestrained area of experience and experimentation. Yet, they would not be carried into further life periods as wisdom and empowerment, since those experiences of independence are tolerated (with young age) rather than justified. On the other hand, this disrupts the accumulation of the gains of the empowerment process leveled by the momentums of leaving home, getting education and living youth urban culture on the part of the girls. Bracketed feature of faculty experience is starkly reflected in women's narratives on going back to their hometowns and families, or simply to home if not separated in the first place, after graduation.

> (how did it feel to go back after living on your own all that time?) It was very difficult. You live along for 5-6 years and then you return to your parents’ house, so of course it was difficult... People didn’t do much, and since everyone was struggling to find their own path, it was hard to come together with friends who graduated the same year. (Ufuk, Hatay, 1978)

> She told me to stay, wait another year, that our house and life was nice. My father, unperturbedly, turned to me and said “we just came back from Erzurum, what is this willingness to hang around?”. I said: “I was already away from home for 4 years, I was independent and that isolation doesn’t exist anymore, so that’s how it will be if I stay at home.” (Sevgi, Hatay, 1975)

> For example, my friends who graduated before me used to tell about their depression after graduation. It’s because you are at your parents’ house again, you have to let them know every time you want to do something etc. They all become

Erzurum is a big city, so students have a lot to do when they are free, it could even be just sitting and chatting under those trees with your friends. [Müzeyyen's hometown is Kars.] (Seda, Kars, 1976)

> depressed and you don't realize it by then. Then the same thing happened to me. But you get used to it, too. (Beril, Kars, 1987)

> The society's perspective is very different, I forgot to mention that; like as I said, I couldn't be assigned and I was at home, unemployed for 8-9 months. Then I thought, I had to do something after all, and I started working at a well-known store as a shop assistant. I was okay with that, I was trying to make a living, to do something and not sit at home, and then the customer thinks that it's strange (laughs) since I am a university graduate and I wasn't supposed to be there according to them. If it was a European country, those people would think that this person both studies and does this job or is doing this to not sit at home and do nothing although graduated from university. In Turkey, people act dissatisfied by the fact that you are a university graduate, yet you work as a sales assistant. (Nermin, Hatay, 1967)

The longer the waiting duration before employment, the bigger the losses in the gains of the period of youth and "education away from the family". Those loses concern the previous gains in the negotiations about individual independence with the family, attained with higher education and the occupational qualification.

5.3. Women Becoming Teachers through KPSS (PPSE) Assignment

In the KPSS (PPSE) generation, women are to be classified into two groups according to their employment status in teaching. First group brings together those who achieved to be assigned as permanent status teachers. Second group consists of those in temporary teaching statuses or unemployed.

5.3.1. Assigned teachers: "Making mistakes", "Taking Chances"

KPSS (PPSE) generation women provide similar accounts on their entering teaching departments in university education with those of faculty-generation women. Main theme continues to be "ambiguity", "lack of choice" and being directed into teaching departments by others as it can be seen from some of these teachers' accounts:

> I was never so idealistic, I even said that I would never become a teacher until the end of high school. I used to say that since I thought I wasn't patient, I wanted to study natural sciences but then I decided to choose mathematics and literature when the courses started becoming harder and I had the options as studying to become a

> class teacher after that section at high school. I was thinking about what I wanted to study when it was the last two months before the exam. My teachers directed me to study teaching, everyone thought I would be a very good teacher and told me that "I was very patient". I couldn't understand why they said it, but it really happened after all. (Beril, Kars, 1987)
>
> When I was making my choices, I felt like I had to go and I had to make that choice. Our points increased at that time. I was more directed towards social sciences like political science, law, sociology, business administration etc. When the points increased, I prefered department of teaching considering secure professions, jobs often done by women, convenience, opportunity to have summer holidays and taking care of your house and your family and guaranteed payment by the state. I did what I could with my high score rather than what I actually wanted. Actually, I wasn't thinking about applying to any university, but I had to get away from Iğdır as soon as I could… There was no social life. I took the short cut and chose to study teaching. (Buse, Trabzon, 1988)
>
> I didn't have teaching department in mind, but I chose that one because of my teachers, people around me, what my family wanted and because of guaranteed assignment and the fear of unemployment… I was studying to become a class teacher, but I was still thinking that I wouldn't be able to do it… You sort of **must** do it when you study to become a teacher. I didn't really like teaching and I felt like it was a very monotonous job, I didn't see it fit to what I had in mind for profession. I wanted to become a **diplomat**. (Gülay, Silopi, 1983)
>
> Teaching? No. I always wanted to **have my own restaurant** where I had a small garden and I cooked all the food served or it could be a job where I used my skills and made handicrafts, dolls, box garnishing like I'm doing now. (Yeliz, Silopi, 1978)

Despite all the similarities with the faculty-generation women in their narratives on education and teaching, KPSS (PPSE) generation women suggest that there emerged a decisive difference between teaching departments of high and low-profile universities. The point that the so-called university boom has arrived drives women to differentiate and evaluate universities rather than their study fields. For instance, Beril (Kars, 1987) puts this simply as: "Actually I did not try my chance for another year at the exam since I was happy with the university, if not with the department of teaching".

Pre-faculty generation women present themselves with particularly "peripheral" origins of their parental families and plot their story as one of "getting beyond the average" (of the peers in their hometowns). This plot also narrates a personal proud; and the positive perception towards life chances available to those in the non-urban

countryside. In contrast, following generations, and especially KPSS (PPSE) generation prefers to present their familial origins as "average", or "middle class" as to mean a "neutral" positionality (and establishing a narrative neutrality) which construct their stories in variegated story lines, expressing the ambiguity associated with a life route ending up in their being an ES teacher.

In accordance with the first point, the meaning of educational success, also, changes in the stories of women, along the codifications of the theme, with the term of "okumak" (having education) in the first generation and "sınav- kazanmak" (winning -the exam) in the younger ones. "Okumak" knits together broader scope of themes: disciplined study in a reclusive social arrangement (which is countryside), enabling familial environment, dedication to the educational life which is placed against the world of tradition, locality and local femininity, as crystallized in the heuristic of "growing out of country". In those stories, childhoods and early youth, including teacher education period, appear as the *protected prophase of the adult life*. It is the prophase, in the meaning of the term which allows and encourages spacing strategies -having a controlled and isolated space, distant from the interferences and equally depending on suspension (of gender identity and adult life). Thus, this world of education and literacy provide a different and distant reality from the everyday and traditional life of the locality, a reality where women take refuge "as they grow up" (from the dangers of becoming an average girl of the locality). Education in the periphery (non-metropolitan Anatolia) hence acquires a positive meaning in the narratives of the Pre-faculty generation, as a landscape of childhood, where disciplined study paves the way out of the country, tradition and traditional womanhood.

In the youngest generation, exams as the centers of the life stories, narrated upon questions on teaching, dominate; thus, socio-economic profile of born families, socio-economic paths followed in the life story become blurred and cut out of the frame. "Success in education/examinations" as a narrative frame to talk about youth and education life, brings forth an individualistic story structure, relatively unhinged from social and familial environment surrounding the women. Disciplined study

continues to be a relevant theme; yet, rather than denoting a personal inclination or social value, it signifies an ambiguity due to its insecure contribution to "performance" (in exams). Meanwhile, being in the periphery - provincial cities, towns as hometowns- is associated with “lack of opportunities” and acquire a negative meaning rather than being accepted as a spatial dimension of protected, undistracted disciplined study for future. Mobilities in-between -periphery and urban- is less pictured and seems less possible implying diminishing chances of social mobility. In this shift of meanings attached to *disciplined study* as a value and *periphery* as the spatial reference to (familial) origins took place gradually, manifests itself as a yet-to-be matured trend in the narratives of faculty-generation and appears as a full-fledged frame in the narratives of KPSS (PPSE) generation. Hence, the themes once constructed the young women’s morality and mobility prospects in their narratives disappears gradually. Those cannons and narrative frames wane as the ES teaching loses its quality of defining a common social identity and indicating a certain trajectory in social world in terms of individual origins and mobilities. Those common themes leave their place to diversification at individual level, but also to the theme of “ambiguity”. Ambiguity stems from the difficulty of providing a positive public story, commonly-associated with teaching as a life trajectory.

5.3.2. Temp Teachers: Beginning of the History of Teacher Unemployment

KPSS (PPSE) exam has triggered a very fast transformation in the status of faculty education. Exam itself was a sign that faculty education was not meaning employment guarantee anymore and that unemployment of faculty graduates would increase. This was a critical tipping point, especially for the social classes whose children must start working immediately after the faculty graduation, and similarly for the social image of teaching as an occupation guaranteeing fast and safe employment. In case of teaching, once teacher unemployment became the market reality, it was easy to pass the legislation introducing temporary status teaching

positions. Ministry of Education accepted new employment schemes for teachers, defining two **temporary contract** models, in the recent past. They are popularly known as "contract" and "paid" teacher positions. Former is a temporary employment contract, extended to the teacher at the central level (according to KPSS (PPSE) grade) and renewed annually. Latter, paid teacher position, is arranged between teachers and local education administrations or school managements and it is devoid of the basic rights of the regular positions (wage payments at summer months, employment security, leave rights, extra class/work payments, and others). Those temporary employment schemes have been subject to fierce accusations among teachers and education specialists on the grounds for they are eroding employment guarantee for teachers, causing a deepening in status differences between them and for they would create serious quality differences between schools as well because peripheral schools would have to depend more on temporary status teachers (Demirer, 2012).

Central state examination for assignment of teachers -KPSS (PPSE)- determines who will work as regular teachers in tenure track status, who on temporary contracts and who could not be assigned and will have to seek paid teaching positions. In the third situation, unfilled positions, left after assignment of regular and contract teachers, are filled through hiring of paid teachers, with the initiative of provincial MoNE directorates and/or school managements as it has been explained very well below by one of KPSS generation interviewees:

> I couldn't get enough points at first. I mean, my points were low and then it was almost the time when schools opened. We used to go to national education directorates submit a petition to work as paid teachers. This time they decided to hire based on points. My points were not enough for that one either. For the ones in Aliağa. I was very angry. You needed points even for paid teaching and it wasn't enough (Funda, Aliağa, 1989)

These schemes of teacher employment have resulted in serious disempowerment of paid status teachers in various contexts. While management and bureaucracy can put more pressure on temporary teachers, colleague relations appear problematic as well. Arzu stories her experience of working as a paid teacher and precariousness of her position.

> Of course, there is. I am a person who has good relations with people and I was never alienated since I could always make friends, but still you feel a little bit excluded. It's not easy to become one of them. You don't feel like you can state or express your opinions. You feel like you don't **belong there**. But it's easier when you are a permanent teacher, you feel like you are one of them, that you can also state your opinions, that you can participate in everything. But you are vulnerable in other situations, so it's not good. Being certain and secure is much better. (Arzu, Trabzon, 1973)

Women describe their being treated as the ones, not entitled to the rights of regular teachers. Any objection or comment they may make about their employment status and even basic issues of teaching would be discredited and lead into increased visibility of their failure (in qualifying a teacher). This situation reaches a critical degree of retreating from teacher identity altogether in the case of Serap.

> (What are the differences between being a subject teacher and a class teacher? Would you prefer working as a subject teacher?) Again, it comes to being a permanent teacher. **I don't want to express my opinion since we are temporary teachers**. (Esin, Silopi, 1966)

Not only between colleagues and managers but in relation to the encounters with inspectors and managers, paid teacher status is a source of prejudgment. In the parents' communities and localities as well, employment status marginalization may overlap with other types of differences and tensions.

> Inspector looked at my documents and told me that I was a physical education teacher, and then I told him that I am a PE teacher, but I also have the certificate to work as a class teacher and that he could see it. He told me that if he had a child or if I was in Istanbul, he wouldn't want me to teach his child. I said that it was okay and I neither wanted to teach his child, nor be a class teacher, but asked him who was actually performing their formations in Turkey. (Ufuk, Hatay, 1978)

For the young women faculty graduates, failure in the KPSS (PPSE) exam and not starting to work as regular teachers, mean turning back to hometown and to family due to economic difficulties and as to seek out employment opportunities with paid teacher positions by the help of local networks.

> It was also thanks to my **uncle who helped me here**, he found paid teaching jobs for me. I couldn't do my own job, I was an English teacher, but I had a certificate to work as a class teacher... So **they consider you as a teacher when they look at you from outside,** although I didn't feel like one. And I don't like sitting and doing nothing, if you met my aunt, she would say "Canan never sits at home and I never

> see her at home, but this not being at home doesn't mean hanging around" (Ufuk, Hatay, 1978)

Education *fails* increasingly more often for the youngest generation, in providing the returns for girls' efforts as future status and mobility. Furthermore, university education degree suggestively becomes the vary basis of precarity that those women go through. Not coincidentally, all of these three women I quoted here stated that it would be lot better if they were high-school graduates. If so, they could have found jobs and would have not go through the status injury for being university graduates and not being able to find a job. Canan adds, she could have gotten married more easily if she was a high school graduate.

Temporary statuses in teaching invoke a feeling of not-completed life stage for women. They face a continuing uncertainty, concerning where and when they start their *actual (work) lives*. Social expectation for women teacher candidates for their possibility of getting married soon after their graduation is endangered by those uncertainties, troubling their gender status, as well. Şule explains this vulnerability as follows:

> And when you go to a school to work as a paid teacher, they say "oh poor woman, she couldn't be assigned and become a permanent teacher". They act like they know so much about it, they are very experienced and successful and they start giving you advice. They tell you things like "don't be sad, do this, you will also be assigned one day, be a permanent teacher" etc. I felt this hierarchy. I was actually aware of the fact that we weren't very different from each other, but they want to see themselves at a higher status. Then, when they talk about something, it's always like what they say is true. What you say is not heard, feels like their word is the true one and they should be heard before you... I'm sure most of them were also temporary teachers first and they still tell you "poor you, I'm sure you will also become a permanent teacher, **maybe you should find someone and get away from this**." Especially I go crazy when somebody tells me to find someone and marry. What is that supposed to mean? "Find someone and marry". This is a problem in the system. I can't be assigned even though there are so many open positions and still all my hope is a man to marry me. Education at universities is really bad. (Şule, Trabzon, 1988)

Ufuk (1978) provides the most extensive and open account of being a paid teacher. She constantly swings between desires for hiding her paid employment status and an urge to mention it everywhere and immediately, even when there is not a context for it. Her feeling as if faking someone she is not, of apparent shame and anger

arising whenever her status is revealed or mentioned, and simultaneous relief, thus, constant passages between cognitive (and narrative) assumptions for being a teacher and faking one, and the air of discomfort accompanying the conversation as if something belonging to the intimate realm of one is exposed are crystal clear elements of her experience of marginalization.

Women with paid teacher status commonly mention that they are "constantly being *mistaken as a teacher*" since they look like one when seen from outside. Social marginalization inflicted by the situation of "not being a real teacher but seeming to be one" is unsettling for them. They depict severity of this situation mentioning that they can neither be a high-school-graduate nor a real teacher. However, they imply at several instances in the interview that it is better to be a high-school graduate woman than being a "fake teacher".

Not only in the narratives provided by Ufuk (1978), but also in others', the sense of humiliation is critically related with women's, being teachers and faculty graduates, and not being able to living up to the status privileges and the corresponding female respectability associated with those qualifications. Therefore, young women's suffering and status injury in the face of unemployment as teaching department graduates carry both social class and gender dimensions. First, their prospects of passing the exam and getting assignment as tenure track teachers gets poorer each year, due to time and money constraints imposed by unemployment and/or precarious work conditions. Hence, this is a vicious circle for those who cannot afford years of sitting at home and exam preparation. As such, marginalization experienced by women with low socio-economic resources (not enough to afford some unemployment years) highlights the social class dimension in the unemployment experience of young university graduates, and the mechanisms reproducing class-based stratification between them. Second, similar to paid teaching positions, other temporary jobs women had to take up due to not being assigned as teachers, define other contexts of status injury for them. This is related with the fact that they meet with the stinging comments at every corner giving the message that 'teaching is the best option for a woman and it is sad that they failed to find employment as teachers'. This point out that women's refusal to take up

other jobs instead of teaching is not solely related with the poor conditions of the works they can find, but with the concerns about female respectability. Failure in KPSS (PPSE) frames women's all other attempts for employment as an experience, as failures and status loss, at large. Hence, since teaching is considered the best and most respectable job alternative for women, searches for other employment alternatives are further discredited in their case. This is well illuminated in their precarious position in the marriage market.

> For example, it became like this recently, women used to get married even if they were high school graduates, now they ask you if you are a permanent teacher or nor. A woman in the neighborhood asked me: "Canan, I hope you were assigned and you are working." I said, "no, I'm not a permanent teacher, I'm paid, and I could get fired any day." One woman said that she wouldn't want me as a daughter-in-law if I am not a permanent teacher. And I was like "Who do you think you are?!" When they tell me there is someone they could introduce me, now I'm asking if they told them that I'm unemployed or not (Ufuk, Hatay, 1978)

5.4. Diminished Pathways of Upward Social Mobility and Diversified Life Trajectories

Women's life story narratives on the theme of 'becoming a teacher' present a clear pattern of intergenerational change. This change seems to take place both in their material realities and the way they interpret and relate to teaching as a life trajectory. Therefore, the social identity and common life trajectories of teaching has been on change and that has found reflection in women's narration and identification with it. By the women from the Pre-faculty generation, ES teaching is narrated through some canonical lines of a distinct public story, indicating that interviewees from the first generation consider identity and life trajectory of teaching can and is understood with common terms. This public story includes various elements of the script, working classes moving from rural poverty to urban educated life styles through education and occupation. Narrated consistently with reference to this story about ES teaching facilitating mobilities of the respectable working classes, women provide a corresponding world view and praxis: Dutiful orientation to education and work had brought them success in education and in acquiring a respected social and occupational status, which carried them beyond the restrictions of the gender and

social class identity they had been born into. Meanwhile, they behaved as to the principle of suspension of their gender identity in order not to be marked by the signifiers of a local and lower-class femininity. As such, they consider themselves having entered in the track of ES teaching, as an example of the realized promises of progressive values of education, as students of the past and teachers of today. Not surprisingly, 'disciplined study' and 'rejection of relevance of gender' are two main pillars of the praxis they have and teach.

What happens to the social stories of teaching after Faculty level education was introduced for teachers is closely related with what this new regulation of teacher education signified for the coming years for teachers. As becoming just another public occupation that requires university level education, teaching partly lost from its charm of being a short route to occupation, earning, and independence. Additional years to be spent on teaching formation created an initial confusion in the general clientele of the occupation, lower classes and women to a lesser extent. In addition, the temporary teacher shortage, occurred due to enlengthened duration of teacher education, pushed forth a regulation allowing other faculty graduates to become schoolteachers. All those factors seem to have created a change in the socio-economic and cultural profile of teachers in the Faculty generation. Yet, the most important and influential factor is different, as revealed in women's accounts on faculty level teacher education. Faculty education that was expected to improve the professional status of the occupation has created confusion and dis-identification tendencies in the young people. It is illuminating in women's accounts on university admission examination and university education experiences that they wanted to study another, 'more professional' field, since they considered only doing this they could have had a real university formation and believed that teaching departments were lower-status alternatives, not matching with the high-aspiration, high-intellectual development associations of university education. University life inserted an 'individual achievement' discourse to women's stories of 'becoming a teacher' seemingly equalizing all in a meritocratic context of central university admission examination and allegedly distributing them into faculties and departments based on their capacities and aspirations. In this context, faculty level

teacher education was classified as a low-status alternative. Therefore, in the stories of the Faculty generation women two critical ruptures from the stories of the former generation take place: First, social stories of "growing up", thus stories on families, childhood and morals leave their place to stories "individual performance and academic orientations". Meanwhile, latter do not have the theme of upward mobility in majority, since disciplined study had not translated into success and status in each and every case. Teaching department graduates in the Faculty generation, therefore, provide stories of ambiguity because of the perceived mismatch between faculty education and teaching. Other faculty graduates, on the other hand, another quality of the teaching as a social status for women: A good profession to have. Although they consider faculty level teacher education as a low status and signifying low aspirations, they consider teaching as a smart choice in work life. In their case, the broken link between teacher education and teaching profession corresponds to a higher status life trajectory.

New universities and education faculties opened one after another in a short time facilitated passage from the teacher shortage to teacher unemployment. KPSS (PPSE) generation has been the first to live through the conditions altered by this newly emerged teacher unemployment. Assignment problems and temporary statuses ensued and caused radical differentiation between employed and unemployed teachers and those in tenure track and temporary statuses. Women's stories reflected their effort to make sense and cope with status confusion and injuries incurred by the loss of previous securities and certainties: Faculty education not leading into employment, employment not leading into status and status not automatically translating into respectability.

CHAPTER 6

WORK LIVES AND CAREERS OF WOMEN ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TEACHERS

Elementary school teaching as a field of work and professional identity, as it is lived by women, depends on a distinct gender regime. Gender regime is defined, here, as the impersonal social facts, through which women and men are distributed into different roles and burdened with different expectations regarding performance and products in similar roles. A gender regime defines what is and what is not work and skill. Concomitantly developing gender-based differentiation in roles, performances and experiences are enabled by the broader gender orders in the society, but also by the historicity, politics and institutionalizations of the field.

Especially in the Turkish elementary school teaching field, working with a concept of gender regime is fruitful, since this field as come to be shared by both women and men at the teaching level. Therefore, ES teaching is not a totally feminized profession. On the other hand, over the issues of daily practice, organization of work together and other realms of life like family, social and also authority relations in schools at daily and institutional levels, career patterns, values, meanings used identity work are crucially different for men and women. This difference indicates a gender regime, on which the organization and management of elementary school teaching work is built upon.

This chapter aims to outline the main elements of the gender regime in elementary school teaching in Turkey, drawing upon the narratives of the women from the Pre-faculty generations on teaching work and identity. Therefore, in the first section, gendered and gendering aspects of teaching work are mapped; and simultaneously, the experience of the first generation is presented with reference to this gender regime. Following sections examine the narratives of Faculty and KPSS (PPSE) generation women on professional life of teaching, investigating whether continuity or change is the case in the gender regime of the occupation. While doing this, the political, institutional and practical trends that has been taking place in the occupation are also discussed as the background phenomena impacting the gender regime of the occupation.

6.1. Gender Regime of the Elementary School Teaching Work and Profession for Pre-Faculty Generation

In line with the main target of outlining the gender regime of the field, the following sections evaluate women's engagement with ES teaching as a professional identity and practice with their gender-based distinctions and aspects, thus gender coding and gender-related patterns. First section summarizes the women's common view on teaching for being a gender-neutral professional identity and field of competency, in repetition of the views of women ES teachers in many other countries (Gannerud 2008). This section also indicates that in contrast with women's understanding of the teaching role and identity as gender-neutral, they give a lengthy space to the descriptions on how their daily work is gendered, since determined by the gendered expectations of the agents in school life -children, parents, managements and colleagues. This section presents the organizations of women's daily work across the sites of school and family and how their task is considered easier than that of their male colleagues at both fronts, because of the similarity of the work and roles of teacher and wife-mother, while they are likely to be considered simultaneously negligent at both sites for being working mothers at home and family oriented at school life. The same pattern in gender regime of ES teaching is represented in the collective meanings which represent men teachers through a dramatic difficulty of providing for their families through side incomes due to poor remuneration in

teaching, while women are considered at ease to take care of their families at the domestic realm being teachers. Following sections examine women's preferences for not taking administrative responsibilities and titles in schools and attributing a primacy to elementary school classroom, as the two main tendencies determining their career plan in teaching and setting it apart from those of male teachers. Last section in the first part of this chapter, probes into women's position in social and professional relations in teaching and school life and the issues of power and authority. This section underlines that while positional power of women in teaching seems no different than men teachers or between themselves, their authority and also satisfaction is closely related with relational authority they develop with the actors of school and education life. This authority appears as personal in nature, and hides the disproportionate consequences of gender for women as high relational demands and workload.

This part of the Chapter, shows how gender is involved in production of teachers' work and school life at daily and institutional levels, while deemed largely irrelevant. Meanwhile the gender regime of the field repeats the pattern, more obvious in the broader gender order, for women's work being considered non-work and their qualifications as non-professional, whereas truly vital for the profession. Those findings are particularly important in Turkish context, where elementary school teaching is still a gender-balanced occupation and gender-neutrality of the professional role is a stronger construct.

6.1.1. Gender Neutral Perception of the Professional Role and the Gendered Arrangements Reflected in Women's Narratives

For the women teachers, it is a common conviction that professional identity of elementary school teaching is not gendered and does not rely on gender-based competencies. Gender is not counted among the factors making up a good elementary school teacher. Rather, they refer to "love for children", conscience, "ability to think like children" as the main capacities needed in teaching and mention that men are equally likely to hold those qualities as women, in teaching.

This seems as a reasonable suggestion, given that only recently women outnumbered men in the occupation and it still maintains a gender-balanced profile in Turkey. On the other hand, this perception is near universal than being specific to Turkish context (Van Galen 2004). One of the reasons for this gender-neutral image of teaching work and profession is that it is constructed with reference to ideals than working competencies, in the popular imagination. This is correct in the women's descriptions of the qualifications demanded by the role: love for children, conscience and ability to think like children. Those are abstract ideals than competencies, that cannot be translated into daily and practical work and cannot be measured as such.

Women's understanding on teaching, as having no relevance to gender identity of practitioners, ought to be considered in relation with the fact that women's gender-specific contributions and extra efforts are not considered as work proper, in many of the other contexts, although they create value (Connell 1987). Meanwhile, it is more common for women to consider their contributions not as a result of their gender roles, but as running out from spiritual and moral virtues. This is more so in such an occupation as teaching which draws heavily on moral scripts of sacrifice and idealism. Both tendencies indicate the gendered character of the categories of work and profession, they are being ordinarily associated with men and masculinity and women being accepted as contributors for work fields based on their gender roles, but not their professional qualifications or work roles.

Turning back to the narratives of women, on the other hand, ES teaching appears as a gendered area of work in two important respects. First, women have to meet the bigger and differential demands of school actors -children, parents, managements and others- on the basis of the traditional gendered expectations from women related to caring and supporting duties. Neriman discusses this difference between the way men and women teachers are judged for their "harsh" behavior, men's being accepted as connected with problems of discipline and women's discrimination.

> If you ask what I understood, I can say that there is a difference. It is .. I think, for example, it is a bigger problem when a woman misbehaves to a child and if this is a man teacher. It is in our culture, as well, men can be harsh towards children and

> this is somehow more tolerated. Yet if it is a woman, it is different. They generally think that women's behavior hurts children more. … This also women teachers are softer and if they do something wrong, that is as if she separates the child. (it is not thought that the teacher's style is stricter but child is discriminated against). Yes, yes. I mean women are really softer but if something happens .. you become more easily a bad person. … You can easily have a (bad) reputation. … I remember my colleague slapped a child once. Family came and they discussed what was wrong. When I raised my voice in a similar situation, I was automatically labelled. Yes it was a poor family, ignorant parents, difficult situations. … (Neriman, Trabzon, 1952)

Second, and in connection with the first point, in organization of the teaching work at the daily level women go through a much different and demanding process work due to supposed transitivity of their domestic and professional roles, as teachers and wives-mothers. This is because they have an unofficial and largely invisible additional component in their work definition, as balancing work and family realms. Paradoxical consequence of this balancing work is overburdening and ignorance of their contributions in both fields.

> Ha, look that is correct. You are always on the spotlight, under eyes of the people. They generally find many faults n the way you do your housework, the way you raise your children, the way you appear to people simply. … They do not say that yes, you are a working woman and are short of time and energy. … You may say, expectations are heavier in school, too. … (parents are demanding?) Not only parents, but managements as well. But also it is a classical problem for schoolteachers that they cannot ask for a day off so easily. They do not have a replacement and principals make you feel that you are too frequently taking day off. (do women really take leaves so often?) Some do. But I remember times when my child laid sick and I went to school not to lag behind the curriculum. … I am not sure, but generally it is women teachers who hug the children when they cry and all .. Maybe in responding to this type of emotional situations (Gülnur, Ankara, 1955)

Another striking pattern in women's narratives on teacher identity and representation of women and men as teachers is that men are more likely to be mentioned with the dramatic scripts while the term gender for women emerges only in reference to the daily and routine aspects of the work. This is again, a universal gender-based pattern in representation of teachers, according to Weber & Mitchell (1995). Men teachers frequently appear in the stories of women with reference to the poor earning levels in teaching and their searches for side incomes and alternative career paths. Familial responsibilities of men, here, is suggested to be difficult to combine with their teaching role. Women on the other hand, are often

mentioned to have an advantage to combine teaching with their roles in the family, housework and childcare. In organization of the teaching work, therefore, in harmony and continuity with broader life necessities, and family life in particular, women's responsibilities are played down, and hid in a narrative of "advantage". However, women do mention about their difficulties in this balancing work when describing their daily life.

> My husband is married with his work (he is a school principal). Even during weekends, he goes to the school and checks on as to find problems and work on them. I am mostly alone with children. … He was such a good teacher but his subject field was not taking extra class payments so.. I am helping my children with their homework and all and he constantly criticizes me (laughs). … He was after earning the money we needed and I had to take care of the children. The worst part is maybe that you cannot be good at either field. It seems that as a teacher it is easier for you, but you feel always failing in some aspect of mothering and teaching… that is correct (Göze, Hatay, 1971).

6.1.2. The Career Plan of Women in Elementary School Teaching

Women's career plans turn out to be strictly different from men in elementary school teaching. Women understand from elementary school teaching an entire career spent in ES classrooms. Men, according to their testimonies, prefer to end their careers as schoolteachers and move to school management roles, private sector or high school teaching positions. In interpreting this difference, it is critical to know the career structures in elementary school teaching in Turkey. According to Acker (1992), the structure of teaching career, thus, "its sequences of positions, rules for moving between them, duties expected" reflects an array of de jure and de facto gender patterns and they are subject to change through time, as well as they vary across national contexts. According to the Turkish regulation of the occupation, teaching is not a career field based on teachers' moving up in promotion stairs. Young teachers go through one-year probation period, before they are admitted into the uniform teacher position, attaining the standard teacher status and all the designated rights afterwards. Despite the one-time attempt in 2005, for introduction of seniority grades for teachers -expert teacher and head teacher positions-, they can attain through exams, teaching has stayed as a lean career field. Later introduced temporary teacher positions, has not changed this outlook of teaching being a non-

career occupation, although they meant erection of critical entrance barriers and thereof ranked different employment statuses in teaching. Thus, recently adopted temporary employment schemes turned external labour market for teaching into a competitive one, but not the internal labour market, thus not structure the ES teaching as a career field. As such, ES teaching has never seriously attempted to turn into a career field where teachers are challenged to develop themselves on professional qualifications, based on vocational re-training and promotion schemes. Teaching has long been an occupation where all the teachers, as women often mentioned, are *teachers in the end*, indicating absence of differentiation in the formal status.

In Turkish public schools, till a very recent date, there has been only teachers who hold equal statuses. Entry level differentiation between temporary and tenure-track teachers was later introduced, seriously shaking the image of teaching and its reputation for being a job-guaranteeing qualification. Teachers' performance, although regularly assessed, is not used as a criterion for promotion and status differentiation, due to lack of hierarchically layered career positions. Therefore, the career opportunities have come to mean cross-sectoral movement, from teaching to school management, private sector, administration/bureaucracy positions, even academia, but not a progression in teacher status within the same organization.

As mentioned by her (Acker, 1995), despite being a non-career field in its common organization, teaching has a well-known gender-based division of labour, men holding administrative positions and women having a high representation in entry-level teaching posts. This division is generated and sustained through unequal prospects for career mobility for men and women in teaching, according to Coffey and Delamont (2000). They elaborate that "while teaching is a good-job for woman, it is a career with prospects for men" (44). Women's career structures appear different than men teachers since women typically do not shift to principal positions, private sector or high school teaching jobs on a par with men. Meanwhile, especially at the middle ages, men are significantly "absent from the classrooms" of public

elementary schools. One of the consequences of this difference is a gendered division of labour at school level, "where women teach and men manage".

> Do you see any men teachers who are at a certain age? It's because there isn't any. Because most of them become administrators in time. If not, they become high school teachers or training center teachers... (Sedef, Ankara, 1955)

Despite increasing representation of women in teaching positions, they have a marginal representation in managerial posts in the schools and in the administrative and inspection positions in the education bureaucracy. This phenomenon though frequently pointed out, appears as one that has been understudies from the perspectives of women themselves. Instead of women's views, often work-life balance needs of women are suggested as an explanation for women's reluctance to move to school management positions and for their falling short of the demands of those positions, in their careers.

In women's life stories, two distinctly important aspects of the way women interpret and practice teaching strike attention: their refusal to take administrative positions and the primacy they give to classroom as "the true essence of teaching". What is the meaning of this distinct interpretation of women in ES teaching?

According to women's own experiences and observations, women ES teachers tend to stay as school teachers throughout their work lives. They are not likely to move to school administration positions, private sector jobs, high school teaching posts, as men teachers tend to do. For men, on the contrary, having proven themselves as teachers, high-school or private sector teaching posts seem to be the next career stages. School management positions similarly always an alternative for them, as men teachers "always seek chances to get out of the classroom". But women, for several reasons, prefer to stay as schoolteachers. This attitude impacts women's career plans and shapes their standpoint in the occupation.

Private sector and especially Dershane (exam preparation institutions) jobs, do not constitute charming alternatives for women teachers, as they do for men teachers.

Gökçe explains this asymmetry indicating how those jobs are organized to reflect the typical male career plan and priorities:

> Of course, you can make more money. But let me tell you Aslı, working hours are very long. It's not like "I finished my regular working hours, and I'm done for the day." There are private tutoring, study groups etc. If you have some experience, they pay you well but they require so much work and working hours in return (training centers and private schools). For man what matters is to earn money. And they still want to quit. (From a state school?) Yes, it's not such a typical man's job, you know. (Gökçe, Çorum, 1951)

But, for young, both men and women, private sector is predatory, imposing poor wages and long work hours. Women mention that they may prefer taking a private sector job, only after retirement. They underline that, after retirement, they would be relatively valuable in the sector, since in teaching, experience is the most valuable asset, and being already retired they would have the negotiation power and flexibility enabling them to leave if they wish. It is clear that, for young women teachers, private sector jobs are not desirable, for long hours of work, and insecurities regarding pay, leave, and other rights in most of the cases.

Women, near all, have quite negative judgements on school management positions and the principals. This is especially relevant for the principals and school managements at the provincial towns and in city peripheries. It is a common view that the higher cause and respectability of education is tainted by those school management cadres, they are being too much involved routinely with politics and money-based transactions. On the other hand, in line with the comparatively bigger hierarchy and better professionality of the school managements in the urban center schools, women provide comparatively more positive narratives.

Opening further that negative evaluation in practical meanings, women mention, "principals do not enter courses"; "do not have their own students/classes"; "just deal with 'outside' works of the school", "run the relations with commercial actors and bureaucracy"; "handle financial and maintenance errands"; also for "they are being chosen on another criteria" implying favoritism relations they are involved. Women do not prefer spending more time at school, than they already do as schoolteachers. But more importantly, they refuse to enter the work roles and

relations in school management, as they are quite distant areas from teaching; "pretty dirty/corrupt/difficult/demanding due to involvement of pecuniary relations, and also of politics" Women urge to distance themselves from those qualities. They emphasize that without entering the classroom, school work is nothing but "an administrative commercial and political job", thus "an ordinary job". Hence, women are reluctant to give up on classroom work. They even mention about their being punished through not being given a classroom of their own or not being allowed to enter classes.

> Our principal was kind of a problem. It was not only my case, it was the same with all the teachers. I wasn't leaving the class that much. … Then I became an extra teacher (based on norm staff policy). They merged my class with another one, and I became redundant. I had taught to first graders. I had 10-12 students when it was the second grade. Then my class was merged. And it's really problematic to leave your children and to go to work, when you actually don't teach. (Hande, Malatya, 1974).

> One day, we were 8 teachers sitting and doing nothing, and I'm really bad at that. My colleagues were making bead flowers etc. in their free time. I was about to enter a class without a teacher, but the principal said no and that I shouldn't go to that class. I asked why, the classroom needed a teacher. Consider it as a merged class, there were children from all age groups. I said that it would be a success if I could be beneficial to even 2 students only. He again said no. There are classes without teacher, you go, sign a paper. The teacher who signs get an hour of payment (Nesli, Ankara, 1956).

Classical arguments would provide an explanation for women's choosing lean career, mono-task jobs with restricted work hours on the grounds of their need to reconcile family and work responsibilities. This is supported by other theses in the case of ES teaching that women prefer to work with children in extension of their familial responsibilities of care and education, for practical reasons and also as a value-orientation. However, there are different approaches aiming to account for women's negative attitudes towards taking managerial positions, in the broader area of work life in general, which suggest that women strategically act instead of simply obeying gender norms of the society. One way of accounting for this fact is introducing the arguments of Savage (1991) concerning gender barriers in professional life, to the discussion. He suggests that women, in general, prefer to work in relatively independent roles and in relatively separate -tracks from others in organizational settings. Savage (1991) elaborates that women are more likely to be

experts than *managers* in organizational relations and ascend better as professionals than managers in the broader business environment. This is closely related with the masculine organization and culture of the organizations. When put to relational settings for competition, women fail to move up as rapidly and further as men do. Conversely, when put to a work, that necessitates relatively separate use of expertise, women would do better in their careers. He summarizes this phenomenon as “women's expertise” versus “men's authority”.

In teaching as well, at school level, women's choice is to follow separate tracks, have separate classrooms, and using individual expertise than venturing into relational power-concentrated sites of work, like managerial positions. This is perfectly in line with the ethos of individualism and privacy, specific to teachers’ work, too. Women express their preference referring to the political and pecuniary nature, thus moral precarity, of the managerial work; and the independence and personal satisfaction promised by classroom work. In the broader organizational extensions of teaching work, such as in administration, bureaucracy, and unions, masculine networks and culture is dominant; so are masculine life styles determined by overtime work and informal male-networks.

In line with the Savage’s analysis, women, especially in the younger generation, could opt to develop their expertise, *as teachers*, turning more to academic positions and getting postgraduate degrees. Academic career appears as a career alternative, if not a promotion, for young women as this is also confirmed by the increasing share of women among post graduate students and junior academic staff in education faculties. Meanwhile, women appear highly interested with furthering their expertise through following special courses and projects. Child rights, gender issues in teaching, violence free communication and teaching, working with handicapped children are among a wide array of topics women took the courses about, allocating time and sometimes money to expand their visions on teaching.

In women’s narratives on managerial tasks in schools, a social class implication can also be captured, as well. Defining management task, as involving mainly

pecuniary, extra-school work, male networks, clientalism and partisanship, women describe school management, not only morally dubious for educators, but also as a lower-class masculine job, not involving a proper work ethos, specialization and intellectual content as the status precursors. Tacit assumption, here, in women's negative narratives on school managements is that the imagined school is a town or city periphery school than a big urban center school and therefore it is assumed to be embedded in rural and provincial male relations and culture.

> Now you think that they wear their suits, shave, come to school, say "good morning!" to their colleagues and get information from teachers, start their computers and begin working. Look, Aslı, there were good principals in 70s. It didn't matter if they were republicans or conservative, but they knew what they were doing. Now all principals and vice-principals are the people who are close to the government and poor in their knowledge and skills in teaching. School management is something like this now. *I would not dust my skirt, white coat sitting at the principal's desk*[117]. (Alev, Aliağa, 1950)

> It is like that… Then you see that those men become principals, vice-principals. That everything is forgotten. Or they work at a training center. And they want to be transferred to a high school. You would have many advantages there including revolving fund benefits. So, this is our (as women teachers) concern. We care only about giving as far as we can to the children. Yet, off course it is important not to be harassed while trying to do our work (Güldane, Antalya, 1960).

Context and culture of the town and city periphery schools, again in women's statements, present a striking difference from those of eligible urban center or high-profile private sector schools. Women, accordingly, accept that they can work at managerial cadres of eligible urban schools, since their work environment and relations are not determined by lower class masculine culture, but mainly by principles of urban professional life.

> There is no masculine culture. It could be either a woman or a man. There is a working institution; management is working; the school council is working. But it's different in small places. It's like things don't work out, when you are not a part of their culture. (and it's not preferable for a woman?) It doesn't matter if it's a woman, man or young or foreign. That's something else. But my woman friends wouldn't do it (İnci, Antalya, 1967).

[117] Alev's statement "I would not dust my skirt, white coat sitting at the principal desk" has strong symbolic references. Although many others provide similar statements, Alev uses skirt as a metaphore of respectability commonly associated with women teachers and their way of dressing up and white coat is used by teachers in schools and classrooms as a type of uniform. She aptly frames how controversial principalship for women teachers and the teaching ideal.

Social norms on women's proper place and roles in work life largely determine how women interpret and practice teaching task and role, and how they shape their career mobility. It is clear that women pursue a career strategy not contradicting with the social norms about women's proper place in work life. While doing this, they behave in line with the basic pragmatics for achieving work-family balance, demanding short working hours and limited diversity in tasks. Meanwhile, they strategically avoid engaging with the male networks surrounding school management tasks in non-urban contexts, as to avoid lower-class stigma and not to danger their female respectability.

Still, looking at life stories of women, it needs to be also identified that women's standpoint to teaching job has not developed into a full-fledged political agency, getting beyond the restrictions of classroom and school scales. This is salient in women's reluctance to engage with teacher unions and their activities, finding them "too political" and "dealing with other jobs than issues of education". Women embrace their classrooms and engage with leadership roles at schools in some fronts like organization of parent-school relations and extracurricular activities, collaborating with guiding and counselling sections of schools, but they refuse to take part in the initiatives they deem "political". Nihal, one of the few politically active women comments on this situation as follows:

> All in all, woman are reliable persons at schools. There have been so few women whose work ethics I doubted. But they are also a bit restricted. That's it. It's important but it's teaching. Nothing more (Nihal, Ankara, 1952).

Although women are reluctant to engage with politics through participating teacher unions, political parties or other "openly political" initiatives, they often undertake roles in "social" tasks and activities organized at the school and community levels. In connection with the fact that, in teaching, broader environment of school work is determined by male culture and networks, women refuse to give up on classroom experience. However, this is not suggested as just an avoidance, but a preference connected to the valuation of classroom work. Women, with a striking uniformity, state that they are "independent when they step in the classroom"; and when they

"shut the door behind". This is an incomparably valued asset in teaching for women. Classroom is “free from interference of others”.

6.1.3. Primacy of the Elementary School Classroom: Between Autonomy and Isolation

Immediately after mentioning that "when shut the classroom door, you are free", women add that "teaching is a work of conscience". Because, teacher is as well as being free in the classroom; "also alone" and "no one else *really* knows what s/he is doing":

> I love it, I love this profession, I love teaching, and this job is a matter of conscience, compassion and love. You must love it. Because when you enter the classroom, when you close the door, nobody knows what you are doing inside. What you teach, how you teach that to children is totally up to you. (Hale, Trabzon, 1973)
>
> Being a teacher requires being conscientious. When the door is closed, nobody knows who is lecturing or who do not, that is up to me. (Yıldız, Diyarbakır, 1974)
>
> You close the door of the classroom and you are alone with those children. You are the teacher, and children are just children. (Sevgi, Hatay, 1975)

As suggested by the literature -and proven by the women’s narratives in this study, classroom experience is paramount to the identity and culture of women teachers. Classroom is a space where teachers spend most of their work times and classroom work is what they consider as “the true essence of teaching”. This space is narrated by the women, with reference to both the autonomy it bestows to them and sometimes with the isolation, immediacy, and complexity, thus intensity of the task it constitutes, in parallel to the way nature of women teachers’ experience in classrooms is discussed in the literature (Acker 1995; Drudy 2008; Landeros 2011).

One of the most important reasons, women provide for loving teaching and accepting teaching as an ideal occupation for their daughters, is that classroom is a “place of independence”. Seda points out that understanding, in her answer to whether she would like to see her daughter as a teacher in the future: “I do want (my daughter to become a teacher). In the end, she will be on her own in the classroom,

in peace working there. Indeed, teaching is a very desirable job. All (the difficulties) ends after you settled your routine and shut the door" (Kars, Seda, 1976).

Starting from Lortie (1975) functionalists have defined the structural qualities of classroom and teaching work in classrooms. Though their accounts do not include a perspective on organization level interactions and broader environment of power relations, their insights are relevant in identifying some crucial aspects of teachers' work. Nature of classroom work is determined by teachers' being the only adults and authority figures in front of a crowd of children. Teachers are lonely, isolated in their classrooms from other adults/colleagues, under heavy pressure of the immediacy of their work for responding to children who instantly "take" what teachers give -possibly not to forget for a lifetime. Therefore, in women's narratives on classroom work, naturally, the feelings of loneliness, fear, empathy, and conscience, get mixed. Meanwhile, loneliness can turn into independence and autonomy; fear into initiative and enthusiasm; empathy and conscience into self-judgement and guilt. Indeed, as the main and most beloved site of teaching experience, classroom appears in a multilayered narrative in women's accounts, indicating all "anxiety", "independence", "loneliness", and "conscience"[118]. However, these multiple feelings get into an order through experience in teaching. The critical point is that women develop the necessary skills for, learn and eventually embody the classroom management and teaching, gradually and by experience.

Women, especially during their first years of teaching, consider classroom as a frightening place. They are still not sure about how to achieve classroom discipline, handle the difficult situations and work through the teaching/learning problems. They picture classroom in this context as "frightening", since they are the only adults there and carefully followed by a classroom of students, "not missing anything"

[118] "As Elbaz (1991) observes, concepts such as 'image' and 'metaphor' speak particularly to the integrated nature of teachers' knowledge in its simultaneously emotional, evaluative and cognitive nature, and also convey the personal meanings which permeate this knowledge. One teacher's sense of her classroom as 'home', another's view of her subject matter sometimes as a 'barrier to hide behind', at other times a 'window on what students are thinking', both allow us to share in the teacher's experience precisely as she sees fit to express it." (p. 13) (Weber & Mitchell 1995: 22)

teachers do: "I got terrified when I first set my foot in the classroom. I asked myself if I could do this. Think about it, so many pairs of eyes are on you and you does not know what to do" (Hale, trabzon, 1973). At this stage, they ask for the help of their colleagues and even invite them into their classrooms.

As indicated by women with the common frame of “not knowing what is assumed to be known by them naturally”, women’s initial experiences are indeed full of frustration. This phenomenon is generally diagnosed in the women's feelings of loneliness and isolation, resulting in emotional burnout due to continuous affective performance and suppression of "outcast feelings" (Acker 1996) and discussed at the focus of issue of care in the literature (Noddings 1984).

> It’s very classic that people can’t deal one child at home. And they ask how you can do it with 30-40 kids. I didn’t know, to begin with. I remember how I used to cry when I was young. I took children to the principal, I called their parents… And since you are a woman, they expect more understanding and attention from you. But you don’t know how to do that. Always sadness, always regret. (was it hard to keep the order in the classroom?) It was very hard. But at some point, I told myself that I was alone in this and only I could solve it. … Now I learnt how to do it. Now it’s very easy to teach. (Tuğba, Diyarbakır, 1974)

As their skills in the classroom progress and they turn more capable of handling immediacy of their works, women start to own their classrooms and consider unsolicited visits of management and inspectors as well as their colleagues into their classroom as intrusion. This is, purportedly, related with their “interfering attitude towards their work”, "not being able to really understand what is going on". Complexity and unique character of classroom processes, based on individual and group psychology of students in a developmental course, learning process and teacher-to-student relations being "deeply personal", renders it difficult to properly read and evaluate by outsiders. Here, "loneliness of teacher" in the classroom acquires another quality: not helplessness but personal and even intimate character of the experience: "Classroom is a place where I get away from every other issue … but a place of my own" (Nermin, Antakya, 1967).

At this stage, teachers believe that they shoulder the only genuine responsibility; others are all not really interested in sharing the responsibility and unable to do so

even if they wanted. They are inescapably the only authority, have the sole responsibility in the classroom. This takes women to consider classroom as a site of "conscience"[119]: "Everything depends on your conscience after you enter the classroom" (Havva, Kars, 1960).

Regarding this understanding, not only teacher appears as the holder of unrivaled power but teachers' responsibility in development of her students seems not effectively customized by organizational procedures, colleague control, surveillance or control procedures. Under the existing conditions, organizational mechanisms of surveillance and control are not only "illegitimate", but simply ineffective and irrelevant for teachers' classroom practice. In lack of any satisfactory and effective organizational control, also a legitimate and effective colleague control, teachers must bear the sole responsibility both for conduct and (self-) surveillance of the conduct. This amounts to *hearth-searching*.

In a sense, independence in "classroom" and in the metaphor of classroom, the task of "being a good teacher for students" is practiced in an environment, marked with a lack of control and of the guidelines regulating professional conduct. Bureaucratic organization, school hierarchy, centralized curricula and programs, thereupon developed models of control and guidance are not relevant nor effective for regulation of classroom practice, which is complex, interactional, and relational than predictable, categorizable and manageable with generic rules.

> (holding up an inspector report) See, this is how they evaluate us. How am I supposed to act about the child without socks? How did I do it for 3 years? How did he learn not to care about everyone laughing when he was spelling words? Did they (inspectors) teach me? (Fatoş, Tabzon, 78)

Henceforth, despite all the debate on teachers' deskilling through central curricula, text and guidebooks and the performance assessment systems, it is important that the discourses of conscience, suggesting that the teacher is the only initiative holder

[119] The term, conscience, appears to be a special account of care in teaching, which is not associated with any gender as the care giver. It stands as the shortcut for the unrecognized and undervalued and care-related aspects of teachers' work: the necessities to be performed for the good of the children and teaching, but not defined as part of the teaching work thus those tasks that could ve evaded by teachers with poor morals.

in classroom contexts, have not been weakened. That clearly puts that those control techniques, cannot succeed in limiting teachers' autonomy and initiative in classroom practice. Furthermore, any reform project, not suggesting a professional development programme and active agency for teachers is likely to fail in creating a desired type of change in the education system.

In women's accounts of their work, the principle of personal responsibility is also critical. "Everything depends on teacher" is the motto, counted among the central tenets of the classical teacher work ethos by Lortie (1975) a long time ago. Crucially depending on lack of guidelines for proper conduct, this way of thinking, he argues, burdens teachers with never totally relieved burden of conscience and with an unlimited responsibility. It would then result in intensified work load and elevated levels of stress for teachers. This is interpreted as one of the organizational imperatives, by Hargreaves (1994), thus as inseparable characteristics of teaching work, stemming from the organization of school and education system. However, looking at the findings of this study, it needs to be argued that, in parallel to the feminist scholars working in this field, instead of being lived equally by all teachers, gender adds another dimension to this phenomenology in teaching, since women teachers are being pushed more strongly to feel personally responsible from the impact and outcomes of their conduct. Teachers all have personal ties to their classes and classroom practices[120]. However, for women, more is going on and at-stake in classroom, since, unlike men, classroom is considered one of their "natural" spaces. Not only due -professional- diligence, but faculties of femininity are expected to be used and performed by women in the classroom work. Put by Tamboukou (2000),

> "The school classroom remains the locale par excellence where women teachers try to make sense of themselves in relation to some important others, their students. ... The private space of classroom is a locale which has promoted the cultivation and

[120] Coffey & Delamont (2000) suggest that isolation, immediacy, personal ties and attachment to children, and practical autonomy are the elements of this classroom experience. Those elements, acting together, turn classroom into a space of intimacy for teachers: "Within the culture of teachers, the combination of isolation and an emphasis on the value of autonomy functions to promote an 'ethos of privacy' " (Denscombe, 1982, p. 257). Fenwick (1998) elaborates this point:

> (A) common trait shared among the teachers was a vivid sense of identity in their work, reflected in the centre entire construction of the classroom space. Many talked about the self in relation to the ambiguity, contingency, and multiplicity of the environment in which they floated. (627)

> expression of women's 'natural' inclinations: being with children and caring for others" (p:5).

Steedman (1985) and Tamboukou (2000), find classroom context problematic as it is a deeply feminized site. Tamboukou (2000) argues that it is a disciplinary space for women, replicating the gender norms of the society and effectively imposing them on women, in their subjectivities. Steedman (1985) elaborates that the cult of mother, lying beneath the woman teacher image, troubles women at every step and repeats a script of women's self-sacrifice for welfare and development of others as the very condition of their presence in the public space. Therefore, women's place in the public world has historically been shaped by the women ES teacher figure on unfavorable terms. Meanwhile, Grumet (1988) and Walkerdine (1990) emphasize that the woman teacher is a socio-historical construct developed in tandem with the modern patriarchal (Grumet 1988) and child-centered (Wlakerdine 1990) pedagogies. That modern pedagogical approach, being the lynchpin of the modern early grades public education systems, asks for women's sacrifice for facilitation of the development of the child as the modern rational subject.

As Tamboukou (2003) asserts, classroom constitutes a disciplinary space for the female self. Genealogically, woman teacher figure corresponds to an episode in teaching, where authority of male teacher was replaced by loving women and when love appeared as a disciplinary technology in schooling. Here, feminine is reinvented as schoolteacher and schoolteacher is associated with femininity. Beyond being only a representation, in and through classrooms, women were expected to reinvent themselves in their new gender identities. Therefore, early grade classrooms are more personal spaces for women than men, with that very disciplinary quality. As a practical outcome of this situation, women are more likely to perceive their styles in teaching, personal than do men teachers (Gannerud 2001). In the interviews, women's emphasis on "their ways" substantiates this argument for the Turkish context, too. While describing their classroom practice, women present themselves, as well, with their qualities they consider distinct or common. One of the consequences of this situation is the difficulty in making separations between job and the person, work and home. Women mention that their time outside

of the work is also demanded by management and the parents, especially mothers. In the mother-teacher nexus, work and non-work get so intermingled that women generally sacrifice even their non-work time to school and student issues like in the example of Hale:

> They (mothers) do call me. Yesterday for example it was 11 pm when one of the mothers called. But, you know what, I was glad that she called. I was not able to sleep. That child.. (Hale, trabzon, 1973).

One interesting finding of this study is that in women's accounts, classroom is not so isolated a space as is suggested in the literature. On the contrary, women picture a lively experience which have its extensions and connections with the broader environment through relations with parents and colleagues. Indeed, collegial relations between women teachers are critical source of support for teaching conduct and for socialization of the work in school level. Women both learn from each other and get the emotional support they desperately need from their colleagues. The common theme of "isolating experience of teaching" seems to stem from the fact that this consultative and solidarity dialogue between women teachers, whereas productive in educational outputs, is often classified as private life than work. A similar situation is the case with women's relations with mothers of their students. Found generally irrelevant to professional life in the school, teacher-mother relations are crucial for teachers' work for effectiveness and efficiency and in linking their work with broader social context. Thus, social relations of education that take place between women (as mothers and teachers and colleagues) are largely undervalued and deemed outside of what is defined as teaching work[121]. Indeed, in educational relations, parents and the colleagues, teaching the same grade (zümre), are among the few sources of support for women, for, with their zümre colleagues, women can exchange ideas with and turn to them for help. If established as a healthy dialogue, relations with mothers of their students are also critical assets. Therefore, as will be evaluated in more detail in the next section, the education policies fostering competition between teachers and antagonistic relations between teachers

[121] For a similar finding from an original research conducted in Swedish primary schools, see Gannerud (2001).

and parents are truly problematic for women and for the overall professionalization project of teaching.

6.1.4. Authority, Status and Power

Women's strategies for gaining authority have been shaped according to the distinctions of their interpretation of teaching work and of the way they organize their careers. sticking with the elementary school classroom and not moving to other roles than schoolteacher, valuing individual professional development over management roles. In women's stories, too, their preferences are towards developing themselves through training programmes for a better performance in classroom work and investing in relations with children, parents, and colleagues on individual and personal basis.

An important number of women from different age groups mention that they attended training programmes about several subjects that are of importance for children and teaching. Many have celebrated the introduction of non-structured and elective courses in the curricula having found chances to transfer their knowledge and use their skills acquired in those areas, including child rights, reading skills, chess game, creative drama, dance, several types of art and unconventional methodologies of learning.

> I created a course on child rights and animal rights. I made that up. The Ministry (of National Education) allowed us to cover any subject we want at the last course of the week. It is up to the teacher to choose the subject. Majority of teachers are allocating this course to repeat the curricula subjects like maths. Maybe the Ministry also thought it to be used for this repetition, etude purposes. Or teachers are just using it that way… And do you know we also have a course on İstanbul. Only a few really covers the course but I do. We show them CDs and children learn their city. .. We won a competition. So my children are known in everywhere. I am so proud (Pınar, İstanbul 1957).

> Chess was so good. They (the management) took it from me (my supervision). They wanted me to deal with creative drama… It is only my class who practice chess in the entire school (Zeynep, Antalya, 1976).

Almost all women, mention that they need more training programmes they can access to feed them in general and professional realms. Especially recently

broadening space of unstructured courses in curricula and extracurricular activities in education programmes have increased the importance of this type of professional development for teachers. Women, too, have considered themselves in a better place of contributing to extracurricular activities that require working together with parents/mothers in organization.

On the other hand, as well as further professional qualifications on the part of teachers, those activities and courses requires more resources from schools and parents. Those resources range from material and monetary ones to the social capital facilitating in reaching consensus over the appropriateness of a particular type of activity. Women commonly appreciate their superiorities in organizing extracurricular activities. Their enthusiasm towards expansion of the teaching work to include social activities and unconventional subjects, therefore, may also drive women to accept positions in the private schools, if they cannot find the necessary resources in public schools.

> Oh yes, a couple of days ago a friend of mine told the same thing, "Hande, why do not work in a private school". We were in the school organization of my daughter (who is in a private school). I do not know. I would be very good. Facilities and opportunities are abundant. Infrastructure, apparels. Their classrooms are really charming, with all those projectors and all. But I have to download things from the internet. I am carrying my computer to school every day. I need a projector (Hande, 1975).

Women also look for ways of empowerment through personal relations with children, parents and colleagues. Women consider this way of empowerment and authority development as a burdensome but spiritually satisfying. This is burdensome, since personal nature of relations blur the boundaries between professional and personal life and causes a spillover effect over the duties and responsibilities of women into extra school/duty environments. In addition, as well as extensive in space and time, they are personal and emotionally charged engagements and cause emotional frequent burnout in women. Finally, needless to say, women's preference to stay at primary school classrooms have produced the occupation in a vertical gender segregation, where women concentrate in teaching positions and men holding the school management positions.

6.2. Faculty Generation's Experiences of Being In-between the Tradition and Neo-Liberalism

This section aims to examine the professional experiences of women ES teachers in the contemporary urban elementary school context of Turkey. Within this scope, women's narratives are discussed in relation to the contemporary trends, which became significantly noticeable in the second generation, like differentiation of the educational strategies of working and middle-class families, impact of neoliberal policies over public schools and education and the emerging dynamics of feminization in teaching work force.

In Turkey, the spatial segregation between rich and poor has arrived at a significant degree at urban settlements. Schools are similarly segregated along social class lines, accepting students on neighborhood residence criterion. Although teachers are assigned centrally, dependent on the financial contribution of parents, the schools offer radically varying quality of services regarding the school building, classroom size, maintenance services, extracurricular activities, etude studies, and others.

Meanwhile, urbanization in the school system has come to mean more women in the teaching work force. Globally, urbanization and the rule of urban school in the basic education system have developed hand in hand with feminization in ES teaching (Cortina, San Román & San Román 2006). In Turkey, too, the same trend is observed. In the 2015-16 education year, 545.836 of the 993.794 teachers in the formal education are women and in education faculties, 143.767 of the 217.096 students, are women, indicating that feminization trend will continue at accelerating rates during the coming years (MoNE Statistics). Hence, possible links between urbanization of school system and feminization in teaching wait to be explored and evaluated for Turkish case.

In investigating the issue of urbanization of education system and the rise of urban school as the paradigmatic case, informing education policies, it is inescapable to take into consideration neoliberal policies as well as socio-economic segregation between the schools of rich and poor and feminization in teaching army. This is

because urbanization and feminization trends have been managed by the neoliberal policies transforming the education system and teaching profession.

What is the consequence of the recent developments over public elementary schools and their teachers? Public schools have been for some time losing from their positions of being the centers of promise for cultural privilege but continued to distribute the modest chances of -lower- middle class work lives (for an extensive discussion over the issue see Lareau 2000; Reay et all 2005; Rutz & Balkan 2016). Still, for the elementary schools and schoolteachers, the situation presents some distinctions within the overall education system. At the elementary level, public schools in Turkey and in a notable number of other countries, remain to be reasonable alternatives for middle classes vis a vis private sector education in quality, and many families continue to believe that they are not compromising the future educational performances of their children by sending them to public elementary schools[122]. This is the case, even though with the expansion of public university system, examination of educational privilege has increasingly been done, looking at *previous* grade school references, high school- and even primary school backgrounds of higher education students and graduates and the competencies requiring cumulative educational investment like foreign languages and cosmopolitan culture have become more critical in the job markets (Hannerz 1990; Prieur & Savage 2013).

6.2.1. Search for Educational Privilege: Preferences Shifting to Private Schools

Public elementary schools have been differentiated as to the socio-economic profile of the neighborhoods they are located. Given the ever-increasing quality and performance differences between the schools in well-off and poor neighborhoods, it is natural that parental demand for enrolling their children in good public schools in good neighborhoods needs to be considered normal. Observations of teachers confirms this point, indicating that parents try to enroll their children into higher

[122] According to Turkstat education statistics announced in 2015, families made by far the biggest investment on education of their children at the higher education level. http://www.tuik.gov.tr/PreHaberBultenleri.do?id=21548, reached on 27.02.2017.

profile elementary schools in Turkey, via some techniques bypassing the rule of registering in the school of parental residence. In some other cases, parents try to influence the education quality in their neighborhood schools, via supporting them through social participation and financial contribution on growing levels.

Upper grade public schools, apart from some trademark, high-status ones, have started to get associated with the world of working-class students. Those schools, as a part of the lifeworld of the working-class youth, generally communicate the common conviction that only the most hardworking and strategizing students would be able to attain a middle-class future. Being relatively distant from the pressure of competitive educational orientation of higher grade students, public elementary schools, on the contrary, largely continue to educate children from more diverse socio-economic backgrounds, who would later make their ways into different paths of education.

For many of the families, educational formation is something characterized by the quality and competitiveness of higher education; and only for higher education and the grades preparing for higher education, financial sacrifice and nitpicking choosiness are needed, regarding the schools and the type of education[123]. Therefore,

[123] Opposite of this understanding, that at elementary level it is not critical to invest on children's education in private sector, is not rare, which could be summarized in the reasoning that elementary level education and even pre-school education define the most crucial stage of education for children, determining the cognitive capacities and motivations of the child; and the best quality education ought to be provided starting from these grades at the cost of financial sacrifice. This understanding is based on a wider perspective on the cultural capital formation of child which is expected to bring educational success. Here, the skills and orientations desired to be cultivated in children are more related with the general cultural refinement than those curriculum-based knowledge and skill development; and they are considered as more influential in achieving academic superiority. Those skills and orientations are close to what scholars generally coins as transversal or cosmopolitan ones, thus those representing the newly rising and most competitive type of cultural capital. Skeggs (1997) use the cosmopolitan self as the new form of self which can move around the cultural and/or personal spaces of others and can propertize their cultures and identities in his/her identity as a part of her cultural capital. Here, rather than corresponding to the conventional narrow sense of the term meaning intercultural formations, cosmopolitanism signifies the superior capacity for mobility of those new culturally privileged across material and symbolic spaces of others.

Others, representing the first view on the other hand, assume that cultural capital is re-produced in school and scholarly contexts and represent a belief in old type of cultural capital. Generally representing a mixture of those two positions, decisions of families for elementary school education of their children are being taken according to their economic situation. Therefore, in the final

elementary school level education could well be taken in public neighborhood schools by their children[124].

Apart from the problem of affordability, relative superiorities of the private elementary schools vis a vis their public counterparts, are often dubious and still manifest a significant degree of local variance in Turkey[125]. Additionally, an important number of families still hold on to the idea that public education is a better option for their children's rightful moral development, since they may better know and mix with the diverse social groups, learn modesty and traditional discipline, and practice with the notion of egalitarianism, as reflected in the interviews. This is in harmony with the universal philosophy on elementary schools suggesting that their primary mission is to educate people into common citizenship values and type. Nevertheless, as expressed in the statements of a first-generation woman teacher, this orientation is getting weaker even among teacher parents, and in a way bearing critical consequences for teachers' approach to their work in ethical and practical terms:

> In that time … My child didn't go to a different school than I was working at. (Weren't there any other schools?). Both there weren't and that my child wouldn't go to another one. Everybody's children would be at the same school as they worked. I was even worried that my child would be better than the others in classes. It wouldn't be appropriate if the teacher's child was the best at the school. That would affect my child. My child should know what it means to be equal with everyone else. That's how I worked and raised my child. Now I see that children of all teachers are enrolled to private schools. Maybe we did it wrong as teachers (Mine, İstanbul, 1955).

analysis, both economic means of families and the flexibility of their educational expenditures would determine whether families can really make up a decision or settle with the conditions.

[124] According to Turkish Statistics Institute (TÜİK) Education Expenditures Statistics for 2015, the private investments of households, by far, focus at the higher education level. However, the same series of statistics also highlights that private expenditures are on rise at pre-school and lower secondary education levels, as well.

[125] Rutz & Balkan (2015) indicates that old and prestigious private schools in İstanbul, as a World metropolis, has been affordable only for upper class and bourgeous of the Turkish society. After 1980s, on the other hand, new generation private schools started to musroom, upon the incentives provided by the state. Those schools were responding the serarches of new-middle-classes desiring to participate old and established classes. Old middle classes on the other hand continued to target prestigious public schools for their children and follow the routes designed by selection examinations.

Another teacher from the same generation explain why she send her daughter to a private school in Kars, a provincial Eastern Anatolia City, one decade later, indicating insecurities teacher families started to live in guaranteeing educational success to their children if they are not involved in competition over finding the best alternative:

> So, Aslı, children shouldn't have been spoiled in that time. They were self-confident, her/his mother was a teacher, and father was maybe a civil servant, there were high expectations from the children. And you also trust people. You think that your child wouldn't be affected no matter where. But now there are exams, competitions… There are neither such teachers, nor such schools anymore. (Havva, Kars, 1960)

Ayça (1975, Malatya) and Hande (1974, Malatya) from the faculty generation, working in Malatya, is much clearer about her motivations behind sending her daughter to a private school and still being anxious about the quality of education she gets.

> She (a friend's daughter in İstanbul) is going to an Italian College. My daughter was learning how to cut and stick papers, while she was learning four languages since kindergarten. Then I thought, how successful could my daughter be? Let's say she was admitted to METU. When that other kid is admitted to METU, the score would already be 1-0 in terms of language. What can you do? You can send your child to courses. Courses here and the courses there are different, as well… (Ayça, 1975, Malatya)

> My sister goes to science college. Every time I go there, I think 'I wish my students could go to this school as well…' They say that the education is equally good, but it's not at all equally good. … (Hande, 1974, Malatya)

The idea that public schools are places of mixing for different social groups and of exercising with the value of egalitarianism for children seems to have weakened in the last decades. This trend is interwoven with growing competition for educational success and competition trickling down to elementary school level. Meanwhile, teachers themselves, have turned dubious about their status advantages in raising their own children competent in educational life. As pointed out by Begüm (1954, Ankara), egalitarianism faded as a value in child raising and in teaching. Ayşe describes what replaced this value in her practice, integration:

> These are nice things. Of course, children should get to know each other and learn about life. But I don't think any of my students will become an engineer. They will serve to the society one way or another even if they don't become engineers, right?

> They should learn that. … They might be friends or spouse of my child in the future. We try to raise them as good people (Ayşe, Diyarbakır, 1952).

6.2.3. Deserving Poor and New Poverty

All the teachers agree that public schools do not provide an adequate formation to children for them to attain future life chances. It must, however, also be underlined that public elementary schools are increasingly integrating the principles of private schools in terms of financial participation of parents and increasing weight of activity-based courses and extra-curricular activities, especially in the urban middle-class neighborhoods. School-parent associations regularly meet and handle issues regarding financial needs of schools and extracurricular activities, quality of which is strictly tied to economic conditions, and cultural capital of parents. After introduction of 2005 education year reform, activity-based courses and extracurricular activities became ever bigger part of the education programs. Those developments have strengthened commercialization and stratification dynamics in elementary schools. Depending on the parental contribution, that could be mobilized by schools and the available financial and other types of support, including mothers' time, for the extracurricular activities in their neighborhood and networked environments, public schools present striking profile and quality differences. Poor neighborhood schools, peripheral city and village schools have continued to rely on meager resources from state funding; while relatively better off ones have achieved a stable flow of resources from parents and from a broader sponsorship environment (see for a detailed discussion, Griffith and Smith 2005).

Meanwhile, parental involvement and school-family associations are making -though partial- a democratizing effect over the management of schools and instruction techniques[126]. The schools, that lack a strong parental involvement and

[126] Some believe, school-family associations, first developed as a mechanism of parent inveolvement and democratization of school relations, are serve management of financial contributions of parents, in practice.
"School-Family Associations have turned into a money-generating institutional arrangement, rather than a participatory mechanism for education governance at the local level. It is widely noted that many public schools have become highly dependent on private sources to run the schools. It is not possible to calculate the size and distribution of private contributions to public schools at the national

ownership, have continued, on the other hand, to exemplify the sites of authoritarian disciplining ethos of education bureaucracy and school managements. More interestingly, the classical teacher idealism for enlightening and empowering the 'deserving poor' seems to get incorporated in that broader authoritative style. While managements struggle with the disciplinary problems in the peripheral schools and parents' neglect or lack the resources to monitor the managerial practice, teachers could exert equally authoritative techniques to "make a man out of (those) poor children for their own sake" (Yıldız, Diyarbakır, 1974).

In accounts of teachers, "deserving poor" defines the ideal attitude and manner in poor for them to be involved in competition for a better future and this category is defined with their respecting attitude towards education and unconditional thrust on teachers. This ideal type is mostly derived from the experiences of teachers in villages and towns. In those places, teachers are likely to enjoy the unconditional thrust and respect from parents and children. In life story narratives of women, village children and children of the respectable working classes are the two faces of deserving poor. While in the former category, parents lack both economic and cultural resources to facilitate educational attainment of their children, the latter lack the economic resources. Both groups are enthusiastic towards schooling, education as an institution and respectful towards teachers. For those, on the other hand, not cooperating with schools, teachers and education project, things are not the same. Disinterest, distrust and reactive attitude towards schools and teachers among the poor were signifiers of non-deserving status and those qualities signify new urban poor. They may be the underclass social groups, or those experiencing political and cultural marginalization or conflict and they are likely to be excluded from economic, social and moral system of the society. Those problem cases are not available to be easily treated with *classical teacher idealism*. New types of marginalization and poverty, thus, created conflict between those populations, schools, and teachers; and the legacy of educational institutions and teacher identity have turned out to be largely unprepared for the cases of new types of

level but research at various localities demonstrate that private contributions to public schools are the norm not exception" (Ergüder & Üçkardeşler 2014: 255)

marginalization and devoid of "new poverty knowledge" (Krumer-Nevo & Benjamin 2010).

In the cities and neighborhoods, receiving migration from the Southeastern Turkey or from other rural hinterlands, a specific type of new poverty is observed. This migration dynamic is constant and causes emergence of new neighborhoods and changes in the socio-economic profile of the existing neighborhoods, sometimes resulting in urban decay in some parts of the cities. “New poverty”, meaning lack of socio-economic development dynamics in a population group, thus long-term poverty and poverty cycles for certain urban populations, leaves teachers in the neighborhood schools, face to face with “hard-to-decipher” conditions. In Kastamonu, Yasemin (1954) observes the changing composition of the population in one of the former city-center neighborhood, her school is located: “This neighborhood has changed; it received migration. Old locals are moving out now. They do not want their children to go to school in this neighborhood”. In Malatya, Hande (1974) gives an example from her school, to describe the gravity of the situation she met:

> It is like that in my current school. They are in majority people migrated from Adıyaman, rural workers, shepherds. Suluköy was exactly the same. Now, TOKİ is demolishing that neighborhood. That is why they had to change their residence neighborhood. TOKİ will re-build the neighborhood. My school is up at the top of the hill. I can say with confidence that my best parent is a janitor in a kindergarten. Plummers, generally construction workers or unemployed… Mothers most often illiterate. In each parent meeting I am talking about hygiene and still children have lice in their hair. Can you imagine? Once, I called a student of mine to an oral examination in front of the other children and … I had never seen a lice before. I mean I worked in village schools and all and still I had not. Now you can see lice eggs like little white bugs…

Diyarbakır is one of the destination cities of the decades long internal migration for the Kurdish population leaving their hometowns in the various parts of the rural Southeast countryside. Migration have created new neighborhoods in Diyarbakır and changed existing ones, feeding a constant transformation dynamic in the city landscape. Teachers working in the schools of the neighborhoods, that are formed by internal migration, testify extreme kinds of poverty and marginalization. For almost all the parts of the Southeastern Anatolia, including Diyarbakır, are

compulsory service regions, only young teachers and the teachers coming from local families give service there. Diyarbakır is hometown of Yıldız. She describes the marginality she observed in the children of some Diyarbakır neighborhoods, sharing her perception, "as if they are not -normal- children". Language difference and differences in daily habits -not watching cartoon movies- and the way those differences are manifest in their bodies (like weak hand muscles) position them outside of what is accepted as normal child.

> It's the same in the school I'm currently working. They are mostly people who migrated from Adıyaman, who work in rural areas and work as farmers etc. Suluköy was also like that. Now TOKİ is demolishing the houses in those areas. They have to move to other places. Because TOKİ will build from scratch. The school I work is on top of that area. The parent with the best social status at the school I work is a janitor. Janitor at a kindergarten. Most of them are handymen, construction workers or unemployed. Most of the mothers are illiterate. I mention personal hygiene at every parents' meeting, children still have lice on their heads. Can you believe it? Once I called one of the students to chalkboard… I worked in villages before, but I had never seen lice before… You see white nitties on students' heads

Concerning the children of the same Diyarbakır neighborhood formed by a recent migration wave, Ayşe (Diyarbakır, 1952) offers a similar comment.

> Teachers usually have that kind of memories, but these were so ridiculous. Students fell suddenly on the way. They tripped themselves. What is this? They had weak legs. It was because of nutritional deficiency. It might also be due to kin marriage. And humidity. I visited their houses, they are so poor you can't even imagine. I told them that they were walking like that and I didn't want to tell and they should have found out about it themselves, but then they told me that I wasn't telling everything.

Although compounded by ethnic difference and internal migration background in Diyarbakır, stories on urban poverty are not limited to obligatory service regions and their schools. Begüm (1954, Ankara) describes her shock upon encountering the stark reality of urban poverty in Ankara periphery and how she asked for a biological reason for children's failing to fulfill most ordinary tasks:

> I remember when I sent many students to eye doctor. They couldn't write what they saw. It's normal in a village, maybe they can't write what they saw, but it was city, how come they can't write what they see? I thought that they must have had problems in their sights, there were some with problems, while the rest didn't.

Elementary school teaching has been successful in managing encounter of teachers with the rural poor. For many years, elementary schooling has constituted a problem for the rural parts of Turkey and therefore rural living conditions and rural poverty

had been addressed in elementary teacher education as among the central issues connected with the work conditions of elementary school teachers, especially in the early, pre-faculty teacher training institutions. Rural life and rural poverty, furthermore, has been suggestively legitimate parts of the national reality in development of the educational mission and therefore pastoral and nostalgic items in the social memory. However, the same cannot be said for newly recognized types of poverty and marginalization. Generally being non-programmatic, many efforts has been initiated by international organizations, civil society organizations and state organizations for the schooling of the children of the marginalized and politically differentiated communities[127]. However, since those issues has been controversial and inconclusive ones in the social cohesion and peace agenda, and not properly covered in teacher training, encounters of elementary school teachers and those children and families have remained precarious. Teachers have been left alone with new types of poverty and diversity, without supporting social institutions and assistance; and expected to act as the agents in the *warm classroom romance*, in which children are supposed to be meeting at the common ground of being all children of the society, in facilitating orchestration of the parental figures of teachers. Women's teaching ethos well identifies this point and tackle with the issue of children "difficult to love … and the issues that politicians failed to solve and throw at the laps of teachers" (Ayça, Malatya, 1975).

6.2.4. Conscious Parents in the Middle-Classes and Parent Participation Policies

As the socio-economic profile of the families improves and the school's neighborhood gets closer to a middle class one, parents' interest towards the quality of education and their contributions increase sharply. But parents and families need to be seen through a gender lens; since it is preponderantly mothers, dealing with education of children in the family. Relations with parents, but especially with mothers, are incomparably one of the most important dimensions in teaching, for women ES teachers. Particularly in elementary school teaching, all-encompassing,

[127] For a list of those education projects implemented in Turkey, see: http://www.sosyalsorumluluk.org/sos/egitim/ , 12.10.2017.

holistic relation, teachers engage with children for a quite long time, like five years, turns teacher a crucial actor in development of children. In the mission of raising the children properly, teachers and mothers appear as partners, rivals, collaborating and competing parties. Common concern for the child's development is lived and expressed in a tension-laden continuous monitoring of each other in their respective roles and through a negotiation over how to share the authority. The terms of this difficult relation have seemed to be a contested one in the experience of the women from both old and young generations. However, teachers turned to have lost their formal authority over parents after parent involvement policies, conscious mothering streams and performance assessment systems weakening the authority of teachers.

It is a simultaneous development in the social history that child-raising appeared in the jurisdiction of intimate family life and as a subject of public interest through public education (Steedman 1985). Relating to this historical reality, especially in elementary school, which has been deemed as the foremost basis of citizenship education, school-family relations have been important dimensions of school life and organization and facilitation of good parenting principles have been mentioned among the missions and targets of schools. In their interaction, the school and families have come to constructed the deeds and practices of the cult of good parenthood, meaning largely mothering, thus good womanhood[128].

In practice, teachers get into face-to-face contact with mothers only (David 1993). Mothers carry the responsibility of taking care of the issues related with their children's education. Mothers and women teachers, “themselves as mothers”[129], deal with the arrangements for placing their children in a good school, and in the class of a "good teacher". Thus, schools[130] but especially teachers are de facto chosen by

[128] Teachers commonly refer to a "table" metaphor, describing family-school-teacher relations. In this metaphor, "without those three legs and their harmonious standing, the table of good education cannot stand". This is a practical explanation of the “concerted cultivation” principle.

[129] This is the common phrase, repeated by women whenever any issue about mothers of their students comes along.

mothers. In majority of the neighborhoods, there is a strong informal network between mothers of school age children and this network works to keep mothers continuously informed about all the noteworthy school events and on teachers regarding their "styles" and "performances"(Landeros 2011). After child is enrolled in a school, school-family associations are formed, for parental participation in school administration. Those associations are the places where women find the chance of coming together in a formal platform, thereby where their right and interest for their children's education is publicly recognized. Although they are stigmatized as "playgrounds for bored housewives with no real responsibilities", the associations are effective in enabling mothers to come together and follow up the issues related with their children's academic lives and to do it as an organized group. In those groups, stratification of women according to their financial capacities and time availability is typical. For this reason, as confirmed by the testimonies of the teachers, those boards accommodate the initiative of the women who are relatively better off in economic standing and feisty in acting on her "motherly interest" with regards to their children's education. Those networks, thus, may provide teachers with some advantages and pose some threats. In those networks of women, teachers that are seen in a positive light, enjoy a privileged treatment making them feel their exclusive position. Furthermore, with the support of those formal-informal networks, women teachers become able to gather the support needed to organize extra-curricular activities for students or even fund-raising activities addressing families and prominent circles of their locality[131], needless to mention side-incomes

[130] Elementary schools of each children is determined by the proximity principle, meaning the families enrolling their children in the neignorhood school where their residence registration/registered address is. However, as revealed in interviews, it is also common that families refrain from enrolling their children in the schools with bad reputation and try to choose the best ones via taking their residence address to another neigbourhood or convincing school principals or other methods.

[131] Schools do not get a satisfactory funding from central government budget. The amount does not suffice even for their basic costs. For this reason, schools have to raise the funds they need through their own initiatives. Once dependent on donations, that had in many parts of the Turkey collected from parents on obligatory basis and caused scandals of various types, schools have now formed school-family boards to take care of their financial needs. This is a much-disputed component of the general policy of "new managerialism", anticipating financial self-dependency of schools. In Turkey, school-family councils are the early initiative of this new managerialism and harshly criticized for they would deepening of the regional and local differences between schools and class differences in general (for a robust discussion on the consequences of the parental participation policies over the social class inequalities see, Ball 2003; 2005. His discussion lays bare the motivations and

from private courses. Meanwhile, when stigmatized with a bad-reputation, a woman teacher lives a serious difficulty of ameliorating her image in the mothers' community.

Teachers comment, mothers do not so often develop such complex relations with the male teachers; and one of the reasons why mothers prefer women teachers at the elementary school level is that they feel more comfortable communicating with them. Teachers are under close surveillance of mothers and mothers' groups. Yet, those are especially women teachers, with whom mothers feel better able to communicate and feel able to stand face to face. It is usually mentioned by teachers that mothers are quite generous in condemning women teachers upon their any "wrong-doings", justifying their asperity mentioning that "they are also women/mothers". This frame is repeated by school managers and inspectors as well, eventually undergirding with the popular representation of women teachers as a group that needs to behave “womanly”, thus be more sensible and understanding, and to be judged on that ground. “Off course, expectations rise if the teacher is a woman. It is also like … if teacher is a man the parent cannot stand up against him and say whatever she likes” (Ayşe, Diyarbakır, 1952). That has some consequences for the gender regime in the elementary school teaching: Surges in conscious mothering streams boosts mother to women teacher relations and support feminization between schoolteachers based on parent preferences. In addition to it, women’s relation work in managing the communication with mothers gets bigger. The shift of authority from teachers to the parents with introduction of new organizing and participation mechanisms for them, have strengthened this tendency.

mechanisms those policies feed the reproduction of privileges in education system. He, on the other hand, does not explore the gender dimensions of the issue).

Apart from the school-family boards, recently more extensive implementation of new-managerial policy has introduced many institutions in regulation of school work and finance on school scale, including quality circles, assessment methods, and others. In the scope of those policies, teachers are forced to take part in fund-raising programs as well as being subjected to multiple types of testing of their classroom performance. One of the methods used for this aim is grouping of teachers in activity groups, targeting to meet specific needs of school.

All in all, there is an evident trend towards feminization of educational labour (Blackmore 2013), women increasing in number at teaching work force and mothers getting more and more crucial actors in supporting education of their children and daily functioning of the school system (Dudley-Marling 2001; Griffith & Smith 2005). In parallel appears a strong cult of middle-class domesticity in society, seeing primary task of mothers as facilitating educational attainment of their children[132]. Mother involvement in school system is a new rising venue of practicing middle-class mothering values. Really, the efficiencies, mothers create for their children's educational attainment is more and more accepted as the measure of good mothering performance and become an important item in women's unpaid labour burden.

For a noteworthy majority of the lower middle-class households, intensive mothering is the dominating model. Intensive mothering necessitates practicing of mothering through in-person attention of mother for child's education; preparing homework, giving support lessons, seeing teachers regularly, and directly involving in organization of school-based extracurricular activities, and in fundraising (Relegation of this support to other education institutions is, on the other hand, called "extensive mothering"). For this reason, in this stratum of the society, stay-at-home mothering is preferred and even if the woman has a work life, it may easily end in cases of familial need since mothering is valued over work (for a discussion on the values of mothering for different social classes see, Christopher 2012; Beşpınar 2010)[133]. In the neighborhoods, where such an intensive motherhood cult

[132] For a discussion over the issue of parent participation and middle-class womanhood, see: (Mandell & Sweet, 2004; Landeros 2012; Hyndman 2014)

[133] In lives of the women from different social classes, however, an alternative type of mothering may be the norm: Extensive mothering. Extensive mothering depends on the rule of working mother and familial belief that child would better benefit from having a working mother than having mother's time to deal with the child herself. According to this view, other institutions would better support children in their educational attainment: schools, extra-school educational and social activities and others. Those services would be more professional and would even save children from "amateurish experiments of mothers". But, generally only upper-class women could opt for extensive mothering on a voluntary basis. Unlike unwilling stay-home mothering of working class women, who must work gainfully and could not deal with their children in person on educational issues, higher class women lean towards extensive mothering upon the belief that specialized services and institutions would better suit children's needs for personal development. Lower class women lack the resources of personal kind, both intellectual and sometimes emotional (due to own traumatic personal past in education) and the material resources to finance their housewifery. Higher class women, on the other

is dominant, mothers tend to form strong informal groups and monitor and evaluate school and teacher performances. Those public schools tend to swing between lower-class poor education and middle-class better-quality education; and mothers' groups act as important actors in pushing them for performing better.

> "Middle-class women's work as mothers has contributed largely invisible resources of thought, energy, and involvement to the elementary schools their children attend. Although women in lower-income groups are supportive and active in their children's upbringing and schooling, their work as mothers is done with fewer economic resources and smaller amounts of school-oriented time than those of most middle-class women. As … as the literature on families and schools has shown, a middle-class family work organization is presumed by schools. Where mothers' work does not, or cannot, participate fully in this social relation, the family-school's reproduction of a middle class is jeopardized. We take up the problem of inequality in schooling as being produced partly in that relation, not external to it" (Griffith & Smith 2005:13).

As the mothers define themselves more with their concern about the education of their children and their capacity for following up their performance gets bigger, the tension in the relation between teachers and mothers rises. Esin considers this neutrally, connected with increased education level of parents:

> The more level of education in the society and among parents increase, the less they consider the teacher's status. Illiterate parents respect you. They trust you with their children and tell you that you can educate them however you see fit. But a parent with university education checks on her/his child every day, and they tell you about their problems or what they don't consider positive. (Esin, Silopi, 66)

Increasing anxieties of parents towards the quality of public education, higher and more visibly mixed profile of students in public schools often trigger criticisms towards teachers and the allegations of discrimination and violence against their children. Teachers underline that almost each behavior of teachers towards their students could be interpreted as "violence" and lead into parents' accusations and pressure over the teacher. Women point out this attitude as to substantiate their claims for weakening respectability of teachers. According to their understanding, the discourse on "unacceptability of violence and discrimination in education" has constituted the actual basis of growing intervention in classroom autonomy of teachers. In lack of an agreed-upon definitions for discrimination and violence, the

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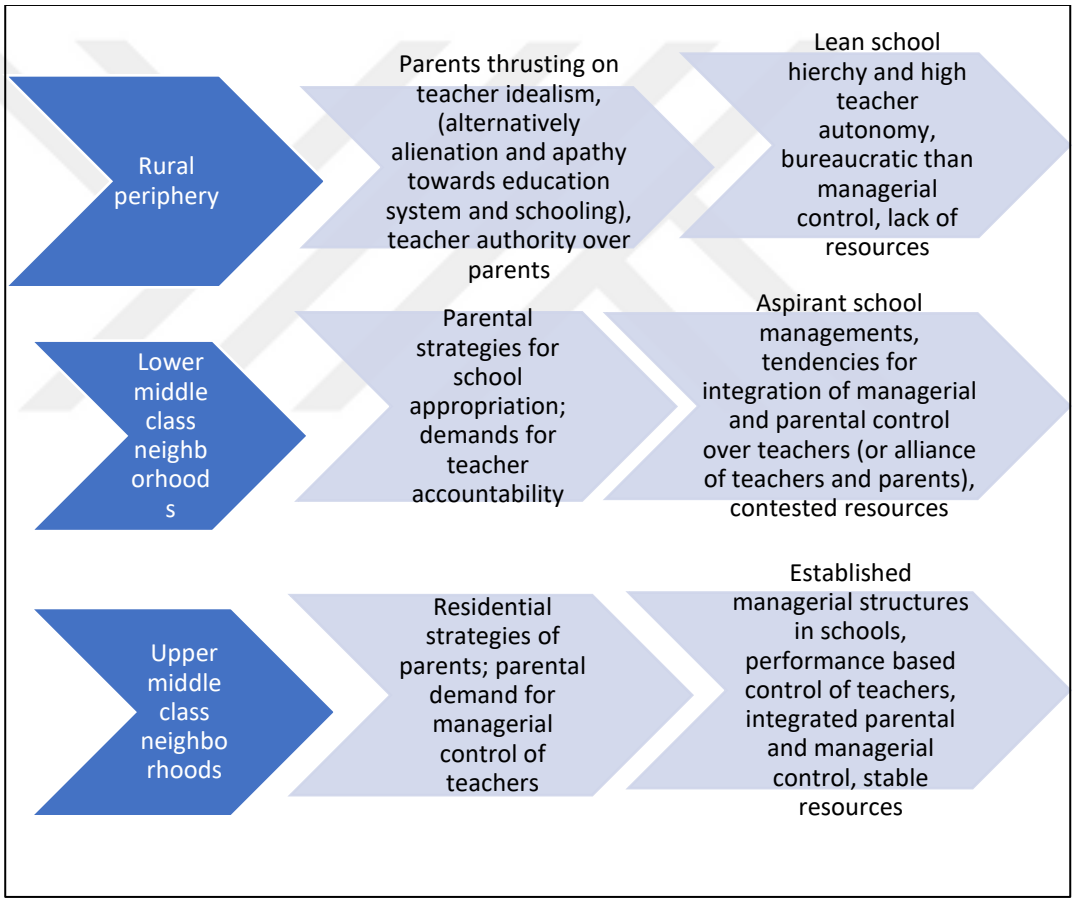
hand, have a chance of making a choice. Lower middle-class women, who choose intensive mothering, prefer being stay-home mums and closely deal with their children's school performance.

term looming ever bigger in social imagination, teachers feel that the accusation of violence and discrimination function to limit the teacher's authority and credibility.

> Those times are over, I was a teacher in Feriköy for seven years and I had such great times both in terms of my students and teaching. I believe that the parents of our day are giving hard times to children. In old times, my mother used to say, "educate however you see fit" to my teachers, and I finished my programme at the university in five years instead of four, and my mother hasn't even seen where I studied. But now it's different, students go home and say that the teacher has beaten her/him and s/he can't study, and then the parents call the teacher to talk about it and tell the teacher not to do it, and they don't believe even if you say you didn't. (Burcu, İstanbul, 1955)

Table 27. Neighborhoods and School Relations



Anti-violence narrative has been also effectively mobilized in structuring of some popular surveillance mechanisms, enlarging the area of managerial and parental control on teachers. ALO 147 (hotline for reporting on teachers and education) is one of the most visible faces of those surveillance mechanisms, turning teachers

vulnerable against popular and parental reactions. ALO 147 line is just one indicator of how popular and parental unrest is instigated and channeled into formal/managerial investigation mechanisms and further wearied out the securities and image of teachers. Not surprisingly, teachers feel under an overall attack.

> I can say that now I wouldn't wish it on my worst enemy. And it's not just me, many colleagues of mine think the same. It was much more different few years ago. We don't know what's going on with the parents of our day, maybe they are encouraged by the speeches of our ministers saying "this is not allowed, that is not appropriate, parents are right, parents know it the best", we don't know. They are establishing phone lines for it. They are promoting complaints about teachers. (Göze, 1971, Hatay)

Increasing public anxiety over the gradual decline of the value of classical scholarly study and educational degrees, and of public schools in general, is accompanied with the ever more visible rise of another type of cultural value. Associated assets appeared likely to be re-produced in private sector, commercialized environments and cosmopolitan contexts than in public schools. In majority of the public schools, lack of possibilities for attaining those educational advantages of privileged sort, have rendered the relations between managers, teachers and mothers as tension-laden at growing degrees.

In private schools, reproduction of middle-class social organization of families, schools, and social status groups through parental participation, extracurricular activities and commercialization, has turned to be the norm. Families would organize according to gendered norms, in which mother would be caring, above all, for the educational performance of children as an indication of her identity (either through direct involvement or through coaching). In this imagination, schools and mothers would collaborate on progression of children's academic skills and also through organizing extra-curricular activities in which school, mother and children find chances of showing and practicing with middle class values in a wider context[134].

[134] Acar and Ayata (2002) present how parent-school relations are built upon social class specific norms on youth, sexuality and gender mixing, those fields being the traditional battlegrounds, axis of differentiation, for socio-cultural hegemony struggles, waged between traditionalists and modernists in Turkey. In this example, schools are among the main reproductive sites of the

However, for lower middle classes, educational attainment and success of children has turned more problematic, because of their dependence on public education in early grades. While public schools are getting more and more segmented in terms of the quality of education, teachers and parent profile, financial capacity and prestige of schools; good schools and good teachers have turned out to be indispensable resources[135]. For the sake of rightful and better treatment of their children, mothers would choose to get along well with teachers: "It is like … Mothers want to keep teachers happy with themselves. They want, therefore, them to show due diligence for educating their children" (Şarköy, Nimet, 1980). This tendency may be an advantage for teachers and even protect them against managements.

> I was the subject of many investigations. Provincial Directorate of Education wanted to reassign me to somewhere else. The administration didn't support me. But I stayed thanks to the efforts of parents who were happy with me. It's true that

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respective norms and dichotomies for the families and the children, shaping the habitus of children and families.

In this study, Acar and Ayata refer to the set of values guiding gender-mixing in three different types of high schools in urban Turkey: a religious girls' high school, a public lower class high school and an elite private high school. They indicate the way bodies, sexuality of young women and the issue of mixing between girls and boys were treated differently, signifying and articulating apparently varying life-worlds in each. In the girls' school, gender-segregation was the norm of sexual modesty and scholarly concentration and discipline. In the normal public high school, the same issues are constructed as indications of social dangers and the risk of academic failure due to distracting articulation of adolescent delinquency and lower-class youth sexual agency. In the private high school, on the other hand, civilized, elegant and institutionally regulated mixing of young women and men, presentation of women's bodies and over-representation of the ease, school culture claims to have concerning socialization of girls and boys together, in overall the codes of sexuality was communicating the values of higher class secularism, civility and cultural privilege. Relations between the schools and the families thus depend on, in the first case, traditional **parental thrust** towards the school in the religious girls high school example, since the school openly undertake the responsibility to look after girls' sexual honor; in the lower class normal high school, **lack of a working family-school collaboration mechanism and mutual distrust** determine how gender mixing, bodies and sexuality of students are treated through criminalization and discipline measures; and in the last case, gender mixing is signifier of civility and privileges of urban middle classes.

Mothers have been the main participants and laborer of this cultural re-production context at an increasing level, as the battles for "appropriating the schools" as cultural re-production sites and distributors of educational advantage, has turned heated.

[135] Lareau (2000) desrcibes how, during welfare era, Brithish parents' anxieties on class differencials in educational outcomes was strange for education specialists. However, she comments that parents' "whims" were approved by the longitidunal work of Hanushek, Kain& Rivkin (1999), concluding that level of learning outcomes are critically determined by the quality of teachers.

> nowadays some parents are looking for your slightest mistake to take you down, but there are others I can always trust. I know that I'm raising their kids well, and so do they support me (Yasemin, Kastamonu, 1954).

Yet, that assumed primacy of teachers' role on educational attainment of the child may also trigger negative attitudes from parents. There are reasons why parents do not stick with *friendliness strategy* towards teachers, as to support education lives of their children. For lower classes, the overall education as an institution is often assumed alien and even hostile towards them and even less likely, compared to the near past, to provide them and their children with necessary privileges for social mobility. Therefore, they may fail to differentiate schools and different actors in the school; and they do not have the cultural resources to strategize through developing relations with those actors at one-on-one basis, either. In overall, their criticism revolves around the themes of "discrimination", their children allegedly face due to disadvantaged family status.

> Does anyone push me to teach here? No. Nobody asks me why I couldn't teach something. but what's happening is that the more I want to teach and the less students learn is becoming a problem. I send notes to parents or I give the student low grades and tell their parents about the situation. They once came to beat me up, you know? They told me that I wasn't right about their kid. … The child comes with all dirty clothes to school. Or they pee themselves and it dries, and they come with those clothes. There is no chance the mother can't know about it. All that smell goes all around the classroom. ... But the father is also abnormal. The mother can't express herself well. … I teach them to multiply numbers, but then they forget. … No final reports were prepared by the school counsel. I really don't know what's going on. I can't say that it's psychological or mental. I don't know about that. Student's older sister visited me. She was supposed to be a graduate of middle-school. She couldn't even count in twos. When I digged in a little, their father came to beat me, telling me I wasn't right (Hande, Malatya, 1974).

Commercialization of teachers' labour through gradually expanded holes that have been opened in public provision principle for education, is the main source of the increasingly problematic relations between teachers and school managements as well as the relations between teachers and parents. **Etude classes organized** directly in schools after formal course hours, private lessons generally aimed for better preparation of children for central school-entrance exams, exam preparation (dershane) sector, expanded area of private schools are the main inroads of this commercialization process. Those new venues of encounter generate new modalities of relation between teachers and parents. In public elementary schools, especially

the etude and private classes, teachers give to their students on a paid basis, seem to have been wearing out the aura of respectability in teaching. Those tendencies also affect parent-teacher relations causing stratification of parents and their children according to their economic power and thus enlivens the rhetoric for *teachers' favoritism and discriminating attitude against their students*.

Lower middle and upper level working classes, on the other hand, apply mixed strategies towards teachers: Teachers have recently lost from their organizational power and professional autonomy to an important degree. Therefore, parents are able to combine pressure with encouragement and alliance tactics and strategies: "You are right. Yet, but as she supports you today, she can perfectly well file a complaint on you for management and even education administration. And what is more, she especially wants you to know that she can do either way. I mean, theirs is so unreliable and insincere support" (İnci, Antalya, 1965).

Besides, parents and parent networks have an organized power that they can use for the strategies of labeling teachers. They are extremely strict in evaluating the performance of individual teachers and discriminate for and against them accordingly. Young teachers and new comers in the schools, those with more distanced manners could easily be labelled by mothers as "bad teachers".

6.2.5. Commodification of Education and Emerging Cultures of Femininity

It is a commonplace claim to hear from mothers and teachers that some mothers and teachers form close social groups due to similarity of their life worlds, thus for sharing the same middle-class culture:

> Feels like … one is wife of an engineer, and the other one is wife of a pilot. Everyone is a teacher, but everyone including the administration and the principal gives you such an impression that some teachers are privileged. For instance, a parent comes and tells only good things. I don't understand what's going on with the teachers. I don't know where this stuff is coming from!! (Begüm, 1954, Ankara).

This emphasis on middle-class mothers and teachers getting along well and discriminating against others due to shared life-worlds indicates that the feminization in the community relations, sprouting around schools, is in fact a classed and classificatory phenomenon. So long as those relations acquire "social" dimensions, getting beyond the formal professional interactions, in daily relations and extracurricular, extra school activities between mothers and teachers, relevance of social class (of teachers) in shaping those relations strengthens; and so are the exclusion-inclusion dynamics between teachers. This is crucially linked with the market integration of public schools, creating dependency on funding from families on the part of the schools and pushing hierarchical differentiation between and within schools according to economic power/contribution of the student families. Middle classes are directly complicit in this process of decline in the concerns for democratizing society and promoting social mobility through education policy. It seems to be consequent upon the middle-class panic for rapid expansion of old privileges (urban life, higher education, old professional occupations) to include some segments of working classes, and with higher classes increasingly differentiating their assets and closing them to reach of not only working but also middle-classes:

> "Their `imagined futures' and those of their offspring are now under threat from the `unmanaged congestion' in the old and new professions and in management positions (Jordon, et al., 1994). One effect of this has been a loss of support among the new middle classes for efforts to democratize education and social policy. Education is being `transformed back into an 'oligarchic good' (Jordon et al., 1994, p. 212) and progressive experimentation in educational methods is being replaced by a set of reinvented traditional pedagogies" (Ball 1998:121)

This transformation has been translated into mother involvement and mother-teacher relations at ES level. Child raising practices of mothers and occupational credibility of teachers are negotiated in this mother-teacher interface. In a sense, market integration of public elementary schools is lived as a highly gendered process and in a way creating realms of cultural production for new femininities.

On average, teachers mostly are working or lower middle class in urban contexts, where parent-teacher relations are most strong and among the important dimensions of school life. However, for women teachers, socio-economic standing of parent

families and husbands are also crucially determining for family economic standing. Unlike male ES teachers, it is a common conviction that women ES teachers present a diversity in terms of family socio-economic status. In women's narratives, middle-class women teachers appear to be idealized by the parents with similar socio-economic standings, sharing same value-orientations. Moreover, higher socio-economic status of women ES teachers would mean higher fund-raising capacities for their schools and valued accordingly by the actors in the school, managers and colleagues. Relations with parents and fund-raising environment are very important in urban contexts in stark contrast with rural schools. Thus, rural equality between teachers, is broken in the cities and this urban inequality has a clear gender dimension, intersecting with social class differences between women ES teachers.

Not only teachers are observed and judged by mothers, but the reverse is just as true. Woman teacher can access private and even intimate details of parents' domestic life via her close relation with the children. In fact, the domestic/familial lives of students are directly in the jurisdiction, teachers are accepted to observe, evaluate and interfere. Domestic life, child raising practices are classificatory in terms of family capital and women's cultural capital. Teachers' gaze, identifying and evaluating those assets, is a powerful one, promising both valuation and devaluation for mothers and their family work. Thus, the relation between mothers and women teachers is equally inclined to develop into a state where both parties benefit thanks to mutual interests, or of serious hostility at the same time. While in the middle classes motherhood practices are voluntarily and at any chance presented by mothers to teachers and platforms of dialogue and joint work are effectively used, for the lower classes things are different. In majority of the cases mothers and families lack the resources that could ensure their classification as good parents, like familiarity with education system, ability to help with doing homework and follow up education life of the children, motivating by example due to their poor or inexistent educational past, material and time poverty.

Fathers are, on the other hand, near "fictional characters" in the environment of school relations. Especially in elementary school level, fathers are near completely

absent from the picture. This is clearly in line with the gender-based distribution of care responsibilities and men's enjoying "privileged irresponsibility" (Tronto 2002). Furthermore, teachers have the impression that fathers appear if there is a severe problem between school and the family. It is a commonly mentioned testification that the conflicts between fathers and teachers are rare but if appear, much more violent.

6.2.6. Chances of Democratic Professionalization through Parent Participation

In some of the other country examples, mother involvement in schooling and school-family relations have fed social empowerment of mothers and occupational strengthening of the teachers' position vis a vis school managements and education bureaucracy. They tend to be mutually supporting relationship, as can be examined through American experience (Griffith 2006). In Turkey, after growth of the parental participation mechanisms in school system, teacher-parent relations have made a progress in the same direction, though example cases are far from defining an overall trend. In the existing picture, experienced and old teachers who have spent long years in the same middle-class neighborhoods, have better advantages for developing favorable ties with parents and neighborhoods. High respectability and authority of women teachers at old age, besides other factors like experience and better skills are enabled by the stronger parent-teacher ties and the community recognition those ties bring along:

> "I have undergone many investigations. Provincial Directorate of Education wanted to reassign me to somewhere else. The administration didn't support me. But I stayed thanks to the efforts of parents who were happy with me. It's true that nowadays some parents are looking for your slightest mistake to take you down, but there are others I can always trust. I know that I'm raising their kids well, and so they support me" (Yasemin, Kastamonu, 1954).

In Turkey, however, schools do not have a tradition of being community organizations and regarding the relations with parents, the notions of parent participation and school accountability notions are quite new, relevant mechanisms being devoid of a historicity. Schools do not have a vision for supporting engagement of broader neighborhood and community area agents in their management and education processes (as parents, service providers, funders,

secondary beneficiaries, stakeholders… others). It may be considered that, at the macro level, bureaucratic management and state control over schools and education consolidated the idea that educational issues are macro and political issues to be investigated at the same macro -not the school- level. Traditionally, in absence of a productive platform of dialogue between teachers and parents, parental thrust and teacher idealism emerged as twin virtues and stayed as the main regulative principles for parent-teacher relations, for a very long time in social image and common culture of teachers[136]. Part of the reason why, teachers feel disturbed when criticized by parents about their practice and demanded to be accountable to them, lies here, in the historic inexistence of community-based ties between the parties (teachers and parents; schools and communities) and thereof "lack of thrust-based accountability ethos"[137] and new neoliberal school management or teacher performance assessment models are not promising thrust-based relations, either. Just like often repeated by women during the interviews, while demands from teachers are increasing, their opportunities for professional development is not changing and the public thrust for teachers' professional competencies is rapidly crumbling.

Furthermore, teachers are on move along different service settlements (from rural to urban) and rotate between schools, thus change their service schools and neighborhoods throughout their work lives. This rotation policy weakens the prospects of a mutually supportive relation between the communities and school teachers especially during their youth, as it is understood in its classical sense in the US and UK examples (see, Desforges, C., & Abouchaar, A. 2003). This is because, above all, such relations necessitate continuous and close relations and cooperation on neighborhood and school basis. Schools are incapable of institutionalizing neighborhood ties and work with a community-based service ethos and parents are interested in the schools only for 4 to 5 years of their children's education period.

[136] Baquedano-López, Alexander & Hernandez (2013) provides an overall critical evaluation of the parental involvement approaches setting out from Epstein's (1991) now-classical framework.

[137] Blackmore (2013) elaborates that despite all the rhetoric on accountability, in managerial type of professionalism, the notion of accountability actually relies on a distrust towards professional ethic of teachers.

So long as teachers, as well, serve for relatively short time in the same school, as possible agents that could take roles for development of schools as community enterprises, strong parent-teacher relations are not likely to emerge. Likewise, constantly changing social geography of neighborhoods have only in a small number of cases allows advancing of schools as neighborhood and community enterprises for families. Thus, the alliance between mothers and public elementary school teachers have not appeared as strong as it is in some other country contexts. Only exemption to this rule is the older women who arrived at the middle class urban center schools as work places, after completing obligatory service years.

Parent interest and involvement in school relations tend to increase in the urban areas and among the middle classes and the mechanisms for parent participation has started to operate. However, teachers feel a difficulty in coming to terms with this phenomenon since they consider rising parent-interest as a sign of distrust for teachers and a threat for their professional autonomy. This is because, especially the older generation women have spent their career in line with the previous model that was dominant in parent-teacher relation: parent thrust and teacher idealism. However, the cost of non-comliance with the new rules of teacher accountability is quite high:

> "They see teachers like the ones they can attack if they would like. At every opportunity they start to shout 'we are paying for your wages. How much do you deserve??' This is really so much to digest" Havva (Kars, 1960).

At the broader level, this tension is a manifestation of weakening thrust towards public education and the congestion in society upon public education system's failure to distribute opportunities on effective, equal and just manner, and the important level of differentiation between schools in the quality of education they provide. Accompanying is the lack of professional development programmes, targeting teachers and common believes about public school teachers' incompetency. Interested, demanding but simultaneously threatening attitude of parents towards teachers and constant conflicts between the parties, constitute the condition with reference to which teachers bring up their perception for "teaching constantly losing from its social respectability".

Demands placed by parents on teachers' performance and accountability may be considered, though historically alien to teachers' culture and school system in Turkey, justifiable in view of the threatening developments in the public education system and growing importance of educational privilege for lower middle classes. However, in the conceptual universe, mediating the negotiation between parents, teachers and school managements, client-centeredness, accountability, and performance management/assessment, are the common terms than others, populating a vision of community-centeredness. Those terms, as well, not coincidentally taken from the terminology of neo-liberal educational reform project (Apple 1996). This project suggests school-level financial and administrative management for public education and strict and individualized performance management systems for teachers. Not including an agenda for professional development of teachers and not envisioning enlargement in teacher initiative and autonomy in education practice and solely putting more pressure on teachers for accountability and performance development, those reform initiatives have been subject to fierce criticism (i.e. Ozga 1995) for theorizing and being complicit in the political agenda anticipating further disempowerment of teachers. Critics argue that although necessary, teachers' responsiveness to parent and management demands would not be enough or relevant for achievement of the reform objectives, quality education, equity and inclusiveness, global competency development *for all*, because increasing market integration is causing more and more differentiation of schools in providing quality education and stalling social mobility in the society.

6.2.7. The Dynamics of Segregation

Under heavy performance pressure, intensified by the central student examination and teacher performance assessment systems, public elementary school teachers are critically involved in parents' exclusionist approaches towards the groups who they deem "lower class" and as taking down the overall classroom learning performance if schooled together with their own children.

> Parents don't want it either. Now we have students from children protection institutes. They are telling lies. He tells you that he slep with his mother the other

> day. They have behavioral disorders. It also poses a problem for the others. Rest of the class waits for that student to learn. (Ayça, Malatya, 1975)

In segregationist approaches, residential strategies have a particularly important place (Serre & Wagner 2015). Those strategies are the ones followed by families through choosing the residence according to the socio-economic profile of the neighborhood as to send their children to eligible neighborhood schools. They are in this sense different than appropriation strategies which are based on parent participation to boost school and teacher performance:

> "The middle classes endowed with economic capital adopt residential strategies allowing them access to the most reputed schools, while the less well-off opt for a strategy of school 'appropriation' by engaging in school parents' associations and working to stem the declining reputations and worsening educational conditions of schools in working-class or socially mixed schools" (Serre & Wagner 2015: 444).

Similarly, once "good" neighborhoods and public schools could lose their status and new ones may rise. Internal migration intensifies and accelerates this process. Examples of the neighborhoods which receives internal migration influx and their schools turning into "declining" ones due to changing socio-economic condition of the families are far from rare. Yasemin (1954) in Kastamonu describes how the school now she serves as a senior teacher turned into a lower class one after receiving years long internal migration, expressing her displeasure:

> This was a good school in the past. Then we received migration. People who came from the east settled here. And the locals started moving away. … This also reflected on our school. (Are there any issues that didn't exist before?) I can't recognize these students anymore. they are not kind of students I used to know. Families who were here for a long time are also surprised. they move to other places.

Meanwhile, even within the same school, parental strategies of segregation can be identified. Parents often choose better known-older teachers and try to register in their classrooms as a group. By intervention of families, -but also school managements and teachers-, similar socio-economic groups, thus, can concentrate in the same school classes. This may be called as *appropriation of classes* than schools by lower middle classes. Begüm tells about her first year in an urban school, which is mixed in socio-economic profile of student families, and how she was badly treated by the management through assignment of a "bad class":

> When you are assigned to a new place, they gather good students in one class and give you the other bad ones, and what I mean with bad ones is the students whose parents are poor, who don't have good financial situation or are not educated… Then you become… different… like someone who is an outsider… That happened in Demetevler, a woman principal didn't like me, and I didn't like her either. Her daughter was in the 1st grade, and she gathered all the good students to her class, and there were several other teachers like me who came from different place, and one of them was a teacher there for a long time… From the 1st, 2nd, 3rd groups, I got the students who were less cultured and were intermediate level. (Begüm, 1954, Ankara)

This picture constitutes the backdrop for teachers' recurrent talk about "good and bad/weak classes". This emphasis also reveals that teachers themselves are involved in making and remaking of social class and status differences in educational contexts via *profiling*. As extensively presented by Lareau (2011) in American experience, schools and teachers using socio-economic status of families as a precursor of possible educational performance for children, they actively serve to reproduction of social inequalities in and through education.

Another aspect of teacher involvement in social class reproduction processes is private lessons and etude classes. As a now common reality, teachers engage with extra work. In Turkey, those works include private lessons, work in private education organizations like "dershane"s and extra-paid lessons in the public schools (etude classes). Those private components of education also contribute to the stratification of educational success of children along social class lines. Meanwhile, teachers become involved in deepening of social inequalities despite their traditional images -especially of schoolteachers- as standing with social justice and equality cause. Furthermore, their "preoccupation" with extra income -due to low levels of teacher wages- has been interpreted as morally inferior, victimizing, thus, disempowering and contradictory with their traditional identities, in social imagination (Gürses 2003). Women express their displeasure with this trend for increasing engagement of teachers with the private education sector, deshane and private lessons. They mention that it is generally men teachers who are under pressure to have side incomes and look for opportunities:

> Aslı, my dear, if my husband didn't work at a training center, study groups etc., he had to work at constructions in summer. We have two salaries at home. Although we are having hard times, we manage to cut some expenses. But consider people

> whose spouse aren't working. Those are the ones who have difficulties in paying their rent or to provide their children with good education. And most of the women teachers don't have any free time because of raising kids and taking care of the household. (Songül, Kastamonu, 1969)

6.2.8. Changes in the Career Plans of Women in Elementary School Teaching

Unlike in provincial school settings, women tend to approve more the management positions in the urban schools, as a decent job alternative and as appropriate for women's engagement. However, it is only women from the Faculty and KPSS (PPSE) generation women who provide relatively approving comments and older generation extend their negative evaluation to urban center contexts, as well.

Across the generations, it seems only a slight difference has emerged in women's attitude towards whether to approve taking up managerial or administrative posts in schools and in education bureaucracy. Still, there is a small change in the second generation and they are more willing to have managerial positions, especially based on the reasoning that they would be better able to show their entire skill-set in those roles. It is especially the case for women graduates from other faculties, as they believe they hold other skills -than teaching- acquired through their university formations and they want them to have a currency in their work lives.

> I studied engineering after all... I took an exam to become a vice-principal last year, but I couldn't succeed. I had a small child. I couldn't get my head together. I didn't have the chance to study that much. So, I couldn't use my chance. And there is this thing: I told myself that I couldn't be a vice-principal. I couldn't work under someone like that. I wish I could directly become a principal. I believe I would be very successful. I would like to become one. But I didn't really try to become one. I might do it in the future. It's not impossible (Ayça, Malatya, 1975)

Meanwhile, in the younger generation, the option of getting academic careers emerges as a viable and powerful alternative to teaching, too. This is crucially different for the first-generation women, who never had academic career alternative once started their teaching lives. As is presented in the methodology chapter, ever increasing ratio of women in education faculties indicates, women show a significant interest for academic careers in education faculties.

> I want to become an academician, pursue a Master's degree. And if I can't be an academician, I could at least complete a Master's degree and have the right to take

> the exam to become a branch director, inspector, and you have more advantage when you have a Master's degree, I consider it in that sense. (Belma, Kars, 1982)

There are, on the other hand, a few exceptions to this rule. Especially, the women, coming from other educational backgrounds than elementary school teaching, tend to approach the idea of taking a role in school managements more positively. İnci (Antalya, 1967, French language and literature department graduate) had worked as deputy principle for some years. She explains, because she was already distant from teaching for some years; in need of money; and without children at the time, she had not had a hard time deciding. Ayça (Malatya, 1975, Geophysics engineering department graduate), unlike Ayşe who feels the need to provide justifications for her decision, argues that she is a leader-spirited woman and desires to have the highest position possible in "any type of job".

Ayşe (Diyarbakır, 1952) is, in difference with İnci and Ayça, an elementary teacher education institute graduate, from the first generation. She explains the reasons for having taken a deputy principal position with the argument that management *of teachers* is a critical educational task, for improvement of the standards of teaching. Hence, she consider principalship as linked with the job of teachers and teaching, rather than being a completely separate task, one that is irrelevant to teaching, as is perceived by majority of the other women teachers.

Mine (İstanbul, 1955, elementary teacher education school graduate) had accepted an administrative task in a school with special association status, aiming to support orphan children's education. For her understanding, this is far different than being a (deputy) principal in an ordinary school; since the position she accepted primarily demands caring, understanding and meeting the needs of special children, instead of dealing with "pecuniary and administrative tasks".

As such, unless put into a robust connection with teaching and children, school management positions are not considered desirable for majority of the women. Therefore, it is well established and repeatedly referred theme that the women from all three generations refuse to interpret getting a post in school administration as a

career progress. Women believe that management, whether it means being a principal or inspector or an expert in the bureaucracy, is "not related with teaching work at all". The most attainable positions, like those in school management, are especially subject to negative evaluations, in the narratives, as a kind of "administrative work" in order to stress their irrelevance with teaching, and their excessive involvement in pecuniary and political relations, indicating their incompatibility with teaching mission and ethos (moral justifications of the first generation and personal and professional narratives of the following generations).

The change in the attitude of the women from the second generation towards taking administrative positions and for working in the private schools. On the other hand, the crucial difference in their narratives lies in the way they consider and justify those options. Unlike the first-generation women, they do not suggest moral reasons for taking or refusing those private sector or administrative level positions. Instead, they evaluate the idea in a pragmatic way and based on the rationalities of the environment and their life course. Therefore, the obstacles against women's realizing those moves are related with the opportunity structures and the life period realities of women than their understanding about morals of being a teacher and a woman. The gender ideology, disapproving women's engagement with teaching in the private sector or becoming principals, seems to have weakened in the second generation.

In overall, gender regime of the elementary school teaching present some tendencies towards change. Women from the second generation are much more likely to report that there is actually a relevance of gender of the teacher for teaching work. Majority mention an increase in their understanding and insights about children and their needs and becoming better teacher after becoming mothers. They emphasize that at the early grades teaching positions, woman teachers perform better. In contrast to the first generation, they are more open to think about their occupation using a gender perspective and connect motherhood and teaching more easily. Their career plans are more flexible and do not exclude options of taking administrative or private sector positions. They do not suggest moral reasons for their attitudes

concerning those decisions. This change may be evaluated in connection with increasing relevance of classical female competencies for the administrative and teaching roles. Main example of those competencies is interpersonal communication and organization of community work. Schools, and especially those located in urban middle-class neighborhoods, adopting more rationalized procedures of management and the growing importance of family-school associations in management and organization of extracurricular activities could be considered to have played into the hands of women and relatively weakened the masculine culture in management of schools and community relations surrounding them. Women from the second generation, in general, appear more adaptive to the changing authority relations and modes of communication between school actors, managements, teachers and parents. They do not have the first-hand memory of the previous structure based on teachers' authority over parents and conflict-driven relation with managements. Therefore, they are more at ease to comply with the new model which demands teachers to be accountable to parents and school managements -instead of simply closing their classroom doors, be alone in their professional practice and accountable to only their conscience just like the women in the first generation-. They are more inclined to see accountability towards school actors as a part of teacher professionalism. However, women's narratives also indicate emerging trends which would be more effective over the experience of the third -KPSS (PPSE) generation: First, stratification between teachers has gained new dimensions. The resources that can be mobilized by women including her own contribution and the contribution elicited from the funding environment became important in teaching practices and teachers' job satisfaction. Second, encounters between women teachers and the mothers from the high profile socio-economic neighborhoods have started to facilitate emergence of new communities, where womanhood values are negotiated and reproduced. Access to those women networks on favorable terms was appearing also dependent on the resources, including work experience, performance and shared values. That was indicating the organized actor who would exacerbate the problems of young and temporary status teachers, through judging them as not fit to teach their children. Third, increasing importance of central eliminatory examinations measuring student achievement

adds to the performance pressures over teachers. In such an educational environment, teaching disadvantaged children or in the rural periphery would mean near inevitable a professional failure for teachers, since those groups stand for very limited chances regardless of teacher performance in educational competition. Here, teachers may get trapped in a circle of low professional credit-low professional outcomes. Fourth, parental participation policies have intended to increase contribution of parents to school life but they simultaneously provoked parents towards teachers. One consequence of that would be growing aggression of parents and parent groups, especially in the periphery, where returns from education is disappointing and allegations of school/teacher discrimination and disciplinary problems are more common.

6.3. KPSS (PPSE) Generation: Reflection / Establishment of Neoliberalism throughout the Narratives of Women

KPSS (PPSE) generation is composed of two main groups of women based on their employment statuses: those holding tenure-track positions and those temporary status positions. Tenure-track employed hold in majority higher academic performance which eventually lead them into getting a high grade from the KPSS (PPSE) examination. On the other hand, as exemplified with the one women interviewee in this study, women could start working as paid status teachers and could later enter tenure-track positions after showing the necessary performance in the KPSS (PPSE) examination. Yet, as they also mention, it gets increasingly difficult to follow this path, since the threshold for assignment grades gets higher every year and combining work and exam preparation becomes less of a possibility.

6.3.1. Women with Tenure-track Status: Incompatibility of the High Efforts and Difficult First Years

In general, those firstly assigned women complain about work and life conditions in their first assignment places, which they started to share with paid teachers at an increasing rate. They consider it unfair to serve in those contexts of poverty and deprivation given the high academic performance and the heavy efforts they

invested throughout their education life. Faculty education have contributed to urban life styles of women, lessened the geographical diversity among the hometowns of student teachers, and assignment difficulties have decreased their chances of choosing between the first service provinces. Therefore, even heightened teacher circulation became the rule in the obligatory service places (and this is part of the "official" reason why temporary statuses had been introduced in the first place as they do not have relocation rights). Women seem to have used and ready to use diverse paths of relocation if assigned in an unwanted place: marriage, asking for temporary assignment, and graduate study. Relocation, thus, part of their motivation when entering graduate study and demonstrate mobilities towards management and inspection cadres.

Compared to previous generations and their temporary status colleagues, tenure track in the KPSS (PPSE) generation are much more motivated towards showing a high performance and professional development in their work. Similarly, they consider career development through moving to administrative cadres and private sector as desirable. They have, together with the other faculty graduates in the Faculty generation, provided the most detailed evaluation of the existing curricula, teaching materials, and instruction techniques; mentioned the in-service training programmes they completed the most often. They are also more likely to use the words characterized the neoliberal managerialism, including performance, performance measurement, aspiration, motivation. As such, they are socialized into this culture and engaged with neoliberal professionalism project, to some level.

Nevertheless, they are not different from their colleagues from the former generations in arguing for gender neutrality of teaching work and career. Meanwhile, really, they are more open to the typically male teacher careers, including moves to administrative and private sector positions. They repeat the other patterns making up the gender regime of the profession in a similar way with the former generations, as well. They do not address the work-life balance difficulties of women; and neither does their being treated on unfavorable terms by the parents and school managements for their possible-negligence of their work, on the grounds

of their believed to be family-oriented; higher expectations from them based on their gender and also being (prospective) mothers; shouldering of relational works in schools. Yet they also mention that women are more compassionate in teaching style although this does not constitute a competency.

6.3.2. Temporary Statuses: Pathways to Marginalization

Third generation women had their education in universities at a time, the number of universities in Turkey had reached a historical record high; they were not anymore able to provide job guarantee to their graduates; and the hierarchies between prestigious and average, metropolis and province universities already became decisively important in education and job market. Similar patterns have emerged in the employment schemes in ES teaching. Public employee selection examination (KPSS/PPSE), temporary status positions, ever tightening performance criteria introduced through successive regulations have changed the ES teaching's reputation for being a secure public occupation where practitioners are relatively autonomous and enjoying favorable work schemes.

Teacher unemployment has been a soaring problem starting from the 2000s on. First time in the history of occupation in Turkey, teacher assignment was tied to a performance criterion in a national-level, eliminatory examination (instead of school-based qualification exams applied in the last years of the teacher training). This change has rendered the teacher identity as an employment/unemployment status, awarded by the state as the employer, rather than an educational formation and a professional qualification, certified by professional or academic institutions of the field. Therefore, teacher unemployment has developed hand in hand with a serious decline in the professional status of the occupation.

Teachers who have not succeeded in the central KPSS examination have come together and initiated a civil movement to ask for recognition of their rights to assignment, professional identity and benefits. The movement of non-assigned teachers took its place in the ranks of the others organized to address the injustices

consequent upon new types of insecurities and precarity in work life and identities (Bora et all 2011). It became a common cultural fragment to see an education faculty graduate in several types of unskilled or low skill works and workplaces.

Not only being not having attained an assignment, but also holding temporary employment statuses has continued to cause status injuries for teachers. As has been examined in detail at the Chapter V, this is explained by the teachers holding temporary teacher employment positions with reference to their feelings of being "fake and imposters", seeming and working like teachers but in fact having failed to get a tenure-track position, thus not being a real teacher. These feelings are created by the "failure", meaning being eliminated in the assignment examination, in the first place but further invested and consolidated by temporary teachers' unfavorable position in the already fragile relations between school actors.

Temporary status teaching positions, seen through their consequence for diminishing the career based mobilities of teachers, meaning poor professional development and geographical relocation opportunities, created further injuries. Teachers, spend their first service years in obligatory service places- in rural areas and provincial town and cities- and asks for re-location in other and bigger places, almost immediately after they complete their period as a rule. Therefore, only those who have their hometowns in those rural parts or provincial cities and very young teachers, work in the schools of obligatory service regions.

> (She was assigned to Silopi as her first obligatory service place) 1500 students, 34 teachers .. Only two of them were experienced teachers and the rest were all working their second years in teaching. The principal was a philosophy teacher working as a schoolteacher and it was his second year in the occupation, as well. That was because no one was accepting to stay (in Silopi) (Antalya, Buse, 1983)

Meanwhile, due to high circulation in teaching staff, there is a constant teacher gap in obligatory service region schools[138] [139]. Against all the odds, obligatory service system, assigning young teachers at the first years of their practice to disadvantaged areas, has been the only solution to the regional disparities and consequent teacher reluctance to serve in poor parts of the country, developed so far in management of the basic education system.

Recently, the teacher gaps in the rural and provincial Anatolia have started to be filled by temporary status teachers (paid teachers). Those policies as such are leading into concentration of temporary status teachers in the schools of obligatory service regions. One school examined in Şırnak is telling in that respect, for the profile of the teaching staff in the school largely depends on temporary teachers: Only one permanent teacher, four paid and one contract teachers. Paid status teachers all have their hometowns in the province and, they state, after periods of unemployment they were settled to work at temporary status, unable to afford for another year of preparing for the assignment exam (KPSS / PPSE). In this current outlook, it is possible to comment that career-based geographical mobilities are not any longer the case for the ES teachers working with temporary teaching statuses[140].

[138] This constant gap has caused resentment in the local people of the provincial Anatolia, which is near entirely covered in the definition of obligatory service geography, for their hometowns are labeled as undesired places for civil servants to live and they face a constant teacher circulation in their schools to detriment of their children. Thus, a historical tension between state servants and especially teachers and local people are tangible in important number of small provinces in Anatolia. It is possible to identify this resentment in the stories of teachers who work in their hometowns, they are being obligatory service places for other teachers. The resentment of locals against the reluctance of the civil servants to serve in their hometowns may take ethnical and political colors, as in the example of Southeastern provinces where Kurdish population are dominant.

[139] "According to the data MoNE (Ministry of National Education) shared with the teacher union Eğitim Bir-Sen, during the 2014-2015 period, among 116 thousand teachers who have been relocated in another province, 52 percent left the Eastern regions and majority of the teachers moved to Mediterrenian Sea Region (by 15 percent), Aegean region (by 15 percent) and İstanbul (by 12 percent). Due to this teacher relocation mobility, in the Eastern provinces generally the young and inexperienced teachers are placed" Education Reform Initiative (2017). Education Monitoring Report. *ERG: Istanbul*. ERG.

[140] Regarding this point, it is possible to comment that the classical teacher training policy, targeting provision of teacher training to the youth from diverse geographical backgrounds, to be able to send them to their hometowns as teachers is getting dysfunctional. In teacher training and assignment policies, rapid urbanization as a demographic trend has enabled lifting of the geographical criteria in admission to elementary teacher schools, then introduction of faculty education and later KPSS (PPSE) grade criterion rendering admission into teacher training and occupation dependent on central

6.3.3. Gender-specific Impact of the Paid Teacher Positions

All those developments impact women differentially for they consolidate the gender regime of the ES teaching, intensify women's largely invisible burdens (in responding to higher expectations from them, in balancing and arranging the transition between work and non-work life, and managing relational aspects of teaching) and create a stronger disempowerment impact in managing their life decisions. As such, especially the temporary status members of the KPSS (PPSE) generation live precarization in the occupation as an experience with specific gender dimensions.

Women from the third generation continue to consider their gender as irrelevant to teaching as a work and profession, following the footsteps of their colleagues from the previous generations. Again, parallel to the testimonies of the older generations, they narrate their experience of organizing and managing their work life in teaching as highly charged and patterned by their gender, despite their young age.

> Let me see, I am walking my daughter to the creche; continuing for the school afterwards; attending the school meetings; picking up my daughter after cheche hours; helping her for some hours to be sure she is doing fine with her learning plan… Did I say I am responsible from cooking, cleaning and other staff at home …? Yes, parents always call me. In that sense you are right, my male colleagues do not answer so many questions and hold so frequent and long conversations with parents … Being a woman makes it easier for mothers to get into communication, I guess (Nur, Silopi, 1983).

> I was shocked to understand that. Imagine, they can call you at any hour they would like. … When I had not picked up the phone at night they might have appeared at the school door the next day … Home gatherings (of women in the neighborhood some of whom have their children at her classroom) was also a problem. I thought I was too young to be invited to them. But an elder woman from my school warned me about it. It seems kind of a tradition now. Women teachers attend the gatherings of women in the neighborhood … So, yes they (home gatherings) are in my weekly schedule now (Belma, Kars, 1982).

They are, furthermore, similarly overcharged by the expectations from school actors in teaching performance on the grounds of their being women. Women consider this normal arguing that those expectations do not target teaching practice, but the

level competition. Natural outcome has been stronger translation of geographical/regional opportunities and social class privileges into educational and occupational ones.

"social relations" deemed irrelevant to teaching work proper. In a way, deep-seated ignorance in the gender ideology of the occupation, towards the fact that teaching work and daily teaching life is gendered, lead into an array of controversial and contradictory assumptions about the "teaching work and profession". Classroom work is teaching par excellence in those assumptions; and in terms of classroom practice women and men teachers are not different from each other. Yet, the social and emotional relations surrounding and structuring teaching with broader, out-of-classroom extensions are not included in definition of teaching:

> Always it is women from whom more is expected. This is no strange as they are mothers in the end. Compassion, patience, more effort ... Yes, that's normal (Yeliz, Silopi, 1978).

> See, it is like this: once a child had cut his finger and it was bleeding. His teacher is an elder man, known as a very good man and a good teacher around. But, there he was at the corridor waiting by the child and doing nothing. When he saw me, I know he got happy; asked from me to do something. It was only … I mean he needed to cover the cut and prevent the child constantly looking at it. But I covered the cut, in the end. He could not think that was what required … I mean not in teaching but in approaching child women are better (Tuğçe, Kars, 1984).

KPSS (PPSE) generation women follow the track of second generation for accepting to get administrative or private sector positions and also include academic career among the paths they can follow in shaping their careers. Especially the frequent changes in the regulation have kept creating new situations for teachers: As explained in the methodology chapter, the norm staff policy has made important number of teachers redundant in their schools; unification and closure of village and rural schools required change of work place for many; 4+4+4 basic education policy, similarly, caused redundancies and also problems in relocation through central level assignment. This constant change of regulation has been lived by women as a continuous trend causing instability in teaching life. Assignment problems and temporary teaching statuses as well, contributed to the surges in women's searches for other positions in work life.

> Yes, it was different. We were assigned to the villages forgotten even by the God, served in those places for long years. But, I am looking at the young now, they are desperate. Regulations are changing, managements are changing, you cannot get an assignment. When young parents are constantly playing with you, keep filing complaints about you, intimidate you. … Maybe they are considering it now as better to have a administrative work or yes, it is even better to have academic works

> … Otherwise, especially when you are married and have children, it is very well possible for them to be obliged to quit working altogether (Su, İstanbul, 1952).

In defining classroom work, tenure track and temporary status teachers from the third generation provide crucially different statements. First group desires to share their responsibility with parents and managements in line with the requirements of the new times and conscious mothers and professional school managements.

> Good to be in communication. Educated parents give you this advantage. They get along well with you. She knows in the end we are together in this work. In this school I really enjoy coming together with parents. They are a source of support for me (Hülya, Şarköy, 1980).

However, the second group (of temporary status teachers) feels being radically and forcefully detached from their classrooms in a way, adding to their "outsider status" in the profession. Temporary status teachers, furthermore, are more likely to work in peripheral schools where neither the parents are conscious or collaborative, nor the managements are professional and helpful. Hülya's stories indicate this noteworthy change in teachers' experiences as they move from temporary to tenure-track statuses and from peripheral to central schools.

> It was so awful. I mean they (parents) wanted me to do everything as they wish. One was coming and wanting me to place her child by the heater saying that she was susceptible to cold; the other was saying she would not buy a picture netbook since her child was not fond of drawing. The other was brought by his uncle as his parents were separated. I told his that he was swearing so terribly. The next day, that uncle and a herd of other men and women came to beat me after work hours (Hülya, 1980, Şarköy).

Similarly, while temporary status teachers are pushed to undesired schools and classrooms and have to face the most difficult conditions in terms of the relations with children and parents. This situation is further complicated by the problems of non-recognition, temporary status teachers experience in relations with managements and parents. Tenure track young women teachers, on the other hand, although still in the early years and in the peripheral schools in the occupation, are more at ease in managing those relations being recognized as "young but real teachers".

> Yes, the same, but they are assigned in the end. … It is so obvious, everybody thrust them since they were awarded with an assignment and are real teachers in the eyes

> of the people. … as if teaching is anything to do with the ability of taking high grades from Turkish-math tests.. (Ufuk, Hatay, 1978).

Women's unemployment after university, failing to succeed in the central selection exam, KPSS (PPSE), creates highly gendered consequences. Turning back to hometown and family home means surrender to re-establishment of the rule of family control over women's life. After years of experimentation with an expanded initiative and agency in leading their own lives, in university period, this later coming fallback is deeply problematic for women.

The range of works and occupations women can engage with in cases of failing to attain a tenure track teaching position, is very poor. Elementary school teaching is such a proper and approved job for women that, all types of works taken up in replacement is considered as a status decline by the society and by the women themselves. Women, therefore, feel the need to stress the temporariness of those work engagements and cannot avoid living the status injury coming with them. Their typical preferences for employment as they wait for assignment through the coming year's KPSS (PPSE) exam, are teaching works again. Yet, these are generally very small jobs, apart from paid teaching roles, like private lessons. This precarious status of the jobs also strengthens the non-work status of their engagements by women.

Low levels of payment in paid teaching positions and unpaid periods during summer months make it necessary for women to accept those positions only if they are in their hometown provinces. Those positions create a dilemma for women. Since they are teaching positions, it is preferable for women to take at times of unemployment; on the other hand, they are disproportionately demanding compared to the status and remuneration they give.

> I actually did not want to enter paid teaching. It is because we already know from what we had heard from the experiences of others that there are many things related with inequality, discrimination and hierarchy between tenure track and paid teachers. Paid teachers are under pressure and as if have no qualifications they were treated badly and exploited also. Therefore, I did not want. But still, to make a living. I am stil not seeing it as a work but a process. … I applied to paid teaching taking support of some influential people we know in Trabzon. .. No I could not afford off course in anoter province (Şule, Trabzon, 1988)

The general expectation from women, if they experience unemployment period or if they are employed at paid teacher statuses, is their leaving the employment market eventually, especially by getting married. Women appear at odds with this idea, having completed faculty education and holding an occupational qualification. Still, they consider temporary teaching positions as unsustainable, either, as a work engagement.

> My grandmother used to say that, 'it is so nice that you are going to be a teacher. You can find a teacher -man- just like you. You can live happily together. Always this thing about having a double income. Our professors in the faculty were also saying the same thing. .. But now, people are telling me to find someone to marry, as if I was solely after a marriage and in such a pathetic situation being a paid teacher. I do not like this idea. Find someone and save yourself. From what? They think my situation is miserable (Şule, Trabzon, 1988)

> I used to think about quitting teaching. I wanted to do a different work. I do not know. But, now, since I am a contracted teacher, the occupation quits me every 9 months. If I quit, I do not think I work again. (Would you continue working if you had a tenure-track position?) I would definitely continue. (Esin, 1966, Silopi)

6.4. Professionalization and Proletarianization of Women and the Contested Gender Regime in the Occupation

ES teaching in Turkey has come to have a typical gender regime in organization of the professional practice and identity. Women are traditional members of the ES teaching, but the occupation has been and is still a gender-balanced one. Therefore, elementary school teaching position is not totally or predominantly feminized. On the other hand, it does not mean that the occupation is not relying on a gender ideology and efficiencies arising from the various divisions between the roles of women and men at different components of teaching work and school life; and that the experience of women and men are not critically different in organizing their individual lives as to perform teaching as a work engagement. Indeed, a certain gender-based arrangements, divisions and gender ideology forms the basis of the gender regime of the profession. Understanding this regime is critical to reveal the nature of the experiences of women in the occupation and to consider the current

change in the elementary school teaching together with the gender dimensions involved.

Narratives of the Pre-faculty, thus first- generation women on teaching profession indicate that this gender regime depends on a gender ideology, suggesting gender-neutrality of the teaching work. Women consider gender as irrelevant to teaching work and performance; and mention that women and men are equally qualified for teaching work and their performances are similar. Narrative construction of this gender-neutrality understanding seems to depend on a number of abstract qualifications deemed to be central to elementary school teaching: Women justify their arguments for gender neutrality of teaching profession with the gender-neutrality of those personal qualifications, namely loving children, conscience and ability to think like children (thus empathy for educational purposes). They elaborate that it would not be fair to consider those qualifications as owned by a gender but not the other. On the other hand, such a "traits approach"[141] to teaching work and teacher qualification curtails some important aspects of them. These aspects are best revealed as women move to describe practical realities of their work, more specifically that since they are women they are expected to fulfill more in teaching role, especially in loving, understanding, nurturing children and being conscientious – by the very qualities they think they are equal with men to own- in practical roles. Furthermore, they vividly describe how they put extra effort to combine their work and family roles, especially because both roles feed on the same emotional resources like communication, follow up, and patience, while men can claim a privileged irresponsibility at the domestic front. In addition to this, they are expected to play distinct roles in organization and maintenance of the social relations of teaching and school life. Since those relations are taking place mainly between women, as colleagues and mothers, the relational work involved largely goes unnoticed. That is most strikingly brought out in women's testimonies that mothers prefer women teachers just to be at ease in demanding more from them.

[141] This approach can be considered as a personality approach than a traits approach in that traits are generally defined according to the qualities acquired through Professional development in the literatüre, like education, trainins, experience.

Furthermore, the balancing work women engage with in teaching and those men engage have come to be different. Men teachers, often described with their difficulties for providing for their families through standard teacher wage, are considered with sympathy and understanding for the hardships they go through. They are furthermore approved in taking extra jobs and looking for career mobility opportunities, leaving elementary school classrooms. On the other hand, women teachers having to combine domestic duties and teaching do not enjoy the same sympathy and understanding. On the contrary, even women themselves consider teaching as advantageous for women to reconcile their different roles and taking a further step, judge other women teachers and even themselves, for being negligent in work performance upon the possibility of being family-oriented. As such, the balancing duty, considered incumbent upon women teachers all naturalizes women's exclusive responsibility for taking care of family life; turns their burdens invisible; and justifies possible accusations for being negligent in their work lives, as a disciplinary discourse.

In sum, in elementary school teaching, a distinct gender ideology is operative, which claims irrelevance of gender to teaching work and profession. This ideology ignores and undermines women's differential emotional and relational work in teaching, and in balancing family and work in engagement with teaching and denies all of them from the being a part of teaching work and profession proper. Hence, the profession has been organized upon the principle of curtailing women's differential contributions, not recognizing them as work and labour proper. As such, this ideology perfectly perpetuates the broader patriarchal patterns where women's contribution to organization and maintenance of work life is considered as non-work and their labour, devoid of professional quality. Meanwhile, it seems that the script of sacrifice and idealism, virtues of modesty, invested in the ideological formation of the teaching occupation, makes it easier to claim irrelevance of gender. These moral overtones, prevent women speaking in the name of individual interest or claiming a categorical superiority or difference.

Narratives of the first-generation women, about the particular way they organize their career, reveals other aspects of the gender regime structuring teaching. Women mention, they deem leaving elementary school classrooms for career mobilities that would come with school principalship, private sector and high school teaching positions, often incompatible with the teacher ethic. Their career plans, hence, starts and ends in public school teaching positions. Men, on the other hand, are tolerated to follow different paths since they look for ways to make more money, as they have the primary responsibility for the livelihoods of the family, and they are not so much fit -as fit as women- for elementary school teaching. Especially in the provincial Anatolia, moreover, school administration and private sector teaching works are submerged in a male network and culture. Labour unions are another example of this sites where masculine culture is dominant. Women equally refuse to take part in unions and any positions deemed connected with politics, considering it equally antithetical to respectability of educator identity. However, it requires to be underlined that those rules of respectability applied only to women; and men always have excuses. Therefore, here operates a common understanding of female respectability regulating the career decisions and behavior of women. Natural outcome of this motive has been a strong vertical division in schools, men managing in administrative roles and women nurturing in teaching roles and in exclusion of women from power laden, leadership positions, like school administrator, union activist, private sector entrepreneur.

In the experiences of the women from the second -Faculty- generation, the background phenomenon of deepening market integration in the school system finds a solid reflection. Concomitant political discourses and regulations for professionalization in teaching have gained ground during their first years of service. Private schools have become prevalent, diversification in the quality of schools and central student selection examinations distributing children to varying quality schools through their exam performance have motivated use of test and measurement methods through which to evaluate teacher performance. Meanwhile, assignment of other faculty graduates as teachers have created new discussions about teachers' performance among teachers themselves. Parent participation

policies have channeled the surged parent interest for own children's educational performance due to central selection examinations and upon emergence of differentiated paths in education, into mechanisms for parent-teacher collaboration in schools and parent supervision over teachers. Resultant picture has largely been determined by the weakening positional authority of teachers, vis a vis parents, and school managements and accelerated search for new standards for regulation of authority relations in school life and of teacher professionalism. Those searches instigated by the increasing diversity in schools (private and public), teacher profiles (teacher and other faculty graduates), educational paths (high and low track, shaped by the central student selection examinations), search for reform in curricula and instruction. Narratives of women teachers reflect this dynamism based on increased diversity, emerging opportunities and individual and political searches for reform in the elementary school education and teaching profession, for a particular period in the contemporary Turkish history. This period was full of change but also opportunities, successfully identified by a significant number of women in the occupation. Yet those productive dynamics would leave their place, largely to segregation (between schools of haves and have-nots; private and public schools; and temporary and tenure track teachers) in the KPSS (PPSE) generation.

Gender ideology of teaching, based on the assumption that the roles and performances in teaching are gender neutral, does not change in the second generation's narratives. Meanwhile, the organization of curricula and instruction has changed to expand in the tasks, mainly fulfilled by women, like parent-teacher-management communication, extra-curricular activities, and unstructured courses, the components drawing upon family-school collaboration. Coupled with the increased performance pressures, those dynamics have triggered a rise in differentiation of work and career plans of teachers. Among the second-generation women, some took the high road, contributing to school image through extracurricular activities, parent-teacher relations, and others preferred to follow a more modest track. In a way, teaching has changed to allow women with career progress desires to perform differently than others. This change would be complemented with the expanded opportunities in the private sector positions, too.

Hence, once accepted as differential burdens of women (communication and emotional service tasks) became the basis of competition and a form of competency, creating for women, not solely an increased workload but chances of professional mobility and progress.

The most important difference, the women from the second generation presented from the first generation, is abandonment of the moral language, used in discussing career movements into private sector jobs or to administrative positions. Women appeared more pragmatic and calculative in their considerations and are more eager to take those types of career mobility paths. They justify their actual or possible moves towards those positions, with their different university education formations, life course realities or with their desire to show and use their skills in a wider spectrum than enabled by public elementary school teaching. Meanwhile, the changes, creating constant uncertainties about the rules and regulations of the occupation, seem to have facilitated women's growing flexibility to take administrative and private sector positions. Experiences of becoming redundant ("norm fazlası") in the school and loosing their classrooms, assignment and relocation problems have caused women to live through an uncertainty which made it easier on their part to accept career non-traditional paths involving school managements and private sector positions.

In the third generation, differences in the opportunity environments have reached a certain level, resulting in a lasting segregation between elementary school teachers. Especially those working in temporary teaching positions and working in the periphery have been impacted by the lessening opportunities and vicious circles of disadvantage in the new period. It is striking that those with tenure-track statuses and having relatively better off work places continued to live the realities of the second generation, whereas others have testified a rapid deterioration in their conditions of work, work-based mobility, and career progress. Confusions based on uncoupling of university education with employment security and professional identity have caused severe status injuries for this second category. According to their stories, they started to stand on the verge of falling out of the realm of ES

teaching and even employment life altogether, due to the fact that employment in the sectors, other than teaching, have added to the status injury they are going through, just like the temporary teaching positions.

In their narratives, women discuss the legacy with a certain social type, teachers have been considered to represent: An idealist, rather crude and disinterested about status signifiers as appearance and life style aesthetics, tough and enduring against material difficulties, acting on a sense of duty in all sectors of life, having a certain type of occupational conservatism pushing her to be politically correct -than colorful and diplomatic, and finally very visible, high-profile, and having an interventionist, even meddling, attitude almost about everything. Searches for a new type revolves around a few new qualities: communication and relational skills, instead of using authoritarian styles in relating to others, motivating approach towards the students, taste and style in personal life and appearance, better qualifications in general and in popular culture, keeping abreast of the developments in the realm of education and teaching. Those qualities clearly indicate that women, especially young women, are pushed to re-work teacher identity in the image of an urban professional with middle-class resources.

CHAPTER 7

CONSTRUCTION OF IDEAL WOMANHOOD THROUGHOUT THE FAMILY EXPERIENCES OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TEACHERS

Women teachers are widely considered as the epitomes of ideal woman, highly eligible as wives and exalted as ideal -working- mothers in the society. This is a long-accepted cultural construct that seems to be maintaining its power. This Chapter looks closer at this special gender status, teaching has been claimed to be bestowing women and how women experience this ideal woman myth, in their family lives and regarding their own searches for balance and status. Therefore, it investigates, over the life story narratives of women, first, the ideological discourse on the virtues and amenities of teaching for women and tracks through the experiences of different generations whether there is a change or continuity in the ways this discourse is perceived and lived. While the former question, on the nature of the ideological construction of teaching as a virtuous job for women, is discussed in and through the life stories of the women teachers from the first generation; the latter issue of the change in this ideological script and in the way, women relate and interact with it, is traced through the life story narratives of the following two generations.

First section examines the specificities introduced by elementary school teaching to women's family life, drawing upon the narratives of the Pre-faculty generation women. Following sections examine the trends of change and continuity in the main terms of these features in the experiences of the following generations.

7.1. First (Pre-Faculty) Generation Women and Elementary School Teaching as A Distinct Context for Gender-Specific Experiences of Women

This section presents the experiences of women ES teachers from the Pre-Faculty generation, and discusses the common cultural construct, representing ES teaching as an ideal job for women, regarding womanhood status and in family life. It is identified that the lasting currency of the belief that teaching is ideal for women to balance work and family is the very basis of the patriarchal regulation of the gender regime in the occupation, reflected at the women's family life and understandings on female respectability.

7.1.1. A Brief Portrait of the Generation

When the family lives of this generation are considered, it is possible to arrive at a common portrait: Marriages happening soon after graduation from teacher education programmes, are generally arranged ones, but choosing spouse from teacher training schools or from the close circles of schoolmates are not rare, either. They generally do not mention about the flirt or romance much. Most of the women have ES teacher or public employee husbands. Among them, only a few of them are high ranking public employees or bureaucrats. Just like the younger generations, in the marriage decisions and in especially timing, obligatory service and re-location system is decisively important. Women can ask, after marriage with a public employee, for re-location in a new province and school for family re-union purposes and this creates an opportunity structure, motivating their marriage with men in public employment and at an earlier period in the service. As such, they can get closer to urban areas and to their hometowns, after spending time in first assignment places in the rural periphery.

Majority of the women present themselves as idealistically oriented to their work, to the degree of avoiding taking leaves often for family reasons. This is because, there seems to be a stigma for women teachers taking frequent leaves on familial grounds and they desire to avoid it. They present themselves as principled to treat own children and student equally and not more favorable towards their own

children. Often, own children enroll in the schools they teach during early years of service in the periphery; and role-conflicts appear more than exception. Their common urge to prove that they are putting work before family and students before children seem to have left marks and constituted subjects of lasting questionings in women. Nesli (1956) describes her case:

> Bilge and Gökçe, they express their offence about it. They say you never treated us as your children. I, for instance, forbade their entering the teachers' room. There, I was the teacher not a mother. I still say that it is lucky that I did that way. They can now earn their money even under the hardest conditions and stand without support of their husbands. Once, one of my friends asked to the math teacher who could win the Anatolian High School entrance examination. He answered, 'there is this girl, Gökçe. no one else can'. He did not know that she was my daughter, although he had been teaching her for two years. Now, I think that that was a mistake I made. No one knew that they were my daughters since they never entered the teachers' room. I never said, look this is my daughter. They graduated without having recited a poem in the school. I wanted them to sit aside not be at the forefront as teachers' daughters. I wanted others to be at the front (Nesli, Ankara, 1956).

Female modesty rules in parallel, seem to necessitate them to handle family work alone and without complaint -asking for help. In general, public-mindedness and appearing work-orientated are highly praised virtues among them and this value orientation creates a relative silence about issues of family and womanhood in this generation. Yet, they seem to have been pretty confident about future academic success of their children and not preoccupied with supporting them personally, unlike the younger generations. On the other hand, in many of the cases, the distanced and rule-driven style of mothering and prioritization of teacher identity and student children over their children's needs have created feelings of unrest and regret in the later years.

Only two women do not have a marriage history out of 26 interviewed and they also describe in detail how eligible teacher women were in the marriage market in their times. Along with some of the married representatives of the generation, single women provide stories of taking care of the parental family through financial and other types of support (housework, running the family business ... others). As such, in cases of single women, too, familial area takes a significant place in their life stories; and the experiences about trying to figure out how to balance work and family predominate.

This generation of women also noteworthy for the support they provided to their own daughters in childcare and balancing work and family lives, in their older ages. Therefore, their cohort seems like the first generation in which the principle of 'family as a responsibility / liability (for daughters)' left its place to 'family as a resource' based on the support this generation of women gave to their daughters especially during child raising periods. Their mothers had prepared them an enabling environment to study and have a professional qualification, mentioning that 'they would like their daughters to get education since they themselves could not'. Now, Pre-faculty generation women mention they 'do not want their daughters to go through the same difficulties they had' regarding child care and balancing work and family.

7.1.2. The Virtues versus the Practicalities of Teaching for Women: Fragile Nature of Female Respectability of Women Teachers

Deep-seated understanding on the female respectability of the ES teaching profession relies on the convictions that, first, women teachers are the symbols of gender-role conformity, and second, their feminine virtues are translated into social goods in families and in schools through teaching, instead of solely benefiting women themselves in balancing their work and family roles. First assumption suggests the relevance of the occupation for providing practicalities to women in performing their feminine tasks at the both fields of family and profession, thus for them in balancing and professing their roles in both fields. Here, it is critical that teaching and familial roles of women are constructed as complementary and harmonious. Second assumption, on the other hand, takes a further step and claims that this complementarity creates not only practical and individual but also a social and moral synergy and works to the advantage of the society and the family.

The previous Chapter, discussing the elements of the gender regime of the teaching profession and the changes taking place in its terms, have already revealed that familial and professional roles of women are not complementary in teaching, but the complementarity claim have turned women's differential burden in performing

teaching role and in balancing work and family roles invisible and unrecognized. This Section examines the same issue, this time from the side of the gender-specific private space experiences of women. It raises the question, whether assumed harmony and complementarity between private and professional roles of women in teaching is an actual phenomenon and if it is, in every context, considered as something to the advantage of the society and thus, if women are accordingly rewarded with a female respectability[142].

Pertaining to this problem, in the narratives of the women from the first generation, it is suggested that the occupation brings a type of female respectability and status and also a number of the practicalities to women -although they are all overestimated. However, regarding the female respectability and status, associated with elementary school teaching, it also appears that this respectability is critically a fragile and protean one, which in different contexts and in the experience of the following generations change in content and even dissolve in experience of some members of the KPSS (PPSE) generation.

This section shows the main foundation of the female respectability that is deemed intrinsic to elementary school teaching is the gender-role-conformity pictured in representation of women ES teachers. Put in other words, ES teaching is considered a similar role to women's domestic roles. However, the same imagination could feed a surge of criticism against women, on the grounds that they have a pragmatic orientation to teaching, rather than acting on a genuine "feminine calling" for caring and nurturing the children of the society. This demand for women's being genuine in their feminine urges for becoming teachers and performing teaching, like "love for children", is a demand for feminine subjectivity and is moral in nature. Second claim is complemented with an argument that if women are not geneuine in their subjectivities, the gender role harmony of ES teachers does not work to the advantage of the society. It seems that those two different perspectives gain more

[142] Female respectability here is used in the meaning suggested by Skeggs (1997), as "moral femininity"; therefore, to mean the moral economy and value produced upon women's conforming to the norms of proper womanhood. Meanwhile, Skeggs elaborates that respectability stands as a type of equivalent of socio-economic capital, for women.

ground during different periods and become effective through the support they find in the political discourses on teachers.

Status loss discourses voiced by the women from all the generations indicate that the eroding status of teaching immediately translates into opportunistic orientation of women to teaching. This opportunism theme narrates two moral implication. First is women's being fake in their femininities. They are represented as making an unfair benefit from the amenities of teaching for women, deluding others about their feminine emotional service. Women benefit from the public sympathy for being teachers on the grounds of their extra contribution and diligence (which termed as self-sacrifice by scholars like Walkerdine -1981- and Grumet -1981-) and if this promise is false they are treated as imposters. Secondly, there is a consequence running out from this faking of women in teaching: Women do not deliver the benefits expected from them.

Those narratives indicate that the decline narratives in teaching has a clear gender dimension. This dimension discloses the close relation between institutions of ideal womanhood and female respectability with ES teaching.

7.1.3. The Issue of Female Respectability in Teaching Roles

"Women belong to the private and men to the public world". This is the central argument of the mythology regulating the gender norms in modern societies. By this argument, it is suggested that: Women are ideally wives and mothers; their place is the domestic area. They are by nature, oriented to be emotional and caring than rational and detached (Grumet 1988; Chodorow 1978). They perceive the situations as relational and subjective, rather than as structural and objective; and behave accordingly. Similarly, they are more talented at settings where care, nurture and empathy are at the fore front: in private relations of family, kinship, neighborhood, friendship, mothering and others (for the concept of emotional capital of women see, Nowotny 1981). They act on an ethic of nurture/care (Vogt 2002). Finally, due to their subjective formation, they are only capable of being happy if engaged with caring roles and tasks: Being a mother, raising a family, teaching, healing, assisting,

serving to the happiness of others. In line with that body of premises, women have most easily been accepted to public world in the roles, close to their domestic nature, like charity, nursing and teaching. Being among those roles, teaching has come to have a social script of gender role conformity for women, unsurprisingly.

As such, teaching defines a particular condition of womanhood, determined by the assumed ease it confers to women in reconciling their family and public lives and thus in achieving social approval. Thus, as a cultural conviction, women engaged with ES teaching are in peace with womanhood norms in subjective and objective terms; and therefore, they are perceived as the epitomes of gender role conformity. Rather than the practical goods of women's being able to balance their roles and works, approval of the eternal believes about feminine self is critical in women's gaining respectability: Women realize their inner selves through committing and sacrificing themselves for others, family and society. But there is a doubt implied here that women can be fake in their subjectivities, search their own benefits and deem teaching as simply instrumental for their individual welfare than as a moral and subjective calling. Such a situation would overturn the mythological thinking on women's relation with teaching role.

This tacit, but striking theme appears alongside the construction of elementary school teaching as an ideal engagement for women, in the narratives of the first-generation women teachers. That includes an allegation for the pragmatism in women's choosing teaching. In this script, the practical goods, teaching could provide women, are commonly brought forth suggesting that teaching can be a pragmatic -even opportunistic- choice for women as well: women can make good marriages; take care of their families better; take comfort in public employment meaning job security and stable social and side benefits; can be more responsive to developmental and educational needs of their children; does not disturb her husband and the masculine world around via engaging with high aspiration public roles; provides modest but secure secondary income to the family, and so on. Yet, all of those advantages are the ones women individually enjoy but not necessarily the society benefits on equal terms.

Pragmatism, thus, is the implicit term of the cultural cannon narrating the story of women that are choosing teaching. The pragmatism discourse co-exists with the other, more prominent, canonical narrative claiming a deeper and subjective, and moral attachment of women to teaching task. In this narrative, women choose teaching not because of the practical rewards it will bring, but out of a spiritual calling of their selves for taking this role: devoting themselves to "child care and education", they are after realizing their inner -feminine- selves. Hence, not upon a calculated and rational decision but out of a spiritual search, women end up being teachers, according to this narrative.

Those are, however, two faces of the same hegemonic discourse on women's orientation to teaching, one arguing that the occupation is a "pragmatic choice", and the other claiming its being an "inner calling" for women. Similarly, in social imagination, teachers are in general both seen as idealists, having a sacred social duty that they commit themselves selflessly in the case of women integrating it with their (personal/feminine) drives, and as opportunists, who chose a secure and low-aspiration public occupation, especially targeting to ease their domestic burdens. Two arguments, actually, cohabit the same universe of meaning. That double-faced character of the social discourse regulating the relation of women with teaching is what Weber and Mitchell (1995) terms as "protean" in the woman teacher image.

Lawn (2005) argues that the history of teaching is determined by the intervals of rising public anxiety over morals and accountability of teachers and education system, rather than by a categorical and sustained public trust and respect towards them. Periods of massive public panic over the morality of teachers reflect political maneuvers of governing social blocs towards changing the terms of social contract in and through education. Transition from religious to secular education, from public to market education, and other structural transformations have been accompanied by hostile public discourses against teachers and school systems in place, have been instigated in the first place by the governments, and the trust-breaking changes they have tried to establish in the system. Therefore, teachers have

always commonly been judged through moral terms and although in social perception they are considered as figures of respectability, they have come to hold a vulnerable position in the face of rising social conflicts and change. In the case of women teachers, this vulnerability targets the doubted balance and proportionality between their individual benefits (for being in a feminine work role) and the benefits of the society for women's performing teaching roles.

Weber and Mitchell (1995) also aptly indicate that women teachers have been accepted as the part of the imagination, societies developed on themselves in a context of daily routine, non-problematic, non-dramatic flow and functioning of agreed upon norms and existing institutionalizations. Male teacher, on the other hand, belongs to, as a cultural figure, depictions of dramatic and conflicting contexts of social life. Those narratives metonymically, tell that women are not approved to take part in social conflict and must manage their teaching practice away from social disputes, disagreements and their impact. Their priority is first and foremost their teaching role, unlike men teachers, women already mentioned to be tolerated less easily for political, profit-based and individual engagements and divergences. Women's insistent comments, presented in the previous Chapter, to avoid commercial and political roles and relations, indicates this very same point as well: Women's other identities are secondary and trivial to teaching, just like mothering. Women diverging from this norm are accepted as paradoxical and morally dangerous:

> Those women, I do not know, were having their tea and putting the glasses by the window. They very making a pile there. … not paying home visits to the families of their students, not talking to us as colleagues… We learnt that they are connected to a religious organization. … I can imagine, they are being in such a thing so incompatible with teaching. Do not be a teacher then. X is also religious and covers her head outside of school. But she is a good teacher; has no hostility against certain groups of people. .. Think of it, this teacher is a woman. Would you treat this was your own children just because you are following (a political religious) group? (men?) Men are doing this. It is also something not nice. But it is especially ugly for a woman. You are compassionate, understanding … you are a mother (Pınar, İstanbul, 1957).

Therefore, questioning of women on the grounds if they are authentically or opportunistically orientated to teaching is connected with construction of the

occupation in close relation with the central fictions of femininity and social cohesion. When disciplined in their feminine nature in the institution of public school and through the role of teacher, according to this fiction, women can realize the promises of patriarchal vision on women and femininity: creating a warm home for the children of the society and for themselves, away from the conflicts, contradictions of politics, class and other categories of social struggle in the classrooms. This impossible mission is in fact a disciplinary medium, pushing women to comply with the patriarchal norms, under threat of awaiting moral accusations.

It is possible to interpret the periods of public doubt and panic about moral decency of teachers as periods of change in education policy, parallel changes in teacher professionalism, and also a change in the gender politics of teaching. In the current period, as well, such tendencies towards overturning the believes about women's respectability as teachers seems to be on rise. This tendency finds reflection over the common decline narratives of women, suggesting a weakening in the social status of teachers but also in their recurring accusations towards their women colleagues for being opportunistic. All types of differences individual and at group and generation level may cause an opportunisms accusation, according to women's narratives. It seems to be a rather old tendency that the older women accuse faculty graduates for not being idealist and having an opportunistic motivation for choosing to teach:

> You know, they say, 'I wanted to have a comfortable life with a guaranteed job'. This is why people want to become teachers. They are not as idealist as we used to be. (why?) We learnt that at school. And our lifestyles were more moderate, maybe we were disciplined by our families (Begüm, 1954, Ankara).

Younger women, in response, criticize "old-fashioned ways of older teachers" and their authoritative style of communication with parents and young colleagues[143]:

[143] Traditionally gaining seniority in teaching has been the only rewarded with colleague and parent appreciation (although with the expansion of the private sector, this rule has significantly changed). Respect of beginning young teachers towards the older ones is similarly considered critical and measured through young teachers' consulting with their older colleagues about how to do in complicated conditions related with teaching work. Therefore, older teachers demand more attention from their young colleagues, better appreciation of their experiences, on the grounds that "they used to consult with their seniors when they started teaching first". On the other hand, diversification of the platforms and the media, teachers may recourse to in preparing course contents and as they encounter a problem in planning, reporting and problem solving, has lessened the need for younger

> First of all, you can't do anything without a computer anymore. Secondly, why would I ask about the information I could access online? They say it's out of respect and youngsters would still ask about them. Look, thirdly, parents are not as illiterate as before. They (old colleagues) are still capricious against them and it is pointless. Isn't it time to retire yet, seriously? But no, they think that the money feels good. They can make a living after all (Buse, Antalya, 1983)

Other faculty graduates blame education faculty graduates for not being aspirant and motivated in the profession and opting for teaching considering it a secure public employment, solely. According to their statements education faculty graduates have been after security and comfort, the occupation promises, rather than being followers of its cause and philosophy:

> If you don't like children and you are making money out of teaching, that is totally the opposite of my idea. I look at the class teachers who are past graduates of faculty of education, they are literally like Joe Schmoes. Both in terms of appearance and mentality. So, (us, graduates of other faculties/departments) gave life to teaching, we took it to another dimension. They culturally developed so much. (Arzu, Trabzon, 1973)

Education faculty graduates, in a striking irony, repeat the same scripts of thought in criticism to their teaching department graduates and repetitively state that other-faculty graduates have an opportunistic approach towards teaching, and they are not really oriented to the occupation, having chosen teaching out of unemployment and for life-work balance purposes.

> Why? Because of unemployment. Maybe her husband was assigned to somewhere, and what she could do there may be teaching. Or maybe she wants and easier life there, since people think teaching is an easy job. You can both raise your child and take care of your house. She either has money, or wants something easy. But, I didn't see any good teachers without that training. They look so self-confident but… (Nesli, Ankara, 1956).

Therefore, opportunism is the main theme in the women's accusations, targeting their colleagues, regardless of the subject of controversy. It is critical to see that first, women tend to adopt the popular lines of criticism against teachers: they're not

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teachers to consult with their seniors. Furthermore, changed curriculum policy allow teachers to be more flexible in programming their semesters and combine several types of extra-curricular activity with formal curriculum. In that, computer competencies acquire importance in several respects and younger teachers present themselves as better teachers, open to change and innovation compared to their older colleagues on this ground, for having access to vaster resources. They mention, inter-generational experience transmission is less of a necessity now.

deserving to be remunerated with full wages and with job security given their short work hours and lightness of their work. Second, it is also important to identify the gender dimension included in repetition of the popular cannons in women's comments about each other. In those comments, being a woman (teacher) strengthens and deepens the severity of the criticisms. Having followed an opportunist motivation in choosing teaching occupation as a woman, is the most serious accusation, with moral and ethical entanglements, that can be brought against any woman teacher. This is because such an accusation also mean that the woman is failing to perform her femininity in a socially approved and morally correct way; fake in subjectivity and womanhood, immoral and non-efficient in work role.

7.1.4. The Myth of "Practicalities of Teaching for Women" in Balancing Work and Family

Early-grades teaching, and femininity appear as qualifier terms for each other in canonic cultural narratives of the societies. As expressed by Froebel (see, Steedman 1985), "classroom teacher is mother made conscious", who became conscious of her social roles, responsibilities, and subjectivities beyond the constraints of family home. His famous formula captures not only how womanhood and early grades teaching are imagined with common terms at the normative universe. It also suggests that those terms are disciplinary mediums for each other: Femininity achieves a disciplinary space and gets refined through teaching and teaching through mobilization and cultivation of motherly practices and feminine skills. This is a virtuous circle, working to the benefit of both women and the society.

Building upon this common formula concerning the nature of teaching experience for women, teaching, it is suggested, constitutes a non-complicated and non-contradictory experiential continuum along public and private realms for women. Really, social fiction of the occupation suggests that ES teaching imparts order and harmony to women's otherwise highly problematic involvement in the public world and thereof developed split subjectivities between family and work spheres. Put succinctly, being ES teachers, according to the common social fiction, women can

avoid role splits, conflicts, and getting overburdened across family-work distinctions; can attain balance and social approval in public life; excel in feminine skills like caring, raising, and educating children as well as in their social duties of being moral guides and supporters[144]. However, it is possible to suggest that the nature and content of the works being similar for women in family and work fronts, teaching could bring depletion of the very same resources, used:

> That's right, you have some advantages in raising your children. But it is also very difficult when they are small. I remember leaving my children alone at home, as I was working half day, then. Then something happened and I hired a woman as nanny. … That's also difficult, she comes you need to explain everything to her, check on her all day long. I was really getting tired. And you know what, more than anything else you lose your patience. It is somehow not enough. I was getting so much at the school and turning back home, I had nothing left for my own children. It makes you feel really bad. But probably because of getting tired. Once, I remember getting on the road for the school and I had my sister at home and only on the way I remembered that my shift was in the afternoon for that semester (Burcu, İstanbul, 1955).

As described by Burcu, necessitating, in majority of the cases, spending only half of the day at school, teaching is considered easing women's balancing job. However, organization of half day care of children necessitates as much an arrangement work as it is described and some of the social support mechanisms may be rolled back for their assumed advantage. Furthermore, dealing with children at both fronts may cause emotional burnout for women. It is a common pattern that women express their difficulty in combining familial works with professional ones through narratives of losing the patience, which would lead into guilty conscience afterwards. Some others mention that, their children benefited less from grandmother care compared to other children in the family whose mothers were in different jobs, like banking and nursing, because teachers are considered at advantage to take care of their children. Furthermore, women mentioned that ES

[144] Weiner (2006) summarizes that social fiction referring to the main "attractions of teaching for women" in five points. First, relatively low levels of average wage for women in the labour markets, renders teaching comparatively a good-paying job for them and this generates a bigger commitment on their part for proper conduct, compared to their male colleagues. Second, teaching do not disturb the gender norms in the society and does not taint eligible wife and mother image of women. Third, women are spiritually and practically fit for teaching task since it mainly depends on caring young children. Fourth, teaching is one of the few occupations where women can turn their domestic skills into vocational competency. And finally, organization of teaching work allows work-life balance for women.

teachers are taking some parts of their works to home, thus not totally free at home for dealing with children and home and typically have difficulties in taking day off, due to the hardship in replacing schoolteachers. Those factors further complicate their prospects for balancing work and home responsibilities. Yet at the general level, they all start their comments, mentioning that being a teacher is favorable to balance work and family. Organizational work in balancing work-family roles, disadvantages in benefiting from informal social support mechanisms, and the emotional resources used in both family and work spheres are actually the main realities refuting the "advantage in balancing" argument. Yet, the generic construct is recited by women, too.

7.1.5. Feminine Virtues in Teaching: Modesty and Moderation

In the interviews, women were specifically asked about how it is to be teacher as a woman in their social lives; and if they think there is a distinct woman teacher type and if so, whether they feel comfortable with being classified in this category. In response, women provided an extensive discussion on the stereotypes surrounding woman teacher figure. In this discussion, women's accounts strikingly converge on similar themes, arguments, and discussion lines, revealing the common values, concerns and negotiations in women's relating to the woman teacher cult and image.

Women cast this discussion referring to their colleagues as the significant figures. They story their negotiations through what is desired and not desired on other woman teachers around them or simply generalizing through the category of "women teachers". Throughout the narratives, the main value, shared by all the women but differently interpreted thus negotiated among them in scope and meaning, is *modesty*. Modesty is the golden rule of respectability: being modest in status and class signifiers, of sexuality, in claims to authority, to status, and others.

Stress on "modesty" as the key value of appropriateness and respectability may be evaluated to express lack of a consensus on the values and features qualifying the woman teacher figure. This is understandable for this image, and the codes of appropriateness underlying it, change in different settings, in rural and urban, center

and periphery, throughout the different life periods and ages of teachers, and recently based-on employment status. It is possible to capture those variations in women's stories on their experiences. Meanwhile, women from the younger generations are more prone to emphasize "individuality" and more critical of the traditional image of womanhood associated with women teachers. Besides, in the related accounts, women seem to be negotiating the terms of a shift from a woman teacher type determined by her service in mainly modest rural lower-class schools to one referenced by her work and life in urban neighborhoods. Young women try to involve "style", technology use and relevant skills, and self-care in definition of ideal woman in debating the teacher image. Since the generational differences are best expressed as judgements on women teachers from different age groups, they frequently offer stories on young and old women teachers. Still, age and life course also impact the common representations on teachers and the way women negotiate them.

Lastly, in overall, overwhelmingly dominant principle of "modesty" points out an awareness in women on the vulnerability and the protean character of the "respectability" they enjoy for being teachers. They feel in constant need for check and active management for their appearance and conduct. This is most significantly depicted in women's accounts on daily life and appearance. Therefore, when talking about appearance, women adopt a detailed, judgmental, reactionary and even quarrelsome style of narration. The teacherly style in appearance means modesty and moderation in femininity, sexuality, status markers, authority, and personal distance.

> Moderation. You have to be moderate. You have to look moderate. Not less, not more. then the others are careful hen approaching you. but it depends. You should always think twice so that it will be the right move (Şule, Şarköy, 1971).

7.1.6. Frustrations, Contradictions and Discontents of Teaching for Women

Women teachers are ideal wives in the social imagery: They practice a white collar job deemed appropriate and respectable for women; work primarily in the classroom with children away from dangers of sexual harassment and degenerative

organizational relations; their work roles are in harmony with traditional domestic duties of child care; they stabilize family income with a secure and regular wage as "second earners of the households"; provide entrance for family into several benefits and sources of social capital peculiar to public employee status (advantages in financial credibility, housing, all types of contracts, privileged entrance in social facilities .. others); and they have an advantageous work scheme enabling to allocate time for domestic tasks and to have a better perspective and skills in childcare. These are all the reasons provided for women to explain the appeal to teachers as marital partners. It is possible to summarize into two main "virtues": Moderation (in public presence and work roles) and flexibility (in balancing several roles and duties in private and public lives).

In Yıldız's words, teachers are chosen as wives for "It is like, a little like a housewife. Let her both go to work and care for her child. I mean teachers are considered as housewives. Housewives with income" (Diyarbakır, 1974). Benefits of working woman and housewife seems to have come together in a gainful synthesis in the woman teacher figure. Just like the way their femininity is considered as an asset for teaching at the occupational side, their teaching is considered contributory for women's domestic roles. In women's narratives taking up the issue, the typical moral dangers associated with working women -neglecting family- and sit-home mothers -failing to raise children as sociable and successful in the public world- are identified.

> It is neither an ambitious career, nor it means that you are only a housewife. You know how to manage your life. You are not a burden for your spouse. And that's very important when raising a child. People in the end do not want housewife's to raise their kids.. (Alev, Aliağa, 1950).

Yet, this image is crystal clear in women's discussions over why in the first place they approached teaching with reservations and considered it restraining for their future aspirations in education and work life. Although educational cause (for changing lives) and teaching practice have always been considered with positive terms, for women, ES teaching is not a profession and higher education proper, according to their understandings. Rather than a professional engagement, including career plans, and progress schemes, teaching means a moderation in work life and

in aspirations in favor of a family life and lower-middle class respectable woman image. Women, in majority, state that they would like to have more "serious jobs". This comment is typical seen among both Pre-faculty and Faculty generation women. Songül (Kastamonu, 1969) further opens this narrative. She hints at the fact that ES teaching is likely to stand for a working-class signifier for women, where they stick to a low-track professional life, earn a limited income, marry a man with modest economic power, and do the housework and shoulder childcare themselves:

> If I could get a nanny for my children … If I had a full-time nanny, if I didn't struggle that much to raise my children, if I could invest as much time as I need in my career… You should also have money for the ideal teacher's life. If it was like that … If I had a paid job where I could focus on well. If I had more money thanks to my husband or my job and if I didn't have to do everything myself … (wasn't it appreciated more when it was you who dealt with everything?) Does the person who appreciates helps you after all? My uncle's daughter was like that, she was an architect, she both earned money and raised her children. They appreciated her efforts. They appreciated my efforts, too -laughs … So, when you are a teacher, profile of your husband also comes accordingly who wants you to work, earn money and also be able to take case of house. That's who Songül is? … I would like to have a job where I could express myself better.

7.2. Faculty Generation's Dilemma of Being a Mother at Home and a Professional at Work

Experiences of the second-generation women are largely similar to the those of the first-generation in their domestic and familial lives. Domestic ideology sustains itself in women's lives and perspectives through the continuing currency of the belief in teaching being a facilitating engagement for women's work-family balance. This belief maintains and consolidates the ideology on women's domesticity. This is the case in spite of the changing realities of their professional works, expanding definition of motherhood performance, hence increasing difficulty of balancing work and family, due to increased workloads at both fronts. Increase in those workloads need to be considered linked to the discourses of "conscious mothering" and "new-professionalism".

7.2.1. A Brief Portrait of the Generation

Despite the significance of the commonalities and continuities with the former generation, a number of differences, taking place in the experiences of this generation of women's, at the family and private life are also remarkable. There appeared certain elements of empowerment regarding women's marriage relations. This is mainly because, the university life has impacted the morality of being a proper young woman in the experiences of women. This shift focused on partial abandonment of the principle of "suspension of gender identity" through tomboyish self-deployment, to socialization of it. Accordingly, women's agency has significantly expanded in flirt, friendship and marriage relations. Notable number of the women from this generation seem to have made "love marriages" choosing their husbands themselves and initiated divorce processes at a younger age than the former generation when encountered problems. Moreover, the divorce appears as a more likely end for the marriages in this generation due to narratives of acute psysical and psychological violence.

Domestic division of labour has stayed the same and women continued to try to do their best in wife and mother roles, as well. Nonetheless, good mothering has turned to be much demanding for women compared to the former generations practice. This is especially because educational success seems not to be automatically trickling down from teachers to their children as it used to be. Educational field becoming competitive, and diverse in terms of paths and strategies that can be followed and women's duty of guiding and assisting their children in education life has become complex. Meanwhile, women have started to openly criticize the traditional woman teacher image and style in its perceived inability to adapt to urban contexts and new professional development requirements.

7.2.2. From Arranged Marriages of the Frst Generation to Love Marriages of the Younger

Faculty education have critically expanded women's access to initiative in choosing their own social circles and spouses, independent from the influence of the families. This expansion has not translated easily into women's agency, but negotiated by families for a long time. The fact that in teaching, women cannot be sure about their early-period assignment and eventual settlement places, and that those would critically depend on the work places and hometowns of their husbands have continued to move them to have influence over husband-choice.

14 of the 52 women interviewed within the scope of this study are single; 25 are married; 11 are divorced; and 2 has lost their husbands. 14 of the interviewed women are single by the time of the interviews. Of the rest, 38 women, majority are married to teachers (18) and public employees (5). Considering that 3 of the "professionals" are working in or for public sector, the share of the public employee husbands raises to 26. Low status workers, classified in "own-account workers" and "petty traders" are represented by only 4 husbands.

There are well-established traditional norms identifying appropriate and inappropriate occupational groups women teachers could choose their husbands from. Women themselves are very attentive in discussing those norms in the interviews, both within and out of the context of their personal stories. Marriages among teachers, and between women teachers and public employee men are very common and considered as ideal couplings. For the women teachers, husbands in public employment are important to ensure stability of household income and assignment to the desired work place for settlement. For the public employee men, who works through changing work places on a regular basis, teacher wives are further valuable since they are presumably able to put up with any place of work or their husbands move for work-related reasons. One of the most crucial thing is that in all types of settlements, women teachers would retain their employment, respectability and all the features rendering them charming as a wife, flexibility to reconcile house work and job, of traditional and modern womanhood, of local and

occupational requirements. This *flexibility* is part and parcel of being a woman teacher and renders her an ideal wife for public employees.

> A woman who teaches at a primary school is ideal. She is okay with assignment to other places. She is okay with taking care of the house. She is presentable outside. Especially we are ideal wives for public servants. Both respected and a good wife … These are still valid points (Çorum, Selda, 1968).

Because of the uncertainty about their work place, women teachers are recommended by their parents to get married before they go to their first service places which would most probably be in distant, rural, poor, peripheric places. Families and kin commonly try to arrange marriages for women, immediately after graduation or during their (teacher) training to secure their eventual settlement in their own hometowns. Teaching, in that sense, provides a justifying context for the marriages arranged by family and kin.

In their cultural formation, as well, public employee men have come to be quite close to women teachers. Their moderate socio-economic family backgrounds commonly taken place in the rural and countryside; upwards social trajectory they have followed thanks to education and occupation; nationalistic ties to state social project; desire to harmonize national with modern; an acquired capacity for adapting to changing work and life contexts (for travelling state employees) are the basis of this cultural similarity. Gökçe expresses this conviction with the following words:

> Uhm, Yes. They are also neat, well-behaved persons. They come from similar places, are educated etc. Then the assignment procedures are easier, and sustaining a house becomes easier. That's what our teachers and parents used to tell us (Gökçe, Çorum, 1951).

This common social knowledge is kept being reproduced in the shared social life and networks of public employees in especially countryside. Not only women and men teachers and public employees are the agents in maintenance of the conviction that they are ideal matches; but school administrations or education bureaucracy, as well, actively promote this thinking.

> When it comes to our relations with the administration, they directly ask you if you are married or single… They invited me to district national educational directorate when I was working in Ordu. I was very excited, they were inviting me all the way from village and I was wondering if it was about an administrative issue. District national educational director accepted me in his room and told me, "We want our

> teachers to get married and live here. Would you consider meeting this and that teacher?" Then we also got proposals from some inspectors but then there were no problems after I got married and came to Trabzon centrum (Fatoş, Trabzon, 1978)

Women teachers who did not take teacher education and entered in the occupation later have emphasized the reasons for taking such a direction, as their *unemployment periods* and emergent need to *keep up with their husbands*' occupational lives, with their *pregnancies or child-related tasks*. Becoming teachers, they would be able to ask for assignment to the place of their husbands' work; follow them throughout their next moves or settle down with them. Also, being in public employment and in a sector where maternity-related leave rights for women have been well established, they could better manage their periods of pregnancy and childcare. Their experiences lay bare that in the opportunity orientations directing women into taking a teaching job; existing regulation and work organization of teaching is the paramount factor.

Apart from the marriages arranged by families, women tend to choose their husbands from teachers or from other public employees, generally out of initiatives in their friend networks. In fact, single women are the targets of immense social attention; and they constantly receive marriage proposals and meet attempts for match-making and often this attention becomes suffocating for the women.

> You wouldn't believe if I told you. Everyone including the neighbors, grocer, hairdresser, principal, janitor came together. You may ask if it was me who wanted to marry so desperately, but it's not. But they were so interested. Then it comes to a point where you don't want to pass from certain places and know where you shouldn't go in the neighborhood. I can tell you this; there was this stationery store on my way from home to school, and there was an old lady living above it, I stopped passing there so that she wouldn't see me. Imagine... (Neriman, Trabzon, 1952).

Socialization, flirt and marriages based on inter-ethic and inter-regional couplings and mixing is a typical theme in the social narrative of teaching. Education and work life necessitate women to circulate within a wide geographical area especially at the period of youth, and this could lead into their choosing husbands from other regional and ethnic origins. These marital matches seriously limit the initiative area of women's parental families and that is why approached critically and husbands have caused parents of women teachers to arrange marriages for their teacher daughters

with a man from their hometown or from their own social circle. Till the younger generation, for women teachers, the marriages arranged by parents are common. Families are anxious about the possibility of their daughters' getting married to an "inappropriate" man during their teacher/university education or in obligatory service period, especially if it takes place in another province. This danger of women's choosing "inappropriate" spouses had been addressed by teacher education institutions of the period prior to faculty education regulation; and women students were openly warned about their not getting married with a village or town man. In the following generations, the "village man" is replaced by other foreigners, women would meet in university or obligatory service. Just like in the example of Fatoş (Trabzon, 1978), families constantly warn their daughters on the danger of "wrong spouse choice": "Well, our hometown is Adana. When I was to go to a distant province my family got anxious. They told me, 'do not find a Laz (an ethnic group with dominant representation in the Blacksee region) man there' ".

The stories on their "wrong marital spouse choices" of Fatoş (Trabzon, 1978[145]), flirt narratives of Buse (Antalya, 1983) and Filiz Aygündüz in her autobiographical work, Kaç Zil Kaldı Örtmenim (2010)[146], all focus on the dangers embedded in

[145] "They told me not to find someone who is from the Black Sea Region. I told them that I was going there to study and it was impossible. Then I enrolled, and I met my husband in one week. So, you should never say never. We got married after being together for eight years. And now we are getting a divorce. … So the warnings had a point"

[146] Filiz Akgündüz's autobiographical novel perfectly describes the situation of the middle-class women who are accepted to practice teaching under current conditions of having to serve an obligatory work period in the peripheral Anatolia. Having been found inappropriate from the very beginning by her family on the grounds that she should follow a career in science study and at the academia, her story in Diyarbakır would take a romantic turn based on her love affair with a Kurdish man. Pretty orientalist in its fiction, her story would eventually end with her giving up on teaching, Diyarbakır and her love altogether, realizing the inappropriateness of such a career and spouse choice. She would then tell her story as effectively contained in the past, as a left behind bracket in her entire life course.

[146] Apart from that, there is a popular tendency to represent single teachers who were young and away from their hometowns as sexual figures. The literature where women teachers are depicted gives wide coverage to sexual dangers that young women can face outside their hometowns and the rural men who consider them as available to fell prey to their sexual hunts. Meanwhile, against the suggestions for sexual precarity of those women, some others suggest that they are idealists, well-behaved and self-giving women and argue that in this encounter of sexual and ethnic differences, local men are to be blamed and woman teacher represents the ideals of the national identity against this ethnic difference: dedication, sacrifice, sexual purity. This historical conflict is based on advocation of women as women of nation and duty. On the other hand, the opposite view, drawing

teaching for women, due to its necessitating women's circulation across geographies of ethnic, regional and social class differences; and thus, making it possible for them to develop romantic attachments to inappropriate men[147]. In fact, because they could form relatively independent families with their husbands, work probably at a distance from their parental families and have their own financial means, women teachers have the chance of making "love marriages".

In the popular family narratives, warning women about the dangers of *love marriages*, woman teacher is depicted as a middle class, educated young woman who can fall prey to lower class, ethnically or culturally alien local men during their education or service. Their youth and "middle-class naivety" constructs "love" as a synonym of mistake, women's propensity to which stems from their protected (middle class, dominant culture) childhood life and thereof their inability to read the social texts of difference and conflict. In cases of failure in relations with those men with different socio-cultural formations, whether it is a flirt or marriage relation, their families' framework on the naivety of women and dangers of cultural difference are called back as explanatory reasonings by women themselves.

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on the argument that nationalism and national education mission have a regional and ethnic assimilation policy, suggests that sociologically, public servants and teachers are strangers to lifestyle of the region and local communities and are authoritarian figures. This claim has historically developed upon the reactions of local ethnic and political identity groups against the public servant class formed in the rural areas and in the periphery, and represent the specificities of this ethnic and ideological encounter between locals and public-sector professionals.

Some comments under certain topics (like "women teacher", "woman teacher working at the East" …) at Ekşi sözlük (a famous popular discussion platform where under popular headings writers mention comments, www.eksisozluk.com) show the cornerstones of a social debate that is still continuing on the ideological representation of woman teacher figure. Depiction of women teachers in these entries as living in the "east", meaning the Kurdish population-dominated provinces is striking. Dominant ethnic and sexist discourses are used together in the discussion. National education project and ethnic differences are sexualized, in representation of this typical young woman teacher figure, assumed to be assigned to Eastern provinces. In the entries appearently written by Kurdish nationalists, this young woman is criticized as being a part of assimilation project, meanwhile sexually open and in the search of a good -public servant- husband, ignorant against the locals while she wants to be advocated for being a self-giving idealist and a missionary. In the entries of Turkish nationalist, "ethnic risk" is similarly reformulated as a notion of sexual danger: Kurdish people are depicted as posing a sexual danger because of being against progressive values like education and gender equality together. What's critical is that none of the entries state that the woman teacher mentioned might also be Kurdish. In the whole entry, an ethnically Turkish woman is the subject, as the enabling ground of the overall political discussion.

> He is from Diyarbakır. As I mentioned, I thought his way of looking at life would be different since he was a teacher, that he would somehow get along, but I didn't know it would be so different, or in other words, it would be so different before and after marriage. It was like a bed of roses before marriage, then those roses started withering after we got married. (Nermin Antakya, 1967)

Impacting women's own sensibilities, too, in this warning against inappropriate love marriages, a broader cultural script is at work, one that is strictly cautioning women teachers not to get assimilated to the local values, antagonistic to educational mission and woman ES teacher image therein constructed. In women's stories of especially first generation, the women teachers storied to have gotten similar to the traditional and rural local people, they were meant to educate into modern and Republican values, are the symbols of "degeneration". Cautionary tales about other women becoming traditional and rural in attire and relations through wrong marriages or entanglement in other types of personal ties with the "local people in the countryside" are strikingly common in the interview narratives. Those examples clearly show how a proper woman teacher is represented as belonging to the dominating culture in social class, political, and ethnic belonging and how socio-political difference is sexualized in the public narratives on approved and disapproved marriages of women.

Do those stories hold any truth? Expanded independence of women in choosing social circles and spouses have depended on mainly the university education and the distance women acquired from their families. Those experiences have created disappointments and also satisfactions, remembered by romantic feelings and with feelings of initiative and freedom. Divorce experiences of women are also informative about the stories of increased agency and empowerment -if any- experienced by women.

7.2.3. Childcare and Motherhood: Lasting Legacy of Being the Perfect Women

In their families, women explain, traditional division of labour is dominant in handling the monetary issues, taking care of children and dealing with household chores. Men manage the household income; women do the housework, deal with children, get to the help of relatives and kin. This division of labour, although

considered natural already, further justified with women's being teachers. Even when the husband is also a teacher, this arrangement stays intact: “He is a teacher, too. Still, off course children (child work) is in my plate -laughs” (Hatay, Göze, 1971)

Having a child is a turning point in the life stories of women "with which everything starts" (Neriman, 1952, Trabzon). Women have serious difficulty during their pregnancy and early child care if they are not in their hometowns and family help is not available.

> It was really great for me after that. What I mean is that working and raising a child at the same time is very hard, may she rest in peace, my mother took care of my daughter until she was four years old, back then we lived far from each other and we didn’t have a car, my daughter used to stay day 24/7 during the weekdays and we brought her home in the weekends… I was missing her so much back then, I was even depressed for a while, I remember when I used to get up in the middle of the night and cry wondering what she was doing although she grew up at the house where I grew up, I was missing her so much (Antalya, Hale, 1968).

Intervals in teaching careers upon family requirements like child birth, sickness and care needs are not common among the interviewees. Although traditionally been referred as a “golden bracelet” for women, implying that in cases of need they can start practicing teaching having once taken the certificate, in Turkey, teaching now has serious entrance barriers -success in central examinations and assignment- that needs to be overcome shortly after graduation, when study discipline and relevant knowledge are still fresh and life necessities are not yet pressing, and it is not available to be practiced with career interventions. Once quit, thus, a woman teacher should look for meager employment opportunities in the private sector or temporary positions in public schools; and this is not a much-desired option compared to a secure and standard position in public schools. Thus, career break is not an option for women in balancing their work and family lives.

In women’s solutions for child care, strategies of returning to hometown, moving close to family, leaving children in hometowns till weekend, taking one of the relatives to home, using all types of informal baby-sitting models like taking young girls in or leaving children to older women with small children, creches, taking

children to school with themselves are all stitched together. Those strategies bring together travels of various sort, daily arrangements and commuting, mobilization of family and relative relations in exchange of women's shouldering certain types of relational labour, and domestic division of labour.

> You naturally feel frustrated. You have a small child, you don't have the means, you don't have a nanny, you have to take her/him at the crack of dawn, then you go to the village, and there is only one bus going there so you become anxious, it snows heavily, you wait a lot until the bus arrives, so it was very hard times in terms of being a teacher, but maybe because of being young, it didn't feel so hard. ... The real life actually begins after having children, you don't really realize anything until you have children. Then when you have a child and both you and your husband work and you don't have a nanny or someone to take care of your child, it gets much harder. You have to take your child your child to your mother's house, then back to your house everyday, my mother helped me raise my older daughter, so it wasn't a huge problem. But we hired a nanny for my younger daughter until she was three years old, and then I enrolled her to the kindergarten under my school's administration, so all her life she was on the road or at schools (Neriman, Trabzon, 1952).

> I hope the same for everyone. What I mean is that working and raising a child at the same time is very hard, may she rest in peace, my mother took care of my daughter until she was four years old, back then we lived far from each other and we didn't have a car, my daughter used to stay day 24/7 during the weekdays and we brought her home in the weekends… I was missing her so much back then, I was even depressed for a while, I remember when I used to get up in the middle of the night and cry wondering what she was doing although she grew up at the house where I grew up, I was missing her so much (Hale, Antalya, 1968)

> It was very difficult. My mother-in-law looked after my child. In that sense, I was very lucky. I mean that in terms of taking care of all the needs of a child. Naturally, it's a big mess. People who are visiting your house … so far, I even cleaned the house myself all the time. I had to clean the house. My father and mother-in-law were living with us back then. I had to get along with them. I had to be in good terms with my husband. It was the same for the school. My life was so difficult when I was living in Hekimhan. In that period, I was leaving the house at 10 o'clock in the morning, and I was coming back around 7-8 o'clock in the evening. I was cooking for the next day. I was taking care of my child. I wasn't leaving it to my mother-in-law when I was at home. I was the one cooking. I was the one taking care of the child. This was the time when my child was very little. I enrolled my child to a kindergarten when s/he was around 4-5 years old. That period was a bit easier for me. Then, when the children started school, it became harder again. I had to help them with their homeworks, and we weren't free at the same time. When my daughter was in the 1st grade, I was coming back home late in the evening. My daughter was going to school in the afternoon. I was making her study until later hours every evening. I was leaving the house early in the morning. I had so many problems like this. And after a while, you start getting tired at school. And when you go home, you are not so patient anymore. It becomes harder to be effective in

> helping children with their homework. I feel like I couldn't help my children enough in that sense. (Melahat, Malatya, 1970)

If possible, mothers of the women right away get to help of their daughters and support their daughters throughout the first years of their motherhood. Still, even when they combine this help with their unpaid maternal leave after birth, women face many problems.

It may be considered that teacher couples could handle childcare better than others since they can arrange their school work in rotating schemes. On the other hand, only one-woman states that they shared responsibility of childcare with her husband arranging their work hours in a rotating scheme. In this case, however, extraordinary conditions like unemployment of husband appears as an enabling factor. "My next-door neighbor took care of my son. For my daughter, it was my husband since he was not working at the time. Now, my husband takes her to school in the morning and I am bringing her back to home while I am returning home (Esin, 1966, Silopi). As a rule, women should resort to usual solutions other working women turn to.

Hiring a babysitter is not as easy as it first seems. This is not a professional area of work, especially in the countryside and if offered through professional terms, this time not affordable for women teachers. Women, in general, have their first child in the countryside service. In such settlements, babysitters are either older women who have already raised their children or very young girls who helped with raising of their sisters and brothers. Both group of women are very poor and tend to quit work without giving an early notice.

> What I mean by a nanny was a woman who had 2-3 kids, wasn't that okay? I mean, imagine, we didn't even know this person well, and you leave your child to this person. Then I heard that my child was going out to the balcony when it was very cold and she didn't even care about it. Or that some made children sleep with a sleeping pill… or others didn't change diapers when they were wet, so it was hard. We didn't have the chance to find a nanny around there all the time or we didn't have much choice. The last time there was this girl who was around 12-13 years old and even she took better care of my child, imagine. (Hatay, Nermin, 1967).

Solutions for childcare include taking in one of the girl kin into the family. Family would take care of her educational needs and she would, in exchange, act as babysitter.

> In terms of finding a nanny, I didn't have a problem when my older daughter was born, my cousin moved in with us to Adana, then she stayed with us for 3 years and I had my second daughter in the meantime. My cousin was young, she grew up and became a young woman, so we didn't want to take responsibility in a place like Adana, so we sent her back to her hometown. We hired a nanny, but isn't that ridiculous that you need to change 3-4 nannies every year? Every nanny we hired said, "I found a job, I found another job so I have to quit". So we had to change nanny every time (Hatay, Göze, 1971).

Another precarious method used by Göze include moving her house to a very near proximity of the school she works. It is a popular conviction that, since women teachers generally work only half a day in their schools they would not have any difficulty in their childcare tasks. Even though it is also well-known that teachers are "almost the only occupational group in public employment who take work home", this conviction is still strong and work critically against women in reaching support and in expressing their problems.

> My friends and I used to look after each other's children for couple of hours. That's how we did it, we had to come up with a solution after all, it's easier in smaller places but now it's really hard to trust someone, and it's expensive, kindergartens are also expensive. And teachers really have the advantage of working half a day, we have more time; although many people treat you like a housewife since you work half a day and then you have to take all the responsibility at home, so it has two sides. So, that's how I raised my children. However, you also have work to do at home when you are a teacher, that's another thing (Fatma Nevin, Ankara, 1952).

> I couldn't keep up; it was the children at home on one side, and on the other side, you want to teach the kids at school as good as you can. And when you are already tired of work and go home, then it's your own children waiting at home for you, and besides those, you take all the scales at school and bring them home since you don't have the chance to do evaluation there. When you want to sit and do it at school, you should leave the students aside, and forget about the lesson, so you can't have a peace of mind, you think about the student and the papers you took home and say "how was this student today?" Then you make an evaluation according to those observations (Hatay, Göze, 1971).

Furthermore, for ES teachers it is deemed as the land of last resort to use short-term leave rights upon sickness and family issues since schoolteachers cannot be covered up as easily as their subject area teacher colleagues:

> During my 14 years of teaching career, I didn't get a sick leave once. I did get days off when my child was sick. Or I got days of when it was something about my

> husband. I just can't stand. I can't stand when those children don't have any teacher when I have a day off. We don't have substitutes. If branch teachers or the vice principal have free time, they would fill the time. I can't stand it, so I can't get days off. But you feel like you must do it when it's about your child. Or sometimes I was having problems about the nanny, so I had to get days off for 3 or 4 days. It shouldn't be like this. Mothers or fathers who are teachers shouldn't get sick leaves when their children are in need (Ayça, Malatya, 1975).

When their children reach school age, it is women who continue to help with their education even when the husband is also a teacher. Compared to teacher fathers, teacher mothers are considered to have better fit to help with education of the own children for knowing the child better and for "being more patient". Unlike other women who are housewives or who have other occupations, women elementary school teachers are expected to be more *practical and competent* in this task of coaching and supporting their children in their education lives. Consequently, their "task" for assisting their children in educational matters demands big time and energy.

In view of the understanding that women teachers have time, energy and practicality in taking care of their children, women generally try to express themselves through a "patience narrative", indicating that, maybe not time and energy, but patience is a limited resource "even" for them as teachers. They mention that they have no patience left when they arrive at home, coming back from school, to deal with their children; and that they constantly have a guilty conscience concerning their mothering, for this reason.

Similar to the findings of Calabrese (1987), ES teachers in this study clearly point out that teaching has its own particularities making it causing more difficult role conflicts for women. This differential difficulty stems from just the fact that teaching and women's familial duties are considered similar and complementary than contradictory.

7.2.4. Teacher Mother and Transmission of Educational Competencies

There are significant differences between young and older generation women in terms of their relations with own-children. First generation women never mention

their having helped with homework of their children or having had any concern about their educational performance, too. When asked, those older generation women state that "thanks to god, they turned out to be very successful". There are no marks of the serious anxiety, second generation women describe detailly, about their children's educational attainment. They imply that their daughters' and sons' success is a spontaneous outcome of family culture and work discipline therein. The superiority of this family capital is such obvious on their part that, it is sometimes said to have hurt women's feelings of equity. Nesli (Ankara, 1956) tells a story on how she disapproved her colleagues' evaluation, choosing her daughter as the winner of a poem competition. This was not appropriate for her since her daughter is *naturally* better than others but this should not be that visible.

> For example, my daughter was having her education at the school I was working. There was a poem competition, and she won it. Her teachers came and told me. I made them change the results. So that there wouldn't be any positive discrimination. I really don't know what I was thinking. I guess I thought that my child was already talented, and the other poor children should also feel like they could do it. (Ankara, Nesli, 1956).

Children of the first-generation women, were expected by their mothers to help worse off children as a duty of their status, being children of a teacher. It seems to be a uniformly shared conviction that their children would be successful in education, only being children of a teacher mother. Only in the second generation, women's assisting their children in their homework and educational life in general, becomes a rule, and natural part of mothering. There are developments substantiating this tendency of women taking place in the field of education as well as the conscious mothering cults on rise[148]: schools and education institutions have become more diverse in terms of quality; centralized exams have started distributing children into the schools with differing quality of education and educational paths; thus, good education has started to require more resources beyond disciplined hard work and the the family cultural capital of educated working classes. Meanwhile, children's education has reappeared as a signifier of good mothering and family capital.

[148] See, Dudley-Marling (2001) and Smrekar & Cohen-Vogel (2001) for the discussions they elaborate on mothering practice increasingly being judged and evaluated through children's educational attainment and mothers' participation in school processes.

All in all, women teachers in the younger generation do not have the conviction on a high family capital that would be naturally transmitted to children, guaranteeing their educational success. Therefore, they do not have the peace of mind concerning the issue. They closely observe their children's performance, investigate the alternatives and opportunities they may use, and help them with their homework daily. This anxiety is complemented with women's settling for sending their children to private schools "although they are against private schools, being teachers".

> (Being the child of a mother working as a teacher) So, for example my daughter … I studied natural sciences… And my daughter studies social sciences. Although I'm aware of this fact, I feel like I can't help my daughter enough about social sciences. I always say I wish I could do this and that … This is what I think. I don't have enough time. You go home. Since the children here are also like my own children, I want to take care of their issues. I get up in the morning. Then almost every day I have something to do about them. I go to school early even though I work in the afternoon, and then I go back home in the evening. then I cook and do other stuff at home. My younger son is very keen on me. He wants me to do everything for him. He is trying to spend more time with me. When that's the situation, I can't make enough time for each of them. I just think that I act a bit pushy since it's social sciences. Maybe ı need just 10 minutes. Maybe if I could sit and help with something for ten minutes, then I could feel relieved but since I can't make those ten minutes and since I make different judgments about things like "does she need to study couple of hours for this subject?" or "she did this with two sources, did she maybe need to use more?", I can't make clear decisions. Then I become a bit pushy I guess (laughs) (Ayça, Malatya, 1975)

Generational differences in approach to own children indicate abandonment of an old conviction that children of teachers are already raised and socialized in such a domestic and social area of cultural refinement that they develop proper values and natural competence in education without disciplining interventions of parents like helping with their homework, following and programming their studies. Recently, an anxious state of mind has taken over, based on the concern that even teachers' children may fail due to lack of mothers' attention, and such would be a big embarrassment and cause heavy conscience for it is paradoxical to fail for teachers as mothers. Just like women teachers are impacted relatively more from the changing values in teaching for they are expected to do better; they feel the effects of changing values and practices of motherhood more vis a vis the women in other occupations for the very same reason. Failing as a teacher in facilitating attainment of her own children in education life would affect women both personally and in her

professional reputation, especially in a period where conscious mothering streams are on rise and defined with women's facilitating children's educational attainment.

7.2.5. Changing Profile of Marriage Problems and Divorce Experiences

What types of problem women from the first and second generation have encountered and which way they followed to solve their problems with divorce are examined in this part. Changing profile of women's divorce experiences indicates the new challenges women from educated working classes face in marriage relations and the complexity of social change with regards to women's empowerment in marriage relations. Life-story narratives of women reveals that their divorce experiences present strikingly clear generational differences. Between those born in 1950s and early 1960s and those in mid-1970s and later (first and second generation), there is a clear pattern of change in terms of reasons of divorce, the life periods chosen for divorce, and resources mobilized for the initiative.

Older generation preponderantly had arranged marriages and lived difficulty ending them with divorce. According to women's accounts, economic and psychological violence were widespread in the problem marriages of the generation. For divorce, women tended to wait till their children grow up and/or they get retired. In this generation, divorce did not mean break-up but a re-regulation of the relationship between spouses: Women continued to take care of their husbands if they had not married again, in cases of an economic or health care need and ex-husbands continued to participate family gatherings.

In the younger generations, on the other hand, love marriages are relatively common. In divorce cases, extreme physical and psychological violence is the primary reason; and divorce decision come along at an earlier life course. Among the coping mechanisms after divorce, change of workplace, and specifically re-location at the schools in hometowns near to parental homes comes first. Doing this, women manage to ease their child care burden and to distance themselves from their husbands. Their experience of divorce means a total breakup with the husband.

Although mothers and fathers in the second generation turned to be more open and willing to support their daughters in cases of divorce, post-divorce dependence on father family creates new problems for women.

Among the respondents, 14 interviewees are single, 2 has lost their husbands, 26 are married (1 preparing for a divorce), and 10 women are divorced. Among the divorced women, birth year of the youngest is 1976 and of the oldest is 1949. 6 were born between 1949 and 1957 and birth years of the rest range between 1961 and 1976.

Two women from the older generation (one of them later getting convinced to tell her story) and one woman in the younger generation have refused to give a detailed account of their divorce experiences. Others all gave an account of their divorce at varying levels of detail.

> Damn, that was so bad. Can I just say that I got a divorce and that was it? (Should I stop recording if you tell?)...No, seriously, this is something that I don't feel like sharing with anyone, it was a huge shock for me. I have a daughter. I was divorced but I was very lucky, I was in Yurtpınar when it happened and friendships in small places are much more different than in the city. I also got a re-assignment afterwards (Zeynep, Antalya, 1976)

> So, then I got a divorce and came to Ankara. [It turns out that Begüm had to leave her son to his father for years after marriage.] (Begüm, 1954, Ankara)

Depending on the duration of the marriage and divorce age, break-ups have had different reasons and have differently impacted women. In all the cases, women face severe physical, economic and/or emotional violence and their initiating a divorce process depends on the opportunity structure of their life course. In young ages, wider opportunities of mobility for changing the work place and city, possibility of moving back to parents' house -especially if child care is needed- is the strategic advantage; and in the case of older women, a settled life order, with larger financial means (retirement, working in private sector ..), grown up children who had completed their education, left family house and started working, determine the opportunity area.

In the marriages of the first-generation women teachers, rather than physical, psychological and economic types of violence are mentioned as the most prevalent reason for divorce. The marriage, Mine (1955) had to maintain till her children were grown up, covers a striking psychological violence accompanied by cheating, scandals and rumors. Nihal (Ankara, 1952) mentions the big economic losses she had to endure during her marriage and even after divorce, because of her husband. She reasons that "they, our husbands were relying on us, depending on us". Su (1952) had to keep paying for the debts of her ex-husband after divorce. In her story, there is also severe physical violence directed at her by her husband and her husband's family. Helin (Ankara, 1952) similarly went through an experience of systematic dispossession by her husband's family, after having to marry the brother of her dead husband. Begüm (1954) had to make up a divorce decision due to the extreme psychological violence, her husband had started to exert after many years of unemployment and dependency on his wife.

First generation women have maintained their contact with their ex-husbands after divorce. Children, shared family properties, but more importantly, debts made by their husbands over family property, their illnesses have not allowed women to achieve a total break-up. Begüm (1955) and Nihal (1952) had to take care of their husbands after they got a divorce and then contracted cancer. A similar case was also lived by Belma (1949).

All members of the first-generation women who then got a divorce had married at very young ages. "Because of that" they could not "quite understood", by Su's (1952) expression, the violence they experienced starting from the first year of their marriage. "To her surprise", their husbands were actually intended to crash their will right from the very beginning, especially because they, as women, had their own earning power and were not dependent on their husbands and that was threatening for their husbands. After retirement or change in work place (generally after they moved to a more metropolitan school and city), women entered a social life where they could learn about the similar experiences of other women and where they eventually understood "there is such a thing as divorce". Su (1955) says that she

learnt that "women could get a divorce and that was normal" from her friends. Mine (1955), despite the shame, still continues to feel about her divorce and the scandalous background events, repeatedly mentions that in the school she works now, many of the other women teacher had had a divorce. This is visibly supporting for her, even only being said.

Nihal (1952) has been inside the political movements of several kind, then after quitting teaching, started to run a second-hand shop, also continuing her activism in feminist movement. She is better handling the traumatic memories while telling her divorce story. She says she is no longer angry at her husband. She is, in many ways, very similar to Su (1955), who still tries to keep her husband away from her children, from whom he keeps demanding money, but who repeatedly says she is not angry about him any longer. The language of empowerment in narratives are quite significant and bears a clear overtone of pride, in their cases.

Still, divorce experiences of Helin (1952) and Mine (1955) ought to be examined separately than others. Mine (1955) run away with her husband at a very young age, despite the rejection of her family and endured difficult conditions and made important sacrifices to make a living for her family, while her husband was unemployed for years. Eventually, after getting a job, her husband left her; and she had to turn back to her parents' house. Her story is still hurting although she is continuing her work life and have a social circle around her.

Helin (1952) had lost her bellowed husband after they had a daughter, in a car accident. Then she had to marry her dead husband's brother and after years of maltreatment by him and his family and having twin daughters, she got a divorce at a very young age. After having lost all the properties she had acquired with her first husband, she continued to live through difficult times, raising her three daughters alone[149].

[149] Finally, at the time of the interview, all three daughters are university graduates with work lives but Helin's anxiety continues as if a sensation of a knowledge that everything can turn upside down suddenly with "an accident". During the interview which is the longest, 4 hours, Helin (1952) cries a lot and does not want to end the interview.

In the first-generation women with divorce experience, marriages are generally arranged ones, arranged by family or social circle. In some cases, (Mine, Begüm and Nihal), there is a genuine friendship and even comradeship between spouses. There is not a case of violence or oppression coming from husband's family except for Sedef (Ankara, 1955) and the case of Göze (1962) who may be classified in the middle generation. There is not a stark difference between occupational status of the spouses. However, with the exception of Mine's husband, husbands come from relatively "more traditional" families and could not "adapted to the life of a modern (urban, nuclear) family": They could not play proper husband and father roles; waste the family fortune; give a negative impression to the social environment; neglect their children.

In the second generation, severe physical violence stories predominate, and divorces take place at earlier periods of the marriages. Hülya (1962) and Nermin's (1967) stories are full of the examples of those violence experiences. They may have the advantage of the chance to turn back to parents' house. However, in each case, since they could not wait for the further empowerment in social and economic terms like the women in the first generation, they take more risks with divorce decision. Second generation women and in general the women who got an early divorce at a young age had to cope with the difficulties stemming from the young divorced women image. This is particularly difficult for women in an occupation keeping women in the limelight as teaching. For this reason, although they need help of mothers to take care of their children, those women desire to work in a "big enough city" after divorce as to defend themselves from popular criticism and harassment, through anonymity.

In the younger generation's divorce stories, violence is much more obvious and fierce, and shows itself shortly after the marriage. Divorce, at this stage, results in total break up between the parties and as such fulfills its objective. In experiences of older generation women however, it is a likely development that ex-husbands turn back to them in need of health care support and women do not refuse them.

> I have a good job and I'm happy with it, I did this job because of poverty, I didn't talk about that. My husband back then, as I said I learned about economic violence quite late, went bankrupt, was diagnosed with cancer and then came to me. He had gone to Iraq for business and we weren't closely in touch for two years, we didn't even talk much, so I moved here. He came back with his cancer diagnosis and turned out that we didn't have anything left although we had two houses, cars, he had a digger and etc. I had so difficult times that I had to move to Mamak and I lived there for a year, then they wanted to confiscate our belongings, our son was admitted to a private school and left, Selen was depressed about not wanting to study law, I was at the bottom, so I had to do something about it [She later opens a second hand shop] (Nihal, Ankara, 1952)

> He was very, very young and he made a big mistake and he admitted it later. Then he was diagnosed with cancer, and that woman didn't take care of him, so my daughters and I took care of him. This are the things I avoid talking about, he was sad and he also made us very sad, then he regreted it and told us that he couldn't take the time back, and then he died in our hands after a little while. So maybe that's why we shared both good and bad things, he was with us when he was sick, he moved in with us and we were living all together again. Maybe that's why I don't want to think about the past that much. (Mine, İstanbul, 1952)

> You know how it is when there is a disease on the table … Now he is back, and we are taking care of him (Irmak, Ankara, 1949).

For the husbands keep re-appearing in women's and their children's lives, women who got divorce at the older ages do not live and narrate divorce with the terms emphasizing rupture. This is not the case for the younger generation. Trauma and rupture structure their stories.

The disadvantage of women who are younger at the divorce date is their having to recourse to their parental families for support under precarious conditions. Women under those conditions all have one child each from their marriages.

> Yes, like a remote-controlled thing; I was manipulated for a long time. And it was a very small place (Silopi), so it was a problem. I almost lost my identity as a result of that kind of a life. I became of puppet with wires. And I could never forget about it. It was too oppressive, too manipulative. Then he wants you to completely forget about your past life, and you can't stand it after a while. And we had a child. And that's something very different. As I mentioned, it's a small place and he knows more people than I do there. I wanted to be reassigned, but I couldn't apply for it for some time. And finally, after some shady moves (laughs), I could find a way and I was reassigned. That's why I came to Antakya. [Nermin dreams of moving to Antalya. She even bought a house, she would have to sell later to buy another one in Hatay. She says at several points that she had to move to Hatay to have the help of her mother in caring for her son] (Nermin, Hatay, 1967)

Experiences of divorce in the first and second-generation women indicate that only in the more recent cases, parental family appears as a resource, although not without complications, supporting women in ending their problem marriages. For the earlier generations, the emphasis on women friends is strong, as an emotional support and resource. In the first generation, divorce has generally taken place at women's older ages, close to retirement; and corresponds to a re-arrangement of the family relation but a continuity in contact and support in critical situations with the former husband. Yet, in the second generation, divorce decision is based on severe violence cases and means a sure and irrevocable breakup between spouses. Another critical thing is that younger women effectively make use of re-location opportunity in teaching for re-assignment in a new province, preferably to their hometowns to have the protective distance from ex-husbands and to benefit from family support in child care. Experience of two generations show the gradual empowerment of women in taking initiative for divorce decisions as well as the backlash of domestic violence - taking shape of physical violence. Furthermore, it emerges as a follow up question whether insecurities in employment would cause another dynamic of disempowerment for younger women in taking divorce decisions, as in the case of the second-generation, employment security is critically important source of empowerment.

Meanwhile, the picture is far from being bright for the young women seeking chances in temporary -paid teacher positions. They go through even harder times in settling their lives, having marriages, and making life plans. As discussed in detail in the Chapter V, those young women feel as if they are "fake" (teachers) or "imposters". Not solely in work and school contexts, but as single women in their social lives and community contexts, too, this feeling accompanies women and indicates the status confusion they are suffering from. This finds a perfect expression in women's joint statement for "it would be better if I was a high-school graduate". It is highly problematic that they cannot live up to the promises of being a university graduate and a teacher. However, it is obvious that secure public employment and second household income are important virtues rendering women ideal wives in the social perception. Thus, spread of temporary employment

positions and insecure private sector jobs have constituted a serious challenge for the image of women teachers as ideal wives.

7.2.6. Intergenerational Conflict on the Values of Ideal Womanhood

Moral and protean character of teacher identity, renders self-doubt, anxiety, and constant (self-) criticism, a commonplace experience for women. They also tend to criticize their colleagues, with the same judgmental manner. Although intergenerational conflict is typical for all occupations; in the case under study, it reflects a particular pattern that is of importance for the study problematique. Women reflect on the -disputed- legacy and "new ways" in teaching frequently and while doing this, target not only ethos of their profession but also femininities of their colleagues, thus women ES teacher type specifically.

Solidarity and consultation between colleagues are crucially important in daily realities of teaching. Equally important has come to be the intergenerational support and experience-sharing, where the younger women learn from the old, the crux of teaching and the older teachers are supported by young in making use of the new technologies and methods in teaching. Moreover, despite new performance assessment systems, designed to measure individual performance and boost competition between teachers, in majority of the cases, the women teachers who teach the same grade (zümre) are the main source of support for each other in their school lives. Yet, teachers' colleague relations are also characterized by multiple axis of conflict.

In interview accounts, it was suggested that, older woman teachers are mainly identified, among other things, with their extraordinary tendency to intervene, their communicativeness and salience in daily situations, they are involved. Asked about the reasons for this tendency, women point out the necessities of elementary school teaching, gradually impacting women's embodiment: using a high-pitched voice as to provide classroom discipline; using accentuation, mimics, body language, and space to attract student attention; repetition; eye contact; insistence on getting a

feedback on clear understanding of the other party; constant vigilance; and use of authority. Those classical styles of communication and behavioral patterns, having their roots in authoritative instruction/teacher-centred pedagogies, turn into personal habits and get embodied by teachers in time. One consequence of this gradual embodiment is that, with old age, women teachers acquire more of the features making up the common social image of "woman teacher". Thus, the older the women get, more stereotypical they become in appearance.

Woman teacher, according to the general convictions, which interviewed teachers themselves also share, is a social character highly respected for her attachment to a "sacred" public duty, which is harmonious with her domestic roles, yet also widely caricaturized due to her active involvement, interference, loud and highly visible presence in social settings. In line with this stereotypical image, women frequently talk about the contexts, they think they appeared "just like a woman teacher" or they behaved the way associated with women teachers.

> This teacher from Diyarbakır. so, there are two types of teachers in Diyarbakır. The first one is the type that meddles with everything like I do. And the next one is the type that keeps her head down… There were two students who weren't even my students. I guess this year, or was it? All right, yes, it was this year, sorry. So, they were middle-school students. And they were beating each other so bad. And all the parents in our neighborhood were just standing and watching. even the teachers were just passing by and watching what was going on. I intervened. I broke them up. I do this as a teacher. I intervene. I also always tell what I think. What can you do? (Yıldız, Diyarbakır, 1974)

According to the women's accounts on being teacherly, even when no one interferes, in a situation, regarding children specifically, but also about any other common social value (order and rules of social life), women teachers step in; "not being able to keep themselves from interfering". Yet, this social responsibility understanding, blended with moral duty perspective, also deny them from presenting the equal salience and high-profile involvement, concerning the issues of material-individual interests and politics; or does not allow them to articulate and highlight those aspects of the issues in concern.

High visibility of women teachers in social settings, may constitute a handicap; for women may appear and be perceived in exaggerated images of loud and funny old

woman figures and commonly ridiculed. However, visibility of teacher identity in public settings also seems to be the condition of being a woman teacher proper. In accounts of teachers, as well as being too much like a teacher, it is also problematic "not to look like a teacher to others". At this point, experiences of two women wearing head-scarves are exemplary.

> Since I covered my head, when they see me in (extra-school environments) social life, they think I'm a housewife. And when they find out that I'm a teacher, the way they talk changes. They pull themselves together. (Melahat, Malatya, 1970).
> I have my own style. but for example, students get very surprised when they see me outside and ask: "were you covering your head, why do you cover your head, Mrs. ….?", I don't explain why, and I say because it must be that way (Seda, Kars, 1976).

Not being recognized as teachers is a source of anxiety for women teachers. This narrative indicates that, as well as an occupational character, teaching corresponds to an ideal type in societal imagination, and the identity is highly protean and vulnerable[150]. Not fitting in this image to a satisfactory degree, causes problems in school settings, in broader social environment, rendering women teachers open to *lay* criticism[151]. When not discerned as teachers by their looks, women are denied from the position of proper woman teacher, which is associated with a moral status

[150] February 28th decisions, ordering teachers not to have religious signs in their appearance, including headscarves, followed by dismissal of head-scarved women teachers and the mass number of resignations. This added to the fagility of the "respectability" attached to the status of "woman teacher" and further opened the issue to popular discussion. Interviews indicate that the women teachers with head scarves who retained their positions in teaching continued to wear head-scarves out of their schools, while taking them off in the schools. Meanwhile, headscarf-ban caused a de facto segregation of the spaces used by women and men in the schools and headscarved women teachers having to avoid the social relations with parents and colleagues at the out-of-school settings. Their narratives express the traumas of not belonging to the either side of the debate (neither to those who had quit teaching to continue wearing head-scarves and those not wearing or quitting to wear headscarves) and the injuries of having to go through unusual arrangements daily while other women appear commonly proud with their occupations.

[151] Need for space, revealed in preferred organizational forms and arrangements (saloon type of activities, wearing white coat, avoiding public transportation and direct communication with parents on monetary issues, and not mixing with local people in the countryside) indicates daily and continuous forms of conflict women teachers indeed face and need to act against commonly re-appearing challenges towards their respectability. As is also covered in the part about teachers' relations with parents, women teachers suffer from lack of occupational and social distance in their encounters, that could have balanced the vulnerability of teacher identity. Therefore, they have produced many "rule of thumb"s to produce borders, distance and formal-informal organizational-ceremony forms as to protect their space. Those strategies are important, since, in daily and institutional meanings of the term, teachers are accepted as one of the most *reachable* figures among those representing a specialization and intellectualism. Women teachers' tendency to erect borders and boundaries indicates that this reach may amount to violation in diverse gendered ways.

in the society. It needs to be also clarified that popular negative reactions against women teachers' using headscarf is not the only example of the way the looks, bodies and sexualities of women teachers are being subjected to popular criticism and moral judgment. Women bring out many stories, where their sexual decency was put under scrutiny by even the irrelevant actors, on the grounds for their being teachers.

Nevertheless, "old woman teacher" appears as the utmost inspiration of the stereotypical images in representation of women teachers in general. When younger teachers mention about their experiences where they had been "teacherly" and consider themselves as looking similar to a stereotypical image of teacher, they actually imply that it is not totally possible for them to be a stereotypical teacher, since they are actually vigilant towards the way they appear to others. Older teachers take a critical stance towards other teachers in old ages as well. They claim that, even at an older age, it is possible to refrain from being stereotypical, through differentiating themselves from others, via engaging more closely with intellectual or "serious" sectors of life, like politics, civil society, and academia (but not acquisition of a style or innovative teaching techniques, as suggested by younger women teachers). Their perspective on dangers of aging as a teacher centers the risk of getting more and more out of the "serious" sites and sectors of life. Typical interests and engagements of women teachers would eventually lead them into a caricaturized image. Pınar (İstanbul, 1957) articulates that older teachers (accepting herself as an exception, because of her active engagement with politics) are *childish* characters when it comes to politics and serious issues of socio-political life, because they have dealt with only children ("not adults") for long years and could not decipher the complexity of social issues in adult life. Old woman teacher, in this frame, may be considered within the analogy of *tough mother*. Although tough mother is a respected character, she is immature and sometimes laughable, since she naively tries to exercise her domestic authority in broader and irrelevant contexts. Tough mother is an idealist and identifies with teaching as a personal matter; however, she fails to link her professional experience with broader public world and other sectors of life even in the eyes of her colleagues. Generally raised by young

women, the second line of criticism targeting old woman teacher figure stems from her not being an urbanite, professional, gentle and stylish enough[152]. Asked about the reasons why, women partly explain teachers' tendency towards appearing as a typical social figure, with the once dominant necessities of elementary school teaching due to “teacher-centered authoritative instruction style”, gradually impacting their embodiment: using a high-pitched voice as to provide classroom discipline; using accentuation, mimics, body language, and space to attract student attention; repetition; eye contact; insistence on getting a feedback on clear understanding of the other party; constant vigilance; and use of authority. Those styles of communication and behavioral patterns turn into personal habits and gets embodied by teachers in time. One consequence of this gradual embodiment is that, with old age, women teachers acquire more of the features making up the common social image of "woman teacher".

> You know how they describe those people. Like she doesn’t care about anything. She is alienated from real life. She pokes her nose to everything. They do this to everyone. They have to be heard by everyone. Sometimes I get afraid of the possibility of turning into this type (Belma, Kars, 1982).

Both first and the second group criticize “the stereotypical, meddling, loud attitude and high visibility, near quarrelsome stance” of women teachers. Both emphasize that this stereotypical woman teacher figure is an outcome of the classical instruction methods, getting embodied gradually by women teachers as personal characteristics. However, the difference between the two camps is also stark. First group articulate that non-political and non-critical understanding and unquestioning performance of teaching by women leads into their not being able to think about and relate with the public issues in the broader settings of life, and thus acquiring a negative image. As such, being a stereotype is a continuing threat for the coming

[152] Women also refrain from dressing, consuming and behaving in a way, overly highlighting upper-class signifiers and they associate such an appearance with being housewife-like, as well. Affluent dressing, exhibition of wealth and upper-class consumption patterns are rejected and made subject of self and colleague criticism. This is especially common for the first-generation teachers who feel more entitled to talk in the name of the identity. Although this attitude is shared by younger women teachers; for them, "modesty" is a more sophisticated “style”, rather than "appearing like a public servant" (thus old-fashioned, too standard and inflexible). But in each generation's commentaries, a demand for modesty in appearance is clear and this demand is connected with the "occupational ethos / natural values of teaching".

generations, as well. Second group, on the other hand, think that those instruction techniques of the old generation, and the way teaching is practiced in overall by them is not relevant anymore: They are authoritative in their relations with children, parents and colleagues; not smart in femininity; not oriented to individual and professional development, thus conservative. Therefore, younger women see this stereotype as an anachronism and a problem of one certain generation only.

It is obvious that some of the young women's uneasiness with old women teachers, not only reflect a conflict based on age or life-stage differences but a search for a new reconciliation where teacher identity is associated with a more middle-class, urban womanhood, and professionalism. Authoritative, loud, and assertive style, teachers used to employ within in- and out-of-school communication, is considered irrelevant for the new contexts which are determined by educated parents, urban and ideally middle-class social environment, and professionalized school managements. This seems to be dragging women into searching ways of dis-identification and re-invention.

> It is actually about change. I cannot say anything. Look, they worked for years in the countryside and this is what it takes to make your word heard and complied. It is how it is in that context, to be authoritative, harsh. But, here, in my school, when a teacher comes and behaves this way, it would be really strange. Now it is not appropriate to behave that way. (Dilber, İstabul, 1973)

Older woman teacher is a critical figure in the stories of women. In elementary school teaching, experience and maturity of old age is commonly recognized as an asset and a proxy of good teaching. Enjoying also the respectable status of old age, it is a fact that, old women teachers characterize a certain type of feminine respectability and authority. Simultaneously still, now, they stand for the stereotypical woman teacher figure. They represent, in a sense, the nature and limits of the authority women can acquire as teachers in the society, complying with the expectations of the role.

7.3. KPSS (PPSE) Generation: Differentiated Realities

Faculty generation women have entered the profession in a period, that was determined by a lively discussion on models and methodologies of organizing basic

education and teaching work; when faculty education and assignment of the other faculty graduates into the occupation have instigated productive debates on school organization, instruction, teaching work and teacher identity; also the actors active in the school and education life have expanded to include parents and sponsors; and the private sector schools proliferated and enriched experimentation and learning about school models and teacher professionalism. Yet, all those dynamics have ended up with an establishment of the neoliberal rule, market integration of education system and distribution of teachers into professionalization and proletarianization tracks. These tendencies find their reflection in the organization of family life by those young women.

7.3.1. A Brief Portrait of the Generation

Women in this youngest generation, therefore, have had differentiated experiences in private lives, too, based on their being tenure-track or temporary status (or unemployed) teachers. While the tenure track women continue to live the realities of the former generation, others started to live through a difficult process of marginalization and stratification. For the tenure track teachers, the high investments in university life and assignment exam (KPSS-PPSE) preparation stands in controversy with the early years of obligatory service and the difficulties involved. While those with family lives, continue to organize their family lives around the patriarchal principle of feminine domesticity, parental families appear as a resource than a liability in supporting women in times of child care support. This trend starts in the experience of the Faculty generation women and became stronger in the KPSS (PPSE) generation.

Incompatibility between the set of terms, being a university graduate, being a teacher, being eager to work and those, failing to be assigned as teachers, being considered as pretending to be (for being temporary status) teachers, not being considered eligible as wives is the constant source of status injury for women teachers in temporary employment or unemployment. This is, furthermore, the first generation experiencing the uncoupling between the terms, education and

employment/professional status, and order and stability in personal life, therefore they live them as personal failures than systemic and collective realities.

Making it more complicated, KPSS (PPSE) generations' expectations from elementary school teaching have been shaped by the realities of the second generation. For the other teachers, working with tenure-track status in public elementary schools, the realities of the second generation seem to have benefited them in coming to terms with the necessities and centrality of communication with parents, managements, and issues of accountability. Yet, for others it adds to the confusion over the status loss they are going through due to unemployment and insecure employment statuses.

For those with temporary employment statuses or unemployed, as well, parental family is a critical source of support. During unemployment or precarious employment times, women's relation with their parental families gets similar to other workers in the low-track service sector jobs. They do not have economic independence for unemployment or poorly paying jobs, do not in majority have chances of starting a family of their own, and live an extended youth period. Helping women through unemployment times and giving them a chance for another year of exam preparation for assignment are important parental family assistances that are keeping women on track of teaching, instead of choosing another occupation or withdrawing from the employment market.

Nevertheless, temporary teaching positions, especially paid teaching positions are more of a trap than a temporary situation for those with limited economic means and more dependency on the current income. Therefore, those positions run the risk of effectively stratifying the worse-off with limited means, at the lower echelons of the status hierarchy of teacher employment positions.

7.3.2. Tenure Track Status: Handicaps in Balancing Work And Family and the Support of Parental Families

Those from the KPSS (PPSE) generation who had been assigned as tenure track teachers at their first trial are women with significantly high academic records. They either have a high-profile university of graduation, and/or admitted to universities at their first year after high school graduation, achieved to get high scores from the KPSS (PPSE) exam. Although academic quality of those measurements (of central examinations) is a controversial a point, in their perception those are the basic indicators of academic success. After this record of success, they immediately start having their obligatory service in the Eastern and/or peripheral parts of Turkey and this passage triggers a shock on their part. Being the only teacher in village schools, having to deal with the school work alone, teaching in multi-grade classrooms, poor housing arrangements, travel difficulties, getting struck in a limited space and over visibility as a young single woman constitute one face of the difficulties women face in their obligatory service years. On the other, Southeastern provinces present other difficulties like security problems and teachers being specifically targeted in the armed conflict between the military forces and Kurdish armed terrorist group PKK (Kurdishtan Workers' Party). Therefore, the passage from a university life, high academic achievements, success record in examinations and in assignment into those conditions determined by poverty and insecurity is shocking for women. This is a much more explicit a theme for KPSS (PPSE) generation than Faculty Generation. This is partly because, the rural schools have already merged with urban ones and closed in their times, and the peripheral schools left in their period were largely staffed by temporary status teachers. Hence it is close to being paradoxical, holding a tenure track status and working in a peripheral school in the rural Turkey. Beril (Kars, 1987) mention the District MoNE Director's astonishment over seeing her working in a village school as the only teacher although a graduate of a highly prestigious university:

> Even he got surprised. He was visiting the village schools. He came to our school and I told about myself. He was thoroughly surprised. He was mentioning about me during the following visits of him. I could not first understand but then oh, ok: 'We have a teacher. Her hometown is Mersin and she grew up in this big province. Then she studied in the Hacettepe University in Ankara. Now can you believe she serves in this little village school'

Still, it is equally difficult in narratives of women to wait for assignment for another year more at the family house. It seems like a retrograde move, from independence of university to family house back again. As such it deepens the psychological difficulties of unemployment and failure in assignment.

One of the consequence of the rapid and shocking experience of moving from university to rural periphery as the obligatory service place is that after a year of service (as the minimum duration) women start to ask for re-location. Women use different ways to ask for a relocation. Some chose to ask for a temporary appointment to a more urban service center; some prefer to go for a masters' study and also consider having the post graduate degree for becoming principals or inspectors. Yet the most popular and easier way is to get married and ask for a relocation for family reunion. This tendency sometimes results in earlier than expected marriages with the already existing partners or arranged marriages with the spouses offered by family or fake marriages. Therefore, the rural periphery is becoming a place of concentration for temporary status teachers who do not have right to ask a relocation and of the teachers from local families whose hometowns are the same with the province the village is connected to and of the male teachers. Meanwhile, marriage at earlier ages acquires an edgy importance and functionality.

For those young women, near nothing has changed in the gendered division of labour at home. They take care of children and housework alone with almost none support from their husbands. Yet, parental families appear as relatively more significant source of support compared to the experiences of the former generations and grandmothers ease women's burden of childcare.

> In our family, father (her husband) is like an ornament at the computer desk, nothing more … Thanks god we have mothers. Otherwise it would have been very difficult with Ümit (her husband) alone (Buse, Antalya, 1983)

In this generation, the connection between women's marriage and pregnancy behavior and management of the work life in terms of assignment and work places becomes much more obvious. Women purposefully use and plan to use the

marriages and sometimes pregnancy leaves to spend less time in not-desired work places and move closer to their hometowns and husbands' settlements. In difference with Pre-Faculty generation women's experiences, parental family gets more and more significant a source of support for women in management of family life. In cases where such a support is absent, women tries to compensate through longer and unpaid leaves or baby-sitters all of which directly complicates the family welfare. For this very reason, as well, assignment system is critically important to strike a balance between work and family through parental family support.

A similar thing is relevant regarding the parental family contribution in purchase of the family house. In spouse choice and choice of the settlement place, potential contribution of parental families to women's families are critically important. In difference with the Pre-faculty generation who had to depend on their own family resources, parental family contributions seem to have gained even more importance in the KPSS (PPSE) generation.

7.3.3. Unemployment or Precarious Employment: Marginalization at Every Front

Stories of the women from the KPSS (PPSE) generation who could not achieve to get an assignment and unemployed or working in paid teaching statuses or in other sectors – as a temporary or permanent arrangement- clearly narrate the marginalization they experience in multiple fields, fields of work, social and family life. The basic difficulty they live in their personal lives is that they can never be sure and confident about their future in terms of work arrangement. Getting beyond simple insecurities in employment and work life, theirs is the difficulty of starting the life at some point through taking personal steps like marriage, settlement in a particular place, specialization in some particular topics and drawing a personal development roadmap.

Those women had to turn back to their family house and hometowns and accept living with their families, as 'the worst thing that can happen after university

education', as it is considered by the many. They do not have practical prospects for gaining independence through secure employment and/or marriage.

> I cannot really foresee what can happen the coming year. … I also do not have the money to try my chance in another city … You used to get married even if you are a high school graduate and now they are asking whether you have a tenure-track status or not. I wich I was a high school graduate. (Ufuk, Hatay, 1978)

Based on their perceived "failed" status, their marital prospects are discussed more and loud by others around the women, frequently amounting to and meaning harassment.

> I am sure that a big number of teachers had a paid teaching past and when they are assigned they are treating you like that, like a subordinate. They say, 'poor you, find someone and escape from this life. Especially this phrase about finding someone it is making me crazy. What does it mean? 'Find someone'… (Şule, Trabzon, 1988)

In connection with a popular cannon, teachers are sometimes narrated as having engaged with the occupation to better their chances of having a good marriage (marrying higher). This is because, it has been common for women teachers to marry the high ranking public employees and bureaucrats, serving in the rural Anatolia. Both parties spend their obligatory service years in similar peripheral contexts and during their marriage ages. Here in the case of Şule, this cannon is brought forth in a derogatory manner. This story shows the vulnerability of young women teachers not holding tenure-track positions in teaching, regarding their image and status as prospective marriage partners.

Not being able to start a life, feelings of insecurity and an image of being 'failed teachers' for not being assigned in the KPSS (PPSE) exam or being 'fake teachers' as working with paid teacher statuses are the sources of serious status injury for those women. They suffer from not being able to start a life of their own, through assignment, security in earnings, achieving freedom for geographical mobility, marriage and having a separate home. Especially for those who had been raised in crowded families and been designated for family investment for future earning power feel this marginalization more, compared to the others with families of relatively higher socio-economic profile.

7.4. Gender Regime of Elementary School Teaching and Resilience of the Gender Ideologies Reproducing Women's Domesticity

Elementary school teaching has a strong ideological construct suggesting the advantage of the occupation for women's balancing their work and family lives. Yet, in many respects, the experiences of women, including those from the first generation, contradict with this suggestion: Women are burdened with carrying the responsibility of their families alone; they are at disadvantage to benefit from informal support relations (like grandparent care for children) due to this suggestion; organization of the works related with family and child care drives women into precarious arrangements and daily plans; they frequently live burnout due to the same emotional work they have to perform in both fields. Yet, this "ease in balancing" thesis is bought by women themselves as well, at the level of generalization.

It is highly critical that starting from the second generation, the gender divisions in elementary school teaching career have been challenged by the women in the profession, whereas domestic divisions have left unquestioned. Women's expanding vision and changing behavior regarding career mobilities into administrative and private sector positions, have been part of an overall shift: A shift from their examining their career alternatives through traditional moral considerations about women's proper place in the public roles, based on avoiding political and profit-oriented searches and positions, into their taking up more individualistic, calculative perspective over their prospects in work life. Expanding private sector and the employment opportunities it brought, changing curricula and instruction approaches, participation of other faculty graduates into the ranks of elementary school teachers have been among the factors facilitating diversification in perspectives of women over their works. Those dynamics has lead into women's questioning and contesting of the traditional woman school teacher type in many respects at the professional front, including the typical career plan, she has been associated with.

Inter-generational change has been a shift from one norm on being a good teacher as a woman to another, as well: The authoritative style women had developed in relations with parents and managements has been leaving its place to a -though rather contested and controversial- an understanding of accountability and cooperation. “Modesty” as prevailing value in teacher identity has been more often interpreted as ‘taste and a calculated style of humbleness’, rather than ‘standard public employee’ qualities, as it was in the experiences of the previous generations. Professional development has become equally thought with the terms of individual effort and initiative to grab further advantages of learning and career development, in addition to experience and collegial learning.

Meanwhile, it needs to be emphasized that, those changes have not driven women into taking a critical perspective over the patriarchal understanding for women’s having the exclusive responsibility for the works in the familial and domestic area. On the contrary, women largely retained the idea that they are at an advantage to balance work and family life. In the meantime, however, Faculty and KPSS (PPSE) generations do mention how economic resources became crucial in striking a balance in both realms. Middle class sensibilities in raising their children competent in education life, for example, both increased mothers’ anxieties and responsibilities in supporting their children. Women ES teachers in the new generations seem to be increasingly raising to the challenge of ‘conscious mothering”, this new and competitive definition of ideal mothering. However, educational competencies are being distributed in an inequal manner across private and public schools and in urban and periphery contexts. Therefore, economic power, rather than mother cultural capital, turns to be the main factor determining child academic attainment.

Women’s marriage profiles have been similar across the generations in terms of the husband occupation and socio-economic profile. Yet, love marriages have gotten more prevalent in the younger generations, in connection with the faculty education. Parental families are narrated with a language of liabilities / responsibilities by the women from the Pre-faculty generation. This narrative implies that daughters cannot expect much from their parental families in terms of economic and child care

support. Rather, they would be in service of their families if asked for. In the Faculty and KPSS (PPSE) generations narratives on the other hand, parental families appear as an indispensable source of support for women. Especially mothers' support in child care is critical for women and largely ease the level of precarity they go through during child raising ages. Parental families also support women in cases of unemployment and divorce, as well as buying the first family house, emotionally and financially. In overall, family support turns crucial for teacher women in the Faculty and KPSS (PPSE) generations for achieving work-family balance and sustaining family welfare.

Faculty generation women face critical challenges compared to their former generation colleagues in achieving the proper family life and balancing work and family, as expected from them being teachers. Women teachers' ability to determinably contribute to the educational performance of their own children is also on decline, since, on average, prestigious private schools and education for cosmopolitan skills are beyond their reach economically and/or their traditional cultural capital is no longer enough or relevant for preparing their children for the competition in education or in the job markets. Furthermore, increasing requirements of new middle-class womanhood cults and new-professionalism, approaches are increasing women's burden in both family and profession fields and makes it more difficult for women teachers to continue being champions of balancing (between domestic and professional roles). Hence, the mythical construct on elementary school teaching's facilitating women's search for work life balance has lost another underpinning.

KPPS (PPSE) generation teachers testified a backlash against professionalization and reform experimentations started in the second generation. Temporary teaching positions is one of the most striking consequences of this backlash. General picture depicted by the narratives of women from the Pre-faculty and Faculty generations indicates that secure public employment is critically important in women teachers' image as eligible wives, mothers and as proper women. Therefore, the assignment problems adversely affect women's positive gender status relating to social

respectability, family life and their capacities for balancing work-family and transmitting a cultural capital to the next generation in the form of academic achievement.

Those women in temporary employment statuses or living unemployment are unable to start an independent life from their parental families. They had turned to family home and hometown and generally trapped in a vicious circle of bad quality or temporary status jobs. They live a uniquely new experience of marginalization being stigmatized in professional and social life and based on their poor prospects of raising a family. They have to postpone an independent life and, in that sense, they represent the end of the cultural cannon on 'teaching providing an early entrance in adult life'. Furthermore, they face the most aggressive versions of the 'pragmatism argument' (suggesting women choose teaching pragmatically for work-life balance purposes only) and get stigmatized in multiple spheres. That experiences exemplify how the highly respected identity of women teacher could equally attract moral attacks and how its respectability is hinged upon the socio-economic status guarantees and capacities.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSION

This thesis examines the life story narratives of women ES teachers from three different generations, with an aim to identify the continuities and changes that has taken place in the gender regime of the occupation for the last couple of decades. While doing this, it follows and elaborates the background phenomenon of the current socio-political and institutional process of transformation in the profession, in which urbanization of school systems, introduction of the faculty level education for teacher training and neoliberal policies have constituted the main dynamics. In focus, it accepts shifts in the professional ideologies and state policies as the main threads defining the political and institutional change process. This change process has created the historic events, marking and differentiating the experiences of the women from the different age cohorts in the occupation, enabling identification of different generations among teachers: Pre-faculty generation started in the profession in a time of long-accepted traditional realities: pre-faculty level teacher education, employment guarantee, dominance of public schools and relatively high representation of rural schools in the education system, conventional instruction methods, and a gender balanced teacher profile. Faculty generation, on the other hand, started their teaching lives during a passage to faculty level teacher education, where other faculty graduates were accepted into the occupation due to the conjectural teacher shortage and when the reform initiatives (like 8 years continuous education) went hand in hand with the direct interventions of state in the profession (like in the February 28th Military tutelage period). KPSS (PPSE) generation are represented by the youngest among the women interviewees, started teaching after being assigned based on their grades from an eliminatory central examination

(KPSS / PPSE) and personally testified to new reality of soaring teacher unemployment as the first time, as well as temporary employment statuses, full blown and commercialized mechanisms of parent participation policies, increasing market integration of schools, managerialization of teacher professionalism, and feminization in the education labour force and in school relations.

Summarized in the below table, this transformation process has developed in different phases, manifesting some of the consequences earlier and some others later. As such, those processes have not determined the realities of the second-generation women as a block. Rather, second generation women entered and lived their first years in the occupation, as a period of reform initiatives and policy experimentation for improving the basic education and teaching system (namely, introduction of faculty education, diversification in the teacher profile through admission of other faculty graduates into the occupation, private sector expansion, acceptance of different grades in teaching -chief teacher and specialist teacher-, 8 years continuous obligatory education … and others). Yet those trends would yield to neoliberal regulation in the later years, marking the experience of particularly the third generation.

As I have discussed in the analysis chapters of the thesis, changes in the regulation and policies on elementary school education and elementary school teachers and accompanying shifts in the professional discourses have made some major impacts over the gender regime of the occupation. First one is the emergence of new and diversifying ways of imagining and organizing elementary school teaching as a life trajectory and social identity for women, upon diminishing of the standard social mobility prospects of the occupation for them. Second one is related with the appearing contours of a re-negotiation of the traditional gender regime dominant in organization of the professional work, career and identity. This renegotiation works through women's abandonment of the old moral ideas on gender, once regulated the roles and behaviors of women in the occupation and moving them towards more individualistic and pragmatic course of behavior in career organization. Finally, there are new challenges towards women's living up to the promises of the

profession for enabling women to balance work and family life due to increase in workloads in both of professional and family lives. They altogether picture the scope and direction of the change that has been taking place in the gender regime of the ES teaching in Turkey: In the wake of neoliberal era and upon demise of the previous social contracts regulating working class women's prospects of social mobility through education and work, old social identity discourses in ES teaching disappears as standard (modest but upwardly mobile) life trajectories. Normative structures about women's proper roles and performance in work and career of ES teaching erodes. The typical gender-based vertical divisions in the occupation is therefore challenged, women with high resources starting to consider leaving classrooms of public schools for private sector and managerial roles. Nevertheless, it is not the same with the gender ideologies, which on the one hand, curtail gender-biased character of the roles and career-plans in the occupation and on the other, reproduce patriarchal beliefs and arrangements about primacy of family in women's lives. One component of the ideology, embedded in the occupation, is the discourse of gender-neutrality (of the teaching work and the role of teacher within it), ignoring women's differential contributions, burdens, responsibilities, and identity work. The other one is related with the tacit suggestions in the script of the occupation for women's domesticity and need to have feminine work roles to balance work and family. In other words, neoliberal turn effectively differentiating and stratifying women into varying trajectories and prospects in the occupation have created a a flexibilization in the moral codes regulating women's paths and positions in the occupation and enabled broader mobility of those with better professional status into managerial and leadership roles. Yet again, another category of women has become likely to be trapped in the peripheral work places and temporary employment types and have started to experience marginalization in multiple-fronts. In the meantime, the deep-seated patriarchal discourses, scripted in the gender regime of ES teaching, suggesting it as one of the best jobs for women to balance work and family and maintain domesticity, have presented an asymmetrical resistance to that change trend in the gender regime of the occupation.

	Old Paradigm	New Paradigm
Main power bloc, determining the education policy	Populist alliance between lower classes, professionals and the state	Alliance between market actors and middle classes
Provision	State provision rule	Privatization and residual provision of public education
Main objective of basic education	Moral development and adoption of basic citizenship values, and educational skills	Educational competency and privilege
Instruction methodology	Teacher-centered instruction	Student-centered learning methodologies
Teacher Education	Specialized college education	Faculty education + certificate acquisition for university graduates
Teacher Employment	Only 1 year internship periods	Central eliminatory exams
Assignment to the work place	by drawing lots	by the grades in the central eliminatory exams
Employment Status	Standard, tenure track	Differentiated, including temporary positions
Teaching market	Public employment guarantee	Teacher unemployment is the rule
Paradigm case informing policy & discourse	Countryside school	Urban middle-class school
Control over teachers	Ideological- bureaucratic control	Managerial-parental control
Relations with parents	Parental thrust - teacher authority	Parental control - teacher accountability
Relations with management	Conflict and moral superiority of teachers	Authority of managements
Teacher professionalism	Idealist and people's intellectual	Accountable with the individual performance

Examined through its general lines, the paradigm shift in the studied period, is a deep-reaching and extensive, and opens a new chapter in the history of the profession. The paramount factor, triggering the change in political, institutional and regulative frameworks of elementary school education and teaching, has been establishment of the neoliberal rule through this period, gradually, in stages and with an accelerating level of determination. In the end of the period, the main priorities, the policy makers have pursued, seem to have shifted from inclusion of the periphery through standard public-school education, into promotion of choice and financial participation of families in schools through commodification of education and cultivation of new-generation skills and competencies in the middle classes.

This process has worked through expansion of the private sector, and introduction of the principles of new-managerialism for public schools. Public schools, in this

vein, become more and more similar to private ones in management for their dependency on parent funding and for the performance criteria, exclusively focusing on the cognitive outcomes than overall child development. Due to the financial self-dependency rule, lower profile public schools in the periphery have increasingly been left to decay based on underfunding and lack of resources. This shift has reflected the handover of the hegemonic alliance from the previous populist one, built between working classes, state and professionals, to another, bringing together state with middle-classes and the market forces. In line with this policy preference, families seeking high quality education for their children have either moved to private schools or pushed to increase their contribution for the neighborhood schools. Out of an already continuing discussions, on the methods of efficient learning and teaching, new and more student-centered approaches gained ground. Parent participation, technology use, research and extracurricular activities have been accepted as the important imperatives of those approaches. In realization of this model in an efficient way, contribution of all the school actors, school managements, parents and teachers are considered essential and so are their constant professional development in the respective roles of manager, teacher and parent. New managerialism for schools, new professionalism for teachers and conscious parenting for families, therefore, have been rising discourses and formed the basis of a new and powerful dynamic for reproduction and strengthening of inequalities through education. Already fueled educational competition, hence, translated as competition between schools, managers, parents and teachers. Those actors were invited to be more professional and invest on their further (or lifelong) development, often not being provided with the necessary public resources and pushed to depend on their private resources.

Meanwhile, elementary school teaching became a faculty level formation, according to some ending the crafts wisdom in teacher training and others expecting it to make a professionalizing impact over the occupation. Entry into the occupation, for faculty graduates was easy for the second generation, ES teaching still maintaining its low supply-high demand employment market balance. Later, on the other hand, with opening of new education faculties one after another, teacher shortage left its

place to teacher unemployment. Teacher assignment has been tied to performance in the national eliminatory examination of KPSS (PPSE). Teachers have started to be distributed into their initial work places and into different employment statuses through their grades in this exam, which is deemed largely irrelevant to specializations of teachers and solely structured for eliminatory purpose.

Education relations of the schools have started to be regulated through an imagined middle-class urban center school model, instead of the peripheral school assumption of the previous era. In this model, authority relations and professionalism definition for teachers have been revised. Teachers lost their positional authority to an important degree and invited to be accountable to the needs and demands of professional managements and conscious parents. This arrangement was to be work best as a virtuous cycle, at the urban middle-class schools: abundance of funding from parents and sponsorship environment, efficiently gathered by school managements, providing the much-needed resources; and parent follow-up on children and already high-profile family cultural capital pushing up teacher performances, measured by student grades taken from the central student tests. Here, professionalization was becoming a tangible vision for teachers on individual basis. On the other hand, those actors like professional managements and conscious parents turned out to be only fiction, for the teachers living the old realities in the peripheral schools and communities. Parent and management control in the new establishment, added another dimension to even stronger bureaucratic and ideological control mechanisms. Teacher professionalism, hence, started to mean more individual accountability, technology use and exam performance than teacher idealism, collegiality, and accessibility.

This study puts under scrutiny, the way those paradigm-changing developments in the field, have been lived by the women from different generations and the way the gender arrangements in the profession have been impacted from them. Main finding of the thesis is that younger generations -though under differentiated conditions and varying degrees at individual and generational level- have started to contest the gender regime of the teaching work, where women concentrate at public elementary

school teaching positions, and men at management, leadership, thus high-track career roles. Although, still the number of women in those traditionally male roles and career tracks are limited, the decisive change seems to have taken place through replacement of old morals, regulating women's proper place and moves in the occupation, with more individual and pragmatic calculation in the younger generations. Still, women have maintained their unquestioning attitude towards the ideological construct, summarized in the motto for elementary school teaching being an enabling engagement for women's balancing their work and family lives. This is a powerful narrative and its recalcitrance indicates that positive developments in the professional front have not translated into empowerment for women at the site of the family. Therefore, the ES teaching occupation continues of be one of the venues through which patriarchal structures in the gender order of the society is reproduced.

Women's life stories are analyzed to reveal the intergenerational continuity and change, in the way they understand and live teaching as a social status, as a professional engagement and as a certain context for family experiences, in three chapters. Life plans, status, and social mobilities deemed typical for elementary school teaching by the women and the common praxis women use to navigate in and through teaching as such, are explored in the first analysis chapter. Second chapter explores the elements of the gender regime, structured in the occupation and women's evolving negotiations with it along the generations. Last analysis chapter looks at how women cope with the practical and ideological formations of teaching in their private lives, as the occupation has come to integrate a discourse on "women teachers' ease in reconciling family and work lives".

Main finding of the first analysis chapter is that, in the younger generations, women's life trajectories and social identities in elementary school teaching have been radically diversified. As such, there is a central pattern of intergenerational change, reflected in women's life story narratives. That can be best described through the increasing ambiguities and growing individual differences in interpreting teaching as a common social identity, associated with typical paths and

trajectories in the life story. Hence, the intergenerational change story of women teachers suggests teaching has been getting weakened as a category of social identity and a certain life plan.

In the stories of the first-generation women ES teachers, the common cultural narrative suggests a life plan, based on rural-to-urban mobilities and the certain paths connecting education with occupation, and occupation with status, they are all being enabled by teaching. In line with this understanding regarding the place of teaching in the social world, women's praxis was shaped to prioritize personal development through studentship and education, thus through dutifulness. Accompanied was a principle of "suspension of the gender identity", due to an urge for not to risk and complicate their progress, not to get entrapped in a feminine way of life, that was typical in rural periphery of childhood hometown. Yet, the certainties and common values, that had fed those imagination of the world and norms of being a proper woman, have started to disappear through waning prospects of social mobilities and certainties, once structured teaching as emblematic of the typical upwardly mobile life-plan for educated working classes. One important part of this intergenerational trend has been the shifting moral rule, guiding women throughout youth period, from suspension to socialization of gender identity, upon emergence of urban youth cultures. With the increasing irrelevance of the old moral rules about women's presence in education, work life, and teaching, women have started to examine those institutions as practical opportunity environments and issues of individual choice, in the younger generations, rather than moral subjects.

In general lines, it comes out that, for the pre-faculty generation women, teacher education and occupation continued to be narrated with reference to the story lines of the old popular public cannons. Those canonic narratives tell the story of rural lower classes that was excelled from rural poverty to the ranks of urban middle-classes through education and moral, dutiful and idealist engagement with the life and the society. In the stories of women as teachers, childhood and early youth period is at the forefront and born family is extensively described to underline the upwardly mobile but modest personal roots: nuclear family rule getting established;

educated fathers (generally in public employment) supporting daughters' education; mothers appearing convinced about the importance of girls' education; girls being dutiful and oriented to intellectual world and education; they are claiming a tomboyish, asexual childhood and youth identity. Teacher education seems to be the only way of women's joining the ranks of educated classes due to rural location of hometowns, limited economic means of families and their continuing anxiety about higher education of girls. Despite the unfulfilled dreams of university education and for studying core professional occupations, women's stories of becoming teachers appear as achievement stories[153]. They communicate pride and sense of fulfilment. As such, women's narratives form a working-class praxis that is upwardly mobile for being dutiful and loyal to the hegemonic social project of the modern secular society. In those stories, women appear as tomboyish characters in childhood and youth, contrary to the generic belief that girly feminine orientations in youth lead women into choosing teaching as a continuation of this character development.

In social imagery of the most Western societies, women ES teachers have been deemed as overly-*feminine figures*, they are being working class, but oriented to the values associated with middle-class motherly domesticity and leaning towards caring, nurturing, and assisting roles. This is, on the other hand, appears critically different for the Turkish context. ES teacher identity in its pedagogics of growing up as a woman, throughout its classical historical periods, has relied on a tomboyish/masculine sexual disposition and a strategic approval of the working-class values of womanhood as well as recognizing those of the middle-classes.

[153] Women's stories are full of cracks and contradictions in themselves. Mostly taken from the public tales in circulation, the themes making up the stories often do not fit in women's realities. Being directed into teacher education at a time when higher education for girls were widespread and an attainable an alternative does not approve the claimed importance given to education of girls by the families. Nor does the fact that elder sisters of most of the women were held back in home instead of being sent to education -and this was probably not because their elder sisters were more feminine characters, more interested in domestic life than education as claimed by women, but families, still in transition from extended rural family to urban nuclear family in organization and values, preferred to keep a reserve domestic worker, together with the mother of the family, at home. Other contradictions can be addressed as well. Still, this frame and the storylines in women' narratives indicate that women understand their becoming-teacher stories, in relation with the public cannons of their times, drawing upon the theme of teachers' the upwardly mobile working-class roots in the rural.

As such, first and majority of the second-generation women's stories are organized around the main moral themes of *dutiful orientation to life*, *growing out of the town*, and *suspension of the gender identity*. Women's childhood and youth stories manifest a desire and a corresponding confidence for the ability in achieving upward mobility. Suspension of gender identity is the symbolic and practical condition of their dissociation with and resistance towards the local identity informants. They could only grow out of their existing conditions, by refusing to become girly, busy with domestic life and rituals, and not getting trapped with an early marriage, contrary to what the local lower-class girls were said to be doing. This is a specific type of morality, voiced by near all the women: suspension of gender identity is the very condition of upward mobility and entering public world for the working-class girls at the countryside. In those stories, education signifies a moral status for the girl and also the family, willing and choosing to send their daughters to education. As such a secular and modern world view, good citizenship values, are claimed for the family, thus for the roots of the individual identity[154].

For the faculty generations, stories of becoming teachers are not really stories of achievement and fulfillment. In younger generations' stories, education is narrated with a frame of measurement of individual success and/or failure, than values and virtues. University admission exam turns to be the reference point in the stories and there appears a significant ambiguity surrounding "teaching as a choice" theme. University exam and faculty preference procedure inserted a choice dimension to education stories of women, as a typical context of neoliberal technology of self-

[154] The historical period when the first generation started teacher education and had their first years in the occupation extends from the late 1960s to 1980s and was full of political turmoil. Liberating climate of the post-1960 military coup environment and the new constitution were followed by the 1970 military memorandum and ensuing political conflicts, street fights and eventually the 1980 military coup. The military intervention created an atmosphere determined by fierce political oppression and rolling back of democratic and liberal government principles. Teachers had just become a political category, then, through their organizing and participation in public debates. They faced intervals in teacher education, accelerated and remote education schemes, and fierce bureaucratic/managerial oppression. Politicization was rapid and difficult to avoid for teachers and student teachers. Hence, for the women of that generation, the theme of growing out of home-town, towards the public life of education and occupation meant also moving towards the world of politics, and a politically articulated world of urban life, the meaning of which is fickle.

production. However, teaching could not be narrated as a choice by women, since apparently it continued to carry the stigma of being a quasi-vocational formation. Even when the admission grades of teaching departments climbed to significantly high a level, this stigma rendered it difficult to narrate the admission to teaching departments as an achievement. Thus, rather than suggesting teacher education as a choice, women mentioned about the complexity of faculty preference process and how they were guided into preferring teaching departments, by their consultant teachers in schools and throughout the exam preparation years. Similarly, university periods were also narrated with a surrounding vagueness over the experience and uneasiness for not being able to identify a clear science or art basis in teacher education unlike in the professional formations. Other department/faculty graduates, in comparison, were more clear and positive about the fields they studied, regarding both preference and study periods. Especially engineering department graduates were proud of having graduated from a male field, although they also acknowledged that their chances of having jobs, where they could practice their educational formations, were admittedly weak.

As has been delineated in the Chapter IV, for women, ES teaching does not provide an upwardly mobile status to women or to their children in the younger generations. Upward mobility as the distinctive sign and capital of respectable working classes seems to be not a natural and guaranteed outcome of the occupation for women any more. The traditional subject of respectable working-class woman ES teacher was upwardly mobile and fed on the praxis of this upward mobility in her professional and personal life. Hard-work, discipline, prioritization of education, resilience and idealism against material challenges, and suspension of gender identity were main deeds of this praxis and they had been in perfect harmony with the ethos of elementary schooling for decades.

In the narratives of the KPSS (PPSE) generation women, the main patterns shaping teaching as a life trajectory are different between those with permanent and temporary statuses. In general, the broken link between teacher education and employment status determines the differentiation between the social trajectories and

mobilities women narrate in their life stories. In both categories of the KPSS (PPSE) generation women, the assignment examination constitutes a new and crucial life event. Naturally turning to this experience of exam period in narration of their becoming-teacher stories, women work out two main themes: Tenure track women problematize encountering difficult conditions in obligatory service years and afterwards due to transformed conditions of teaching, since they think they deserve more having gone through so many levels of qualification testing. Poor returns of standard teaching career vis a vis the efforts invested, often drive women into seeking further career development. Temporary status or unemployed women, on the other hand, narrate a deep confusion and status injury for getting stuck in precarious work conditions and in a certain (juvenilizing) life course, unable to establish an independent life from family.

Moving to the younger generations, socio-economic profile of parents presents a notable change only in education level of mothers. However, even in the youngest generation, near none of the mothers have an employment history. In that sense, teaching has continued to be an intergenerational stepping stone from the rule of women's being housewives to women's employment. However, the rise in women's education levels and the expansion of employment alternatives for women at the country level had been so striking, for the intervening period, that having an occupation and engaging with a formal economic activity alone, would be debatable to consider as signs of intergenerational progress for women nor is it realistic to attribute this progress to teaching. At the time, the youngest generations started their teacher trainings in universities, daughters of the first-generation women had already entered professional occupations. For the youngest generations, therefore, it is late and hard to consider teaching as a means of intergenerational upward mobility. An awareness of this fact must have been influential in young women's not framing their becoming-teacher stories as tales of achievement. Likewise, young women express a serious anxiety for the future academic attainment of their children, in stark difference with their older colleagues, and that change in attitude proves that they do not think that they are the middle link of an upwardly mobile generational stream. In a sense, the historical opportunity window, facilitating

upward mobility of future generations in the families of women teachers, was already closed in the Faculty generation. This picture is complemented with the changing meanings of disciplined study and the provincial Anatolia as women's childhood hometown, in women's stories. Provincial Anatolia, no longer represents the spatial dimension of disciplined study and rightful moral development, instead means simply lack of opportunities, the opportunities for academic development and upward mobility, deemed abundant in metropolitan centers. Disciplined study disappears from the stories, since it loses the causal link with educational success and upward mobility. All the central pillars of the traditional imagery on becoming-teachers, hence, depicting morally strong and disciplined girls of respectable working classes in the countryside, growing out of town through education and teaching, disappear from the women's narratives, signaling the decline of a long-lived cultural cannon.

Second important finding of the study is that some elements of the gender regime of the elementary school teaching in professional life has been increasingly challenged by the women from the younger generations. Yet again, the gender ideologies invested in this regime has stayed largely intact. Simply put, younger generations have started to question the traditional career plan of women in the occupation, that had come to squeeze them in public school classrooms, restrict their representation in authority and leadership roles, due to morally charged ideas on women's respectability. This respectability understanding was part of the gender regime of the occupation and it was suggesting it is proper and morally superior for women not to seek personal benefit in the form of career progression, authority, and monetary benefits; and it is vital for them to demonstrate modesty keeping with teaching only. Younger generations on the other hand abandoned those moral codes and adopted pragmatism in their career decisions. Nevertheless, gender ideologies ignoring women's differential contributions and burdens in the occupation and those suggesting women's family-orientation and domesticity continued to be supported wven in the younger generations.

As appeared in women's narratives, ES teaching work and career have come to draw upon a distinct gender regime. Although it is an occupation with a long history of being a gender-balanced one, teaching have come to rely on a gender regime, which places differential workloads on women and charges men and women differently in teaching work and roles. This regime has largely depended on the ideological construct claiming gender neutrality of teaching work in qualifications and duties. Women's narratives indicate that women draw upon a "traits approach" in defining the qualifications of a good teacher, and, all agree that the work and the identity of the profession is gender-neutral. A good teacher, here, is defined not with the competencies acquired through professional development or the daily and institutional organization of teaching work, and the actual demands from teachers, but through some personal qualities like, "loving children", "being conscientious", and "being able to think like children". Yet, the profession has a clear gender regime, as demonstrated by women in discussion of their daily realities, based on the differential and higher demands from women on the grounds of their gender identity, from all the school actors; women's shouldering majority of the tasks required by the social relations of education and school life, through expanding teacher-parent and management communication and collaboration; because of the heavy practical and emotional arrangements women have to perform in balancing their lives in a continuum between work and family fields; and lastly due to morally-charged understandings embedded in the field, limiting women's mobility and access into administrative and leadership positions. It is clear in women's narratives in the Pre-Faculty generation that the "mother analogy" is particularly important to justify the differential demands of school actors from woman teachers and based on this analogy, a certain feminine respectability understanding has largely and effectively prevented women from engaging with the roles deemed connected with "political searches and individual profit orientation", including private sector positions, school principalship, trade union activism, and entrepreneurial practices. As such, women were expected to act on a self-sacrificial morality, deemed as a code of feminine respectability in teaching and not to enter leadership and authority roles.

Coming to the younger generations, most aspects of this gender regime in the profession have seemed to be prevailing. On the other hand, emerging trends in regulation of the profession, including admission of other faculty graduates into teaching, expansion in the private sector and new models of education and teacher professionalism, reform and professionalization debates contributed positively to women's abandonment of the old morals associated with feminine respectability in relation to the profession and their starting to think with more practical terms. The most important consequence of those development in the Faculty generation, seem to have been women's enhanced flexibility in considering to follow unconventional career paths, including move to private sector positions and administrative roles in the schools and framing their urges to perform better in teaching roles, less as a moral or spiritual motivation and more as an individual professional aspiration.

In a way, the first wave of neoliberal transformation in elementary school education and teaching have contributed to a positive change in the opportunity environment and practical consciousness about women's proper place and track in teaching. In addition, new professionalism in teaching have been endorsed to mean teacher accountability towards parents and managements and performance measurement by central student selection examinations. Practical necessities of responding to this new professionalism turned some of the traditionally feminine tasks into competencies, like parent-teacher communication, colleague relations and learning, extracurricular activities, adding to the advantages of the women looking for opportunities of professional progress.

In the period of the KPSS (PPSE) generation, on the other hand, the reform and professionalization agenda found its final and decisive character as neoliberal regulation. Introduction of an eliminatory central examination for teacher assignment, of temporary teaching positions, teacher standards and performance assessment procedures, regulations turning parent-school associations into highly commercial organizations put the cornerstones of the new picture, which has changed the realities of a certain group in this third generation women ES teachers.

Categorical respectability of teachers seems to have shaken since their positional authorities and autonomies are undermined in their relations with parents and school managements. Teachers commonly recap these negative developments with a phrase of status loss. At the broader context, women's narratives are full of references to a long-term shift in the education policy and its consequences on teachers. Primacy of the countryside loses ground, together with the rural equality between teachers and their relatively larger autonomy in rural schools. This vision, centering education of rural disadvantaged, stressing the inclusiveness of the basic education project, was once backed by the state agenda for turning rural peasants into citizenry. It is in the process of replacement by the rule of urban/center school, where middle classes negotiate their privileges imposing a market logic -exchanging their financial contributions with exam performances of their children. State agenda and teacher-state alliance over this agenda and status privileges of teachers thus is leaving its place to market agenda and competition of middle classes over educational privileges. In accordance, the cultural significance of the idealist teacher type, vying to deliver life opportunities and moral virtues to disadvantaged fades in favor of the professional of the urban center schools. This shift in cultural focus is indeed an expression of the neoliberal policies supporting market integration in education system, meaning deskilling and de-professionalization for majority of the teachers, whereas this neoliberal perspective introduces itself with a motto of new managerialism in schools and new professionalism for teachers.

In this same period, temporary status teachers with poor economic conditions started to concentrate in schools of rural, peripheral, and disadvantaged areas. Realities of those teachers are quite different from those educating children of the middle-classes in the center schools of urban areas. Although teachers tend to continue to exalt the experience of working in the peripheral schools ("where they cope with difficult material conditions but also enjoy the autonomy and recognition" according to the old scripts of the profession), the nature of this experience has changed due to temporary working statuses of teachers and more tense relations with parents upon lessening opportunities delivered by public education and provoked urges of parents for parent participation discourses. Meanwhile, all types of conflicts

between parents, communities and sometimes school managements acquire an edgy gender dimension. Any controversy is likely to turn into the ones, in which norms of ideal womanhood are discussed and women are criticized on the grounds of their (faulty) gender identities. Women in their respective identities are called to present relational tact in handling tricky situations -as mothers and teachers. Management of the tensions and ever more fragile relations at this side of the society waits for women teachers' attention, since, despite the temporary employment conditions, oppressive school managements and hostile parents, women are still expected to play their generic part for nurturing and to act on their motherly love. However, the relational labour, women need to invest in poorer contexts, is far more different in nature than they are in urban contexts. Instead of demanding middle-class mothers, they face hostile and fickle managements and parents.

Women's reactions to new-professionalism agenda present diversity in line with the work contexts and statuses they have. Integration with a market logic based on central curricula and central exam systems, in teaching style, only works and pays for in the center schools. In those schools, it is possible and rewarding to relate with parents and school management, bargaining over status and recognition in return for higher exam performances of students and higher satisfaction-thus financial contribution- of parents or to work out a democratic stakeholder communication model with those actors. This winning strategy, on the other hand, not coincidentally needs to be mediated by mother-teacher relations nourished by the values and resources of middle-class womanhood. The subject of this relation is the very basis of middle-class proper womanhood, -educational attainment of children- and hence the mother-teacher medium acts as a site where values and norms of ideal womanhood are practiced and re-produced -as an exclusive property of middle and upper classes. Parent participation is among the set of new principles of school organization; and with involvement of mothers, social relations of education started to get even more feminized.

In sum, it is a prevalent trend in the second-generation women that women leave the old beliefs about moral rights and wrongs for women's carrying teacher identity and

in furthering their careers and they substitute a more practical and pragmatic evaluation instead. Although the gender ideology, suggesting irrelevance of gender for organization of teaching work, has continued to be accepted, some roles and competencies typical for women in the profession became more central to new professionalization approach. Partly moved by this insight, the noteworthy number of women with career orientation started to follow unconventional paths in teaching. Yet, in the third-generation neoliberal agenda of de-professionalization in teaching has fully appeared and although women with tenure track positions and in urban center schools continued to live an expansion in opportunities of contesting gender regime and furthering their careers in teaching, some others have pushed to precarious professional and personal pursuits in the periphery and/or in temporary employment positions.

Last major finding of this study is related with the recalcitrance of the gender roles and gendered organizations in the family lives of women ES teachers across generations. Pertaining to the private life of women, mostly determined by gender-specific experiences of marriage, motherhood, social and emotional relations, elementary school teaching has come to be considered as full of advantages. First-generation women's narratives point out that those advantages are based on teaching enabling women's balancing work and family roles and tasks. According to this discourse, women teachers are in a better position for professing and realizing their teaching and womanhood roles in a more efficient way than the women in other occupations, because of the complementarity and harmony of those roles and duties attached and for the favorable work hours and annual work calendar of the occupation enabling women to balance work and family. For women teachers have been represented as holding a unique position of advantage to reconcile and balance work and family life and sophisticated in female virtues (of motherhood and domesticity), they are considered as one of the examples of proper women in the society. However, their narratives also reveal that the female respectability, granted to women elementary school teachers, is quite fragile due to the consideration that women could use all of those advantages, coming with teaching, to their own benefit but not to society's. This doubts about the social morality of women teachers,

therefore, accompany the practical and social advantages and the respectability women enjoy in teaching, and they function as a disciplinary medium pushing women to comply with the expectations from the role at both fronts of home and work.

The discourse, on women teachers' "advantages in balancing" family and work lives, is openly an ideological construction. Its argument is approved by women themselves at abstract level, but women's narratives also indicate that there are serious reasons why this discourse has not represented the reality. There are special disadvantages and burdens of women teachers: Organization of the family work in harmony with their atypical and changing work schedules, and work places is a sizable workload for women; they do not have access to informal support mechanisms (like grandmother care) on a par with other women for their perceived advantages; drawing upon the same emotional resources (care, patience, empathy, .. others) cause frequent burnout for women; they live the disadvantages, as well as the advantages, of being seen as half-housewife and half-working women, like being blamed for their negligence, in both fields of work and family.

Women teachers are deemed as good mothers for bringing together the capacity of stay-at-home mothers' in-person care for children and knowledge, culture, and capabilities of a working mother to deal with the outside world, particularly in education. Moved to the younger generations, scope of the childcare tasks seems to have expanded to include managing and coaching for the educational lives of their children. This task involves daily monitoring of children's progress, arranging enrollment in supportive programmes, like private courses and summer camps, staying in touch with the teachers, trying to choose the best teachers and schools, and others. Based on this expanded role definition at domestic realm, for the lower and lower-middle classes it is not anymore as easy as in the past to reconcile work and family lives, since they are not able to afford neither quitting their jobs to save time for in-person care for children nor for private care and education services. Even for teachers, the magical model of "balancing-woman" does not seem to be working any longer, due to the size of work demanded at both fronts.

In the first-generation women, a specific perception towards “already holding the privileged assets for intergenerational upward mobility as a family (of a teacher mother)” and a thrust for the natural ability to pass the family capital to children is predominant. This understanding gives way to a social justice philosophy, where natural advantages of teachers' children ought not to be too visible and to be offset with extra effort on the part of the teachers through visibly more attention towards their students over their children. However, for the faculty and KPSS (PPSE) generation, increasing anxieties towards educational attainment of own-children turned out to be the case. Meanwhile, private school choices became frequent and women tended to allocate more time to assist their children in their education. Simultaneously, the relative charm of raising children at the small settlements has waned as the educational advantages turned, considered to be, more concentrated at private services and urban center schools rather than the educational discipline, concentration, and commitment, promised by having education life at countryside settlements. This situation has further complicated by the relative scarcity of the affordable child care solutions at the metropolis, making the metropolis desirable but not affordable for women teachers. This trend shows that women think that their families are losing from their ability for intergenerational upward mobility. Correspondingly, active management of children's educational lives becomes a definitive element of good mothering, as a practice which is not covered by mothers but openly, even conspicuously presented. This generational pattern indicates the erosion the cultural capital, women ES teachers expected to transmit to their children in the form of academic success. Given that this is the most important asset of middle-class womanhood, the size of loss is formidable. Most of the women ES teachers (especially those with insecure work conditions and in periphery) are, thus, in a downward path in terms of the feminine capital of boosting next generation’s upward mobility.

In the KPSS (PPSE) generation, assignment problems have complicated the traditionally high-status position of women teachers in the marriage market and added to the precarity they face, in cases of unemployment and serving at temporary

teaching statuses. Being a teacher and not being eligible for marriage is like an oxymoron for women, causing them to position themselves as marginal and as imposters. For them, therefore, education not delivering the promised benefits of profession and employment and teaching not improving prospects of good-marriages and status are source of deep status confusion and injury. For young women, since they are roughly the first generation to live the new trends fully manifesting their results, it is difficult to see the uncoupling between those terms of higher education, employment and status, as connected with structural and collective change. They often tend to blame themselves for failing to live up to the old promises of teaching for women. Unemployed or temporary status holding members of the KPSS (PPSE) generation in majority failed to attain a life independent from their families and move on to the next life courses. Hence, ES teaching once being known as a way to enter (adult) life earlier than peers causes them to get stuck in an entrapment in youth and dependency to parental family.

The critical thing is that although women have come to raise criticism against some elements of the classical gender regime of teaching at the professional front, through ceasing to discuss their prospects in career mobility by not moral but practical and professional terms in younger generations, they have maintained a rather traditional understanding about their arrangements in the private area: They accepted family work as the responsibility of solely women; accepted that teachers are at ease compared to other professional groups to balance work and family; tried to keep up with the emerging motherhood cults that openly challenging for their modest resources. This indicates that the women's preferences in younger generations may be towards further professional development and role diversification, but they are trying to realize this at the cost of increased domestic burdens. In order to be able to do that and keep the myth on their being "balancing champions" going, they have to rely on the resources of socio-economic sort, which would result in class-based distribution of teachers eventually into professional hierarchies in teaching.

Yet still, although domestic gender division of labour and ideology of domesticity, imposed and perpetuated by the gender regime of the occupation, stayed widely the

same over the generations, observable best in the experience of Faculty generation women, there emerged a trend of empowering expansion in the women's agency in marriage-related processes. This expansion has been taking place over time and hand in hand with the major social change trends of urbanization, faculty education, emergence of the urban and youth cultures, parental families turning into resources than liabilities for women. As outlined in the analysis chapters, morals of being a proper young woman have started to change in the experience of the Faculty generation from being determined by the principle of "suspension of gender identity" towards being a proper "sociable young woman"-nice and urbanite. At the professional front, as well, long lasted believes on women's proper place have started to fade away. Women are more willing and open to take, previously deemed to be morally precarious roles, in private sector and leadership roles. That is amounting to transgressing the gender boundary, denying women from the roles connected with politics and individual monetary pursuits and ordering their staying in their morally correct roles only, as schoolteachers and in classrooms. This expansion in agency of women have also reflected on the divorce experiences, as Faculty generation women's improved initiative in taking divorce decisions, early and effective compared to their older colleagues. Yet, it is also clear in the comparative analysis of the divorce experiences of the women from the Pre-faculty and the Faculty generations, women's emerging empowerment process was accompanied with a backlash of male violence at the domestic realm and of growing threats at economic securities at the professional front, becoming most clear in the KPSS (PPSE) generation. It is even more critical to keep the track of this process in the experiences of the third and youngest generation through longitudinal or generational studies. This is because, some of the social trends once contributed to empowerment of women -especially in the Faculty generation- urbanization, faculty education, professionalization initiatives in teaching and others- seem to have started to make just the opposite impact under full-blown neoliberal regulation: The number of faculties having reached a level where graduates are not considered qualified in their respected fields of study and thus have no secure access to employment and profession; urbanization projects having started to draw upon recognition of provincial Anatolian cities as metropolitan areas and thus invested,

undermining progressive urban cultures, discouraging mobility for educational and employment purposes especially for women; soaring teacher unemployment and temporary employment schemes diminishing the certainties and guaranties women's empowerment has critically fed upon. Among them, neoliberal re-regulation of the profession has started to proletarianize women teachers on mass numbers, shook the autonomy of women, destabilizing their livelihood securities. Economic securities, however, have proven to have an unrivalled empowering impact over women, in taking and implementing life choices like choosing marriage partner and time, initiative in deciding whether to take a career change or in taking divorce decisions. Hence, painstakingly important is to replace the traditional study problematic, which suggests, in overt and covert fashions, that with feminization, professions decline, with a problematique built upon the insight that neoliberal decline in public professions much more adversely impact women and their historical gains and empowerment trends and prospects for the majority.

Overall picture indicates that women have begun to attain autonomy and agency in a broader field of education, profession and marriage starting from the time of the Faculty generation, although largely avoided questioning the gender-based household role divisions and ideologies of domesticity. On the other hand, this trend has been countered by the backlash of neoliberalism and neo-conservative agenda, manifesting itself in a broad range of fields from profession (precarization) to family (male violence). Therefore, neoliberal policies are not only proletarianizing for professional groups and diminishes the prospects of upward mobility for lower classes; but they structure and feed the dynamics of backlash against women's empowerment, which had started to gain a contemporary momentum only a few decades ago in Turkey.

Changes in the gender regime of the ES teaching is critically connected with the transformations taking place in the broader gender order of the Turkish society. Women ES teacher figure as a "distinctive moral femininity" has been one of the symbols of the upwardly mobile, respectable working classes and this figure again has come to represented the chances of women from the respectable working classes

for attaining social status and professional authority. Gradual decomposition of this femininity indicates a new dynamic of social class-based polarization. Woman ES teacher figure has started to lose its distinctions, because neoliberal market integration in education has caused social and professional status segmentations between teachers and thus created decomposition in the standard social trajectories and professional statuses promised by the identity in the past. Consequent status segmentation between teachers, now, tend to overlap with social class hierarchies between teachers themselves and the families they serve in elementary schools. Such a differentiation makes it difficult to arrive at an agreement, even to have a public discussion over the norms and values of ideal teacher / woman in and through the venue of ES teaching, between the different segments of the society. Therefore, this dynamic of polarization indicates a growing vulnerability of women in the occupation against the neo-conservative attacks, wearing out the moral aura of 'service to the society without discriminating between different socio-economic and identity groups and by idealism' attached to the identity.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A. TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKÇE ÖZET

Bu çalışma, Türkiye'de ilkokul öğretmenliği mesleğine ait toplumsal cinsiyet rejiminin, farklı kuşaklardan kadınların deneyimlerinde sergilediği değişim ve süreklilikleri, yaşamöyküsü anlatılarına dayalı olarak incelemektedir. Bunu yaparken, yeni-liberal dönemin ve bu dönemde meslek ideolojileri ve devlet politikalarında gözlenen değişimin, mesleğin toplumsal cinsiyet düzenlemeleri ve kimlik kurguları üzerindeki etkilerine odaklanmaktadır. Ball'un yeni-liberal eğitim reformunun, bir bütün halinde ve bir kerede değil, aşamalı ve seçici politik dönüşüm setleri ile gerçekleştiği uyarısından hareketle, bu dönüşümün tanığı olan üç farklı kuşaktan toplam 52 kadının anlatılarını ele almaktadır. Üniversite öncesi eğitim kurumlarından öğretmen eğitimi alanlar, üniversite düzeyinde eğitim alanlar ve kamu okullarına atama için merkezi eleme sınavını geçmek zorunda olanlar olarak, üç farklı kuşağın, yeni-liberal dönüşümün farklı aşamalarına doğrudan kendi tecrübeleri ile tanıklık ettiklerinden hareketle, kuşaklar-arası karşılaştırmalı bir analiz sunulmaktadır.

Eğitimli çalışan sınıf ve alt orta sınıf ailelerin kız çocukları için, geleneksel olarak uygun gördükleri ilkokul öğretmenliği, uzunca bir dönem ulaşılabilir bir eğitim ve mesleki formasyon olagelmiştir. Bu sosyal sınıflardan kadınların, kentli meslek sahibi sınıflar arasına hareketliliğinin bir vasıtası olmuştur. Kamusal bir meslek olarak, ulus ve vatandaşlık ideolojileri ile de içi çe gelişen ilkokul öğretmenliği, bir saygın ve uygun kadınlık kurgusu içermektedir. Bu kurgu, bir dönemin idealist öğretmen kültünde, kamusal olanı özel olanın önüne alan, yüksek ahlak sahibi,

topluma yönelik ödev bilincine sahip, fedakâr ve mütevazi bir kadın tarif etmektedir.

Bununla beraber, tüm dünyada öğretmenlik, eğitim reformu girişimleri kapsamında yeniden düzenlenmektedir. Toplumcu idealist öğretmen tipi, bu kapsamda, ölçülebilir performanslara dayalı olarak hesap-verir ve bireysel profesyonel gelişim esaslarına dayalı bir meslek anlayışına sahip, yarışmacı öğretmen ile değiştirilmek istenmektedir. Bu değişim, orta sınıf aileler ve genişleyen özel eğitim piyasasının bir talebi halindedir ve teknolojik gelişme ve küresel rekabetin bir gereği olarak sunulmaktadır. Bununla beraber, periferide ve alt sosyoekonomik grupların okullarında çalışan öğretmenler için toplumcu idealist öğretmen tipi hala anlamlı bir model oluşturmaktadır. Ancak, öğretmenler özellikle dezavantajlı topluluklar tarafından kuşku ve güvensizlikle karşılanan bir meslek grubu haline gelmektedir. Bir anlamda, eğitim yolu ile sosyal hareketlilik isteyen saygın çalışan ve kırsal sınıflar ile onlara hayat şansı götüren idealist öğretmen kurgusu, kamu eğitimi yolu ile sosyal hareketlilik imkanlarının daralması ile bir kriz içerisine girmiştir. Bu sebeple, öğretmenlik mesleğine ve öğretmen kadın figürüne atfedilen statünün ve ilgili saygınlık kodlarının ne yönde değiştiği cevap bekleyen bir sorudur.

Geleneksel olarak "kadına uygun" görüşen ilkokul öğretmenliği, Türkiye'de 80lerin sonrasından itibaren bir değişim ve dönüşüm süreci içerisinde bulunmuştur. Okul sisteminin kentlileşmesi, fakülte eğitimine dayalı bir mesleki formasyona dönüşme ve yeni liberal politikalar seti, bu dönüşümün dinamiklerini oluşturmuştur. Klasik öğretmen kuşağı, fakülte öncesi öğretmenlik eğitimi ve kırsalın okul sistemindeki belirgin ağırlığı ile karakterizedir. 90lar, ilkokul öğretmenleri için fakülte eğitimi, diğer fakülte eğitimi alanların mesleğe kabulü, özel okulların yaygınlaşması ve temel eğitim sisteminde bir dizi reformu içeren, bir tür heterodoks geçiş dönemi olarak görülebilir. 2000ler sonrası, yeni-liberal sistemin, yeni muhafazakarlık eşliğinde tam anlamı ile kurumlaştırıldığı bir dönem olmuştur: Öğretmen işsizliği, güvencesizlik, eğitimde özelleştirme ve kamu okullarında sınıfsal ayrışmanın belirginleşmesi, eğitimde dinselleşme, dönemi karakterize eden ana unsurlar konumundadır.

Çalışmanın kavramsal çerçevesi, bir dizi önerme üzerine kuruludur: İlk olarak, kadın ilkokul öğretmeninin tarihsel olarak inşa edilmiş temel bir toplumsal figür ve kadınlık biçimi (distinctive femininity) olduğu ve toplum bütününe ait toplumsal cinsiyet rejimini anlamak için kilit odak noktalarından biri olduğu iddia edilmektedir. İkinci olarak, bu figürün özellikleri ve güncel dönüşümünü incelemek için, "toplumsal cinsiyet rejimi" kavramının uygun bir teorik araç sağladığı olacağı kabul edilmektedir. Son olarak, bir kadınlık normu ve kimliği olarak yaygın kullanıma ve pek çok indirgemeci klişeye konu olan kadın öğretmen figürünün, kadınların kendi anlatılarında ve mesleki alan ile sınırlı olmayacak şekilde değerlendirilmesi gerektiği savunulmaktadır.

Bu önermeler ışığında, çalışmanın amacı, temel bir kadınlık biçimi olarak kadın öğretmen figürünün tarihsel-toplumsal inşasını ve güncel Türkiye bağlamında geçirmekte olduğu dönüşümü, kadın anlatılarında ve kuşaklararası karşılaştırma yolu ile incelemektir. Araştırma sorusu ise, güncel Türkiye'de, değişen mesleki ideolojiler ve devlet politikaları ekseninde meslekte gerçekleşen yeni liberal dönüşümünün, öğretmenliğin sahip olduğu toplumsal cinsiyet rejimi üzerindeki etkileridir. Bu etkiler, farklı kuşaklardan ilkokul öğretmeni kadınların deneyimleri arasındaki süreklilik ve değişimler yolu ile izlenmektedir.

İlkokul öğretmenliği ve kadınlık arasında, sosyolojik açıdan çok boyutlu ilişkiler bulunduğu yaygın olarak benimsenen bir tezdir. Bu tezin tarihsel, güncel, mesleki ve kültürel pek çok olguya yaslandığı görülmektedir. Kadınlar, her zaman meslekte yüksek temsil oranlarına sahip olmuşlardır ve öğretmenlik, kadınların giriş hakkı elde ettikleri ilk kamusal meslektir. Öyle ki, ulusal düzeyde mesleğin tarihi ile kadınların bir kamusal yaşama katılım tarihleri iç içe geçmiştir. Bu tarihsel süreç boyunca, kadınların öğretmenlikte yer alması ve kadın öğretmen figürü, çeşitli kültürel tahayyüllere yaslanmış ve politik olarak farklı bağlamlarda destek bulmuştur. Bu politik ve kültürel işleme süreçleri nihayet, "kadınlar için ideal bir meslek olarak öğretmenlik" ve "ideal kadın temsilinin bir biçimi olarak kadın

öğretmen" kamusal anlatılarını üretmiştir. Bu durum özellikle erken dönem öğretmenlikler, yani okul öncesi ve ilkokul öğretmenlikleri için geçerlidir.

Kadınların aile içi görevleri ve annelik rolleri ile bağlantılı görülen ilkokul öğretmenliği, hem kadınların "doğal" kapasite ve meziyetlerinin gelişmesi ve incelik kazanması, hem de toplum hizmetine aktarılması için bir vasıta olarak düşünülmüştür. Ünlü eğitimci Froebel'in erken dönem öğretmenliklerini kadınlara uygun bir rol olarak tanımlarken, öğretmenliğin "bilinç kazanmış annelik" rolü (mother-made-conscious) olduğu argümanı, kritik bir anlatıya işaret etmektedir. Kadınlığın özel alandaki annelik rolünden kamusal alandaki öğretmenlik kimliğine taşınması, onun bir toplumsal bilinç ile donanmasını sağlayacaktır. Bu ideal kadınlık ve kadın vatandaş tanımı, kamusal alana çıkarak evrensel akıl ve bilince erişen erkek vatandaş formülünden önemli bir noktada farklılık göstermektedir. İdeal vatandaş olarak öğretmen kadın, kamusal alanda cinsiyetine dayalı **doğasını** kültür bağlamında bulmakta ve gerçekleştirmektedir. Okul, eğitim ve öğretmenlik ise kadın doğasının toplumsallaşmasının anahtar alanıdır; bir anlamda disipline edici bir vasıta niteliğindedir. Dolayısıyla, kadınlık ve ilkokul öğretmenliği arasında kurulan ilişki, kadınlığa ilişkin jenerik bazı özcü tahayyülleri pekiştirirken, meslek, belirli bir kadınlık tipinin idealize edilerek toplumsallaştırılmasında işlevsel bir kurum konumundadır.

Kadınların erken dönem öğretmenlikte yer almalarının idealize edilmesi, özcü bir kadın doğasına atıf içermekle beraber, öğretmen eğretilemesinde tarif edilen ideal kadın tipi, toplumlar ve tarihsel dönemler itibariyle farklıdır. Aynı şey, kadınların meslek içerisindeki temsil düzeyleri ve mesleki ve sosyal statüleri için de geçerlidir. Özellikle, ulusal eğitimin toplum ve devletin kuruluşundaki rolüne dayalı olarak temel eğitimin tarihsel ve kurumsal gelişimi, bu farklılaşmanın dinamiğini oluşturmuştur. En genel anlamda sivil toplum ve yerel toplum inisiyatiflerinin modern okulun ve ulusal eğitimin kuruluşunda belirleyici role sahip olduğu Anglosakson ülkelerde, kadınlar için öğretmenlik, 1800lerde, düşük statülü, evliliğe dayalı kadın yaşamına bir alternatif olduğundan marjinal bir statü olmuştur. Evlilik yasakları, kadınların evlendikten sonra çalışması ve öğretmenlik yapmasını

engelleyerek mesleğin kadınlar açısından bir kariyer mesleği olmasını ve kadın öğretmenlerin toplum yaşantısının aktif bir üyesi olmasının önüne geçmiştir. Bununla beraber, geleneksel hayat planının dışında kalmak isteyen kadınlara da bir kapı açmıştır.

Ulusal eğitim sisteminin devletler öncülüğünde, merkezi düzeyde ve çoğunlukla Cumhuriyetçi dönüşümler ile geliştiği ülkelerde ise, kadınların öğretmenliğe teşvik edildiği bir süreç izlenmiştir. Bu teşvik, bir bakıma kadın emeğinin düşük ücretli niteliğinin büyük ulusal eğitim kurumlarının inşasında ekonomik bir avantaja çevrilmesi isteğini ifade etmiştir. Bununla beraber, önceki rejimde çoğunlukla dinsel nitelikteki kurumsal çerçevelerde eğitim ve sosyal hizmet pozisyonları ile birlikte düşünülen kadın vatandaş nosyonunun kadın öğretmen ile değiştirilmesi de ciddi bir hedef olmuştur. Bu bağlamda, kadın öğretmen "yeni kadın" ve yeni kadınlığın kamusal yüzü konumunda bulunmuştur. Öğretmen kadının onaylanması, yeni kadın, ulusal değerlerin taşıyıcısı olarak kadın öğretmen ve ulusal kadın kahraman temalarına dayalı politik ve popüler anlatıları üretmiştir. Kısaca öğretmenlik, bir ideal kadın tipi tahayyülünü üretmekte ve yaygınlaştırmaktadır.

Ulusal eğitim sistemlerinin kurumlaşma süreçleri, kuruluşu izleyen çeşitli aşamalarda da kadınların meslekteki durumlarını ve kadın öğretmen üzerine anlatıları etkilemiştir. Zorunlu eğitime geçiş, yüksek öğretmen ihtiyacı doğurduğundan alt sınıftan ve kırsal kökenli kadınların mesleğe girişlerine imkân vermiştir. Karma eğitim, kimi Batı dışı ülkelerde ilkokul öğretmenliğinin kadınlaşmasına ivme kazandırırken kimilerinde erken bir geçiş süreci, mesleğin kadınlaşmasını sınırlamıştır. Şehir okullarının ağırlık kazanması, meslekte yeni bir kadınlaşma trendi ortaya çıkarmıştır.

Ilkokul öğretmenliğinin temsil ettiği ideal kadınlık normu, sosyal sınıf bağlamında da konumlandırılmalıdır. İlkokul öğretmenliği, her sınıftan kadının ideal mesleği değildir ve olmamıştır. Tarihsel çalışmaların işaret ettiği gibi, bu kadınlık ideali, özellikle zorunlu kitlesel eğitim dönemi başladıktan sonra, öncelikli olarak eğitimli işçi sınıf ailelerin kızları için cazip bir hayat planı olmuştur. Eğitimin yeterince

kitleselleşmediği elit eğitim dönemlerinde, kentli alt-orta sınıf ailelerin kızları öğretmenliğe yönelirken, zorunlu eğitim ve kırsal periferiye eğitim ulaştırma seferberliği, kırsal kökenli ailelerin kızlarına hitap eden bir meslek ortaya çıkarmıştır.

Bütün bu tarihsel-toplumsal değerlendirmeler göstermektedir ki, uluslar meslekte kadınların temsili, kadınlaşma tarihi, kadın öğretmen figürü üzerine kamusal anlatılar açısından farklı gelişme patikalarına sahip olmuşlardır. Ayrıca, kadın öğretmen, idealize edilen kadınlık ve kadın tipinin kurgulanması ve toplumsallaştırılmasında, bu tarihsel-toplumsal patikaların tamamında temel bir öneme sahip olagelmiştir. Dolayısı ile, Türkiye özelinde bu tarihsel patikanın özellikleri ortaya konmalıdır. Zira, kadın öğretmen temel bir kadınlık biçimi olarak tarihsel süreç içerisinde inşa edilmiştir ve geçirdiği, geçireceği dönüşümler de bu tarihsel patika arka planında düşünülmelidir.

Connell'a (1987) göre **toplumsal cinsiyet rejimi**, verili bir tarihsel-toplumsal bağlamda kurumlaşmış olan, belirli bir pratik alanını ifade eder. Bu alan ise, toplumsal cinsiyet temelinde örgütlenmiştir; bu temelde iş bölümü, norm ve kabullere sahiptir ve bunları tekrar üretir. İlkokul öğretmenliğinde de belirli devlet politikaları, meslek ideolojileri ve iş organizasyonları, cinsiyete dayalı belirli düzenlemeleri ve ideolojilere yaslanmaktadır. Yüzyıl başında, Cumhuriyetçi ideolojilerin standart bir öğretmenlik statüsü, karma eğitim ve eğitimi kırsala yayma politikaları, öğretmen talebini artırmış, öğretmen eğitimini sadeleştirmiş, vatandaşlık eğitimi kavramını öne çıkarmıştır. Bu arada, kadınları öğretmenlikte erkeklere eşitlerken, "doğal olarak" erkekleri, (kırsaldaki) "zor koşullarla mücadele etmek üzere" yöneticilik pozisyonlarına dağıtmıştır. Meslek bu çerçevede, idealizm, fedakârlık ve ilerlemecilik değerleri merkezinde bir kimlik ve ideoloji olarak gelişme göstermiştir. Bu esnada, erkekleri daha geniş bir toplumsal ve mesleki hareketliliğe yönlendirirken kadınları ulusal ve ahlaki bir ödev ile doğrudan ve sadece sınıflara göndermiştir.

Toplumsal cinsiyet rejimi kavramı, bu hali ile, öğretmenlik rolünün kadınlıkla özdeşliğine değil, mesleğin organizasyonu, icrası, temsili ve dayandığı sosyal ilişkilerde toplumsal cinsiyetin merkezi önemine işaret etmektedir. Dolayısıyla, öğretmenlik mesleği, kadınlar açısından erkeklerden farklı yaşanılan; zira, kadınların ve kadınlığın "öz" niteliklerine ve görevlerine ilişkin varsayımları (değişen koşullar altında ve bir tarihsellik içerisinde) yeniden üreten, yani cinsiyetli ve cinsiyetlendiren bir alan olarak kavranmaktadır.

Toplumsal cinsiyet düzeni ise, tüm toplum düzeyinde, makro ölçekte, kadınlar ve erkekler açısından duruma, yani cinsiyet temelli değerler ve düzenlemeler bütününe, işaret etmektedir. Kısaca, Walby'nin (ref.) ataerkinin rejimleri olarak saydığı, ücretli çalışma, cinsellik, hane-içi üretim, kültür, şiddet ve devlet alanlarındaki durumun makro planda nasıl bir toplam denge ürettiğidir. İlkokul öğretmenliği de kadınlar açısından saygın ve yaygın bir ücretli çalışma alternatifi, kültürel temsil alanı ve devlet politikasının hakimiyet sürdüğü bir toplumsal alan olarak bu düzene kendi rejimi ile çeşitli etkilerde bulunmaktadır. Bir toplumsal cinsiyet rejimi olarak hem toplumsal cinsiyet düzeninden nispeten özerktir, hem de onun oluşumu ve yeniden üretiminde pay sahibidir.

Bu çalışmada, Türkiye'de ilkokul öğretmenliğindeki güncel toplumsal cinsiyet rejiminin öğeleri, temel yeniden üretim mekanizmaları ve değişim eğilimleri nelerdir, sorusu sorulmaktadır. İlkokul öğretmenliğinin toplumsal cinsiyet rejiminin anlaşılmasında kadınlık ve meslek arasında kurulan pratik ve popüler ilişki kritik önemdedir. Bu sebeple, araştırmanın araştırdığı başlıca sorulardan biri, öğretmenliğin "kadınlar için ideal bir meslek olması" kurgusunun kadınlar açısından hangi yansımalara sahip olduğu, nasıl müzakere edildiği, tam olarak ne ifade ettiği, nasıl yeniden üretildiği ve kuşaklararası perspektiften ne gibi kırılmalar ve anlam kaymaları yaşadığıdır.

Analiz bölümlerinde işaret edildiği gibi, öğretmenlik salt mesleki alan pratik ve yaşantısı içerisinde kurulan bir toplumsal cinsiyet rejimi değildir. Bunun yerine kadın ilkokul öğretmeninin, uygun kadınlık normlarını karşılamak için, toplumsal

ve aile yaşantısı düzeyinde bazı düzenlemeler ve beklentilerle bağlı olduğu anlaşılmaktadır. Bu sebeple bu çalışma, mesleğe ait toplumsal cinsiyet rejimini profesyonel yaşantı çerçevesi ile sınırlamamıştır.

Böylece, kadın ilkokul öğretmeni figürünü tarihsel, toplumsal, sınıfsal bakımdan sosyolojik bağlamı içerisine yerleştirdikten ve analitik olarak da ilkokul öğretmenliğine ait toplumsal cinsiyet rejimini tüm bir patriarkal toplum sistemi ile ilişkisi içerisinde konumlandırdıktan sonra Türkiye bağlamına doğru hareket etmek artık mümkündür. Bunu yapabilmek için ilk olarak tarihsel arka plana bakmak gereklidir. Türkiye'de ilkokul eğitimi ve öğretmenliğinin çağdaşları ile hangi benzerlik ve farklılıklar içerisinde geliştiğini anlamak, bugünkü yeni-liberal dönüşüm girişimlerini doğru yorumlamak bakımından elzemdir.

Türkiye'de ilkokul eğitimi bugün bildiğimiz hali ile Cumhuriyetin kuruluşu ile başlayan bir projedir. Bu bakımdan, diğer Cumhuriyetçi kuruluş modellerine oldukça yakın özellikler sergilemektedir. Okul sistemi merkezi, devlet yönetiminde ve standartlaştırılmış bir sistem olarak kurulmuştur. Kırsal nüfusun yoğunluğu ve ideolojik kuruluş kaygıları nedeniyle, okulların ve okullaşmanın periferiye yaygınlaştırılması uzun süre temel politik sorunlardan biri olmuştur. Oldukça erken bir tarihte karma eğitime geçilmiştir. Öğretmen eğitimi, standart fakülte-öncesi kurumlarda sağlanmış, zamanla yatılılık ve coğrafi yaygınlık ile okullara talep artmış ve kırsal nüfusun eğitim ve istihdama girişinde ilkokul öğretmenliği kritik bir vasıta haline gelmiştir. Eğitimin, bazı başka kurumlarla birlikte, ulusal kimlik ve kültürün yaygınlaştırılması, toplumsal bütünlüğün sağlanması açısından temel bir kurum olduğu kabul edilmiştir. Bu kabulden hareketle de eğitim, dil-alfabe, müfredat, öğretim, okul düzeni ve öğretmenler düzeyinde derinlemesine ideolojik yüklemlere sahip olmuştur, ideolojik düzenleme konusu edilmiştir.

Öğretmenlik zorunlu eğitim öncesinde eğitimin ikili karakterine uygun şekilde çok yoksul kadınlar ile orta sınıftan kadınların, ilki kamu okulları ya da evlerinde ikincisi elit okullarda eğitim vermek üzere seçtikleri bir meslek olmuştur. Zorunlu eğitim sisteminin kabulü ve eğitimin devlet tarafından sunulan bir kamusal hizmet

niteliği kazanmasından sonrasında, öğretmenlik kadınlar için ilk kamusal meslek olma niteliğine sahip olmuştur. Yine bu aşamadan sonra, dünya deneyimine benzer şekilde, öğretmenler, çok yoksul ya da orta sınıf değil, eğitimli (veya kamu sektöründe çalışan) işçi sınıflarının çocukları olmuştur. Cumhuriyetin ilk yıllarında kadın öğretmen, popüler kültür ve politik anlatılarda, Batılı kentli kadın ve köylü cahil kadını ulusal bir sentez ile aşan "yeni kadın" tipinin bir örneği olarak sıklıkla övülmüştür. İdealist, görev bilinci ile donanmış, mütevazi, ahlaklı ve zorluklar karşısında dirençli olması temelinde ideal kadın vatandaş ve ideal eş olarak görülmüştür. Bununla beraber, karma eğitimin, diğer Batı dışı ülkelere nazaran erken kabulü, kadınların meslekte hızla çoğalması ve okullardaki idari kademelerde rol almasına engel olmuştur.

Kadın öğretmen yetiştirmeye yönelik çabalar çok eskilere gitmektedir. Ancak öğretmen yetiştiren kurumlar, uzun zaman kimsesiz, yoksul kız çocuklarına barınma hizmeti verilmesi ve sanayiye işgücü sağlanması gibi yan amaçlarla iç içe bir misyon taşımışlardır. Kır ve kente öğretmen yetiştiren kurumların ayrı olduğu sürelerde kadın öğretmenler (1927-1954), kent ilkokullarında ve hatta ileri kademe okullarda yoğunlaşmışlardır. Bu durum, kadınların kırsalda görev almaya ilişkin olumsuz tutumundan ve kırsal kökenli ailelerin kız çocuklarını öğretmen okullarına göndermeye direncinden kaynaklanmıştır. Ayrıca, ilkokul öğretmenliği, kısa süreli, düşük maliyetli eğitimi ve memuriyet garantisi nedeniyle kırsal kökenli erkekler tarafından yoğun talep görmüştür. Bu tablo, ilkokul öğretmenliğinin Türkiye'de çağdaşlarına oranla daha az kadınlaşması ve daha üst kademe öğretmenliklerde ise, kentte icra edilmeleri nedeniyle göreli olarak kadın oranının yüksek olmasına yol açmıştır. Dikkat çeken diğer bir nokta, 1954'te kent ve köy öğretmenlik eğitimlerinin aynı kurumlarda verilmeye başlanması ve kırda zorunlu hizmet sistemi ile kadın öğretmen oranında yaşanan düşüştür. Bu gelişmeyi de kadınların kırda görev yapmaktan kaçınması ve/ya kırsal ailelerin kız çocukları için öğretmenlik eğitimine olumlu bakmaması ile ilişkilendirmek gereklidir.

70lerde Türkiye'deki hareketli politik ortam ve öğretmen kimliğinin hızla politikleşmesi, öğretmen yetiştiren kurumların değiştirilmesi yönünde bir irade

ortaya çıkarmıştır. 1974'de Eğitim Enstitüleri, 1989'da Eğitim Yüksekokulları ile yüksek eğitim düzeyine taşınan öğretmen eğitimi 1992'de ilk eğitim fakültelerinin kuruluşu ile lisans düzeyi bir formasyon halini almıştır. Bu ayrıca, öğretmenlerin ciddi politik baskı altında oldukları ve sık sık idari yaptırımlarla özerkliklerinin sınırlandığı, kitlesel olarak soruşturma ve işten çıkarmaların yaşandığı bir dönemdir.

Tüm bu tarihsel süreç içerisinde öğretmen kimliği, halka yakın bir entelektüel ve bir idealist olarak şekillenmiştir. Cumhuriyetin ilk yıllarından köy enstitülerinin kapatıldığı 1950ler ortalarına kadar devletin de ortaklığı ile üretilen (köy) öğretmen(i) miti, bu tarihten sonra, özellikle ilkokul ve özellikle köy enstitüsü mezunu öğretmenler ve onların sosyal hareketleri tarafından yeniden üretilmeye devam etmiştir. Öğretmenin sosyal ve politik görevleri, zorluklarla başa çıkmada idealist dirayet gibi özellikler erkek ve kadın öğretmenlerde maskülen değerleri (bir erkek kahraman olarak köy öğretmeni mitini) ön plana çıkarmıştır. Bu durum, Cumhuriyetin başından itibaren desteklediği toplumsal cinsiyet ahlakı ile de uyum içindedir: Kamusal alana çıkan kadının, topluma yönelik görevlerinden öte bireysel olarak temsil edilmemesi, cinselliği olmayan ve erkeksi bir figür olması ve bu sayede ulusun ve kendisinin ahlakını koruması elzemdir. Yine tüm bu dönem boyunca, ilkokul öğretmenliğinin kadın ve erkeklerin yakın oranlarda temsil edildikleri, cinsiyet dengeli bir meslek olduğunu görürüz. Ancak, kadınlar sınıflarda iken, erkekler eğitimdeki hemen tüm idari ve bürokratik pozisyonları tekellerine almışlardır. Kadınların öğretmenlik dışında roller alabilmeleri, ancak öğretmenlikte fakülte eğitimi ile bu alanda akademik kadroların ortaya çıkması ve kent okullarının ağırlık kazanarak kırdaki erkekleşmiş idare geleneğini değiştirmesi ile ve yine ancak sınırlı oranlarda gerçekleşebilecektir.

1980 sonrası yakın geçmişteki dönemde ilkokul öğretmenliği mesleğinin koşullarında radikal değişiklikler ortaya çıkaran gelişmeler olmuştur. Öncelikle, 1974 yılında Eğitim Enstitülerinin açılmasından sonra 1982 yılında Eğitim Yüksek Okulları ile öğretmen eğitimi yüksek eğitim seviyesinde yeniden örgütlenmiş ve aynı yıl, bu okullar Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı yerine Yüksek Öğretim Kurulu'nun yönetimine devredilmiştir. 1989 yılındaki YÖK kararı ile ilkokul öğretmenliği dahil

öğretmenliklerin fakülte düzeyinde eğitime dayanması esası kabul edilmiş ve 1992'de eğitim fakülteleri açılmaya başlanmıştır. Bu fakültelerin müfredatları eğitim bilimleri derslerinin yetersiz yer alması ve YÖK tarafından standartlaştırılması nedeniyle eleştirilmiştir. 1992 yılında süresi uzayan öğretmen eğitiminin doğurduğu öğretmen açığının diğer fakülte / bölüm mezunlarının mesleğe kabulü ile kapatılmasına başlanmıştır. 1997'de, 8 senelik kesintisiz zorunlu temel eğitim modeli benimsenmiştir. 1997 yılından başlayan 28 Şubat askeri vesayet sürecinde çok sayıda İslamcı hareket ile bağlantılı sayılan öğretmen istifaya zorlanmış ve meslekten çıkarılmıştır. Bunların önemli bir kısmı, başörtüsü yasağı ile öğretmenliği terk eden kadın öğretmenlerdir.

1998 yılında Dünya Bankası ve MEB eğitim reformu için ortak program (Türk Eğitim Sisteminin Reformu ve Öğretmen Yeterlilikleri Çerçevesinin Geliştirilmesi) başlatmıştır. 1999 yılında taşımalı eğitim sistemi ile az öğrenciye sahip okulların şehir okulları ile birleştirilmesi ve okullarda çalışacak öğretmen sayısını standartlaştıran norm kadro uygulaması ile öğretmen ihtiyacı sınırlanmıştır. 2000 yılında öğretmen atamaları KPSS sınavı ile yapılmaya başlanmıştır. Sözleşmeli ve ücretli öğretmenlik pozisyonlarının oluşması ile devlet okullarında öğretmenlik standart bir istihdam statüsüne sahip olmaktan çıkmıştır. 2009 yılında YÖK, pedagojik formasyon programlarının açılması konusunda üniversitelere izin vererek diğer fakülte / bölüm mezunlarının öğretmenlik yapabilmesi politikasının devam edeceğinin işaretini vermiştir. Aynı tarihte, eğitim fakültelerinin seçmeli derslere sahip olması mümkün hale getirilmiştir. 2012 yılında 4+4+4 temel eğitim sistemine geçilmesi ile ilkokul eğitimi 5 yıldan 4 yıla inmiş ve sınıf öğretmenlerinin önemli bir kısmı "norm kadro fazlası" olmuştur. 2015 yılındaki darbe girişimi ardından, başta öğretmenler olmak üzere çok sayıda memur, terör destekçiliği şüphesi ile, görevden atılmış ya da uzaklaştırılmıştır.

Farklı kuşaklardan kadınların, ilkokul öğretmenliğine bir hayat planı olarak nasıl yaklaştıkları, ilk analiz bölümünde incelenmiştir. Öğretmen olma (becoming a teacher) anlatıları mercek altına alınmıştır. Bu inceleme yolu ile öğretmenliğin kadınlar için kuşaklar boyunca ifade ettiği sosyal statüye yönelik bir değerlendirme

yapılmıştır. Bu kapsamda ulaşılan en temel bulgu, genç kuşaklara yaklaşıldıkça ilkokul öğretmenliğinin kadınlara sağladığı sosyal hareketliliğin zayıflaması ile birlikte öğretmen kimliği ve öğretmen olarak yetişmenin bir zamanlar sahip olduğu kamusal tahayyül ve etiğin yerini bireyselleşmeye bırakmasıdır.

Fakülte öncesi kuşaktan kadınlar, öğretmen olma hikayelerini önceki nesillerden devraldıkları bir kamusal anlatı dahilinde sunmuşlardır: Kırsalda doğan, eğitimli bir işçi sınıfı ailesinin kızı, ailesinin olumlu tutumu ve kendisinin eğitime dönüklüğü sayesinde taşradan çıkar ve eğitim görmüş kentli sınıflar arasında katılır. Bu hikâyede, bir çocuk ve sonra da genç bir kadın olarak taşrada büyüyen kadının cinsiyet kimliğinin askıya alınması ve bu sayede kadın dünyası ve geleneksel kadın hayat planından uzaklaşarak eğitim dünyasına girişi kritik önemdedir. Cinsiyet kimliğinin ötelenmesi, kadınlar için sosyal hareketliliğin koşuludur ve ahlaki bir ilke ve yaşam düsturu konumundadır.

Fakülte kuşağı, bambaşka bir öğretmen olma anlatısına sahiptir. Bu anlatıda kentte ve üniversite düzeyinde eğitim almanın profesyonel meslekler ile özdeşleştirildiği ve öğretmenliğin, özellikle ilkokul öğretmenliğinin, akademik ve entelektüel eğitim nosyonu ile bağdaştırılmadığı görülmektedir. Bu sebeple, sınıf öğretmenliği bölümü mezunu olan kadınlar, "eğitimde başarı" anlatılarına sahip değildir. Bunun yerine, üniversiteye giriş sınavlarında başarısızlıkları, kararsızlık ve hatalarının onları öğretmenlik bölümüne yönlendirdiğini söylerler. Başarım anlatılarının yerini belirsizlik anlatıları almıştır. Üniversite sınavı, eğitimi bireysel başarı ile değerlendirmenin bir vasıtası olarak belirdiğinden, artık eğitim hikayesi ile aile ve çocukluk anlatılarının ilişkisi kalmamıştır; hikayedeki sosyal boyut yitmiştir.

90larda ilkokul öğretmenliğine kabul edilen diğer fakülte / bölüm mezunlarının hikayeleri ise, eğer profesyonel meslekler alanında ya da bilimsel disiplinlerde eğitim görmüş iseler, bireysel bir gurur ifade etmektedir. Bu gurur, hem "fakülte düzeyinde eğitimi hak eden bir disiplinde" eğitim almalarından, hem de geleneksel kadın mesleklerine yönelmemiş olmaktan ileri gelmektedir. İlerleyen yıllarda bu kadınların, mesleği "kadına uygun" bularak öğretmenliğe girdiklerini anlatmaları,

bir çelişki gibi görünmektedir. Ancak, eğitimde geleneksel normların dışına çıkmak isteyen ve erkeksi bir karakter gibi davranmaya dayalı bir statü anlatısı kuran kadın için, meslek seçiminde farklı bir bağlam söz konusudur. Evlilik ve annelik yolunda oldukları bir yaşam döneminde, öğretmenlik pozitif anlamda kadına uygundur ve akıllıca bir seçimdir. Bu grup kadının hikayesi, açıkça işaret etmektedir ki, kadınlar eğitim hayatında ve iş hayatında kadınlıkla farklı şekilde ilişkilenmekte ve farklı seçimler yapmaktadırlar. Eğitim yaşamında erkeksi davranış ve seçimlerini gururla anlatan kadınlar için evlilikten sonra geleneksel olarak kadınlaşmış bir alanda çalışmak olumludur. Bu sebeple, kadınlar eğitim hayatındaki başarılarını ancak sınırlı şekilde iş hayatına yasıtabilmektedirler. Evlilik hayatının kadınlara yüklediği rollere de bu anlamda eleştirel yaklaşmamaktadırlar.

KPSS kuşağı, üniversite eğitiminden sonra elemeye dayalı kamu personeli seçme sınavında başarılı olarak atamaya hak kazanmak zorundadır. Bu kuşaktan kadınların hikayelerinde de ilkokul öğretmenliği eğitiminin statüsü tartışmalıdır. Genel olarak bu eğitimin statüsünü düşük bulmakla beraber, eğitim fakültelerinin kendi dönemlerinde hayli yükselmiş olan üniversite giriş puanları, özellikle merkez üniversitelerde kadınların eğitim hikayesine bir başarı unsuru da eklemektedir. Ancak, bu kuşaktaki kadınların öğretmen olma (becoming a teacher) anlatılarında hikayenin genel motifini belirleyen, eğitim hayatlarından çok, sonradan atama hakkı kazanıp kazanamadıklarıdır. Sürekli statüde atama kazanamayan kadınlar için, üniversite eğitimi almış ve öğretmenliğe hak kazanmış olduğu halde meslek yaşantısına girememek, işsizlik ve belirsiz statülerde çalışmak önceki kuşaklarda görmedikleri ilk deneyimlerdir ve kendi durumlarını toplumsal kavramlarla çözümlemekte zorluk çekmektedirler. Bireysel başarısızlık ve belirsizlik (ambiguity) temaları hikayelerinde yer tutar.

Bütün bu kuşak anlatılarında, Fakülte kuşağında diğer fakülte / bölüm mezunları ile üçüncü kuşak atanmış öğretmenlerin "geleneksel öğretmen tipine" dönük eleştiride bulundukları görülmektedir. Bu kadınlar, kariyer planlarında standart öğretmen meslek yaşantısı ve kariyer planı yerine, bireysel arayışları ön plana çıkarmaya çalışırlar. Bu durum, profesyonel yaşantıda geleneksel cinsiyete dayalı

düzenlemelerin, yani mesleğin toplumsal cinsiyet rejiminin değişimine katkıda bulunacaktır.

Bir bütün halinde bakıldığında, bir kadın olarak öğretmen olma hikayesinin kamusal ve toplumsal karakterinin Fakülte kuşağı ve KPSS kuşağında büyük ölçüde ortadan kalktığı görülmektedir. Öğretmenliğin sağladığı sosyal hareketliliğin zayıflaması, ahlaki gelişim yerine üniversite sınavı gibi bireysel performans kriterlerinin eğitim ve mesleğe girişte öne çıkması, anlatılardaki ortak ve kamusal temaların yitmesi ve belirsizlik motifinin öne çıkmasına yol açmıştır. Öğretmenlik eğitimi ve statü arasında kurulan kategorik ilişki yok olmuştur.

Genel varsayımlardan farklı olarak Fakülte öncesi ve Fakülte kuşağından kadınlar, çocukluk ve gençliklerinde kendilerini erkeksi (tomboyish) karakterler olarak anlatmışlardır. Dolayısıyla, kadınsı karakter ve gelişim hikayesinin öğretmenliğe yönlenmeyi getirdiği yönündeki genel inanışlar geçersizdir. Aksine, eğitim ve statüye ulaşmada kadınlığın ötelenmesi esastır. Bununla birlikte üniversite eğitimi, ötelenen ve askıya alınan kadınlık kimliğinin sosyalleştirilmesine dönük bir eğilimi ortaya çıkarmıştır. Kadınlığın inkârı ve görünmezleştirilmesi yerine, belirli ahlaki normlar çerçevesinde sosyal yaşantıya aktarılması ideal hal kabul edilmektedir.

Kadınların öğretmenlik yaşamına ilişkin anlatıları ikinci analiz bölümünde incelenmiştir. Meslekteki toplumsal cinsiyet rejiminin, kadın ve erkekler arasında iş bölümü, cinsiyetlendirilmiş görevler, farklılaşan kariyer planları ve cinsiyete dayalı varsayımlar itibariyle temel ögeleri ortaya koyulmuştur. Kuşaklar arasında bu unsurlarda ne tür değişim ve devamlılıkların izlendiği aktarılmıştır. Kadınların anlatılarında tespit edilen belli başlı temalar şunlardır: Görüşmeciler, öğretmenliğin bir rol ve beceri olarak, cinsiyet-nötr olduğunu ve iki cinsiyetten öğretmen için de benzer yaşandığını ifade etmektedirler. Kadınlar da erkekler de öğretmenlikte benzer yeterlilik ve deneyimlere sahiptirler. Bu bir toplumsal cinsiyet ideolojisi olarak farklı kuşaklardan tüm kadınların paylaştığı bir kanıdır. Bununla beraber kadınlar, öğretmenlik yaşantılarına ilişkin somut anlatımlarında, kadın öğretmenlerden beklentinin erkeklere göre çok yüksek ve farklı olduğunu ifade

etmişlerdir. Buna göre, bir kadın ve anne (namzeti) olarak kadın öğretmen hem öğrencilerine hem okul idaresi ve meslektaşlarına hem de ebeveynlere karşı daha empatik, şefkatli, sezgili ve ilgili olmalıdır. İlişkisel görevleri, veliler ile müfredat dışı etkinlikler, sosyal projeler ..vb. kadın öğretmenlerin üstlenmesi istenmektedir. Bir yandan kadınlar, ebeveynlerin kadın öğretmen seçimlerinin doğrudan daha kolay hesap soracaklarına inanmaları olduğunu da ifade etmektedirler. Buna ek olarak, öğretmenliğin ev-aile yaşamı dengesini sağlamada kadınlar için avantajlı bir meslek olduğu miti çok kuvvetlidir. Kadınlar bu sebeple, çocuk bakımında anneanne desteği gibi enformel yardımlardan da yararlanamadıklarını söylemiştir. Erkek öğretmenler ise aile ile ilgili olarak "ayrıcalıklı sorumsuzluk" ilkesine tabidirler. Öğretmenliğin ataerkil normları yeniden üretmesinin bir diğer görünümü, düşük öğretmen ücretlerinin "ev geçindirmek zorunda olan" erkek öğretmenler için dramatik bir dezavantaj olduğu geniş bir anlatım bulurken kadınların iş yaşamı dışında ev işlerini üstlenmek zorunda olmasının, "öğretmen olarak bu konuda şanslı oldukları" anlatısı içerisinde düzenlenmesidir. Öğretmen ücretlerinin düşüklüğü, yalnızca erkek öğretmenler bağlamında gündeme gelmektedir. Kadınlar için ise, "öğretmen olarak ev-merkezli olduklarından" işlerini ihmal edebilecekleri şüphesi dile getirilmektedir. Bu sebeple kadınlar, izin almamak gibi yöntemlerle karşılaşabilecekleri bu hazır yargıdan kaçınmaya çalıştıklarını ifade etmişlerdir. Ev işlerini kadının üstlenmesini ve kadınlar için düşük ücreti doğallaştıran öğretmenlik, diğer yandan kadınların profesyonel performans, emek ve bağlılıklarını şüpheli hale getirmektedir. Bu anlatılar, idealizm ve profesyonellik yönlerinden kadınları dezavantajlı bir konuma yerleştirmektedir.

Tüm bu temalar, üç kuşaktan kadınların anlatılarında benzer şekilde ortaya çıkmışlardır. Ancak mesleğin sahip olduğu ve sosyalleştirdiği toplumsal cinsiyet ideolojisindeki devamlılığa rağmen genç kuşakların anlatılarında mesleğin toplumsal cinsiyet rejiminde temel bir değişim eğiliminin belirdiği görülmektedir. Fakülte-öncesi kuşaktan kadınlar, okullardaki idareci pozisyonlarını kendilerine uygun bulmadıklarını ifade etmişlerdir. Öte yandan, erkeklerin yönettiği ve kadınların öğrettiği temel cinsiyete dayalı iş bölümüne hizmet eden bu tavrı gerekçelendirirken, beklendiği gibi, ev-iş dengesini sağlamak üzere tam zamanlı

çalışan ve stresli idarecilik pozisyonlarından kaçındıklarını ifade etmekle yetinmemişlerdir. Okul yönetimi işi ve yönetici profilini, erkek, profesyonel veya entelektüel nitelikli olmayan, parasal işlerle uğraşan, politik ilişkilere angaje olmuş ve alt-sınıf özelliklerini taşır olarak resmetmişlerdir. Buna göre, bir kadın ve bir öğretmen olarak, ahlaken ve statü kaygıları nedeniyle bu pozisyonlarda görev üstlenmemeyi tercih etmektedirler. Bu anlatı, ilkokul öğretmenliğinde cinsiyete dayalı yönetici-öğretmen ayrışmasının bu kuşakta bir "kadın saygınlığı" (female respectability) anlayışına yaslandığı açığa çıkarmaktadır. Bu esnada tarif edilen okul, periferide bir okul, yönetim profesyonel ilkelerden uzak ve veliler okulu profesyonelleşmeye zorlayamayacak şekilde ilgisiz ve eğitimsiz olarak tarif edilmiştir. Bu da göstermektedir ki, bu kuşakta öğretmen idealizmi kurgusu cinsiyetli bir kavramdır ve kadınların özel sektör, idari pozisyonlar ve hatta üst eğitim kademelerindeki öğretmenlik pozisyonlarına ilerlemelerini olumsuzlamaktadır. Aynı öğretmen idealizmi diskuru, erkek öğretmenlerin kariyer hareketliliklerini, "ev geçindirecekleri için" **normal** ve kamusal misyonları sınıf içi görevlerinin ötesinde olduğundan **olumlu** bulmaktadır.

Fakülte kuşağı ve KPSS kuşağına gelindiğinde ise, meslekte kadın saygınlığı üzerine bu ahlaksal normun çözülmeye başladığı görülmektedir. Bunun çeşitli sebepleri bulunmaktadır. En görünür olanları, genç kuşakta üniversite eğitimi alan kadınların kariyer motivasyon ve algılarının daha kuvvetli olması, kentleşen okul sisteminin kırdaki alt-sınıf erkek yönetim modelini zayıflatması, idealizm üzerine kurulu meslek ideolojisinin zemin kaybetmesi olarak sıralanabilir. Bunlara, eğitim fakültelerinde akademik kariyer yapmakta olan kadınların mesleğe ait zihinsel otorite şemasında ve mesleki hareketlilik imkanlarında bir değişim yaratması da eklenebilir. Sonuç olarak, genç kuşaktan kadınlarda, en belirgin ilk örnekleri Fakülte kuşağında diğer fakülte / bölüm mezunu olan kadınlar olmak üzere, kadınların kamu okullarının sınıfları dışına çıkmasını etik bulmayan anlayış kaybolmuştur. Kadınlar idarecilik, özel sektör ve üst kademe öğretmenlik pozisyonlarına açık ve olumlu bakmaya başlamışlardır. Zira, ahlaksal terimler veya etik mülahazalar yerine bireysel değerlendirme ve pragmatik bir yönlenme içine girmişler ve mesleğin eski kadın saygınlığı kodu kırılmıştır. Öğretmenlik ikinci

kuşaktan itibaren yeterli kaynak ve motivasyona sahip kadınların gelişen bir kariyer süreci içerisinde kurgulamasına uygun bir meslek haline gelmiştir.

Etraflıca incelendiğinde, 90larda mesleğe giren Fakülte kuşağından kadınların, yeni liberal dönüşüm sürecinin erken aşamalarında meslek yaşantılarını oturttuklarını ve onlar için birçok anlamda dönüşümün pozitif etkileri olduğu söylenebilir. Öğretmenlik işinin kent okulları bağlamında, ebeveynlere ve yönetime hesap vermeye dayalı bir yönetsel profesyonellik anlayışı doğrultusunda değişmeye başlaması, temel eğitim reformlarının etkisi, genişleyen özel sektör, farklı eğitim formasyonlarından gelenlerin öğretmenliğe katılması, eskinin sorgulanmasını kolaylaştırmıştır. Mesleğe toplumsal cinsiyet ayrışmaları getiren toplumsal cinsiyet rejiminin kimi unsurları bu kuşakta aşınmıştır.

KPSS kuşağında, meslekte toplumsal cinsiyete dayalı normların aşınması, yeni bir dizi gelişme ile ve bunlarca çerçevelendirilmiş olarak sürmüştür. Önceki dönemin kararsız reform girişimleri, yeni liberal politik tercihler ile kararlı bir hatta oturtulmuştur. Bu noktada, izleyen dönemin yeni-liberal profesyonellik yitimi eğiliminin koşullarının öğretmenler açısından ikinci kuşakta, 90lar döneminde hazırlanmış olduğu ifade edilmelidir. Çok sayıda eğitim fakültesi ve dışarıdan atama ile öğretmen işsizliğinin temelinin atılması, idari soruşturma ve kovuşturmalar, başörtüsü yasaklarına dayalı meslekten çıkarmalar ile öğretmenlerin mesleki güçlerinin kırılması, diğer fakülte ve bölüm mezunlarının mesleğe kabulünün sürdürülmesi, eğitim fakültelerinin otonomileri bulunmayan kurumlar olarak dizaynı gibi faktörler, Fakülte eğitimi, eğitimde kentleşme ve 8 yıllık kesintisiz temel eğitim gibi reform girişimlerine rağmen öğretmenlerin mesleki güçlerini zayıflatmıştır. 90lar boyunca yönetimde bulunan AKP-öncesi hükümetler ve post modern darbe olarak isimlendirilen 28 Şubat sürecinin otoriter atmosferi, öğretmenin sosyal ve profesyonel gelişimi yerine eğitimde yukarıdan aşağı reform girişimlerinin son dönemidir ve izleyen dönemde eğitimde ve öğretmenlik mesleğinde yeni-liberalizmin ve muhafazakarlığın kurumlaşmasına imkân yaratmıştır.

KPSS kuşağı döneminde, öğretmen işsizliği, geçici statülü güvencesiz öğretmenlik pozisyonları, öğretmeni okul yönetimi ve veli karşısında savunmasız bırakan öğretmen performans sistemlerinin geliştirilmeye başlaması, farklılaşan okul kalitelerinin öğretmen "başarımını" farklılaştırması ve dolayısıyla geçici statülü ve periferide çalışan öğretmenler için düşük "başarımın" (ki öğrencilerin sınav performansları ile ölçülmektedir) bir döngü ve süreklilik haline gelmesine yol açması, bu dönemin öğretmenler için sunduğu koşulların belli başlı yeni ögeleri olmuştur. Öğretmenler arasında sınıfsal temelli bir tabakalaşma ortaya çıkmıştır. Bu sürecin temel dinamiklerini, okullar arasında eğitim kalitesinde artan farklılaşma ve üniversiteye giriş ve mesleğe atanmada karşı karşıya olunan merkezi eleme sınavları oluşturmuştur. Gerekli kaynaklara sahip olmayan kesim, sınavlara hazırlık için okul ve okul dışı kurumlardan yeterince yararlanamamış ve ikinci bir sene, bir kez daha sınavlara girme lüksüne sahip olmamıştır. Yine veliler ve sponsor çevre ile olumlu ilişkilerin önem kazandığı yeni öğretmenlik pratiğinde, gerekli sosyal sermayeye sahip olmayan öğretmenlerin göreli bir dezavantaj yaşadıkları görülmüştür.

Genç kuşak anlatılarında, "sınıfsal eşitsizlikler karşısında adalet ve eşitliği temsil etmek üzere" öğretmenlerin sınıfsal gösterenler açısından "mütevazi" bir stil, yaşam ve görünüme sahip olması gerektiği yönündeki pedagojik yaklaşımın, meslek ideolojisinde gerileme yaşadığı görülmektedir. İdealizm, iletişim ve pedagojide otoriter stil, mütevazilik, kariyer yerine sosyal hedefler çerçevesinde güdülenmeye dayalı öğretmenlik meslek ideolojisi, her ne kadar, dezavantajlı sosyal kesimler ve bölgelerde hala öğretmenler açısından anlamlı ise ve hatta idealist öğretmenin geri çağırılmasına dayalı nostaljik milliyetçi devlet söylemlerine sık sık konu oluyorsa da, devlet okullarında çalışan öğretmenlerin çoğunun son durak görev yerleri olarak gördükleri kentteki orta sınıf mahalle okullarında koşullar farklıdır. Ayrıca öğretmen idealizmi, artık alt sınıflarda da alıcısı fazla olmayan bir nosyona dönüşmüştür. Kentte, profesyonel okul idareleri, bilinçli ebeveynler, etkin bir sponsor çevre ve rekabetçi eğitim piyasası ile yüksek bütünleşme içerisindeki okullarda öğretmenlerden yeni profesyonellik, yani yönetsel profesyonellik talep edilmektedir. Bir anlamda, merkez kent okulunun profesyonel öğretmeni karşısında

kırsal ve taşranın idealist öğretmeni kaybolmamakta, ancak mesleki ve ideolojik olarak statü yitimine uğramaktadır.

Ortaya çıkan tablonun işaret ettiği, KPSS kuşağına ulaşıldığında popüler ideal öğretmen fikrinin, veli ve idareye hesap verme ve dar tanımlanmış kurumsal hedeflerle sınırlı olma (öğrencilerin merkezi sınav başarısı) anlamında yönetsel profesyonellik denen modele hızla yaklaştığı ve öğretmenin geleneksel otonomi ve otoritesinden büyük kayıp yaşadığıdır. Bu tabloda, cinsiyetçi bir kadın saygınlığı kodunu içeren ve idealizme dayanan eski meslek ideolojisi, kadınların hareket alanlarını genişletecek şekilde aşınmıştır. Kısacası, kadınların kariyer motivasyonu ile kamu ilkokul sınıflarından çıkarak idari, özel sektör ve branş öğretmenliği gibi alanlara hareketlilikleri ahlaki olarak sorunlu olmaktan çıkmıştır. Meslekte son dönemde yaşanan kadınlaşmanın, güvencesiz hale gelen meslekten erkeklerin çıkışı kadar, bu alan genişlemesine dayalı olduğu iddia edilebilir. Gerçekten özel sektördeki kadın öğretmen oranı kamu sektöründen çok daha hızlı gelişmiştir. Akademik pozisyonlarda eğitim fakültelerinde kadınların ağırlığı çok yüksektir. Daha fazla sayıda kadın okul yöneticisi vardır. Öte yandan, meslekte başarım ve kariyer hareketliliği, öğretmenler içinde, artan şekilde bireysel kaynaklara bağlı hale gelmiştir. Öğretmenler, atama güçlükleri ve performans değerlendirme sistemleri gibi bir dizi ölçüme tabi tutulurken profesyonel gelişimleri için eşit şekilde erişilebilir kamusal programlar ve kaynaklar sağlanmamıştır. Dolayısıyla, öğretmenler için farklılaşmış, sınıfsal temelde eşitsizlik sergileyen profesyonel olanaklar söz konusudur. Bu tablo, makro planda "eğitim reformunun" öğretmen politikası tercihlerini ortaya sermektedir. Değinilmesi gereken son nokta, velilerle öğretmenler arasında artan diyalog ve ilişkiler kadın öğretmenlerin yüklerini artırır ve hem anne hem de öğretmen pozisyonlarında kadınların okul sistemine katkılarını yoğunlaştırırken öğretmenliğe ait bir dizi yeterliliğin kadın becerilerini esas almasına yol açtığıdır. Genç kuşaklardan kariyer hedefleri olan kadın öğretmenler için bu ayrıca bir avantaj sağlamıştır.

Öğretmenlerin aile yaşantılarında mesleğe ait toplumsal cinsiyet rejiminin sonuçlarının ne olduğu ve kuşaklar arasında nasıl değiştiği üçüncü ve son analiz

bölümünde tartışılmıştır. Öğretmenlik, aile işlerini de üstlenmeye elveren çalışma saatleri ve çalışma takvimi, ayrıca işin "kadınca becerilere dayanması ve bunları geliştirmesi" nedeniyle, "kadınlar için ideal" bir meslek olarak görülmüştür. Bu algının diğer yüzü, öğretmen kadınların ideal eşler ve anneler olarak görülmesidir. "Yarı ev kadını" imajı, kadın öğretmenlerin evlilik ve annelik için uygun görülmesinin temelini oluşturmuştur. Ancak daha genç kuşaklarda güvencesiz statüler ile çalışan kadın öğretmenlerin evlilik teklifleri açısından aynı ilgiyi görmemektedir. Demek ki, alelade bir yarı zamanlı iş olmanın ötesinde öğretmenliğin güvenceli bir kamu sektörü işi olarak ailelerin ekonomik durumlarını stabilize ediyor olması, kadın öğretmenlerin "ideal eş" imajında önemli bir etkiye sahiptir.

Kadın öğretmenlerin ideal eşler olması, toplum tahayyülünde her zaman saygın bir kadınlık konumu ile özdeşleştirilmelerini getirmemektedir. Aksine, öğretmenlerin anlatıları, öğretmen kadınlara gösterildiği varsayılan saygınlığın kırılganlığını dile getirmektedir. Hem iyi bir ev kadını hem iyi bir meslek insanı olarak değerlendirilirken, aynı şekilde hem çalışan bir kadın olarak ailelerini, hem de aile-odaklı olarak işlerini ihmal ettikleri iddia edilebilmektedir. Benzer şekilde, farklı kuşaklardan ve/ya farklı eğitim formasyonlarından kadın öğretmenlerin, öğretmenlik kararları nedeniyle birbirlerini fırsatçılıkla suçladıkları görülmektedir. Buna göre, genç kuşaklar kolay bir meslek diye, diğer fakülte mezunları işsizlik yüzünden, öğretmenlik bölümü fakülte mezunları ilerde iş yaşamında rahat etmek üzere, ama tamamı, fırsatçı bir motivasyon ile öğretmenliğe yönelmiştir. "Fırsatçılık" kadın öğretmenlere kolaylıkla yakıştırılabilmektedir ve meslekte kadınların sahip olduklarına inanılan saygınlık son derece kırılgandır. Özellikle eğitimde dönüşüm dönemlerinde Lawn'ın yaşandığını ifade ettiği, öğretmenlere duyulan güvensizliğe dayalı ahlaki panik, kadın öğretmenleri özel bir şekilde etkilemektedir. Yeni-liberal dönüşümün, öğretmenlerce kısaca "mesleğin eski statüsünü kaybettiği" teması ile özetledikleri prestij gerilemesi de "öğretmenlerin fırsatçılıkları" söylemini üretmiştir ve kadınlar için cinsiyetlerini esas alan bir versiyon ortaya çıkarmıştır.

Farklı kuşaklardan kadınların evlilik ve annelik anlatılarına bakıldığında bazı değişim trendleri ve süreklilik hatları tespit etmek mümkündür. Bunlardan ilki, tüm kuşaklardan kadınların öğretmenliğin iş-aile dengesi sağlamada kadınlar için elverişli olduğu iddiasına katılması, dolayısıyla ücretsiz hane ve aile-içi çalışmayı kadının işi sayan aile ideolojisini (domestic ideology) paylaşmasıdır. Halen, öğretmenlik vasıtasıyla tanımlanan ideal kadınlık anlayışı, ev ve aile alanında esas olarak kadının çalışmasını normalleştirmektedir.

Farklı kuşaklardan kadınların annelik anlayışları arasında çok kritik bir fark bulunmaktadır. Fakülte öncesi kuşaktan kadınların, anneliğinin ve çocukları ile ilişkisinin öğrencileri ile öğretmenlik ilişkisinin ardında olması gerektiğini düşünmesi çarpıcıdır. Bu tutum, bu kuşak kadınların kamusal rollerin önceliğine ilişkin bir etik anlayış ve öğretmen ailelerinin çocuklarını "zaten" yukarı sosyal hareketlilik yaşayacakları beklentisi çerçevesinde açıklama bulmaktadır. Ancak, genç kuşaklarda, bu iki noktada ciddi bir değişim ortaya çıkmıştır. Bireyselleşme ve orta-sınıf bilinçli annelik akımları, kadınların aile yaşantılarının kamusal rolleri kadar hatta daha fazla önem kazanmasına sebep olmuştur. Buna paralel, eğitim alanında rekabetin artışı ve eğitim yolu ile yukarı sosyal hareketlilik imkanlarının toplum genelinde daralması söz konusudur. Bu trend ise, kadınların çocuklarının eğitim başarımlarını desteklemek üzere göstermeleri gereken emeği daha hayati hale getirmekte ve yoğunlaştırmaktadır. Bütün bu gelişmeler, genç kuşaklardan kadın öğretmenlerin kendi çocuklarının eğitim performansını desteklemek üzere, endişeli ve ciddi bir çaba içerisine girmelerine yol açmıştır. Annelerin okul yaşantısına katılımlarındaki genel artış, öğretmen anneler arasında da yansıma bulmuştur. Halbuki, çocuklarını özel okullara göndermek ve onların eğitimleri için okul-öğretmen araştırmak ve ev ödevine yardım etmek gibi noktalarda çok vakit harcamak Fakülte-öncesi kuşaktan kadınlar için "bir öğretmen olarak onaylanması mümkün olmayan" bir tutumdur. Fakülte kuşağından öğretmenler için, hem bilinçli anneliğe dayalı ev içi görevlerin hem yeni profesyonelliğe dayalı öğretmenliğin getirdiği ekstra yüklerin, öğretmenliğin kadınlar için ifade ettiği "ev ve işi dengeleyen kadın" imajını özellikle sınıfsal olarak kaynakları sınırlı kadınlar açısından sarstığı görülmektedir.

Kadınların yaşam öyküsü anlatılarındaki bir diğer çarpıcı değişim, ailelerin ve özellikle annelerin (öğretmen) kızları için sağlamaları gereken destek ile ilgili gelişen fikirleridir. Fakülte-öncesi kuşağın, kendi aile ve annelerinin hayatlarını kurma ve yürütmede kendilerine desteği ile ilgili olarak altını çizdiği unsur, annelerin erken gençliklerinde kızlarını ev işleri, aile, akrabalık ve yerel kadın topluluklarının yaşantısından özgür kılarak eğitimlerini desteklemiş olmasıdır. "Kendileri eğitim alamayan anneler" kızlarını bu yolla desteklemiştir. Fakülte kuşağında ise aileler ve annelerin, kızlarının çocuk bakım yüklerini hafifletmek ve boşanma ve işsizlik gibi kriz durumlarında desteklemek üzere rollerini genişlettikleri görülmektedir. KPSS kuşağında, kadrolu öğretmen kadınlar için aile ile benzer bir kontratın sürmesi söz konusuyken, atanamayan, işsiz ya da güvencesiz çalışan kadınlar açısından zaten ortak haneden çıkamama hali ortaya çıkmıştır. Aile evinden çıkamama, yüksek eğitim ve sınavlara yönelik kızlara yapılan yatırımların devam etmesi anlamına gelirken, bu desteğin genç kadınlar üzerinde aile denetiminin yeni bir mekanizması olduğu da anlaşılmıştır. Bu bakımdan, atama ve güvencesizlik sorunlarıyla boğuşan kadın öğretmenler ile, bir dönemin "hayata erkenden atılan" öğretmen kadınının tam zıddı bir karakter de ortaya çıkmıştır.

Öğretmen kadınların farklı kuşaklardan kadın meslektaşları ile ilgili değerlendirmeleri de değişimin yönüne işaret etmektedir. Genç kuşaklardan kadın öğretmenler, yeniliğe ayak uyduramayan eski kuşak öğretmenleri, otoriter, teknolojiden uzak ve yaşam tarzı ve kamusal temsil yönünden "stil sahibi olmayan" bir memuriyet perspektifi ile sınırlı olmakla eleştirmektedir. Kentlileşen ve okul yaşantısında sosyal iletişime dayalı görevleri artan genç kadın öğretmenler için, iletişimde otoriter, mütevaziliği bireysel inisiyatif ve stilden uzaklık olarak yorumlayan ve popüler mesleki gelişim kanallarına uzak önceki kuşak kadın öğretmeni bir anakronizmdir. Bununla beraber, eski kuşağın ve genç kuşaktan kimi kadınların dile getirdiği başka bir eleştiri hattı daha bulunmaktadır. Bu grup, kadınların, kendilerine geleneksel olarak yakıştırılan şekilde öğretmenliği sınıf içi görevleri ile sınırlı yaşama ve yorumlama hatasına düştüklerini ifade etmektedir. Buna göre, nasıl ki yaşlı kuşaktan öğretmenler zaman içerisinde, görevlerine geniş

ve eleştirel bir perspektiften bakamadıklarından "çocuksu" karakterlere dönüşmekteyse, genç kuşakları da benzer bir tehlike beklemektedir. Nitekim, genç kadın öğretmenler de yeni koşullar ve değerlere (bireysellik, iletişim, stil ve bireysel mesleki gelişim) sosyal ve politik yönden eleştirisiz yaklaşmaktadır.

Sonuç yerine şu değerlendirmeleri yapmak mümkündür: 80ler, 90lar ve 2000ler, Türkiye'de okul eğitim ve öğretmenliğinde yeni-liberal kurumlaşmanın farklı aşamalarına tekabül etmektedir. Bu yıllarda mesleğe katılan üç farklı kuşaktan kadın öğretmenin meslek ve kadınlık anlatıları ise, mesleğin toplumsal cinsiyet rejiminde, bir dizi önemli süreklilik ve değişim trendine işaret etmektedir. Öncelikle, son kuşakta çarpıcı bir belirginlik kazanmak üzere, eğitim ve meslek yolu ile yukarı sosyal hareketlilikteki zayıflama, fakülte eğitimi koşulu ile uzayan ve erişilebilirliği düşen öğretmen eğitimi ve atama sorunları ile güvencesiz pozisyonlar nedeni ile öğretmenlikte de yansıma bulmuştur. Bu durum, öğretmenliği geleneksel olarak talep eden, eğitimli çalışan sınıftan ailelerin çocuklarını doğrudan etkilemiştir. Eğitim, meslek ve sosyal hareketliliğe dayalı yaşam tahayyüllerini dönüştürmüştür ve eski güvencelerin yerini belirsizliğe bırakmasına neden olmuştur. Diğer yandan, fakülte düzeyinde öğretmen eğitiminin, ilkokul öğretmenliğinde kadınlaşmayı hızlandıran bir etkide bulunduğu anlaşılmaktadır. Fakülte öncesi, kısa ve meslek-istihdam güvenceli bir eğitim olmaktan çıkan öğretmen eğitiminin, çalışan sınıftan ailelerin erkek çocuklarından çok, geleneksel "kadına uygun meslek" kurgusu dahilinde genç kadınların yönlendirildiği bir alan haline geldiği görülmektedir. Benzer şekilde, okul sistemindeki kentleşme de kadınların mesleğe ilgisinin devamlılığını sağlamış gibidir. Ancak öğretmenlik eğitiminin, Fakülte ve KPSS kuşağında üniversite düzeyinde eğitim alan kadınların kendileri için ideal buldukları bir tercih olmadığı da anlaşılmaktadır. Bir bakıma, kadına uygun meslek kurgusu ve kadınların mesleki alternatiflerinin eşit derecede genişlememesi neticesinde kadınların sosyal ve kurumsal bir yönlendirme içinde öğretmenlik eğitiminde yoğunlaştıkları görülmektedir. Bununla beraber, güvenceli bir istihdam statüsüne sahip olması halinde öğretmenlik hala kadınlar açısından cazip bir çalışma yaşamı sunmaktadır. 90larda başka fakülte ve bölümlerden mezun olarak öğretmenliğe kabul edilen kadınların anlatılarındaki, "düşük profilli bir eğitim formasyonu ve

cazip bir meslek" olarak ilkokul öğretmenliği kurgusu bu durumu çarpıcı şekilde göstermektedir. KPSS kuşağında geçici pozisyonlarda çalışan ya da işsiz kadın öğretmenler için ise, fakülte eğitimi – meslek – istihdam arasındaki süreksizlikler genel bir endişe ve statü yaralanmasına sebep olmaktadır.

Eğitimde sınıfsal ayrışma ve devlet okullarının eğitim kalitesindeki tutarsızlıklar, yeni liberal düzenlemenin okulların ihtiyaç duydukları kaynakları kendilerinin bulmasını öngören yeni-işletmecilik perspektifi ile bağlantı içerisinde, yaygın bir fenomen haline gelmiştir. Veli katılımı, sponsorluk ve kaynak yönetimi ile kendi ihtiyaçlarını kendileri karşılamaya çalışan devlet okullarında (öğrenci başarımı açısından) iyi okullar – kötü okullar, iyi sınıflar – kötü sınıflar arasındaki farklılık derinleşmiştir. Bu farklılıklar, okulların bulunduğu il ve mahallelerin sosyal profillerine paralel gelişmektedir. Sözü edilen kaynak yönetim sisteminin bir parçası olarak öngörülen öğretmen performans yönetim sistemleri, bir yandan öğretmenlerin mesleki otoriterlerinin idare ve veliler karşısında zayıflamasına yol açarken, bir yandan da düşük ve yüksek statülü okullardaki kaynak farklılıkları nedeniyle eşitsizliklerin doğrudan öğretmen performansına yansımasına yol açmaktadır. Atama sistemi, sürekli ve geçici istihdam statülerine ek olarak görev yerlerindeki avantaj ve dezavantajlar da öğretmenler arasında katmanlaşmanın artışına ivme kazandırmaktadır. Merkez ve periferi okullar, geçici ve sürekli statülerde çalışan öğretmenlerin koşulları arasındaki fark çarpıcıdır.

Diğer yandan, kadınlar meslekte hareketlilik konusunda geleneksel "ahlaksal" öğretileri bir kenara bırakmaya başlamıştır. Böylece kariyer perspektifine ve ilgili kaynaklara sahip kadınlar için meslekte hareketlilik olası hale gelmiştir. Ayrıca, yeni döneme ait, öğretmen hesap-verirliği, eğitime veli katılımı, müfredat dışı çalışmaların artırılması prensipleri, meslekte geleneksel olarak kadınlar tarafından üstlenilmiş olan "sosyal ve ilişkisel" görevlerin önemini artırmıştır.

Yine de kadınlar, değişen koşullara rağmen ilkokul öğretmenliğine ait geleneksel toplumsal cinsiyet kurgu ve ideolojilerini paylaşma eğilimindedirler. Buna göre, kendilerinden beklentilerin ağırlığı, iş-aile uyum yükleri, ilişkisel görevlerin sadece

kendilerine ait görülmesine rağmen mesleğin kadınlar ve erkekler açısından farksız olduğunu, iki grubun da benzer kapasite, avantaj ve dezavantajlara sahip olduğunu düşünmektedirler. Buna ek olarak, hem aile hem de meslek yaşantısında artan yüklerine rağmen öğretmenliğin iş-aile dengesini sağlamada avantajlı bir meslek olduğunu vurgulamaktadırlar.

Aile alanında kadınların ev işleri ve çocuk bakımını tek başına üstlenmesine dönük düzenlemenin değişmediği anlaşılmaktadır. Üniversite eğitiminin yaygınlaşması, kentleşme, bireysel kullanıma açık profesyonel gelişim kaynaklarında artış, kadınların çalışma yaşamındaki rollerinin çeşitlenmesi gibi, üç kuşak kadının yaşamına etkide bulunan genel sosyolojik gelişimler bu noktada anlamlı bir değişim ortaya çıkarmamıştır. Ev içi cinsiyete dayalı iş bölümü ideolojisi (domestic ideology) bu dönemde hiçbir dikkate değer dönüşüm göstermemiştir. Aksine, kadınların çocuklarının eğitimdeki başarılarını desteklemek için harcamaları gereken emek artmıştır. Zira bu dönemde eğitim sistemi karmaşıklaşmış, sağladığı hareketlilik sınırlı hale gelmiş ve bilinçli annelik akımları kadınların çocukları için anne rolünde eğitime katılımlarının önemini artırmıştır. Bu kapsamda işaret edilmesi gereken aksi yöndeki tek gelişme, kadınların ebeveyn ailelerinin ve özellikle annelerinin kendilerine özel alanda verdikleri desteğin artması ve kapsamının genişlemesidir. Genç kuşaktan kadınlar, işsizlik, çocuk bakımı, boşanma gibi süreçlerde kendi aileleri ve özellikle annelerinin desteğinden belirgin şekilde daha fazla faydalanmaktadırlar.

Üç farklı kuşaktan kadının anlatılarının gösterdiği, ilkokul öğretmenliğinin meslek pratiği, statüsü ve ideolojisinde ortaya çıkan tüm değişimlere rağmen, mesleğin toplumsal cinsiyet rejiminde yer alan ataerkil motiflerin büyük ölçüde korunduğudur. İlkokul öğretmenliğinde, farklılaşan ve bireyselleşen eğitim ve profesyonel deneyim patikaları, çeşitlenen sosyal ve mesleki hareketlilik hikayeleri, artan üniversite eğitimi, kentte yaşamı ve destekleyici ebeveyn aile davranışlarına rağmen, kadınların ilkokul öğretmenliğinde taşıdıkları eşitsiz maddi ve duygusal yükün tanınmaması, halen onların ev içi çalışmadan sorumlu tek taraf oldukları ve zaten iş-aile dengesi sağlamakta avantaj sahibi oldukları, çocuklarının eğitim ve

gelecek başarımlarından kendilerinin sorumlu olduğu inançları yeni kuşaklarda da korunmaktadır. Ataerkinin ilkokul öğretmenliğindeki yeni liberal düzenlemeler ile bu eklemlenmesi, bizzat yeni liberal politikaların içerdiği toplumsal cinsiyet ajandası ile ilişkilidir.

APPENDIX B. CURRICULUM VITAE

PERSONAL INFORMATION

ASLI ÇOBAN

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EDUCATION

- PHD, METU Sociology, 2018
- MS, METU Gender and Women's Studies, 2007
- MS AU Business Administration, 2006
- BS, AU Business Administration, 2000

WORK EXPERIENCE

- 2000-2002_İşbank_Method and Operation Specialist
- 2003-2010_METU Gender and Women's Studies Dep._ Research Assistant
- Jan. 2014 – Nov. 2014 _EU Delegation to Turkey_Gender Specialist
- Jul. 2012-Jul. 2013_EU IPA Operations _ Gender Expert
- 2010-2015_KEİG (Platform Initiative on Women's Work and Employment)_Research and Advocacy Specialist
- 2016 Mar.-2017 Jul._UNICEF_ Child Labour Programme National Consultant

FOREIGN LANGUAGES

Native Turkish, Fluent English

APPENDIX C. TEZ FOTOKOPİSİ İZİN FORMU

ENSTİTÜ

Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü [ ]

Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü [x]

Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü [ ]

Enformatik Enstitüsü [ ]

Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü [ ]

YAZARIN

Soyadı : ÇOBAN
Adı : ASLI
Bölümü : SOSYOLOJİ

TEZİN ADI (İngilizce) : WOMEN ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TEACHERS IN TURKEY: CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN THE FORMATION OF A GENDER IDENTITY VIS A VIS PROFESSIONAL IDEOLOGIES AND STATE POLICIES

TEZİN TÜRÜ : Yüksek Lisans [ ] Doktora [x]

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