

TEACHER CANDIDATES
AS THE AGENTS OF CHANGE FOR A
MORE GENDER EQUAL SOCIETY

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ABSTRACT

TEACHER CANDIDATES AS THE AGENTS OF CHANGE FOR A MORE GENDER EQUAL SOCIETY

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For the purpose of achieving gender equality in education, this study analyses the transformative power of the elementary school teacher candidates on society. The theories in the field of sociology of education have been used as a starting point for the study. Based on the feminist pedagogies of different strands of feminism, feminist critical pedagogy has been presented to achieve gender equality in education. The transformation of curriculum and the hidden curriculum are elaborated to achieve a non-sexist education. After the depiction of the situation Turkey holds in the field of women's education, the research conducted in three universities using feminist methodology and interview method is presented. With a view on their gender socialization, gender perceptions of the teacher candidates are analyzed. The ways their lives both inside and outside the household are affected by patriarchal hegemony are depicted and their ideas on education and the reproduction of gender through education are analyzed. The new generation of teachers holds low transformative power to transform the inequalities in society. However, the females in the group are leading their own individual struggles that lead to changes in their close circles. The simplified notion of patriarchy they have makes them blind to the reproduction of it by women and supports the bias against feminists. The fact that they are open to change and yet detached from civil society is reason to conclude that in the short run the most influential results can be obtained through the institutional changes at teacher training programs and schools.

Keywords: Feminist pedagogy, gender and education, male hegemony, gender equality, transformation

ÖZ

TOPLUMSAL CİNSİYET AÇISINDAN DAHA EŞİTLİKÇİ BİR TOPLUM İÇİN DÖNÜŞÜMÜN TAŞIYICILARI OLARAK ÖĞRETMEN ADAYLARI

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Eğitimde toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliğinin sağlanması amacıyla, bu çalışma öğretmen adaylarının toplumsal hayattaki dönüştürücü gücünü analiz eder. Çalışmanın başlangıç noktası olarak eğitim sosyolojisi teorileri kullanılmıştır. Feminizmin farklı akımlarının feminist pedagojilerini temel alan, eleştirel feminist pedagoji eğitimde toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliği için savunulmuştur. Cinsiyetçi olmayan bir eğitim için müfredat ve gizli müfredatın dönüştürülmesinden bahsedilmiştir. Kadın eğitimi konusunda Türkiye'nin içinde bulunduğu durumun gözden geçirilmesinin ardından feminist yöntem bilim ve mülakat tekniği kullanılarak çalışma gerçekleştirilmiştir. Öğretmen adaylarının toplumsal cinsiyet bakımından sosyalleşmelerine bakılarak onların toplumsal cinsiyet algıları incelenmiştir. Ev içinde ve dışında ataerki hegemonyanın etkilediği yaşamları ve eğitime ve eğitim yoluyla toplumsal cinsiyeti yeniden üretme konularındaki fikirleri incelenmiştir. Yeni kuşak öğretmenlerin toplumdaki eşitsizlikleri dönüştürmeye yönelik olarak düşük seviyede bir dönüştürücü güçleri vardır. Fakat gruptaki kadınlar kendi bireysel mücadeleleriyle yakın çevrelerinde bir dönüşüm sağlamaktadırlar. Sahip oldukları basitleştirilmiş ataerki anlayışı onları ataerkinin kadınlar tarafından yeniden üretilebileceği konusunda körleştirmiş ve feministlere karşı önyargıyı güçlendirmiştir. Değişime açık ancak sivil toplumdan kopuk olmaları gerçeği kısa vadede öğretmen yetiştirme programlarında ve okullarda kurumsal değişikliğe ihtiyaç duyulduğu sonucuna ulaşmayı sağlamıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Feminist Pedagoji, Toplumsal Cinsiyet ve Eğitim, Erkek Hegemonyası, Toplumsal Cinsiyet Eşitliği, Dönüşüm.

In the Memory of Zehra,
the woman of struggle.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Look at the classroom: look at the many kinds of women's faces, postures, expressions. Listen to the women's voices. Listen to the silences, the unasked questions, the blanks. Listen to the small, soft voices, often courageously trying to speak up, voices of women taught early that tones of confidence, challenge, anger, or assertiveness are strident and unfeminine. Listen to the voices of women and the voices of the men; observe the space men allow themselves, physically and verbally, the male assumption that people will listen, even when the majority of the group is female. Look at the faces of the silent, and of those who speak. Listen to a woman groping for language in which to express what is on her mind, sensing that the terms of academic discourse are not her language, trying to cut down her thought to the dimensions of a discourse not intended for her (for it is not fitting that a woman speak in public); or reading her paper aloud at breakneck speed, throwing her words away, deprecating her own work by a reflex prejudice: I do not deserve to take up time and space. (Rich, 1985: 27)

This study is the work of a feminist teacher who wishes to contribute to the elimination of gender inequalities in the field of education. All the teachers have a common goal: pursuing a better teaching. For this reason, they cannot be detached from the problems of their students and the differences that exist among them. One main difference among the students is their gender since it is

not possible to consider a person without a gender. Under the reign of male hegemony, gender takes a political form and shapes the lives of the individuals in different and restricting ways. This study asserts that gender cuts across all other kinds of inequalities and thus needs to be an integral part of teaching.

At birth people have biological sex; in time they are turned into gendered subjects. All the attributions made to the sexes constitute gender and they show variance over time and space. “While the sex of a being is given, the gender roles in each society are, in the ultimate analysis, a consequence of political choice” (UNESCO, 2000: 5) According to their sex and attributed gender in that society, people are expected to behave in certain ways and their lives are shaped around and restricted to their gender, which is called sex role stereotyping or differentiation. This is not a neutral issue. As Dale Spender points out “we must not forget that one sex is conditioned for power and the other for powerlessness; that one sex derives advantage from the arrangement and the other, disadvantage” (1983: 98)

As stated above, gender changes over time, in space, and among different groups, which shows that these roles are not inherent but socially constructed. “Gender relations are historical, they can be remade in new patterns and the new patterns will advantage and disadvantage particular groups” (Connell, 1987: 138). In 1851, when Sojourner Truth posed the question “ain’t I a woman” she was addressing both gender and racial discrimination (Jackson, 1997). This striking question asked by a slave woman reveals the contradictory perceptions of gender among races. Later bell hooks¹, a black feminist, used this question as the title of one of her books and claimed that race, class and gender exploitation are not added on to each other but multiplied on their

¹ Initials are not capitalized to reflect her own choice as descendant of a slave family, who cannot trace back her origins.

effects on individuals. Therefore, in a feminist analysis one cannot ignore other kinds of oppression, as women exist in all walks of life.

The roots of subordination of female gender need to be sought in binary opposites that shape the way a person understands the world. When the world is viewed in terms of polarities, human is situated as opposed to nature and men as opposed to women. In that categorization, the former is viewed superior to the latter. Another such dichotomy exists between the public and private spheres. Women are positioned in the private sphere and this is legitimized by their maternal roles. The division of labour in household is set accordingly. Sexual division of labour means not only assigning different tasks to each sex but also establishing a dichotomy between these two groups and their tasks. The frequent use of the phrases public and private sphere in feminist texts do not signify their approval. They are used as tools of analysis to criticize the existing dichotomy.

The disadvantaged position of women in the household division of labour is also observed in the market, especially under the effect of global capitalism. In the last three decades, the world has staged some structural changes in the world economy that had direct effects on the daily lives and life prospects of women. The changes in the form of capitalism in line with globalism and the collapse of social welfare state brought less state regulation and less protection for the workforce. These combined with the implementation of neo-liberal policies and structural adjustment policies of International Monetary Fund and World Bank in the so-called developing world. Post-Fordism coincided with globalism and flexibility of work force and the boom of the informal market. Women are employed in secondary markets, part time jobs, or the informal sector, which have all proved to work to the disadvantage of workers. The market either discourages them or takes advantage of their internalized docility

and altruism as an extension of their traditional gender. Values such as nurturing and caring that would be regarded high in a logical world are attributed to women, go unremunerated and work to their disadvantage under the market rationale. The unequal division of labour in the household is also observed in the market relations. Capitalism uses the existing modes of exploitation and the first form is gender.

Male hegemony and capitalism determine the lives of individuals with the help of the basic institutions, one of the most prominent of which is the school. Moreover students are recruited into their 'appropriate' places at the end of their education with the skills and qualities necessary for these places. In this process girls are at a disadvantaged position since behaviors encouraged in girls, such as altruism and docility, do not motivate them to gain skills that are valuable in the market. School is the place they are expected to gain human capital but it seems that this is inhibited because of their gender. Instead, the schools work in line with male hegemony and capitalism and view women first of all as mothers and housewives and not as individuals on their own rights. Mothering and housewife ideologies put man as the breadwinner and women as homemaker, if not, a member of the reserve army of labour. This way, the double burden of women is normalized. So long as education gives the message that their role in life is subordinate to some others by the virtue of their sex, class or any other quality, it will never motivate girl pupils to realize their full potentials and thus fail its mission.

One result of male hegemony is that women do not have control over their own labour and are made to believe it is not as valuable as the labour of the dominant groups. They blame themselves at the sight of failure and attribute it to circumstances when they are successful. Education needs to be the area that will help them take the blind folders off to see the commonalities in their forms

of subordination and to link it with the power relations in the world. The studies show that in many countries once the schooling of the girls is maintained their achievement levels are at least as high as the boys (UNESCO, 2000). However, in the following years of their education they are led to gender stereotyped fields regardless of their prior success.

The reasons for this lack of correspondence need to be searched in the gender climate of the elementary school. The circumstances deem empowerment of women necessary but it appears most of the time in adult education. The empowerment of women only after a certain age does not appear to be sincere for two reasons. First most of the time it is in the discourse of sustainable development and women's entrepreneurship and second it is too late since they are dis-empowered by the prevalent norms in the society. They have to unlearn the norms, attitudes they had acquired years ago, which is a long and painful process since it works against the entire socialization of the individual. The approach of empowering women needs to be incorporated into formal schooling, especially elementary education since it is compulsory. In the field of education, gender mainstreaming, that is incorporating gender into all procedures to achieve gender equality, must be a priority starting in the early levels.

Of course, stereotypical gender identities are not first gained at school. Yet, "education is considered to continue the process, both in terms of the formal curriculum since boys and girls usually study different subjects, and of the hidden curriculum, in what they pick up informally" (Walby, 1990: 92). School reinforces already existing gender roles acquired via socialization through family and peer groups as well as the channels of media. Mystification of women in colloquial language as a creature devoid of ration, caricaturization of women who stand up for their rights, sexist language that abuse the sexuality of

women, the male gaze on women's body are all common practices that are not even recognized from time to time. The girl child is socialized in such an environment both before and during education. Obviously, it is no easy task to challenge and overwrite the gender stereotypes at school.

Gender is so prevalent that it is hardly recognized; it is in the air we breathe. In that sense it is like being shortsighted. Without the external tools the world is the same everywhere one looks and the solution is possible only after the person becomes aware that there is a problem. In the same way, after the individual realizes the existence of a problem, gender consciousness is attained through the effort of the individual regardless of the gender or class s/he belongs to.

The common practice of "gender-free" education, that is no "attention is paid to it in deciding who should get an education, who should be admitted to schools, allowed to study certain subjects, and have access to particular educational activities" (Houston, 1996; 50) is a contradiction in terms because education reproduces the gender roles, which work to the disadvantage of women, as long as male hegemony. In this context, a gender-free approach to education is gender blindness, which leads to the reproduction of gender stereotypes within the education system and leaves the needs of one half of the students unaddressed.

Both men and women internalized sexism, "prejudicial attitudes and discriminatory behavior against one sex" (Basow, 1992). They might not even be aware that they are reproducing it. The fact that teachers are not aware of their own gender biased beliefs and attitudes therefore not aware of the values they transmit to students makes analysis even more challenging. Helvacioğlu writes that, having seen her exhibit about the sexism in textbooks, an old

woman who was apparently a retired teacher approached her and said, “I taught these books more than thirty-five years. Believe me, I did not realize that I was teaching those. Thank you.” (Helvacioğlu, 1996:18). “The gender bias is generally perpetuated in an unconscious and unintentional manner. Therefore, despite the pervasive nature of bias, because it is usually not intentionally done, attitudes and behaviors can be changed” (Streitmatter, 1994: 61).

There are myths about children and even infants about how they act according to their gender. A study conducted in America comprises an example to the point. Students and professionals were shown the film of a baby crying and were asked to comment on the reasons. Half of the group was told that it was a boy and the other half a girl. For half of the group who considered it was a boy the baby was crying because it was angry and the other half said that it was afraid. (Delamont, 1990) Educators are not prone to biased gender perceptions that distort reality in creating meaning. When teachers and schools principals were shown the videotape of a classroom, they all claimed that girls were out-speaking boys although in reality boys were talking three times more (Basow, 1992).

Teacher attitudes and evaluations are the most influential factors in recognizing the students’ interests, capabilities, and achievements (Tan, 1979). As a result of the attitudes of the teacher the students may either pursue or cease them. Teachers are influential in every level of education from the practice in the classroom to the top levels of administration. Although the government in power makes the high level decisions, the teachers still have the power to make a difference in the way they apply those decisions. Yet, all the politicians were sitting in their classrooms once just like the future politicians in the elementary school classrooms now. For a social transformation teachers are the starting point and key agents of change.

It should be noted that patriarchy is a hegemonic ideology that is able to reproduce itself also through the very groups it oppresses. Presenting domination as stable and unchanging, conceals the situation of teachers as the reproducers of patriarchal domination, which seems contradictory considering that most of the teachers are neither male nor do they belong to the upper classes due to their limited wages. However, in view of the struggles throughout history once individuals gain a critical awareness they can challenge the hegemony. Paradoxically, institutions of education are the places where pupils are supposed to internalize the values of democracy through socializing into relationships based on equality. As long as half of the group is labeled as secondary, the aim of democracy will never be achieved.

Women deserve to be educated not because of the sake of following generations or the good of the nations they belong to. They deserve to be educated merely because they are human and education is a basic human right and need, which is also strategically important as it determines chances of access to the practice of other rights.

Education acts as one of the basic tools to achieve mobility in a class society, equality can only be achieved through constant mobilization between classes. That is, only when the adult life of the students is determined by their own success, abilities and efforts rather than the external conditions such as class, gender, and race can a society be considered to be based on equality in liberal terms. The basic assumption here is that the society offers equal opportunities to each child and the market offers occupations in correspondence with their educational achievements. In fact, the school achievement of children determines their adult lives only to a certain extent. Furthermore, as it is

presented in the study, the studies have shown that the success at school also depends on the gender and class of the child.

I.1. Statement of the Problem

It is widely accepted that education is liberating for women hence the calls for the schooling of girls. The issue is also addressed in development programs but schooling of girls is not enough on its own. The second step is to question what is going on inside schools and how it is reflected on the lives of women. As an allusion to Kandiyoti, the study poses the question if school is emancipating for girls. This study seeks to understand the situation of education in Turkey in terms of gender not merely for the sake of understanding it or conducting an academic study. It has the ultimate goal of contributing to social transformation for a more gender equal society.

Throughout the study the answer to the question “can elementary school teacher candidates be the agents of change for a more gender equal society?” is sought. The following questions have guided the study:²

- What are the gender-power relations in their family background? How do they evaluate them?
- What are their gender perceptions? Do they have gender awareness?
- Are they aware of the disadvantaged position of women in society and the reproduction of it at school?
- Do they have the will and the knowledge base to change the disadvantaged position of women in and through education?

² To view all the research questions please refer to Chapter V.

The study also looks into the implicit or explicit struggles these people make in their own lives in terms of their own gender and try to reveal the gender differences. These issues are questioned through the in-depth interviews conducted with the prospective teachers enrolled at the Education Faculties of three prominent universities in Ankara, Hacettepe University, Gazi University, and the Middle East Technical University. The interviews aim at collecting data to answer the above-mentioned questions as well as leaving question marks on the minds of the interviewees about their own gender perceptions.

I.2. Significance of the Study

Previous studies, both in Turkey and other countries, assert that most teachers claim to believe in gender equality but the classroom observations indicate that their attitudes are not in line with this claim. Their gender biased or gender blind attitudes in the classroom are a result of their gender perceptions. In other words, they do not follow a pre-planned sexist agenda but act in line with their own beliefs (Torun,2002, Streitmatter, 1994). They are blind to the gender climate at school, which works to the disadvantage of girls. The first step of creating a gender equitable atmosphere is raising the gender awareness of the teachers. Studies show that once they are aware of their own attitudes they hold better chances to modify them and intervene the gender climate of the school. The place to address all the teachers is their education period. Thus, the starting point for a gender equitable education needs to be changing gender perceptions of the prospective teachers. This study aims to comprise the first step of incorporating gender awareness to teacher education programs by presenting

the current beliefs and perceptions of the teacher candidates currently enrolled in faculties of education.

Each teacher educated in a Faculty of Education will have hundreds maybe thousands of students in his\her professional life. Considering that they can transmit gender equality values at least to some of their students despite the challenges they might meet at schools, they can act as agents of change.

Although teachers' role is important in all levels of education earlier years seem to be more critical for children. The earlier the better approach applies both to teacher education and the education of pupils. As Basow (1992), points out to be socially acceptable people are to conform to the gender stereotypes. Their wish for compliance makes them more vulnerable in earlier ages. Since pre-school education is common only in the developed countries in important ratios, in general, the elementary school is the first place where the child meets the gender atmosphere of schooling. This is why this study concentrates on elementary school teacher candidates. In Turkey it is even more meaningful to study the elementary school teachers because since 1997 elementary education lasts for eight years. Class teachers are educated to teach their classes on a one-teacher-one-class basis for five years in the first level of elementary education. While in the second level, which lasts for three years, there are teachers to teach different branches such as science, mathematics, and social sciences. The study concentrates on class, science, and mathematics teacher candidates. Teacher candidates from all of the above mentioned branches are educated at the education faculties of the universities and take basic courses together.

I.3. Organization of the Study

An overview of the chapters is presented in this part. The study starts by presenting the inequalities in society in general. The institutions of education, since they are highly related to the societies in which they exist, are not prone to the sexist gender order. In fact, they are active agents in the reproduction and legitimation of the existing gender order. The problem of the study, which is the transformative roles of the elementary school teachers for a more gender equal society, is presented in this context. The next part, significance of the study, explains that teachers' blindness to their own gender attitudes and the climate at school, results in a discrepancy between discourse and practice. Out of that discrepancy arises the problematique of their gender perceptions as they are reflected on the attitudes and expectations from the students. This study argues that, the earlier they gain an awareness of gender and this discrepancy; the better chances they will hold to transform sexism at school. That is why the gender perceptions of prospective teachers are important especially at the elementary school level.

To understand the role of education in maintaining the gender order in society, sociological theories of education that explain the complex relationship between schooling and social inequalities are a starting point. The second chapter presents an overview of functionalist, critical, and feminist theories. Each one of these theories are also pedagogies as they guide the educators on what to teach, how to teach it and the reasons why for those choices. By evaluating the society and the functions of education in differing ways they problematize similar concepts but offer dissimilar solutions.

Chapter III, Gender and Teaching: Meeting the Challenges, starts by depicting the existing situation. This chapter informs the reader about the processes inside

the school walls, whereas the previous chapter is about more structural relations between the school and society. The attitudes and expectations of the teachers and the ways students are affected and react to them are presented by occupying prior studies. In the second part, the need to form a counter-hegemonic school as opposed to the hegemonic patriarchal relations that prevail is emphasized. Such kind of a school needs to empower its subjugated pupils. The concept of women's empowerment through education is delineated as a basic principal of feminist pedagogy in the following part. A feminist and critical pedagogy arises as a way to form counter-hegemony at school. Transforming the curricula, the courses and their contents offered at school, to include the knowledge that will empower the pupils is the issue of the following part. The last part of the chapter presents insights into the hidden-curriculum and the ways to transform it to promote equality.

To set the historical context a brief account of women's education in Turkey is provided in Chapter IV. In the last part the recent situation is depicted through the use of prior research conducted on the education system in Turkey.

Chapter V opens up by presenting feminist methodology, which has been the guiding principal of the study from the very beginning. Modernism and postmodernism discussions are reflected briefly in this part. After stating the limitations of the study, the interview questions are presented with a view on the research. General profile of the interviewees constitutes the third part of the chapter. The research procedure, which took place in three different universities in Ankara and is comprised of thirty-four in depth interviews with the prospective elementary school teachers, is the topic of the last part in the chapter.

The findings of the interviews are presented in three chapters and the first one is Chapter VI, The Teacher Candidates. In this chapter interviewees gain their personalities and voices. Their views, as stated during the interviews, are presented with a critical perspective to reveal the hidden interplays of sexism. The first part, Family Background, gives demographic information and identifies social class of the participants according to Bourdieu's concepts of economic, cultural, and social capitals. The second part is about the gender-power relations and division of labour in the families of the prospective teachers and the ways they evaluate them.

Chapter VII entitled the Attitudes of Teacher Candidates Toward the Gender Order, looks into the gender perceptions of the participants in two parts: *inside* and *outside*. The first part delineates the ways the teacher candidates perceive gender within the household and looks into the differences between their parental families and marital families as they have planned. The second part analyzes the ways they view the situation of women in Turkey and presents insight in their perspectives of the gender relations *outside* the household.

Chapter VIII is entitled Education and Change and it presents the functions participants attribute to education and the ways they view gender and other kinds of inequalities in education. The third part, Being Agents of Change, has the subject of their willingness to work for and capability to create change. The differences based on sex are also specified in each part.

Chapter IX is the conclusion of the study. An overview of the study is provided in the chapter. The implication of the study on different constituents of education is the topic of the first part. The second and the last part makes some suggestions for further studies in the light of the literature review conducted for this study and the findings of it.

CHAPTER II

GENDER& EDUCATION: EARLY APPROACHES

Demonstrating the intricate relationships between gender and education is not an easy task. One needs to rely on existing body of knowledge and theories at the face of this challenge, especially when it is considered that those relationships show significant differences in time and space.

In an historical perspective the theories dealing with inequalities in education have been important in two respects for the aims of this study. First, they created the base for feminists to problematize the position of women in the field and second they have been widely used as tools to understand the inequities related to women. In this chapter a map of the theories dealing with issues of inequality and gender in the field of sociology is drawn in pursuit of presenting an historical overview of how education has been viewed. This approach is practical in both categorizing the existing body of knowledge with theories and relating them to each other. Furthermore, the data gathered through the interviews will be analyzed in the light of the theories in this and this following chapter.

In sociology of education the body of accumulated knowledge on gender is rich in strands. For the recent times, it is possible to say that there are as many stances as the number of theorists and sometimes even more since their approaches also shift in time so it is sometimes not possible to place them only under one strand. They are situated in the following categories according to their ideas mentioned in this study only.

It is worth noting that, the theories elaborated in this chapter are also the fields of struggle both for their founders and followers who made important contributions to these theories. Well known and well documented are the struggles of the proponents of radical theories. Yet, although it is conservative for its focus on the ultimate good of the society rather than the individual, the functionalist theory also received reaction in its time for its emphasis on science and secular education. Above all, this theory paved the way for conflict theories.

The theories presented in this chapter offer differing ideas about the school and its functions in the society. The first theory to be handled is a theory of consensus and has a different standing since the others are critical theories that indicate a conflict in the society. In some analysis functionalism is regarded historical (Ritzer& Goodman, 2004, Tan, 1979). The purpose of taking it into consideration is that, it has been highly influential in analyzing the society for such a long time that it still continues to affect the general understanding in education as well as other areas of life.

II.1. Functionalism

Functionalist theory takes its name from the society- organism metaphor. The society functions like an organism and each individual has a function, like the organs. The school as an institution has an important role in the maintenance of the system as it determines the adult life of the students according to their abilities. The underlying assumption is that each student is provided with equal opportunities at school. The stratification of the society, which was regarded both universal and necessary by Davis and Moore (Ritzer& Goodman, 2004), is

warranted at school through meritocracy. Marxist researchers such as Bowles and Gintis later scrutinized this approach.

İnal (2004) notes three functions of education according to functionalist paradigm. First, education reproduces the workforce; second; it categorizes students and selects the most apt ones for complex tasks; third, it transfers the core values for the cohesion of the society.

Durkheim's ideas were influential in the formation of functionalism. He had an emphasis on moral education at schools. For him children were socialized in schools and learned "respect for the rule" (Durkheim in Kohlberg, 199). Another important point was the application of science as an organizing principle in education. "Durkheim articulately and explicitly argued that the sociologist's definition of the invisible hand of the social system was also the definition of rational and scientific morality" (Kohlberg 64). Littlewood (2004) claims that this understanding is related to positivist epistemology, the belief that there is an objective universal truth that can be achieved through the application of scientific methods. This point is particularly important as it received much criticism from the feminists and will be elaborated in fifth chapter.

Functionalist analysis in America is seen in the work of Parsons. Much of his work is not in the field of education but, like Durkheim, he focused on the socializing and selecting functions of the school, as the students were to internalize the common values in the society there and be selected for their roles in the society according to their school achievement. The different roles Parsons attributed to men and women in the family, instrumental role for men and expressive role for women resulted both in assigning the household tasks to women and breadwinning to men because of the complementary roles and

confining women to the private sphere. This point became the target of feminist criticism later (Walby, 1990; Stromquist, 1990: 140). Therefore, it is possible to conclude that the appropriate socialization for the schoolgirl is that of a housewife according to structural functionalism.

The teachers under the influence of functionalism are expected to be gender biased in their attitudes or have a focus on consensus in society. It is possible to argue in this perspective that women's education is necessary for better mothering and being a housewife. Using the concept of the complementary roles of men and women in the family may be expected as the legitimation of gender bias.

II.2. Critical Approaches

A critical approach towards education took form in the criticism of functionalist theory. While functional theory had an emphasis on the consensus in society, critical theorists claimed that there was a conflict between the interests of main groups, which are classes in the capitalist society. In line with that understanding, they viewed formal education as a field in which the unequal class order of the society is reproduced and legitimated. Critical pedagogy generated among neo-Marxists and the studies following this theory pedagogy were included in radical educational theory in America and the new sociology of education in England (Weiler,1988). The following is an account of critical approaches in the order of structural and cultural reproduction followed by critical production theories.

Both Althusser and Bowles and Gintis are structural neo-Marxists interested in the reproduction of existing class relationships through schooling. In early

1970s, Althusser's work, in which he viewed school as an ideological state apparatus, became influential in England. He asserted that school transmits the dominant ideology and the state creates subjects by using schools. On the other hand, in America, Bowles and Gintis, who are political economists, showed the ways ideological and economic effects of schools reproduce social and economic inequality. Their basic claim is that the market needs a docile work force and the school produces a stratified work force with the necessary qualities. In their emphasis on the reproduction of inequality they are considered critical but were criticized for assuming a one to one correspondence between the school and economic structures and for being implicitly functionalist (Giroux,1983). While functionalism explained only the consensus in society, structuralist neo-Marxists explained only the conflict and did not include the struggles of the oppressed groups. (Ritzer &Goodman, 2004)

As against the structural reproduction theories cultural reproduction theories emphasize agency and the production of meaning and class identities through the struggle with the dominant ideology. The most prominent theorist in that field is Bourdieu. Not being a Marxist, he uses a different terminology but problematizes cultural reproduction at school by calling the education system "an instrument of reproduction capable of disguising its own function" (Bourdieu, 2004). His famous concepts "cultural capital" and "habitus" also explain the legitimation of the existing social order in schools through knowledge and modes of thought that characterize different classes. He claims that the valued school knowledge is the knowledge of bourgeois classes. For him the transmission of cultural capital by the family is an educational investment as it determines the success of the child at school. He criticizes the liberal ideas of human capital theorists, who argue that people's lives are determined by their education and capabilities, as such: "from the very

beginning, a definition of human capital, despite its humanistic connotations, does not move beyond economism and ignores, inter alia, the fact that the scholastic yield from educational action depends on the cultural capital previously invested by the family” (Bourdieu, 2004).

Bernstein is another theorist who highlighted the importance of the family background in determining the success at school. He explained the process of transmission using language codes. For him there are two codes; one is the elaborated code of middle classes and the other one is the restricted code of the working classes. Since the elaborated code is used in schools the working class children are at a disadvantage (Giddens,2000,Tezcan, 2005). Apple (1984) states that he was criticized for looking down on the culture of working class although that was not what he intended. Although Bernstein directly referred to gender in his later work, for him gender inequalities were meaningful only in context of class oppression (Stromquist, 1990)

The critical production theories’ basic tenet is their commitment to social transformation. They address the ways individuals and classes experience and resist the ideological and material conditions. Struggles of the subordinated groups are not ignored in their studies. In their early work, in which the social construction of knowledge and positivism was questioned, the effect of phenomenological sociology is seen. This work was criticized for not taking material conditions into consideration and giving the message that once knowledge is realized as a social construct it would lead to changes in power relations. (Weiler, 1988)

The ideas of Gramsci, an Italian under the influence of Hegelian Marxism, changed the analysis of power relations for good by the concept of hegemony. He is said to have transformed the economic deterministic attitude of Marxist

analysis. He claimed that subordinate classes in the society created alternative cultural and political institutions to change the oppression in reaction to the ideology imposed on them by the dominant classes. Hegemony is an active pattern of power relationship in which the consent of the oppressed is necessary. This concept leaves room for struggle, as it is a continual process.

Gramsci expressed the need for “organic intellectual”, a philosopher formed by common sense and knowledge of historical and economic forces in the world, as against dominant intellectuals who transmit hegemonic ideology. The school elaborates intellectuals and there is a need for counter hegemonic institutions. In his analysis students are products of historical processes but they are not passive recipients of knowledge. They need to gain an historical dialectical conception of the world since “to understand the present, one needs to know the past struggles” (Weiler, 1988)

The concept of hegemony has been highly influential on many theorists such as Apple, Connel, and McLarsen. By using this concept, deviance in school culture was viewed from a different perspective. In such kind of studies, subcultures were observed as acts of resistance of individuals and groups (Weiler, 1988). For example Willis, in his ethnographic study *Learning to Labour* examines a group of working class boys who called themselves Lads, in a school in England (Apple, 1984). Ironically, in this study the resistance of the boys to the school culture resulted in the reproduction of their class positions. The lads who position themselves against the hard working students in the same school celebrate manual work as opposed to the intellectual work demanded of them at school. One important point to be highlighted in this study is that while the lads dropped out of school and joined the cheap labour force, the hard working students, who were more in compliance with the school values, pursued their education. Willis has been criticized for this study in different

respects. It obviously ignored the interplay of gender in the way these boys positioned themselves against the females of their own class and the male violence of the subculture they created. The significance of the study is that by showing resistance to school culture it supported the idea that the values are not transmitted flawlessly at schools.

Freire can be considered the most well-known and influential figure in critical pedagogy. The literacy campaign conducted in Latin America and the pedagogy he used has widely been quoted in works of critical pedagogues. He believed in "a critical reading of the word and the World" (Freire,1991). By claiming that the traditional pedagogy was based on a banking approach, he established problem posing pedagogy. "Conscientization", reaching a critical awareness of the world and oneself, empowers the oppressed groups. According to this understanding as the knowledge that the oppressed groups have about themselves is the hegemonic knowledge of the dominant group, they are the products of hegemonic ideologies and once this cycle is broken the oppressed will engage in social praxis. By gaining a consciousness about the power relations and situating themselves in those relations they will be able to break the cycle. The learners are subjects in his pedagogy from the beginning of the process and the nature of the dialogue between the teacher and the learners entails that both learn from each other.

By saying that "the oppressed, instead of striving for liberation, tend themselves to become oppressors" (Freire, 1988; 26), he indicated a danger on the way to social transformation. For real change to occur a new knowledge about the human relationships need to be created as the existing one signifies oppression. This process from the very beginning is full of struggle since "It would be a contradiction in terms if the oppressors not only defended but actually implemented a liberating education." (Freire, 1988: 28)

However, this influential figure used sexist language especially in his most famous work, *the Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. As Weiler (2001) notes, with the effect of the critics he received from feminists, in later years of his life he came to understand that he left women out by his use of generic “men” as the subject and, unfortunately, failed to grasp the male privilege he had.

Giroux, another influential figure of critical pedagogy in America, is important both due to the criticism he made to the works of structural neo-Marxists and his demand that the institution of education be made transparent. He claims that there is an “over-determination of the structure” in Bowles and Gintis’s studies and turns to the reproduction of culture in schooling (Tezcan, 2005). In his later work Giroux rejects rationalism and writes about crossing the borders under the title of “border pedagogy”. By putting the emphasis on diversity he turns to postmodernism but never loses his emphasis on ideology as a tool of oppression.

McLaren has a unique standing in the field as he distances himself from critical pedagogy by claiming that its development is tied in a Gordian Knot especially in the United States. He coins the term “revolutionary pedagogy” for his own pedagogy and attributes three dimensions to it; first, to learn and investigate the differences among education, pedagogy, critical pedagogy and revolutionary pedagogy; second, to make the elimination of human suffering and pain the aim of education; third, to establish a democratic socialist society (McLaren: 2006).

Apple, another contemporary critical theorist from America, warns that the schooling system in America, as elsewhere, is under the attack of the conservatives and neo-liberal ideology and thus calls for the democratization of public schools (Tezcan, 2005). His works are quite comprehensive on the

relationship between the hidden curriculum at school and the market, the deskilling of the teaching profession and the ways schools contribute to the reproduction of the social order (Apple, 1984). Like Freire he insists on the critical consciousness of the learner; “our aim should not be to create “functional literacy,” but critical literacy, powerful literacy, political literacy which enables the growth of genuine understanding and control of all of the spheres of social life in which we participate” (p:179). In his trilogy on education he astounds that all types of inequalities need to be addressed at the same time but this is a challenging task because of the ‘conservative modernization’ project at work (Apple, 2004). He claims “ gender and class are not separate” (p: 158) Apple is interested in the intersection of class and gender and provides an account of working class girls in his analysis.

Despite being critical of the system, most of these theorists, especially the early ones, failed to address the gender inequality in the education system. Yet, their macro level analysis is important in the sense that they were effective in proving that the school as an institution is capable of producing or reproducing unequal positions in the society (Stromquist, 1990). The works of the more contemporary critical theorists started listing sexism along with racism and homophobia. However, they do not specifically mention how to address gender inequality, it is assumed that the same procedures used to empower ‘the oppressed’ will address other types of inequalities. Yet, it would be too optimistic to assume that teachers affected by critical ideas or pedagogy have gender consciousness and are prone to gender biased attitudes.

II.3. Feminist Approaches

Feminist educators from different feminist strands approached education in different ways and followed different strategies thus created various feminist pedagogies. Some feminist pedagogies have strong connections to critical pedagogy while others do not bear much resemblance (Tissdell, 1998). “While critical educational theorists have been concerned with the production and reproduction of class through schooling under capitalism, feminist theorists have been concerned with the production and reproduction of gender under patriarchy” (Weiler, 1988: 3). As Weiler points out gender is the central tool of analysis and social transformation is the ultimate goal in all feminist strands. Later some feminists felt the need to address other kinds of oppression and expanded the scope of their approach: “feminist theories of education examine oppression in educational institutions in terms of gender, clearly linked to other oppressions of class, race, sexuality and more” (Jackson, 1997: 466).

One contemporary discussion among feminists has been the utilization of theories founded by males who did not take gender into consideration. Although there seems to be agreement that such theories, for example the critical theories mentioned in the previous part, cannot be utilized in analysis without careful consideration, some feminists, especially postmodern feminists, argue that the phallogentrism inherent in those theories cannot be weeded out. On the other hand, some feminists followed male theorists and formed their theories through criticizing them. In their feminisms they are ‘engaged’ to those theories. Among these there is one feminist whose contribution to the field cannot be ignored; bell hooks. This black feminist, influenced by the liberatory pedagogy of Freire, enriched feminist pedagogy by specifying the experience of education as a black women and tried to create a liberatory education experience by transgressing the borders (bell, 1994). Here only four basic

strands of feminism are elaborated. However, it is also possible to include the approaches of other groups such as black, psychoanalyst or lesbian feminists.

II.3.1 Liberal Feminist Theory

The right to be educated has always been among the most emphasized demands of feminists. As early as 1792, Wollstonecraft argued for a challenging and equal education for women (Weiler, 2001). Feminists that followed also pursued the demand. In the early 1970s, the education of girls came to the fore as a political issue based on the documentation of sex differences both in participation and success rates at school in late 1960s (Routhledge, 2005). The policy was affected by liberal feminism and sex role theory and put the emphasis on equality of opportunity.

Liberal feminists have fought for the right of women for education as they contend that men and women are essentially similar but women are hindered and put to a disadvantaged position by their lack of access to rational thought, which is education. For them education is the key to the improvement of women's position in the society to become the equal of men so they put emphasis on the field of education.

In their attempts they view the state as a benevolent institution, which failed to correct the disadvantaged position of women in education and demand equal rights for women especially in the fields of law and education as they think it is the way to equality for women in the society. "Liberal feminists emphasize the role of formal legal rights and the provision of equal opportunities practices in the advancement of women's educational achievement" (Routledge, 2005: 472). Thus, effective legislation in the field will solve problems. Liberal

feminist claims have found resonance in the state structures and led to many improvements in the educational opportunities of women. They have been quite effective and have changed the reality especially with the help of the refunds they were able to take from the governments but their aim is a reform, which is not enough to liberate women (Stromquist, 1990). Rather than challenging the existing framework of the society and the state they wanted to add women into the paradigm in which the norm was men.

For them the socialization of women is the problem. During the socialization process of women both at home and school, sexual discrimination has destructive effects. Affirmative action or positive discrimination appears as the solution. As Middleton (1993) states “women were seen as disadvantaged by our socialization -by sex-role stereotyping- and as in need of measure of compensatory education and affirmative action”. Through their studies they were able to reveal the problematic areas for girls in the curriculum, such as math, science or technological issues. They found that girls and boys are more successful in different subjects.

As Enns and Sinacore (2005) point out, gender role conditioning and irrational prejudices are the basic causes of oppression of women as they resulted in the denial of women’s educational rights. Therefore, critical thinking and rational analysis are important skills for the liberal feminist educator. In line with Tisdell (1998), Enns and Sinacore claim that the maintenance of a classroom environment that encourages all learners but especially girls to excel in nontraditional fields is important in this approach. These feminists insist that the educational institutions need to be reformed for a gender-neutral education.

The Sex Discrimination Act in 1975 can be taken as an achievement of liberal feminist policies. The failure of liberal feminism to address equality in private

sphere that is *inside* the house is also present in the act. Although the rights of women in the public sphere, especially for fair wage, were targeted, the double burden of women was not mentioned (Arnot, 2002). The feminists to come were to address that point as well as the sexism inherent in the education system.

II.3.2 Radical Feminist Theory

Arnot (2002) points out that by the late 1970s feminist critics of education were content that liberal approaches would not suffice for social equality. There was a need for a more radical approach to reveal the roots of patriarchy and they turned to radical feminism. By using the motto ‘personal is political’ radical feminists politicized gender relationships in all domains and revealed the power relationships related to sex. Early radical feminists of the 1960s contend that women’s oppression is universal and constitutes the base for other types of oppression.

Radical feminist pedagogy encourages teachers to give women’s experiences the place they deserve in the curriculum. They consider the education system as male oriented and thus alienating women to their own experience and demand that the achievements and contributions of women be included in the curriculum (Middleton, 1993).

A radical feminist teacher aims at the integration of the students to collective action by women since radical feminism aims at transformation of the society and asserts that the knowledge of women, which they gained through

oppression, will be the basis of transformation. This tenet of radical feminism goes in line with Freire's belief that the society will be transformed by the oppressed through the self-awareness they gain via education.

A classroom organized according to the tenets of radical feminist pedagogy is modeled on the women's consciousness raising groups of the 1970s. The affective processes are valued nearly equal to the cognitive processes and the atmosphere is as nonhierarchical as possible. As Enns and Sinacore (2005) point out, patriarchal ways of thinking result in a polarized model of the world, in which men and women are considered the opposites of each other. This model of thinking creates two different worlds for women and men and values one over the other. In the radical feminist classroom these binary opposites are integrated by valuing both of them. Thinking is not positioned against feeling in such a classroom, just like feminine is not positioned against masculine. This way the students are expected to transcend the binary oppositions.

Unlike a liberal feminist educator, a radical feminist teacher might argue that women only classrooms and female educators are more beneficial for girls. The underlying assumption is that, at the presence of males the females might not be able to reveal the unconscious ways they reproduce patriarchal values.

Since radical feminism has an emphasis on male control over women's bodies, radical feminist pedagogy problematizes sexual harassment and rape in educational settings. Sexual violence is used as a control mechanism by males so fighting against it is part of their policy. Gender and Women's Studies Departments at universities can be taken as an achievement of this strand. Backed by the strong women's movement, feminists established these departments to empower women and challenge the sexism in the academia.

They were criticized for taking women as a homogeneous category and the ways of subordination of women similar to each other. In their analysis of patriarchy they did not involve economic issues. This gap was to be filled by the socialist feminists.

II.3.3. Socialist Feminist Theory

Socialist feminist theory has its roots in Marxism and its proponents claim that the oppression of women cannot be understood without taking economic conditions into consideration. The line between socialist and Marxist feminism needs to be drawn. The approach of adding women into the existing paradigm can be alleged for liberal feminists was also targeted at Marxist feminists. Marx himself did not write about the subordination of women in his lifetime. Later Engels wrote about the origins of family and the rise of capitalism. Marxism ignored patriarchal ideology and the power relationships between sexes. **Thus** Marxist feminists try to explain the inequalities among school pupils using class system and blame education for transmitting middle-class values. They problematize women's household labour and pay attention to women's position in the production relations. They conducted research on how education system contributed to sexual division of labor since it is one of their main criticisms to the system. (Middleton, 1993) Socialist feminism moved one step further and recognized the system as both patriarchal and capitalist, which is also called dual-systems approach. Patriarchy and capitalism are analyzed as two separate but interconnected systems. There have also been some socialist feminists who considered capitalism and patriarchy as a unified system. Young argued that

using division of labour instead of the gender blind class category would lead to the inclusion of women into analysis (Tong, 1998). Jaggar on the other hand, utilized another Marxist concept, alienation, to explain the subordination of women (Tong, 1998). Despite these attempts, class is still viewed as an indispensable tool of analysis in most of socialist feminist analysis. “Students and teachers were studied as simultaneously and contradictorily positioned within the social relations of class and gender” (Middleton, 1993; 42). This approach revealed the ways the working class girls are at a double disadvantage in the schooling system.

Tisdell claims that both radical and socialist feminist pedagogies problematize “social structures and their effects on learning as well as the politics of knowledge production in what gets passed on as ‘official’ knowledge in the curriculum and who determines it” (1998: 2).

In their emphasis on class and gender subordination they establish an organic link to critical theories. The order of structural and cultural reproduction and critical production theories can also be traced among the work of socialist feminists.

Deem (1981) claims that schools are central to the process of the maintaining and reproducing the existing sexual division of labour. Like the other structural critical theorists she was criticized for not leaving room for resistance. The following feminists replaced the concept of reproduction with hegemony. This way the concept of resistance acquired new meanings. The studies of McRobbie (Apple, 2006, Weiler, 1988) on working class girl subcultures in England highlighted the use of sexuality as resistance by girls. This study is the counterpart of Wills’ study of masculine working class resistance culture of

boys in England as mentioned above. In both studies counter school subcultures serve the reproduction of working class culture (Weiler, 1988). In another study, Fuller found different strategies among black British girls who were under the double oppression of sexist black culture and racist white culture. They take control of their own lives by studying hard. According to these feminists schools are contradictory places for girls as they provide the chance to resist male hegemony while transmitting gender-stereotyped values (Weiler, 1988).

II.3.4. Postmodern Feminism

After the 1980s many feminists working in the field of education turned to postmodernism or poststructuralism with the effect of Foucault and his analysis of power relations (Kenway & Modra, 1992, Sinacore & Enns, 2005). Postmoderns and poststructuralists are critical of the modernist project that has its roots in Enlightenment. They claim that this mode of thinking is based on binary oppositions or dualisms and argue that it cannot be used for liberation.

Postmodern feminists are distinguished by their emphasis on the diversity among women. However, they were not the first group of feminists to highlight diversity issues. Black feminists and lesbian feminists had already problematized the various positions women occupy and different forms of subordination they face in society. They brought into the picture other kinds of subordination women experience and the ways these different subordinations fragment women. They work on class, gender and ethnicity relationships and the ways they are related to power. They demand that the pupils learn about the ways they themselves are subordinated and subordinate others and thus gain an awareness of the power relations. The ways that power works in women's

everyday lives are analyzed. This kind of an analysis reveals the ways female pupils receive contradictory messages in different contexts.

Their emphasis on subjective positions of subordination leads to micro studies on the everyday life of women, which might be left unlinked to macro level studies. However, they problematize the relationships among structures and individuals. For them language is a central issue and the use of discourse analysis as well as deconstruction is a common tool of analysis. The aim is to deconstruct the dominant structures and to abolish the binary oppositions such as men - women, emotion – mind, which appeared in historical process. Their problematics are production of knowledge, source of knowledge, what counts as knowledge, voice, authority and subjectivities of individual (Tissdell, 1998). There are postmodern feminists who claim that for political reasons macro theories still need to be occupied for the benefit of women.

The focus on subjectivity, difference, and deconstruction of identities is a threat to social movements such as feminism. By deconstructing the category of women they make social struggle impossible. Some postmodern feminists, such as Lather and Tissdell (Tissdell, 1998, Weiler, 1988) share the same worry and argue for feminist postmodernisms of resistance. Postmodernism is not based on social movement but generated among academicians and thus lacks the goal of social transformation. Giroux (1991) is of the idea that feminism provided postmodernism with a politics.

Poststructural feminists present a detailed analysis of critical and feminist pedagogies³. For them elimination of sex stereotyping and gender bias in the

³ “Feminisms and Critical Pedagogy” edited by Carmen Luke and Jennifer Gore is a compilation of articles by feminists who position themselves poststructuralist. Most of the authors in the compilation have previous experiences with critical pedagogies and later turned to poststructuralism on account of their belief that it silences diverse groups and women in the classroom.

curriculum, which is suggested by critical and feminist pedagogies, is a superficial solution to subordination of girls and ignores their agency. This is linked to their idea that “as teacher, student and knowledge interact, knowledge is produced, negotiated and transformed” (Kenway& Modra, 1992: 143).

The theories that relate the school and its functions to the society are presented in this chapter. Although it is necessary to situate it in the relations in the whole society to understand the inequality, one also needs to pay attention to the relations and procedures inside the institution. The next chapter presents theories and research about the internal dynamics of schools.

CHAPTER III

TEACHING & GENDER: MEETING THE CHALLENGES

This Chapter presents what goes on inside the schools including the nature of interactions, the organizations, the selection of knowledge to be taught, and the ways to teach.

Teaching has been regarded appropriate for women throughout history because it is viewed as an extension of women's jobs as nurturers and caretakers of children, which are both part of women's traditional duties in the household. Besides teaching, occupations that have assisting roles, such as nurses and secretaries, were the first jobs of women in the public sphere. Jane Eyre, the character of Charlotte Brontë's novel of the same name, and Feride in *Çalığışu*, a Turkish classical novel are the first examples that come to mind for the female teacher. Women still hold exceptionally large ratios of teaching positions at schools with an exception of administrative positions.

In order to challenge the patriarchal hegemony in the field of education we must first put the profession of teaching into an historical and social context with a gendered perspective and relate it to the existing situation.

Walkerdine (1990) draws a parallel between the mother and the teacher. She claims that women were first educated for better mothering but this was also parallel to their tasks in primary schools. The nurturing and caring role of women is seen appropriate for this task and bourgeois women started entering

the field in large numbers. The demands of women's movement to enter higher education first resulted in entering teacher colleges of the time. "The rise in bourgeois women's education and in teacher training go hand in hand" (p: 69). The teacher's role is not producing knowledge but nurturing the child to produce knowledge in the future. Thus, the woman is still in her domain as an elementary school teacher.

Only in an historical context can the ideas about the reasoning abilities of women and their reflections on women's education be understood. From Descartes to Rousseau, rationality was attributed to men, women were first viewed as not apt for learning, then to be educated in a different way as intellectual work of women would harm the reproductive powers and endanger the species (Walkerdine, 1990). For example, Rousseau described a reasoning woman as a "reasoning monster".

In a world where success is defined by making money teaching loses its prestige day-by-day. Schools seem to give the message that pupils should study lest they be like their teacher. Teachers are deskilled by means of strict syllabi and technology and their role as intellectuals is undermined but they are the ones who can make a difference. (Apple, 2006)

III.1. Teacher Attitudes and Expectations

Since Sandler and Hall coined the term 'chilly climate' in 1982 and documented the various subtle ways males and females are taken care at school, a lot has been said and discussed in the field of women's education. Yet, after twenty-five years their findings are still worth bearing in mind to understand the

condition of girls at school today. The characteristics of the chilly climate are listed as such:

- Girls and women get typically less attention, less eye contact and less encouragement.
- Females are more likely to be praised for their attractiveness or neatness, whereas males are more likely to be praised for their work and creativity.
- When males speak, teachers often engage in a dialogue with them, whereas girls and women are more likely to receive the ubiquitous “uh-huh”.
- Female students may be interrupted more often and be called on less often in many classes.
- Teachers are more likely to call on males, even when females raise their hands.
- Men and boys are more likely to be called by their name than females.
- Teachers are more likely to ask males the harder, higher order “thinking” questions, such as “Why did the revolution occur?” By contrast, females are more likely to be asked factual, lower-order questions, such as “When did the revolution occur?” (Routhledge, 2005 : 481)

It is possible to cite countless studies conducted in many different countries since those times that have reached the same results. Unfortunately, these findings have become common sense knowledge among the people who have the slightest interest in the field.

To change attitudes implies changing perceptions, understanding, expectations, beliefs and language, all of which are deeply rooted in one’s experience, inherited

socio-cultural value system(s), prevalent modes of thinking, peer pressure, personal hopes and fears, and so much more, which is often difficult if not impossible to express. (UNESCO, 2000,130)

In their study Walkerdine and Walden (1990) found that teachers despise the qualities of being nice, kind and helpful but still expect them from their students. The girls with those qualities were described as lacking the spark although they were hard working. Ironically, these girls will probably grow to become teachers because the same teachers described themselves as little girls with those qualities. They also add that, the success of girls in mathematics is undermined by claiming that what they do is rote level learning, that they are not as risk taking and assertive as boys. As a result, the teachers might start to expect and demand less from girls. However, as women teachers "...we need to demand more, not less of women, both for the sake of their futures as thinking beings, and because historically women have always had to be better than men to do half as well." (Rich, 1985, 27)

Describing an elementary school classroom Jackson (1983) mentions the teachers function to make judgments of students' work and behavior and comments that "typically, in most classrooms students come to know when things are right or wrong, good or bad, pretty or ugly, largely as a result of what the teacher tells them" (1997:44). For him the points that teachers get angry about are not the failures about the subjects but the "violations of institutional expectations. This point may be related to negative feedback on non-intellectual matters which is received more often by boys.

There are two similar studies supported by research and experiment findings. One by Lich and Dweck (1983) and the other one by Serbin (1983). In both of

these studies researchers first ascertained the nature of teacher attitudes against boys and girls and then in experimental studies treated some students the way that the boys are treated and some others the way that girls are treated. The results showed that teacher expectations are self fulfilling prophecies since the students, regardless of their sex, gave the reactions boys give when treated like boys and vice versa. This finding also proves that teachers are able to override the internalized sex-typed behavior of their students when they are aware of their own attitudes and spend effort to change them. The first study will be reported briefly since its findings explain the varying attitudes of teachers against boys and girls and its far-reaching implications.

The series of studies by Lich and Dweck (1983) on the achievement orientations of the two sexes are quite effective in showing the effects of teacher attitudes toward pupils. It has been observed that the nature of feedback boys and girls receive in elementary school level differs. Boys receive more negative feedback on non-intellectual traits while girls receive positive feedback of the same kind. In time, the students who receive more negative feedback attribute it to teacher's negative attitude against themselves and not to their failure. On the other hand, the ones who receive more feedback especially on non-intellectual matters attribute positive feedback to again teacher's attitude against themselves. The effect of positive feedback after negative feedback on non-intellectual matters is confidence boosting. Boys' attitude of attributing failure to external reasons is also reinforced by teachers who attributed it to insufficient effort of boys eight times more than they did with girls. This finding is important since it reveals the confidence building effect of the feedback boys receive. Belief in one's achievement is one of the most important determinants of success and it is highly related to self-confidence.

On the other hand there are teachers who are actively engaged in creating an atmosphere to foster the learning of girls. The equality and equity frameworks are the two choices of teachers who want to create a gender sensitive learning environment. The teachers adopting the former framework may take the students individually and ignore the gender stereotypes whereas the teachers who adopt the latter framework are aware that one gender is less empowered and needs to be treated in a special way. The three methods employed by teachers for the creation of gender equitable environment are using non-sexist language, cooperative tasks, and organizing the class environment to mix the sexes. (Streitmatter, 1994).

III. 2. Forming a Counter-Hegemonic School and Achieving a Non-sexist Education

Feminist counter-hegemony is described as:

The creation of a self-conscious analysis of a situation and the development of collective practices and organization that can oppose the hegemony of the existing order and the begin to build the base for a new understanding and transformation of society. (Weiler, 1988)

This definition has striking similarities with the definition of non-sexist education. “The term non-sexist education refers to intentional and systematic interventions to counteract sexism in society by educational means” (Routledge,2000: 505). The first adaptation of this perspective has been the formation of Gender and Women Studies Departments. Since those departments serve to a restricted number of people, all of whom are university graduates its use has been quite limited.

A counter-hegemonic school needs to be empowering for all marginalized groups starting with women. Bhasin (1992) states, “Formal education and knowledge have subordinated and disempowered women”; that is why they need to be empowered today. The concept of empowerment of women has two distinct approaches that need to be clarified. A radical empowerment approach entails the conscientization of the pupils, in the Freirean sense of the word whereas the more commonly occupied concept of empowerment of women is liberal and has been utilized after the neo-liberal climate of the 1980s in the development for disadvantaged groups discourse. For a sustainable development women’s education was equated to schooling, the decrease in birth rates and infant mortality. Such an individualistic approach did not aim at social transformation but a rise in the human capital of the individuals.

Stromquist (2002) seems to be a follower of the former approach to women’s empowerment. According to her empowerment consists of four dimensions. Each of which is equally important but not sufficient by itself:

- Cognitive, that is, critical understanding of one’s reality.
- Psychological, that is, feeling of self-esteem.
- Political, that is, awareness of power inequalities and the ability to organize and mobilize.
- Economic, that is, the capacity to generate independent income. (p:23)

Stromquist (2002) starts by how empowerment of women through formal education is possible but continues with informal/adult education, as she believes that all four dimensions of empowerment can only be applied in adult education. As to elementary education, only the two dimensions are realizable but the following steps of education can establish the basis for the other two dimensions.

When referring to primary and secondary schooling, empowerment should enable girls (children and adolescents) to develop the knowledge and skills to nullify and counter sexual stereotypes and conceptions of masculinity and femininity that limit the social potential of women. (p: 26)

Forming counter-hegemonic school necessitates a lot of effort by the teachers. One obstacle can be the unwillingness of the teachers to adopt such a standing. Acker poses the question why the teachers show so little effort on the issue and looks for the explanations of teacher resistance in four different ways. First, the anti-sexist initiatives might not be appealing to teachers; second, characteristics of the teachers might be a barrier; third, teachers might not accept them because of their ideologies about gender or education like child centered learning, environmental determinism, neutrality; fourth, the conditions of teachers, such as micro-politics at the school, classrooms, colleagues and their expanding role, might not be encouraging a change in their attitudes (Acker,1988).

Another obstacle on the way to social transformation for gender equality is the hegemonic nature of patriarchy. As it is stated in the previous chapter, Gramsci's concept of hegemony explains why change against the dominant ideology is difficult. The patriarchal hegemonic ideology continually requires the consent of women. The women themselves might have adopted patriarchal ideology and might be reproducing it. Therefore, a woman teacher does not mean that the class is gender equal or a woman principal does not mean that the school climate is not sexist any more. On the other hand, profeminist male teachers or female teachers who do not call themselves feminist might as well work for gender equality at school. It is important that the teachers be close to their students. Among the students, resistance to school authority might prevail in different forms and sometimes work to their disadvantage in the long run. They cannot make use of the liberating potential of school. The relationship

between the teacher and the students are important in overcoming the resistance students show to school. (Kessler, 1985)

A third obstacle is discussed by Dale Spender (1983) who argues that efforts of the teachers to create an equal environment in the class arouse resistance of the male students since they are used to being privileged, having the advantage. They resist talking about women's experiences. Girls on the other hand are used to being marginalized and even engage in the conversation about male experiences. Such instances prove that feminist teachers need to be backed up by the prevailing culture and the administration at schools. Otherwise, their ideas may easily be marginalized.

The resistance by boys needs to be addressed by policies that target them. When Kessler and his colleagues (1985) inquired why the campaigns to combat sexism at schools could not be successful, they emphasized that those campaigns did not target male students. Male teachers are especially important in reaching the boys since they are also the role models and they can act as the allies within. This is not an easy task in the light of Stanworth's (1983) findings that male teachers differentiate between boys and girls more sharply and pay less attention to girls compared with the female teachers.

According to Kessler and his colleagues (1985) the argument that schools are gender-stereotyping pupils is not enough to explain the situation. They explain that there are specific gender regimes at schools, which are subject to change over time or in case of intervention. Furthermore, masculine and feminine roles are multiple and according to the gender climate some forms become hegemonic or emphasized. Achieving a non-sexist education means taking the gender climate at that school into consideration.

III. 2. 1. Feminist Critical Pedagogy

To address the situation of women in the field of education, a feminist critical approach seems necessary. Feminist critical pedagogy is the outcome of the feminist pedagogies that go in line with the feminist strands mentioned in the second chapter.

The basic critiques and demands of each feminism bear relevance to this pedagogy which needs to address the problems women face on account of education. Liberal feminist pedagogy demanded equal access to education. This demand still continues to be valid for the existing situation of women especially in the developing countries of the third world. The radical feminist claim for the validation of women's experience is another point to be kept in mind. In their fight against patriarchy radical feminists emphasize the collective struggle of women and the need for empowerment sometimes in women only environments. Their focus on the use of sexual harassment and abuse in all spheres to control women is still viable as it is one of the most restricting forces on women's lives. Socialist feminists took the patriarchy analysis of radical feminists and equipped it with capitalism analysis (Walby, 1994). The positions of women in production relations both in the labour force and household are revealed by their efforts. They are also influential in showing that female pupils from different classes are affected by sexism in the education system in varying ways. Postmodern feminists showed the diversity among women and proved that they cannot be taken as a unitary category.

Different kinds of feminisms and feminist pedagogies are not passe. In the contemporary world there are feminist groups and individuals from each strand and women still need to analyze the world from all these perspectives and device feminist policies accordingly. On the other hand, when considered in an historical perspective it is even possible to conclude that these diverse groups of

feminisms and feminist pedagogies are not positioned against each other but they are rather like a continuum. Each strand took women's issues from the point the prior analysis left and filled the gaps by paying attention to the previously ignored points. These theories are developed in relation to the developments of the time of their advent.

In the contemporary world, in which women's lives are so diverse in various parts of the world and different classes, feminists need to utilize all these theories. In times of globalism when capital transcends the borders, it is important that women concentrate on their similarities by acknowledging their differences to form alliances that transcend borders. Micro studies that are left unrelated to macro theories present a fragmented picture of the world and hinder a global perspective for women, which will highlight the similar underlying causes of women's subordination. At this point of the study, it is considered beneficial to turn to the work that tries to categorize and integrate the feminist and critical pedagogies under different titles.

According to Tisdell (1998), there are three categories in feminist pedagogy: Psychological, structural and postmodern. Psychological pedagogies emphasize empowerment on an individual basis and they are accepted among liberal and psychoanalyst feminists. Structural pedagogies have their roots in modern feminist theory such as Marxist and socialist feminist theories. They analyze the power relations within social structures. Tisdell criticizes them preventing being the subject of one's own life. Postmodern feminist pedagogy is the outcome of all the others for her. However, in this study it is averred that critical feminist pedagogy can address to the needs of women and other subordinated groups for two main reasons. First, as it was stated above, teachers need to help the students understand the power relations in macro levels and situate the ways they are subordinated. This will help them create new meanings for their lives

and lead to an empowerment in the Freirean sense. Second, the clearly set purpose of social transformation in critical feminist pedagogy is clearly in line with the main question of the study, which is ‘ can the teacher candidates act as the agents of change for a more gender equal society?’.

In this study the main points of critical feminist pedagogy have been compiled around three central issues. First of all, critical feminist pedagogy needs to follow the slogan ‘personal is political’. The feminist critical teacher who builds her instruction on the experiences of the learners needs to guide the learners to situate their own positions within the big picture of social power relations. She needs to caution that without gaining an awareness to analyze one’s own position and sources of subordination from a critical perspective, the oppression experiences of the learners will not suffice to empower them (Giroux, 1991, bell in Giroux, 1991). The sharing of experiences will lead to the establishment of empathy in the classroom. The creation of a safe atmosphere for the students to gain their voices is necessary but the size of the classroom as well as the physical setting is important. In a small class it is easier first for the teacher to pay attention to each student one by one and second for the students express themselves. The ideal seating is a circular form in which all the students can see each other. As Tan and her colleagues (1998) state, a large classroom poses problems in the implementation of this pedagogy.

Second point to be mentioned about critical feminist pedagogy is its goal of social transformation. Jackson (1997) looks at the ways the radical and liberatory pedagogies inform feminist pedagogy as well as what feminist pedagogy adds to them and determines the ultimate goal of social transformation as the first principal in both of them. In such a context social transformation refers to a democratic society in all respects. Therefore, feminist critical pedagogy needs to appeal to all kinds of discrimination at the same time

and create an environment of democracy in the classroom. Democracy is not only a goal to be attained but a part of the processes in the classroom.

A third point about critical feminist pedagogy is its emphasis on critical thinking skills and the process. As Shackelford (1992) asserts, “central to the agenda of feminist pedagogy is empowering students to become critical and creative learners” (p:570). One of the underlying purposes of emphasizing critical thinking skills is to help the learners become less dependent on the authority of the teacher. This way the students are encouraged to be active agents of learning. The process receives as much emphasis as the outcome thus the procedures in a classroom are important in feminist pedagogy. ‘The ends do not justify the means’. Therefore, a teacher who has internalized the values of feminist pedagogy will compromise a model in the classroom by the egalitarian nature of her or his interaction with the students. In such a classroom the aims and objectives of instruction are shared with the students and they have a say in the formation of the curriculum. The teacher acknowledges their subject positions and the decisions are made all together.

Feminist critical pedagogy is not devoid of flaws. It has been experienced that the differences and different kind of subordinations among learners can lead to tensions in the classroom (Tan et. al., 1998). To overcome those tensions or to minimize their effects differences among learners need to be acknowledged not ignored. This way alliance can be formed among them.

III.2.2. Transforming the Curriculum

For a school that transmits the values of gender and class equality, both the curriculum and the hidden curriculum need to be addressed. The curriculum refers to the actual branches of study covered in the classroom and it has written and clear objectives and assessment techniques. The hidden curriculum, on the other hand, is not written down and, as the name suggests, it is not explicit.

Curriculum is comprised of knowledge that a society wants to transfer to its following generations. The selection of this knowledge is political. In Apple's words this field stages "the utterly complex struggles over who has the right to "name the world" (Apple, 2004: 179). Giroux (1991) asserts that curriculum should no longer be viewed as a sacred text and teachers should be able to make some adaptations on it. The curriculum should not only reflect positivist epistemology that is based on binary oppositions and the knowledge of daily life needs to take its place. Besides, social struggles need to be incorporated into the curriculum. Their omission presents a society based on consensus by distorting the complex power relations in the real world.

In this part, first the textbooks as the basic materials covered in the school are elaborated from a gender perspective. Then, the discussions around the importance of using gender-neutral language are reflected and some examples of extra curricular activities are mentioned as a way to cope with sexism.

The teachers or ex-teachers write most textbooks. The textbooks to be covered are selected by the teachers, which also gives them the chance to affect the publishing houses and their policies by their demands. Above all, the way the material is handled in the classroom affects the way pupils perceive it and form their own interpretation. Whether the teacher is critical, approving, or blind to

the relations based on gender and other types of subordination in the material is as important as the material itself.

One important area of concern is sex role stereotyping in course-books. Research reveals that the gender roles are set in those books. This might be because it is easy to receive attention by using stereotypes. Although it is not written directly that the men are breadwinners while the women are prone to secondary jobs (like teaching) or homemaking, gender stereotypes are transmitted (Streitmatter, 1994). The household division of labour is clearly distributed between the sexes. Males initiate nearly all mixed dialogues and family photographs are presented with the name of the man in the center. Following the precautions taken to improve the situation of girls in education, an improvement has been observed in course-books in the West. Unfortunately, non-sexist course-books are not common. Other than the ready made material, like textbooks, the language of the teacher is very important since students are exposed to it for a long time.

Provided that the teacher has gender awareness, even the sexist language of textbooks can be used to sensitize the pupils on gender issues. Once the learners are equipped with necessary vocabulary and ways to avoid sexist language it can even be turned into a chance to practice their critical thinking skills. (Baba, 2006: 178)

Feminists have been working to reveal the sexist uses of language and to enhance gender-neutral language since 1970s. In 1980 Dale Spencer argued in “Man Made Language” that the subordination of women was structured in he/man language. Since then, the improvement especially in the written language has been striking but research shows that gender-neutral language is not taught in the classrooms. It is essential that the students are taught a language which does not discriminate against individuals or groups based on

sex, race, religion, sexual orientation or disability. To encourage the use of gender-neutral language many universities and institutions in the West brought their own guidelines. Some of the most commonly mentioned items are briefly accounted below.

Research in different age groups have revealed the use of man as generic brings to mind adult males only, not females or males and females together (Stanworth, 1985). This attitude suggests that all people are male unless it is told otherwise and present males as the only subjects in life. Besides, it leads to confusion in some contexts, as the words do not make it clear weather they refer to humanity or males only. Thus the use of words like human or people are encouraged.

Another form of sexism in language is the use of suffixes ‘-ess’ and ‘-ette’ since they specify the gender of a professional, which is not necessary and give the message that some jobs are more suitable for one gender. The title Ms. is favored for women especially in occupational contexts since the use of the titles Miss and Mrs. unnecessarily reveal the marital status of women and describe them through their relations to men. Assuming that a group of people belongs to one sex only is considered as faulty as attributing certain traits and duties to one sex only. Valuing men for their accomplishments and women only for their physical traits is seen equally destructive (Baba, 2006).

The points that are left blank by curriculum can be filled by supplying it with extra curricular activities to address sexism or gender typing. Extra curricular activities can empower girls. One example was provided by Bell (1996) who describes some of the activities conducted in an urban elementary school to empower girls. The three-year project REACH, aimed at researching the ways to empower girls to be more conscious and assertive especially about the

problems they face at school. The researchers formed two groups for girls according to their ages. The activities were based on the consciousness-raising model of the 1970s. The groups held discussions about the problems they faced at the school and the girls were able to form solidarity despite their racial differences. The girls both enjoyed the weekly meetings and began to analyze the school culture against them. The discussion topics ranged from achievement and failure issues at school to the image of women in the media. Through role-playing technique they realized the contradictions at school and developed their assertiveness. The group also held sessions with professional women from masculine stereotyped jobs and provided the girls with various role models. In the end the girls took collective action and went to the local authorities to ask for funds for the girls club. Bell concludes that this model can help the empowerment of girls until the school cultures change to their advantage.

Another example for an extra curricular activity aimed at introducing schoolgirls with women from professions and masculine stereotyped jobs. Although it was costly, in 1987 a mobile road show toured Britain to present role models from professions and hosted over two thousand females (Delamont, 1990). Providing the girls with the chances to meet women from different professions can also take the form of getting those women to visit the schools, which will not be costly.

III.2.3. Transforming the Hidden Curriculum

Jackson (1983) emphasizes three characteristics of schools; that children are there for a long time, that the settings are uniform and that it is compulsory. The students are expected to learn and obey some basic rules within the first years so they must develop some strategies to deal with these rules. At school

students learn patience and “to accept the plans and policies of higher authorities, even when their rationale is unexplained and their meaning unclear” (Jackson,1983: 59). In other words, there are unwritten rules in school that the students are expected to obey.

The messages that can be inferred from the way the school is run and the ways the teacher exercises power in the classroom form the hidden curriculum. The hidden curriculum is mentioned as one of the barriers to gender equity. Because most of the time there are different and discriminatory set of rules for girls and boys.

Assigning tasks in line with household division of labour to boys and girls or establishing different dressing codes or creating groups based on sex and thus segregating boys and girls all give messages to students. Physical education classes, in which the sexes are separated can set an example to such kind of practice. The policies of assigning more funds and facilities to activities more popular among boys and ignoring activities for girls are also common practices. Although they are not stated directly, the students infer the underlying messages and comply with them. Most of the time these are also the expectations of the society from individuals of different genders. Dreeben sees the hidden curriculum as “shaped by the invisible hand of the social system” (1983: 67).

Vallance calls the “nonacademic but educationally significant consequences of schooling that occur systematically but are not made explicit at any level of the public rationales for education”, the hidden curriculum (1983: 11). For her, it is not a new phenomenon as the schools in America had the objective of transmitting traditional culture and creating a homogeneous society from the beginning. The schools have been teaching ‘for docility’, operating to reinforce an inflexible class structure. Apple and King (1983) agree with Vallance on that

hidden curriculum and its intentions are not new and it had the aim of homogenization but changed in time with the influence of functionalism and modernism. Today, the effects of hidden curriculum can be observed in the importance of skills emphasized for girls and boys. Stromquist, (1990) claims that the formal schooling does not transmit values to contradict the gender roles of women.

The students can also infer messages by simply looking at the division of labour among teachers at school. If the members of the same sex fill all the administrative positions, this will lead to an association of power and authority to that sex in students' minds. Other than their sex, the ideology of the teachers and administrators are also important. The ideology of the teachers and principal are translated into an atmosphere in which the students are expected to behave in certain ways. This way the students are exposed to a certain gender ideology for years. That is why the hidden curriculum is important. It is impossible not to agree with Kohlberg since "the need to make the hidden curriculum an atmosphere of justice, and to make this hidden curriculum explicit in intellectual and verbal discussions of justice and morality, is becoming more and more urgent" (1983: 76).

Weiner (2004), has determined the ways in which education feminists have worked as political, critical, and practical. First, education feminists have tried to change the conditions and life prospects of girls and women in the political arena. Second, they have provided a critique of forming and receiving knowledge, which will be further elaborated in the methodology chapter. Third, they have struggled to form more egalitarian and ethical forms of practice to increase female participation in every field. These three are deeply connected to each other and the last way is the focus of this thesis.

In line with Weiner, this study argues that there are no blanket prescriptions that can be proposed to solve the gender inequality problems in the education system. Cultural, social, and historical settings are all important factors in determining ways to cope with sexism and other kinds of oppression such as racism, homophobia, and ethnocentrism in local settings.

As it has been presented in the previous chapter feminism does not provide a unified perspective for education. Therefore, it is a challenging task to form a feminist pedagogy that will take into account the entire feminist concerns. However, based on the issues presented some basic principals for a critical feminist pedagogy will be derived.

- It needs to have focus on ethics as central principle both in curriculum design and practice. The issues of equality are not only important for the formation of a more democratic society per se but also it is a responsibility of the individual to the society.
- It needs to work to achieve a multi-voiced classroom in which the learners feel safe to be and to express themselves. As a micro world it will model the relations among individuals who realize the differences of individuals and practice equality.
- Traditional gendered expectations from individuals are not normalized and reproduced but challenged by looking for the reasons in relations of domination.
- The subject positions of learners are acknowledged by involving them in decision-making procedures as much as possible and by informing them about aims of instruction. This way the school will become transparent and open to change.
- The students are empowered to analyze the world and their own positions.

- Critical thinking skills are incorporated into the curriculum instead of memorization and rote learning to reach the universal truth
- Sexism in language needs to be avoided and the ways to avoid it need to be taught.
- In case sexist material needs to be used it should not go uncriticized.
- The allocation of the resources and facilities need to be equitable for each group and sex at school. The hidden curriculum needs to give the messages of equality and democracy.

CHAPTER IV

GENDER & EDUCATION IN TURKEY

Elementary education is both a right and obligation for both sexes and is offered free of charge in state schools in Turkey. From the beginning of the Republic it was for five years and covered the ages between seven to eleven. Since 1997 it is for eight years. There are huge regional differences in both achievement and schooling rates within the country. Turkey, as a developing country still needs to benefit from the modernist project of education. The gap between the illiteracy rates of women as well as the gap between their employment rates needs careful scrutinizing. As a consequence of the neo-liberal policies the ratio of employed women, which had been rising until then, started falling in the 1980's. The claims of liberal feminists for equal access to education are pursued to eliminate this gap. These policies are crucial and need to be implemented. Yet, on their own they are not enough to address the current situation.

Gök and Tan agree that elementary education has a transformative potential to create critical consciousness and equality and challenge sexist values but in its current situation it is in harmony with the prevailing inequalities in society. According to Gök (1995), whether the liberatory function of education is fulfilled needs to be questioned since it leads women to jobs with low prestige and limited income in the field of reproduction rather than production. Under the current circumstances the education of women does not challenge the existing gender order in the country. Gök argues that the analysis on women in

education needs to be conducted at the interaction of public and private spheres because the educational achievements of women are not reflected in the labour market. Both Tan (1994) and Sayılan (2006) argue that the effects of patriarchal family structure, Muslim traditions, and underdeveloped capitalism strike women in Turkey.

Tan claims that women's education through republican reform had two effects on social transformation. First, it questioned patriarchy and created the women citizen donated with civil and political rights. Second, it deconstructed the structure determined by Muslim traditions (Tan, 1994). The Republican reforms were in line with the feminist demands of the time in the West. These demands were liberal in nature and wanted to achieve equality with men. The roles of women in the private sphere went unquestioned and not challenged in the process. Therefore, women received extra responsibilities as wage earners without denying their existing workload in the house. Because there has not been a change in male attitudes about the household division of labour, the working woman is still under double burden.

There are two studies in the field of education that might help understand the gender ideology of the Turkish Republic, Helvacıoğlu's (1996) study on textbooks and Akşit's (2005) study on Girls' Institutes. One of the most influential studies that reveal the history of women in education has been by Akşit. According to her, girls' education had a central position in legitimizing the state ideology. For her "In the transition from the empire to the republic young women were the essential constituents of the modernist project" (p:219). The first generation students of the Girls' Institutes were to create social transformation by affecting their families, neighbors and the following generations. These girls were silenced while trying to achieve the impossible task of transmitting the Western civilization but keeping the national character.

Helvaciođlu⁴ establishes a link between the state ideology and the representation of women in textbooks. In her studies, it is possible to find striking examples of the presentation of women in textbooks starting from 1928 (Gümüőođlu, 2006). In the early years of the Republic women were encouraged to take part in the public sphere as free citizens, in line with the needs of the young Republic. However, starting as early as 1945 there has been a counter-revolution about the stats of women in textbooks. After the 1950s women started to be presented within the household doing domestic chores and the apron became their uniform. Opposite roles have been perpetuated for men and women in the textbooks since then. Along with Atatürk's saying that 'women are the first teachers of children', in the early years of the Republic they were the bearers of knowledge along with the males whereas in the later years the only thing they could teach was to make jam or pickles according to the textbooks. In her more recent work Gümüőođlu claims that it is possible to find more women in textbooks today but they are still sexist and household tasks are still women's responsibility (2006). The altruistic mother figure of the 1990s, who lives for the others and is loved and respected for this reason, is hardly empowering for the schoolgirls.

⁴ Helvaciođlu and Gümüőođlu are in fact the same person, although in some studies her early and later work has been taken as if two different people conducted it. The change in her surname apparently signifies a change in her marital status. Only after the change in the Turkish Civil Code have women started to keep their maiden names without appealing to the court.

IV.I. Women & Teaching in Turkey

In Turkey a women's job is acceptable so long as it does not interfere with her household duties and the common belief is that teaching is compatible with those duties (Helvacioğlu, 1996). Fathers both in rural and urban areas consider teaching the most desirable job for their daughters (Tan, 1996). That is partly because it is assumed that teaching will not interfere with their domestic responsibilities and it is a prestigious job that is considered secure for women. In line with these beliefs, teaching was the first public profession for women in Turkey (Tan, 1996).

Today women constitute 44% of the elementary school teachers. However, this concentration is not reflected on the ratios in the administrative states of school. Only 3% of elementary school principals are women (UNICEF, 2003). Higher up the hierarchy, closer to the decision-making positions both at schools and the Ministry of Education women are a real minority.

On the surface level, Acar and her colleagues' (1999) findings that women teachers come from higher socio economic classes and are better educated compared to their male counterparts at the same schools conflicts with the reality that women are not represented equally in the administrative levels. However, a closer examination of these women reveals that despite their high potentials teaching is not the priority in their lives. They chose the profession as a strategy to cope with their domestic responsibilities, which is the priority in their lives. Paradoxically, their standing as women teachers reproduces the gender ideology in the country.

Paradoxically, the participation of women in Turkey in higher education has been comparatively high in Turkey. Since the first years of the Republic the ratio of women in the academia has been high when compared to other countries including the 'first world' countries in the West. It was also striking that for years there had not been a concentration of women in any field. This has been one of the gains of the Republic for women. Yet, in the recent years, the trend in higher education shows that there is a tendency towards the feminization of specific departments, such as social sciences. The gap between the positions of women in the academia in the West and the Turkish Republic is closing. On the one hand this trend can be attributed to the upward mobility of girls from lower social classes. On the other hand it may be the result of sex role stereotyping of specific subjects. Either way Turkey will see further feminization of some professions and the roots of this trend need to be sought in earlier education as well as the society.

In her survey conducted in Eğitim-Sen, one of the leading trade unions in the area of education in Turkey, Sayılan (2003) found that 60 % of women working in the field of education think that affirmative action for women to reconstruct the field of education is necessary. 54 % of the same group asks for gender mainstreaming in all levels of education. This trade union has been one of the institutions to work in gender equality in the field of education. In the gender report of Eğitim-Sen the measures to be taken for gender equality are written as such:

- The barriers against women and girls to use their right to education need to be abolished.
- To achieve gender equality affirmative action needs to be taken
- All levels and materials of education need to be made free from sexism

- Teacher education programs need to be reassessed to incorporate gender sensitivity and gender sensitivity programs need to be offered to teachers.
- The institutional structures of education need to be democratised and cleansed from sexism.

IV.II. Recent Situation & Challenges

As late as 2007 it is possible to see research on gender conducted from a functionalist perspective, which has been depicted in the previous chapter as approving sexist division of labor. Aslan's master thesis concentrates on the gender role perceptions of the senior class girls from a vocational and a state high school. As a result this study fails to link the current situation of girls at schools to the existing position of women in society but presents a critique of the current educational system.

Aslan (2007) found that one of the most important variables to determine the educational expectations of girls in high school senior classes is the educational background of their mothers. The higher the education of the mother the more girls aspire to receive education. This research also shows that the new generation sees the employment of women compatible with marriage but the roles of women within the household remain intact (Aslan, 2007). However, the double burden of women will continue unless the household division of labour becomes fairer for both sexes. Although the young girls in the same study claim that women's employment is important for their economic independence, there is still the risk that they might flee to their domestic chores as housewives and mothers at the face of the high expectations both in the house and market. To eliminate that risk it seems necessary to see the other side of the coin, the male

gender roles. In the lack of research on the attainment of the male gender roles at school it is not possible to make predictions about the future generations and the household division of labour.

The studies in the field of women and girls and education seem to concentrate in two fields. The first group studied sexism in text-books (Helvacioğlu, 1996, Aslan, 2007, Arslan, 2000, Sivashgil, 2006, Kaya, 2003, Esen& Bağlı, 1997). These studies call for the elimination of sex role stereotypes in textbooks. Acuner (2006) reports that as a result a project entitled 'Human Rights in Textbooks' the but the new books which are expected to be free from sexism, are still not in use.

The second group of studies concentrates on the interaction between the teachers and students. According to the data presented by Baç and Torun on the gender bias and attitudes in teachers, the case of Turkey shows similarities with the West. Both of these studies claim that teachers not only shape the gender identity of students with their assumptions about the genders and expectations from them but also significantly affect the performance of the students in class and social life. The teachers in Baç's study (1997) are of the idea that jobs related to authority, power and merchandise are appropriate for boys whereas jobs related to caring, domestic work, verbal ability and physical presentation are more appropriate for girls. In line with that, they claim that males have ability in mathematics, physics and sports and females have ability in languages and music. Baç also compared the findings about the success and failure of girls and boys in the West with Turkey and found significant similarities. She revealed that teachers attribute the success of girls to external reasons and failure to internal reasons while the case was just the opposite for boys. According to teachers males are successful for internal reasons but when they fail it is because of external reasons.

Classroom observations reveal that boys receive more positive, negative and neutral comments from the teachers and dominate the classes (Baç, 1997). On the other hand in Torun's study teachers give equal positive and neutral feedback to boys and girls but the amount of reprimands boys receive is significantly higher (Torun, 2002).

The ideas of teachers on the nature of students from different sexes show a striking pattern. The adjectives that teachers use to describe their males students are adventurous, reckless, aggressive, active, and intelligent whereas they use quite different adjectives for girls. For them the girls are tidy, quiet, sensitive, respectful, and reliable (Baç, 1997). These findings are quite similar to Torun's. As a result teachers choose boys for leadership positions more often.

Torun states that "gender stereotypical ideas and beliefs play an important role in student teacher interaction and neither students nor teachers are aware of it" (Torun, 2002). Unequal treatment of boys and girls become normal and difficult to see because of different expectations from them. In the light of the information from those two studies, "chilly climate"

Torun and Baç's studies are important in the sense that they present what is actually going on in schools. Unfortunately, they both rely on gender roles theory, which is harshly criticized for reductionism by feminist scholars such as Tan. Furthermore, these studies fail to relate the micro practices to the macro practices and become ahistoric in that sense. In other words, they present gender as if it were an unchanging phenomenon and do not relate it to the political and economic circumstances of the time and country. This is also a result of their negligence of feminist theories in their work.

One study that analyzes a high school and its gender climate in the historical context of 2000 is by Özkazanç and Sayılan (2005). In this ethnographic study of a high school in Ankara, the scholars take a critical and feminist perspective and look for the resistance strategies of the students. In the neo-liberal climate of the 2000, some students, especially boys from lower classes, have lost their hope of empowerment by school. They contend that a hegemonic masculine culture prevails as the only form of resistance against the authority, which is symbolized by the authority of the mother-teacher at that school since the administrators are female. The masculine culture is provoked by the attitudes of the teachers and administrators, who treat males and females in totally different ways. Sexuality, which is evaluated as an evil act that boys do to the girls, is one important subject that reveals the gender climate of the school. The concept of chastity is viewed to be written in the female body and can be lost easily thus the girls are protected from boys and advised to do so. The study further explains the ways girls from different social classes are labeled and affected whether they take part in that culture or not. The resistance of girls took different forms; girls, unlike the boys from lower classes, believe in the empowering effect of school and for some of them studying hard is a long-term strategy for liberation.

Another study on high schools in Turkey seeks to answer the question “is there gender discrimination in the field of education?” Acar, Ayata, and Varoğlu (1999) found that the culture of discrimination exists in different forms in the three schools they examined. The state high school differed from the others by the presence of an egalitarian discourse while the private school lacked such a discourse. The male and female teachers were not sharing the same spaces at school. The religious high school, on the other hand, had a striking segregation policy. De facto physical segregation was the policy at that school. The scholars conclude that, despite the discriminatory culture that is ignored since it is

considered a harmless form of patriarchy in the other two, the religious high school reproduces discrimination as an ideology and deems structural measures necessary (Acar et. al., 1999).

As the testimonies and experiences of women teachers reported in Tan's study show educators in Turkey are active agents in the reproduction of sexism but they also reflect the idea that those women teachers can be the active agents of change in the transformation of the society. As Tan also states, personal efforts will not suffice for a total transformation of the social reality and there is a need for social projects, which also address males (Tan, 2004).

In Turkey gender is not a compulsory component of teacher education programs. Few universities offer elective courses to raise the gender awareness of the students. The experience at Ankara University where Gender and Education course was offered to prospective teachers as a compulsory course for a limited time, is important in that sense. The feedback instructors received show that the students thought university third grade was late for such a course (Tan et. Al., 1998). Considering female students the course achieved its objectives but the male students were not as successful and content: "To describe gender discrimination as a field of study in education was not acceptable for male students it since it is not considered a problem in the society" (p:375). Such resistance shows that although the course was necessary in teacher education it is too late to introduce the concepts of gender and gender equality at university especially for males, who have an advantage in the patriarchal system.

The Republican ideology is not enough to provide equal status for women in the society. It served the women in Turkey in at the beginning of the Republic but it was based on liberal demands and does not answer the needs of

contemporary world. Ironically, even the gains of women through the education reform of the 1920s are not maintained. The most recent curricula of the Ministry of Education have “the main purpose of the teaching practices is defined as the individual development adapted to national values and traditions” (p:68). Gender disparity is not reflected in the curriculum let alone gender inequality. Instead of the emphasis on the traditions and moral values of the society, which have been proven to be patriarchal, human rights and democratic values need to be incorporated if the aim is to serve better to the empowerment of students.

As the studies presented in this chapter show Turkey is far from achieving gender equality in education. To keep up with the demands of the international bodies Turkey has to concentrate work in the field. The two international documents that are binding for Turkey on the achievement of gender equality in education are Convention on the Elimination of All Kinds of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) and Education for All (EFA). According to EFA all the countries were to achieve gender parity in education, that is equal numbers of boys and girls at schools and full schooling in elementary level by the year 2005. UNICEF reports that Turkey is one of the twelve countries that bear the risk of not being able to achieve gender parity by 2015. The recent campaigns raised the schooling of girls to 92% in 2004-2005 academic year. One of the most successful campaigns was “Haydi Kızlar Okula’a”; campaign launched in 2003 in the coordination of the Ministry of Education and UNICEF. The campaign aimed at raising the schooling of girls and at the end of 2004; there were 73000 more girl enrollments to elementary school.

CHAPTER V

METHODOLOGY

This study is an attempt to turn back and look at the gender perspectives as they are reproduced through the schooling system, with a focus on the elementary school. Although some might consider using meta theories outdated, I contend that, in those times of late modernity, in the light of the changing realities, we need to clarify the existing power structures and the ways they are reproduced without blurring the realities. For this purpose socialist feminist theory will be utilized. This is not a denial of the types of diversity among women, nor is it ignoring the differences among the complex web of exploitative relationships. It is the feeling which keeps on saying that, while looking for the ways to reveal the types of inequality one is doomed to get lost unless there is the big picture, the map of the field which will ultimately establish the links between various attempts in the academia, such as this study, and the social praxis.

Both macro level analyses and micro level analyses are necessary to analyze the positions of women in the times of late-modernity. With all the insights from strands of feminist pedagogies feminists have an immense field of theory to rely on. Although conducting micro level analyses is crucial to understand the various circumstances of women, it should not be left unrelated to macro level. Gulbenkian commission (1995) argues that postmodern approaches should not be adopted to the extent of neglecting or rejecting theories. It is of paramount importance to emphasize the commonalities when explaining the experiences of women since there appears a pattern such as the concept of docility. In line with

those political perspectives of the researcher the study adopts a socialist feminist approach.

Being a feminist and a teacher I have long been interested in the inequalities in the field of education. From the very beginning my curiosity in the issue was aroused by feminist interests and the will to change the existing gender scheme. First, I wanted to reveal the circumstances that shaped my own life and answer questions such as: How did I end up being a language instructor although I was the brightest student in my elementary school class only followed by a male who later became a doctor? Why do I receive an approving smile when people learn that I am a teacher?

Second, why are the girls in minority especially in some areas at the university I have been working? Is it specific to my work place? How come I was not able to understand that boys were dominating the class until I utilized some external tools to analyze my own classes? And why were my colleagues keenly interested in whether their students complied with the gender role expectations in the society? These kinds of endless questions motivated me to take the issue more seriously and study it for my thesis. During the process most of my initial question were answered but this led to new ones. More importantly the process left me with the feeling that the school is not simply an arena where students gain necessary skills, it also contributes to the gender-power relations in the society by altering and legitimizing the gender perceptions of its students. The gender climate of the schools is the habitat of those young people for years. For such kind of a study it was essential that feminist methodology be utilized.

V.1. Feminist Methodology

Methodology is a theory and analysis of how research does or should proceed (Harding, 1987). Feminist methodology appeared as result of the efforts of feminist academics who claimed that traditional methodologies failed to reflect and explain the experiences of women. As social sciences were modeled on natural sciences, positivist and quantitative methods were commonly used in order to achieve objectivity and value-free science. In natural sciences research is conducted on natural phenomena and has the aim of taking the processes under the control of men. Applied to research on society, such methods easily turn into tools of the prevalent ideology that is sexism in a male dominated society. From this perspective, “those who do not actively struggle against the exploitation of women in everyday life are unlikely to produce social science research about any subject at all that is undistorted by sexism and androcentrism” (Harding, 1987; 12).

This methodology is political and ideological since it serves the ultimate goal of ending the social and economic circumstances that subordinate and exploit women. “An emancipatory social science would provide women with understanding of how their everyday worlds, their trials and troubles, were and are generated by the larger social structure” (Acker et. Al.,135). In line with this understanding, the research poses the questions whose answers will serve women. The researcher is presented with her subjective positions, such as gender, class, race and ethnicity in the research to break the authority of the invisible ‘knower’. The research process entails gaining consciousness both for the researcher and the participants (Mies, 1995) and it is important that the methods of gaining knowledge do not oppress the participants (Acker et. Al, 157).

By asking the question whether prospective elementary school teachers can be the agents of change for a more gender equal society, this study aims to serve first women then, the entire society. In order to give voice to the research subjects, it utilizes qualitative method and uses in-depth interview technique. This technique has been occupied for three more reasons. First, face-to-face interaction with the participants serves an opportunity to reach them, clarify the questions whenever necessary, and to see their immediate responses to the questions. Second, the form of a dialogue gives a chance to break the hierarchy between the participant and the researcher and creates a warmer atmosphere in which the participants become more open. Third, while trying to answer the questions the participants are engaged in a dialogue with the researcher as well as themselves. The questions are also written to help them question gender inequalities in education as well as their own lives. It is probable that the participants think about some of the issues raised by the questions for the first time in their lives. The experience is also aimed at leaving question marks in the minds of the participants. Owing to the dialogue established during the research process I was able to learn about them and the school environment through informal conversations, too.

V.2. Limitations of the Study

The interviews were conducted in the months of July and August while the participants were in summer school. Although the study does not claim that its findings are generalizable to all prospective teachers, the selection of participants from the group who attended summer school might have affected the research. In an informal (unrecorded) conversation the students said that they were attending summer school since they wanted to graduate early due to economic reasons.

Although I tried to establish rapport with the participants and break the hierarchy in line with the principals of feminist pedagogy, this might not have been possible with all of the participants since they knew that I am an instructor at a university. For example, they insistently called me ‘siz’ or ‘hocam’. I observed in some of the participants the effort to give the ‘right’ or expected answer and from time to time reminded them that there was no correct answer and I was interested in their opinions.

One limitation of the study has been the lack of elementary school teacher candidates for social sciences. The study includes teacher candidates from departments of Elementary Mathematics Education, Elementary Science Education, and Elementary Teaching. There is an Elementary Social Science Education Department only at Gazi University among the universities in the study. Participants from only one university would not suffice to form a group so elementary social science education was not included in the study.

V.3. Interview Questions

The main question that the thesis seeks to answer is quite complicated “Can the elementary school teachers be the agents of change for a more gender equal society?” For this reason, questions were necessary on more specific issues.

A. What are the gender-power relations in their family background? How do they evaluate them?

B. Is the socioeconomic background of the prospective teacher a determining factor in his or her gender perception?

- C. What are their gender perceptions? Do they have gender awareness?
- D. What do they think about the existing gender order in Turkey?
- E. What functions do they attribute to elementary school education?
- F. What do they think about the reproduction of gender through formal schooling?
- G. Do they want to address the needs of diverse groups among students?
- H. Do they have the will to change the disadvantaged position of women in education?
- I. Do they have the knowledge base to challenge the reproduction of the existing gender order through education?

The interview questions are structured. In total there were eighty-one questions (Appendix A) organized in nine parts to seek the answers of the following research questions presented above.

The first part of the interview form is comprised of demographic questions as well as the questions that give information about their social class. In the second part there are questions about the power relations including division of labor in their families and the ways they evaluate those relations. In the third part there are questions about the gender perceptions of the participant as they are reproduced and reflected on their on lives. The fourth part includes questions about the most urgent problems of women in Turkey, which aim to reveal the degree they are aware and the way they react to those situations. The fifth part is about the education perspectives of the participants and seeks to reveal the functions they attribute to education. The sixth part is about the reproduction of gender inequality through education and is followed by part

seven that includes questions about their will to change gender inequalities through education. In part eight, there are questions about their willingness to change themselves, the reactions that they would give to sexism in school and their capabilities to inflict transformation as acquired through teacher education program. The last part is about their willingness to appeal to the needs of subordinated groups such as ethnic, religious and sexual minorities.

The organization of the interview questions does not correspond with the order of the research questions. This is for practical reasons of trying to obtain the most detailed and valid knowledge from the participant. For example, the questions related to minorities are left to the last part of the interview since it is a hot issue in Turkey.

V.4. General Profile of the Participants

The total number of the interviews is thirty-four. Twenty-one participants are female while thirteen participants are male. As it was mentioned earlier the participants were chosen randomly on a voluntary basis. The higher representation of females in the sample is a result of the females' tendency to volunteer, their high ratios in Education Faculties and the feminist intention to give voice to women through the study.

Though it was possible to restrict the study to female candidates such an approach was not adopted since the study seeks to understand the transformative powers of the new generation teachers, some of whom are male.

The participants were either third or fourth year students of the Education Faculties. Sixteen participants were studying to become class teachers in the

first level of elementary schools, that is the first five years. Eighteen participants were studying to be teachers of mathematics or science in the second level of elementary education, which lasts for three years.

The participants were selected from three universities which are all located in Ankara; Hacettepe University, Middle East Technical University (METU) and Gazi University. Since there is no department for class teachers at METU only ten participants are chosen from that university whereas there are twelve participants from each of the two other universities. As it was mentioned before, the participants were studying at the Departments of Elementary Teaching, Elementary Science Education, and Elementary Mathematics Education.

Table 1: Distribution of the participants according to departments and universities

	Class teachers		Science teachers		Mathematics teachers		Total
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	
Hacettepe	2	6	X	2	1	1	12
Gazi	2	6	2	X	1	1	12
METU	X	X	1	4	4	1	10
Total	4	12	3	6	6	3	

V.5. Research Procedure

The interviews were conducted at the universities of the participants in the unoccupied classrooms. This way I had a chance to observe the general

atmosphere of their faculties and conduct the interviews without being interrupted.

As it was formerly stated, the participants were chosen randomly but on a voluntary basis. I entered some classes with the permission of the teachers and after giving information about the study and myself. I asked for volunteers for the interview. To make the announcement I had to wait in some classes, which served as a chance to observe them. Some of the findings in the next chapter are also a result of those observations.

Some participants, on the other hand, volunteered to take part when I approached them personally and gave them information about the study. All of the participants were informed about the research at the beginning of each interview. The duration of the interviews ranged from forty-five minutes to eighty minutes. Approximately, each interview lasted an hour and was recorded. The recordings were later transcribed for analysis. The participants gave permission to be recorded as they were informed that the recordings were not to be used anywhere else. Two pilot interviews were conducted and the questions were revised accordingly.

CHAPTER VI

THE TEACHER CANDIDATES

VI.1. Family Background & Social Milieu

This part looks into the socioeconomic background of the prospective elementary school teachers in the light of the information the participants provided in the first part of the interview form. Later on the data in this part is utilized to understand gender perceptions of the teacher candidates.

The socioeconomic background of the teacher candidates needs to be analyzed by defining the social class of their families. For this purpose the definition of the term class in Marxist theory needs to be considered. Although Marx did not provide a definition of the term, “he usually is taken to have meant a group of people in similar situations with respect to their control of the means of production” (Ritzer and Goodman, 2004). He defines two main classes in industrial societies under capitalism, which are linked to each other by exploitation; bourgeoisie and proletariat; the former being the owners of the new means of production whereas the latter are the ones who sell their labour power (Giddens, 200; 261). This explanation is not enough to explain the class positions of teachers and their families. Therefore, although less commonly utilized Bourdieu’s class analysis, that presents a more detailed class analysis was used in the study.

Bourdieu defines three main forms of capital: economic, cultural and social. Economic capital refers to money or property. All other types can be derived from economic capital through efforts but they cannot be reduced to it and their relationships are concealed. Cultural capital includes educational credentials as well as artistic knowledge. Social capital refers to the resources available to a person through the social networks and to ability to mobilize them.(Silva, 2005)

Children acquire cultural capital in early ages in the household. Later, this capital is certified at school. Whether students feel “at home” or “out of place” at school depends on the cultural capital they had acquired in their early childhood (Silva, 2005: 46-48). In this sense this capital is a kind of investment made to the future of the child.

Based on the minimum wage, which is 500TL (Turkish Liras), four categories were identified for the monthly income of the household. : Less than 500 TL, between 500 and 750 TL, 750-1500 TL and more than 1500 TL. Only two participants claimed that their family income is below five hundred. Most of the participants claimed that the family income is between 750-1500. There are five participants in each of the two other income ranges. As another signifier of economic capital the real estates of the families have been asked. Families of the twenty-five participants own the houses they live in. Three participants live in the house of their relatives without paying a rent whereas six participants live in rented houses. It is possible to conclude that the participants have similar economic capitals. They all come from middle class families. It is not surprising that the economic capitals of most of the families are not high since in general teachers have low economic capital but high cultural capital (Silva, 2005;4).

The social capital of the participants is questioned by asking them who they spend time with as a family and whether they have relationship with NGOs to

learn about their social networks. Most of them answered that they spend a lot of time with their relatives. The following answers were the neighbors and family friends. As to their relationships with the NGOs they were asked whether they had ever worked at an NGO. None of the participants had ever done such work but eight of them claimed that they have been teaching to poor students on a voluntary basis. Considering their reserved or critical attitudes towards civil society it can be inferred that they are working to gain experience in their professional field rather than take part in the development of civil society. In other words, they are not involved in the organizations but working on a temporary basis in their campaigns. It may be argued that their social capitals are not strong and mostly it is based on kinship ties. The closed circle of socialization, which includes only relatives and neighbors, in their family backgrounds might be taken as a sign of conservatism.

The cultural capital of the participants was analyzed with the fourth, fifth and sixth questions. Most of the participants, especially females, are⁵ interested in arts. The similar pattern is also observed in the daily newspaper bought for the house.⁶ When the issue is the possession of a computer in the house, there is no big difference.⁷ The cultural capital of the participants can also be observed through the foreign languages they can speak. The majority of the participants can speak a foreign language. It is worth noting that seven participants mentioned the use of another language as a native tongue in their household .In the light of this information it is possible to assert that the cultural capital of the participants is high in comparison to their social capitals.

⁵ Twenty-four participants are interested in arts. Sixteen out of twenty-one female participants and only eight out of thirteen male participants have such an interest.

⁶ Seventeen female participants and eleven male participants claimed that daily newspapers are bought for the house.

⁷ Fifteen females and seven males have a computer in the house.

In this study, there is not much difference in the economic, social and cultural capitals neither according to their sex nor according to their branches. Hence, it was not possible to determine whether their gender perceptions are related to their socioeconomic background or not. However, in the light of the above information it is seen that any difference in their gender perceptions is not related to the difference of their social cultural and economic capitals.

On the other hand, it was seen that the occupations and jobs of their parents are quite stereotyped. Among the fathers there is a greater diversity of jobs: police officer, soldier, engineer, worker, teacher, merchant. However, housewives constitute the majority of the mothers. There is one engineer who works as a teacher, one nurse, one civil servant and three teachers among the mothers. The educational attainments of the fathers are high compared to that of mothers. Only five of the mothers are university graduates while ten fathers have that degree. Most of the mothers are either primary school drop-outs (NR: 8)⁸ or graduates. (NR: 8). On the other hand, most of the fathers are either primary school (NR: 9) or university graduates. (NR: 10) Considering that their social capitals are low, the parents are more important as role models. The models they have seen in their families are highly gender stereotyped in terms of employment and education.

VI .2. Gender Socialization

As it was also stated in the introduction of the study; the different expectations from males and females are understood by children in early ages. Parents and

⁸ Number of respondents will be presented in parenthesis using the initials.

other people both in and around the family act as the agents to transmit gender stereotypes (Basow, 1992). That is why, the gender socialization of the teacher candidates need to be illuminated. The questions that aimed at understanding the gender-power relations in their family background and the ways they evaluate them constituted the second part of the interview form.

For the majority of the participants family receives the priority in their life. Only four of them are not clear about the importance they give to family. The frequency of their contact is a sign of that importance: there are two female participants who said that they talk with their mother everyday about one or two hours.

The contact between the families and the females can also be taken as a way to control them. Nevin⁹ from Hacettepe University said:

I go to market they call me to ask where I am going and I reply, "I am going to market". When I am back they call me immediately to ask if I am back from market. It is like that. But it is because of their fears not that they do not trust me. That is why we call each other so much. It is still like that and I think it will go on in the same way.

However, the participants themselves might not take them as a control mechanism. It was observed that some of the participants were trying to protect or defend their families due to the value they attribute to them.

The relationships of the participants with their mothers are striking especially when it is compared to their relations with their fathers. For a great majority, there is a member of the family to whom they especially feel close, none of

⁹ The names that appear in the text are not the original names but the nicknames given to the participants.

whom are their fathers. Timur from Gazi University explained this as such: “Mother is warm and milder. We talk with my father in a more formal way. I can hug my mother easily, but not my father.”

According to Engin from Gazi University “Father has a status, degree. I think father is father because he is father. My mother is mother, she is the woman, who is aggrieved, that is why I respect her more.” In his understanding the mother deserves more respect on account of her exploited position and the authority of the father is taken for granted.

The detachment from the father and the intimacy of the relationships with the mother seem to compensate for each other. This gap between the father and the child does not result in a conflict on the surface level due to the intermediary efforts of the mother. Nevin from Hacettepe University said, “I have never been in an argument (with my father) because he always gets my mother to say what he wants”. Such kind of a labour of the mother is invisible even to her own children.

Family members are important also as role models for the participants. Seventeen participants said that they take a member of their family who attended university as a model, some of whom are teachers. For the females, taking the mother as a role model would have been assumed but since homemakers constitute the majority that was not the case. It should not be understood as rejection of the role of the mother as they observed in their families but as it will become clear in the following part what they do is rather make an addition of the university education and/or profession on to the role of mother.

Twenty-nine of the participants are of the idea that the institution of the family is the basis of the society and their own lives; and thus it needs to be kept in tact. According to them, there would be chaos in the lack of this institution. It also serves to protect the children. The wording of the question was provocative to receive the reaction of the participants. Most of the claims emphasized their belief in the family as an institution to organize the society in general. Especially the males seem to hold on to the family as an organizing principle for the good of society. On the other hand, females tend to emphasize the need for protection. It might be argued that females are aware of the threats posed to them by the society. According to Walby such a fear is one of the features of the patriarchal society and it keeps women under control, safe and sound in their households (Walby, 1990). Meltem from Hacettepe University said “Secures, protects and I like this so much and this is what people, both men and women, need, exactly.”; Seval from Hacettepe University put it that way; “Even if there is nothing else, you feel safe, the existence of mother and father is really important, I think.”; Buket from Gazi University, who has a critical position against family, “At least I can’t do it without. If I could, I would break the relations which are based on obligations.”

The family interactions with other people might serve insights about the gender socialization of the participants in their family backgrounds. When there are other people around, the males in the family might contribute even less to the household tasks; Bahadır from METU cited “My father cooks from time to time but not on that day.” This brings to mind that social bonds strengthen the different roles of the males and females in the household. Besides, seven participants claimed that when spending time with other people as a family the sexes are segregated if the families that they interact feel better that way. The patriarchal social networks might act as control mechanisms and have negative

effects on the families. Another important point can be inferred from the following utterances by Gamze from METU:

In rural, guests come and get served. For example in those service there is no such differentiation between men and ladies.¹⁰ For example my elder brother comfortably goes to the kitchen and prepares tea.

It seems that sexual division of labour differs in urban and rural settings. This can be accounted by the fact that the public-private dichotomy is stricter in the urban. This does not mean that women in rural have less workload, but it signifies that the workload in the household and on the farm is more evenly distributed which presents a different form of gender order. Since most of the participants come from urban areas, the study will concentrate more on the private-public dichotomy in the urban.

The terms public and private sphere are used all through the study. Their usage does not signify that the existence and the hierarchy between those spheres is a desired situation. Feminists, especially socialist feminists, use this terminology in their analysis of patriarchy. The aim is not to strengthen such a dichotomy but to abolish it. This terminology directly taken from the literature in the West, needs to be used with cautions. As it can be followed from the testimonies of the participants the wording they use is *inside* for the private sphere (içeri / içerde) and *outside* for the public sphere (dışarı / dışarda).

The sexual division of labour in the household *inside* is taken for granted. Only after they were asked did the participants claim that women were in charge of the food and offerings when they have company in the house. The sexual

¹⁰ Most of the participants did not use the woman but referred to woman as ladies. (bayan)

division of labor in the family background of the teacher candidates has a striking pattern. The participants claimed that there was a traditional division of labor in which the mothers took the responsibility of the household tasks and the fathers were the breadwinners when they were growing up. However later on in four of the families the pattern changed to a more equal one. Only in three families is there an equal division of labor between the mother and the father. It seems that the daughter of the family, especially the elder one, takes on more responsibility. The situation becomes even more obvious in the case of the mothers' health problems. Suude from Gazi University: "Because I am the elder sister that was my responsibility, whether I want it or not"; Merve from METU said, "If my mom is not there, if she is sick my dad steps in there. If mom is ok, it becomes patriarchal." The father does not have a responsibility in the household chores and she calls his father having no responsibility in the house patriarchal.

The caring responsibilities including the disabled are also on the mother. A participant who has a disabled sister did not even mention that the mother took the full responsibility of her daughter. This is normalized even by the daughter.

The sexual division of labour is an issue of struggle for the new generation. The female participants' testimonies show that the unequal share of burden on the daughters and sons in the house is not accepted as it is by daughters any more. It is possible that attending university is also a strategy to avoid housework in the course of daily life.

In fact because of the patriarchal society, it is like that: men are responsible for earning money and ladies are responsible for doing housework, taking care of the children. Although I try to struggle

against this taboo, at least a bit...(Gamze from METU)

We experience problem in this issue: you are the girl of the house and you are sitting/ not doing work. I mean there is this understanding: the girl must do this. But I am usually in a resting position because I am back to house from school. (Merve form METU)

Ironically, the mothers are the bearers of the patriarchal system. In line with the prior findings mentioned in the chapter on Turkey, it has also been found in this study that the rules are enforced on the daughters especially by the mothers. This has contradictory results. First, daughters who are controlled by their mothers do not consider that a result of patriarchy since the rules seem to be set by the mother not by the father. The mothers are positioned against their daughters, which might result in a tension. Second, the males are kept away from some of the chores in the household. The mothers do not pose demands for help to their sons or teach them how to carry on those tasks. It seems that they take it only 'natural' to conduct such chores. Timur from Gazi University: "for example my mom gets me to move something. She does not get my sisters to go out to buy bread.". Emre from Gazi University sympathizes with her mother: "Anyhow neither were we able to understand nor did my mother demand us to do anything in the house. I mean the poor woman was always in a rush."

Gramsci's ideas on dominant ideology as they were cited in the second chapter point to their hegemonic nature (Weiler, 1988). Patriarchal ideology which is hegemonic in nature accounts for the attitudes of mothers. Patriarchal hegemony prevails only with the consent of women. Furthermore, the reproduction of it by women conceals the fact that it still subordinates women.

The patriarchal relations of power can be observed through the concepts of public and private sphere or *outside* and *inside* as they are used by the participants. The women are confined to the *inside* as mothers and wives. This also means that they are more powerful in that sphere. Especially over the years they gain power as their children grow up. The decisions they make about the tasks in the house or their labour spent in the household is the only form of reproduction in their life. It might be understood that they will not give up their positions unless they gain another source of power or a field to realize them. As Murat from METU put it,

My mom herself does not let us help (...) My dad himself makes the decisions but he asks my mom, too. About tastes, my dad usually leaves the decision to my mom, he buys. However my dad decides on the things to buy, for example he says “let’s buy an armchair”; he buys it according to my mom’s taste. My mom designs the house.

Buket from Gazi University explains the roles of the mother and the father by the metaphor of the state using the terms the internal and external which are quite similar to *inside* and *outside*: “my mom was responsible for internal affairs such as rules of the house and so on, my dad was responsible for foreign affairs such as earning money and so on.”

In the prior studies, that were presented in the chapter on Turkey, the mothers educational background was found presented as a positive influence on the girl child (Aslan, 2007). This relationship needs to be considered just from the opposite way, too. It might as well be that the children’s education, especially of the daughter, has positive effects on the mother. One female participant said that she insists her mother to attend university. Some other participants claimed that the mothers’ position became better as they grew up. The force to break up

the vicious cycle of the patriarchal hegemony may as well be the relationship between the mother and the daughter. The empowerment of the mother has positive effects on the daughter and it seems that the empowerment of the daughter also has positive effects on the mother. On the other hand, daughters seem to understand their roles in life by looking at their mothers. “Moms have the duty of cleaning up the mess. When I was little I understood that I would have those works like her.” (Meltem from Hacettepe University)

Decision making procedure in the family is another point that signifies the gender power relations. There is a tendency to take the decisions altogether or to leave the decision making to the father. Six participants claimed that the decisions are in fact taken by their mothers who later on persuade the fathers. The act of persuasion is not elaborated on by the participants. The act of persuasion is not elaborated on by the participants. Emine from METU said “sometimes even my mother can say the last word.”

We are from Denizli. For 6 years we have been living in Konya. Before that, we had been living in Ankara. Now my father wants to move to Denizli because his entire family is there. My mom, we, kids, none of us wants to move. Because my dad wants, we will have to move our house. (Bahar from METU)

Other than decision making gender power relations are also questioned in the authority figures of the household. According to the claims of the participants there is no authority figure in twenty-one households. When there is an authority figure it is always the father (NR: 11).

My father is the authority. It started like that and goes on like that. My mother was very young when she got married. Maybe because my father is more

experienced...it started like that and goes on like that. (Halime from Hacettepe University)

There is no authority of someone in family. In house, we can say, there is nearly democracy. Sometimes, even I can decide even if I am the fourth youngest child. (Bilal from Gazi University)

Dad says: "there is democracy in our house but I say the last word." He asks everything but, no doubt, he says the last word. (Why do you think it is like that?) Maybe it is because of the male instinct. (Bahar from METU)

The participants themselves wonder the reasons for the existence of the lack of authority in the father. The reason is sought in the characteristics of father that are considered either inherent or resulting from socialization.

Because his father was so authoritarian he is afraid to be a person like him. It is obvious he boggles. Besides, in past he took part in political movements. Thanks to him, we are familiar with the concepts such as equality, freedom, justice, and so on. Even if he wants, he cannot be authoritarian. (Cansu from Hacettepe University)

I don't know why there is authority in the house. Maybe because of my jealousy, usually I don't like the differentiation of girl and boy. My mom does it a little. She says, "Boys cannot do such and such work girls do such and such work." My dad treats everyone equal. I mean...I don't know. Maybe it is because he experienced this from his father. His father was a bit repressive that may be the reason why he says, "I will not treat my kids like this". (Nesrin from Hacettepe University)

The statement made by one female participant explains how stressful it would be to have an authoritarian father. She considers herself lucky since:

He has never given me an image of an authoritarian father. I have never been afraid or worried if I would do something wrong, if there would be a problem. Even if I make a mistake, there is a reason for it. I explain it, then he can show me the right way. My dad just guides me, he has no strict attitudes.”
(Yıldız from METU)

The gender power relations in the family show a different and less direct pattern when the issue is asking for money or permission: nineteen participants first go to their mothers to ask their permission and fourteen of them to ask for money.

First, I go to my mom (to ask for permission or money). She tries to get permission from my father. If my father does not allow, it is over. (Esra from Hacettepe University)

As it was also mentioned above, mothers serve as the mediators between the father and the children in the family. The father’s word overrides that of the mother from time to time.

Usually my father and I argue so much because our ideas are in conflict. (...) For example he says what he wants to tell me to my mom, then I hear what he wants from my mother. In fact, he is afraid of hurting me that is why he cannot say. (Nevin from Hacettepe University)

If my mom does not give permission, my brother goes to my dad. If my dad says ok my mom says nothing. (Murat from METU)

The alternative to existing situation can be inferred from the utterances of a female participant. It seems that what she is asking for is democracy, to be able to express herself in decision making:

Nevin from Hacettepe University says, “When I demand something they say no, directly. this makes me sad. They do ask nothing like “why do you demand this” and so on, and refuse at that moment.”

The most obvious case against democracy is the existence of violence in the household. The question about the domestic violence was intricate. The participants claimed for the presence of violence in their household. Only in three households has there been physical violence according to the claims. It is also possible that the participants might not have admitted to having experienced physical violence. On the other hand, there is a tendency to normalize both verbal violence among family members and physical violence against small children.

My mom used to beat us a bit. My father did not do anything, as I said, because we could not see him much, he did nothing to us however his word was enough for us, upon his word we could not do that again. (Murat from METU)

Since the participants are now young adults, who are about to graduate from universities, the accounts of violence they mentioned are a part of their history. As the parents age, the incidences of violence become more rare.

When he got old, it passed of. When he got old, he changed, his behaviors against my mom also changed. He had practiced violence to mom, as we got older it passed of. (Engin from Gazi University)

When confronted with the direct question of whether women in the house are exploited or not, physical violence in the form of wife battering is taken as the only form of the women's exploitation in the household. According to the claims, the women are exploited only in two of the households.

In our house, men are exploited more. My father is much more bound up in his daughters and daughter-in-laws. For example, there is a program on TV, me and my brother want to watch soccer; my elder sisters want to watch soap operas. My father gets us to leave the house. (Bilal from Gazi University)

There is a great strain on women but no exploitation in that sense. (Interviewer: That sense?) I mean there is no such thing like physical violence or repression in the house. (Emre from Gazi University)

The testimonies of the participants should not be taken directly as they put it. Rather, they need to be analyzed from a critical perspective to reveal the gender power relations because the participants are blind to or prejudiced against some of them in their own family backgrounds. Although there is room for struggle and resistance as it is shown in their own testimonies, the teacher candidates are products of both their families and the education system. In this chapter, their family backgrounds have been questioned from a critical perspective. In other words, I have tried to reveal the patriarchal gender power relations by looking at their social, cultural and economic capitals and by trying to read between the lines in their testimonies. It was observed that the family as an institution is of utmost importance in the value system of the participants. Females need it for safety reasons to be protected while males claim it is an organizing principle of society. *Inside* the house intimate relations with the mother compensate for the detachment from the father. The role of mother as the intermediary is a part for her invisible labor. The traditional sexual division of labor *inside* is taken for

granted. Some girls struggle against it for their own lives. Hegemonic nature of patriarchy accounts for the rule enforcing role of the mother for daughters. This blurs the reality that it is still male hegemony. One contradiction is that in the mother daughter relationship the empowerment of one affects the other. In the *inside*, women gain some kind of a power in time. In the following chapters, the reflections of the family background and the education they receive will be sought in their lives and perspectives on education.

CHAPTER VII

ATTITUDES OF TEACHER CANDIDATES TOWARD THE GENDER ORDER

VII .1. 'Inside' the House

The answers supplied for the questions in the fourth part of the interview form are utilized to understand the gender perceptions of the participants. In the previous part; the perspectives of the respondents on the gender relations in their family backgrounds were presented. In this part, the focus is on their own lives and the insights gained from the previous part are especially important to see if there is a change between the gender power relations they saw in their parental families and the families they would like to have. Marriage, divorce and household division of labor are the main topics in this part.

In the previous chapter it was observed that the family is highly valued among the participants. In the same line, the prevailing idea among the participants, both female and male, is that everybody should experience marriage and thirty-two of them plan to get married sooner or later. The other two are sympathetic to the idea of living together without the marriage bond.

There is a striking difference between males and females in respect to their views on getting married to a teacher. Only two males are against the idea of having a teacher spouse whereas seven females think in the same way and those two males are also against the idea of having a wife who has a job. As one of

the participants has put it: “the female teachers are on the black-market for marriage” (Ece from Gazi University). That teaching is a popular profession, which is seen highly appropriate to women in Turkey, was also stated in the literature review of the study on Turkey (Tan, 1996). The support females received from their families in their choice of profession is reflected in their testimonies. On the part of the participant it might as well be taken as a strategy to cope with sexism in their family. The social approval teaching receives for females opens them a way to have a profession. For some of them, teaching was not the real thing they wanted to do in their lives but as a result of the bargain with their families they decided to make that choice since their first choices were eliminated. For example, one female participant (Canan from Gazi University) wanted to be an archeologist but this was not a possibility for her because her father did not give permission. It can be concluded that some of the females are directed to choose that profession, which is a result of the gender order in the country.

The income of the spouse is another source of discrepancy between males and females. No female desires to have a husband who earns less than herself. As to males the trend is just the opposite way: No male desires to have a wife who earns more than himself. Nine female participants think that in the long run a male who earns less than his wife will pose create a problem within the family and the females attribute it to the ‘male pride’. By looking at the answers the females provide, their own ideas about the incomes of the spouses cannot be understood. They might be hiding their own ideas or desires under their observations on their attitudes. After all; marrying a male with a better income is considered more prestigious.

The same trend can also be observed in the preferences for the education level of the spouse. Both females and males think that the husband should be more

educated than the wife. There is no meaningful difference between the number of males and females who demand equal income or education for the spouses, as it can also be inferred from Nesrin's speech from Hacettepe University

He should be more knowledgeable, and his educational degree should be higher than mine, that is, I should be able to learn something from him. I mean I should feel lower than him; I don't want to feel better than him. I desire to be lower than him in terms of culture, knowledge, intellectuality.

The following responses provided by female participants to the question if they would choose teaching as a profession if they were male, show that their choices of their profession are gendered. Burçin from Gazi University said;

No because I think men should take more risks. Teaching is not a risky profession. Sometimes I say he could even be illiterate but I have some tastes, things that I like. In order to understand those I think he should have been in university environment.

I think it should be higher because the house should be the responsibility of man, totally. If the lady works, it should be for herself or her child. It should be like an extra contribution. (Bahar from METU)

Although the females agree with males that the husband should have a higher status both in terms of education and income the females are decided to hang on to their jobs. One important finding of the study is that all the female participants plan to pursue their professions after getting married. The females also plan to continue working after they have a child. They claimed that they wish to take a break from work for a period to raise the baby. This period ranges from two years to six years. Three males, on the other hand, hope that their wives will stop working. There was an overemphasis on the tenderness,

which is believed to be provided only by the biological mother of the child. The only person who can compensate for the lack of mother's care is the grandmother. They also said that they had no trust in daycare centers. Because of their profession they believe they are more knowledgeable about child development and the mothers' indispensable role. The education they receive is ironically the one that has been criticized all through this study and its consequences can also be observed first of all on the teacher candidates themselves.

The child needs careful attention. We as class teachers are much more aware of this. The mother's care is especially important. (Hakan from Gazi University)

I want my child to be raised by her (my wife). I will help her, too, but someone should earn money. Should I be the breadwinner, yes I should. Because the tenderness of the mother is different, she should give the tender care to child. (Murat from METU)

I want her to work but in the future if she poses a problem about my child I get her to quit or we decide together. If my income is not enough she will work. (Ibrahim from Hacettepe University)

Nihat's description of his spouse brings to mind "the habitus" of Bourdieu. (Bourdieu, 2004) For him, the most important point is being able to share a common understanding not the education or income level.

The most important thing about the person I will marry is being a university graduate, even better is being a METU graduate. Because here, we make a joke, the outsiders cannot get it. It will be the same in daily life. I want someone from a similar culture in order to prevent conflicts.

A great majority of the participants claimed that they would like to get married; the image of the marriage life on their minds has some differences with their own family backgrounds. The division of labor between their spouses and themselves does not follow the exact pattern they saw in their families. The traditional pattern of sexual division of labor will be broken in the new generation of teachers. There seems to be a transition from traditional to more equal division of labor, in which the males are at least expected to help their wives. According to the testimonies of the males, the determining factor for the new division of labor will be the attitude of the female. Although there are females who argue that it will be their duty to take care of the house most of the females will demand equal share or help from their husbands. In fact, the females seem to be confused about the issue and their testimonies include conflicts. Özlem from Hacettepe University stated; “I demand help but I do appreciate the work of no one.” It seems that she will reproduce the traditional roles because of the middle class housewife ideology she seems to believe that only ‘the mother of the house’ can do the chores of the house which must be neat and clean all the time.

The contradiction in the ideas of Ece from Gazi University is striking: “Working woman gets really tired however if she does it willingly why would she get tired? I will do them, I won’t get tired.”

Most probably I will do them. I mean the position of woman in society is as such. It shouldn’t be like this but it is. I am gonna do them I don’t take offense at doing. (Seval from Hacettepe University)

Too tiring. I mean one can think that you work and I work too so let’s do housework equally. In that sense it becomes right. However, the housework is the duty

of woman. I mean whether she works or not, she will do it. (Bahar from METU)

On the other hand, some females are decisive on the issue of equal division of labour in the household. According to their claims their choices of spouse will be in line with that.

About these issues, I think to will get married to someone understanding because it is too hard to be both a working woman and a housewife. For example at least he can help lay the table.(Gamze from METU)

I want to be equal. I will make my choice accordingly. I don't want a system in my house like the old times when all work would be on me. Everything will be equal. (Yildiz from METU)

Some males hold positions in just the opposite direction. They are decisive not to share the housework and are at ease with the idea since it is the norm in the society.

I don't share housework. If there are things that everyone says are the duties of women, they are duties of women. (Engin from Gazi University)

Bilal from Gazi University, who had clearly stated his wish for an unemployed wife and is engaged to an elementary school graduate 'girl', allocates himself barely the role of earning money for the household.

Everyone should fulfill their duties. My duty is earning money and giving it to *hanım* / wife; if they have health problems getting them to the doctor.

The same participant argued that he was against the idea of employed wives since it would interfere with their domestic duties. For him the priority is on the role as a wife and mother and the woman are a category, which does not seem to signify any individual differences.

After all this she has to do the housework. That is why I am not for the education of woman. I mean being a high school graduate is enough in terms of culture, I mean till a certain degree. (Bilal from Gazi University)

However there are some males who will only accept the responsibility because of the attitudes of their wives. Muhsin from METU says; “Anyhow they will probably make it shared. Women of today are so...they do not allow others to exploit them”

During university I live in my own house and wash my dishes so I don't want that after graduation. However, of course if she works *outside* it will be equal. If she works like me I can do more than her. (Nihat from METU)

We can do all the work together because I like cooking. Cleaning is also possible but not regularly. The share may be %55 and %45. (Akif from METU)

The ideas of the participants on the double burden of working women are considered important since all the females will be employed and most of the males will have employed wives. The double burden of the wage-earner women, both in the house and at work, is described most frequently as tiring and acknowledged as a reason for early aging. Bahadır from METU said; “It is a mystery to me, how a normal woman can handle it.”

As it can be understood from Nuran's language the equal share of the household tasks is not her demand she excludes herself from the group of 'girls'. But, definitely, she emphasizes with their demand

To me, it is to tiring. It is like the all responsibility is on women or something like that. Previously; our mothers were housewives, generally they did not work. It was ok that they take care of the housework and men work at jobs. But now there is not only housework but also professional jobs. That is why girls demand equality. (Nuran from Gazi University)

They might not be able to show the necessary care for their husbands and children. After all, woman is the one who builds the family. (Esra from Hacettepe University)

On the one hand the males appreciate the work that women do, but on the other hand, this appreciation will not decrease the workload of women unless it turns into a change in the practice. In fact, the males have an advantage, which they would not want to lose unless they are forced. As it can be understood in Engin's speech from Gazi University; "I think it cannot change, neither do I want it 'cause I cannot do housework."

One female respondent described how women were able to cope with the unbelievable workload:

I think women are used to it. I look at people around me, they make such a plan that they prepare the dinner, do their work, and do everything: ironing cleaning then in the morning they continue their jobs. I mean most of the women act on a schedule. Because of their jobs, they use their leisure time that they should use for themselves for the housework and they can continue the order. Most of the women do it in

that way. I see it in women around me. They are exploited, because they do not care for themselves and they get old early. (Yıldız form METU)

Since most of the participants claimed their intention to get married their ideas on the issue of divorce are also significant. Considering that none of them had experienced parental divorce, it can be assumed that they do not expect divorce for their lives and divorce is thought of only as the last option. Three females are totally against it. Although there is a correspondence between the reasons cited for divorce of males and females the ratios are different. Adultery is given as the first reason for divorce. Seven females think that they cannot put up with violence, especially when it is repeated.

İbrahim's response from Hacettepe University reflected the legitimization of the violence as losing temper: "No one practices violence on his/her spouse but sometimes if there is uncontrollable violence..."

In Nesrin's response from Hacettepe University; the empowering role of education which results in having an education is clearly observed: "If he is the wrong person, it is a wrong decision, at least we have our profession, and we are educated. We shouldn't suffer in vain."

According to the testimonies of the teacher candidates in this study, the change in the gender perceptions of women will result in a slight change in the household division of labour. The change in the gender perceptions of males does not equal the females and the perceptions of some participants from both groups are still highly traditional and prejudiced. Although the female participants in the study do not call themselves feminist some of them are leading struggles to change their close social circles. It is important that none of the females will put up with violence. These kinds of individual approaches

will result in changes in the long run. They might be able to affect the males around them but it is hard to say that it will have collective transformative results.

VII.2. ‘Outside’: Gender Equality in Turkey

Having viewed the ideas of the participants on the gender relations in the ‘inside’ their ideas pertaining to the ‘*outside*’, the general gender order in the country can be analyzed in general understanding. ‘*Outside*’ is the sphere where people who are not family exist so it might be dangerous for females.

In this part the participants’ views on the existing gender order in society is depicted in the light of the answers they gave for the questions in the fourth part of the interview form which included questions about the most urgent problems in Turkey. There were multiple purposes in asking these questions: One reason was to learn if they were informed about the issues and to inform them if they were not. Another reason was to determine their level of sensitivity toward the impediments on the way to gender equality. As it was stated in the methodology chapter, feminist methodology, which is followed in this study, necessitates the aim of sharing knowledge without creating a hierarchy between the researcher and the participant.

The problems of women in Turkey cannot be categorized and put in an order, since women belong to different groups and classes in society. Each group of women experiences the effects of patriarchy on their life in different ways and thus the urgency of problems differ from one group to the other and sometimes among individuals. This question was especially challenging to answer for a person who is involved in issues related to gender equality. The respondents on

the other hand, did not evaluate the question on the problems of women in Turkey as difficult. No respondent pointed out diversity among women. The lack of economic freedom is cited as the biggest problem of women in Turkey by both female and male participants. Among the female participants this is followed by the existence of violence against women. Although they are all teacher candidates lack of education for girls is among the least cited responses.

There were gender-biased answers both by the male and female participants.

I think the most important problem of women in Turkey is women's commanding sympathy by claiming that they are exploited. (Cansu from Hacettepe University)

Bilal from Gazi University: "The biggest problem of women in Turkey is their inappropriate dressing. They should get dressed according to the Koran."

Timur from Gazi University puts the husband into the center of a woman's life. For him a woman evolves around her husband: "The biggest problem for them is the man's love for another woman or his not caring for the children or not going out together"

Among the responses there were claims that might be considered feminist. They do not call themselves feminist but they are close to the ideas. If the women's movement gains momentum again, they might join.

Esin from Gazi University: "She might be more valuable as a person maybe more intelligent but she is seen as a piece of meat, something to be watched like a shopwindow"

Gamze from METU: “I think their words are not taken so seriously. Their potentials are reserved for the house and they are not allowed to improve themselves in other issues”

According to some participants, basically men are the problem of women.

We can say men, we can say briefly men. As a man I feel uncomfortable. I think people around me disturb ladies. It is too bad that a lady cannot go outside after 8 p.m. They also should be able to move around freely, behave comfortably. I mean, to me, in this issue, men are too limiting. (Murat from METU)

Yıldız from METU: “Whether the men are intellectual or not they try to exploit woman... they see us a bit naïve as if we cannot do, cannot be as well as them.”

The discrimination women face in Turkey is definitely related to the attitudes of men. Gender involves power relations between man and woman and any change in the gender order will lead to a new balance of those relations (Connel, 1987). Therefore, men have some advantages to protect but the issue of discrimination against women cannot be reduced to the attitudes of men. First, for a real transformation of the gender order in the society, men need to acknowledge that patriarchal system is also limiting them to rigid roles and inhibiting their freedom. As Kessler and his colleagues (1985) claimed, the campaigns to overcome sexism should also address male students, which is also stated in the second chapter. Second, such an attitude will not explain the discriminatory attitudes of women against themselves and each other. One aspect of patriarchy that cannot be ignored is that it is internalized and reproduced by both sexes.

In order to understand the participants' views on the gender order in Turkey, they were also asked questions on gender discrimination. The concept has been adopted in its broadest sense in this study. The definition provided for the participants during the interviews was as such: boys and girls or men and women are treated in different ways and as a result of this treatment one of the sexes, most of the time girls, is put at a disadvantaged position. Having heard the definition twenty-nine out of thirty-four participants replied that there is discrimination against women in Turkey. According to sixteen participants discrimination against women was most common in the field of employment and economy. This is followed by equal numbers of responses about violence, lack of education and being confined to the house.

According to feminist methodology, the experiences of women need to be the starting point to reach a frame about gender discrimination. Therefore, the testimonies of the female participants need to be given privilege. The replies from women had two different stances. Some included themselves in the group and mentioned their own lives while the others took a position of the outsider and talked about the issues in general.

I wish I could move around freely (outside). I mean if I wear a tight shirt you do not have to look at me. If I want, I can move around naked, don't stare. This is my taste. I like it. You do not have to look at me.
(Meltem from Hacettepe University)

The biggest problems...first of all, we are exploited, we are really exploited. I mean everything... As a woman, you cannot be anywhere. This is a fact, you cannot wander everywhere. Also, it is possible to get into a trouble in the street. I cannot go outside by myself. I am afraid of things like that. (Ece from Gazi University)

The other female participants did not include themselves:

They are exploited, in every sense; they are subject to emotional violence. They are subject to sexual violence. They got beaten. In every sense they are subject to violence, first of all. Then, since they get used to it different peoples with weird different identities appear. That is why; women should be educated about everything, about violence. Although they are educated this does not make a difference. I mean there are university graduates. It goes on as it is. Maybe, at the very beginning, the solution is the family. The kids imitate their families. (Seval from Hacettepe University)

Ayşe from Hacettepe University puts an emphasis on the empowerment of girls; although she does not use the word empowerment. Her words also allude to Freire and his concept of ‘consientization’, which was explained in chapter two. “They are aware of neither their rights nor their power.”

Canan from Gazi University points to the internalization of patriarchy by women but even her account does not go as far as including the reproduction of patriarchy by women. So, even this account does not describe the hegemonic nature of patriarchy as it was explained in the third chapter: “It is that they cannot express themselves as woman, that they see themselves as second class, that they get used to it, I mean “well, I am “*eksik etek*”¹¹ and such and such. They get used to it.”

Buket from Gazi University: “They are exploited much more or because of their sex they are abused sexually. They cannot go outside of their houses and this brings that they retire into themselves. This causes loss of self-esteem.

¹¹ An idiom that is used in Turkish to mean uncomplete human.

According to Suude from Gazi University the biggest problem of women in Turkey is that they have to uncover their heads to attend classes at university. Her account was especially interesting since it took place at a university where the females are attending classes with their headscarfs unlike the two other universities.

Of course they are discriminated, even here. They come to the university gate, a lady and a man. The man enters; the lady has to put off her headscarf. Maybe they are married, they think in the same way but ladies are affected, they suffer cruelty.

As to the ideas of the male respondents on discrimination against woman, some of them acknowledged the existence of discrimination as such: “they are excluded by saying that women can not do everything¹². The ideas of women are always subordinated. This is *a bit* wrong.” (Akif from METU)

If she is still not married till a certain age, she is evaluated negatively. This is something wrong. Men can have alternative thoughts because they think she is alone, she does not have a male guard. (Murat from METU)

Among the males there are two who are clearly in favor of discrimination against women:

Once upon a time, there was. But now women are valued over men. For example, my mom used to give the best part of the food to sons but now there is nothing such as boys, I mean girls have gained a great importance. I don't know why it has changed. Maybe,

¹² Elinin hamuruyla her işe karışma

people become conscious; they know there is no difference. (Bilal from Gazi University)

It should be like that. There are places for men and women. I don't wanna say men are in front but men are in front in some fields. For example, in terms of housework woman is in front. Man is more powerful because of his nature. In fact woman is not brave, she is fearful. Because of her nature she is like that. She seeks for someone to protect herself. I believe in this. (Timur from Gazi University)

The first respondent quoted above observes a change in society toward gender equality and longs for the past. Although he is aware that the two sexes are equal, he does not desire equal treatment. The second respondent argues for discrimination on the basis of biological determinism. It is possible to argue that his emphasis is on the complementary roles of man and woman as it was described in the part on the functionalism in the first chapter. Timur's ideas on gender originate from his religious beliefs but he comes very closed to functionalism in his emphasis on the consensus in the society.

As it was stated above the existence of discrimination against women has been acknowledged both by male and female teacher candidates. For the following question, which was about the gender discrimination or abuse in their own lives, they had to give more personal answers. Among twenty-one female respondents, seventeen testified to having been abused verbally, two physically and four of them claimed that they had not faced discrimination or abuse. There was an inclination not to include abuse in verbal form and it was only revealed after further questioning. This is because they have normalized it. Ironically, six male participants claimed that they have been subject to discrimination because of their gender:

My cousin is three days older than me. He does anything he wants outside when I do the same things at home there are much more comments about me. (Cansu from Hacettepe University)

From the following account of Nesrin from Hacettepe University, it can be inferred that she cannot forgive her father for the discrimination she faced in her earlier education.

While my brother had been sent to a school in the city center, I was sent to a school near the house. My father still says that it is the biggest mistake he made. Because the education was too bad, I could not get the basic skills. That is why I am here. (Nesrin from Hacettepe University)

In a similar way Buket from Gazi University demands access to knowledge:

You want to access the internet and because there is no computer at home you cannot get the news, you want to check the mails. How can you get there? You are woman. (Buket from Gazi University)

According to Emre from Gazi University, illiteracy of Islam is responsible for the discrimination against women in Turkey.

This is also a result of the fact that we are an Islamic country but we do not know Islam. Normally; Islam gives all the rights to woman, it gives freedom. I am sorry for woman and their position.

Akif from METU is among the male respondents who claim to have experienced gender discrimination. He argues that teachers favor girls over boys. Although he seems definitely in favor of the issue there is reason that

would shed some doubt on the issue as it was explained in detail in the part on teacher attitudes in the second chapter.

My highschool was a girlschool, a girl boardingschool. Although there were a few male students, usually the minority gets a bit more care, but no, there was no such thing. I mean girls are graded much more than boys for verbal exams. There is such a thing, I witnessed

One of the most tragic consequences of the gender order in Turkey is the honor killings. The topic was brought out during the interviews. The responses about honour crimes in Turkey have been puzzling. The adjectives such as useless, ridiculous and silly have been used to describe the killing of people in the name of chastity. Only after the interviews were transcribed and the answers were brought together did the mismatch between the responses and the question start to make sense. The respondents were of the idea that chastity is an important concept and adultery deserves to be punished. Their criticism was about the form of punishment. They thought it was too cruel. Burçin from Gazi University: “there can be problems and there should be. Chastity is something important but it should not get to the level of murder.”

First of all chastity is an important issue. Is it possible to kill someone for chastity? It is open to argument. After all death penalty is not in practice any more, even for the people who committed all those crimes. That is why murder is silly. (Hakan from Gazi University)

Some of the respondents had a tendency to empathize with the murderers; Bilal said he would commit such a crime and added that it was the women's responsibility to be loyal to her husband.

They have to do it consciously. I mean, God forbid, if I face this kind of a thing, I can also commit murder. One cannot have anything but honor, dignity, and chastity. Possessions come back but if you lose your chastity you cannot make up for it. Men, in fact, cheat with women. I mean women are guilty again. However much the man desires it does not matter if the woman refuses. It all depends on the woman.

Another male respondent claimed that at such an instant a man could lose his temper.

I don't agree with this death but I think there should be a punishment. Honor crime is a bit...about this issue for example if I were, I don't know what I would do. One might lose his temper, he can also kill. But of course this does not mean he is right. But the honor crimes in the East are so unnecessary, I think. (Murat from METU)

On the other hand, two female respondents said that the rapist might be killed but not the woman if the case is about rape. Only two female participants described the event as violence and two males as ignorance. The prevailing idea among the most of the teacher candidates is that honor crimes are committed by some ignorant people out there in the East. They do not feel the need to question their own understanding of chastity. One striking point is that in their emphasis for punishing adultery they lag behind Turkish Civil Code. When they were asked to bring a solution to the problem they all came up with the same answer: education.

The following account is especially important since it emphasizes the importance of education to combat sexism and honour killings. Seval from Hacettepe University told her own experience about the change that was triggered on the students who took sex education.

More and more people can be informed. Today honour killings it is because of a bodily function. It is not worth it I think. When we attended the course on sexual health, the perspectives of men changed so much. They claimed that they would not marry a girl who had been with someone else but now they say it is not the only thing, it is nothing but a part of skin. There may be more educational seminars. But it is too hard to change our parents. The old people are gone they cannot be altered.

The course offered at Ankara University by Tan and her colleagues that was described at the second chapter concentrated on gender and was offered by using feminist pedagogy (Tan et al., 1998). However the course offered at Hacettepe University was on sex education and the short conversation conducted with the instructor showed that the instructor did not call himself a profeminist. The above quotation shows that his course had positive effects on the gender perceptions of the students. This brings to mind the stereotyped image of feminism and feminists in the students. When the students are presented knowledge on the biology of man and woman, this leads to a change but a feminist course cannot achieve its aims with male students; because students, especially males, show resistance to the discourse.

The solutions offered for honor crimes concentrated on education. One of the responses, provided by Seval from Hacettepe University, was distinguished by the way it related the problem to the situation of all the females in Turkey and her own daily experiences of being a woman. She started with the need to empower girls to stand up for themselves and defined the way she feels entrapped as such:

About every theme, girls should be made conscious about everything whatever it is they should never surrender. For example, I live in Ankara now. When I am a little bit late, I am afraid. I have a pocketknife as a precaution. My family is not like that (oppressive); however if it happens, I know, whatever I say will be in vain. Because I am a girl, I will hear a lot. Even if you do not do anything the man is never considered guilty.

Some participants commented that religious education provided by the government to teach the true meaning of Islam would prevent the crimes. “if they are given religious education under the control of state by saying that “religion is opium”, at least these can be prevented” (Engin from Gazi University).

The two following responses offered as solutions to honor crimes are both comprehensive. The first respondent used his own male experience as a starting point: “when a man has a sexual affair, it is considered score, he is flattered. However when a girl does the same thing, she is labeled as “bad woman”. I think this is wrong” (Akif from METU). The second respondent suggested the deconstruction of the word ‘namus’ (chastity) and the reconstruction of it in order not to include differential implications for sexes.

Maybe we can change the meaning of chastity in the literature. It is not a must that chastity is committing something like that or not, but it can be in different forms. I mean the word chastity does not have to mean, as we know it in daily life. (Nihat from METU)

Another urgent problem of women in Turkey is the low ratios of employment. The participants were asked to comment on the reasons why only a small minority of women is wage earners. They seemed to be surprised by the low ratios of women in employment. This can be counted as one of the

contradictions in the data they provided since they had already listed women's economic dependency as one of the most important problems. None of them were aware that the employment rates of women had been falling since the 1980s. Among the most common responses provided about the reasons were the claims that the family or the husband do not give permission (NR: 15), they do not want to work (NR: 7) and there is no need to work since the husbands' income is enough (NR: 5).

The practice of sexual harassment in the workplace was one of the themes among the responses. According to them the existence of sexual harassment is a discouraging force: "My husband may not want to get me to work because according to him outside I am the lamb and everyone outside is wolf" (Buket from Gazi University); "and also because the rate of sexual harassment is so high, women themselves don't wanna work" (Akif from METU); "for example I sought for years to find the work that I do now. The work should be appropriate for a lady" (Suude from Gazi University).

The following respondent is distinguished by her gender-biased attitude against her own gender. According to her, the women use the existing social norms as an excuse:

Besides, women think of their own comfort and make use of the prevalent values of the society.

The Man does not want me to work either, and then I will sit and take care of my children. That is fine, why am I gonna be a teacher. (Cansu from Hacettepe University)

Gamze from METU gave an account of the prevailing perspectives on the employment of women by using an example from her own life

Last summer I wanted to work and I applied to a market. One of the reactions was that ‘you are student at METU, what is the point of working at the market? Though I don’t think they are related. And the other one was that “aren’t we enough for you why do you want to work. I mean one of the reasons can be those ideas of my family. Also, the mentality that ‘if I cannot supply for my wife why do I exist’ can be a reason. That is why he does not allow her to work for money. I mean he may say “if you will work for your pleasure it is ok but don’t say money

Another urgent problem of women in Turkey is the low schooling ratios of girls. To address the problem, several campaigns have been launched by international bodies and civil society in the recent years. All of the respondents had heard about the campaigns to raise the schooling rates of girls. Thirty of them had a positive opinion while four females criticized them negatively. The participants provided important insights into the schooling of girls. First of all, it was noted that the campaigns to raise the schooling of girls are seen as a responsibility of the government: “First of all, I say it is the responsibility of the state” (Cansu from Hacettepe University) It is essential that the government take on responsibility to handle campaigns for the schooling of girls since there is mistrust in civil society in Turkey which is reflected as such:

I think it is positive but I don’t believe that it will achieve the aim. Till today I have never been a part of those kinds of campaigns in Turkey, and I won’t. I don’t believe it will serve the purpose. Unless I do it personally I won’t be a part. (Esra from Hacettepe University)

One male respondent who had clearly taken side against girls' education after elementary school stated the importance of the chastity of woman again but provided some reasons for the education of girls in line with the liberal empowerment approach that was depicted in chapter two. According to this approach women's education is important since it serves the improvement of the society.

If a university student girl can be a model as a girl, as a chaste person, education level will increase. But if a man comes and sees the positions of the girls in the university, he does not get his daughter to attend university. Well, girls should study till a certain level; they should not go beyond it. I mean it should be made sure that they reach that level. Because in the family man is educated he knows things but if the woman does not know those it is still not put into practice. (Bilal from Gazi University)

In contrast to Bilal's opinion, Merve from METU is of the opinion that girls must be educated even if it causes problems in the family. This female respondent's point is also important since it clearly mentions the conflict that would arise within the family. Considering the importance given to the family in the sample group, such a response is significant since it acknowledges that sometimes a conflict in the family would provide fruitful results: "there may be a conflict in the family but they should be educated they should be informed."

One key question in the interview form was about the women's movement in Turkey. This question was posed to reveal their gender awareness and perceptions on the struggle of feminists. Although the effects of the strong women's movement of the 80's in their language was clear. The majority of the participants claimed to have no information about women's movement in Turkey. Among the seven participants who claimed to have heard about

women's movement males had negative opinions. Only one male and one female thought in favor. Although they said they did not know about the movement the grin especially on the faces of the male respondents showed that they preferred not to talk about it. In the entire group there was not a single person to call herself or himself feminist or pro-feminist. On the contrary, some defined feminists as people who discriminate against men all through the interviews. Some still view women's movement from the perspective of men, how men would evaluate it:

Well, it is not very positive. There may be woman groups but some of them are against men, I don't think it is so meaningful to take side so much against men. They can struggle for their rights but I think some of the groups exaggerate. I mean they always say negative words for men, they claim they are exploited and as such but there are no solution. They always complain but no solution. That is why they may be seen negatively by men. (Muhsin from METU)

The following question which was about the change in the Turkish civil code that was prepared by the contribution of women active in women's movement had the effect of freezing the grin on male faces. Tragically, no respondent could cite the law. They were able to remember it only after hearing the new practice of sharing the property on equal terms. In general, the participants commented that the change has been positive (NR: 29),

The following three accounts complement each other and summarize the points made by the participants pertaining to the new law:

Why are they beaten? Because they have no place to go when they break up, they have no job to work, no money, no possession. That is why they are under the yoke. Maybe they will be more affective both in terms

of divorce and in gaining the right to speak (Seval from Hacettepe University)

In fact if we think from the perspective of women it is bad, but there is such a thing: if we think of a lady who does not work, she works hard for her man; she takes care of him when he is at home. I mean in fact a lot of things have a value. The reason why that man can do a lot of his work well is that the woman treats him well at home. Those are the result of equal efforts (Meltem form Hacettepe University)

I think it is discrimination. Are not the ones who got married before 2001 considered human? (Emine from METU)

This chapter was comprised of teacher candidates' opinions and attitudes toward the gender order both inside the house and *outside*. This way their attitudes of gender about both the private sphere or inside, as it is called in their own language and public sphere or *outside*, have been covered. In the first part, marriage, divorce and household division of labor were analyzed from a gender perspective. In the light of the data on their backgrounds that was presented in the previous chapter it has been found that there is a transition in the above-mentioned issues, especially in the female participants. The new generation is still of the idea that the husband needs to hold a higher status both in terms of education and income but there seems to be an increase in the responsibilities of males in the household. Women will be leading such a change and their attitudes will determine the amount of change. The females who claimed that they will make the choice of spouse accordingly hold better chances of equal division of labor in the household. On the other hand, the females all claimed that they wish to pursue their professional lives both after marriage and child birth. They are well aware of the empowering role of employment in their lives.

As to ‘the *outside*’ the ideas of the respondents on the gender order in Turkey gave some insights. The participants acknowledge the existence of the gender discrimination of the women but in general they have negative attitudes against the feminism. Although they themselves are not informed about the women’s movement in Turkey, the effects of the strong feminist movement in the 1980s can be heard in their language. The use of words patriarchy, sexual harassment and wife battering are all consequences of the campaigns by feminists. Unfortunately, their detachment from gender issues is also observed in their lack of knowledge on the new civil code. Because they hold the idea that patriarchy is imposed on females only by males, that is they are blind to the hegemonic nature of patriarchy, they cannot see how prevalent it is. For them the main and sometimes the only problem of women is men in general. This is also the point they label feminists as “non haters”. However, women, as well as men, are active reproducers of patriarchal hegemony. Although some of the females are trying to make a difference in their own lives, they do not have the motivation to work collectively. The findings show that these individual attitudes will lead to change only in their close circles. In the following chapter, their perspectives on education and inequality at school are presented and their potentials to be agents of change are questioned.

CHAPTER VIII

EDUCATION & CHANGE

VIII. 1. Perspectives on Education

This part presents the ideas of the participants on the functions of education, reasons for success and failure, authority of the teacher, and discipline problems in the classroom. All of these are of utmost importance since they determine the teaching philosophies and attitudes of the teachers.

Upon being asked about the basic aim of the elementary education, the participants provided quick and short answers sometimes in the form of parroting. These responses at first sounded like memorized sentences but after they were brought together a pattern has emerged. Perhaps the respondents had quoted the theoreticians of education but they were citing the sentences that they chose not to forget among all the others. These definitions must have been the closest ones to their own understanding.

It is possible to form two categories based on the understanding of elementary school education as transfer knowledge and education as training. In the first category the aims were listed as teaching basic literacy skills, getting students to enjoy education, teaching them how to learn and raising the level of education. The second category is comprised of the answers such as preparing them for life and reflects a more holistic look on education; bringing up good

citizens, teaching moral values and getting them to acquire positive behaviors. The answers in this category can further be analyzed in two groups. There is one group, which includes answers such as socialization, social and cultural improvement, learning basic rights, realization of oneself, building a character and learning about human being.

The first category, education as transferring knowledge, seems to have no critical understanding of education. For the fourteen (NR: 8 females 6 males) teacher candidates who cited those aims, education is barely comprised of receiving the knowledge and skills necessary for the other levels of education. Most probably they would argue for positivist education.

The second category, education as training, has broader aims and acknowledges that elementary school education is a part of human development. The groups in this category can be entitled as education for society and education for individual. Education for society might as well be at the expense of individuality for the good of society, which is consensus. As it can be expected in the light of the information presented in the first chapter on consensus. There is no mention of or inference to critical thinking skills. On the other hand, the second group, education for individual, has the aim of teaching basic rights to the students; socialization and character building are all listed in that category. The seven (NR: 2 females, 5 males) proponent of this group are not blind to the conflict in society. They are for the idea of teaching critical thinking skills. These seven candidates are expected to the feminist and critical pedagoges. Interestingly, the participants did not provide definitions that would go into different categories. In the entire group there is only one participant who provided two definitions for the aims of education that would go under both of the categories:

Overcoming the behavioral illiteracy in people and also overcoming knowledge illiteracy. I mean it should not be evaluated only as education for trasspassing knowledge (Muhsin from METU)

Examples for the first category, education as transferring knowledge:

“The main function of elementary school is to get the child to like the school.”

“As science teachers we aim at the child’s gaining science literacy”

Examples for the first group of the second category, education for society:

“Raising good citizens.”

“Getting them to gain moral values”

Examples for the second group of the second category, education for individual:

“I think that school is one big place that is important for socialization”

“The individual’s realization of herself/ himself”

The participants were asked whether the elementary school education in Turkey could achieve the aim they themselves had provided in the previous question. The purpose of asking such a question was to determine whether they found the education system successful or not. The results show that the elementary school education in Turkey is not successful in their opinion. As the impediments on the way to success they listed the economic divide, the regional divide and rural – urban divide. Teachers’ incapability was also listed as a failure of system but no respondent mentioned gender.

“Of course it is not achieved. People with money send their children to *dersane* or hire private tutors.” (Engin from Gazi University)

“I don’t think the aim of education is achieved in the same extend in the East.” (Nihat from METU)

“Most of the time, no. for example my own elementary school education is not enough. Why? Because I was in a small town, most of the time the teachers do not care.”
(Esra from Hacettepe University)

“One more thing, as far as I know there are teachers in this country who got their teaching certificates in 45 days. We are their students. I had such kind of teachers.”(Akif from METU)

Another point to evaluate the success of the education system in Turkey is whether it serves equal opportunities to students; that is the principal of equal opportunities as it was mentioned in the second chapter. This principal is the basis of democracy according to functionalist theory because the students will be stratified according to their success in school. Unless they are offered equal opportunities, the school will serve only as a tool to reproduce the existing social stratification. In their evaluation of the education system on the basis of the criteria they set the elementary schools in Turkey had been found unsuccessful. As to the realization of the principal of equal opportunities in elementary school, it is possible to conclude that the elementary schools were not found successful.¹³

Gender of the child is mentioned as a form of inequality that is less important than economical level. The difference between the economical levels of students is cited as the most important source of inequality. They do not mention the socioeconomic class of the child or any of the other forms of capital, which were mentioned in the method chapter, but the economic capital. The following account shows how inequality becomes a part of the classroom.

¹³ Five said each student is provided with equal opportunities and twenty-six said there was inequality and three said they had no idea

Definitely, there is no equal opportunity for each child. Last year, I worked at a *dersane* at the weekends. On the first week, you see the children equal since you do not know any of them. But later on, the hardworking child comes to the fore. The child whose parent comes to say “please pay attention to my child” comes to the fore. The child with the money comes to the fore. These things corrupt the equality. (Özlem from Hacettepe University)

The perspectives of the teacher candidates on the success and failure of students is another point of inquiry. It is interesting that they did not relate it to the economic situation of the family but the lack of interest or the incapability of the teacher. The reasons of success and failure were attributed to the same reasons but with a different order. They blame the failure on the family whereas the success is attributed to the teacher.¹⁴ Obviously, they will tend not to criticize themselves in the first place.

The pattern can also be observed while looking for someone to blame for the students' undisciplined behaviors. According to twenty-four respondents, the family is responsible for this behavior.

Teacher candidates are of the opinion that boys are more naughty when compared to girls. The general inclination is to explain this gap by the socialization in the family. The participants are quite aware of the differential treatment the boy and girl child receives in the family. They claim that the families spoil the boys by the privileges they give.

¹⁴ According to sixteen participants students' success depends on the teacher. However, when the student is not successful fifteen of them blame the family.

It is known that the child is spoiled a lot. After all, boys are boys, they say. It is not like that for girls. The boys are aware that they are tolerated more. They want to act in the same way in the school. They want the teacher to take care of them as their families did. When the teacher does not do that they try to take attraction by their misbehavior. (Seval from Hacettepe University)

The authority of the teacher is one of the points that have been widely discussed in feminist pedagogy. It is observed as a force that is destructive since it does not acknowledge the subject position of the students. It is also considered an impediment on the way to the creation of a secure atmosphere in which the students can express themselves. Unfortunately teachers' authority did not appear to have been discussed among teacher candidates. For ten participants the authority of the teacher in the classroom was taken for granted. The rest of the group provided their own definitions for the word, authority.

I believe that teachers should have authority. In the lack of it the students do not listen to the teacher and cannot benefit from the course. Both the teacher and the students are affected negatively. (Halime from Hacettepe University)

Among the participants, the use of physical violence against the students is sometimes rationalized. One of the participants gave an example from her own teaching as a volunteer work and explained that she used battering:

Now the issue is that; be kind in your behaviour towards the students but when the time comes (whack!) it is necessary to do that and I do it... nobody will talk unless I want them to. When they do I warn them. If they are still talking... (Meltem from Hacettepe University)

At least the children have to understand that there are certain things that they will have to do even if they do not want. (Emre from Gazi University)

The following account by a female participant from Gazi University is distinct from the others because of its similarities with critical pedagogy in its emphasis on collective work and the role of the teacher. She directly told that she is against oppressive authority and mentioned mutual learning. When I asked her further questions on the issue she said she did not know about Freire or critical pedagogy but she belongs to the leftwing political ideology and has relations to a socialist group.

It is not exactly like authority but collective work. The teacher is like the leader. There must be some field of study to improve the students that will also improve the teacher. We evaluate education as if it were something that finishes at the university. As if we know everything. In fact, we learn something new in each class. We must be open to personal improvement. We can do something based on collective work. I am not talking about an oppressive kind of authority but a system to guide the students, to channel them into the right way, to present them choices and leave the choices to them. (Buket from Gazi University)

It was obvious in the testimonies of the participants that teacher's authority was not debated much in their classes. This participant from Gazi University created his own wording for collective work.

There must be authority in the classroom and besides '*the authority of altogether*'. From time to time the teacher must act like all the others in the classroom. (Hakan from Gazi University)

VIII. 2. Inequality at School

VIII.2.1. Reproduction of Gender Inequality

As it was discussed in the second chapter critical theories analyze the ways inequalities are reproduced in schools. On the other hand, the traditional approaches have a focus on the emancipatory role of schools. This role of the school cannot be denied. On the contrary, the aim should be to make better use of this potential. However, in its current situation the schools continue to intensify and reproduce the existing inequalities in the society. In this part the ideas of the teacher candidates on the issue of reproduction of gender inequality at school are presented and discussed.

According to the majority of the participants, children do not internalize the unequal standing of man and woman in society at school. Twenty-four of them said that they learn gender inequality in their families and peer groups.

I think it is a result of the patriarchal structure of the society. It is not learned at school the society is like that. (Esra from Hacettepe University)

The two questions about the course books had the aim of both informing the participants about sexism that has been analyzed in previous studies as mentioned in the third chapter (Helvacıoğlu, 1996, Aslan, 2007, Arslan, 2000, Sivashgil, 2006, Kaya, 2003, Esen& Bağlı, 1997) and to reveal whether their own ideas are in line with the reflection of women in text books or not. First; the findings of the previous research on occupational segregation based on sex was recited. Then, the participants were asked if they agreed with such segregation. Even after such a leading question, twenty-three of the respondents claimed that there were appropriate jobs for man and woman (NR: 12 female,

11 male). Occupational gender stereotyping is more common among males and the occupations were determined masculine or feminine according to the physical strength they involve. Mechanic, construction worker, mechanical and civil engineer and driver were described as masculine and nurse and preschool teacher as feminine.

It seems that men are more successful in the field of engineering since it is more difficult. I don't know. (Muhsin from METU)

It is wrong to stereotype occupations according to sex but I still find a woman as a civil engineer working in the construction site, weird. (Özlem from Hacettepe University)

For the following question, the participants were informed that women appeared less in textbooks and when they did, it was in a sexist way. Then, they were asked how they would use the book and whether they would discuss this situation with their students. In case of Turkey, the sexist nature of course books has long been proven and been subject to criticism as it has been discussed in the chapter on Turkey. Twenty-six teacher candidates said that they would take action and either avoids using such material, open a debate about them or provide their own non-sexist material. Once they were informed and convinced about the sexism in course books they were quick to come up with methods to cope with it. The following is an idea on what a teacher could do at minimum: "I might add a footnote to prevent the coding of information like that in the subconscious." (Emine from METU)

Only seven said that they would present the material as it is. Even after such a brief account on the sexist nature of course books, most of the participants claimed their wish to take action against the issue. This shows that the inclusion

of gender inequality in teacher education programs would create awareness and change in the attitudes of an important number of teacher candidates. On the other hand, some were already familiar with the issue:

It is covered in the part about the division of labour in the house. I conducted a presentation on it last term and did not use biased pictures. (Canan from Gazi University)

Ayşe from Hacettepe University claimed that opening up a discussion on topic would only highlight the issue so she would not mention it. According to her, “Making such a correction would mean putting extra emphasis on it”. Against all the findings some might think that if they do not acknowledge the problem it will vanish. Unlike Ayşe, Özlem from Hacettepe University, who is aware of the sex role stereotypes in coursebooks, observes their effects on daily life practices. Yet she does not relate it with the power relations in the society and thus attributes sexism to the negligence of the authorities, which is very similar to the liberal feminist attitudes.

It does not affect women so much but men are affected more. Since the first grade they see males reading newspaper. After such kind of transmission they regard washing the dishes weird. For example me, as a person who says that my husband should help me with the housework, consider it abnormal when my uncle washes the dishes. One cannot do the same mistake for ten years I am sure the writers are of the same opinion but in Turkey we do not do the right things.

The participants were enthusiastic about talking on the issue of discrimination they face from their own teachers. Twenty-six of them claim that the teachers were more sympathetic against the members of their opposite sex. Some

participants even tried to present proof on the issue. It seems that their interest in their own teachers resulted in some gossip among students. Now that they are about to become teachers themselves, they have a tension about their relations with the students of the opposite sex. Some participants said that they would not want to be like their own teachers. But this tension might affect them in relations with their own students.

The teachers' sex is also an important factor. For example lady teachers are more tolerant to boys and male teachers are more tolerant to girls. Even if they say that they don't do it, they do that. (Burçin from Gazi University)

I remember that when I was in highschool I mean especially the female single teachers would turn to males to ask something or to say something. They would talk to them. I mean they would have their favorites. (Ece from Gazi University)

When asked whether they would agree with the statement that the female students have lower self-esteem; half of them said yes and the other half no. But there is a disagreement between males and females. Most of the females are of the idea that girls do not suffer from low self-esteem

Akif from METU said that in his own highschool experience, boys were afraid of the teachers whereas the girls did not have such a fear. They would comfortably talk back to the teachers. It is also possible to relate his ideas to the findings that the forms of punishments and reprimands girls and boys receive differ significantly. In line with prior studies, for example Aslan's study in 2007, the participants in that study claimed that the teachers would shout at girls but they would beat boys for the same kind of behavior.

As it was stated in the third chapter this differential treatment would give the message that teachers have something against boys:

It looks like discrimination since all the teachers like the well-behaved hardworking student. I mean it is difficult to cope with the naughty ones. It gives the impression that the teachers are warmer towards girls. (Gamze from METU)

In Western literature, single-sex schooling is proposed as a solution to help girls build self-esteem. For this reasons, two different questions were posed to reveal the ideas of participants about sexual segregation in education. Both of the questions show that the majority is against segregation.

It is useful to seat them together because if we support equality they would receive contradictory messages if we separate males and females. (Nuran from Gazi University)

It is only suggested as an alternative either for the religious people who have such a demand or as an experiment which might encourage success in students. Despite their claim against segregation the same pattern seems to appear in their own faculties. Although they attend the same classes as it was stated in unrecorded conversations the peer groups mostly include same sex individuals. In one of the classes I entered to get in touch with the volunteers for the study, I observed that males and females were sitting side by side except for the lines of boys at the back. When I asked about this to the participants I learned that the males and females sitting together were in fact couples.

To achieve equality they need to be seated together because now even in university there are males whom I don't greet. I mean I would greet them but when you receive the negative reaction from the other side you cannot do it again. (Nevin from Gazi University)

The segregation at the education faculty among the new generation teachers reminds the findings of Acar and her colleagues in three highschools in Ankara (Acar&Ayata& Varoğlu, 1999). In the state highschool that they had observed they found that despite gender equality in discursive level the male and female teachers at school had different spheres. It seems that the new generation of teachers will follow the same trend.

VIII.2.2. Other Inequalities

Feminist critical pedagogy as it was accounted in the third chapter aims at transformation of not only gender inequality but also other kinds of inequalities. Racism is one of the most commonly cited inequalities that need to be addressed by the feminist critical educators. However, in Turkey, the word minority brings to mind ethnic and religious groups. As another subordinated group homosexuals should be added to the list. Therefore, the ideas of teacher candidates have been asked pertaining to the issues.

They were reminded of the cultural diversity in Turkey and asked whether the cultures of those diversified groups need to be added to the course books. Thirty-two of the participants gave affirmative response.¹⁵ When they were asked a more personal question on the issue they said that they themselves would inquire and learn about the various cultures their students belong to. Among the participants there were seven people all of whom had claimed that there are other languages used as the means of communication in their houses. This reflects the fact that they belong to some ethnic minorities in the country.

¹⁵ The two negative responses came from females who were worried about separatism in the country.

However, only two female participants stated their own ethnic origins when answering this question.

They had better learn our own culture first. I mean this needs to be researched how the other countries do it. The issue of separatism is important. When I think it over maybe it shouldn't be included. (Meltem from Gazi University)

The following question on minorities had a different focus. The teacher candidates were asked how they would help a student who is subject to exclusion or violence because of his or her ethnic and/or religious origin. Muhsin from METU is against the exclusion of all kinds. "I have always liked helping excluded people. I mean I am against exclusion." The selection of the knowledge to be taught is highly political. It is the power over naming the world. (Apple, 2004) Not including the culture of some individuals in the curriculum is like denying their existence.

There were two questions on homosexuality among students. This issue is especially important since the findings in the West show that the percentage of suicide and suicide attempts are significantly higher among homosexual teenagers (Rasmussen, 2006). The attitudes of the elementary school teachers towards homosexuality are important not only because there are homosexuals among their students who are affected by them but also because the heterosexual students in the classroom might normalize and internalize homophobia or gain a critical perspective towards homophobia. The first question was on how they would react when there is a homosexual student in the classroom. The focus of the following question was again on being subject to exclusion and violence because of being a homosexual. They treated

homosexuality as if it were some kind of an illness to be treated. The hostility against homosexuals seems to be alarming as the following quotation shows:

I would tell her or him that s/he is not like everybody else and that the others might not accept her/his situation. So, I advise her or him to hide this disposition. (Meltem from Gazi University)

Some participants would were trying to hide their own heterosexism: “they should also be considered human” (Bilal form Gazi University); “I would assume that I consider it normal” (Yıldız from METU). Not all of the participants provided negative responses:

I don't know maybe positive discrimination. (...), because they are exploited more. If a woman is exploited twice; a homosexual is exploited three or four times. (Buket from Gazi University)

VIII. 3. Agents of Change

In this part the responses of the participants are analyzed in order to understand whether they can act as the agents of change for a more gender equal society. In the first part the clues of the participants' inclination to create change are sought. The reasons why they chose the profession, their views on taking on the administrative responsibilities and getting organized with other teachers are questioned. In the second part the issue is whether they are equipped enough to challenge the existing gender inequality. It is assumed that to inflict transformation in the society they need to be able to criticize themselves and start the change within their own lives. This is a reflection of the feminist pedagogy which follows the motto “personal is political” which was also

depicted in the second and third chapters. Their tendencies to react against inequality and their capability to cope with it are questioned.

VIII.3.1. Will to Change

Can the teachers transform the inequalities in the society? The answer to such a direct question received nineteen affirmative and thirteen negative replies.¹⁶ The participants who believe the transformative power of the teachers have their reservations on their issue.¹⁷ This question was posed to learn about their beliefs in their own powers because without belief it is not possible to act. According to Acker, (1988) the unwillingness of teachers to spend effort to create equality and democracy in the classroom is the first obstacle in coping with sexism as it was cited in the second chapter. The idealism and belief of some teacher candidates was reflected in their testimonies as such:

A teacher's task is not only at school. A village teacher can also train villagers in the evenings (İbrahim from Hacettepe).

In the early period of the education the teacher is like the goddess of the student. Whatever she says is correct. If she transmits that perspective (the perspective of equality) the child will improve in that direction. For example, s/he might rebel against his/her family. (Yıldız from METU)

In order to be able to create change, an improvement in the situation of teachers is necessary; the teachers themselves need to be empowered first:

¹⁶ NR: 12 Females 7 Males

¹⁷ Two participants were not sure.

I mean first of all the teachers value the families more than the students. It was like that in all the schools I attended. That is what the teachers do. They stratify the students. For example; I had a lot of teacher who learned about the occupation of their fathers before they even said something to the child. That is because the teachers place is not well established; the teacher have the fear of being exciled or loosing their jobs. S/he is only a civil servant. If the father of a student feels inferior and cannot speak up to the teacher, that child is oppressed. I will be a teacher and I won't do that. (Engin from Gazi University)

As also reflected in the testimonies of some participants, the teachers have the potential to inflict change for democracy. Their interactions with the families as well as the students hold the possibility for transformation. To determine the extent of their willingness to take responsibility, the respondents were asked another direct question: what can you do to transform the country into a more democratic and equal place? Twenty-nine respondents took responsibility for change. "This is one of the reasons why I chose teaching. I mean being able to teach something to tell them about life to show themselves; to be a mirror" (Emre from Gazi University).

Two of the respondences were distinguished by the attitude they took to start change by themselves.

People must change themselves first. If they change themselves they can affect the others around them. They will also affect others and through this cycle everyone can change we have to start with ourselves. (Akif from METU)

First I myself must be like that (democratic). The first level is to raise the consciousness of the people

around me. They do not have to be students. There are many people educated but not democratic. For this reason maybe by joining organizations we can achieve it. Because on our own we are alone but acting together will change a lot. (Merve from METU)

Merve's response has a central importance for this study since she emphasizes the importance of the process of learning in creating democracy, which is one of the underlying principles of feminist pedagogy. Raising consciousness is another principal that is shared both by the feminist and the critical pedagogies. She also proposes collective action. Such an account from a person who does not call herself feminist proves that affective action can also be taken by individuals who do not associate themselves with feminism.

When the transformation for equality was narrowed down to the issue of gender equality; the participants provided affirmative answers (NR:24) and added that it would take a long time. However, in their opinion such a possibility exists in the long run since the teachers have the power to affect both the new generations, their families and social networks of those families. According to Gamze from METU teachers are the very people to accomplish the task of transformation: "There is no other way; we (teachers) need to raise the consciousness of people." It seems that the teacher candidates do not have even the most basic vocabulary to refer to the issues in feminist and critical pedagogy.

When the status of women rises men might learn to respect them. I mean you cannot abuse a female police officer on the streets. These can also be strengthened by legal punishments. On the contrary, in our country even the police officers treat women negatively from time to time. For example, they send a woman who had been beaten by her husband back

to him. Such things happen. The level of education should rise both for men and women. I cannot express myself but women should also be able to protect themselves. (Interviewer: do you mean empowerment?) Yes but how are we going to empower them I cannot answer this question. (Murat from METU)

According to the data collected from the participants, nineteen participants¹⁸ chose the profession on their own will while fourteen¹⁹ participants claimed that they were in the department as a result of the university entrance exam.

It seems that males are more dissatisfied with their departments in comparison to their female counterparts. It becomes more obvious on account of the answers provided for the following question which is “Would you chose this profession if you were a member of the opposite sex?” Thirteen males and thirteen females gave positive answer while eight females gave negative answer to this question. It can be inferred that the females have chosen the profession on account of their gender.

I think I would be more inclined to engineering (If I were a male) (Interviewer: Why did not you choose it as a female?) I thought it would be difficult. I would always be among males and work with machines and the tools all the time. (Emine from METU)

Gamze from METU realized during the interview that her choice of teaching is gendered:

If I were a male and get the same point (from the university entrance exam) I think I would choose

¹⁸ NR: 14 females 5 males

¹⁹ NR: 7 females 8 males

something like engineering not teaching. I think I have such kind of a discrimination. I have just realized.

The choice of females for teaching has received full support of their families and their teachers. The social approval for the female teacher seems to be stronger than just a piece of advice.

Elementary school teaching is considered appropriate for women. My maths teacher has also told me. I said I wanted to be a maths teacher but he said elementary school teaching was better for me. (Seval from Hacettepe)

Despite the social approval women receive as elementary school teachers, the participants do not seem to have a unified opinion on whether the sex of the teacher would make a difference in elementary school. There is a tendency to argue that women would make better teachers because of their mothering virtues. They think that mothers' nurturing character seen in the female teacher will serve the child better and explain the high ratios of women teachers in elementary schools by using this opinion. Walkerdine (1990) who was also cited in the second chapter works on the parallelism drawn between the teacher and the mother and asserts that the entrance of women into teaching in large numbers can be explained this way. This argument seems to be valid for Turkey. Moreover, women's confinement to the private sphere is highly related to their roles as mothers. As it was argued in the previous chapter the term private sphere does not fit to the conditions of Turkey. The term 'inside', which is taken from the language of the participants, is utilized in this study. The parallelism drawn between the mother and the teacher turns the elementary school classroom into a space in between the *inside* and the *outside*. As it can also be followed from the words of Cansu from Hacettepe University, this is made even stronger by the lack of men in the classroom or sometimes at school.

Another point that needs to be remembered is that in Islam the most important distinction between the space *inside* the house and the *outside* is the existence of males who are not family.

Let me tell you about my veiled friends. As far as I know it is not a sin to unveil your head at the presence of a child but it is considered a sin with the students at the age of high school. That is why they choose this department

It is possible to conclude that, being a teacher at the elementary school is compatible with the traditional roles of women since it cannot be considered *outside*.

Another important point to act as an agent of change is related to the administrative responsibilities at schools. The transformation of the hidden curriculum, as it was discussed in the third chapter, necessitates an equal division of labour between the sexes at school. However, the current situation in the elementary schools in Turkey reflect the bias that males make better principals. When the participants were asked about the qualities of a good school principal, among the adjectives listed for a good school principal eleven were related to authority and discipline. The respondents had reservations that women might not be able to discipline the students. The masculine women came to their minds from their own school memories but masculinity in a woman was not enough to be a principal: “I mean a masculine woman might be acknowledged but male principals are more influential” (Özlem from Hacettepe University). They seem to think that a school principal had better be a male. The female participants contradict themselves since eighteen of them have claimed that they would like to be principals.

Another point was raised by Bilal from Gazi University. For him the male teachers might hinder their female colleagues promotion since: “No man wants to be administrated by women and the women do not want to get promoted anyway.”

Twenty-eight of the participants expressed their wish to take part in the administrative positions at schools. Among the five negative answers there is only one, by a female, that seems to be a result of a gender biased attitude. The same participant, Bahar from METU, claimed that she would be the assistant principal but not the principal. In the next generation of elementary school teachers, a rise in the ratios of the female school principals might be expected but it will still not reflect the ratios of women teachers.

One last point about the willingness of the participants for change is their perspectives on organized collective action. The indifference towards civil society is also reflected in the answers supplied for the question on trade unions in the field of education. Some participants asked for clarification about what a trade union is. However, it was observed that the ones who asked for clarification gave more affirmative answers to the question on whether they plan to join a trade union as a teacher. The ten participants who were against the idea of taking part in a trade union were quite decisive since they also criticized the unions negatively.²⁰

Among all the others there was one voice that was separated from the others in his emphasis on total consensus. For Timur (Gazi University), the teacher trade unions must consider their countries first. He criticized the trade unions for demanding higher wages.

²⁰ Seven participants still provided no answer.

VIII. 3. 2. Capability to Change

In order to understand whether the teacher candidates are capable of creating a counter hegemonic atmosphere for a more gender equal society they were first asked questions about sexism in themselves. To have transformative effects on society teacher candidates should be able to react against sexism. The topic of reacting against sexism is covered through the ideas of the participants on sexism in the media, at their work place, which is the school and their own classrooms. Their knowledge base about gender issues and the curriculum and attitudes toward gender are also questioned.

Twenty-four participants claimed that they have sexist attitudes.²¹ On the other hand ten participants²² responded that they were devoid of sexism. Only one male participant claimed that he would not try to cope with sexism in his own attitudes. This obvious gender biased attitude is counterfacted by the twenty-three positive answers. This finding is probably the most promising data in the entire study since it shows that the respondents are willing to change themselves.

In the literature review media had been mentioned as one of the channels children internalized gender stereotypes (Basow, 1992). Thus, it is essential that the negative effects of media be dealt at school. The majority of participants in this study claimed that the depiction of women in media was negative.²³ Ten female and ten male participants are critical of women's depiction in media as

²¹ NR: 15 females 9 males

²² NR: 6 females 4 males

²³ NR: 32

commodity whereas nine female and three male participants are critical because women on the media are devoid of chastity. One interesting finding is that females tend to blame the women they see on TV especially on magazine programs.

The participants were also asked whether they would react against sexism they witness in their schools among teachers or administrators. It is considered important that they speak up for their own ideas and risk conflict. All the female participants and eleven of the thirteen male participant claimed that they would react to overcome sexism. The two participants who gave negative answer to this question have been identified in their gender-biased attitudes. These two males had also expressed that there was a rightful division of labor inside the house, no need for education after elementary school for women and they had also claimed that they would not like their wives to have jobs. For example Bilal thinks that males can use a higher proportion of their brains. Other than the two obviously gender biased males the utterances of some female participants which are clearly biased have been note worthy all through the study.

The two biased males also gave negative answers to the following questions about sexism they would face in their own classrooms as well as out side classroom in the school. All the other participants stated that they would not let their female student be bullied or be silenced in their classrooms. However, outside their classrooms in the school only twenty-six teacher candidates would give reaction. Five female respondents who would react to sexist attitudes in their own classrooms claimed that they would inform the teacher who is in charge of those students. This gap might be explained by the perception of the classroom as a space, which is considered highly private especially by the female teacher candidates. This might be a reflection of the females' roles as

the carers of children in their own classroom. They also assume that the other teachers will care for their own classes.

Hakan's response was quite illuminating on the issue. He points out that the struggle against discrimination need to be initiated by women. He claims his position as a supporter of women who would stand up for their rights.

First of all there must be some kind of a reaction from the females. If the woman is disturbed it is necessary to take action but if she considers it normal it would be meaningless. When I am on her side she should also be on the same side. I cannot do anything if she herself accepts her secondary position

Thirty participants stated that no information was provided to cope with sexist attitudes of the students in the classroom and thirty-one of them said that they would benefit from an institution to work with the teachers on coping with sexism.

I had never thought about those issues. Now that we have talked about them I had a chance to consider them. They might as well have been covered at school so if we had had the education I would have thought of them (Engin from Gazi University)

The following excerpts from Emre and Timur (Gazi University) mark the existence of some teachers who are aware of gender inequalities. It seems that those teachers are marginalized as they are supported neither by the curriculum or the other teachers. "I think some of our teachers are of the idea that the girls are really at a disadvantaged position. We have teachers who are sensitive about the issue."

Our teacher was of the idea that women should be everywhere but I did not agree with that. The teachers all give their own ideas and we cannot understand which one is correct. (Timur from Gazi University)

The general atmosphere of the Education Faculty is an important factor on the gender awareness levels of the teacher candidates. After all, the participants are to make use of the skills and knowledge they acquire at those places. The participants were asked if they covered gender equality within the courses they took at the education faculty and if they thought those courses were informative enough about gender equality.

The participants claimed that the issue of gender equality was not covered in the courses they took in the education faculties. Fourteen of them said that the issues came up during discussions. In general the participants think that they were not given enough information on the issue as the following example indicates: “We covered the differences between man and woman but not their equality” (Seval from Hacettepe University).

To be able to trigger change for gender equality the language of the teachers need to be free from sexism. The importance of gender-neutral language has been discussed in the second chapter thus the respondents were also asked questions about sexism in language. Such utterances should be disregarded as if they were slips of tongue “We are treated as if we were equal all the time” Most of the respondents were of the idea that the language used at the education faculty was gender neutral. They stated that swear words were common among students and rare among teaching staff of university. Özlem told that especially the teachers who came from foreign countries paid attention to avoid sexism in language. It can be assumed that the importance of the issue has not been understood in Turkey yet.

As to their own language, half of the respondents think that there is no sexism in their own language. The same even distribution among candidates is also observed in different branches. At this point it is worth noting that some of the respondents, both male and female, considered generic use of he-man words not sexist and insisted on their opinion. The avoidance of the word “woman” and occupying the word “lady” (bayan) as if the word woman would somehow insult the woman mentioned was the general practice. Despite the consistent use of the word woman all through the interviews by the interviewer only one participant shifted from lady to woman.

The new elementary school curriculum prepared by the Ministry of Education emphasizes the importance of encouraging girls to take part in science courses (Tan, 2005). In general, since it is the only point pertaining to gender in the curriculum it is viewed as the most prominent issue. Mathematics and science teachers stated that they did not expect any difference in terms of gender and added that in case of a success gap between any groups among their students sixteen of them would try to compensate for it by paying extra attention to the disadvantaged group. However, they had some reservations about the issue especially if the disadvantaged group consisted of members of the same sex. It seems that they are afraid of being labeled by the students. Their experience as students tell them that these are hot and intricate issues among the students: “I will try to spend extra effort but without giving the image of a discriminatory teacher who favors girls” (Gamze from METU). Being labeled a feminist must also be frightening for them since they themselves tend to label their teachers as such. The following dialogue took place at Hacettepe University during the interview of Suude:

I: What do you mean when you say women who do not like men?

S: I can say feminists

I: Do you think that feminists do not like men?

S: I mean they are known as the enemies of men

I: I am a feminist but I am not an enemy of men.

S: I mean at least the ones who take it as being the enemies of men. I can see it clearly.

I: do you think they are more tolerant against girls?

S: Yes, they show more interest in girls. For example, if they let the male student talk for two minutes they give five minutes to the girl and listen more attentively.

In this chapter the ideas of the participants on gender education have been discussed. In the light of the data gathered through the interviews and the knowledge presented in the literature review of the study, the participants have been viewed as agents to promote gender equality. Two approaches were observed in the ideas of the participants about the functions of education: education as transferring knowledge and education as training. The second approach is further grouped into two: education for the individual and education for society. Only the ideas that go under the approach education for the training of the individual seem to hold promising outcomes. The emphasis of this opinion is on raising the awareness of the student.

They are of the idea that the elementary school system in Turkey is not successful. Their emphasis is on the inequality of economic differences. Although most of them question the authority of the teacher child battering is normalized and there are signs that they might practice it on their students.

The general understanding among the participants was that schools are liberating places for girls. In that understanding, they work against the suppressive forces of society.

Being informed about sexism in textbooks most of the participants claimed to take some kind of an action about the issue. On the other hand, according to the their testimonies, they also have appropriate occupations for males and females in their minds.

As to the inequalities other than gender, the participants are hardly more informed or aware of them. They are hesitant about the inclusion of the diverse cultures in Turkey into the curriculum since it would lead to a rise in separatism in the country. Homosexuality can be considered the field they have the less knowledge. Most of them are clearly heterosexist. There are basically two approaches: an illness that can and needs to be treated or, if they have formerly heard about the issue, teachers need to hide their homophobia.

To answer the question if the participants can act as the agents of change is the main question of the study. In that sense, the participants' idealism about teaching, willingness to take on administrative duties and act in collaboration with the other teachers are all important points. First of all, it seems that females are more idealistic about teaching since males are discouraged by the stereotyped understanding of the profession and low income. For the females this profession is a gendered choice. The parallelism drawn between the teacher and the mother makes the elementary school a place between the inside and the outside.

The most promising data has been the willingness of the participants to change themselves if they understand their own sexism. Other than the clearly prejudiced males, they all claim they would change attitudes.

It seems that the negative connotations of the word feminist might keep the teacher candidates from adopting feminist pedagogy in the future. In the gender

climate of the schools teachers' attitudes especially towards their students of the opposite sex receives too much attention. The students tend to label their teachers either for favoring the members of the opposite sex or girls.

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CHAPTER IX

CONCLUSION

This study looks into the transformative power of the elementary school teacher candidates for a more gender equal society. The second chapter of the study presented three broad approaches to school. Functionalism as a consensus theory was accounted first. The way women and their education was treated in this theory are in parallel with the attributed roles to them in the household and, in fact, inhibits women to the private sphere. In their emphasis on the conflict in society critical theorists revealed the ways the school can disadvantage individuals and groups. The development of critical approach to include the resistance by individuals and the concept of hegemony is accounted in the second part of the chapter. The last part of the chapter consists of the presentation of four basic feminist theories: Liberal feminist theory, radical feminist theory, socialist feminist theory, and postmodern feminism. The differences and similarities between the ways each strand of feminism analyses education is reflected in this part.

In the third chapter the attitudes of teachers toward boys and girls are clarified and the effects of those attitudes have been depicted. The studies have shown that various trends observed in girls and boys might as well have been the results of the ways they are treated. This is proof that teachers who want to make a difference in their learners can achieve it by the way they teach. In fact the effects of patriarchal system are total and cannot be overcome by individual efforts alone. There appears a need for collective action to create a counter-

hegemonic school environment. This kind of a school aims to empower all the subordinated and silenced groups starting with women. Boys cannot be left out of the procedure as the gender climate of the school and society cannot be altered by ignoring them. The counter-hegemonic school can be achieved by the utilization of feminist pedagogy, transforming the curriculum and the hidden curriculum at school. There are various types of feminist pedagogies in line with different strands of feminisms. In this study critical feminist pedagogy has been emphasized. Critical feminist pedagogy, which has its roots in Freire's liberatory pedagogy and the feminist praxis of the 1970s, has the aim of creating a learning atmosphere in which the learners gain consciousness about the world and themselves. The hierarchy between the teacher and the learners is broken and the experiences of the learners are brought into the classroom. The part about the transformation of the curriculum involves selection of the knowledge to empower learners, use of gender-neutral language and some examples to support the curriculum. The hidden curriculum part, on the other hand, presents different understandings of the concept. Other than the direct objectives of the school, the messages conveyed by the use of physical space, facilities, and the type of interactions should reflect the values of democracy and equality.

The fourth chapter presented an overview of the situation of women in education in Turkey. Despite the fact that women in Turkey gained their rights quite early, within the first years of the Republic, the situation of women did not keep up with the new circumstances. The Republican ideology, which liberated women, did not interfere with the private sphere and the division of labour in the household. In line with that the reflection of women in the course books deteriorated in the coming years, from the citizen with full rights to the altruistic housewife with the uniform of apron, whose sole purpose seems to be the tasks related to caring for the others. Today, other than the problems related

to gender parity, the school does not seem to fulfill its potential to liberate its female students. The messages conveyed at school reproduce different roles and expectations for males and females based on the traditional household roles and expectations.

The fifth Chapter is the where the methodology of the study is depicted. Feminist methodology has been followed for this study. The choice of the method of research has been in line with the methodology followed. In-depth interview technique has been used since it gives the chance to interact with the participant and offers a chance to break the hierarchy between the researcher and the interviewee. After the limitations of the study are stated, the interview questions and the rationale behind them are explained. The participants are presented in general terms in that chapter and the research procedure that took place in three universities is depicted.

The sixth chapter looks into the social milieu of the participants. The institution of family has a special place in the value systems of the participants. Most of the females claimed that it is necessary for safety while the majority of the males think of it as an organizing force in society. The traditional sexual division of labour, housewife mother and breadwinner father, was the common form in their parental families. Unfortunately, this is taken for granted by the participants. However, some female participants are leading struggles in their families. Since the relations with the father are detached, the mothers appear in the rule enforcing role. This blurs the understanding that the restrictions brought on the females are patriarchal.

In Chapter seven the attitudes of the participants towards the gender order *inside* the household and in the *outside* world are analyzed. In order to reveal the private and public sphere understandings of the participants, their wording

has been adopted. They use *inside* for private and *outside* for public. Despite the presence of some males who are clearly biased against women, the majority of the participants show a tendency for a more equal division of labour in the household. The comparison between the parental family and the marriage life as it is planned in the minds of the participants do not coincide. This transition is lead by the females and their demands from their spouses will determine the degree of change. Although the idea that the husband should have a higher status in the family continues to prevail, some individuals wish for total equality. Unfortunately, these demands are very unlikely to find resonance in the society since the attitudes of the participants against both civil society and feminism are rather biased. They have a simplistic version of patriarchy in their minds in which the males oppress and exploit the women and the feminists are women who are against men. This understanding makes them blind to patriarchal attitudes of women and the ways males are categorized and subordinated. Thus they fail to acknowledge the prevalence of patriarchy and feminist becomes a stereotype which the participants want to keep away from. The second part of the chapter is about the gender perspectives of the participants on the gender order in Turkey. Most of the participants acknowledge the presence of discrimination against women in Turkey. However, they fail to establish the link between their own understanding of gender relations and the discrimination in society in general. They tend to blame the honor killings on the ignorant people and consider it a problem of the East of Turkey, while they value the chastity of women in traditional terms.

Chapter eight delves into the ways the participants' ideas about education and inequality and questions their role as the agents of change for a more gender equal society. The participants basically attribute two functions to education: First education as transferring knowledge and second education as training. The latter is further categorized into two: education for the society, for the

consensus in society and education for the individual, for the empowerment of the individual. The ideas in the education of the individual category have similarities with the critical feminist pedagogy. This is proof for the existence of allies who do not call themselves feminist. The testimonies of the participants showed their detachment from the inequalities in their own country. The inclusion of different cultures into the curriculum brought to their minds separatism in the county and was not favored. The discrimination against homosexuals was one of the alarming points that the interviews revealed. The participants were either directly homophobic or had the idea that they needed to hide their homophobia. As another point, the nature of the care and attention teachers pay to the members of the opposite sex receives too much emphasis. Most of the participants were of the idea that teachers favor the opposite sex in their classes. Such labeling creates a tension on the teacher candidates and is likely to hinder the care they provide for those students. The contradiction is that the female teachers who pay attention to the female students are labeled as feminist and criticized harshly.

The sexist attitudes of the teachers have destructive effects on the life prospects of the students. The testimonies provided in the sixth, seventh and eighth chapters of the study prove that the male hegemonic ideology is strong among the teacher candidates. Both female and male teacher candidates are affected by patriarchy in differing degrees and unless there is an intervention within the process, the education they will as teachers offer will have only small improvements in comparison with the teachers that the prior studies have documented.

Besides, the findings of the study show that most of the teacher candidates are open to change. They have also stated the need for an institution to work in the field of gender equality. Their willingness to work with an institution to be

formed in the Ministry of Education leaves room for hope and emphasizes the urgency of the action to be taken by the government.

The gender-biased attitudes of the teachers can be addressed either via in-service trainings or at the teacher education period, namely the Education Faculties. This study validates the findings of the research both in Turkey and abroad which conclude that there is a need for reform both in in-service trainings and teacher preparation courses in terms of gender-based attitudes. The more effective solution seems to be utilizing both of these strategies but since in-service training is costly and limited to only short periods of time it will prove effective only when backed up by the programs at Education Faculties. Furthermore, until the time a teacher receives training, years of teaching may have passed whereas the Education Faculties, where people attain teaching certificates, are the places at which prospective teachers form their teaching philosophies as well as learn the basics of the profession.

The creation of a gender aware climate especially in the education faculties appears as an urgent need at the end of the research. As it can be followed from the testimonies of the participants, these schools do not have transformative effects on their pupils at present. The existence of prejudiced perceptions and attitudes among the participants has not been altered within the three or four years they attended education faculties. The teacher education period is highly political in that sense. Once the biased attitudes of the teacher candidates, ranging from being against the education or employment of women to admitting that one is able to commit murder for chastity, have been found it will be ignorance not to act against them. Thus, it is possible to conclude that this study highly political implications and calls for immediate action to be taken on the issue.

This study was qualitative and the technique used was in-depth interview. Although the data gathered through the interviews is highly valid the group is limited to thirty-four teacher candidates. Therefore, it does not lead to broad generalizations. Considering the goals of the study it can be viewed as the preliminary step of a broader research. The findings of the study can be used to conduct a new research by using both quantitative quantitative techniques to be applied on a broader scale.

The data collected seems highly compatible to be turned into a questionnaire form since a pattern has emerged for most of the answers. The answers can be categorized into several groups. This may be the result of the similar socioeconomic backgrounds of the teacher candidates in this study. However, it might as well be signifying to homogeneity in the elementary school teacher candidates in general because the sample was chosen randomly from the education faculties of three different universities.

One of the findings of the study is that the change in gender perceptions of the two sexes is not parallel. However, for the transformation to a more equal society to occur both sexes need to be analyzed and appealed to. As it was stated, a real change is possible only with a more equal division of labour in the inside, that is the private sphere. Such a change requires a shift in the gender patterns of the males, too. The gender perceptions of males and the changes it has been subject to need to be analyzed with further studies.

In this study, the sample group was comprised of teacher candidates from the Departments of Elementary Teaching, Elementary Science Education, and Elementary Mathematics Education. In the following studies the Department of Social Sciences Education need to be incorporated into the sample group. For this purpose the study needs to be conducted to include more universities.

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APPENDIX A

BÖLÜM 1

Demografik bilgiler:

Doğduğun yıl

Cinsiyet

Doğduğun yer

Büyüdüğün yer

Mezun olduğun lise

(öğretmen lisesi/düz lise/süper lise/meslek lisesi/ anadolu lisesi/ kolej)

Okuduğun bölüm/ sınıfın

Kültürel, Ekonomik ve Sosyal Sermayeyi belirlemeye yönelik sorular:

➤ Annen hayatta mı? kaybettiysen kaç yaşındaydın?

➤ Annenin eğitim durumu

○ okuma yazma bilmiyor

○ ilkokul

○ ilkokul mezunu

○ ortaokul mezunu

○ lise mezunu

○ üniversite mezunu

○ yüksekokul mezunu

mesleği:

çalışıyorsa/emekliyse işi:

çalışmıyorsa daha önce çalıştı mı? hangi işte?

➤ Baban hayatta mı? Kaybettiysen kaç yaşındaydın?

➤ Babanın eğitim durumu

○ okuma yazma bilmiyor

○ ilkokul

○ ilkokul mezunu

○ ortaokul mezunu

○ lise mezunu

○ üniversite mezunu

○ yüksekokul mezunu

mesleği:

çalışıyorsa/emekliyse işi:

çalışmıyorsa daha önce çalıştı mı? hangi işte?

➤ Kardeşin var mı?

Varsa cinsiyetleri

Eğitim durumları

Mesleği/ çalışıyorsa işi

➤ Annen ve babanın şu anki medeni halleri nedir?

➤ Hanenin aylık geliri (asgari ücreti baz alarak)

- 500'den az
- 500-750
- 750- 1500;
- 1500'den fazla

➤ Ev kendinizin mi/ kiramı/ başkasının (akraba misal) yanında mı kalıyorsunuz? sahip olduğunuz başka mülk var mı varsa ev araba tarla gibi sayıları?

➤ Hanede kimlerle yaşıyorsunuz?

➤ Ankara'da kaldığın yer

- Özel yurt
- Devlet yurdu
- Ev ise kaç kişi kalıyorlar
- Akraba yanı

➤ Gelir kaynağı ve aylık gelir miktarı

- Çalışıyor musun (çalışıyorsa tam zamanlı/yarı zamanlı ve geliri)
- Ailenden para alıyor musun? (alıyorsa ne kadar)
- Aldığın burslar (ne kadar?)

➤ Harcamalar: lütfen bir sıralama yapınız

- Okul/kurs
- Yiyecek,
- Giyecek
- Kitap/dergi
- Kültürel faaliyet sinema tiyatro müzik
- Gezmek
- Barınma

1) Büyüdüğün hanede hangi diller konuşuluyordu

(Türkçe, Lazca, Kürtçe, Ermenice, Zazaca vs.)

2) Türkçeden başka dil biliyor musun?

3) Ailende başka dil bilen var mı?

- 4) Bir sanat dalıyla ilgileniyor musun? Ailende ilgilenen var mı?
- 5) Eve dergi ya da günlük gazete alınıyor mu? Alınıyorsa hangi gazete ve kimler okuyor?
- 6) Evde bilgisayar var mı? Varsa kimler kullanıyor?
- 7) Aile olarak birlikte ne kadar vakit geçirirsiniz? Nasıl vakit geçirirsiniz?
- 8) Ailenin gelir seviyesinin aldığı eğitimde ne oranda etkili olduğunu düşünüyorsun? Daha yüksek ya da düşük olsaydı gene de bu mesleğe yönelir miydin?
- 9) Bir sivil toplum kuruluşuyla çalışıyor musun ya da çalıştın mı? Çalıştıysa hangi alanda
- 10) Aile olarak en çok kimlerle görüşürsünüz? Nasıl vakit geçirirsiniz?

BÖLÜM 2

Toplumsal cinsiyet aile yapısı:

- 11) Aile olarak başkalarıyla vakit geçirirken hep birlikte mi oturulur yoksa bir gruplaşma olur mu? (Gençler yetişkinler ya da kadın erkek)
Evle ya da ikramlarla kim ilgilenir? (Birlikte mi hazırlanır yoksa bu belli bir kişinin ya da kişilerin görevi midir?)
- 12) Aile hayatında nasıl bir yer tutuyor? Ne sıklıkta görüşüyor ya da haberleşiyorsunuz?
- 13) Özellikle vakit geçirdiğiniz, paylaşımlarınızın fazla olduğu bir aile bireyi var mı? Neden?
- 14) Kendine ailenden ya da yakın çevrenden örnek aldığı kimse var mı? Neden?
- 15) Sen büyürken aile bireylerinin ne gibi iş paylaşımları vardı? Sana kimler bakıyordu?
- 16) Ailende iş paylaşımı var mı? Haneyi ilgilendiren işler nasıl ya da kimler tarafından yapılır?
- 17) Ailenizde bakıma muhtaç kimse var mı? (hasta/yaşlı/engelli)? Varsa bakımlarıyla kim ilgileniyor?
- 18) Hanenizde kararlar nasıl alınır? Son sözü söyleyen bir kişi var mıdır? Hayatın boyunca ailenizden birisinin son sözü söylediği bir olay hatırlıyor musun?
- 19) Ailenizde belli bir kişide otorite olduğunu söyleyebilir misin?/ Bunu neye bağlıyorsun?
- 20) Bir konuda ailenden izin alman gerekse bu izni kimden istersin? (anne, baba, ya da başka büyükler)
- 21) Ailenden para istemen gerekse kime gidersen parayı kim verir?

- 22) Hanenizde aile içi şiddet yaşandı mı? Sen tanık oldun mu? Nasıl mücadele ettiniz?
- 23) Evinizde kadınların ezildiğini söyleyebilir misin?
- 24) Aile kurumu ya da evlilik ortadan kalkmalı diyenler var. Sen ne düşünüyorsun?

BÖLÜM 3

Öğretmen adayının kendisine dair toplumsal cinsiyet algısı:

- 25) Evlilik herkesin başından geçmeli der misin?
- 26) Sen evlenmeyi düşünüyor musun?
Cevap hayırsa
*partneriyle birlikte yaşama konusuna nasıl bakıyor?
Cevap evetse:
- 27) Kendi mesleğinden biri ile evlenmeyi düşünür müsün ya da ister misin?
*Eşinin geliri seninkine oranla nasıl olmalı? Az ya da fazla olması rahatsız eder mi?
*Eşinin eğitim durumu seninkine oranla nasıl olmalı? Az ya da fazla olması rahatsız eder mi?
*K: Evlendikten sonra çalışmaya devam etmeyi istiyor musun?
E: Evlendikten sonra eşinin çalışmaya devam etmesini ister misin? Tercihini ne yönde olur?
- 28) Evlendiğin zaman /ya da partnerinle ev işlerini nasıl paylaşmayı düşünüyorsun?
- 29) Ev işi yapabiliyor musun?
- 30) Çocuk sahibi olmak istiyor musun?
Cevap hayırsa neden? Cevap evetse:
- 31) K: Çocuk sahibi olduktan sonra çalışmaya devam etmeyi istiyor musun?
E: Çocuk sahibi olduktan sonra eşinin çalışmaya devam etmesini ister misin?
- 32) Boşanma konusunda ne düşünüyorsun? /Hangi durumda eşinden boşanırsın?
- 33) Evliliklerde ev işlerini daha çok kadınlar yapıyor ve kadınların dışarıda bir işlerinin daha olması bu durumu temelde değiştirmiyor. Sence bu durum kadınların hayatını nasıl etkiliyor?

BÖLÜM 4

Türkiye'deki toplumsal cinsiyet yapısı değerlendirmesi

- 34) Türkiye'deki kadınların en büyük sorunları sence neler?
- 35) Kadınların cinsiyet ayrımcılığına uğradıklarını düşünüyor musun? Hangi alanlarda?

Burada cinsiyet **ayrımcılığı** deyince kadın ve erkeklere ya da kız ve oğlanlara farklı davranılmasını ve bu davranışın sonucunda genellikle kızları dezavantajlı durumda kalmasını kastediyorum.

- 36) Cinsiyetinden dolayı ayrımcılığa ya da fiziksel veya sözlü tacize uğradın mı?
- 37) Namus cinayetleri konusunda ne düşünüyorsun? Sence nasıl mücadele edilebilir?
- 38) Türkiye’de kadınların ücretli işte çalışma oranlarının bu kadar düşük olmasının sebebi sence nedir? Okudukları halde çalışmayan kadınların oranı oldukça yüksek, sence bunun sebebi nedir?
- 39) Kızların okullaşma oranlarını arttırmaya yönelik kampanyalardan haberdar mısın? Olumlu ve olumsuz bulduğun yönleri var mı?
- 40) Türkiye’deki kadın hareketine dair bilgin var mı? Varsa bu konudaki fikrin nedir?
- 41) 2007 yılında Medeni Kanun değişikliği yapıldığını biliyor musun? Evlilik süresince edinilen malları eşlerin ortak kullanmasına ve ayrılık durumunda eşit paylaşmasına ne dersin?

BÖLÜM 5

Eğitime bakışı:

- 42) Sence ilköğretimin temel amacı nedir?
- 43) Bu amacı yerine getirebiliyor mu? Engeller var mı varsa neler?
- 44) Eğitimde fırsat eşitliği ilkesi sana ne ifade ediyor? İlköğretimde yerine getirilebiliyor mu?
- 45) Öğrencilerin ilköğretimde başarılı olma sebepleri neler olabilir?
- 46) Öğrencilerin ilköğretimde başarılı olamama sebepleri neler olabilir?
- 47) Sınıfta öğretmenin otoritesine olumlu ve olumsuz bakan eğitimciler var; sen ne dersin?
- 48) Sence öğretmenler toplumdaki eşitsizlikleri dönüştürebilir mi?
- 49) Bu ülkenin daha eşitlikçi ve demokratik bir yer haline gelmesi için sen neler yapabilirsin?

BÖLÜM 5

Toplumsal cinsiyetin eğitim yoluyla yeniden üretilmesi:

- 50) Toplumda genel olarak var olan kadın ve erkek arasındaki eşitsiz güç ilişkisi okullarda ne kadar öğrenil iniyor?
- 51) Türkiye’de kadın erkek eşitliği eğitim yoluyla sağlanabilir mi?
- 52) Ders kitaplarında kadınlar ve erkekler meslekleriyle gösterildiğinde yalnızca belli gruplara dahil ediliyor. Sence kadınlara ve erkeklere uygun meslekler var mı? Evet, ise: birkaç örnek sayar mısın?

- 53) Arařtırmalar ders kitaplarına kadınların daha az dahil edildiđini ve cinsiyetçi bir řekilde sunulduđunu gösteriyor. Bu kitapları sınıfta kullanman gerektiđinde nasıl bir yöntem izlersin? Öğrencilerinle konuyu tartıřır mısın?
- 54) Sence öğretmenler kız erkek ayrımı yapıyor mu? Erkeklerle daha fazla ilgileniyor mu?
- 55) Kız öğrencilerin özgüvenlerinin daha düşük olduđunu söyleyenler var. Katılır mısın? Evet, ise öğretmenler bu konuda ne yapmalı?
- 56) Sence kız ve ođlanları karıřık oturtmak faydalı mı?
- 57) İlköğretim sınıflarında yařanan disiplin problemlerinin kökenlerini nerelerde ararsın? Sence cinsiyete göre bir farklılık olabilir mi? Neden?

BÖLÜM 6

Toplumsal cinsiyetin eğitim yoluyla dönüřtürülmesi isteđi

- 58) Bu mesleđi isteyerek mi seçtin?
Evet ise: Sana bu mesleđin hangi yönü cazip geliyor?
Hayır ise: Neden bu bölümde okuyorsun?
- 59) Karşı cinsten olsaydın gene de öğretmenlik mesleđini seçer miydin?
- 60) Bundan 10 yıl sonra kendini nerede görüyorsun? Akademik kariyer yapmayı düşünüyor musun?
- 61) Öğretmenin cinsiyeti ilköğretimde bir fark yaratabilir mi? Nasıl bir fark yaratabilir?
- 62) Sence kız ve erkekler için ayrı okullar olmalı mı? Neden?
- 63) İlköğretimde çalışan öğretmenlerin yüksek oranlarda kadın (%44) olmasının nedenleri sence nelerdir?
- 64) Yönetim kadrolarında kadın öğretmenlerin daha az görev yapıyor olması sence neden (müdürlerin %3ü kadın)? Sence kız ve erkek öğrenciler bundan etkileniyor mu? Nasıl?
- 65) Çalıştıđın okulda yönetici kadrolarda yer almak ister misin?
- 66) İyi bir okul yöneticisinin sahip olması gereken birkaç özellik sayabilir misin?
- 67) Öğretmen sendikalarına katılmayı düşünüyor musun?

BÖLÜM 7

Toplumsal cinsiyetin eğitim yoluyla dönüřtürülmesi konusunda yeterlik

- 68) Sen kendinde cinsiyetçi tutumlar yakalıyor musun? Bunu deđiřtirmek için bir şey yapar mısın?
- 69) Medyada kadınların işleniřini nasıl buluyorsun? Bu konuyu öğrencilerinle tartıřır mısın? Bir çalışma yapar mısın?
- 70) Çalıştıđın okulda yönetim kadrolarında ya da öğretmenlerde cinsiyetçi tutumlar görsen buna tepki verir misin? Nasıl?

- 71) Sınıfında öğrencilerin cinsiyetçi tavırlarını saptasan; Mesela erkekler kızlara konuşma hakkı vermese ya da alay etse sataşsa veya kızların belli alanlarda başarılı olamayacağını söylese ne tepki verirsin?
Benzer tutumları sınıf dışında görsen ne tepki verirsin?
- 72) Öğrencilerin cinsiyetçi tutumlarını değiştirmek için sınıfta neler yapılabileceğine dair size bilgi verildi mi? Bu konuda danışabileceğin öğretmenler için bir kurum olmasını ister miydin?
- 73) Eğitim fakültesinde aldığınız derslerde kadın erkek eşitliği konusunu işlediniz mi?
- 74) Bu fakültede aldığınız derslerin kadın erkek eşitliği konusunda öğretmen adaylarını yeterince bilgilendirdiğini düşünüyor musun?
- 75) Eğitim fakültesinde genel olarak kullanılan dili eşitlikçi buluyor musun? İnsanlar yerine adamlar, bilim insanları yerine bilim adamları demek ya da küfür kullanmak gibi?
- 76) Kendi dilini cinsiyetçi buluyor musun?

Öğrenciler arasındaki farklı gruplara hitap etme isteği

- 77) Türkiye kültürel çeşitliliği çok fazla olan bir ülke. İlköğretimde okutulan kitaplarda ülkemizdeki çeşitli kültürlere yer verilmesi gerektiğini düşünüyor musun?
- 78) Farklı kültürlerden gelen öğrencilerin daha iyi öğrenmelerine yardımcı olmak amacıyla onların kültürlerini öğrenmen gerektiğini düşünür müsün?
- 79) Etnik ve/veya dinsel bir azınlıktan olduğu için dışlanan ya da şiddete maruz kalan bir öğrencine nasıl yardımcı olursun?
- 80) Sınıfında eşcinsel bir öğrenci olduğu zaman ne yaparsın?
- 81) Eşcinsel olduğu için dışlanan ya da şiddete maruz kalan bir öğrencine nasıl yardımcı olursun?

*Fen ve matematik öğretmen adayları için ek: Senin branşın için bir cinsiyetten daha fazla ilgi ya da başarı bekliyor musun?

*Daha az ilgilenenleri motive etmek için ekstra çaba sarf eder misin?