

HIGHER EDUCATION IN TURKEY IN THE CONTEXT OF GENDER,  
UPWARD MOBILITY AND REPRODUCTION OF INEQUALITIES:  
A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE EDUCATION AND ENGINEERING  
FACULTIES

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Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

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## **ABSTRACT**

**HIGHER EDUCATION IN TURKEY IN THE CONTEXT OF GENDER,  
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FACULTIES**

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This dissertation analyzes the higher education attainment process, which is related with the upward mobility and/or the reproducing inequality, by genders (across and within genders) in case of the education (as female-dominated field) and engineering (as male dominated field) faculties in Turkey. It is evident that considering their historical backgrounds including the aim of the founding and distribution of gender by years, these two faculties display the gender-based division of labour in higher education system. In order to understand and explore the attainment process varying by gender, this dissertation based on both a historical-comparative analysis of Turkish modernization through understanding gender inequality in education and a quantitative analysis applied. Drawing on the Eurostudent Survey IV (2011) which is nationwide representative and internationally comparable data, the differences between two faculties by gender are explored. Findings indicate that specifically, females are coming from higher socioeconomic background family, urban areas and

better education background, compared to males. Considering faculty, these characteristics are also valid for engineering faculty. Students in engineering faculty are from higher socioeconomic background family, urban areas and better education background, compared to education faculty. In this sense, education faculty is consists of relatively disadvantage groups. Therefore, it is argued that education faculty provides upward mobility for students, while engineering faculty protects status quo. In conclude, this dissertation proposes that higher education reproduces gendered division of labour and the interaction between gender and socioeconomic background of family has been represented in the higher education system in Turkey.

Keywords: higher education in Turkey, gender inequality, education faculty, engineering faculty

## ÖZ

### TOPLUMSAL CİNSİYET, YUKARI HAREKETLİLİK VE EŞİTSİZLİKLERİN YENİDEN ÜRETİMİ ÇERÇEVESİNDE TÜRKİYE'DEKİ YÜKSEKÖĞRENİM: EĞİTİM VE MÜHENDİSLİK FAKÜLTELERİNİN KARŞILAŞTIRMALI BİR ÇALIŞMASI

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Bu tez; Türkiye'deki eğitim fakültesi (kadın egemen alan olarak) ve mühendislik fakültesi (erkek egemen alan olarak) örneğinde, yukarı hareketlilik ve/veya eşitsizliklerin yeniden üretimi ile ilişkili yükseköğrenime erişim sürecini toplumsal cinsiyete göre (toplumsal cinsiyetler arasında ve içinde) analiz etmektedir. Kurulma amaçlarını ve yıllara göre toplumsal cinsiyet dağılımını içeren tarihsel geçmişleri göz önüne alındığında, bu iki fakültenin yükseköğrenim sistemi içinde toplumsal cinsiyete dayalı işbölümünü gösterdiği açıktır. Bu tez, toplumsal cinsiyete göre değişkenlik gösteren bu erişim sürecini anlamak ve keşfetmek için, hem eğitimdeki toplumsal cinsiyet eşitsizliği anlayışı aracılığıyla Türk modernleşmesinin tarihsel-karşılaştırmalı analizine hem de uygulanan nicel analize dayanmaktadır. Ulusal temsiliyeti ve uluslararası karşılaştırılabilirliği olan Eurostudent Araştırması IV



(2011) verileri kullanılarak iki fakülte arasındaki farklılıklar toplumsal cinsiyete göre incelenmiştir. Bulgular gösteriyor ki, erkek öğrencilere göre kadın öğrenciler, yüksek sosyoekonomik ailelerden, kent alanlarından ve daha iyi eğitim geçmişinden geliyorlar. Fakültele göre ise, bu özellikler mühendislik fakültesi için geçerlidir. Eğitim fakültesindeki öğrencilere göre, mühendislik fakültesindeki öğrenciler yüksek sosyoekonomik ailelerden, kent alanlarından ve daha iyi eğitim geçmişinden geliyorlar. Bu bağlamda, eğitim fakültesi öğrencilerini göreceli olarak dezavantajlı gruplar oluşturuyor. Öyleyse, eğitim fakültesi yukarı hareketliliğe yol açarken mühendislik fakültesinin var olan statükoyu koruduğu iddia edilebilir. Sonuç olarak, bu tez Türkiye’deki yükseköğrenimin toplumsal cinsiyete dayalı işbölümünü yeniden ürettiğini ve toplumsal cinsiyet ile ailenin sosyoekonomik durumu arasındaki etkileşimi yansıttığını ileri sürmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Türkiye’deki yükseköğrenim, toplumsal cinsiyet eşitsizliği, eğitim fakültesi, mühendislik fakültesi

*To My Beloved Mother Birnur  
and  
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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

PLAGIARISM.....	iii
ABSTRACT.....	iv
ÖZ.....	vi
DEDICATION.....	viii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.....	ix
TABLE OF CONTENT.....	xi
LIST OF TABLES.....	xv
LIST OF FIGURES.....	xvi
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.....	xvii
CHAPTER	
1. INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1. THE AIM OF THE DISSERTATION.....	1
1.2. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND.....	9
1.3. THE PLAN OF THE DISSERTATION.....	12
2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK.....	15
2.1. INTRODUCTION.....	15
2.2. THEORIES ON EDUCATION.....	16
2.3. GENDER INEQUALITY IN EDUCATION.....	22
2.3.1. Theoretical Explanations of Women’s Educational Inequality.....	23
2.4. GENDER AND EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT PROCESS.....	32
2.4.1. Macro-structural Factors.....	33
2.4.2. Family Factors.....	38
2.4.2.1. Socioeconomic status of family.....	39

2.4.2.2. Family structure.....	43
2.4.2.3. Family decision process .....	44
2.5. CONCLUSION .....	48
3. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF EDUCATION IN TURKEY .....	52
3.1. INTRODUCTION .....	52
3.2. OTTOMAN EMPIRE.....	54
3.2.1. Ottoman Social Structure and Conventional Education System .....	54
3.2.2. Social and Educational Transformations in Ottoman .....	58
3.3. TURKISH REPUBLIC .....	69
3.3.1 The Building of a New Nation-State and a New Identity Period (1923-1950): .....	70
3.3.2. Variety and Turmoil period (1950-1980):.....	81
3.3.3. Commodification, Massification, Difference and Expansion Period (1980 to the present):.....	94
3.4. CONCLUSION .....	112
4. GENDER EDUCATIONAL INEQUALITY IN TURKEY .....	118
4.1. INTRODUCTION .....	118
4.2. OTTOMAN EMPIRE.....	119
4.2.1. Women’s Position in the Ottoman Empire .....	119
4.2.2. Tanzimat Era and its consequences on women’s social and educational status.....	124
4.2.2.1. The Young Ottoman Movement .....	131
4.2.3. Abdülhamid II and the Era of Autocracy (1878-1908):.....	135
4.2.4. Second Constitutional Period: .....	138
4.2.4.1. The ideological currents of the second constitutional period and women: .....	139
4.2.4.2. Women Movement and its influence on women education .....	142
4.3. TURKISH REPUBLIC .....	148
4.3.1. The Advent of Citizenship, Republican Women and the Building of a “New Woman” Period (1923-1950):.....	148

4.3.2. The Advent of Upward Social Mobility and The Inequalities Period (1950-1980):.....	158
4.3.3. Expansion but Inequalities Ongoing Period (1980 to the present): .....	168
4.4. CONCLUSION .....	179
<b>5. BEING FEMALE/MALE STUDENT IN EDUCATION OR ENGINEERING FACULTY .....</b>	<b>184</b>
5.1. INTRODUCTION.....	184
5.2. METHODOLOGY.....	184
5.2.1. Research Questions .....	185
5.2.2. Questionnaire and Data .....	188
5.2.3. Sample.....	190
5.2.4. Variables .....	190
5.2.5. Data analysis .....	193
5.3. SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS.....	194
5.4. FAMILY BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS.....	197
5.4.1. Parents' education level .....	197
5.4.2. Parents' occupations and employment status.....	205
5.4.3. Other family characteristics .....	213
5.5. EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS.....	218
5.6. CONCLUSION .....	229
<b>6. DETERMINANTS OF PARTICIPATION IN THE FACULTIES.....</b>	<b>233</b>
6.1. INTRODUCTION.....	233
6.2. SOCIODEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS .....	234
6.3. FAMILY BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS.....	241
6.4. EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND.....	245
6.5. CONCLUSION .....	249
<b>7.CONCLUSION .....</b>	<b>252</b>
<b>REFERENCES.....</b>	<b>261</b>
<b>APPENDICES .....</b>	<b>300</b>

APPENDIX A: MAJOR POLITICAL, ECONOMICAL AND SOCIAL EVENTS REGARDING EDUCATION AND GENDER .....	300
APPENDIX B: SUPPLEMENTARY TABLES .....	304
Table B. 1: The Universities in chronological order.....	304
Table B. 2: Distribution of household education consumption by Quintiles ordered by income.....	309
Table B. 3: Rates of Female and Male Students By Level of Education (%) (1923-2011).....	310
Table B. 4: Number of Applicants and Accepted Students to Higher Education by Year (1975-2012).....	313
Table B. 5: The numbers of students by the gender at all levels of education (1923-2011).....	314
Table B. 6: The rates of schooling by the types of education .....	316
APPENDIX C: EUROSTUDENT NATIONAL QUESTIONNAIRE.....	318
APPENDIX D: LETTER OF COMMITMENT.....	331
APPENDIX E: CURRICULUM VITAE .....	332
APPENDIX F: TURKISH SUMMARY .....	336
APPENDIX G: TEZ FOTOKOPİSİ İZİN FORMU.....	364



## LIST OF TABLES

Table 5. 1: Gender distribution by field of study (%) .....	186
Table 5. 2: Percentage of socio-demographic variables by faculty and gender.....	194
Table 5. 3: Percentage of parents' education level by faculty and gender.....	198
Table 5. 4: Percentage of family's education background by faculty and gender ...	203
Table 5. 5: Percentage of parents' occupational status by faculty and gender .....	206
Table 5. 6: Percentage of parents' employment status by faculty and gender.....	209
Table 5. 7: Other socioeconomic status of family variables by faculty and gender	214
Table 5. 8: Variables related to high school by faculty and gender.....	218
Table 5. 9: Other educational variables by faculty and gender.....	223
Table 6. 1: Logistic Model of Female and Male Faculty Attainment.....	236
Table B. 1: The Universities in chronological order.....	304
Table B. 2: Distribution of household education consumption by Quintiles ordered by income .....	309
Table B. 3: Rates of Female and Male Students By Level of Education (%) (1923- 2011) .....	310
Table B. 4: Number of Applicants and Accepted Students to Higher Education by Year (1975-2012).....	313
Table B. 5: The numbers of students by the gender at all levels of education (1923- 2011) .....	314
Table B. 6: The rates of schooling by the types of education .....	316

## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 4. 1: The changes in literacy rate (6+ and over) (1935-2008) .....	172
Figure 4. 2: The changes in net schooling rate (1990-2008).....	174
Figure 4. 3: The changes in the distribution of the population by education level (%) (1990-2008).....	176
Figure 5. 1: The field of study by gender (2011-2012).....	186
Figure 5. 2: The living place until 12 years old by gender and faculty.....	195
Figure 5. 3: The education level of father by gender and faculty .....	199
Figure 5. 4: The education level of mother by gender and faculty .....	202
Figure 5. 5: The education level of family by gender and faculty .....	204
Figure 5. 6: The occupation of mother by gender and faculty .....	205
Figure 5. 7: The occupation of father by gender and faculty .....	207
Figure 5. 8: The employment status of father by gender and faculty.....	210
Figure 5. 9: The employment status of mother by gender and faculty.....	212
Figure 5. 10: The average income from parents by gender and faculty.....	215
Figure 5. 11: The average expenses from parents by gender and faculty .....	216
Figure 5. 12: The social standing of family by gender and faculty.....	217
Figure 5. 13: The type of high school bu gender and faculty.....	220
Figure 5. 14: The region of secondary school by gender and faculty .....	221
Figure 5. 15: The kindergarden attendance by gender and faculty .....	226
Figure 5. 16: The attendance of private tutoring courses by gender and faculty .....	229
Figure 6. 1: The factors for attainment of faculties by gender .....	249

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- ADNKS: Address-Based Population Register System
- AKP: Justice and Development Party
- ANAP: Motherland Party
- CHP: Republican People's Party
- CUP: Commission of Union and Progress
- DİE: Turkish Statistical Institute
- DP: Democrat Party
- DPT: State Planning Organization
- DTCF: Faculty of Language and History-Geography
- ERG: Education Reform Initiative
- GDP: Gross Domestic Product
- IMF: The International Monetary Fund
- ISCED: International Standard Classification of Education
- MEB: Ministry of National Education (MoNE)
- ÖSYM: The Student Selection and Placement Center
- ÖSYS: Student Selection and Placement Examination
- PISA: The Programme for International Student Assessment
- SBF: Ankara University Faculty of Political Science
- SBS: The exams of Passage to Secondary Education
- TL: Turkish Liras
- TÖMER: Turkish Education Centre
- TÜİK: Turkish Statistical Institute

UN: The United Nations

UNDP: The United Nations Development Programme

UNESCO: The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

UNICEF: United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund

ÜSYM: Interuniversity Student Selection and Placement Center

YÖK: Higher Education Council

YURTKUR: Higher Education Loans and Dormitories Institution

## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1. The Aim of the Dissertation

Education has been considered as one of the main institutions of modern societies because of its functions such as the transmitting of certain values and norms to new generations, providing trained and skilled individuals or labours so on. So that it affects not only society in terms of economic and social development but also individual in terms of empowerment, occupational status, social status attainment, labor market participation, and upward social mobility (via higher education particularly) (Buchmann et al., 2001:88-9; Benavot, 1989:14; Eserpek, 1977a; 1977b; Hallinan, 2000:72; Göksel, 2009; Havighurst, 1968:129; Tomul, 2009:949; Toktaş et al., 2006:737; World Bank, 2000). Because of its importance and impact on both individual life and society, education has been the subject of many research and scholars for decades.

Considering importance of education for individual and society/national level, educational attainment and achievement have been become more crucial issue, that have been main issues of many research for decades, as well. However, in Turkey, although education has been the subject of politics, social policies and daily life, like in other countries, there are limited numbers of studies about this, particularly in sociology. When we look at these studies in Turkey, it is seen that majority of them dealt with the primary and secondary education issue. In other words, higher education is the subject of few studies in Turkey. Indeed higher education in Turkey, the last step of the education ladder (except graduate education), is one of the main phenomena of the youth as well as their families since higher education is considered as tool for better future or upward social mobility. When we look at the sociology of education literature, there are great numbers of studies about higher education around

the world, but not in Turkey. In this sense, with this study it is expected to reveal the importance of higher education issue and to contribute to the literature of sociology of education in Turkey.

Furthermore, since education is a cumulative process, any problem in the previous levels (i.e. primary and secondary education) has influenced the higher education. In other words, in spite of the fact that education is divided into certain formal periods, it is an integrated process which consists of parts that complete each other from the beginning to the end (Tanrikulu, 2009:3). Therefore, cumulative results of problems such as poor quality schools, gender inequalities reflect in the higher education. In this sense, higher education can be considered as a kind of indicator of these cumulative problems. Accordingly, to examine the higher education help us to completely veil these problems in education system in Turkey. To capture these problems in the education system, it is needed to focus on both all level of education system and transformation of education in Turkey. In this sense, firstly, in this study, it is aimed to examine the transformation of field of education, i.e. the sociology of transformation of education, in Turkey. In other words, in Turkey, (i) the evolution of field of education, (ii) macro-structural changes such as nation-building process, modernization process, economic and political changes about education and social stratification and (iii) effects of social inequalities on education are attempted to be delineated. The historical background of education in Turkey (as will be discussed in chapter 3), thus, will help us to understand today's education system, specifically higher education.

The transformation of field of education in Turkey, as the historical background of the dissertation, indicates that education as a multi-dimensional social institution is a social space over which various actors struggle (Bourdieu et al., 1977; 1992) namely national and global political and economic actors (Nohl, 2008: 10, 15). Herein, we have faced with the function and meaning of education loaded. That is to say that education has been used to ideologically and economically create individuals/citizens. For instance, in the process of nation-state building, unity of language, culture, common symbols and ideals will be made common by education

in which national identity and citizenship are created (Gellner, 1983). Therefore, the unity and association of language and culture cannot be created without education and it is impossible to talk about being a nation without education. Education as a means of similarizing and creating a single identity (Akşit et al., 2000; Topses, 1999; Caporal, 1982; Neyzi, 2001; Gümüšoğlu, 2005:13) is also a field of “production” where the desired values are conveyed and identities are created. In addition to the construction of national identity/citizenship via education, new knowledge and skills are gained for the national market. In sum, new identity and new labour force for market have been produced by education. By this way, the keystone of the formation of nation-state is the field of education. It can be argued that in this process, the mission of primary education as basic compulsory education is to educate children as “good citizens” with single identity values, who acculturated “national” culture, values, and language.

On the other side, high school and specifically tertiary education have been assigned to teach some knowledge and skills for certain professions in market. Considering the meaning and function of education at the individual level, as mentioned before, higher education has been valued as tool for a well-paid occupation, a social status and a better future. By this way, the attainment to higher education is crucial to achieve those aims. Herein, we face with the inequality of educational attainment as an issue. In this sense, the matter of that who can and cannot attain education refers to the inequality of educational opportunity and attainment. In other words, the issue is whether each one has the equal chance to attain to education “regardless of such ascribed characteristics as family background, religion, ethnicity, race or gender” (Parelius et al., 1978:283).

The equality of educational opportunity is mainly defined in three stages: equality in access, in participation and in outcomes. In order to achieve the equality of educational opportunity, it should be ensured these three stages. The empirical studies from different countries, however, underline that the equal access to education has been not achieved yet. Herein, some educational statistics can be given to show some inequalities in Turkey despite of will be given in chapter 4: The rate of

literacy in 1980 was 67.45% across the country, 79.94% among men and 54.65% among women. In 1990, the rate of literacy increased; the rate of illiteracy dropped to 9.46% among men and 29.18% among women. However, the fall in the rate of men became faster and higher than that of women (Doğramacı, E., 1997:97). In 1999, the rate of illiteracy was 4.5% among the urban male population, and 18.7% among the urban female population. It was 10% and 30% among the rural population, respectively (TÜSİAD, 2000:35; Kağıtçıbaşı, 2010:12). However, the rate of literacy has still not reached 100%: Among the population at and above the age of six in 2011, the rate of female illiteracy was 8%, and male illiteracy was 1.7%. Eight of every ten illiterate people are women. Among the population above the age of 15, the rate of female illiteracy is 9.8%.<sup>1</sup> There is another inequality among the age groups: The older the person, the higher the rate of illiteracy. This case is valid both for men and women. However, this difference is higher among women. Another factor in women's illiteracy is the rural-urban and regional difference. The rate of female illiteracy in the rural and in the East is higher than that of the women in the West (TÜSİAD, 2000:33; Otaran et al., 2003:24; Akar et al., 2009:21; Smits et al., 2003; O'Dwyer et al., 2010; Çabuk Kaya, 2013). For example, according to the figures of 2003, illiteracy for women was 16.6% in urban and 30.8 % in rural (for men 3.9% and 9%, respectively); the rate of women with no education was 63.2% in the Southeastern Anatolia and 32.1% in the Aegean region (Akar et al., 2009:22). Considering primary school, in 1991-92 training year, the rate of females' enrolment to primary school was 85.38% and this rate was 91.1% for males (Narlı, 2000). In 2008-9 training year, the exact schooling rate at primary school was 96.5%. This rate was 96% for girls and 97% for boys. Considering secondary school, the secondary-school enrolment rate among the girls was 47.74% across Turkey while this rate was 71.26% among boys in 1991-92 training year. In 1994-95, however, girls' enrolment rate at secondary school rose to 54.52% and boys' to 76% (Narlı, 2000). In 2008-9 training year, the net rate of schooling was 58.5%; it was 60.6% among men and

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<sup>1</sup> For more information, see Ministry of Family and Social Policies (2012).



56.3% among girls. Considering higher education, for example, in 1990-91 training year female enrolment rate was 8.9%, while this figure was 16.5 % for male. This rate rose to 13.8% and 21.3% in 1994-95, respectively (Narlı, 2000). Today there appears a growing development. The newly-opened universities<sup>2</sup> and increased quotas have become influential on this process.<sup>3</sup> However, although there has been positive development in gender distribution by field of study, the disparity still exists. For example, in 1999-2000 training year the rate of female in engineering faculties was 23%. It rose to 23.7 % in 2006-2007 and in 2011-12 it rose to 29.4 %. On the other side, in 2006-2007 training year the rate of female in education faculties 47.2 % and in 2011-2012 it rose 51.5 % (TÜSİAD, 2008:55, TUIK, 2013:60). As seen, Turkey has not achieved the equality in educational opportunity in any level of education in terms of gender and region.

Considering the empirical and theoretical literature, the inequality of educational opportunity is related with many determinants. Macrostructural factors including state and global forces (e.g. international organizations and agreements, global division of labour, modern cultural trend, state policies, industrialization and urbanization) and family factors including socioeconomic status of family, family structure and parents' decision process as structural dimension are strongly related with educational attainment and vary by genders. If the family background is strongly related with the attainment process, it means that there is the inequality of educational opportunity in the society. In other words, the relationship between ascribed features and educational attainment is important to evaluate inequality of educational opportunity and upward social mobility. Moreover, this strong relationship is seen as the indicator of inequality of educational opportunity and reproducing inequality (as *reproduction/conflict theory* claims). In this sense, how does education attainment process run in Turkey? Are there any differences in the process by genders? These are questions in the dissertation which are discussed via

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<sup>2</sup> See Appendix B, Table B.1.

<sup>3</sup> See Appendix B, Table B.3 and Table B.5.

historical analysis of impact of social, economic and political events from late Ottoman to present in Turkey. Through this, in this study, secondly, it is aimed to discuss and examine educational attainment process by gender in Turkey, which reveals the gender educational inequality. Therefore, the previous stage of higher education which is related to attain to the higher education would be delineated in Turkey by gender. Considering this process, the attainment process of higher education by gender is attempted to be examined which is the main issue of this dissertation. Despite of the achievement of gender parity (i.e. parity in quantity) in higher education in Turkey, there are limited numbers of studies about how educational attainment process works by gender, specifically higher education in Turkey. As measuring and exploring inequality of educational attainment provide a picture over time of “how educationally stratified our society is in gender, social class, racial, or other terms” (Lynch, 2000:93), this dissertation based on historical-comparative analysis of Turkish modernization through understanding gender inequality in education. Also, the quantitative analysis is applied to contribute to the literature both empirically and theoretically.

To examine these questions mentioned so far, Eurostudent Survey IV (2011) data will be used.<sup>4</sup> The questionnaire and data were utilized for the reasons that it is the most recent tertiary student research at the national level and it contains several questions in terms of the socio-economic background of university students in Turkey. Furthermore, regarding historical background of higher education in Turkey, education and engineering schools/departments, their roles and functions are different than each other in Turkey. Since 19<sup>th</sup> century engineering has been considered as *male-dominated* field while education has been found suitable for females because of gendered division of labour: teachership is something like the continuation of their mother roles, whereas engineering is related with physical

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<sup>4</sup> I would like to thank Eurostudent national commission for sharing the data with me: Professor Dr. Nezh Güven (Middle East Technical University, Ankara, Turkey), Professor Dr. Ayşe Gündüz-Hoşgör (Middle East Technical University, Ankara, Turkey), Associate Professor Dr. Mustafa Şen (Middle East Technical University, Ankara, Turkey) and Associate Professor Dr. Özgür Arun (Akdeniz University, Turkey).

power. In other words, genders have been more strongly related with and represented in these fields. In addition, in Ottoman Empire, engineering schools were found to raise the necessary specialist staff for the army and navy and thus they could save the army, lost territory and then the Empire (Göle, 1998). It can be argued that another clue for considering engineering as male field is that Ottoman women, that have fought for the right of higher education such as medicine training, natural sciences, did not struggle to attain engineering schools (Naymansoy, 2010:3). The reasons prevented the willingness of women to engineering can be associated with the traditional education system in the Empire and internalized gendered division of labour in the society. Indeed, the first woman in engineering school/faculty was welcomed in the early period of Turkish Republic (in 1927) thanks to *state feminism* (Karaca, 2012: 319; Zorlu, 2014:70) that I will discuss in detail in Chapter 4. On the other hand, teacher-training schools for females which were the results of the non-coeducational system in Ottoman Empire (i.e. female schools required female teachers because of Islam) gave the opportunity of women to be in public, enabled women's upward mobility and participate in workforce. In the early Republic, teachers considered as the agent of new nation-state ideology (Kemalist ideology) (i.e. "ideological militants" (Baskın, 2007:115-6) of the state) played a crucial role in nation-state building process. When we look at the socioeconomic background of the students in tertiary education in these periods, it is seen that they were children of middle and higher socioeconomic background families (i.e. educated, have occupation in state like soldier, administrator and lately supporter of the Kemalist ideology)(Acar, 1996:198; Zengin-Arslan, 2002:10).

Considering these disparities and today, therefore, this dissertation attempts to explore inequalities between female and male students in attainment process of education and engineering (and architecture)<sup>5</sup> faculties. To compare educational attainment between genders allows us to discuss higher education's role of

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<sup>5</sup> In the questionnaire, the classification of the field of study given like that which depends on the International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED).

reproduction of gendered division of labour and gender inequality in labour market in Turkey.

Finally, the specific research questions below are attempted to be answered:

1. The first aim here is to understand the process of attainment to higher education so the following questions firstly should be answered. Who accesses to the education faculty as *female-dominated field* and engineering (and architecture) faculty as *male-dominated field*? Who are those students?
2. What are the differences and/or similarities among students who enrolled education and engineering (and architecture) faculties in terms of socio-demographic, family and educational background? Why do we have those differences?
3. What are the difference across and inside gender in terms of socio-demographic, family and educational background by education and engineering (and architecture) faculties? Why so?
4. Which variables affect attainment of these faculties regarding gender? In other words, do the effects on the attainment of these faculties vary by gender? If so why?

Consequently, this dissertation attempts to explore gender inequality in attainment of higher education through a quantitative analyses including comparing the education faculty as *female-dominated field* and engineering faculty as *male-dominated field*. By allowing comparison of socio-demographic, family and educational background variables, the models developed for educational attainment process will help to explore and understand which variables are important and effective for attainment of higher education by faculties and whether family educational background transfer from family to individual or intergenerational mobility exists, that address the inequality of educational opportunity and the reproducing inequality role of higher education (i.e. *reproduction/conflict theory*). In this sense, the role of higher education in Turkey is attempted to be questioned. In other words, does higher

education in Turkey allow upward mobility or reproduce social inequality including gendered division of labour?

## 1.2. Theoretical Background<sup>6</sup>

Despite of that gender inequality in education is main issue in developing countries, theories on education do not directly reply the gender educational inequality. Either they ignore or do not take account gender. For example, according to *human capital theory*, education is to invest to the human resources for national development, whereas *status attainment theory* claims that education is to achieve the occupation and social status. Furthermore, while *functionalist theory* states that education is to transmit the social values, norms to survive social order, for *conflict/reproduction theory* education, specifically higher education, perpetuates and legitimatizes the class inequality and status quo. As seen, all these theories do not deal with the gender educational inequality, rather feminist theories namely *liberal, radical and socialist feminist theories*. They address gender inequality in all social spheres including educational one. Therefore, this dissertation takes a feminist position, particularly socialist feminist.

It would be better to briefly mention the theories to justify why socialist feminist perspective is based on: Actually, *the functionalist* and *the reproduction or conflict theories* have recognized the inequalities in education. But their arguments are different from each other. According to functionalists, inequalities in education are inevitable and necessary to maintain the society, whereas for conflicts, they are considered inequalities as unfair and have to be overcome. As said before, according to the *functionalist theory*, education is the tool to survive social order. In addition to survive social order, for national development all children should be educated as human capitals. Herein, female education has come into importance because of that

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<sup>6</sup> In this part, because the issue is examined by different perspectives, it has been faithful to the original concepts used by them.

gender inequality in education is “a major obstacle to social progress in developing countries” (Rankin et al., 2006:25). However, according to this theory, education is an equally open system to all citizens and merit system works. In this sense, gender inequality in education is not result of the system but related with ‘inadequate’ qualities of individuals (such as intellectual ability) and their families’ decisions which is based on different economic, cultural and social factors. For example, while females are seen as future “mother and housewife”, males are seen as future “breadwinner” (Stromquist, 1989:167). Therefore, their decision on children’s education career is associated with the gendered division of labour. On the other hand, for *reproduction/conflict theory*, education as the ideological instrument of state (Althusser, 1991) works in favor of dominants classes and their ideologies. In this way, people have internalized the social division of labour as inevitable. That is to say that lower class do not need high level of education because they would not change their class (i.e. upward mobility) via higher education. They, thus, have to accept to attend lower level of education (Stromquist, 1989:168). As seen, this theory dealt with class inequalities but not intra-class inequality, gender inequality and the probability of upward mobility.

Unlike these two theories, *feminist theories (liberal, radical and socialist feminist theories)* highlight the gender educational inequality despite of differences in causes argued by them. As will be discussed in chapter 2 in detail, the educational framework of *liberal feminist perspective* contains three major themes: *equal opportunities, socialization and sex stereotyping* and *sex discrimination* (Acker, 1987:423; Stromquist, 1989:169; Baba, 2007:26; Martusewicz et al. 1994:13-15). According to liberal feminists, because of “sameness” between genders, men and women should have equal opportunity in all social space including education. However, gendered division of labour and sex roles (sex stereotyping) have been imposed through socialization process in family and schools. For example, “boys are encouraged to train more prestigious and well-paying ‘masculine’ occupation while girls are channelled into preparing for lower-paying but more ‘feminine’ service occupation” (Jaggar, 1983:176). Thus, cumulative results of discrimination result in

inferior participation of women in education and labour market, particularly more prestige career and well-paid jobs.

Radical feminist perspective, on the other hand, bases gender educational inequality on the sexual (biological) division of labour (“mainly, the woman’s ability to conceive and give birth to children” (Stromquist, 1989:171)). That is to say that woman considered as mother and wife belongs to *private sphere*. In this sense, because motherhood is seen as the main role of woman (Arnot, 2002), she does not require any educational or occupational status. The sexual division of labour, thus, determines the limitation of woman which is contradictory of equality of gender and opportunity. Moreover, for radical feminists, family and schools are the main institutions to construct and control sexuality and reproduce sexual division of labour (i.e. *the sexual politics* (Millett, 1971)) which are the part of the patriarchal ideology (Firestone, 1970; Acker, 1987:419). Therefore, the system built on “woman body” politics provides gender educational inequality.

Finally, socialist feminist perspective underlines the concepts of *patriarchy*, *family*, *mode of production* and *class* for gender inequality. The concept of class from Marxist terminology addresses capitalism and modern society. In this sense, family socioeconomic status related with parents educational and occupational status is highlighted by socialist feminists. Furthermore, it claims the interconnection of capitalism and patriarchy which strengthen each other (Arnot et al., 1987; Acker, 1987:426; Stromquist, 1989:172; Baba, 2007:26; Sancar, 2012:23). By the way, the function of education is to (re)produce woman as mother and wife (as an argument of patriarchal ideology) as well as worker (as the part of the *reserve army of labour*). In other words, the function of education is to reproduce the patriarchal and economic values regarding sexual division of labour that are needed to survive the capitalist social order. Because woman is restricted into cheap labour, domestic roles and labours, low paid and less prestige occupations (MacDonald, 2012:17), she is not expected to attain higher education which provides opportunity for high prestige and high-paid occupations. However, middle and upper *class* woman can attain higher education. It can be explained by the interaction between gender and *class*: the

investment of education for girls is not waste of money (i.e. *the opportunity cost of education*) because the possibility of having high-wage jobs is highly after graduation (Stromquist, 1989:173). However, the existence of sex-segregated field/study in higher education such as teaching, nursing, social services as female dominated programme addresses the patriarchal ideology in the society (Arnot, 2002:28; MacDonald, 2012:18).

Consequently, socialist feminist perspective among these three feminist perspectives is seen as the most suitable to examine contemporary societies because of complex economic and occupational structure. Therefore, our dissertation takes a position that (i) higher education reproduces gendered division of labour and (ii) the interaction between gender and socioeconomic status of family has been represented in higher education system. Considering higher education in Turkey, it is evident that while education faculty is female-dominated field, engineering faculty is male-dominated field. Moreover, teaching which is lower paid and less prestige occupation than engineering is preferred mostly by females, that is consistent with socialist feminist perspective arguments. Therefore, depending on socialist feminist perspective and its arguments, it can be explored whether higher education in Turkey allows upward mobility or reproduces social inequality by gender.

### **1.3. The Plan of the Dissertation**

After this introduction chapter which informed about the dissertation's scope, aim, research questions and plan, the theoretical background will be elaborated. As briefly mentioned above, theories on education have generally dealt with the function of education. These theories and their approach will be discussed regarding higher education. In the second part of the chapter, gender educational inequality and theories related to the issue will be focused. Finally, in the last part of the chapter, education attainment process and factors affecting the process will be discussed by



gender regarding empirical studies. Therefore, the main theoretical ground would be made clear in this part.

In the third chapter, an historical study of effects of economic, political and social transformation in Turkey on education will be undertaken to make a historical background of field of education. The transformation of education field, particularly transformation of higher education in Turkey will be discussed considering macro-structural changes from *Tanzimat* era, the nation-state building process to present. In the first part of the chapter, social and educational structure of Ottoman Empire will be reviewed to understand the education system and institutions most of which were inherited to Turkey changed and/or continued along with the Republic. Then, in the second part of the chapter, education field in Turkey will be examined under the three periods. The first period called as *the building of a new nation state and a new identity period* is between 1923 and 1950. The second period called as *variety and turmoil period* includes the years between 1950 and 1980. The last period called as *commodification, massification, difference and expansion period* has been from 1980 and continued to the present. Therefore, the relationship between macrostructural changes and education will be examined in this chapter.

In the fourth chapter, regarding socialist feminist perspective's argument that women issue should be understood into historical context, to understand education attainment process of women and gender educational inequality in Turkey, women education issue will be overviewed historically. Due to a deeply rooted problem, it would be better to understand and point out women's social and educational position in the late Ottoman Empire. In the second part of the chapter, gender educational inequality will be dealt from early Turkish Republic to present via figures and statistics. Moreover, the three periods categorized in the previous chapter would be considered to point out the changes in the issue.

It would be better to underline here that any issues and events mentioned in these two chapters (chapter 3 and 4) would independently be another dissertation subject because of their importance in the history. Several studies and dissertations about

these issues and events have been already executed. However, within the scope of the study, they briefly mentioned in the context of education system and particularly higher education in Turkey.

The methodological background of dissertation will be given in the fifth chapter. The research questions based on the study, data, questionnaire, sample, variables and data analysis will be delineated there. Furthermore in this chapter as one of the finding chapters, university students' socio-demographic characteristics, family background and educational background will be described and compared each other. The main aim of this part is to explore differences and/or similarities among them and to response the question what are the differences across and inside gender by education and engineering faculties.

In the sixth chapter, the results of the analysis to explore the factors affecting attainment will be discussed by socio-demographic characteristics, family background and educational background. Therefore, main research question is attempted to be answered in this chapter.

In the seventh as last chapter of the dissertation, the conclusions along with the suggestions for further studies and some evaluations will be mentioned. In addition to chapters, in the appendix part, a table including the major political, economical and social events regarding education and gender; some supplementary tables and Eurostudent questionnaire used for analyses will be given.

## CHAPTER 2

### THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

#### 2.1. Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to introduce and make clear socialist feminist perspective as the theoretical framework of the dissertation. First of all, to explain why other theories are not, the theories on education specifically higher education and some concepts such as equality of opportunity and equality of educational opportunity will be reviewed in this chapter. The main approaches about the function of education which is the part of our research questions will be given. However, as will be seen, the general educational theories do not specifically deal with gender inequality in education. They either discount women (i.e. gender-blind) or stress just the socioeconomic background (i.e. social classes') disparities. Therefore, the theoretical explanations of women's educational inequality will be discussed, then. The feminist theories namely liberal, radical and socialist feminist theories will be examined regarding their perspectives on the issue. Furthermore, in this part, socialist feminist perspective on which our dissertation depends will be compared with others. In this way, the role of higher education regarding the gender inequality will be examined by the socialist feminist perspective. In sum, the main theoretical arguments and perspectives will be introduced in these parts.<sup>7</sup>

In the last part of this chapter, the educational attainment process which is strongly related with the gender inequality of educational opportunity will be contended regarding gender. Macrostructural and family factors will be reviewed considering rich literature around the world and in Turkey. In this way, the factors affecting educational attainment would be made clear by genders that our analyses bases on.

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<sup>7</sup> In this part, the concepts used by them will be directly used.

## 2.2. Theories on Education

As mentioned before, education has been considered as one of the main institutions of modern societies because of its functions (i.e. transmitting of certain values and norms to new generations, the providing trained and skilled individuals or labours etc.). Because of its importance and impact on both individual life and society, education has been the subject of scholars and researchers for decades. Therefore, there have been different perspectives about education and its function thanks to scholars and research.

One of the main views on education is *human capital theory*. For this theory, at national level, education is the investment of human capital which is required for economic development. Since education maximizes the human skills, humans as labour contribute to the national productivity and economic growth in the capitalist world (Becker, 1964; Schultz, 1963; Klasen, 2002; Benavot, 1989:15-6; Tansel, 2002; Lynch, 2000:92). Ignoring the social benefits/returns of education, human capital theory suggests the education expansion as “society’s investment in human beings” (Benavot, 1989:15) is essential to capitalist and developing countries (Becker, 1981; Fennell, 2008:38; Göksel, 2009). On the other side, for household level, the benefits of education are for both child and parents who considered their children as the old-age security. In other words, parents expect the returns as much as costs expended for children’s education (Kırdar, 2009:302). The parents (mostly father in developing countries (Smits et al., 2006)) decide for schooling of children who are economically dependent on their family. The decision is based on costs and benefits of education (i.e. *the opportunity cost of education*). Additionally, at the point of decision, some cultural factors, which will be touched next part, can be effective. For example, parents can decide in favor of their sons (Akar et al., 2009:11; Gündüz-Hoşgör, 2013:506). On the other hand, the schooling of child means costs for books, fees, transportation as well as giving up some economic and social benefits of child who helps at home, family farm or works out of home for additional money (for especially low income family). In this case, the benefits of child can be evaluated much more than returns of schooling so parents can decide

keep their children at home, rather send to school. This can be called as *the effect of poverty on education* (Smits et al., 2006:547). In sum, for human capital theory, the returns of education as investment for national development are higher than costs (Göksel, 2008:6) so family should send their children to school. At that point, some policies such as financial aid to family and rules such as compulsory education applied by government can be considered as supporter for national development.

In a similar vein, according to *status attainment theory*, in developed or industrialized societies, parents are expected to invest for children's schooling because social mobility can be experienced through education, rather than parents' educational or occupational transmission (Treiman, 1970). In general, "status attainment can be understood as a process by which individuals mobilize and invest resources for returns in socioeconomic standings" (Lin, 1999:467) so parents direct effect on achieved status (i.e. inheritance of family status) would be limited. As it is well-known that status as Weber (1946)'s term includes wealth, power and prestige. Therefore, education is a mean for social mobility and status attainment via occupation including wealth, power and prestige in developed societies where status attainment is associated with achieved qualities of individual, rather ascribed ones. However, according to the findings of studies on educational attainment inspired by Blau and Duncan (1967)'s study on social mobility and stratification<sup>8</sup>, educational attainment is still correlated with parents education level (specifically father's education level) (Lin, 1999:468). As seen, education is as a mean for social mobility and status attainment but some factors can be effective to access it. The questions, herein, are that which factor and to what extent affect social mobility.

Like *human capital theory*, *functionalist theory* argues education is to sustain the existence of society because of interdependence of all parts of society: Firstly, since there should be common value, attitudes and perception to survive the society,

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<sup>8</sup> The main aim of Blau and Duncan (1967)'s study is to analyze the relationship among education, social origin and occupation in USA. Main findings are as follows: a) Father's education affects son's occupation through son's educational attainment, b) Father's occupation also affects son's occupation through son's educational attainment and son's first job, c) Son's educational attainment produced the strongest effect on his occupation.

education's main duty is to produce and spread the shared values, statement, perception and beliefs (Durkheim, 1956; 1961). Secondly, regarding expanding industrialization, division of labour (Durkheim, 1997), specialization and complexity of society, education provide trained and highly skilled individuals for different occupation (especially via higher education) to fulfil the interdependence of each other (Parelius et al., 1978:4-8). In other words, main functions of education are socialization and preparation of the individuals for the roles they would fulfil. It refers that education prepares the ones as the productive citizens (Hallinan, 2000:72). To this theory, education is as an equally open resource (Stromquist, 1989:167) so the allocation of these roles depends on the achievement and merit (Ballantine, 1989: 255; Lynch et al., 1998; Kivinen et al., 1996; Patterson, 1978:22). These two concepts actually point out the concept of *equality of educational opportunity* which is also one of main issues of this thesis.

Before discussing the concept of *equality of educational opportunity*, it should be better to mention *the equality of opportunity* as a concept. The equal of opportunity, which has roots from the liberal goal (Breen et al., 2005:223), basically means treating everyone as equal, rather than not treating people individually (Jenkins et al., 2007:9; Stromquist, 1989:144). Parelius et al. (1978:283) clearly defines it as follows: "Equality of opportunity exists when each person, regardless of such ascribed characteristics as family background, religion, ethnicity, race or gender, has the same chance of acquiring a favorable socioeconomic position." However, it does not claim that equality of opportunity is the system on the basis of random luck such as lottery, rather it needs that "socioeconomic status be achieved in a fair and open contest –one in which the winner are those who work hardest and demonstrate the most ability" (Parelius et al., 1978:283). Because of that, for this perspective, education is clearly important for contest in the society. Unless there is the equal chance (i.e. justice<sup>9</sup>) to access education and occupation; financial success, upward

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<sup>9</sup> The equality and justice have been used interchangeable in the literature. Aristotle is the first to introduce the relationship between equity and justice (Secada, 1989: 68). The equality as a concept is the central point of Aristotle's theory of justice. To him, two people may be treated alike with respect to same property, but they are different in most other aspects. His justice theory is consistent with the unequal social order because justice includes both unequal treatments of unequals and

mobility and prestige will not be equal either. By the same token, equality of opportunity can be considered as “a guarantee that all individuals in a society will have similar levels of wealth, power and prestige and that no person or group of people will be significantly deprived relative to others” (Parelius et al., 1978:284). What the assumption under this idea is that everyone starts at same starting line and has equal chance to achievement. So that it ignores the different socioeconomic backgrounds, which results in some disadvantages, of individuals (Weisskopf, 1979:220; Coleman, 1979:203, Mulkey, 1993:129; Özsoy, 2002:45).

*Meritocracy*, compatible with the equality of opportunity, also underlines and supports the idea of equal chance in all sphere of the society. Additionally, it reinforces the belief about mobility and equal access (Patterson, 1978:36-7). However, it stresses that one’s skills, ability and efforts are directly linked with success in school and rest of life (Persell, 1977: 18; Hallinan, 2000:72). But there is a steeper pyramidal distribution in the system and limited quota above is reserved for the most skilled individuals (Özsoy, 2002:44; Ulusoy, 1996:63; Patterson, 1978:16). Therefore, individuals are believed that everyone can achieve but their failures are due to themselves, not inequalities in the system (Bowles, 1972; Şenel, 1969: 248 cited in Özsoy, 2002:37). As Özsoy (2002: 45)’s words, meritocracy is a ‘rational’ way to reproduce social inequality. On the contrary, education commits to gain necessary skills to reduce inequalities among individuals and for social mobility. If so, it should be asked whether everyone can attend education regardless of gender, class, ethnicity or region. In other words, is there *the equality of educational opportunity* in the society?

There have been many attempts to define and clarify the meaning of *equality of educational opportunity*. Coleman (1968) classifies the definitions as follows: equal inputs to students in the form of school resources; equal outputs, or achievement for

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equal treatments of equals (Patterson, 1978:17). Aristotle insisted that the relative ranking of men or women, masters or slaves, Greeks or Barbarians are all determined by nature. So he ignored the point of view of sociology on the inequality (Flew, 1976:54). To Aristotle, justice is important for unequal nature and social order.

students with similar ability; equal achievement for students with different backgrounds (requiring the school to play a compensatory role for underprivileged students); racial integration, under the assumption that segregated schools are inherently unequal; and equal contexts, as measured by school climate and school quality (cited in Hallinan, 2000:76). As pointed out, it can be basically defined within three titles: (i) equality in terms of “equalizing access to different levels of education for relatively disadvantaged groups within a stratified society and educational system”; (ii) equality in terms of equal participation “in terms of movement up to a given stage of the educational or social ladder”; and (iii) equality of outcome (Lynch et al., 1998:447). As seen, to ensure/sustain the equality of educational opportunity in a society is needed to achieve these three levels in the society. However, the studies from different nations indicate that the equal access to education has been not achieved yet. Moreover, a major finding is that family socioeconomic status has a significant effect on educational attainment and achievement (Hallinan, 2000:76). If there is a strong relationship between the family and children’s educational attainment, there is no equality of educational opportunity (Aslankurt, 2013). In other words, there is the limited chance for intergenerational socioeconomic mobility. Therefore, it may be argued that there is an “illusion of equality of educational opportunity” (Beckers et al., 2009:234) around the world.

Finally, another point of view on education related with the inequality of educational opportunity is the *conflict or reproduction theory*. According to this theory, education, specially higher education, perpetuates and legitimatizes the class inequality and status quo (Ballantine, 1989: 255; Lynch et al., 1998; Kivinen et al., 1996; Özsoy, 2002:55-56; Becker et al., 2009:234; Bowles, 1972; Ulusoy, 1996:64; Bradley, 2000:3; Mulkey, 1993:130; Wexler, 1976:24; Walker et al., 1983:2). Education transfers the values of dominant class; children from this class are favored by education. For example, high-income classes use higher education for social reproduction of their privileged status via transmitting of their class culture (Bourdieu et al., 1977). Furthermore, the education participation rate and time of children from low-income classes are lower than those from middle and high income



classes (Becker et al., 2009:234; Bowles et al., 1976; Ulusoy, 1996:65). In other words, educational attainment is not equal for all classes because of the disparity among resources of classes (especially *cultural capital* in Bourdieu's theory<sup>10</sup> (Bourdieu, 1985; Bourdieu et al., 1979)). Therefore, education ensures either the reproduction of privileges or disadvantages<sup>11</sup> (Archer, 2003: 5). By conflicts, class inequality, which is considered as inevitable and necessary to maintain the society by functionalists, is considered as unfair and has to be overcome. In sum, education plays role to reproduce unequal social structure of society by preparing individuals for citizenship and for the labour market (Bowles et al., 1976; Bourdieu et al., 1979).

As it is seen from the theories mentioned above, education is crucial for individual as well as for society. The general argument of the theories is that education is one of the best means to achieve social upward mobility and status in the society. The predominant idea is that "education is at least as important –if not more- than before, because those who have not received education are much worse off than those who have" (Dijkstra et al., 2003:58). However, there is also an argument stating the impact of education has decreased because of increasing education level. Nevertheless, in contemporary societies, education is crucial as much as before for both individual empowerment and national socio-economic development (OECD, 2006a: 4; Polat, 2009:13; Duman, 2010:243). To this end, the equality of educational opportunity should be for all. If not, education as a mean for social upward mobility would become a mean to reproduce and reinforce the inequalities in the society (ERG, 2009:14; Eserpek, 1977b:154). However, the studies conducted in different countries of the world for decades indicate that there are some disadvantaged groups to access to the education (which is the first step of social mobility).<sup>12</sup> For example, mostly people from rural areas, the poor families, minorities –i.e. racial, linguistic or

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<sup>10</sup> For further information see Bourdieu et al. (1977 and 1979).

<sup>11</sup> "The school socializes students differently, so that the upper-class students learn to lead and the lower-class students learn to follow and thus to become workers rather than professionals" (Stromquist, 1989:168).

<sup>12</sup> For review see Stromquist (1989:145-166).

religious groups- and females (UNICEF, 2005; Stromquist, 1989:143). These disadvantages groups have usually received “inadequate primary and secondary schooling” (World Bank, 2000: 35) because of the inadequate compulsory education policy of state. In addition, the disadvantages, disparities and inequalities of groups persist across education process (Rankin et al., 2006:25).

### **2.3. Gender Inequality in Education**

A worldwide predominant inequality in education is the gender inequality. In many countries, specifically in developing countries, females are less likely to be literate or attend to school than males. But when they attend, they are less likely to graduate from primary and secondary school. In other words, their level of education is mostly lower than those of males. Despite this schooling gap between genders, women schooling rate has been increasing worldwide for decades (OECD, 2012). While the notable development is at the level of primary school, changes at the levels of secondary and particularly higher education are not significant. That is to say that;

While new generations of women have greater levels of education than their mothers and grandmothers, and progress is being made toward gender parity in primary enrollment, the improvement has been weaker for the secondary and tertiary levels of education in both the numbers of women enrolled and their field of study choices (Stromquist, 1989:148).

If so, what is gender equality in education? Is it about just the numbers of female and male? Is it about equal grades of exams? Is it about social relations in the schools? Or is it about all of them or none of them? As Stromquist (1989:144) states, “the literature does not offer much guidance on what gender equality in schooling should mean”. But the response of Unterhalter (2007:89) is as follows:

There are at least three different ways that gender equality can be understood. Gender equality is interpreted as equal numbers of boys and girls enrolled in school, attending classes, and progressing to complete examinations. The assumption is that if equal numbers are present, or achieving well, nothing further then need to be done to chance schooling for girls and boys (Unterhalter, 2007:89).

The definition above is, however, not seen consistent with the concept equality of educational opportunity. If respecting the concept, it should be added the equal outcome of education. The participation process, but, should be another equality dimension, as well. In this sense, the dimensions of gender equality in education should be defined as follows: “access (enrollment in school, also known as participation), survival (completing a given educational cycle), output (levels of learning by gender), and outcome (job status or income level)” (Schiefelbein et al., 1980 cited in Stromquist, 1989:144).<sup>13</sup> In sum, gender equality is practiced in the four dimensions namely access, survival, output and outcome. However, as mentioned before, the first dimension is the necessary to consider the rests/others. In other words, unless there is the equality in access to school, other equalities cannot be expected to occur. Moreover, one who has reached is also important, even if the first dimension achieved. That is to say that the socioeconomical inequalities within the females and/or males are as important as those between genders for equality of attainment. The lower inequalities between genders and within genders there are, the more equality of educational attainment is achieved. So that, as gender inequality in educational attainment/participation is a multidimensional issue, it has been the major subject of scholars for decades.

### **2.3.1. Theoretical Explanations of Women’s Educational Inequality**

The general educational theories mentioned above do not specifically deal with gender inequality in education. They either discount women (i.e. gender-blind) or stress just the social classes’ disparities. For example, core studies of inequality of education (e.g. some of them are Blau et al (1967), Collins (1979), Bourdieu et al. (1977)) examined the issue by social class among men. On the contrary, the feminist theories are unambiguously interested in gender inequality issue. Nevertheless, before touching upon the feminist theories, it should be better to discuss and criticize the main educational theories regarding gender.

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<sup>13</sup> To Stromquist (1989), this classification made by Schiefelbein et al. (1980) is based on an earlier study by Levin (1976). For more, see Levin (1976).

Inspired by Stromquist (1989)'s classification, the theories on educational inequality can be categorized under three subtitles: *functionalist, reproduction and feminist theories*.

As considered before, according to *functionalist theories*, education is an equally open system to all citizens and education is for both individual and national development. Indeed, considering national development, females and males as human capitals should be educated. To this end, the benefits/returns of females' education will be much more than those of males particularly in the developing countries. For instance, infant mortality, high fertility rate, nutrition, child rearing and other health related problems will be affected by women education (Buchmann et al., 2001:88-9; Duman, 2010; Tansel, 1998; Jacobs, 1996:163; King et al., 2001; Youssef, 1976-77:198-9). Therefore, improvements in public health and control of population growth pertaining to individual benefits would be able to achieve at the societal level (Hill et al., 1993). Depending on this point of view, international development agencies such as UNICEF and UNDP have underlined the gender inequality in education as "a major obstacle to social progress in developing countries" (Rankin et al., 2006:25). However, according to this theory, for educational attainment, the merit system works. Hence, attainment for different type of school and level of education are determined by the personal qualities such as intellectual ability, individual achievements and values. Furthermore, the parents' decision for schooling of children, which is based on different economic, cultural and social factors, determines the schooling of females. Therefore, gender inequality in education is not because of the system but 'inadequate' qualities of individuals and their families. The gendered division of labour reinforces both the decision of family at the level of primary and secondary education and the decision of one for choosing field of study at the level of higher education, as will be discussed later.

Like *functionalist theories, reproduction or conflict theories* have a gender-blind perspective. Nevertheless, when they criticize the inequalities in the society, despite of being indistinctly they sometimes touch gender inequality in the society. As mentioned before, education reproduces the social inequalities in the society so

social division of labour pertaining the capitalist mode of production is reproduced by education, as well (Bowles et al., 1976). In other words, education as the ideological instrument of state (Althusser, 1991) works in favor of dominant classes and their ideologies. In this way, people have internalized the social division of labour as inevitable. As Offe (1985: 88) states, education is a process for “lasting transformation of non-wage labourers into wage labourers”. Therefore, higher education is not essential for lower class so they have to accept to attend lower level of education, which is through education and socialization process (Stromquist, 1989:168). As argued before, while the disadvantages of some groups and classes in education system are identified with class inequality and system, the gender inequality and intra-class inequality are not dealt with by the theory.

Although *reproduction theories* do not focus on the gender educational inequality, they pave the way for a gender-focused theory of educational inequality. In this sense, some concepts such as the gendered division of labour, discrimination, gender roles and patriarchy have been used to examine the gender educational inequality by particularly *feminist theories* namely *liberal, radical and socialist feminist theories*.<sup>14</sup> These theories will not be discussed in detail, but their perspectives on gender inequality in education will be examined. Since these theories have the different point of views on the causes and solutions of the issue, it should be better to mention them separately.

The educational framework of *liberal feminist perspective* depends on three major themes: *equal opportunities, socialization and sex stereotyping* and *sex discrimination* (Acker, 1987:423; Stromquist, 1989:169; Baba, 2007:26; Martusewicz et al. 1994:13-15). Firstly, it should be mentioned that the liberal feminist perspective approaches the equality through the notion of “sameness”. It means that women and men are “same” except their reproductive features so women

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<sup>14</sup> Marxist feminist theory is the well-known fourth feminist theory but gender inequality in education has not been a main issue, rather the relationship between capitalism and women. Therefore, it will not be mentioned in this study. For more detailed information about the theories see Jaggar (1983), Donovan (2010).

should be in all sphere of life and equally treated like men (Wollstonecraft, 1999). However, for liberal feminism, women suffer from a variety of forms of discrimination on the basis of sex throughout their life (Jaggar, 1983: 176) and education is one of the fields of discrimination in terms of both the process itself and the outcomes. The traditional socialization process provides the sex-stereotyping perspective which underlines the gendered division of labour. Acker (1987) defines how the process works as follows:

[To liberal feminism] Girls (and boys) are thought to be socialized (by the family, the school, the media) into traditional attitudes and orientations which limit their futures unnecessarily to sex-stereotyped occupational and family roles. At the same time, socialization encourages patterns of interpersonal relationships between the sexes which disadvantage females, who are placed in a position of dependency and deference, and also males, who are forced to suppress their emotional and caring potential (Acker, 1987:423-4).

As stated above, socialization process creates the genders whose roles are strictly defined in family and school by stereotypes in textbooks (e.g. boys as “breadwinners”, girls as “wife, housekeeper and mothers”) and higher teacher expectations for boys (Stromquist, 1989:170; Acker, 1987:424; Waylen, 1996:7). For example, “boys are encouraged to train more prestigious and well-paying ‘masculine’ occupation while girls are channelled into preparing for lower-paying but more ‘feminine’ service occupation” (Jaggar, 1983:176). Furthermore, the inferior participation of women in education (mostly at secondary and higher education) and the female-dominated field in the higher education would be considered as “the cumulative result of discrimination and socialization of women that discourages them from seeking more prestigious careers” (Stromquist, 1989:170). In this sense, the traditional socialization and sex-based discrimination practice in the schools challenge for equal opportunity and achieving full potential of genders, particularly women.

On the other side, liberal feminist perspective argues that well-educated parents tend to be more unbiased to daughters so they are more likely to support their daughters for getting more education. What liberal feminists propose as solution to inequalities

of women is the state with “a benevolent ideology” which treats equally to both genders and legitimatizes the women’s equal access to education, other social and economic rights (Stromquist, 1989:170).<sup>15</sup>

In sum, for liberal feminist perspective, gender educational inequality in a society is resulted from socialization, sex stereotype and discrimination. Because of that, state effort is necessary to equalize the unequal conditions of women via the “sameness” view.<sup>16</sup> As argued earlier, when considering gender inequality in education, it is seen that economic forces and mode of production at the level of society and family have not been the subject of liberal feminists. Additionally, the intersections of patriarchy, ethnicity and class are not considered, either.

Similarly with the *liberal feminism*, *radical feminism* considers that subordinate position of women depends on sexual division of labour imposed by initially family and then education system. The sexual (biological) division of labour (“mainly, the woman’s ability to conceive and give birth to children” (Stromquist, 1989:171)) addresses the identification of women as mothers and wives which is related with a dual world: *private* and *public* spheres. That is to say that the definition of gendered division of labour determines the genders in a specific field: private sphere (i.e. home and family) is the area of women and public one including education is for men. Thus, the definition determines the barriers for genders, as well, which is contradictory of equality between genders and equality of opportunity (as liberal feminist perspective mentioned). For Acker (1987:419), these distinct spheres result in “the male monopolization of knowledge and culture”. Furthermore, state is the key agent in reproducing of women subordination via “its defense of women as mothers

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<sup>15</sup> Positive discrimination or affirmative action suggested by liberal feminists is the way to support women’s equality with men in the public spheres. “Affirmative action includes the advertising of available positions in places where women of all races and male members of racial or ethnic minorities are likely to see them and public reassurances that non-racist and non-sexist criteria will be used in evaluating candidates”(Jaggar, 1983:179).

<sup>16</sup> The “sameness” rhetoric is criticized as being “biological-blind” (Donovan, 2010) specially by radical feminism, but even the liberal feminism tries to unveen this disparities which refers to gender inequality and discrimination.

and the family as the fundamental unit of society” (Stromquist, 1989:171) which is the key agent to reproduce sexual division of labour.

According to radical feminism, like family, education’s roles are to transmit the sexual division of labour and the acceptable mode of sexual relationship (heterosexuality and monogamous) (i.e. *the sexual politics* (Millett, 1971)). Thus, to radical feminism, school’s main mission is to construct and control sexuality as a part of patriarchal ideology (Firestone, 1970; Acker, 1987:419). What the reason under the idea is to underline the reproductive role of women which is needed to survive current social order. Therefore, the basis of gender inequality in education is the reproductive role of women which is not required being literacy, rather just having minimum skills and knowledge (Stromquist, 1989:171). In other words, motherhood is the predominant role of women (Arnot, 2002) which is not needed to have neither the high level of education nor occupation. Actually, the well-known finding from various studies, that there is a negative relationship between fertility rate and education level, justifies the fear of patriarchal perspective on the reproductive role of women. In other words, education challenges the gendered division of labour defended by patriarchal ideology. In sum, women’s education issue has not been in the agenda of state which focuses on improving the education of men. What the solution for gender inequality offered by radical feminists is the fundamental change in male dominance and patriarchal structure (Acker, 1987:429).

Unlike liberal feminist perspective, but partly like radical feminist perspective, *socialist feminist perspective* focuses on *patriarchy, family, mode of production* and *class* (as new concepts for the issue, unlike other feminist theories). In this sense, family socioeconomic background related with parents educational and occupational status is highlighted by socialist feminists. The perspective depends on the interconnection between economic and ideological forces with capitalism and patriarchy, which strengthen each other (Arnot et al., 1987; Acker, 1987:426; Stromquist, 1989:172; Baba, 2007:26; Sancar, 2012:23). In this sense, education’s role is to reproduce women both as workers for the *reserve army of labour* (from



Marxist terminology<sup>17</sup>) and reproducers of children and the family (as a part of patriarchal ideology):

As workers, women are needed for the maintenance of an inexpensive and expendable labor force. As women [i.e. the reproducers of children and the family], they are indoctrinated to accept the sexual division of labor that assigns women motherhood and domestic roles (Stromquist, 1989:172).

In other words, education reproduces the sexual (biological) and social division of labour both in the family and the work (Walker et al., 1983:3; Acker, 1987:426; Beneria, 1979).<sup>18</sup> That is to say that “they are both domestic and wage laborer”. Doing so, women with these “dual and contradictory roles” are needed to fulfil the certain types of labour force and survive the patriarchal family which supply and reproduce labour force for capitalist system (MacDonald, 2012:16). Beneria (1979) called this process as “bearing the *triple burden* of contributing labour, the bearing of children and the caring for the family, i.e. production, reproduction and care”. Indeed, both of these determined roles have introduced in the family and then they are perpetuated by education and the conditions of work (Arnot, 1984; Stromquist, 1989:172). The function of education, herein, is to reproduce the patriarchal and economic values regarding sexual division of labour that are needed to survive the capitalist social order.

The role of state is also important in this process. Regarding the relationship between mode of production and state, firstly, state considers women both as a part of reserve army of labour and as being a cheap way to reproduce the labour force, so it tends to keep women in a subordinate worker position. In this context, high level of education is not necessary for women so there is no need to create equal opportunity and to support women’s education (Acker, 1987:426). However, at least, women’s education is essential to be internalized the values of capitalist and patriarchal system

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<sup>17</sup> Socialist feminist perspective has its roots on Marxism (Jaggar, 1983; Baba, 2007) so it uses the same terminology.

<sup>18</sup> This perspective is also called “political economy perspective”. For details see Arnot (1981).

including economic, social and cultural aspects of gendered division of labour. To this end, state provides education service for all, but it is not expected to play important role for gender equality in education.

In this structure determined by capitalist and patriarchal ideology, although women have commonly lower level of education than men, which restrict women into domestic roles and works, low-paid and less prestige occupations (MacDonald, 2012:17), women (usually from middle and upper class) can attain to the higher education which creates opportunities to have high-paid and high prestige jobs. According to socialist feminism, the presence of women participating higher level of education is the reflection of the interaction between gender and class. According to Stromquist (1989:173), for parents from middle or upper class, the investment of daughters' education is not risky because of the high possibility of having better opportunities in the labour market via social networks<sup>19</sup> (social capital as Bourdieu's term). On the other hand, considering sex-segregated/female-dominated field in the university (i.e. 'femine' professions, such as nursing, education, social work, etc.), education system can be seen as the reproducer of patriarchal ideology (MacDonald, 2012:18). In other words, these sex-segregated studies depend on both the social definition of women as primarily mothers, wife and housewife (Arnot, 2002:28) and labour market conditions which offer women lower wages and prestige than those offered to men (Stromquist, 1989). However, although women graduated from sex-segregated discipline, she would primarily be in the "caring professions" (MacDonald, 2012:16) and may be an "agent of symbolic control" (Berstein, 1977) who are basically the partner to reproduce social order.<sup>20</sup>

Unlike women from middle or upper class, women from working class have different experience in the education process. Since their education process is related with the domestic life and roles, their presence in the labour force may be considered as

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<sup>19</sup> For the information about the role of social network, see Lin (1999).

<sup>20</sup> Berstein (2001) divides this concept into six main categories: regulators, repairers, reproducers, diffusers, shapers and executers. For more information see Bernstein (2001).

contradictory. However, their education affects their perception of higher education and work. It should be better to give MacDonald (2012)'s words to clearly explain it:

For the working-class girl, often allocated to the curriculum streams of the “less able” requiring courses in ‘everyday life’ and ‘citizenship’, basic training in skills and non-examination courses, the experience is oriented towards a future domestic role rather than waged labor. Training is directed towards domesticity, with courses in household crafts such as cooking and sewing [...] By regarding marital and maternal roles as primary goals in life, working-class women are likely to treat work within social production as a peripheral and secondary concern. This focusing upon domestic life for personal fulfilment, which is encouraged rather than discouraged by the educational system, may partially explain why women are prepared to accept employment in the worst, lowest-paid jobs within the secondary labour market (MacDonald, 2012:17).

As seen, the education of working-class women significantly underlines the biological, domestic roles and gendered division of labour (Acker, 1987:419) via state school<sup>21</sup> as a central institution so it reproduces the inequality among women from different classes. Hence, while females from working-class are educated for domestic roles at home and work, females from middle and upper classes are expected to be enrolled in higher education and be “caring professions” (MacDonald, 2012:16). As it is seen, women’s education is related with not only women’s labour but also women’s future class position in the stratified society. In conclude, as Stromquist (1989) states, for socialist feminism, the gender equality in education and all other sphere of life depends on the changes in both mode of production (particularly capitalism) and patriarchal structures.

Consequently, all these feminist theories above has responded to the gender inequality in the education though their perspectives. Their causes and solutions claimed for gender inequality have varied except the similar points such as gendered division of labour or socialization. Therefore, the studies on gender educational

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<sup>21</sup> This form of school differs from private school in terms of students’ socioeconomic background. Private schools are mostly preferred by higher and middle socioeconomic background families. Therefore, their curriculum for future goals are different each other. In this sense, the forms of school have been considered as one of the resource of inequality.

inequality depend on mostly feminist perspective. However, considering the relationship among higher education, occupation and labour market, socialist feminist perspectives is seen as the more fit approach for our study. Moreover, other feminist theories do not deal with *capitalist system* and *class* which is related with the stratification of the society.

It has been made clear so far that theoretical framework of gender inequality of educational opportunity was discussed. As seen, the accessing of different levels of education as the first step of equality of educational opportunity is the most important one. Therefore, the factors affecting accessing the education should be examined by gender.

#### **2.4. Gender and Educational Attainment Process**

In the last decades, the studies on gender educational inequality have increased because of notable increasing female educational attainment in the higher level of education. However, the participation of female displays “a steeper pyramid distribution”. In other words, the participation is higher in the primary, lower in secondary and the lowest in tertiary education (Stromquist, 1989:144). Thus, the research on the gender inequality of educational opportunity focuses on the attainment process including ascribed characteristics because that the stronger the relationship between attainment and ascribed aspects is, the weaker the chance of equality of educational opportunity and intergenerational social mobility (Aslankurt, 2013; Breen et al., 2005:229).

There has been a rich literature about the determinants of educational attainment both in Turkey (except higher education attainment) and around the world. When the studies are explored, it is seen that several intertwining factors influencing educational attainment have been presented. Structural and individual characteristics such as the mental ability (IQ), motivation level and other psychological factors influence the educational attainment. Whereas individual level is beyond our study,

structural level can be classified into two subtitles which are not independent from each other.

#### **2.4.1. Macro-structural Factors**

In the societies, the most important macro-structural agent is the state which plays central role to regulate citizens' education via laws and policies (Buchmann et al., 2001:80; Rankin et al., 2006:27; Stromquist, 1989:173; Fennell, 2008:43). It determines the amount and distribution of educational resources (i.e. how many school, district of school; urban or rural, poor areas or wealthier areas), who goes to school (compulsory or not, males or females, below 5 year-old children or above, poor or wealthier, those passed the exam etc.), time of education (how many years; 4 or 5-years primary education), the type of school (public or private, vocational, technical or else)(Fuller et al., 1992; Rankin et al; 2006). In other words, it shapes the structure of education and conditions of educational opportunities for all citizens. Therefore, its all policies can support either equality or inequality among citizens, genders, and regions. To this end, the state policies regarding gender equality in education, family and political rights address the *state feminism* (Tekeli, Ş., 1985:62).<sup>22</sup> For example, free compulsory education for all children is a big attempt to support gender educational equality (Jacobs, 1996:162).

On the other hand, state with “severely limited economic and organizational resources, a lack of legitimacy, and peripheral status in the world system” (Buchmann et al., 2001:80) usually results in the various problems in education such as inadequate supply, poor quality schools and training, and regional disparities (Rankin et al., 2006:27). For instance, the lack of secondary or high schools in a region is the barrier for the higher education and social mobility of the children there. In this case, state can apply the entrance examination as a solution of the inadequate supply for demand (e.g. in case of some qualified secondary school and tertiary education in Turkey). However, in the literature, this application is a highly

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<sup>22</sup> State feminism in Turkey will be discussed in chapter 4.

controversial subject by equality of opportunity regarding gender, region and socioeconomic background.

The other macrostructural effect on education is the economic structure of nation (i.e. mode of production). Unlikely agricultural economic structure, industrialization strongly associated with the expansion/massification of education<sup>23</sup> (Toktaş et al., 2006:738) because of notable changes in occupational structure which required new knowledge and skills. The new occupational structure refers the being away from the land and rural, rather being close to nonmanual labour and urbanization (Sancar, 2012:28). Moreover, while the knowledge of manual or agrarian work has been educated by family, skilled and specialized labour has required a formal education process by school (Blossfeld et al., 1993; Treiman 1970:216; Ulusoy, 1996:62; Eserpek, 1977b:153; Toktaş et al., 2006:737). Therefore, the education for “elite population” has expanded to masses (i.e. *massification of education*). It results in increasing the level of education of the population, maintaining the human capitals and labor force for diversified occupations. In sum, it is the process as Treiman (1970: 217)’s words; the more industrialized a society, the higher the proportion of children attending to school. The last but not least, urbanization refers the increasing availability of educational resources (Inkeles et al., 1974:134; Özcan, 1983:135; Smits et al., 2006:550; Göksel, 2009; Kırdar, 2009:302; Duman, 2010; Gündüz-Hoşgör, 2013; Webbink et al.,2013:824). But this availability makes disparity between urban and rural region with inadequate educational resources in terms of the equality of educational opportunity. Additionally, industrialized societies tend to provide free mass education and equality of opportunity which are free from the ascriptive features and social origins (Treiman, 1970; Bradley, 2000:10). Moreover, in rural areas, children are usually considered as unpaid family labours so high numbers of children are needed. On the other hand, since this kind of labour is not

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<sup>23</sup> For Inkeles et al. (1974), the modern nation consists of industrialization, urbanization, mass education, bureaucratization, rapid communication and transportation. These aspects are associated with and reinforced each other.

essential in urban, children can go to school.<sup>24</sup> In addition, as the family in urban encourage schooling of their children because of easily and free availability of facilities, education “will increase the chances of individuals for upward mobility” (Özcan, 1983:27) so it will affect social status of one. In other words, s/he can have opportunity to achieve higher education level than parents have.

When we look at the relationship between industrialization and gender educational equality, we see that there are some different approaches: The industrial and cultural changes occurred in industrialized society would led to “greater gender equality” in all sphere of life (Inkeles et al. 1974). In the case of education, the rates of female educational attainment and participation will be increased and the disparity between genders will be nearly closed. Although females are employed in low-wage works, industrialization causes the parity in the statuses of genders (Marshall, 1985:219; Moghadam, 1993:69; Stromquist, 1989:151). On the contrary, despite of related with this view, it is claimed that, industrialization determines the new gendered division of labour: males as breadwinner and labours; and females as dependent homeworkers. In this sense, education would be a tool to prepare males for the labour force. On the other side, education of women is not required but if so, education will be a tool to strengthen traditional gender roles (Toktaş et al., 2006:738; Arnot et al., 2008:10). In other words, females are educated but for low-wage, low-prestige and “femine” labour (this is called as *occupational gendering and re-gendering* (Brine, 1992)) so the parity between genders would not be achieved in the industrial society (Toktaş et al., 2006:738). Therefore, this inequality in occupational structure would “discourage parents from investing in their daughters’ education” (Rankin et al., 2006:27). However, an optimistic view argues that more

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<sup>24</sup> However, it should be kept in mind that child labour is not a problem in only rural areas and it has also become a major problem in urban areas for decades. For statistics of Turkey, 44.8 % of employed children between 6 and 17 age group lives in urban areas, while 55.2% of those lives in rural areas. The majority economic activity is agriculture (44.7 %), second service (31 %) and third industry (24.3 %). Moreover, 49.8 % of employed children (6 -17 age group) enrolled school, while 50.2% of those did not. In between 6 and 14 age group, 81.8 % of employed children and in between 15 and 17 age group, 34.3% of employed children enrolled school. For details, see <http://www.turkstat.gov.tr/PreHaberBultenleri.do?id=13659>. Furthermore, the factors affecting the child labour among developing countries see Webbink et al. (2013).

advanced industrial societies would have the industry basis on the less physical strength so women would be able to achieve more status in the labour force, that result in a greater demand for women education (Stromquist, 1989:173; Fennell, 2008:47). In sum, as seen, economic demand of women's labour force contributes to women's education in society. Herein, the critical point is whether women are needed for labour. If so, they are educated with knowledge and skills required for labour.

Finally, the highest macro-structural factor is the global forces "such as the policies and preferences of international organizations or the spread of Western ideology and organizational forms (including modern education) throughout the world" (Buchmann et al., 2001:81). These global forces beyond the state, which is called as "the modern political culture" by Rankin et al. (2006), affect education and stratification process especially within developing countries. Since the global forces exceed the national borders regardless of economic, social and educational features of nations (Meyer et al., 1979), nations reshape and adapt their institutions with respect to these external forces. In other words, this global forces pertaining to modern/European ideals of individual and national development (Buchmann et al., 2001) influence the developing countries to be a member of global system as a modern nation-state (Meyer et al., 1979). Regarding the education, educational expansion in the developing countries is functional to be a modern state. Moreover, by increasing gender equality and women education, new female identities and roles within public and private sphere would be constructed. The international agents related with the rights of women, herein, contribute for circulation of new gender identities (Rankin et al., 2006:27; Bradley, 2000:3; Colclough, 2008:51). That is to say that while ideology of schooling and curriculum create the new women, international organizations such as UNICEF, UNESCO and World Bank (Buchmann et al., 2001:81; Akar et al., 2009:10; Gündüz-Hoşgör, 2013:504) work and support gender educational equality as the human right and a part of national development.



For example, UNESCO Dakar Declaration in 2000<sup>25</sup> as the part of Millennium Development Goals drives a framework for gender equality in education and women's empowerment for nations, particularly developing nations (UNESCO, 2000; Arnot et al., 2008:3; Colclough, 2008:51; Klasen, 2002).

While the possible positive effect of global forces considered above has been underlined by the scholars, the dependency theorists<sup>26</sup> critically approach to global forces and their effects (Buchmann et al., 2001:81). They states that the global structure is not as "innocent" as we think: The developing countries with the structural inequalities in the global economy are dependent on the multinational and international organizations. Therefore educational opportunities are restrained by severally structural inequalities related with global forces. For example, the multinational corporation's strategy is that women in developing countries as the part of global division of labour are employed as unskilled and child labour, like case in textile. In this case, women's education is damaged, especially their access to higher education (Clark, 1992). In addition to negative effects of women's education, structural policies directived by global organization such as IMF, World Bank, UN may result in the restriction of education services such as educational demand, teacher quality and other educational infrastructure. In other words, because of global directions state with debt to global organizations is more likely to reduce educational expenses which negatively influence the educational participation as well as equality between genders (Buchmann et al., 2001:82). In sum, global institutions and organizations as macrostructural actors improve or restrain the efficiency of state in equality of education.

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<sup>25</sup> To declaration, gender disparities in primary and secondary education should be eliminated by 2025 and achieved gender educational equality by 2015 in terms of girls' full and equal access to and participation in basic education of good quality (UNESCO, 2000).

<sup>26</sup> For more information see So (1990).

## 2.4.2. Family Factors

The relationship between educational attainment and family background has been a major research question for decades.<sup>27</sup> The studies about this issue in the different nations have illustrated that they are correlated. But the main inquiry is that to what extent they are related each other.

In this sense, Shavit et al. (1993) states several macro-oriented hypotheses in their book: To *modernization hypothesis*, the effect of family background would generally decrease due to industrialization process (Treiman, 1970)<sup>28</sup>, while to *socialist transformation hypothesis*, there would be initial decrease of family effect but the “new elites” pursuing their interests would influence increasing the effect. In addition, to *reproduction hypothesis*, the effect pertaining to inequality may initially decrease at the lower transition (i.e. primary to secondary transition ) due to educational expansion but this decrease would be “compensated by increasing effects on later transitions” (Breen et al., 2005:226) such as higher education and occupational attainment. However, this book including several studies from different nations points that there is the lack of support for any of these hypotheses because prevailing pattern of family effect on educational attainment was stable.<sup>29</sup> In other

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<sup>27</sup> In addition to these studies, the studies on the relationship between family background and educational achievement have been common in worldwide for decades. The findings of the studies are that the children from higher socioeconomic background are more likely to be more successful in school (O’Dwyer et al., 2010:195; Coleman et al., 1966; Sewell et al., 1969) and international exams such as PISA (Nonoyama-Tarumi, 2008; Polat, 2009; Marks, 2011). On the other hand, the findings in developing countries are quite different from industrialized ones. For example, to the results of Heyman (1976)’s study in Uganda and Heyman et al. (1983), “the poorer the country, the greater the impact of school and teacher quality on achievement” (cited in Buchmann et al., 2001:82).

<sup>28</sup> In other words, “the more industrialized a society, the smaller the influence of parental status on educational attainment” (Treiman, 1970:221). Moreover, this approach was mentioned as industrialization factor above.

<sup>29</sup> Well, is it really stable for all nations and all period? The longitudinal studies at the national level in any nations are needed to reply this question. In the case of Turkey, although recent researches have dealt with the issue, Turkey does not have the tradition of the longitudinal study. On the other hand, to the study, only two countries, Sweden and The Netherlands, have achieved a significant equalization among socio-economic groups. However, according to Shavit et al. (1993), the basic patterns of social inequalities are not differentiated but are maintained through a “paradoxical combination of opportunities and limitations”.

words, the studies on family effect display that family background has been still a valid factor influencing the educational attainment.

The reason of the importance of this effect issue is that the strong relationship between family features and educational attainment refers the inequality of educational opportunity (Tansel, 1998; Aslankurt, 2013). That is to say that, the stronger the relationship between them is, the weaker the chance of equality of educational opportunity and intergenerational social mobility for which education is as the tool (i.e. more generally *life chance*<sup>30</sup> in Weberian terminology). Regarding at the individual level, family factors are able to “either benefit or harm the chances of children receiving an education” (De Serf, 2002).

According to the literature from industrialized and developing countries including Turkey, there are great numbers of family features working as critical determinants of educational attainment of children. Therefore, it would be better to classify the family factors as family socioeconomic status, family structure and family decision process:

#### **2.4.2.1. Socioeconomic status of family**

Until the early 1980s, socioeconomic status of family (SES) was defined by the socioeconomic background of the father. This approach called “conventional view” (Goldthorpe, 1983) depends on the idea that “mothers often do not hold a paid job or, when employed, are married to a higher status husband” (Korupp et al., 2002:17). In this sense, father’s socioeconomic background concludes the educational attainment of the children and mother does not have any effect on this. For example, the core studies in the literature such as Treiman (1970)<sup>31</sup>, Blau et al. (1967) and Bourdieu et

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<sup>30</sup> This concept addresses the possibility of the occurrence of desirable future or social status for one. According to Weber (1946), social status is not related with income or control over the means of production as Marx stated, rather social prestige, power and property. For him, life chances are associated with ascriptive features such as gender, ethnicity/race and social status of family. In sum, the parents are more likely to transmit their advantages or disadvantages to their children.

<sup>31</sup> Treiman (1970:214)’s model is like that: “educational attainment depends directly upon both father’s educational attainment and father’s occupational status; occupational status depends directly upon educational status and upon father’s occupational status, but only indirectly upon

al. (1977) are based on this view. However, in contemporary world, the mothers are more likely to have a higher education level, a job or be single mother, compared to those in the past. Hence, SES as a multidimensional concept has been defined and measured by parental education, parental occupation, household income and other social and economic resources of family (O'Dwyer et al., 2010:195; Rankin et al., 2006:29; Buchmann et al., 2001:86; Ulusoy, 1996:65).

According to the findings of several studies, there is a strong relationship between family SES and educational attainment of children, particularly in developing countries (Coleman et al., 1966; Breen et al., 2005:226; Tezcan, 1999; Tansel 2002; Tunali, 1996; Polat, 2009:38; Göksel, 2009). Buchmann et al., (2001:86) states the reason that in the countries with “inadequate or very unequal distributed educational resources” (i.e. developing countries), the ascriptive resources are crucial to access education. Considering gender, this relation for females in developing countries is much stronger in achievement of higher education than those in the primary and secondary levels, compared to males. In other words, females are much more dependent on the family SES than men do to attend higher education (Stromquist, 1989:153).

The financial resources or simply income of family is the mostly postulated determinant for educational attainment in the literature. Similar studies conducted in different countries have found same results but using different terminology such as upper/middle/lower classes, elite/masses and high/low income family<sup>32</sup>: the income of family influences the children's education period and quality (Inkeles et al., 1974:134; Shavit et al., 2007:38; Chevalier et al., 2002; Mayer, 2002). The children from high income family get more education than those coming from low income family background. Hence, high income family is more likely to enable their children to stay in school longer (Bakış et al., 2009:11-3; Inkeles et al., 1974:134; Lipset et

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father's educational attainment; and income depends directly upon occupational status and educational attainment, but only indirectly upon father's educational and occupational status.”

<sup>32</sup> Since there is no consistency in the literature, we prefer to use the concepts as they are.

al., 1967<sup>33</sup>). Considering gender, positive effect of income on educational attainment at the secondary level and beyond is higher for females than it is for boys (Duncan et al. 1998<sup>34</sup>; Göksel, 2008; Tansel, 1998; Tansel, 2002).

There have been different points of views on the economic issue: One of them underlines the importance of ability of afford the schooling cost because financial difficulties in family would force children to work or drop out, rather than attend to school (Ertürk et al., 2004; Dayıoğlu, 2005). The solution of this problem is possible: By virtue of financial aid as scholarship by state or other institutions, education problem in low income families can be solved (Becker et al., 1986). On the other side, the other view takes attention to the background of high income family, which is called sociocultural features of family including parents' education level, occupation and income. In other words, according to this perspective, the high income family is more likely to be higher educated, have social and cultural advantages, be more supporters of children and value education greatly. Without these characteristics, income is not enough to send children to school (Bakış et al., 2009:14; Chevalier et al., 2002: 165-6). Hence, effects of income without sociocultural features on education would not be much or stronger. For example, many girls in rural areas coming from high income families are not attending to school. In sum, income is significant factor for education but it should be considered by its material (i.e. affordability of school of cost) and nonmaterial dimension related with the sociocultural features of family.

As seen, parental education is associated with income and educational attainment of children (Shavit et al., 1993; Egerton, 1997:264; Bourdieu et al., 1977; Chevalier et al., 2002: 179). According to status attainment theory, the intergenerational transmission of family resources or capitals is difficult in modern society so

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<sup>33</sup> For example, 64 % of children from working class does not complete the secondary school, compared to 30 % those of middle class (Lipset et al., 1967: 95).

<sup>34</sup> Their study also argues that family income does not refer to the ability of afford the cost of schooling, rather mental and social developmental process of children. In their case, children from poor family are less likely to develop the mental abilities which are essential for educational achievement (Duncan et al. 1998).

education is seen as necessary for social upward mobility and to achieve a status (Blau et al., 1967; Treiman, 1970; Tansel, 1998). Therefore, highly educated parents are aware of this phenomenon and value education greatly so their tendency is to contribute and invest in their children's education (King et al., 1993), particularly their daughters. Since the educated parents expect their children to achieve at least their own level of education (i.e. the highly educated parents with high level of aspirations (Stromquist, 1989:155)), children from highly educated parents are expected to have high education (Smits et al., 2006:548). The consistent evidence with this expectation from several studies is that the majority of university students have highly educated parents (Bourdieu et al., 1977; Eserpek, 1977b:157; Göksel, 2008:13).

With the favor of daughter in the educated family, mother's education level plays more significant role in daughter's educational attainment, compared to sons. That is why mother's education is crucial for daughter's educational attainment and their future (Stromquist, 1989:152; De Serf, 2002; Akar et al., 2009:11; Gündüz-Hoşgör, 2013:506; Tansel, 1998; Duman, 2010; Eserpek, 1977b:158; Göksel, 2008:13; Marks, 2008; Marks, 2011: 229; Smits et al., 2006:548; Hisarcıklılar et al., 2010). Moreover, uneducated mother is more likely to be dependent on husband in terms of accessing money and knowledge so the prevailing social and economic conditions can be reproduced. In other words, women education is critical to break the poverty circle and patriarchal structure specifically in rural regions of developing countries (Gündüz-Hoşgör, 2005; 2013:508).

Regarding educational level and income, parents' occupational status has relatively strong influence on children's educational attainment. The common idea is that father's occupational status is strongly related with children's educational attainment. The reason is that, as discussed before, the studies based on conventional view have ignored the mother's SES background and considered father's SES defined as major determinant in the family. For example, to Savage et al. (1992) and Egerton (1997) the effect of father with professional jobs, which are required tertiary education credentials, is significant on the high level of educational attainment and

achievement regardless of gender differences. In other words, compared to children from managerial and manual occupational family, those coming from professional family background are more educationally successful and would aim to work as professionals like their fathers. In this sense, Savage *et al.* (1992) argued that “occupational inheritance is more marked for the professional than for the managerial” due to their educational background. On the other hand, the managerial family with relatively lower education level has negatively affected education and occupational career of daughters (Egerton, 1997:265; Evans, 2009:342). Similarly, for Archer (2003:5), “working class children tend to experience persistently lower rates of attainment and are less likely to follow routes into post-compulsory education.” On the other hand, according to the resource theory of conjugal power (Blood *et al.*, 1960), “the degree to which the partners can influence important household decisions depends on the extent to which they bring in valued resources into the marriage.” (Smits *et al.*, 2006:548). It implies that mother employed in formal economy (i.e. non-farm economy) can be more effective on family decision – especially decision of children’s schooling- than those unemployed or employed in farm economy. In other words, since economic power of mother employed is independent from their husbands, they are more likely to be more contributor of daughter to be stayed in education longer. In addition, the schooling differences among women depend on whether their mother are employed in farming, employed in formal economy or housewife (Smits *et al.*, 2006:548; Gündüz-Hoşgör, 2013:507). Furthermore, it should be kept in mind that the mother’s occupational status is correlated with her educational status.

#### **2.4.2.2. Family structure**

The other family-related factor influencing the children educational attainment is family structure namely family size, composition, birth order and number of siblings. The reason is that how the limited family resources will use and share among children (Akar *et al.*, 2009:13; Gündüz-Hoşgör, 2013:509; Smits *et al.*, 2006:549). That is to say that the greater the number of children in the house, the more parents is forced to divide resources among them. This process called “resource dilution”

implies that “material resources and parental attention are diluted with additional children in the household” (Buchmann et al., 2001:84).

Related with the family decision process, resource dilution depends on the age, gender and number of children in the family (Steelman et al., 2002; Rankin et al., 2006:28). For example, children in large families with financial difficulties are less likely to go to school or pass beyond the compulsory level (Eyüboğlu et al., 2000; Tunalı 1996; Kırdar, 2009:303). Herein, the disadvantages have varied by age and gender: The schooling of females and older children are more affected than counterparts, especially in developing countries (Rankin et al., 2006; Buchmann et al., 2001; Smits et al., 2006:549; Ertürk et al., 2004). According to Kırdar (2009:304), “the value of the opportunity cost of schooling increases as children get older because the value of their market as well as home production increases”. In this sense, because of the older-child who helps with household work or goes out to earn money, the younger child would have more possibilities to go to school (Smits et al., 2006:549; Akar et al., 2009:13; Gündüz-Hoşgör, 2013:509). In order to make this clearer, it should be better to look at family decision process which will be discussed below.

#### **2.4.2.3. Family decision process**

In this decision process, parents determine the child who will go to school or stay at home, type and time of school. Actually, family structure and SES of family mentioned above are strongly associated with the family decisions about the education of children. In addition, parents’ values<sup>35</sup> and preferences pertaining to the cultural attitudes and beliefs are as effective as other family factors in the process

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<sup>35</sup> Herein, parents’ value is used as the perception and values of education by family. According to Bell et al. (1968:126-128), the value of education has been varied by social class. For example, for upper class education is a means of strengthening social class position. Moreover, higher education is seen as preparation of individual for a specific occupation. For middle class, education is as a means of achieving higher social class standing through occupational preparation. For many middle class parents, there is no question of whether the children will be educated but a question of where and how the education will be paid. In contrast, to lower class, the social class position is inevitable which negatively influence the children to change the situation in the society and education is considered as the waste of time. Moreover, schooling is not free of charge so they cannot afford it.



(Wolfe et al, 1984; Rankin et al., 2006:27; Breen et al., 2005:226; Duman, 2010:243).

First of all, there is common idea that some conditions may negatively affect decision regardless of gender. These are poverty, lack of infrastructure of education (usually in rural regions) and agricultural economy. But it should not be disregarded that their effects have certainly varied by genders (Akar et al., 2009:11; Gündüz-Hoşgör, 2013:506; Tomul, 2007a:16; Smits et al., 2006:547; Tansel, 2002). Therefore the decision process tendency is, herein, based on gendered division of labour. For instance, according to research, poverty as the hamper of schooling should be struggled because of its role in reproducing gender educational inequality (World Bank 2000; Buchmann et al., 2001:85). In agricultural economy, on the other hand, children's labour is required in agricultural household which hamper schooling (Hill et al., 1993; Rankin et al., 2006:28). Considering gender, females are assigned to look after younger siblings, prepare food and other household duties which take most time and need responsibility so they are less likely to attain to school (Tansel 2002). In contrast, males needed for working in the family farm are likely to keep away from education, as well. For example, in some agricultural regions male's labour is much more needed for some family task such as grazing herds. In the case of South Africa and Kenya, the percentage of males dropping out at the primary level is more than that of females (Stromquist, 1989:150). In addition, Ertürk et al. (2004) underline another factor for males: "A father who is self-employed in agriculture is also an important factor because this implies an easily available source of work: the family farm." Therefore, having a family farm may result in the idea of the unnecessary of education to earn money. In sum, family decision pertaining to several dimensions implies the gender educational inequality.

The research on the relationship between family decision and education attainment have taken attention to a tendency that parents have different preference for their sons' and daughters' education due to gendered division of labour (Buchmann et al., 2001; Rankin et al., 2006; Tansel, 1998). In other words, gender bias family decision process favors sons over daughters which results in gender disparity in educational

attainment. This is especially the case in developing countries with a “rigid gender-based division of labor” as a part of patriarchal ideology (e.g. Turkey which will be discussed in the next chapter) (Rankin et al., 2006:28). As mentioned before by feminist theories, family plays a key role to reproduce gender division of labour. In this sense, family decision on educational attainment privileges sons over daughters because males are considered as “breadwinners”. Moreover, since sons are considered as the old-age security, family is more likely to prefer heavily investment in schooling of sons (Breen et al., 2005:226; Hisarcıklılar et al., 2010).<sup>36</sup> On the contrary, since females are considered as “mothers, wives and housewives”, their education is considered as not necessary. Moreover, while they are helping the household duties and caring child (Stromquist, 1989:150; Tunalı 1996), they will learn what they will need in the future. In addition to this patriarchal ideology, religious belief has reinforced the undereducation of females. For example, to many religious families in Islamic societies, modern schools are seen as the treat of their daughters’ safety and modesty (e.g. distance of school or coeducation), family honor and traditional values. So families generally prefer to keep their daughter at home. In addition to these perspectives, some cultural practices such as “bride’s dowry”<sup>37</sup>, “bride’s price” and “early marriage” influences the educational attainment of daughters in traditional societies (Marshall 1985; Stromquist, 1989:160; Rankin et al., 2006:29; Jacobs, 1996:165). Therefore, as Stromquist (1989:154) states that “the low presence of Muslim girls in primary and secondary levels of education is further reflected at the tertiary level”. But, it would be misleading say that there is no female in the tertiary education in the Muslim world: They mostly come from “elite strata” thanks to their privileged position in the society which contributes to struggle with “gendered division of labour”. In other words, the presence of females in higher education and labour market are against the norm that public sphere are for males (i.e. public vs. private sphere). Furthermore, females in higher education have been

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<sup>36</sup> For more details see *human capital theory* in the previous part.

<sup>37</sup> Stromquist (1989:153) explains it like that: “The amount of dowry demanded by the bridegroom depends on his educational and occupational background, so that the higher these are, the more dowry parents must pay. Poor parents, therefore, prefer to have uneducated daughters.”

supported by their fathers, brothers and husband who consider their daughters as the pioneer of social change (Youssef, 1976-77:203) (like in Turkey).<sup>38</sup>

On the other side, females who achieved to access tertiary education despite constraint conditions have expected to enroll “feminine” field of study such as education, nursing and social work. There are two main approaches about the decision on the field of study in the tertiary education regarding gender: According to *culturalistic perspective*, some fields are seen as a follow-up domestic works such as caring of child and elders because of internalized gender division of labour (Mastekaasa et al., 2008:191; Colley, 1998:20). In this sense, males are not expected to enroll in those fields. Gender segregation at work and gender occupational inequality, therefore, are reproduced by higher education system. According to other perspective namely *rational choice theory*, parents or students prefer the field by estimation of cost-benefit (Becker et al., 2009:235; Teichler, 2007; Colley, 1998; Bradley, 2000:3). Actually, the decision regarding cultural conditions in the country is certainly the result of cost-benefit estimation. The women’s preference of “feminine” field of study which provide more time-flexible or less workload jobs (Lörz et al., 2011) despite of low prestige and paid may be seen as a survival strategy for being in the labour market, which is highly gender differentiated and as “better opportunity to combine family and work duties” (i.e. “female-friendly jobs”) (Barone, 2011:161). To this end, “jobs in the public sector are seen as particularly suited to women’s demands” (Lörz et al., 2011:182). Compared to private sector conditions, returns of schooling for females are lower in public sector (Tansel, 2005) but females quite feel safe in terms of job security. In sum, the existence of the division of field of study by gender addresses the inequality of opportunity and hierarchy of field of study in the higher education which is needed further investigation.

As a consequence, family decision process is influenced by several dimensions namely SES of family, cultural environment, religious belief and family structure.

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<sup>38</sup> This issue will be mention in the next part in the case of Turkey.

However, females mostly suffer from this process since males are privileged in family and society.

## **2.5. Conclusion**

As discussed in this chapter, education as one of the main institutions of modern societies has fulfilled many functions from the individual level up to world level. The several theories underline the function of education. For example, human capital theory underlines its role on the investment of human resources for national development, whereas status attainment theory points out its role on the achieving occupation and social status. In addition, functionalist theory states the requirement of education because of transmitting prevailing social values, norms to survive social order, while for conflict/reproduction theory education, specifically higher education, perpetuates and legitimizes the class inequality and status quo.

Although education has several function and roles, the main problem is the inequality in education in terms of gender, region, age and ethnicity. Herein, the equality of educational opportunity as a concept has been faced. It means that each individual, regardless of such ascribed characteristics as gender, family background, religion or race/ethnicity has the same chance to acquire a favorable education level. Its definition basically includes equality of accessing, participation and outcomes. As seen, in order to ensure the equality of education opportunity in a society, it is needed to achieve these three levels. However, the studies from different nations indicate that the equal access to education has been not achieved yet. Furthermore, according to several research, there is still strong relationship between the family's and children's educational attainment. This argument implies that if so, there is no equality of educational opportunity and the limited chance for intergenerational socioeconomic mobility. Therefore, further studies are needed to investigate the relationship between them.

Regarding inequality in education studies indicate that gender educational inequality is a predominant issue especially in the developing countries. However, theories on education do not directly focus on this issue. For example, according to the *functionalist theory*, education is an equally open system to all citizens so gender inequality in education is not result of the system but related with ‘inadequate’ qualities of individuals and their families. On the other hand, for *reproduction theory*, education as the ideological instrument of state works in favor of dominants classes and their ideologies. In this way, people have internalized the social division of labour as inevitable. As seen, while the disadvantages of some groups and classes in education are identified with class inequality and system, the gender inequality and intra-class inequality are not dealt by the theories.

Unlike other two theories, *feminist theories* namely *liberal*, *radical* and *socialist feminist theories* concentrate on gender inequality including educational one. All three feminist theories offer different explanations for gender educational inequality. According to *liberal feminists*, the main reason is socialization in the family and discrimination in the school where the gendered division of labour is reproduced. There should be equal opportunity between genders because of “sameness” except their reproductive features. Furthermore, the inferior participation of women in education (mostly at secondary and higher education) and the female-dominated field in the higher education would be considered as “the cumulative result of discrimination and socialization of women that discourages them from seeking more prestigious careers”. For *radical feminists*, on the other hand, the reason under the inequality is sexual division of labour (i.e. the reproductive capacity of women). According to this perspective, education is the way to control women’s sexuality as mother and wife in private sphere. This patriarchal ideology affects parents’ decision on their daughters’ education.

For socialist feminists, to understand the causes of issue it should be look at the interconnection between economic and ideological forces with capitalism and patriarchy, which strengthen each other. In this system, education’s role is to reproduce women both as workers for the *reserve army of labour* and reproducers of

children and the family as a part of patriarchal ideology. Moreover, the presence of women participation in higher level of education is the reflection of the interaction between gender and class: females from upper class are more likely to attain to the tertiary education. However, sex-segregated field of study in the university reflects the patriarchal ideology and its aim. Therefore the higher education reproduces both gendered division of labour and reserve army of labour for lower prestige and wages. As seen, the socialist feminist perspective –differently from others- takes attention to the capitalist economic structure. Considering contemporary economic and occupational structure, our study would depend on the feminist perspective and specifically socialist feminist theory.

Finally, as mentioned before, the relationship between ascribed features and educational attainment is important to evaluate inequality of educational opportunity. Researches on this issue have displayed that macrostructural and family factors are effective on educational attainment: macrostructural factors including state and global forces (e.g. international organizations and agreements, global division of labour, modern cultural trend, state policies, industrialization and urbanization) and family factors including socioeconomic status (SES) of family, family structure and parents' decision process. All these factors and individual factors which is out of our study are interactive each other.

As a consequence, the theoretical framework based on the theoretical and empirical literature on education, particularly in developing countries underlines the inequality of educational opportunity regarding gender, family background, region, and so on. Furthermore, the literature addresses the problem of the gender inequality as a predominant inequality in education in the world. What important is that whether there is a relationship among gender and inequality of educational attainment and inequality of educational opportunity in any contemporary society. In other words, the question rises about the relationship between gender and educational attainment process. Well, what about Turkey? How does education attainment process run in Turkey regarding gender? Is there any difference in the process by gender? How does the relation work in Turkey, especially in higher education related with

occupational status? In this sense, does higher education in Turkey reproduce inequalities or allow upward social mobility? Considering field of study in higher education, is gendered division of labour reproduced or not in the higher education system? The framework of our study made up of these issues above, depending on socialist feminist perspective.

## CHAPTER 3

### HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF EDUCATION IN TURKEY

#### 3.1. Introduction

Social institutions are built on historical background and continue their existence by evolving within the framework of various dynamics with which they interact. It is, therefore, necessary to examine the historical development process of any social institution carefully for the purpose of understanding and interpreting its present day accurately and making predictions about its future. This case is valid for education, a multi-dimensional social institution and *field*.<sup>39</sup>

Education should be analysed with consideration paid to the political and economic developments in the society, since it is interconnected with economy and policy (Nohl, 2008: 10, 15). However, in spite of the fact that education is divided into certain formal periods, it is an integrated process which consists of parts that complete each other from the beginning to the end. Moreover, this process also undergoes a series of transformations, depending on the transformation of the society to which it is applied. Therefore, in order to understand the structural transformation in the higher education, one needs to look firstly at social transformation; but since this transformation is not just confined to understanding the higher education, it would be proper to look at the whole education system (Tekeli, İ., 1980:11; 2010b).

However, one faces some problems both geographically and chronologically while considering the education system in Turkey. Should the issue be approached by using the Ottoman Empire or Turkish Republic as the base? If the Ottoman Empire is used

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<sup>39</sup> Bourdieu defines the concept “field” as a social space over which various actors struggle and defend their benefits with their capitals of differing sizes (Bourdieu et al., 1977; 1992). Education, thus, is a very important social space that contains struggle in this sense.



as the base, how far should one go back? As Küçükcan (2009:125) stated, in order to evaluate the education system of today correctly, it is necessary to understand how the Ottoman education institutions most of which were inherited to Turkey changed and/or continued along with the Republic. Therefore, it would be better to act to the approach that takes the last years of the Ottomans as the starting point (Nohl, 2008:16). Accordingly, to comprehend the education system of the present times – the higher education that is specific to our research subject – it is almost an obligation to look at the education system in Ottoman times and even its social structure. So much so that the factors that influence the historical and social changes and transformations play an important role in constituting and institutionalizing the field of education. Ottoman Empire went through various phases from its founding until the fall<sup>40</sup> and depending on this, it both struggled to continue its existence by making various reforms and innovations in the field of education and contributed to a well-educated new class (i.e. petty-bourgeoisie) playing a major role in the new nation-state process.

Consequently, the aim of this chapter is to delineate both the macro-structural factors which have influenced on today's field of education and attainment process, and the relationship between structural transformations and changes in the field of education. In this way, it would be help us to see that macro-structural transformations, i.e. nation-state building process, economic, social and political changes, state policies so on, is not independent from the field of education. Furthermore, the historical background of education would help us to discuss the attainment process which is related with social inequality and social mobility.

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<sup>40</sup> Of course, a better understanding of the Ottoman Empire requires a look at the preceding period and what it inherited from the preceding states. However, within the scope of our study, it is not possible to make a comprehensive debate over the issue. For more information about the subject, see Güvenç (1998) and Akyüz (2001).

## 3.2. Ottoman Empire

### 3.2.1. Ottoman Social Structure and Conventional Education System

Ottoman Empire had got a “class” structure (i.e. a small ruling class) and an unadvanced and unspecialized educational system/organization which could be seen in pre-industrial societies (Sağ, 2003). In a society in which social division of labour does not make big differences (in Durkheim terminology, *mechanical solidarity*), only the classes considered to be “necessary” and a smaller portion of the population/elite people were educated. The others who made up the majority of the society were “disciplined” within the “informal/common education” institutions for the continuity of the system (Akşit et al., 2000; Tekeli, İ., 2007:20, Tekeli, İ., 2010b; Tekeli et al., 1993:7). The dichotomy of the structure, in which the majority would be trained as “a good Muslim” and “the ruled” and the minority as “the rulers”, forms the basis of the education structure which might be called *Conventional Ottoman Education System*. As can be seen, education determines the social division of labour/stratification with information and talent which it conveys and/or cannot convey, and thus it enables the reproduction of the existing social structure.

The class structure of the Ottoman Empire, which had an agriculture-based economy and very limited technology, was made up of the rulers who included the *military class* and the *Ilmiye (ulema) class* and the ruled who included tradesmen and craftsmen along with the *rayah (peasant) class*. These “class” (“vertical”) differences, based on social division of labour, also had a “nationality” (“horizontal”) difference based on religious and ethnical structures. In other words, Muslim, Rum-Orthodox, Armenian and Jewish nations based on the principal of religion and community contained class distinctions within themselves. Until the last days of the Ottomans the class differentiation within the nations was equal; however, the transformations in the economic and political fields would disturb the balance in the class distinctions between the nations for and/or against some nations (Tekeli, İ., 1980:13; 2010b; 2011; Tekeli et al., 1993:4; Özdalga; 2004; Keyder, 1987).

There were two ways to be the member of *military class*, which belonged to the ruler class; *Devshirmeh system*<sup>41</sup> and handing down from father to son. A non-Muslim male child was remarkably transformed both ideologically and informationally in the schools (e.g. *Acemioğlanlar kışlası*, *Mehterhane*, *Cambazhane*, *Tophane*, *Kılınçhane* etc.) which gave military education via *Devshirmeh system*. Those educated at these schools and succeeding went to Enderun<sup>42</sup> inside the court and climbed the upper ranks in the *military class*. A male child who moved to *military class* through his family was trained at his own house (mansion). This place functioned both as a living area and an educational institution (Tekeli, İ., 1980:14-5; 2010b; 2011; Tekeli et al., 1993:6, 18-20; MEB, 2010:4; Akyüz, 2001:84-88; Güvenç, 1998; Nohl, 2008:17; Akşit et al., 2000; Kazamias, 1966:26; Başgöz, 1995:16-21; Ulusoy, 1996:75). Education played an important role in reaching this class, which was the closest to the sultan. It was for this reason that a father who belonged to the *military class* trained his son at his own houses for him to be the member of the same class (for him to reproduce his social class or intergenerational transmitting of social status). In addition, the female children at the mansions took advantage of this information environment, too. As will be discussed in the next chapter, it could be said that this situation provided a privileged position for them compared to other female children.

In the ruler class; the *Ilmiye (Ulema) class* who were responsible for the fields of justice, education and religion (i.e. Muslim judge, mudarris, muftis, etc.) was trained in the *madrasas* (Muslim theological school).<sup>43</sup> The Madrasas where a small number

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<sup>41</sup> In short, Devshirmeh system is rendering service to the Sultan as a bureaucrat or a soldier by talented and young male children who were discovered after the conquests and trained in the court (Kazamias, 1966:27). According to Sakaoğlu (2003:39) associated with the Devshirmeh system, people who did not know the society but worked for the Sultan was court intellectuals who humiliated the rest of the society by calling them “Etrâk-i bî-idrâk (Headless/Insane Turks)”

<sup>42</sup> The main function of Enderun established by Fatih the Conqueror in 1455 was raising the administrator and statesman (Ataünal, 1993:29). Enderun was not the only place in the Court. There were two other schools in the Court called Meşkhane ve Şehzadehan, where the architect of the court, calligrapher, clerk, imam, muezzin, poet, scientist and even the court joker were raised. In this school there was also *Harem-i Hass-ı Hümayun* where female children were brought from the places conquered and educated as in the Enderun (Sakaoğlu, 2003:40).

<sup>43</sup> For more information on these education institutions’ history dated back to pre-Ottoman times, see Tekeli et al. (1993:11-18), Başgöz (1995).

of people were trained in the long run were characterized by the “elites’ education”. Although it is generally claimed to be open to everyone, the male sons of a member of *the Ilmiye class* could reach the upper class of *the Ilmiye class* (Tekeli, İ., 1980:15; 2010b; 2011; Tekeli et al., 1993:7; Akyüz, 2001:68-71; Ataüinal, 1993:30; Nohl, 2008:17; Sakaoğlu, 2003:3,22; Akşit et al., 2000; Kazamias, 1966:33; Başgöz, 1995:10-16; Ulusoy, 1996:74).

The madrasas that created the *Ilmiye class* and were regarded as a starting point of higher education<sup>44</sup> were the centre of information production and distribution as well as the institutions where the language of education was Arabic (in just the same way as Latin in Christianity) and religious information was shared in order to enable the scientists in the Islamic world to exchange places easily. From the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the madrasas that could not be included in the philosophical and scientific developments within the framework of enlightenment began to decline by failing to contribute to social transformation and needs. It is even claimed that the madrasas were one of the factors accelerating the collapse of the Empire by positioning themselves against the reformist movements across the Empire (Ataüinal, 1993:6; MEB, 2010:4-5; Akyüz, 2001:55; Akşit, 2002:357; Barblan et al., 2008:22-3; Güvenç, 1998; Verschoyle, 1950; Özer, 2007; Başaran, İ. E., 1999:92-3; Tekeli, İ., 1980; 2010b; Tekeli et al., 1993:11-18).

Looking at the ruled class, we see two different classes including the tradesmen and craftsmen classes along with *the rayah (peasant) class*: The tradesmen and craftsmen classes were raised by the production organizations called “guild”. Men who were educated both with the professional talent and ethics enabled the supervision of this class, as well (Tekeli, İ., 1980:16; 2010b; 2011; Tekeli et al., 1993:7; Başaran, İ. E., 1999; MEB, 2010:4). The guilds, as in the madrasas, both trained the members for

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<sup>44</sup> While some identify the madrasas as the universities and take Fatih’s time as the starting point, some use Darülfünun, and others use İstanbul University as the starting point for the higher education. The main question here is: “how are the universities described?” If the universities are the institutions that relay information, then madrasas could be admitted as the starting point. However, those who oppose this idea claim that the madrasas were against the Darülfünun and went back to the times of Seljuk Empire (Küçükcan, 2009:126; Ataüinal, 1993:29).

the new class – in a sense, reproducing the class – and supervised the class. *The rayah (peasant) class* was not subject to special education. Rather, they were included in the social and economic system along with the family (Tekeli, İ., 1980:16; 2010b; 2011; Tekeli et al., 1993:8). Even if the family was the main socialization institution, the mosque, the dervish lodge, the zawiya, the djemevi, the libraries and the coffeehouse as the common education institutions enabled this class to be included in the system (Akyüz, 2001:97-100; Sakaoğlu, 2003:40; Nohl, 2008:18; Kazamias, 1966).

The last but not the least, *the local school* or the *district school (sıbyan school)* should be mentioned as a primary level for all education levels. Female and male children were directed to the madrasas and the guilds after they were given “religious and moral education” at these schools for 3-5 years. These institutions, where only the urban inhabitants received education, were, however, the last level of education for female children. In other words, until the last days of the Ottoman Empire, the education system was closed to females beyond the primary level (Tekeli, İ., 1980:16; 2010b; 2011; Tekeli et al., 1993:7; Barblan et al., 2008:23-24; Güvenç, 1998:16; Akyüz, 2001:56, 78; MEB, 2010:3; Nohl, 2008:17; Sakaoğlu, 2003:3; Kazamias, 1966:31-32; Başgöz, 1995:3-7; Caporal, 1982:102; Keçeci Kurt, 2011).

In addition, it should be noted that the institution of religion was dominant over science and education, too, as it was in almost every area of the social life and there were no differences between nations in this manner. To put it in a different way, the control of religion over education in pre-industrial societies was valid in the Ottoman Empire, as well. Each nation was raised under the process in which the religious leader specified the content and function of the education (Tekeli, İ., 1980:14, 17; 2010b; Tekeli et al., 1993:9). For instance, the higher education institutions in the West (Bologna, Paris, Oxford etc.) were under the patronage of the church. Nevertheless, the university that got rid of the influence of the church and liberalized along with the enlightenment made discoveries with scientific approach and paved the way for technological developments. Hence, it enabled the capital accumulation, enrichment and development of bourgeoisie-aristocracy class of Europe. The

economic recovery would later pave the way for reforms in religion and innovations in philosophy, art and science, which could be cumulatively called Renaissance. In the same period, in the Ottoman Empire where 95% of the people were completely illiterate, there was an education system in which only *military class* and soldiers and bureaucrats (i.e. males) who were the needs of the Empire, were trained (Şenses, 2007:42). *The Conventional Ottoman Education System*, as an “ideological apparatus of the state” (Althusser, 1991), maintained the continuity of the system and the reproduction of the classes. As each society which is affected by social, cultural and ideological transformations in the world does to maintain its own existence, the Ottoman Empire would try to catch up with the time and keep up with it by making innovations in the field of education which reproduces the system and provides continuance of that system.

### **3.2.2. Social and Educational Transformations in Ottoman**

Until the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the Ottoman Empire could raise the manpower to maintain the balance in the world’s economic system, especially with the West. However, the West that had had the ideological, political, economic and cultural features of the pre-industrial societies went through the processes of enlightenment, industrialization and urbanization following *the scientific revolution* based on observation and experiment, whereas this was not the case with the Ottomans. Furthermore, the perception of nation-state (*nationalism*) which emerged on these developments started to spread all over the world on the whole (Tekeli, İ., 2007:20; 2010b; Barblan et al., 2008:23; Şenses, 2007:42). The Ottoman Empire began to conduct reforms in the military schools and open a western-style educational institution in order to stand against this ideological movement and specifically ensure the reduction of military defeats (Gök,1999a:3; Başaran, İ. E., 1999; Kazamias, 1966:51; Tanilli, 1998:111; Rankin et al., 2010:281): First of all, *Hendesehane*<sup>45</sup> or *Mühendishane-i Bahr-i*

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<sup>45</sup> The word “engineer” comes from “Hendese” (“home of geometers”), in other words “geometry”. Those who learned necessary mathematics built ships and artilleries in order to meet the military needs. In other words, the mentality of engineering developed as disconnected with the process of creativity and production. The engineers are still known as “geometers” (Tekeli, İ., 1980:70; 2010b; Güvenç, 1998:30).

*Hümayun*<sup>46</sup> (The Imperial Naval College) (1773) and *Mühendishane-i Berri Hümayun* (The Imperial College of Military Engineering) (1794)(as the origin of the engineering faculties and İstanbul Technical University (Karaca, 2012)), which would raise the necessary specialist staff for the army and could thus save the empire, were opened in İstanbul. They were then followed by many institutions such as *Tıbhane-i Amire* (The Military College of Medicine), *Cerrahhane-i Mamure* (The Military College of Surgery), *Mekteb-i Umum-u Harbiye* (Military Academy), *Muzıka-i Hümayun* (The School of Sultan's Music Ensemble) and *Mekteb-i Mülkiye* (The School of Civil Servant) (MEB, 2010:5; Özen, 1999; Tekeli, İ., 1980:69; 2007:21; 2010a:74; 2010b; 2011:40; MEB,1993:2; Barblan et al., 2008:23-5; Ataüinal, 1993:35; Sakaoğlu, 2003:55-6; Güvenç, 1998:30; Akyüz, 2001:133; Tekeli et al., 1993:60; Küçükcan, 2009:126; Özer, 2007:78; Başaran, İ. E., 1999:92-3; Gök,1999a:3; Başgöz, 1995:25; Keyder, 1987; Göle, 1998:65; YÖK, 2005:21).

While the Ottoman was trying to modernize itself with the help of academies such as engineer school, medical school and military academy similar to those in the West, the universities were developing rapidly with the help of the Renaissance and reforms in the West. However, the madrasas regarded as the centre of science fell outside of these developments and all education institutions were stuck into dogmatism. The Ottoman went on lagging behind the West without transforming the madrasas (Şenses, 2007:42; Ataüinal, 1993: VI; Aras et al., 2007:8) which were under the effect of the religion, and with the educational reforms that were realized up to down with “the psychology of saving the State” (Özer, 2007:78). Apart from this, the education transformation which started from *the military class* meant transformation in the higher education. Yet, in a country where the transformation of primary and secondary education could not be completed, the result of such a transformation led to the extension of the education. The illiterate students who entered Tıbhane and Harbiye could only graduate from these schools in fourteen years (Tekeli, İ.,

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<sup>46</sup> Skilled men labourer was created specifically for the purpose of shipbuilding and mapping in this institution to be later based at İstanbul Technical University. For more information on the history of the university, see <http://www.itu.edu.tr/?itu-hakkında/tarihçe>, Karaca (2012).

1980:69; 2010b). To put it differently, education opportunities provided only to the “elite” of the society and only in İstanbul would ensure the reproduction of these classes.

Considering the relationship between the education and social mobility in the Ottoman, Kazamias (1966:25-6) claims that upward mobility was possible with the help of the education in the Ottoman compared to the other societies in that period. For instance, the slaves (those who had been brought to İstanbul by the conquests) could possibly move up to *the military* or *Ilmiye class* in the *Devshirmeh System* by means of the education (via Enderun). He specifies that while the education was determined with respect to the social class (i.e. aristocratic education) in the West, the professional or social mobility was determined by the education in the Ottoman. However, Enderun or the madrasa education was needed in order for the education to lead to the social mobility. In this case, it might be deduced that whereas the minority in urban could move up thanks to the madrasa education and graduation from newly-opened schools in the ensuing years, the majority in the rural areas could not have a chance to move up through going to the Ottoman elementary-primary school where they received only religious education (Tezcan, 1999:175). Additionally, the fact that a child from *the Ilmiye* and *military class* could be educated at the mansion or the madrasa or these institutions would only admit children from these classes should be interpreted as a sign of inequality and of the fact that education was determined according to the classes. It is because this education made them privileged and “rulers”. In this case, it can be seen that the field of education and the social classes affected each other mutually in the Ottoman, that the education was used as a means of ensuring the continuation of the system and that it was a limited social mobility. Viewing the relationship between the education and social mobility in terms of gender, it can be claimed that the education had no function of social mobility for females until the last days of the Ottomans, since it was not possible for female



children to attend any school except for the *district school (sıbyan school)*, Ottoman elementary-primary schools, any class mobility was only possible marriage.<sup>47</sup>

When we look at the issue from the aspect of the Ottoman's place in the world system and the effects of the system, the Ottomans were kept under the imperialist reign due to the Industrial Revolution and capitalist economy in Europe and thereupon internal dynamics were united, which in turn triggered the transformation on the social structure. The reflections of this transformation created radical changes in the field of education (Tekeli, İ., 1980:30; 2010b; 2011:25; Tekeli et al., 1993). We can summarize the internal dynamics and external factors that proved influential briefly as follows:

Along with the Industrial Revolution, Europe started to meet its needs for raw material and food from the Ottoman Empire and made the Ottomans' agricultural production open to the foreign market; in return, it diminished the internal market share of the Ottomans by starting to put its industrial products at race with the local items. In the following years, Europe transformed the Ottoman Empire into almost semi-colonized with the increase in export. While this process strengthened the mercantile class who conveyed the agricultural raw material to foreign markets and had a corner on the local market by bringing the products from the foreign countries, it weakened the craftsman class who had difficulty finding raw material and thus failing to compete with the imported products.<sup>48</sup> While the foreigner merchants became stronger in the foreign markets through the agency of domestic merchants, they preferred to work with the Armenian and Rum merchants in the Ottoman. Accordingly, the opening of the Ottoman economy to foreign countries came true with the Armenian and Rum nations in the beginning (Keyder, 1987, Gündüz-Hoşgör, 1996:66). On the other hand, this circumstance led to the Muslim merchants' loss of power.

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<sup>47</sup> This issue will be discussed in the next chapter.

<sup>48</sup> Even though the guilds of the craftsmen lost strength in this process, those who worked in few guilds manufacturing like a factory the agricultural products were preparing the way for the birth of Ottoman "working-class" (Tekeli, İ., 1980:33; 2010b).

Moreover, there was a need for bureaucracy and labour force to be raised at other services for trade and to meet this need, it was necessary to open new education institutions apart from the church. Thus, the conflict of religious and secular education<sup>49</sup> first started among non-Muslims (Rums and Armenians) (Tekeli, İ., 1980:64). These people could exert pressure on the church with their developed economy (Keyder, 1987) caused the religious quality of education to change. These developments in education led to the weakening of the religious authority and to the conversion into the education system which taught the nationalist ideologies and principles of trade. In addition, secularization/modernization/positivist scientific understanding in education brought forward the need for revision of language and literature so that more people could reach them, for transition to the mass education in a classroom, and for the spread of education in classrooms and places at primary and secondary schools. Affected by bourgeoisie and bureaucracy, the conversion in this education later affected the other nations and led to the commencement of the change in education first from the upper levels (Tekeli, İ., 1980:30-6, 2007:20; 2010b; 2011; Tekeli et al., 1993).

The conversion of the mercantile class as a result of the Ottomans' relationships with the West converted into capitalist system (Keyder, 1987) and its reflections in the field of education hardly affected the population in the rural area. However, *the rayah class* in the rural area, making up the majority of the whole population, either became landowners or lost all their lands. In addition, Ottoman's sensitivity to the fact that non-Muslims should not own lands created the *eşraf* class as the owners of large lands out of the Muslims who did not live in the countryside. The soil reform of the period led to the rise of urban and local *eşraf* who was wealthy and could buy lands on one hand and the emergence of landless villagers and agricultural workers on the other. These transformations in the class structure would later give way to

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<sup>49</sup> It sometimes ended with the success of the church and some of the schools faced with the church could not stand on foot (Tekeli, İ., 1980:64). It would not be right to say that the process whereby the struggle was won by the secular education ended in a short time. Especially the fact that religious authority lost power is brought to the agenda in several fields as a problem in the republican era and even today.

different ideologies and transform them into social movements/understandings<sup>50</sup> (Tekeli, İ., 1980:30-5; 2010b; 2011; Tekeli et al., 1993). The reflections of this transformation in the *rayah class* in the field of education were not as many and big as those in the mercantile class. Already re-created by the common education, these classes were the ruled who were obedient and thus they did not have enough power demand anything from the state.

Economic relationships with the West (Keyder, 1987) also led to international social mobilities. For example, foreign states opened their own schools so as to preserve or expand their political fields in the Ottomans.<sup>51</sup> In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, these schools had ideologically significant functions for the semi-colonized Ottomans (Tekeli, İ., 1980:52; 2010b; Tekeli et al., 1993:37-39; Sakaoglu, 2003:66; Keyder, 1987). The children of the upper classes of Muslim community who were, or expected to be, in relationship with the West and the children from the non-Muslim communities attended these foreign schools. The number of Muslim-Turkish students increased<sup>52</sup> in time and there appeared a faster increase in the aftermath of the Independence War (Tekeli, İ., 1980:59; 2010b). Another example is that it was only in this period that the students were sent to Europe for the first time in order for them to acquire specialized and differentiated professions as required by the capitalist system (Gök,1999a:4; Akyüz, 2001: 56, 132). This case was consequent on the fact that the Ottomans realized the need for manpower with advanced education and wanted to balance its relationships with the West. In addition, the Ottomans were mainly in an

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<sup>50</sup> Social movement can be roughly gathered in three groups: The movement of gaining independence from the Ottomans formed by the merchant class in the non-Muslim nations and the “understanding of modern nation”; the understanding adopted by the bureaucrats, gentries and merchants among the Muslim nation that refused the foreign merchants and that would later turn into Turkish nationalism with Commission of Union and Progress and into an attempt to create a national bourgeoisie; and finally, the essentially religion-based understanding that grew out of the dissatisfaction the Ilmiye class, craftsmen and guild members with their new positions and that aimed to revive the old (Tekeli, İ., 1980:34-5).

<sup>51</sup> At the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, there were English, French, German, American, Russian, Italian, and Austrian-Magyar schools. For more information about the schools, see Tekeli, İ. (1980:54-7; 2010b), Tekeli et al., (1993:37-39), Somel, (2004).

<sup>52</sup> For example, the percentage of the Muslim students at Saint Joseph was 1% in 1890, but 15% ten years later and 26% in 1911 (Tekeli, İ., 1980:59).

attempt to meet its need for manpower through the schools that could be accepted as higher-education institutions, but they later comprehended the need for top-down institutionalization and opened institutions towards this end (Tekeli, İ., 2007:21; 2010b).

Along with the transformation in the Ottoman's social structure, division of labour, class system and education, Ottoman's institutional structure has difficulty adapting to this transformation; therefore, Tanzimat era witnessed innovations and reforms in many fields, ranging from economy through politics and justice to education (Gök, 1999a:4; Akyüz, 2001: 56, 132; Barblan et al., 2008:26; Kandiyoti, 1991b:24; Winter, 1984:183). With the Tanzimat reforms, which could be assessed "for the purpose of enabling the society to reproduce itself" (Akşit, 1991:154), especially with the ones in the field of education, bureaucrats, soldiers and intelligentsia needed by the state could be raised and the scientific and technical progress of the West would be attained and the Empire would find the chance to survive.

For the understanding of government that developed with Tanzimat, there was a need for more educated military and civil bureaucrat classes (Ünal et al., 1999; Akyüz, 2001:146; Keyder, 1987). For this purpose, there appeared a need for new education institutions other than Enderun and madrasas, because Tanzimat required a broader and better-educated bureaucratic system. The new institutions would raise new bureaucrats for the army, justice and civil administration. However, there appeared big inequalities between the upper and lower segments of the *civil* and *military classes*. *The military class* turned into better-paid bureaucrats on one hand while the conflicts in the new administrative class created the small bourgeoisie on the other (Tekeli, İ., 1980:31; 2010b; Tekeli et al., 1993; Nohl, 2008:18; Tezcan, 1981; Özdalga, 2004:5; Winter, 1984:183).

The institutions required for the constitution of the bureaucrat class led to transformation firstly in the traditional education institutions. *The district schools (Sıbyan schools)* began to be reformed (and then *iptidai schools* were opened at the level of primary school (Tekeli, İ., 1980:74; 2010b).), and at the level of secondary

school, *idadi* and *rüştiye schools* (Ottoman junior high school) began to be founded and spread across the country (Gök, 1999a: 4; Akyüz, 2001: 56, 132; Kazamias, 1966:53; Caporal, 1982:102; Winter, 1984:183; Moghadam, 1993:80; Üstel, 2004:31). Secondary-school training was found enough for the training of inferior civil servants in order for the civil bureaucracy to be formed and the demand for these institutions increased. Some of the training institutions opened are as follows: *Rüştiye* (1838), *Mekteb-i Ulumu Edebiye* (1839), *Mekteb-i Maarifi Adliye* (1838), *Askeri idadi* (1848), *Mülkiye Rüştiyeleri* (1847) and *Darülmaarif* (1849) (Tekeli, İ., 1980:72; 2010b; Tekeli et al., 1993:64). Thus, the transformation/innovation in the field of education that had started at military colleges came down to the lower levels of the education. In addition, with a document published (*Meclis-i Umur-ı Nâfia Lâyihası*, 1839), Ottomans emphasized that education was a source of happiness and the way of salvation from poverty and ignorance for the public, and that industry could not advance through practical skills and the basic purpose of the state was to popularize literacy (Sakaoğlu, 2003:65). Thus, it was admitted that education was a public service/duty. Besides, *Maarifi Umumiye Nezareti* in 1857 as the ministry of education of the era, which symbolized the fact that education was centralized and was the responsibility of the state (Tekeli, İ., 1980:73; 2010b; Akyüz, 2011:6).

While the institutionalization of education was an important development in the Tanzimat Reform Era, the necessity of the education not only for men but also for women was another one: The education of female children (above primary school) was taken over by the state with the idea that “women could contribute to the happiness of their homes and families through the awareness of their religion and world” (Sakaoğlu, 2003:65), and then primary-school education was accepted as compulsory for women (1869).<sup>53</sup> In addition, Midwife school (1842), *rüştiye for females* (1858)<sup>54</sup> and *Industrial school for female* (specifically in field of textile)

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<sup>53</sup> Nohl gives the date for the compulsoriness of primary school for girls as 1913. This date is also that of free and compulsory primary-school education (Verschoyle, 1950).

<sup>54</sup> The first *rüştiye* founded for the women’s education above primary school is Cevri Kalfa İnas Rüştiyesi in İstanbul (1859) (Sakaoğlu, 2003:59; Akyüz, 2001:151; 2011:10).

(1870) were founded on the level of secondary education (Tekeli, İ., 1980:74; 2010b; Sakaoğlu, 2003:77, 79; Tekeli, Ş., 1998b:173; Caporal, 1982:104-5). With these developments, an important step was taken towards the place of women in the society (Sakaoğlu, 2003:149). In the later years, the education of women would be more popularized for many reasons (Tekeli, İ., 1980:84; 2010b). However, the schools which were opened and the rationale behind them indicate that these developments reproduced the social gender roles and gender based division of labour.<sup>55</sup>

Because the *rüştiyes*, which were opened to train bureaucrats, proved inadequate in training civil servants, the high-school of the French was taken as a model (Güvenç, 1998:36; Nohl, 2008:20) and then *Sultanis* (for example Galatasaray (1865) and Darüşşafaka (1867)) as being one of the training institutions at the level of high-school were opened. Military schools continued to be opened. Parallel to the developments in education system, *Darülmualimin* (teacher training school for men) (1847), *Darül Muallimi Sıbyan* (1862) and *Darülmualimat* (training female teacher for female *rüştiyeleri*) (1870)<sup>56</sup> were opened to meet the teacher deficit (Tekeli, İ., 1980:74; 2010b; Barblan et al., 2008:26; Akyüz, 2001:166; Verschoye, 1950; Kazamias, 1966:60; Caporal, 1982:105; Frierson, 2004:148; Winter, 1984:183; Keçeci Kurt, 2011:120). Moreover, there were opened medical schools, civil service schools, midwife schools, law schools, military-civil teacher training schools, male-female schools and vocational high-schools, and they were extended to the larger parts of the country (Gök, 1999a: 4; Akyüz, 2001: 56, 132; Sakaoğlu, 2003:74-5; Nohl, 2008:20; Tekeli, İ., 1980:72; 2010b; 2011). Besides, new schools were opened to train civil engineers for the solution of such substructure problems as railway,

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<sup>55</sup> For more discussions about this issue, see the next chapter.

<sup>56</sup> The number of female *rüştiyes* together with the *Darülmualimat* was 9 and the total number of female students was 294 (Sakaoğlu, 2003:82). There were 560 female students in 1899-1900 training period at *Darülmualimat* and 1725 female students at female *rüştiyes* and 121 at other schools (Sakaoğlu, 2003:117).

waterworks, road construction and municipality services<sup>57</sup> (Sakaoğlu, 2003:97; Tekeli, İ., 1980:80, 82; 2010b).

For the popularization of the education, primary school became compulsory; decision was made to open *sıbyan schools* in very village and rural society, *rüştiyes* in all townships, *idadis* in all cities and teacher-training schools both for men and women in İstanbul<sup>58</sup> (Güvenç, 1998:37; Tekeli, İ., 1980:79; 2010b; 2011; Akyüz, 2001:137). This proliferation is accounted for by the need for new bureaucratic classes newly emerging in the Tanzimat reform Era, which is a true approach but not enough. The proliferation of Muslim schools should be taken as a step towards protecting its own ideology and class position in the face of the increase in the number of foreign schools (Tekeli, İ., 1980:58; 2010b; 2011) and towards allowing the non-Muslims to open their own schools (Gök, 1999a:4; Akyüz, 2001: 56, 132; Sakaoğlu, 2003:87; MEB, 2010:7), depending on the view brought by the ideology of “Ottomanism” that the children of each segment of the society from each nation would be trained<sup>59</sup> (Sakaoğlu, 2003:74-5; Akyüz, 2001:146; Nohl, 2008:20; Tekeli, İ., 1980:72; 2010b; 2011).

In general, big transformations in the Ottoman social structure in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and in education following the Tanzimat and in secondary education in particular led to the development in the higher education (Tekeli, İ., 2010a:74; Başaran, İ. E., 1999;

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<sup>57</sup> For example, school for Dentists (1909), school for Conductor (1911), school for Police Officers (1909), school for Land Survey Officials (1911) (Tekeli, İ., 1980:88; 2010b; 2011; Barblan et al., 2008:27). These were only for male.

<sup>58</sup> Tanzimat era was one in which innovations were carried out for education system but could not be disseminated across the empire. One of the reasons for this is, according to Tekeli, İ. (1980:79; 2010b), that the transformations in class structure lagged behind the transformations in education. The people’s internalization of the institutional reforms will only be realized by the class, cultural and ideological transformations.

<sup>59</sup> Non-Muslims were allowed to open their own schools and higher-institution (Sakaoğlu, 2003:74-5; Akyüz, 2001:146; Nohl, 2008:20; Tekeli, İ., 1980:72; 2010b; 2011). Thus, with the ideology of Ottomanism, opportunities and conditions were offered on equal terms. However, the classes benefiting from this opportunity reproduced the inequality.

Sağ, 2003; Aras et al., 2007:8): *Darülfünun*<sup>60</sup>, meaning “*Fenlerevi*” (The House of Sciences), was opened as the first Ottoman university in 1900. With a western style, *Darülfünun* was a paid education institution founded on the logic of occupational school indeed. Being “the first modern university in the Muslim world” (Winter, 1984:184), *Darülfünun* had an education based on transferring science information rather than producing information. It was closed and opened five times, the university had inadequacies which became more obvious in the period of young republic, but it was closed totally in 1933 (Şenses, 2007:43; Küçükcan, 2009:127; Ataüinal, 1993:30-35; MEB,1993:1; Barblan et al., 2008:25; Baskan, 2001; Akyüz, 2001:154; 2011:9; Özen, 1999; Tekeli, İ., 2010a:75; Aras et al., 2007:8; Kazamias, 1966:84; Winter, 1984:183; YÖK, 2005:21).

In addition, the students of *Darülfünun* were males, as females were not admitted to it. As will be considered in the next chapter, this situation caused the three-year *İnas Darülfünunu* for the women to receive university education in 1914 (Özen, 1999; Tekeli, İ., 2007:42; 2010b; Tekeli, Ş., 1998b:177; Caporal, 1982:113). Being the first university for women in Ottoman State, *İnas Darülfünunu* was affiliated to *Darülfünun* in 1921 and thus, the first co-education in the higher education level in Ottoman State<sup>61</sup> (Akyüz, 2001:241,359; Küçükcan, 2009:129; Kadioğlu, 1998:92; Sağ, 2003; Tekeli, İ., 2011; Sakaoğlu, 2003:143-144; Nohl, 2008:22; Keçeci Kurt, 2011:149).

As a result, the transformations in the Ottoman education system were shaped together with the social structure, international relationships, social labour division, mode of production, technological developments and state ideology. It should be stated here that the field of education affected these fields, as well. Accordingly, there is an interactive relationship between them (Ünal et al., 1999:44). The social

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<sup>60</sup> University is not the house of learning, but that of science. The reason was the thought of diminishing the potential reaction of the İlimiye class to the university. Science was produced at madrasas and university could only produce the science information which was secondary (Tekeli, İ., 1980:78; 2010b). For more information about *Darülfünun*, see Tekeli, İ. (2007; 2010b).

<sup>61</sup> For more information about the subject, see Özen (1999), Arslan et al. (2012).



structure of the Ottomans was diversely affected by the transformations in the world as of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, which required the state to turn to transformation within it. The understanding of training “a good Muslim” had to be replaced by the understanding of training “subjects educated but loyal to the sultan” (Tekeli, İ., 2007:46; 2010b). Its purpose with the classes “it trained” and “it created” for the social requirements is to enable the continuity of the existing system and to reproduce the system (as functionalists theory states). This descending phenomenon led to differences in the order and created big changes in the conditions of some nations and classes. The changed class structure gave birth to diverse social movements and ideologies. Hence there appeared education institutions which fulfilled the function of reproducing both the classes and ideologies. Consisting of the military-civilian, religious-secular, public-private and Muslim-non-Muslim schools, the pluralistic education system was shown as the “cause of moral crisis and anomaly” (Akşit, 1991; 198). This pluralism would go on till the establishment of the new nation-state by the new staff (bureaucratic elite or petty bourgeoisie class) trained for the continuation of the system (Nohl, 2008:21).

### **3.3. Turkish Republic**

The policies of “modernization” and “redemption” adopted by the Ottoman Empire in its last years were not enough for it to maintain its existence, but enabled the formation of staff (i.e. petty bourgeoisie class) preparing the process of nation-state. Besides, the defeats in wars and specially political movements (*nationalism*) brought by the *French Revolution* accelerated the collapse of the empire.<sup>62</sup> As a result, Ottoman Empire was replaced by the Republic of Turkey with the establishment of a new nation-state.

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<sup>62</sup> The process from the Ottoman Empire to the declaration of Turkish Republic can only be analysed in political, economic and military terms in a different thesis, so the subject has been dealt with in its outline here. For more information about the subject, see Ahmad (1993), Berkes (2006), Lewis (2002), Zürcher (2012).

A new political organization brings with it changes and innovations in a lot of fields. The reforms to be carried out for the change of institutional structures from the “past” in particular and for the foundation of a new formation are largely decided by the founder staff. Actually, this is a debate: This case open to different interpretations from cultural and economic aspects<sup>63</sup> is described by Kahraman et al. (1998) “top to bottom” and they base it on the ruling elite’s understanding of “establishing” and then “protecting and strengthening” the new nation-state (Özer, 2007:78). On the other hand, Gümüšoğlu (1998a) and Keyder (1987) interpret this case as a petty-bourgeois revolution against the Ottoman court. Therefore, building of the nation-state is “bottom to top” and an affront against the court. For example, as will be seen in detail in the next chapter, the demands for the issue of woman in the last days of the Ottomans (i.e. Ottoman Woman Movement) were institutionalized with the new nation-state and the new rulers came up with the policies for the demands.

### **3.3.1 The Building of a New Nation-State and a New Identity Period (1923-1950):**

According to Gellner (1983), it is needed to enable the unity of language and culture necessary for the creation of a nation in the process of nation building and to form the knowledge and skills necessary for the national market. In this way, the keystone of the formation of nation-state is the field of education. Common symbols and ideals will be made common in this field in which national identity and citizenship are created. Consequently, as mentioned before, the unity and association of language and culture cannot be created without education and it is impossible to talk about being a nation without education. Education as a means of similarizing and creating a single identity (Akşit et al., 2000; Topses, 1999; Caporal, 1982; Neyzi, 2001; Gümüšoğlu, 2005:13; Üstel, 2004:127) is also a field of “production” where the desired values are conveyed and identities are created/constructed. It is for this reason that education has an important function in the process of building a new nation-state from the feudal and theocratic Ottoman State (Barblan et al., 2008:29).

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<sup>63</sup> Modernization of Turkey as an issue is beyond this study. For these debates, see Keyder (1987) and Mardin (2000).

The primary purpose of education is to involve the public in this process of social transformation and to prepare it for the economic reforms in building an identity (Nohl, 2008:15). The inclusion of the people belonging to a society transformed from the multiethnic, multireligious theocratic and agrarian empire into a secular, unitary, modern and industrial nation-state (Barblan et al., 2008:29; Rankin et al., 2006:29) and expected to reach “a contemporary civilization level” (Akşit et al., 2000; Gök, 1999a; Topses, 1999; Baydar, 1999; Üstel, 2004) can only be actualized with a secular, rationalist and modern education (Tanilli, 1998:112, Caporal, 1982). Therefore, the founder staff of the republic attached much importance to education and developed policies<sup>64</sup> towards this end.

In the early years of the republic, 80% of the population of 12 million lived in the rural areas (Baydar, 1999), 3% were schooled (Sakaoğlu, 2003:167) and the rate of literacy was below 10% (Akyüz, 2001:297). In this social structure, it was necessary to increase the rate of literacy with the priority given to education and promulgate the nation-state/republic/Kemalist ideology and to instil the consciousness of citizenship. The first decade of the republic passed with the realization of policies towards these ends (Ercan, 1999:25). In this way, the public would be rebuilt for the socioeconomic and cultural reforms that would make up the super structure of the new nation-state. In other words, the one-party era would be one in which a new type of man would be trained (Akyüz, 2001:298; Sağ, 2003; Kazamias, 1966:19; Üstel, 2004) to be loyal to Atatürk’s principles, secular, industrious, respectful to the order and state (“faithful and obedient citizens” (Kaplan, 2011:392)) and would be shaped with the universal knowledge (to take part in the process of production) and national instruction and education (Lüküslü, 2009:28-29; Topses, 1999:11; Gök, 1999a:5; Ünal et al., 1999).

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<sup>64</sup> There were not only Kemalist education policies in the 1920s. On the contrary, it was possible to mention a variety of different alternatives. Alternative policies that could be brought to the agenda where the balance of powers is different can be classified as follows: Conservative-liberal policies recommended by Progressive Republican Party (*Terakkiperver Cumhuriyet Fırkası*) and liberal-solidarist policies defended by Ziya Gökalp (Başgöz, 1995:38-41) and communist-equalitarian education policies revealed by Turkish Communist Party (*Türkiye Komünist Partisi*) (Kaplan, 2011:145). For more information about the subject, see Kaplan (2011).

In other words, the educated young/people would be “the guardian of the regime” if we use Neyzi (2001)’s classification.

The earliest changes made in the field of education for the building of “new citizen” and for the unity of language and culture in the process of nation building are as follows: madrasas were abolished with the *Tevhid-i Tedrisat* (the law on unification of education)<sup>65</sup> of 3 March 1924 and thus the duality of school-madrasa was ended and education was affiliated to one centre (Ministry of National Education) (Tekeli, İ., 1980:93; 2010b; Nohl, 2008:23-4; Kaplan, 2011:159; Akşit, 2002:356; Güvenç, 1998:50; Topses, 1999:10; Akyüz, 2001:297; Mardin, 1992; Rahman, 1982; Kazamias, 1966:118; Tanilli, 1998:112; Başgöz, 1995:77; Caporal, 1982:238; Gümüšoğlu, 2005:74; Winter, 1984:185; Rutz et al., 2009:40). Thereupon, an education system based on secular and positivist science was adopted (Topses, 1999; Ünal et al., 1999; Tekeli, İ., 1980; 2010b). Thus, antidemocratic vertical education that prevented social mobility in the Ottomans was abolished and education was democratized (Baloğlu, 1990:6; Akyüz, 2001:299; Sakaoglu, 2003:169; Başaran, İ. E., 1999; Winter, 1984:186; Rankin et al., 2006:28). As considered before, in the Ottoman education system there was social mobility only among the males who could pass to madrasa or military school after the *sıbyan school*. This case was based on gender, class and regional discrimination, for which it was an anti-democratic practice reproducing inequality of educational opportunity. The new nation-state guaranteed the secular and scientific education service to all the citizens without class, gender and regional discriminations thanks to the education system based on a single curriculum (Güneş-Ayata, et al., 2005: 102) under the Constitution of 1924.<sup>66</sup> Moreover, the right for education was admitted as the human right of the first generation and it was declared in the law that the primary school should be compulsory and free of charge for all children, both male and female (Ünal et al.,

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<sup>65</sup> For more information about *Tevhid-i Tedrisat*, see MEB (1998:7).

<sup>66</sup> The original version of the article is as follows: *Article 87: Primary education is compulsory for all citizens, male and female. Primary education shall be provided free of charge in State Schools.* (<http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/anayasa/anayasa24.htm>).

1999:51; Sađ, 2003; Rankin et al., 2006:28). Because of it, Kafadar (1997: 149 cited from Üstel, 2004:128) called this period as “primary school era”.

In 1928, Latin alphabet was acknowledged. Being a reform that could be taken as an important indicator that the new republic was a state different from the Ottomans and its reference for “contemporary civilization” was the West, the alphabet reform could also be employed to constitute a common language and increase the rate of literacy (Topses, 1999:10; Akyüz, 2001:297; Balođlu, 1990:8; Verschoyle, 1950; Nohl, 2008:24; Sakaođlu, 2003:189; Tekeli, İ., 1980:6; 2010b; Caporal, 1982:321; Gümüšođlu, 2005:78; Winter, 1984:187; Hisarcıklılar et al., 2010). For the literacy campaign and training of the adults, in 1928, *the National Schools*<sup>67</sup> and a lot of new schools<sup>68</sup> were opened in Ankara (Sakaođlu, 2003:190; Gök, 1999a; Bařaran, İ. E., 1999:103; Lüküslü, 2009:28; Akyüz, 2001:411; Tanilli, 1998:113; Gümüšođlu, 2005:81). Attempts were made to increase the rate of literacy in Anatolia (Tekeli, İ., 1980:93; 2010b) and coeducation<sup>69</sup> was adopted; thus, more importance started to be attached to the training of women<sup>70</sup> (Topses, 1999:10; Akyüz, 2001:297).

It was declared in İzmir Economy Congress of 1923 that the education’s function of making up a cultural substructure should be determined by the ruling staff, that it was necessary to apply education policies according to the “national economy”

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<sup>67</sup> There were more than 300.000 students at these schools, which were later changed as evening schools (Topses, 1999:15). For more information, see Gümüšođlu (2005:82-92).

<sup>68</sup> For example, *Meslek Muallim Mektebi* (1934), *Musiki Muallim Mektebi* (1925), *Gazi Orta Öđretmen Okulu ve Eđitim Enstitüsü* (1927) (Sakaođlu, 2003:218; Tekeli, İ., 1980:94; 2010b; Aras et al., 2007:8).

<sup>69</sup> Coeducation firstly applied at the primary and higher level of education. In 1923-24 training period, there was no any secondary school for females. In 1925-26, 15 secondary schools were established for females. Coeducation in secondary level started in 1927-28. Coeducation in high school started in 1934-35 training period and in cities with one high school (Arat, 1998:64).

<sup>70</sup> The other schools opened for females were: Rural Women Mobile Courses and Night Art Schools were opened for the education of women in 1938. Gradually Practical Female Art School (first in 1928, giving training on reading and writing as well as handicrafts for 7-8 months), Advanced Technical institutes for females (first in 1945 in Ankara), and Mobile Tailoring, Home Economy, Carpet-Weaving, Horticulture, and such courses within the scope of public training were opened. And naturally, teacher-training courses were opened to train teachers for these courses (Sakaođlu, 2003:219).

development model (Topses, 1999:14) with the emphasis on the economic function of education, and that education was expected to train the qualified work force (Gök,1999a:5; Ünal et al., 1999; Başgöz, 1995:63, Gümüšoğlu, 2005:75). Thus, after the stage of preparation in the first decade, education policies towards production and work (Topses, 1999:15; Ünal et al., 1999) came into force. Therefore, in the 1930s, the Girls Institutes and the Art Institutes for males were opened to raise the work power required for the education's function of development (Başaran, İ. E., 1999; Caporal, 1982:307).

The Girls Institutes<sup>71</sup> have an important place in the history of the republic: They had an important role in the forming of new woman's identity<sup>72</sup> and in the legitimizing of the new society. Even though these schools did not receive as much interest as the others did, it stands on a more important spot on social and ideological levels in the process of transition to the western style of society. When we look at their education programs in detail, it could be said that its primary purpose is to train cultured, sophisticated, intellectual and good "housewife". In the face of the rights granted to women<sup>73</sup> such as enfranchisement woman, these institutes also reproduced the social gender roles.<sup>74</sup> The women trained in a western and modern style would start a

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<sup>71</sup> For more information, see Akşit. E.E. (2004; 2012).

<sup>72</sup> Kadioğlu (1998:96) lists the features of the republican woman as the new woman: "The new woman of the Republic was a heroine shouldering the double load of work and home. She was critical of the western woman's distinctly visible sexuality. She was a chaste and asexual comrade in arms. Above all, she was a loyal wife and mother. She was self-sacrificing, affectionate and humble. She was the partner, friend and supporter of her husband in social life. She was the embodiment of the invisible chastity and tolerance behind every successful man..." See the next chapter for more discussion.

<sup>73</sup> There are opinions that the claim that women's rights were given by Mustafa Kemal like a bolt from the blue is not right, but on the contrary it is claimed that they should be accepted as the final outcome of the woman movement that started under the Ottoman rule. For more information, see Tekeli, Ş. (1998a). In addition, see the next chapter for discussion.

<sup>74</sup> Vocational high-schools as the field of reproduction of social gender roles should also be taken into account. In 1942-43 training year, 74% of the women were reading at vocational and technical schools, while 26% of them were at secondary and high schools. Considering the gender-based distribution: the departments of nursing, child care and midwife at vocational high schools of health were attended by girls only. In addition, curriculums at the other vocational schools offered courses based on the gender roles. For example, home management, child care, tailoring, etc. for females (Arat, 1998:64). As for the reason why women preferred the vocational high schools in this period, it might be said that the uncertainties in higher education, the unequal representation of women at

modern family and the graduates would set a role model of other women (Gök, 1999a; 1999b:242-3, 248; Kırkpınar, 1998:16; Arat, 1998:64; Üstel, 2004). Accordingly, “the missionaries of Kemalism” (Gök, 1999b:248) in the delivering of Kemalist ideology to the masses were the graduates of female institutes and female teachers equipped with this ideology. In addition, teaching became a profession that required expertise in the early years of republic and many teacher training schools were opened (Topses, 1999:15). Mustafa Kemal, in particular, stated that the duty of teachers as “the members of army of learning” was to “shape the future of the nation” (Lüküslü, 2009:30) and granted the teachers important duties and roles of spreading and internalizing the state ideology.<sup>75</sup>

All the policies of the new nation-state regarding women from education to politics were ideological like its policies in other fields. The woman was an instrument for the new national identity (Berktay, 1998:4). Women became an important issue of debate in the tension between the reformist minority and religious and conservative majority taking side with the caliphate. If the women were to be rid of the religious authority and pressure, “the ideological and political power of caliphate and shariat” would be shaken (Kırkpınar, 1998:17). For example, in 1927 the engineering schools were opened to female students in this period by command of Mustafa Kemal (Narmansoy, 2010:6). By the way, in 1927, 350 males and firstly 2 females (Sabiha Rıfat Gürayman, who was employed for the building of the bridge in Beypazarı, Ankara called “Girl Bridge” and *Anıtkabir*, and Melek Ertuğ) were enrolled in School of Certified Engineer (*Yüksek Mühendis Mektebi*) (Narmansoy, 2010:5;

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higher education institutions, the public’s view of the higher education and the place of women in the society were influential on this preference.

<sup>75</sup> The event may be put in concrete terms here by giving an example from a real life story: Born in İstanbul in 1901, Sıdıka Avar as the daughter of a municipal officer. Graduating from Çapa Female Teacher Schools, she started to work as a teacher in Anatolia to train and educate the girls. She herself states that she was sent to the East as a “Turkish missionary” by Mustafa Kemal (Avar, 2013:11-12). She recounts the ideology of the period in training the girls in particular as follows:

A man with a bushy moustache asks:

-“Why on earth will the government educate our girls? For what?”

- “It will train knowledgeable and skilful wives for you, who knows everything, raises her children well, knows how to look after patients and how to sew clothes for the home folks.” (Avar, 2013: 169).

Karaca, 2012: 322). Therefore, it is necessary to assess the republic's approach to the male-female equality and all its efforts from this aspect. The state placed the emphasis on equal citizenship and social gender equality, trying to prove that it had broken away from the Ottoman system. However, the understanding of social gender equality was confined to the public sphere (possible with the "sexlessness" of woman (Berktaş, 1998:3)) according to Güneş-Ayata et al. (2005: 102), which shows that this understanding was just symbolic. Moreover, the graduates who could take place in the public sphere had "roles as wives and mothers", and these roles of theirs were stressed. The daughters of Kemalist, educated, urbanized, bureaucrat and reformist families were expected to be "chaste" in the public sphere though well-educated, whereas they were the first to be affected by the social rights and policies thanks to their fathers' support (Berktaş, 1998:4; Gök, 1999b:241). Thus, the urbanized women who were caught between the traditional and modern values tried to exist within the new nation system still patriarchal (Lüküslü, 2009:36; Berktaş, 1998:5; Arat, 1998:68). The women in the rural area were kept out of this process for long. They were not offered the facilities granted to the urban women; they were expected to be productive and give birth to many children. As for the facility of education, they were granted the right to attend the primary school which was compulsory (Gök, 1999b:242; Kadioğlu, 1998:97; Atasoy, 2009).

As will be considered in the next chapter in detail, women's existence in field of education along with the republic may be read as an important breaking point from the aspect of male-female equality and human rights. It became a significant step in that women rid themselves of their traditional roles in the social life and got a promotion and gradually took their place in the social life, as well (Sakaoğlu, 2003:182; Kırkpınar, 1998:16). However, socio-economic level, region and ideological differences prevented these transformations from reaching each section of the society and from coming true.

In the process of building the nation-state, some policies began to be put into force towards the problem of gender inequality in education as well as the policies designed to eliminate the urban-rural inequality (Neyzi, 2001) and enable the cultural



integration.<sup>76</sup> In addition, a strategy was followed to “educate the peasant and give him work and profession” by taking into account the existing agricultural economy (Topses, 1999:11). Besides *the National Schools* opened, *Community Centres*<sup>77</sup> were opened in 1932 as mass education institutions, and *Village Institutions* were opened in 1940 (Sakaoğlu, 2003:15,195, 236; Topses, 1999:16; Akyüz, 2001:354; Kaplan, 2011:182; Tekeli, İ., 1980:94; 2010b; Kadioğlu, 2005; Atasoy, 2009:68; Kazamias, 1966:124; Tanilli,1998:113; Başgöz, 1995:198; Caporal, 1982:275; Toksoy, 2007).

It would not be an exaggeration to say that Village Institutions<sup>78</sup>, which were intended to enable the economic and social transformation in the rural parts, were an authentic and important example in the world (Gök, 1999a:5). It could be said that military and civil bureaucrats and petty-bourgeoisie intellectuals were influential in the opening of these institutes delivering a scientific and secular education together with the republican ideology (Akşit et al., 2000; Akşit, 1986; Akşit, 1991; Tanilli, 1994; Verschoyle, 1950; Türkoğlu, 1999; Keyder, 2011). One of the founders of the village institutes, İsmail Hakkı Tonguç states the basic function of the institutes as follows:

The villager should be so inspired and made aware and conscious that no single power could abuse them mercilessly just for its own benefit. The dwellers of the village should not be treated like a slave and servant. They should not turn into a labouring animal working without any awareness and fee paid to them (Tonguç, 1947:85 cited in Topses, 1999:18).

As seen, these schools were challenging to the feudal system and were opened with the aim of raising the awareness of villagers and developing the village from inside. Furthermore, the villagers, unlike in the Ottoman period, were granted the right to have a job in the rural area and get a chance for upward mobility (Tezcan, 1999:176).

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<sup>76</sup> 80% of the population consisted of the poor and uneducated people living in the rural lands, so one of the basic purposes of this period was to raise the “civilized level” of this mass (Baydar, 1999).

<sup>77</sup> For more information, see Toksoy (2007).

<sup>78</sup> For more information, see Tonguç (1947), Aydoğan (2006), Torun (2006), Türkoğlu (1997), Ilgaz (1999), Başaran, M. (1999), Baykurt (1998), Başgöz (1995), Gümüšoğlu (2005:92-109).

Another difference between the new nation's education system and that of the Ottomans is in the field of higher education. The only university of Ottomans in İstanbul was inadequate for the new nation-state and thereupon, new colleges started to be opened in Ankara in particular (Tekeli, İ., 1980:94; 2010b). For example, the colleges opened in Ankara were as follows: Military College in 1923, School of Law in 1925, Female Technical Teacher-Training School in 1934, and Female Technical Teacher-Training School in 1937. In addition, Faculty of Language and History-Geography (DTCF), which would later form the substructure of Ankara University, was opened in 1935, Ankara Faculty of Law in 1941, Ankara Faculty of Science in 1943, Ankara Faculty of Medicine in 1945 (Başaran, İ. E., 1999:107; Özen, 1999; Tekeli, İ., 1980:98; 2010a:77; 2010b; Topses, 1999:19; Küçükcan, 2009:130; Sakaoğlu, 2003:220). Also, the foundations of Ankara and İstanbul Universities<sup>79</sup> were laid in this period with the support of foreign experts<sup>80</sup> on one hand while the only university remaining from the Ottomans was revised, only to be opened as the first university of the republic in 1933 under the name of İstanbul University<sup>81</sup> (Akyüz, 2001:326; Barblan et al., 2008:30; Şenses, 2007; Topses, 1999:19;

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<sup>79</sup> School of Certified Engineer was converted into İstanbul Technical University in 1944, and the faculties in Ankara were united into Ankara University in 1946 (Tekeli, İ., 1980:99; 2010b; Barblan et al., 2008:31; Gök,1999a:6). In addition, there were 4.000 women and 22.400 men at 20 institutions existing as university and college in 1949 (DİE 1975 cited in Sakaoğlu, 2003:254).

<sup>80</sup> In this period, foreign experts' views were also used. With their evaluation reports, the education field was shaped. For example, John Dewey (USA) in 1924, Kühne (Germany) in 1925, Omar Buyse (Belgium) in 1927, Albert Malche (Switzerland) in 1932, and J. Parker (USA) in 1933. For the reports and views of these experts, see Akyüz (2001), Akkutay (1996), Başgöz (1995), Caporal (1982).

<sup>81</sup> The university under the name of Darülfünun-ı Osmanî was restructured under the name of İstanbul Darülfünunu in 1924. In this period, the report by A. Malche who controlled it is the beginning of university reform (MEB, 1998:25; Aras et al., 2007:8; Güvenç, 2009:25; YÖK, 2005:21). For the full report, see Aras, et al. (2007). Also, for the modern Turkish version of the text, see Ataünal (1993).

Opened and closed five times for its avant-garde structure under the Ottomans, Darülfünun was closed in 1933 as it lagged behind the republican ideology in the first decade of the Republic, and reopened to produce knowledge and manpower capable of being a statesman (Kaplan, 2011:180; Sağ, 2003; Özen, 1999; Başaran, İ. E., 1999; Günay et al., 2011; Gür et al., 2011:11; Tekeli, İ., 1980:96; 2010a:75; 2010b; Akşit, 2002:357; Ataünal, 1993:x, 25; Berkem et al., 2007; Özer, 2007:79; Sağın, 2011).

Küçükcan, 2009:130; Sakaoğlu, 2003:219; Tekeli, İ., 1980:96; 2010b; Aras et al., 2007:9; YÖK, 2005:21).<sup>82</sup>

The new education institutions opened outside of İstanbul and especially in Ankara bear symbolic meaning and significance in that İstanbul ceased to be the centre of administration and education and that the new nation-state had its legitimacy. So much so that İstanbul's central position in field of education meant indeed that education facilities were only available to certain groups/classes. Consequently, the education campaign that started in Ankara and spread to Anatolia is important in terms of the change in the classes to which education was given. An educational reform was realized with the transition from the few elite and religious education institutions to the classroom system for many people (blackboard and teacher-student relationship) (Tekeli, İ., 1980:6; 2010b).

Whereas the development of universities in the west was a slow and centuries-old process, a different process was experienced in Turkey with the inheritance from the Ottomans and the establishment of a new state. In the world, universities undertook the function of establishing the nation-state and raising the labour force of the modern economies, whereas in Turkey the case was somewhat different: Even though the graduates of the university had prepared the building of the nation-state, this institutional structure failed to meet the needs and expectations of the age for the new nation-state. The mission granted to the education in this period was to raise the citizenship awareness of the public in the system passing from the theocratic empire to the secular nation-state (from ummah to citizen); to shape them with the Kemalist ideology, secularism and nationalism (“political indoctrination” (Kaplan, 2011: 392)); and to produce the knowledge and work force necessary for the economic and social development of the country especially through the university (Barblan et al., 2008:20; Topses, 1999; Gök, 1999b; Ünal et al., 1999; Akşit, 2002:358).

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<sup>82</sup> For the universities that were opened in chronological order, see Appendix B, Table B.1.

In the universities of the new state whose primary purpose was to reach the level of “contemporary civilization”, foreign scholars brought from abroad or the local scholars trained abroad started to work.<sup>83</sup> The higher-education institutions newly opened in this period would both contribute to the training of the upper-rank administrators, bureaucrats and professionals that would play an important role in the republican history, and prove influential on the social changes that would span long years.

While Turkey was trying to achieve a national and institutional structure, World War II broke out.<sup>84</sup> Turkish education system was also influenced by the nationalist movement of these years, and so the slogan of the era became “nationalist education” (Topses, 1999:20). In addition, the problem of development was observed with this war, and as a result the fact that the most valuable source is man and education is necessary for the rearing of man was faced, and then a new organization was arranged (Özer, 2007:79). Parallel to the balances changing in the post-war period, a transition was observed from one-party era to multi-party era, and attempts were made to adapt to the new political order in the world (Kaplan, 2011:199; Ataüinal, 1993:26). In short, World War II brought to notice the dissemination of the industry (capitalism by the hand of the state) and education, reforms, nationalism and democratization (passage to the multi-party system) ideologies (Akşit, 2002:358; Özer, 2007:80).

Getting rid of the economic, political and cultural effect of Europe in the aftermath of the war, Turkey came under the effect of the USA (Akyüz, 2001:298). Truman doctrines, Marshall aids, etc. (Keyder, 1987; Gündüz-Hoşgör, 1996:100) are both the most obvious indicators and the cause of these effects. The reflection of these on the

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<sup>83</sup> The training staff of the universities consisted of the old teachers of Darülfünun, foreign professors and young men educated in Europe in the republican years. Especially Hitler fascism made it easy for German professors to come to Turkey and work at a lot of universities (Tekeli, İ., 1980:97; 2010:76; Berkem et al., 2007; Topses, 1999:19).

<sup>84</sup> For more information about this period and the political, economic and ideological effects of war on Turkey, see Ahmad (1993), Lewis (2002), Torun (2006), Akşin (2008).

education policies may be embodied in the opening of various colleges and universities in the 1950s (Topses, 1999:20).

### **3.3.2. Variety and Turmoil period (1950-1980):**

In the early years of the republic, a variety of schools were opened and disseminated for the process of creating a new nation-state ideology and identity. The compulsory education achieved political and cultural instillation in the new generations. However, World War II and transition to the multi-party system led to a different era (Gök, 1999a:6; Ünal et al., 1999; Rankin et la., 2006:28). The education institutions created the bourgeois and man power necessary to join the capitalist system in the world, raised new bureaucrats and administrators, and also increased the rate of primary-school education and literacy<sup>85</sup> in a successful manner (Varış,1974), thus getting ready for the transformation in this new era and serving for the social needs. However, it should not be forgotten that the field of education is that of political and economic actors. In other words, as education is part of a political and economic project, it is affected most of all by the change in political power (Akşit et al., 2000). For the political powers, a big role falls to education both to legalize itself and to meet the social demands (more directed to its voter). Therefore, it is of necessity to look at the multi-party era from this perspective.

The global transformation in the aftermath of World War II and its effect would profoundly affect Turkey, which was a new nation-state, both in economic and political and cultural senses. Emerging from this process as a “super power”, the USA would impose its effect on Turkey and enter into a new process of relationships with Turkey by means of the economic agreements signed between two states.<sup>86</sup> This

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<sup>85</sup> For example, the rate of literacy was 20.4% in 1935, 30.24% in 1945, and 34.6% in 1950 (DİE, 1975 cited in Sakaoğlu, 2003:254).

<sup>86</sup> The aggressive attitudes of the USSR towards Turkey made it easy for the USA to get closer to the USA. In the cold war years, however, Turkey was intended as a buffer zone against the Soviets and became an ally of the USA through Truman doctrines and Marshall aids. Turkey also became a member of NATO after Turkish support in the Korean war, which would strengthen the relationships with the USA (Ahmad, 1993; Akşin, 2008; Torun, 2006:222-239; Kahraman, 2010). In addition, for the sake of pleasing America by expressing antagonism to Soviets and communism

effect would thus have a role in the partial remise of the principle of etatist economy and transition to the multi-party system (Kahraman, 2010:194; Barblan et al., 2008:33). Moreover, Turkey's membership into the IMF in 1947 would lead to a tendency from the etatist model towards the liberal economy. After the transition period, economic problems<sup>87</sup> and political democratization attempts between 1946 and 1950, Democrat Party (DP) came to power in 1950 with Turkey entering a new period (Winter, 1984:187). During its ten-year power, it attempted to reach its target of being "Small America" through the liberal economic policies (Ahmad, 1993).

This transformation from the controlling and interventionist etatist understanding to the liberal economy brought with it a class and ideological transformation.<sup>88</sup> The middle-upper class consisting of the soldiers, bureaucrats and state officials ever since the Ottomans started to experience a fall in their incomes and rates of representation in the 1950s. Those engaged in trade then and the lawyers began to be professions tending to be on the increase in terms of importance. In other words, the bureaucrats and officials who were the political and economic elites of the society by then lost prestige and respect with the empowerment of Democrat Party in 1950.

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in the following years, some scholars from the universities (Boratav, Berkes, Boran, etc.) were recommended (Berkes, 1997:397-481; Torun, 2006:261; Tekeli, İ., 1980:100; Keyder, 1987).

<sup>87</sup> Having remained impartial in World War II, Turkey was left in difficulty in terms of both economic and political loneliness. The government received reactions and criticism due to the stern financial practices in the war years (National Protection, Capital Tax and Laws on Soil Products tax) and heavy taxes. With the Land Reform in 1945, the aim was to provide lands to the villagers without their own lands and to weaken the landowners politically and economically, thus strengthening the state. However, some dissenting voices were heard from among these people who were in an economically difficult situation. These dissenting voices came together under the title of Democrat Party, led by Adnan Menderes, Fuat Köprülü, Refik Koraltan and Celal Bayar (Ahmad, 1993).

<sup>88</sup> The religion and secularism have collided as two different ideologies that have affected and determined the political, cultural, legal and social fields ever since 1945, which in turn created the groups and institutions that tried to protect themselves from the modernist effects by defending the religious ideology on one hand and the groups and institutions that tried to behave in accordance with the secular ideology on the other. At this point, the identity of "citizenship" in the early years of the Republic began to be questioned and the understanding of a new man and a new life were born. In addition, the clashed between religion and secularism still go on in social, political and cultural spheres (Akşit et al., 2000; Akyüz, 2001:298; Sakaoğlu, 2003:153). Throughout the whole process, the religion has been used to stand against the movements of socialism and democracy (Kaplan, 2011:391).

The difference in the grassroots of the Democrat Party and Justice Party (largely peasants, businessmen and professional groups) (Keyder, 1987; Neyzi, 2001) created a new road map in the social change together with the liberal policies (Lüküslü, 2009:54). While CHP was an “urban party” or “etatist-elitist front” that was supported by the elitist intellectuals, DP was a populist “rural party” or “traditional-liberal front”<sup>89</sup> (Ahmad, 1993:234; Kongar, 2004:321). In addition, DP accelerated the passage from the etatist economy to the capitalist-liberal economy with its economic policies (Ahmad, 1993:35).

In this period, some education institutions in the early years of the republic underwent some change, depending on the political and economic ideology of the party, social transformation and international relationships. In accordance with the traditional/conservative and liberal discourse of DP, the bourgeois of industry and merchants gained strength, so *the Community Centres* were united in 1952 and *Village Institutes* in 1954 with primary-school teacher schools and closed.<sup>90</sup> Besides, *religious high schools* (i.e. imam hatip schools)<sup>91</sup> which had been ordered to be closed in 1930 (Tanilli, 1994:79) were reopened in 1951 (Akşit, 1986; 1991; Akşit et al., 2000; Sakaoğlu, 2003:197, 259, 262; Gök,1999a:6; Tekeli, İ., 1980:100-1; 2010b; Winter, 1984:188). Moreover, privileged private and formal colleges in

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<sup>89</sup> While its traditional side stands for the villagers, its liberal side stands for the capital owners including the merchants, artisans and landlords who have been damaged for years by the etatist economy and CHP’s practices. While it manipulates the villager through its religious dimensions on one hand, it protects the big capital owners from the soil reforms. In other words, it takes side with the big capital owners against the villager (Kahraman, 2010:188).

<sup>90</sup> See <http://www.resmigazete.gov.tr/arsiv/8625.pdf>

A graduate of the village institute, Mustafa Aydoğan (2006) attributes the closure of these institutes to various reasons such as benefiting from the social, educational, economic and political negative conditions and orientation through defamation and slander. For more information, see Aydoğan (2006), Torun (2006), Türkoğlu (1997), Ilgaz (1999), Başaran, M. (1999).

In addition, with the conversion of the primary teacher’s training schools into teacher’s training colleges and the opening of two-year training institutes, the tradition of village institutes and primary teacher’s training schools is totally abolished. For more information, see [http://www.koyenstitulerivakfi.org.tr/FileUpload/ds12596/File/ko%C2%A6%C3%AAyenstitu%C2%A6%C3%AAleri\\_64-144.pdf](http://www.koyenstitulerivakfi.org.tr/FileUpload/ds12596/File/ko%C2%A6%C3%AAyenstitu%C2%A6%C3%AAleri_64-144.pdf)

<sup>91</sup> For more information see Bulut (2012).

language education<sup>92</sup> (i.e. Science High-Schools, Ankara Deneme High-School, Robert College, etc) were opened in this period and disseminated. These schools were symbolic of the American effect (training language was English) and the liberal policies in the field of education (i.e. private schools) (Tekeli, İ., 1980:100-1; 2010b; Topses, 1999: 20, 22; Barblan et al., 2008:36; Sakaoğlu, 2003:267).

In addition to these institutional formations, some big transformations<sup>93</sup> related to each other in social context began to be seen after 1950; post-war economic problems, relationships with the foreign countries, development of the market economy, industrialization movements<sup>94</sup> and the fall in the rate of deaths and rapid population growth concomitant with the developments in the field of health, the advancements in communication and intelligence rapid mechanization in agriculture, improved road transportation and the ensuing migration from the rural to the urban and urbanization<sup>95</sup> (Tekeli, İ., 1980:100-1; 2010b; Gök, 1999a:6). All this social transformation led to political, economic, cultural changes as well as the alterations in education system.

In Turkey, which was trying to join the world system in the 1950s, migration from the rural to the urban was affected by “mechanization and modernization in agriculture, change in the regime of traditional land possession, deflocculating or a

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<sup>92</sup> They took the name of Anatolian High-School in 1975 (Akyüz, 2001:324).

<sup>93</sup> These cases are each comprehensive enough to be a topic of thesis, so they are touched briefly in the scope of education field as they are beyond this thesis.

<sup>94</sup> The industrialization movements in the years between 1960 and 1980 cannot keep pace with the speed of urbanization. That is, industrialization and urbanization were not equally fast, so the problem of limited employment led to hat of unemployment. It was in this period that these young and unemployed people left for abroad to find a job as a worker there (Lüküslü, 2009:53; Güvenç, 2009: 20, 65). In addition, another social reality of the period was the emergence of “shanty houses” (i.e. *gecekondu*) due to the lack of accommodation facilities then. Therefore, most of the cities started to create shanty houses and slums as well as a big number of people working at “secondary economic sectors” (İçduygu et al., 1999:252; Keyder, 1987).

<sup>95</sup> Urbanization is not a simple fact of change of location. This process goes beyond the population’s migration from the rural to the urban, and brings with it a lot of “striking changes” on economic, political, cultural and social levels. It is not a process without problems, and the solutions occur either on their own motion or through formal means. It has been experienced in Turkey for more than half a century, and the statistics give important clues about this process of transformation (Işık et al., 2005:95).



limited number of people possessing the lands, developments in the transportation facilities” (İçduygu et al., 1999:251). At this point, other factors that enhanced the lure of the city centres might be said to be the rapid population growth in the 1950s and 60s, low productivity in agriculture, increased unemployment in the country and inadequate education facilities. While 19% of the population lived in the city in the 1950s, this rate rose to 36% in 1970 and to 56% in 1990.<sup>96</sup> The domestic migration in the 1950s could be accounted for by the effect of the transformation in the rural lands, namely the “pushing factors”, it could be explained by the “attraction” of the urban transformation from the late 1960s to the early 1980s (İçduygu et al., 1999:250-1). This migration from the rural to the urban sites lays bare the importance of education from the aspect of social mobility, as well. Akşit et al. (2000:58) make such an account of the case as follows:

The population most of whom lived in the rural areas thronged into cities, which the educated ones to undertake more complex functions in the learning, internalizing and transforming of new symbols and values concerning the city and modern life as well as in the building of a social hierarchy (Akşit et al. 2000:58).

In this way, social and educational transformations in Turkey in the post-1950 periods indicate that education should be assessed not only for its function of production but also for social mobility and stratification. In addition, the understanding of this period is very important for a better understanding of the present day of our country.

While the events in this period affected each other, they also triggered the changes in the field of education. For example, individual demands for education increased with the urbanization, but education remained insufficient. The private and public schools opened in many places of Anatolia served to meet these demands (Peker, 1999:296; Sakaoğlu, 2003:153; Güvenç, 2009:20, 64; Varış, 1974; Özen, 1999; Baydar, 1999). These new institutions, especially public schools, went away from offering education

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<sup>96</sup> According to the statistics of migration, the exact domestic migration from the rural to the urban is 214.000 between 1945 and 1950; 904.000 between 1950 and 1955; 1.939.000 between 1965 and 1970; 1.692.000 between 1975 and 1980; and 2.582.000 between 1980 and 1985 (DİE, 1995:46).

of quality and they were only content with closing an institutional deficit. Güvenç (1998:65) explains this case as follows: “In ruralising environment, decreasing school hours and substitute teachers, the quality of education rapidly deteriorated.” This case caused the middle-upper class to turn to new private schools. As of the 1960s, tendency towards the private schools and colleges will accelerate with the desire to become “elite minority” (Sakaoğlu, 2003:270). Variety/difference at schools reflected the difference in class structure and deepened the class conflicts more and more. Moreover, equality of opportunity at secondary education began to disappear under the effect of the regional development conditions and families’ socio-economic structure (Sakaoğlu, 2003:269; Tomul, 2007).

The increase and proliferation in the level of secondary education in return for social demand would later lead to crowds waiting at the doors of universities and increased demand for higher education because of social prestige and the chance of finding a job easily in the following years (Tekeli, İ., 2011:8). Only the universities and colleges in Ankara and İstanbul failed to meet this social demand. Therefore, universities were opened in many cities to eliminate the inequality between the regions and to meet the social demand.<sup>97</sup> Black Sea Technical University in Trabzon, Ege University in Izmir, Atatürk University in Erzurum and Middle East Technical University (METU) in Ankara. These universities are different from the previous ones in that they are within a campus, they adopt the American tradition and they include departments towards the new fields (city planning, work management, etc.) which emerged with the social developments (Tekeli, İ., 1980:101; 2010a:78; 2010b; Akşit, 2002:359; Aras et al., 2007:11; Sakaoğlu, 2003:270; Başaran, İ. E., 1999:107; Ataüinal, 1993:72; Akyüz, 2001:328-9; Doğramacı, 1989:1; Sağ, 2003; Küçükcan, 2009:131; Gök,1999a:6; Barblan et al., 2008:33; YÖK, 2005:22).

While these developments were under way in the field of education, DP government was overthrown with the military intervention of 27 May 1960 (Admad, 1993; Aydın et al., 2014). Then a new Constitution was put into force, ending with new

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<sup>97</sup> The universities that were opened in chronological order are given in Table 1.

regulations in every field. The Constitution of 1961 declared that education should be autonomous (especially for universities<sup>98</sup>), should accord with the understanding of the secular and social state and took it under state guarantee with the 50<sup>th</sup> Article.<sup>99</sup> Also the 129<sup>th</sup> Article initiated the planned development era as it stated that economic, social and cultural development would be based on a plan in order to industrialize rapidly on the basis of import substitution model (Ahmad, 1993). Therefore, State Planning Organization (DPT) was opened. The plans which reported the five-year developmental targets drew the route of education and were based on the economic targets of the country (i.e. new work force demands). In the plans which were first prepared in 1963, education takes place under these titles, respectively<sup>100</sup>: In the 1<sup>st</sup> Five-Year Plan, “Manpower, Employment, Education, Research”; in the 2<sup>nd</sup> Five-Year Plan, “Element of Man in Economic Development”; in the 3<sup>rd</sup> Five-Year Plan, “Education and Culture”; in the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> Five-Year Plan, “Education”; in the 6<sup>th</sup> Five-Year Plan, “Human Resources”; in the 7<sup>th</sup> Five-Year Plan, “Development of Human Resources” (Ünal et al., 1999:53-5; Tanrıku, 2009:82-84; Gözübüyük Tamer, 2013:72-79).

In this period, education’s function of meeting the need for manpower is stressed, but the existing universities (8 universities opened in 1967, including Hacettepe University) remained incapable of meeting the social demand and economic targets.

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<sup>98</sup> It had been brought to the agenda with the redundancy of 147 scholars and the return of their rights later (Tekeli, İ., 1980:102; Gök, 1999a:6; Özer, 2007:81). Furthermore, the universities were characterized by the widespread politicization of youth who were increasingly divided into the two opposed camps of “rightists” and “leftists” (Neyzi, 2001).

<sup>99</sup> The original version of the article is as follows: *Article 50: One of the foremost duties of the state is to provide for the educational needs of the people. Primary education is compulsory for all citizens, male and female, and shall be provided free of charge in State Schools. To assure that capable and deserving students in need of financial support may attain the highest level of learning consistent with their abilities, the State shall assist them through scholarships and other means. The State shall take the necessary measures conducive to making useful citizens of those who need special training on account of their physical and mental incapacity. The State shall provide for the preservation of works and monuments of historical and cultural value.* (in Turkish <http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/anayasa/anayasa61.htm>, in English <http://www.anayasa.gen.tr/1961constitution-text.pdf>)

<sup>100</sup> See MEB 2010:205 for education in development plans. Also see for all the development plans: <http://www.kalkinma.gov.tr/PortalDesign/PortalControls/WebIcerikGosterim.aspx?Enc=83D5A6FF03C7B4FC3712B3AA8761DC70455EDD505C91856E7FE60BFD028C293D>

Therefore, Academies of Economic and Commercial Sciences and Academies of Architecture and Engineering were opened in many cities<sup>101</sup> (Tekeli, İ., 1980:102; 2009:60; 2010a:79; 2010b; Akşit, 2002:360; Güvenç, 2009:20-1; Barblan et al., 2008:38; Akyüz, 2001:298; Kaplan, 2011:263; Gök, 1999a:6; Topses, 1999:21; Küçükcan, 2009:134). The purpose was to create an alternative to the university and to diminish the demand/conglomeration (Başaran, İ. E., 1999:107; Ataunal, 1993:72; Sağ, 2003). Because of the economic development, the increased share of the private sector in the field and the public's desire for the upward mobility was evaluated as academic alternative, academies were evaluated as alternatives. In addition to academies, the private colleges that would sharpen the class and regional inequalities (Özen, 1999; Ünal et al., 1999:39) began to increase in number with the Private Schools Law (1965)<sup>102</sup> in response to the unfulfilled demand for higher education (Tekeli, İ., 2011:8). The evening education and night schools were opened and they offered education ranging from engineering to pharmacy (Barblan et al., 2008:39-40). In this period, university quotas did not increase and so there was an increasing demand for private schools (Tekeli, İ., 1980:103; 2010b). Consequently, the inequalities began to deepen with the education opportunities offered to different social sections with these policies (Ünal et al., 1999:39).

The general tendency was towards becoming a white-collar worker/professional such as lawyer, engineer and health staff while the industry and economy had a higher need for technical and vocational school graduates (Güvenç, 1998:72-3). The professions with social prestige and high salary were preferred, but there was a limited number of "lucky minority" who passed the university exam and there appeared large crowds waiting (Özer, 2007:80; Topses, 1999:21). For example, the rate of those who entered the university to the high-school graduates was 64.5% in

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<sup>101</sup> Colleges of Economic Commercial Sciences in İstanbul, Ankara, İzmir and Eskişehir were converted into academies in 1959 under the law numbered 7334. Academies of Architecture and Engineering were opened in Ankara, İstanbul, İzmir, Zonguldak, Adana, Edirne, Eskişehir, Konya and Sakarya in 1969 under the law numbered 1184. After 1980, they were formed as faculties under a university (Tekeli, İ., 1980:101-2).

<sup>102</sup> The law for private schools was abolished in 1971 (Tekeli, İ., 1980:103; 2010b).

1966-67 training year, while it was 37.1% in 1975-76, and 14.3% in 1978-79 (Tekeli, İ., 2009:58; 2010b). In spite of many universities opened, the reason for the decline in this rate was the increase in the number of high-school graduates and the limited capacity of universities despite the demand for university.

In the 1970s, the demand for higher education was increasing rapidly and new academies as well as universities began to be opened: Boğaziçi, Diyarbakır, Çukurova, Anadolu, İnönü, Republic, Fırat, Samsun, Uludağ, Selçuk, 19 Mayıs, Erciyes universities (Başaran, İ. E., 1999:108; Akyüz, 2001:331; Barblan et al., 2008:39,42; Sağ, 2003; Küçükcan, 2009:132; Ataüinal, 1993:146; Tekeli, İ., 1980:105; 2010a:82; 2010b; Akşit, 2002:360; YÖK, 2005:22).

The conglomerations and limited quota caused new practices at universities<sup>103</sup>: Initially, any student that passed the State Maturity Exam (1936-1954) and State High-School Exam (1955-1968) won the right to enter the university, while the universities like ITU and İstanbul University Medical Faculty began to admit students through making their own exams. As the number of the students who wanted to enter the university increased, only the ones who graduated from the high-school with the “highest” degree were allowed to enter the university. Afterwards, each university began to choose students with their exams (Lüküslü, 2009:62). For example the schools such as ITU and Ankara University Faculty of Political Science (SBF)<sup>104</sup> required a high score for application, so they applied their selection exam. METU and DTCF were added to these two after 1960, and the number of schools which gave their own exams increased rapidly. The selection exam was attended by

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<sup>103</sup> For detailed information about the exam system, see <http://www.osym.gov.tr/belge/1-2706/osym---tarihsel-gelisme.html>; Tanrikulu (2009:94)

<sup>104</sup> One of the previous deans of SBF, Cevat Geray tells the selection exam applied and the debates around the passage to the central exam: “We witnessed that there was no influential contact in these exams. [...] Exams were being given in six courses in six days. The papers were evaluated without the part of the name being opened, and being scored in that way. All the faculty personnel, including the research assistants, assistant and associate professors and full professors, were there while the exam papers were being opened. The results were being recorded in a controlled manner. The winners were being declared towards the midnight. I myself saw that exams were being evaluated with no trick and contact, and in favour of no one. It was a design that would allow equal chances for the rural candidates and even those from the villages” (Uysal, 2013:84).

32.000 students in 1963-64 year, by 100.000 in 1971-72 and by 320.000 in 1976-77(Tekeli, İ., 1980:103; 2010b). These figures notably show the demand and conglomeration in higher education in this period.

The increased applications to university made it difficult to choose students through a classical exam, and multiple-choice test began to be used for this purpose. However, the candidates sat in for the exams of many other universities. Therefore, student's selection was made with a central exam conducted first by Ankara University (1964-1966) and by İstanbul University (1966-1973). However, upon the exam questions being stolen in 1973, a new application was employed: In 1974, Centre of Interuniversity Selection and Placement was founded<sup>105</sup> and a central application was started for entrance into universities (Lüküslü, 2009:62; Tekeli, İ., 1980:103; 2010b; Gür et al., 2009:29; Uysal, 2013:84-85; Birlir, 2012:140, Duman, 1984).

The system of central exam would both enable the selection of the students who were successful and promising and decrease this heterogeneous distribution and inequality between the regions and universities, thus making a “fairer” placement. This is because there were important differences in the profiles of the university students and even faculty students before the central exam. For example, in 1957-58 training year, of the students at Bogazici University<sup>106</sup>, 20% described themselves as non-Muslim, 37% as belonging to upper socio-economic class, 61% as belonging to the middle class and 24% as belonging to the working class. The distribution of their fathers according to their professions was as follows: 6% were farmers; 23% were officials, soldiers and bureaucrats; 37% were engaged in trade; and 26% were occupied in professional jobs. On the other hand, 3% of the students at Faculty of Political Sciences in Ankara University described themselves 3% as non-Muslim, 8%

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<sup>105</sup> For the detailed information about purposes of its foundation, see <http://www.osym.gov.tr/belge/1-2705/osym---kurulus.html>

<sup>106</sup> The name was Robert College in that period and education language was English. In 1971, the name was changed as Boğaziçi University (Tekeli, İ., 1980:104; 2010a:82; 2010b; Akşit, 2002:360; Barblan et al., 2008:39).

as belonging to upper socio-economic class, 80% as belonging to the middle class, 9% as belonging to the working class and 3% as belonging to the lower socio-economic class. The fathers of 49% of these students were officials, soldiers and bureaucrats, 11% were farmers, 23% were engaged in trade and 8% were occupied in professional jobs (Hyman et al., 1958:277-278). As can be seen, striking is the difference and imbalance in the profiles of students of the universities mentioned above. The central exam was intended to overcome this situation and enable a more balanced distribution. However, Tekeli, İ. (1980:109) claims that the university selection exam is an instrument that produces the existing class and regional inequality.

As the new universities, academies and colleges went on failing to meet the demand for university, depending on the increase domestic migration, urbanization, population increase and economic policies, solutions began to be looked for with new practices and institutions. "Education via letters" in 1974-75 was one of these solutions. This practice lasted 15 months and was legalized in 1975 as YAYKUR (Higher Education Loans and Dormitories Institution). In 1983-84, however, YAYKUR was cancelled in 1983-84 and affiliated to Anadolu University Open Education Faculty. The courses were offered through the programs on TV. Thus, a larger mass/young population found the chance for higher education (Özkul, 2009; Tekeli, İ., 1980:105; 2010a:83; 2010b; Barblan et al., 2008:44, 49; Gür et al., 2011:14; Ataünal, 1993:147; YÖK, 2005:22). This case increased the number of university students especially after 1980 and caused the "massification" of the university. So much so that especially in low-income countries, remote education is a cheaper alternative for access to the higher education because massification does not come true with physical campuses (Önal, 2012:129). In other words, open education is a cheap solution created by the state to meet the young population's demand for university.

It is seen that university was massified in this period but the massification of the university does not mean gender equality. Considering the distribution of gender in

the 1980s<sup>107</sup>, female students are fewer than male students at university. However, considering quantitative studies Lüküslü (2009:61) argues that female students come from higher social classes than males do. Accordingly, the economic and cultural capital of the family is an important variable in the female students' utilization of higher education. For example, 52% of the women above six years old did not know to read and write according to the census in 1975, and the rate of those who attended the secondary school was 7%; higher education was luxury for the women. Only 0.05% of the women were graduates of college. While there were certain classes and segments benefiting from the limited education facilities, this case played a deterministic role in the women's access to education (Kırkpınar, 1998:26-27). According to the statistics of 1976, 71,7 % of the students who applied to the higher education were males and 28,3% were females. The students were coming from the families of officials, soldiers and bureaucrats. Starting with Bourdieu et al.'s concepts "grantees" and "inheritors"<sup>108</sup> (1979), we can describe the university students of the period largely as inheritors. In other words, students who had educated parents with professional occupation were more than those who had low or illiterate parents.

The relative increase in the female students' entrance into universities after 1970 cannot be ignored. This case is reflected into the distribution of professions: While the rate of female lawyers was 10% until the 1960s (Öncü, 1981:255), this figure rose to 28.54% in 1978. The rate for doctors rose to 25% in the 1970s (Kırkpınar, 1998:27). As it will be considered in the next chapter, Öncü (1981) reports that this case is much above the rates in other countries in the same years.

According to Roos et al. (1969), higher-education system in Turkey is not one that is closed to class or gender and that does not allow upward mobility. In other words, it is closer to the "mass system" rather than being an "elitist system". An indicator of

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<sup>107</sup> See Appendix B, Table B.3.

<sup>108</sup> *The inheritors* represent the university students from the families of bureaucrats, soldiers and civil servants, while *the grantees* represent those who are not from the elite class but are included in the elite class through higher education (Bourdieu et al., 1979).



this is, according to Lüküslü (2009:60-1), that the students in the quantitative studies are more educated than their parents. The fact that parents have a lower education than their children may be average, when the conditions of their own days are considered. However, with the migration, urbanization, specialization and competitive conditions in labour market, there is a need for a higher education level and the average education level of the new generation exceeds that of the previous generation. For example, while the probability that a university graduate would remain unemployed in the 1960s was very low, this case has changed with the massification of higher education since the 1970s (Lüküslü, 2009:63; Tanrıku, 2009). The meaning attached to the education and the families' viewpoint (i.e. the change in their thoughts about the girls being sent to schools) affect the new generations' participation in the education for longer. However, as mentioned earlier, class, regional and gender-based inequalities lead to questioning the claim that higher education is "mass". Which conditions affect the access to a university, who can gain an access to a university and which departments they can be placed at are important under the conditions of the present time. In other words, the socioeconomic, sociodemographic and cultural factors which affect the achievement of the central university exam and participation in field of study (with more "educational outcomes", compared others) should be evaluated in terms of social stratification and social inequality.

Tezcan (1999:176) makes such evaluations about the value of education and its function in terms of social stratification:

From the establishment of the Republic to the 1970s, education has eliminated the lack of qualified technical and executive manpower and increased the value of the educated group. Intellectual and bureaucrat class was a high class in terms of prestige and income. However, social transformations have changed this case. For example, while being a high-school graduate provided one with the status of "gentleman" until the 1960s, being a graduate of university or college replaced it. What's more, being a university graduate also began to lose prestige in the 1970s. Due to the massified universities, university graduation was not enough for social mobility, either. However, graduation from the specific faculties of the university led to vertical mobility. In this case, however, the proliferation of private colleges led to the increase in the number of engineers, pharmacists, so on and, in turn, a decrease in their

significance and social prestige. This is because labour force was above the economic demand and this caused the schools enabling the increase in employees to lose its value relatively. Just the schools that meet the needs of medical and private sectors have kept their value. Those who graduated from the other departments could not find a well-paid job. Even the rate of unemployment rose. Some graduates of engineering faculties began to work as teachers at high schools or private schools. This case was valid for some other professions, as well (Tezcan: 1999:176).

While the 1970s gave birth to the increased income distribution imbalances and class conflicts, it also brought about the inequalities of opportunities and chances in education. In addition, the transformations in every field of social life<sup>109</sup> led to political, cultural, social and economic problems and the solution to these problems was sought for in the military interventions of 12 March 1971<sup>110</sup> and 12 September 1980 (Topses, 1999:21; Küçükcan, 2009:15; Kaplan, 2011:227; Barblan et al., 2008:40, 45). Especially after 12 September 1980, Turkey would pass to a new period in field of education as in every field.

### **3.3.3. Commodification, Massification, Difference and Expansion Period (1980 to the present):**

After the period of turmoil when transformations were observed in social, political, cultural and economic fields, the society would go to a new structuring in all its sectors with the dominant ideological approach of 12<sup>th</sup> September. This dominant ideology<sup>111</sup>, described as Turkish-Islam synthesis<sup>112</sup> and containing a neoliberalist approach, would lead to big transformation in the social structure with the policies

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<sup>109</sup> Other events in this period are “the strengthening of the union and political organizations, the breakthrough of the youth movements, the activity of the villagers, the recurrence of the Kurdish national movement, the activity of the public officials and the common effect of the teachers’ organizations (Kaplan, 2011:227). For detailed information, see Atasoy (2009).

<sup>110</sup> For detailed information, see Ahmad (1993), Aydın et al. (2014).

<sup>111</sup> According to Atasoy (2009:76), “market-oriented policies” of the IMF and World Bank regarding the repayment of the credit in 1978 were doubtless influential on the introduction of neoliberalist politicians. For detailed information, see Atasoy (2009:76) and Yalman (2009).

<sup>112</sup> An understanding based on the combination of Islamism and Kemalism aiming to “secure the absolute national unity against every sort of democratic development and pluralism” (Kaplan, 2011:307).

especially in the field of education (Gök, 1999a:7; Ercan, 1999:32; Ahmad, 1993; Kaplan, 2011:307; Atasoy, 2009:54; Yücesan-Özdemir et al., 2012:6; Önal, 2012:130; Neyzi, 2001).

Firstly, the military administration made social regulations with a new Constitution which is still in practice instead of the Constitution of 1961 (Küçükcan, 2009:137). This Constitution was largely intended to combine the Kemalism and Islam-based articles with the polarized social order of the 1970s on a single point (Atasoy, 2009). However, the articles around Atatürk's principles and Islam led to conflicting situations on occasion (Kaplan, 2011:306). The necessity of the course of religion, the use of religious discourses in making the curriculum and the opening of the Directorate of Religious Affairs were accepted to contradict with the principle of secularism (Gök,1999a:7).

The new Constitution gives place to the following article about the field of education:

Article 42: No one shall be deprived of the right of learning and education. The scope of the right to education shall be defined and regulated by law. Training and education shall be conducted along the lines of the principles and reforms of Atatürk, on the basis of contemporary science and educational methods, under the supervision and control of the state. Institutions of training and education contravening these provisions shall not be established. The freedom of training and education does not relieve the individual from loyalty to the Constitution. Primary education is compulsory for all citizens of both sexes and is free of charge in state schools. The principles governing the functioning of private primary and secondary schools shall be regulated by law in keeping with the standards set for state schools. The state shall provide scholarships and other means of assistance to enable students of merit lacking financial means to continue their education. The state shall take necessary measures to rehabilitate those in need of special training so as to render such people useful to society.<sup>113</sup>

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<sup>113</sup>In Turkish, see <http://www.anayasa.gen.tr/1982ay.htm>, and in English, see [http://www.anayasa.gov.tr/images/loaded/pdf\\_dosyalari/THE\\_CONSTITUTION\\_OF\\_THE\\_REPUBLIC\\_OF\\_TURKEY.pdf](http://www.anayasa.gov.tr/images/loaded/pdf_dosyalari/THE_CONSTITUTION_OF_THE_REPUBLIC_OF_TURKEY.pdf). In addition, for the general evaluations on education in all the constitutions, see Özsoy (2002).

This article mentions on one hand that training and education is right on the condition of loyalty to the Constitution and makes a mention of the private primary and secondary schools on the other. The presence of private schools and even universities means that rights of education are restricted and social inequalities reproduce themselves (Sayılan, 2006). Therefore, as can be foreseen from these constitutional regulations, the post-1980 social stratification and social inequalities can gain new dimensions.

Besides this article referring to the right of education on the whole, another regulation was done in the field of higher education and in 1981 the Higher Education Council (YÖK)<sup>114</sup> was founded:

Article 131: The Higher Education Council shall be established to plan, organise, administer, and supervise the education provided by institutions of higher education, to orient the activities of teaching, education and scientific research, to ensure the establishment and development of these institutions in conformity with the objectives and principles set forth by law, to ensure the effective use of the resources allotted to the universities, and to plan the training of the teaching staff.<sup>115</sup>

With the authorities and licence granted to it, YÖK brought together the universities, academies affiliated to MEB, vocational colleges, three-year training institutes, conservatories and YAYKUR under the same roof (Özkul, 2009; Tekeli, İ., 2010a:28; Başaran, İ. E., 1999:107; Ataünal, 1993:72; Sağ, 2003; YÖK, 2005:23). The reasons for this practice, which is also called 1981 university reform,<sup>116</sup> are listed as follows:

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<sup>114</sup> For the establishment of YÖK, see Gür et al. (2011:15), Sakaoğlu (2003:284), Kaplan (2011:236), Şenses (2007), Barblan et al. (2008:46), Özer (2007:80), Doğramacı (1989:1). Also see <http://www.yok.gov.tr/web/guest/tarihce>

<sup>115</sup> In Turkish, see <http://www.anayasa.gen.tr/1982ay.htm>, and in English, see <http://www.constitution.org/cons/turkey/part3.htm>

<sup>116</sup> Since the declaration of the republic, there have been many laws and amendments to make up and regulate the higher education. These are the reforms of 1933, 1946, 1960 (amendments in some articles), 1973 and 1981. Especially in the social transformations and political breaking points, higher education has been amended and regulated. All of them, except the one in 1993, have been realized under the military coups (Akşit, 2002:356; Güvenç, 1998:50; Nohl, 2008:24; Günay et al., 2011:2; Küçükcan, 2009:17, 149; MEB, 1998; Ataünal, 1993:xiv; Şenses, 2007; Barblan et al.,

Because there was not an effective and coordinated central planning for all the levels of the higher education and because of the rapid increase in the number, type and students' number of higher education institutions especially in the 1960s and 70s and in several other issues, the abovementioned higher education system began to signal failure and corruption after a while. Besides these, the political, social and economic problems that emerged between 1960 and 1980 increased the worsening in the higher education. Therefore, a radical reform became inevitable in the late 1970s and finally the reform of 1981 was enforced.<sup>117</sup>

On account of the economic, social and political problems in the turmoil period, YÖK was founded upon the need for the institutionalization of the higher education, and still maintains its existence as the only institution authorized for the higher education. Interuniversity Student Selection and Placement Center (ÜSYM) was also changed into Centre for Students' Selection and Placement (ÖSYM) affiliated to YÖK. Thus, the university entrance exams underwent some changes: the one-stage selection exam that was applied since 1974 started to be applied in two stages. In 1999, however, it was again reduced to one stage (Tekeli, İ., 2009:171; 2010b; Barblan et al., 2008:59), yet in the subsequent years, two-stage system was adopted, but with a lot of exams in them. Today, however, a high number of changes are made in the exam practices and they almost vary from one year to another.<sup>118</sup>

Following this Constitution acknowledged by the military administration, general elections were held. Motherland Party (ANAP) under Turgut Özal won the elections in 1983 and came to power. The neoliberalist policies practised by the government were indeed a reflection of the neoliberalist movement affecting the whole world after 1980. In other words, there was an "ideological shift towards market-oriented reforms in the 1980s" in the world (Atasoy, 2009:76). Thus, under ANAP, the society got acquainted with a new economic understanding and its social reflections. In addition, Turkish economy opened its doors to abroad with these policies and the

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2008:46; Keyder, 1987). Gök (1999a:7) claims that the universities with the reform of 1981 after 1980 have become more authoritarian and repressive in terms of their institutional identities, functioning and relationships.

<sup>117</sup> <http://www.yok.gov.tr/web/guest/tarihce>

<sup>118</sup> For the change in the exam system with the years, see Tanrıkulu (2009:94).

important steps to being a consumer society began to be taken in this period (Lüküslü, 2009:56,118, Atasoy, 2009; Gündüz-Hoşgör, 1996:111).

After 1980, global transformation (neoliberalism) brought a different approach to the field of education. Information and education are more valuable in the global market, because for the firms and individuals in competition on the global scale, the institutions where education, work and information are produced gained value. Therefore, this process led to a different function for education and information on the basis of individuals and firms (Ercan, 1999:23). In fact, capitalist class expects the institution of education to create “the passive worker/citizens with just enough skills” (Hill, 2006), which it defines as its traditional role; it is this role that has gained more importance. Consequently, education’s function towards building identity in the process of nation-state and the understanding of socio-economic development lost its importance and gained a new dimension after the 80s. On the individual level, the process of participating in education is influenced by the individual’s regional, economic, social, cultural capital and gender. According to Tezcan (1999:177), it is not possible to talk about the equality of opportunities.

Ercan (1999:23) interprets the transformation in the higher education after 1980 as indicating that the state rebuilt the field of education for its benefits as well as those of the market as a result of the worldwide neoliberal<sup>119</sup> change and globalization. In other words, this situation proves that education is no more a public service, and it has become a means of investment and it has been commodified. It is now a commodity both for the individuals and firms (Ercan, 1999:27). That education is now a commodity or is turned into a “consumption commodity desired” by all the layers of the society shows that political and economic struggle is densely experienced in field of education. Especially the fact that “most of the social layers” still regard education as a means of upward mobility/class climbing intensifies the

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<sup>119</sup> Ercan (1999:27) defines the post-1970 as neoliberalism and explains the difference between liberalism and neoliberalism: Depending on the stage which the accumulation of capital has reached, it is the domination of the market relationships over the social relationships. In other words, social relationships are now built on the market relationships.

competition more and more (Akşit et al., 2000, Şen, 2007). In addition, since the 1970s, when migration to cities was intensified and primary education was disseminated, it has become more difficult for the rural people to climb the social ladder through education (Tezcan, 1999:177).

In this period when the state's role decreased and in other words "the state was privatized"<sup>120</sup>, the share in the budget of education offered as a public service fell down. This fall affected the quality of the public schools adversely and led to inequalities between the regions (Baloğlu, 1990:129; Sayılan, 2006). In addition, while the mass demand<sup>121</sup> increased rapidly, the share of the public budget in education and in higher education fell, so neo-liberal politicians strengthened it and education would be commodification and privatized at an increasing rate (Akşit, 2002:366; Ercan, 1999:33; Rutz et al., 2009:47). As a result, private education institutions would be opened. For example, on the level of higher education, a law in 1981 decided that foundation universities and high technology institutes should be opened (Akşit, 2002:361).

The high population rise, inadequacy of the share of the budget assigned to education despite the density of the young population, and the decreased quality caused the number of private schools to increase. However, "schools without quality" and private/privileged schools lead to inequality and discrimination (Gök, 1999a:7). Due to the inadequacy of the financial source that the state will assign to education, it is emphasized that it should support the private sector. Despite the financial troubles, the state makes big financial contributions to the strengthening of the private sector with credits, regulations, etc. Despite the restriction in the public spending, this attempt supports the private sector's and neoliberal policies' invasion of the field of

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<sup>120</sup> Atasoy (2009:18) defines it as follows: "privatization of the state" process concerns not only the gradual withdrawal of the state from welfare provisions and the privatization of public economic enterprises and services, but [also] the privatization of various state practices in policy, norm, and law-making."

<sup>121</sup> One of the concrete signs of the increased demand is the number of applications to the university entrance exam. For the number of students who have applied and been placed according to the years, see Appendix B, Table B.4.

education. This case will lead to the privatization of education and just a privileged section's utilization of this service as well as the deepening of the class inequalities (Ercan, 1999:33-5).

As a result of the state's privatization policies, there appeared a rise in the inequality in the distribution of wealth and income between the poor and the rich (Okçabol, 2011:47; Atasoy, 2009:18; Ünal et al., 1999:68), so the most obvious period of the socioeconomic/class distinctions is the 1980s. These developments are to the favor of upper and urban class, leading to the impoverishment of the middle and lower classes (Ercan, 1999:33; Tekeli, Ş., 2011:21). Aksoy et al. (1994) categorize this socioeconomic/class distinction as “White Turks” and “Black Turks”<sup>122</sup>: White Turks or Euro-Turks are educated, know at least one language, urbanized, the future and pride of the country, and “new elites”, while Black Turks<sup>123</sup> have moved from the rural to the urban land, have a low level of education, conservative and “dangerous others”.

Considering this categorization, education seems to be an important variable for distinction. However, not only the level but also the type of the education institution is another indicator of the distinction. While private schools create inequality on their own, the state also consolidates these inequalities with different school types within itself. For example, Anatolian High-schools were opened with English as its training language under the pressure of families that are in the group of middle income but unable to afford to pay for the private schools. However, these schools admit students via exams. The reason for this demand is that foreign language and computer sciences were in high demand then (Güvenç, 1998:74). For the public schools selecting students via exams, the state creates a group of students from “qualified” students (Ünal et al., 1999:70; Rutz et al., 2009:43). These schools whose graduates it was foreseen would win the university exam laid the foundation of

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<sup>122</sup> It is a conceptualization formed by Aksoy et al. (1994), adapting the White Anglo-Saxon-Protest (WASP) group of America to Turkey. It has nothing to do with ethnicity.

<sup>123</sup> Işık et al. (2005:96) define this group as those who largely live in the shanty-towns, aspire for social climbing and try to be integrated with the urban life.



professionals or “elite class” (Güneş-Ayata, et al., 2005: 104). This case is indeed “one aspect of the neoliberation in schooling”. In other words, the state creates and increases a hierarchy and elitism with the “league tables of schools/universities” that it creates in the education system (Hill, 2012).

This diversity in secondary education institutions included the Science and Anatolian High-schools, which were “the apple of the state’s eye”, and the Super High-schools opened in the 1990s on one hand and the standard high-schools which were “ghettoised” increasingly on the other (Gök, 1997:436); it also made visible the social and class inequalities and discrimination. In this way, the state made a hierarchical arrangement<sup>124</sup> within the field of education and strengthened the reproduction of the inequalities (Ercan, 1999:33). Moreover, when the low-income families could not get help from the state for education, they got closer to the religious sects. Sectarian dormitories and private schools make an alternative for the low-income families through their grants or scholarship (Bircan, 2007:75; Akyüz, 2001:342). On the other hand, the private schools based on the sects, besides their other functions and purposes, offer those who get the “chance” to climb up from the traditional middle classes the opportunity to enhance their cultural capital (in Bourdieu’s words) with the support of their economic capital (Akşit et al, 2000).

Another alternative for the low-income families is the vocational high-schools. Generally, there are a lot of effective reasons why the low-middle socioeconomic background families prefer these schools. For example, these families’ viewpoint of education<sup>125</sup>, their inability to invest in education as much as higher socioeconomic

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<sup>124</sup> Another practice that strengthens the hierarchical structure is the Weighted Secondary Education Achievement Score, initiated in 1999. In this practice, the school’s general achievement level is taken into consideration and this has given birth to the concept of “good high-school” (Gür et al., 2009:29; Tekeli, İ., 2009:161; 2010b; Gür et al., 2011:24; Küçükcan, 2009:181). Since 2013, this practice has been replaced by that of Secondary Education Achievement Score, taking into account the student’s diploma score.

<sup>125</sup> The way each social class views education varies with a lot of factors. For example, while low-income families regard education as a “ticket to social mobility” (Holmstrom et al., 2004:4) and as a field that requires expenditure, high-income families consider it to be a process that is normal or that should be (Bell et al., 1968:126-7).

background families and their inability to extend this to the long term are the primary causes of this. In addition, even their thought that their children who graduate from vocational high-schools instead of standard high-schools are more likely to find a job causes them to send their children to these schools. *Religious schools* are one of the schools in this category. A vocational high-school that gives religious education, religious schools have a special importance both in social and in political terms. Opened in the 1950s to train religion officials, religious high-schools become a matter of debate at each government's rule. Right-wing governments allocated a higher budget to these schools and strengthened them by upgrading their curriculums (Akşit et al., 2000), and they have thus been a centre of attention since the 80's. They have also undergone institutional transformations with secondary education regulations and exam system. However, National Security Council took a decision on 28<sup>th</sup> February 1997 that basic compulsory education should be eight years with no interruption.<sup>126</sup> This decision led to the closure of the secondary parts of the religious and vocational high-schools. Thus, the issue of religious training and apprenticeship at a very young age was prevented (Tekeli, İ., 1980; 2009:158-9; 2010b; Başaran, İ. E., 1999; Akşit et al., 2000; Gür et al., 2011:23; Akşit, 1991; Tekeli et al., 1993; Şen, 2007; Hisarcıklılar et al., 2010; Dayıoğlu, 2005). In addition, in 1999 the practice of coefficient<sup>127</sup> for vocational high-schools in passage from high-school to higher education caused these schools to lose their prestige and attraction, also leading to an increase in the class size in standard high-schools (Gür et al., 2009:29). The reflection of this practice in higher education was that most of the vocational high-school graduates could not enter the bachelor programme they liked to, and they had to register at two-year vocational colleges (Barblan et al., 2008:61).

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<sup>126</sup> For more details, see Tertemiz (1999).

<sup>127</sup> This practice includes the calculation of type of high school for access higher education. Specifically this practice make it easy to pass the one graduated from vocational school to same field of study, make harder to change field of study in the higher education. It is argued that the reason of the practice is to hinder graduates from religious high school to participate in the field/university s/he liked to (Aktay, 2010). This practice was ended in 2010. For more details, see Küçükcan (2009:192), Aktay (2010:493-496).

As a result of the supply and demand imbalance, inequalities between the schools, highly selective and examination-oriented nature of educational system (Koşar Altınyelken, 2013:189), private tutoring courses as “shadow educational system” (Bray, 1999) and private teachers<sup>128</sup> that function at market conditions (Ural, 2012:152) are began to be in high demand in those days and their numbers<sup>129</sup> increased fast (Bircan, 2007:5; Güvenç, 1998:71; Okçabol, 2011:47; Baloğlu, 1990:125-7).

In fact, private courses were allowed to be opened for preparation for exams in 1965, but their origin dates back to the pre-Republic times<sup>130</sup>: The private teaching institutions which initially gave adults short-term lessons on such fields as foreign language, home economy and arts began to work mainly for students from 1930 to 1965, depending on the schooling rate at primary and secondary education. The students who were not good at their courses, who failed in their courses, who wanted to graduate or prepare for the state’s exams studied at these private courses as a means of support in their studies (Ural, 2012:152; Tansel, 2013:179; Duman, 1984; Özoğlu, 2011: 5-7). After 1970, the competition in entrance into higher education with the practice of central exam caused the private teaching institutions to increase in number especially in cities and in the West (Koşar Altınyelken, 2013:190; Tansel, 2013:181; Duman, 1984; Gök, 2005:102; TED, 2006). İnal (2012:25) lists the underlying causes of the increase in the number of private teaching institutions:

First, the various entrance exams for high-quality schools, of which there are limited numbers, lead to competition among students and parents. High demand for the high-quality schools causes a supply-

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<sup>128</sup> There are three types of private teachers in Turkey: “one-to-one individualised teaching” (the most expensive and either by students from university or teacher), private tutoring in school like supplementary of curriculum (outside formal teaching hours and by volunteer teachers for a nominal pay) and private tutoring out of school in private tutoring centres (called *dershane*, by professional teachers working for a fee) (Tansel, 2013:178-9; Koşar Altınyelken, 2013:189).

<sup>129</sup> The number of private tutoring centres was 74 in 1965, and it rose to 154 in 1983 and to 4.099 in 2011 (Ural, 2012:152; İnal, 2012:24; MEB, 2010:183). It is claimed that the numbers are even higher than these official statistical figures: between one thousand and five thousand (Ural, 2012:153; TED, 2006). For more details, see <http://ookgm.meb.gov.tr/>

<sup>130</sup> For more details, see Duman (1984).

demand imbalance. Second, several drawbacks of many public schools, such as crowded classes and an insufficient number of teachers, force parents to send their children to tutoring institutions. Third, the positive educational image created by social and cultural factors about these institutions causes parents to believe that it is impossible to achieve academic success on entrance exams without attending the tutoring courses (İnal, 2012:25).

The private teaching institutions that are opened for preparation for secondary education and higher education in Turkey indicate the degree of social demand. This fast-growing field makes up most of the family expenses, as well (Tansel et al., 2006; TED 2005, 2010; Ekinci, 2009). Güvenç (1998:75) makes an account of the reason why families send their children to these private teaching institutions:

Good family background-good school-good education and success in life cycle. Many Turkish families aspire to break into this vicious cycle at some point or phase. So they send their children to tutoring classrooms but they refuse the educational tax or paying tuition in public school (Güvenç, 1998:75).

The tuition fee for these courses is an important item in the family expenses and a serious problem for the low-income families.<sup>131</sup> It is at this point that we face the problem of the inequality of the opportunities (Küçükcan, 2009:178; Tekeli, İ., 2010a:25; Gök, 2005:103; 2010:133). In other words, the sector of private teaching institution is another field of inequality. The post-1980 military administration which thought that this inequality was a problem for many brought forward the closure of these courses. However, the government under Özal in 1984 decided that these private courses could go on their activities (ÖZ-DE-BİR, 2010; Duman, 1984; Özoğlu, 2011: 5-7; Tanrıkulu, 2009: 109). And today, the debates concerning these courses occupy the daily talks and agenda.<sup>132</sup>

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<sup>131</sup> In the survey by TUIK on the consumption expenses, a percentage of expense is given for the educational services in the groups of 20%, ranked according to the income. Accordingly, the lowest group of 20% make the least expenditure, while the highest group of 20% has the highest percentage of expenditure in education. See Appendix B, Table B.2.

<sup>132</sup> The present debates are centred around their closure, conversion into private schools, etc. See <http://www.ntvmsnbc.com/id/25460138/>; [http://www.zaman.com.tr/gundem\\_dershaneciler-egitimin-sorunlari-cozulmeden-hop-diye-dershaneler-kapatiliyor\\_2173850.html](http://www.zaman.com.tr/gundem_dershaneciler-egitimin-sorunlari-cozulmeden-hop-diye-dershaneler-kapatiliyor_2173850.html)

According to Şenses (2007), students' level of success is closely related to whether they attend a private teaching institution, their attendance period, the quality of the course and whether they take private lessons besides the private course. In addition, the changes in the exams given to students affect the role of the private teaching institution. For example, the exams of passage to secondary education (SBS) and one-stage exam initiated in 1999 increased the students' tendency towards the private teaching institutions (Gür et al., 2009:29). Ural (2012:155) describes the period after the 80s as "exam-mania" and thus attributes this increase in private tutoring orientation to the exam-mania.

The increased demand and variety in the secondary education in this period also increases dramatically in the higher education. Especially for such reasons as the population growth, migration from the rural to the urban<sup>133</sup>, the spread of education in cities, the easy accessibility to education in cities and the young population's inclination to the education fields, there appeared big crowds waiting in front of the universities in big cities (Peker, 1999:297). The number of students who applied to university between 1974 and 1991 increased by 400%, but only 22.8% of them could find a place for themselves at universities (Ataünal, 1993:152). This imbalance between the demand and supply produces big pressure on the access to higher education. Since the 1980s new universities have been opened in other cities than the metropolitans (Antalya, Van, Gaziantep, etc)<sup>134</sup>, the extensification of private vocational colleges<sup>135</sup>, the increase in the quotas, and the initiation of the external/open/evening training programs have emerged in response to the demand for higher education (Kavak, 2010:125; Baloğlu, 1990:67; Şenses, 2007; Tekeli, İ., 2009:57; 2010b; Turanlı, 2003; Ataünal, 1993:147). In this period İhsan Doğramacı

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<sup>133</sup> The migration from the rural to the urban, starting in the 1950s, goes on at an increasing speed. It gains a new dimension with the concept of "compulsory migration" after 1990 (İçduygu et al., 1999:253; Lüküslü, 2009:118). Especially because of poverty and need to work, many children could not attend to the any schools (Kaya, 2009:4). For more details, see Kurban et al. (2008).

<sup>134</sup> See Appendix B, Table B.1.

<sup>135</sup> While the number of higher education institutions was 9 in 1923-24, it rose to 398 in 1989-90 (Baloğlu, 1990:215).

Bilkent University was opened as the first foundation/private university in 1984 (Şenses, 2007; Okçabol, 2011:47; Ercan, 1999:34; Dođramacı, 1989:6; Barblan et al., 2008:49; Küçükcan, 2009:133; Tekeli, İ., 2010a:85; Önal, 2012:131; Birler, 2012:140). Even though the rate of schooling in higher education increased<sup>136</sup> with these practices, the acts of privatization, variety and crowding increased the inequalities in the university entrance (Eserpek, 1977:164).

While inequalities increase on one hand, the massification of the higher education creates an ironic situation on the other. Massification stresses the number of students increasing with the policies applied, but it is necessary to analyze which socioeconomic background, region and gender it is caused by: According to the OECD (2008), the decade between 1980 and 1990 was the period when the higher education was massified and Turkey was one of the countries with the highest increase in the degree of massification. Also, it is today foreseen that this increase will go on, female students will increase more and almost half of the population will be university graduates. Parallel to his information, Table B.3 in Appendix B shows the rate of increase in the numbers of male and female students according to their educational levels from 1923 on. But the statistics show that inequality between male and female students still exists: According to the 1990 census, 22% of the women had taken no education and illiterate. This rate was 18.41% with men. The rate of primary-school graduates was 60% with women, while that of secondary-school graduates is 7.5% and that of high-school was 8.1%. However, the rate of college or university graduates was 2.2%. As for the men, the rate of primary-school graduates was 55.26% and that of secondary-school graduates was 10.84%; the rate of high-school graduates was 10.74% and that of university graduates was 4.75%. Moreover, inequality based on gender roles was going on. While 195.000 men participated in the apprenticeship training in 1991-92 training year, no women did. On the other

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<sup>136</sup> The rate of schooling in the 18-21 age group was 6,1 between 1970 and 1971; 6,2 between 1980 and 1981; 10,8 between 1985 and 1986, and 12,6 between 1988 and 1989 (Balođlu, 1990:59). On the other hand, illiteracy still goes on as a problem: 50% of the women are illiterate according to the 1980 census, while 34% of the men are illiterate, and they have gone to no education institutions (Sakaođlu, 2003:283).

hand, 60.000 women were registered in the handiwork courses. Teachership, nursing, doctorship and pharmacy were among the professions mostly preferred by women who were somewhat required to make their choices according to their families' wishes (Kırkpınar, 1998:27). This case can be interpreted as the transfer of the traditional roles of women at home to the economic field.

In the 90s, university education meant not only a job, even a well-paid job, but also social prestige and status (i.e. status attainment). In addition, the perceived low status of manual and physical work affected the demand for higher education (Ataünal, 1993:153). Kaptan (1982 cited in Ataünal, 1993:153) reported that there were some other reasons for the increased demand for the higher education, adding the following:

Rapid urbanization, the right for short-term military duty and for reserve officer during it, no need for a big sacrifice from people due to the free nature of education, the right of such economical facilities as free pass, the advantage in marriage, namely finding a husband or wife, requirement for high-qualified staff in open work fields for to the limited employment facilities, the increased chance for competition, the right for diploma at a higher fee as the working life is not regulated according to the principle of merit and competence, the unsolved state of the problems with working such as professional status, duty, authority, responsibility, job description, fee, and so on (Kaptan, 1982 cited in Ataünal, 1993:153).

To put it short, intertwining factors are behind the interest of higher education on the individual level. However, on the economic and political levels, there is an understanding of higher education from creating and *employing the qualified labour power* that is a must and need now, to *creating employable man power*, or in *Marxist terminology, reserve army of labour*. It is necessary to talk about many actors<sup>137</sup> who have proved influential behind this understanding and in this process; i.e. TÜSİAD and MÜSAİD which represent the capital; unions such as Eğitim-Sen and Türk-İş, which are outside of the capital and NGOs; and the state (ministries, DPT, MEB,

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<sup>137</sup> For more details about the actors determining the educational process, see Uzunyayla et al. (2007).

YÖK). With the globalization<sup>138</sup>, national and international actors such as EU, OECD, IMF, World Bank, ILO, etc. Share a role in the education-employment policies (Sayılan, 2006).

Ever since the 90s, the concepts of information society, competition, productivity and qualified work power have begun to be effective on the process of education (Uzunyayla et al., 2007:125-6). With these concepts, a lot of concepts are explained on the basis of individual. For example, failure to earn the right for university is attributed to the individual's failure to study well and enough, the problem of unemployment to the individual's inability to improve himself enough, and lack of skill and information (Uzunyayla et al., 2007:142). As mentioned before, this approach is the principle of "career open to the competent" based on meritocratic understanding. It gives impression that individuals indeed compete on equal conditions, a case which is an illusion of equality of opportunity, but even so it reproduces the inequalities (Wallerstein, 1992:72 cited in Özsoy, 2002:46; Gümüş, 2007). The practice of central exam in education is also founded on this understanding: The gifted/the successful/the clever students can win the university exam while others cannot. Katz et al. (1999) explains this case with the analogy "dancing with devil".

Due to the exam system in the entrance into higher education, the limited quota and intense demand<sup>139</sup>, the number of universities began to increase in the 90s, and there remained no city without a university. Majority of the universities are in Ankara, İzmir and İstanbul (40% of the total number of universities) (Günay et al., 2011:7, 12). Despite this increase, the students who failed to win the exam for public

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<sup>138</sup> Globalization is a complex process whereby capital and classes are restructured, state and political allies are reorganized and thus social life and society are reorganized (Atasoy, 2009:18). To Şenses (2007), Turkey as a developing country is in the process of globalization, attempting for integration with the world economy by deviating from its industrialization targets through open neoliberalist policies without completing its targets in industrialization. Even the higher education in Turkey develops in response to the qualified man power of Europe.

<sup>139</sup> In 1990-91 training year, 27,4 % of graduates from high school went to the higher education. 12,5 % of applicants were placed a university. The conglomeration in higher education and increasing competitiveness has been the result of that graduates from high school since 1960s is higher than the quota of university (Gök,1999a:8).



university but could meet the education fee of private universities began to increase substantially. These new universities market not only a diploma but also a bright future. They also manage to attract the successful and gifted students through the grants to a limited number of them. These foundation universities began to increase in number in the late 1990s and in the 2000s quickly<sup>140</sup>, but they eliminate the equality of opportunity and social justice both in that period and for the future (Ercan, 1999:34; Tekeli, İ., 2009:173; 2010b; Özen, 1999; Şenses, 2007; Ataünal, 1993:147). Therefore, the field of higher education is the one with the highest prevalence of inequality in education (Gök, 1999a:8).

According to Ünal et al. (1999:40), as Turkey becomes more capitalist, new inequalities that are brought about by the stratification peculiar to capitalism are added to the existing ones and social inequalities increase and get deeper. For the work power required by the capitalist economy, extensification of education has become necessary. In this process, the state acknowledges the right of everybody for education, also admitting the view that the gifted people educated parallel to their talents could be placed in professional and managerial positions required for the system irrespective of their social origins. Accordingly, the prerequisite for such status and social positions is diploma. However, the principle of “equality of opportunity and possibility” could be said not to come true due to the social inequalities being visible in the higher education.

As already indicated, the post-80 period is the one when free market economy and privatization were experienced and social and economic transformations were re-enacted depending on it. With the “globalization” process, on both national and international levels, new fields of transformation emerged (İçduygu et al., 1999:253; Lüküslü, 2009:118). For example, a lot of post-80 economic crises may be mentioned in the process of economic transformation. The most recent one was the

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<sup>140</sup> There was a sudden and large-scale development in higher education in 1992: The number of universities rose from 29 to 53. 88 new universities were founded from 2006 to 2011 (Günay et al., 2011:2). See Appendix B, Table B.1.

crisis of 2001, and what was experienced then became a new turning point for Turkey. This process can be outlined in the following words of Atasoy (2009:109):

The most recent, in 2000–1, resulted in a 9.4 per cent fall in GDP. The most vulnerable, poorest members of society, in addition to salaried professionals and small-to medium-sized company owners, shouldered most of the burden. Many skilled, well-educated workers lost their jobs, and among smaller companies the bankruptcy rate soared. For the first time in Turkey, artisans, shopkeepers, and small business owning tradesmen went on strike, closing shops and demonstrating against neoliberal policies. The AKP [Justice and Development Party] came to power in the wake of this severe economic crisis. The party, which advocates the dominant neoliberal themes of privatization of public corporations, liberalization of trade, entrepreneurship, and private investment, has a broad electoral base, receiving support from both prosperous and disadvantaged segments of society. The AKP has successfully drawn on deepening inequality and mass dissatisfaction with neoliberalism to garner favour, while also promising to reduce poverty, extreme inequality, unemployment, and the informal economy (Atasoy, 2009:109).

In Turkey, political transformations and turning points are the breaking points in the field of education as in every field (Ataınal, 1993:165). Accordingly, the empowerment of Justice and Development Party (AKP) on its own in 2002<sup>141</sup> and its policies affect the field of education. For example, in 2008, the practice of four-year high-school was started (Küçükcan, 2009:177). In addition, compulsory education was increased to 12 years (4+4+4 compulsory education for 12 years with interruption) with the law numbered 6287 and dated 30/3/2012. In this way, it became possible to reopen the secondary parts of the religious schools that had been closed under the 28 February decisions.<sup>142</sup>

Recent developments show that the field of education has shifted from the determinism of the state to that of the capital (Ercan, 1999:25). In a country 70% of whose population live in urban areas (Lüküslü, 2009:118), which has a young population, where the schooling rate of primary school<sup>143</sup> and secondary school, it is

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<sup>141</sup> For more details about the process whereby AKP was elected, see Atasoy (2009), İnal (2012).

<sup>142</sup> <http://www.meb.gov.tr/haberler/2012/12YillikZorunluEgitimeYonelikGenelge.pdf>

<sup>143</sup> The rate of schooling in Turkey has not reached 100% in the eastern provinces, rural areas and among the women (Gök,1999a:8; ERG, 2009:10).

necessary to meet the demand for higher education for the purpose of training qualified work power. Therefore, new universities have been opened in every city under the understanding of free market, while most are foundation universities<sup>144</sup> and quotas have been increased the rate of schooling in higher education has been increased with the students, or academic, amnesty (Günay et al., 2011:17; Gür et al., 2011:30,34; Yücesan-Özdemir et al., 2012:11; Birler, 2012:146). As new universities created the need for new academic staff, the Program for Training Academic Staff (ÖYP) was started in 2002 to meet this need.<sup>145</sup> Moreover, according to the statistics of DPT, while 9% of the Turkish population of 67 million were university graduates in 2000, 11% of the population of 74 million were university graduates in 2007. Of the population that is expected to increase to 80 million in 2014, 14% are expected to be graduates of university, and in 2023, 18% of the expected population of 85 million are expected to be graduates (Bircan, 2007:54).

The increase in the number of universities in recent years is shown as a big achievement in political terms (In Collins' terms (1979), passage to "credential society"). In addition, the general idea has been that expansion and massification of higher education have caused increasing and differentiation in the variety of student profile in every university. However, to Özsoy (2004:331-2), in the case of Turkey, "the most *distinguished* and *prestigious* institutions and programs are reserved mostly for the property owners. The Turkish higher education student profile continues to be produced by an *invisible hand* (!) and in favour of the privileged group." In other words, to Özsoy (2004), educational expansion leads to a hierarchical structure between the educational institutions and meets the demand for education that will enable only certain classes to reproduce themselves. Especially the increase in the number of private universities shows this case explicitly. Accordingly, educational system was equalitarian and a very important means of upward mobility in the initial years of the republic, today equality of opportunity has

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<sup>144</sup> To Şenses (2007), the newly-opened universities invigorate the economy of the city rather than meeting the social demand: Appendix B, Table B.1.

<sup>145</sup> <http://www.yok.gov.tr/web/oyp>

decreased and contributes to the continuation of regional, class, gender inequality (Tekeli, İ., 2010a:26; Eserpek, 1972; Eserpek, 1977; Tan, 1994; Tüzün, 1982).

Kaptan (1986:75) finds the intense need for education positive in social, economic and political terms, and reminds the obligations imposed for the learning of reading and writing or for the female children to be sent to school in the early years of republic. However, it should not be forgotten that Turkey has tried to complete in 50 years the “demographic transition” which Europe completed in 300 years and which includes the transformations “from rural to urban, from agrarian to industrial service, more technically, from high birth-high death rates pattern to a low birth- low death rate pattern” (Güvenç, 1998:66). In this context, Turkish education system bears unique qualities in that “there are numerous social frictions between the rich and the poor, the rural regions and urban metropolises, between generations, ethnic groups and ideological milieus” (Nohl et al. 2008:9). The fact that these social frictions take place both in short intervals and in several dimensions distinguishes Turkey from other countries and makes it “unique”. In other words, nowhere in the world does the education system change so rapidly and do the differences between the groups (socioeconomically, gender, rural/urban, generations etc.) appear to be so distinct.

### **3.4. Conclusion**

In this chapter designed to examine the structural transformations in order to understand the field of education today, Ottoman social structure and traditional education system have been touched for the necessity of examining the institutions inherited from the Ottomans and altered.

Conventional education system in the Ottomans based on the agricultural economy depends on a system in which majority are trained as “a good Muslim” and “the ruled” while the minority are as “the rulers”. The educated urban and ruling class are distinguished from the majority by means of the education they take. While upward mobility is possible for men through education, women’s education is confined to the

primary school. In addition, the controlling effect of religion on education in the pre-industrial societies is valid for the Ottoman Empire, as well.

However, just as every society influenced by the economic, social, cultural and ideological transformations does to enable its own continuity, Ottomans make attempts to catch up with and keep up with the age through education that reproduces and enables the system. To do so, reforms are realized for such disadvantaged groups as minorities and women, and new schools are opened to close the deficit in military field particularly (to prevent the loss of land). The rapid progress of the West in industrialization and nationalist movements bring about class and educational transformations in the social structure of the Ottomans. Particularly in the late Ottoman, there is an attempt to extend many new types of school opened. There are also attempts to sustain the Ottoman order through the students sent abroad. Recently, a class of bureaucrats has emerged that extends with the transformation in the field of education. For the women, however, as will be mentioned later, they start to take place in the field of education through the struggle in the last years of the Ottomans.

As a result, the transformations in the Ottoman education system are shaped with the social structure, international relationships, social work division, mode of production, technological advancements and state ideology. It should also be stated that the field of education has affected these fields. Accordingly, there is an interactive relationship that transforms and changes each other. The staff trained for the continuance of the Empire plays a significant role in the formation of the new nation-state.

In the declaration of Turkish Republic and in the building process of the nation-state, education seems to be used as part of this process. In the first period from 1923 to 1950, education has the function of creating national identity, unity and consciousness of citizenship. Education undertakes a big role in a society that shifts from “multiethnic, multireligious, theocratic and agrarian empire” to “secular, unitary nation-state” and that is expected to reach “the level of contemporary

civilization”. There are two functions of education in this period: 1) The rate of literacy is low and so it is necessary to shape the population most of whom live in the rural and whose literacy rate is low as new individuals who have adopted nation-state, citizenship, secularism, and Kemalist ideology. Therefore, education served the new order’s purpose of acculturation for this purpose. 2) As mentioned in the Economy Congress of İzmir, there is a need for the training of manpower required to exist in the capitalist world. Consequently, education undertakes to train the required manpower. As young, hardworking, secular and productive individuals, who are required by the state, they are expected to enable the country to reach “the level of contemporary civilization”. In short, the understanding that education and educated individuals are “the guardians of the regime” is the basic approach of the one-party era.

With the first Constitution, education, which is a human right and the duty of the state, provides equality to all the citizens without any discrimination based on socioeconomic background, gender and region. This system is unlike the one under the Ottomans. From this aspect, women’s existence in field of education together with the republic may be read as an important breaking point in terms of male-female equality and human rights. It is a step of significance in that women can rid themselves of their traditional roles in social life, rise to a higher position and take their place in political life increasingly. However, socio-economic level, regional and ideological differences have prevented these transformations from reaching every segment of the society and coming true.

Between 1950 and 1980, some educational institutions in the initial years of the republic undergo some changes, depending on the political and economic ideology of the party, social transformation and international relationships. The policies of the Democrat Party (DP) based both on traditional/conservative discourse and liberal discourse are reflected into the education. In addition, global and local economic and social transformations cause a lot of changes in field of politics, economy, culture and education. Especially the population rise parallel to the developments in health, migration from the rural to the urban areas and urbanization leave their stamp on the

transformations in education in this period. Firstly, education institutions fail to meet the demand increasing in the urban areas. The state allows the new private schools to be opened due to the inadequate sources. This case would later cause the socioeconomic background differences to become more apparent and to increase gradually. Secondly, urban families from higher or middle socioeconomic background send their children to the “better” ones of the schools for many reasons and move on the way to becoming “elite minority”.

Because of the increased rate of level and demand for the secondary education, the facility of getting a job more easily in the subsequent years and social prestige, there appears a huge interest in the higher education and the existing universities cannot meet the growing demand. Therefore, a lot of new universities are opened in many cities besides the ones in Ankara and İstanbul. The demand is so high that even the universities cannot meet it and academies begin to be opened because they are considered as an alternative due to the economic development, the rise of the private sector in the field and the public’s desire for vertical mobility. However, private colleges begin to be opened though they will sharpen the socioeconomic and regional inequalities, and the reason for this is the unfulfilled demand for the higher education. As the newly-opened universities, academies and colleges go on failing to meet the demand for university, depending on the increased domestic migration, urbanization, population rise and economic policies, new practices and institutions are put into force for solutions: Open Education Faculty of Anadolu University, YAYKUR and “teaching via letters” are just some of them. Also, the practice of central exam for the universities is enforced in this period by ÜSYM. This practice is intended to select the students and place them at a university more fairly and justly, but it later turns into a big competition and race due to the high demand but low quotas.

After 1980, however, the transformation on the global level (neoliberalism) brings a different approach to the field of education. Information and education are more valuable on the global market from then on because for the capitalist companies and individuals that are in competition on the global level, the institutions that produce

education, work and knowledge gain value. Consequently, this process causes education and information to have a different function both for the individuals and the companies. On the other hand, the process of participation in education is influenced by the individual's gender and regional, economic, social and cultural capital.

The prevailing post-80 ideology, containing Turkish-Islam synthesis and neoliberalist approach, causes privatizations in many fields, including education. Education starts to be transformed into a good or a "consumption good desired" by all the segments of the society. That it is perceived as a means of upward mobility and handiwork and physical work are considered to be of an inferior status leads to a longer period in field of education and competition in access to the higher education. The role of the state in education is diminished and private enterprises take their place in every field of education. The privatization of education causes only a privileged class to benefit from this service and consequently class inequalities to become deeper. Another field of inequality is created by the exclusive schools such as Anatolian High-School and Science High-Schools founded by the state. While this is the case of inequality with the secondary education, the private universities are the cause of inequality in the higher education. Rapidly increasing in number, these institutions have not been able to solve the issue of high demand for universities, and as a result, there are still thousands of students waiting for university education.

As a result, there are important and conspicuous social inequalities in the social structure of Turkish Republic, which is being established on the institutions inherited from the Ottomans. Education has undertaken various missions in different periods and has been perceived as an effective means of decreasing or eliminating the social inequality and securing the social mobility. Even though there are some achievements in the early years of the Republic, education has not been able to meet this expectation so far. This is because education appears to be a field that recreates and reproduces the social inequality due to the policies applied ever since the 1950s in particular. Let alone such expectations as demand, ideals and quality, the inequalities in access to the higher education have deepened such inequalities as



social class, region, and gender. On the other hand, higher education still preserves its function of social mobility. Accordingly, what is important today is how and where you take place in the ranking of university and field of study. All these points have made the issue a subject for sociological research and enquiry.

## **CHAPTER 4**

### **GENDER EDUCATIONAL INEQUALITY IN TURKEY**

#### **4.1. Introduction**

The previous chapter is designed to examine the transformations of the field of education on the institutional level within its relationship with the social transformation. These institutional transformations have come true due to the interaction of ideological, economic, social and cultural variables on the local and global level. Particularly to understand the educational field of the present day, Tanzimat era has been taken as the starting point for the analysis as it is accepted as the beginning of the modernization process of Ottoman and Ottoman social structure. Then the transformation in the field of education in the late Ottomans has been touched and the institutional structures in this field that have come to the present with the process of nation-state have been discussed with their background and the features and ideological infrastructure of the period. Therefore, the macro-structural factors affecting educational attainment in Turkey have been discussed.

The objective of this chapter is to examine the gender educational inequality, which is our main issue. The other inequalities in the field of education, such as social class, urban-rural and interregional, will be discussed on the basis of gender inequality.

Furthermore, since gender inequality as an issue is deeply rooted in Turkey, it should be historically revealed (as socialist feminist perspective states). Therefore, the aim of this chapter is to delineate the issue of gender inequality in Turkey. As it has roots in the Ottoman era, this chapter is organized regarding the historical order in the first chapter: The first part of this chapter will elaborate on the position of women in the society, women's social role and position of women in education in the late Ottoman,

which includes the 19<sup>th</sup> century and early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Then the women's activism/movement in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and its influence on women's educational status in Ottoman Empire will be considered. In the second part of this chapter, Kemalist ideology and early Turkish Republic period will be firstly emphasized regarding women. Then women's educational status and gender inequality will be discussed through statistical data and some figures to the present.

## **4.2. Ottoman Empire**

### **4.2.1. Women's Position in the Ottoman Empire**

There are limited records that enable us to get information about the general social position of woman in the Ottoman. The events of birth, baptism and death in Europe were recorded by the Church and these records were something like a register system. However, there was not such a register system in the Ottoman. The state just kept the tax records for the control of the "surplus value". In these records, not the individuals, but the households were taken as the basis (Duben, 2002:16). In the Ottoman State, which considered the households in regulating the economic life, the first census was conducted in 1831. In this census, however, the men eligible for military duty and tolling were included. On the other hand, women first took place in a census records in 1882 (Çakır, 1996:13; Karpat, 1978; Duben, 1990;1993; Gündüz-Hoşgör, 1996:124). Even this attitude of the Ottoman State gives important clues about the attitude to woman. For Çakır (1996), women were not included in the census records for ideological reasons. In addition, women produced very few written works because of the low rate of literacy among them. These two facts lead to the invisibility of women, so "invisibility" of women was the basic problem of women under the Ottoman.<sup>146</sup>

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<sup>146</sup> The position of woman in the Ottomans is depicted by Nezihe Muhittin as follows: "Their voice was a crime, and so were their words and behaviours. The woman was not a human, but a creature born with her guilt and as guilty! However, this unjust attitude was not just to the women. Then men also lived in two separate classes alien to one another. Some of the people were "*havas*"

As mentioned in the previous chapter, religion is the basic and legitimizing ideology of the state in Ottomans (Keyder, 1987; Tekeli, Ş., 1981:379). The institution of religion has a dominant and effective role on every field of the social life. Moreover, it plays a leading role in the determination of the women's social status. Especially in the 16<sup>th</sup> century caliphate is passed to the Ottomans (i.e. Ottomans became Islamic Empire), which enforces the Islamic rules, *the Sheria*, also influencing the social positions of women. Islamic law grants men more rights and privileges than women, pushing the latter into the secondary status in such issues as divorce, witness, etc.<sup>147</sup> Women's place and role in the public sphere is restricted (Gündüz-Hoşgör, 1996:121).

There are several different approaches to the limited role of women in public sphere in the Ottoman: according to Ahmed (1984), the seclusion of women is a tool with which to enable men's control over women. On the other hand, to Pierce (1993), seclusion of women is largely a *class* phenomenon and a question of social status. For example, women from lower class provide service to upper-class in their houses and women from lower class employed as workers in some factories such as textile and food. Additionally, the case of seclusion is valid more for the urban upper-class women, which is related to the honour of family. "To maintain a reputation for modesty and honour, women were not to be seen by other men than members of her household. For example, when women of Ottoman elite went out they were surrounded by a retinue, that is, "by a cordon of servants that symbolically represented the protection of harem walls"- the walls of the women's quarters at the household" (Pierce, 1993:271 cited in Gündüz-Hoşgör, 1996:122). Furthermore, "in the empire, non-Muslim women could also enjoy an honourable reputation when they maintained certain seclusion" (Pierce, 1993 cited in Gündüz-Hoşgör, 1996:122-3). So it means that seclusion of women did not depend on only the rules of Islamic

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(elite) and others were "*avam*" (nonelite). A third division was already made: *havas-avam-woman*" (Muhittin, 1931 cited in Baykan et.al, 1999:86).

<sup>147</sup> Man's right for inheritance was more than woman's; at courts two women were equal to one man; man had the right for polygamy, and only man could decide to divorce, not woman. It seems clear that women were not equal to men in legal terms (Çakır, 1996:136).

law, Sheria. In this sense, Nezihe Muhittin reports that the rural woman, who was the unpaid family worker, was less affected by the Islamic ideology than the urban woman (Baykan et al., 1999), and she also argues that it is indeed the urban women who should be saved from Islamic ideology and their salvation depends on finding a job. Similarly, for Ortaylı (2001:7), women's social status and religious discrepancies in male-female relationship are not deterministic in the social life of the Ottomans. For example, there was not much difference between the life of an urban Christian woman and that of a Muslim woman. Greek, Armenian, Turkish and Jewish families in the same region were similar to each other. Briefly saying, in the Ottoman, a common style of life was shared within the system of "nation" (*millet*) (cited in Dulum, 2006:12).

While the isolation of women from social life or "invisibility" of women in the public sphere was an acceptable state in the Ottomans, Gerber (1980) reports that women were within the economic life though partly. He arrives at the following conclusions in a study examining the position of women in Bursa of the seventeenth century: "Many documents in the *kadi* records of seventeenth-century Bursa show that women were intensely involved in selling, buying and leasing of urban and village real estate, a type of activity that was apparently most popular with women. A large number of women owned houses" (Gerber, 1980:233). Moreover, almost half the spinning devices in Bursa belonged to women. And those who worked at them were women. However, as they were not welcomed to be a member of guild, they were left obliged to sell their shares of guilds. The women who did not have enough money for trade could turn towards craft. They could also deal with textile and agricultural activities. Under Kanuni era, they ran laundry and traded in slaves (Gerber, 1980). However, the fact that women had economic capital did not mean that they also had force/power (Göçek et al., 2000:49).

According to Göçek et al. (2000:52), if they have economic capital, this is thanks to their fathers or husbands. Being the lady of the house or girl in a house of a *ruling class* meant being a member of the *upper class* and allowing them to use a lot of facilities. However, a woman's chance of attaining this facility depended on the

permission of the father/husband, who was the sole authority on decision making within the traditional patriarchal structure. Social class, urban-rural distinction and man's, especially father's view of the girls'/women's education play an important role in the availability of education of women, as an issue which will be discussed in the next part of the chapter.

Another variable that determines the woman's position in the Ottoman is the distinction between the urban and rural. While the woman was the unpaid home worker of the house in the division of labour depending on the gender and age in the house in the rural area based on the small family production in agricultural sector (Gündüz-Hoşgör, 1996:127), she was dissociated from the public sphere in the urban area. In other words, the "invisibility" of the woman was more conspicuous in the city. The roles of woman had already been determined in the living area which was confined largely to the private field (Tekeli, Ş., 1985:50; Çitçi, 1990:106). As socialist feminist theory argues, in Ottoman private and public space were obviously separated each other and women have belonged to private space. Islamic law prevented any sort of closeness and relationship between man and woman; and besides social pressure (Çakır, 1996:158), the padishah's decrees<sup>148</sup> limited the lives of the urban women in the public sphere. For example, there were certain bans for women to go to pudding shops, recreational areas and theatres or have a meal out without their husband, to go out on certain days of the week, and rules on the wearing styles of women (Abadan-Unat, 1981:8; Gündüz-Hoşgör, 1996:123; Çakır, 1996:159). As seen, the state had determined what, where and when the urban women financially dependent on their husbands would do. In other words, the woman was determined within the triangle of religion, state and family.<sup>149</sup>

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<sup>148</sup> For the decrees (1770-1836) regarding the regulations of the public sphere of woman, see Akşit, E.E. (2012).

<sup>149</sup> Tekeli, Ş. (1985:51) underlines the patriarchy once more again, saying that the woman was the subject of the man who was the subject of the triangle of state, religion and family. Of course, patriarchy plays an important role in determining the position of woman in the Ottoman.

In general history writing<sup>150</sup>, the impression is that the woman is passive and victim. In addition, Orientalist perspective, as stated by Göle (2004:43), claims that woman was behind the closed doors and had the status of a slave. However, it would be wrong to assume that the Ottoman woman controlled and restricted both in the private zone and public sphere was totally “passive and victim” (Abadan-Unat, 1981:9). For especially in the late Ottoman women were actively engaged in the struggle for union and economic rights. For example, though women are not considered important as subjects in the economic history and workers’ history, 9 of 50 strikes between 1872 and 1907 took place in the sectors of women (Çakır, 1996:13).

Generally, the place of women in the Ottoman society started to be discussed as the “women question” along with the modernization and secularization movements during the Tanzimat era (Kandiyoti, 1991b:23; Çakır, 1996:8). Modernist intellectual and some in the *ruling class* began to discuss the “women question” as an important issue on the modernization of the society. They evaluated it as the cause of backwardness and as a problem that needed solving. Defined from a patriarchal perspective, women were problematized as the real cause of ignorance and backwardness. To them, it was necessary to raise the status of women for development and improvement (Durakbaşa, 1998:37; Sancar, 2012:84). The critiques starting primarily in field of literature dealt with the oppression of women within the family, secondariness, arranged marriage, polygamy<sup>151</sup> and sexual discrimination. Behind the view that women should be given more education as a solution was that the educating role of women within the family should be underlined. It was not that

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<sup>150</sup> Subject in traditional history is male and it is written through his observations. In this history, heroes, conquerors, kings are all male. In this sort of history writing, the results are essential and the background, real causes and persons of the events are not important. The result appears in the public sphere and there are no women there (Çakır, 1996:12).

<sup>151</sup> There are studies indicating that polygamy is indeed a *class* feature and it is not as common as supposed. See Gerber (1980). Furthermore, Duben (1993) states that polygamy was seen by the Ottoman intellectuals as “outdated”, but according to the census results of 1885 and 1907, only 2.5% of the married men were polygamous. Moreover, he mentions the evidence that the case in Anatolia was not different. To him, polygamy might be most probably prevalent among the very rich. Polygamy has more symbolic and polemical significance.

women should have an independent identity or get rid of the control of the men (Tekeli, Ş., 1985:52). On the other hand, conservatives or Islamists defended the view that the status of women should be preserved and traditional structure maintained (Göle, 2004:49-50). According to this view, there was no need for women to take place more in public sphere, to raise their educational level or to have rights equal to men.

As it is seen, women problem is in the centre of the discussions around modernization, secularization and progression or, more generally, the design/project of a new society. In other words, women have always been “the touchstone of modernization process” because the status of women determines the limits of modernization and transformation (Göle, 2004:46; Gündüz-Hoşgör, 1996:135). In addition, women problem has been brought forward by a lot of approaches and made a subject of politics. For example, whereas it was the basic field of discussion between the Westerners and Islamists in the Tanzimat era, in the later periods the approach of Turkism would also be included in the discussion. As a result, the social position of women is not independent of the social, economic, ideological and historical transformation on the local and global planes.

#### **4.2.2. Tanzimat Era and its consequences on women’s social and educational status**

Before discussing the role of Tanzimat era on women, it would be better to make some mention of the education system in the Ottoman: As mentioned in the previous chapter, it was not possible in the Conventional Ottoman Education System, before *Tanzimat*<sup>152</sup>, for girls to continue their education after the *sıbyan school* that would

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<sup>152</sup> To begin with, there is not much to say about the education of women before the 19<sup>th</sup> century because they have hardly any education. Considering the pre-Ottoman period, it can be thought that women took equal education with men in the early Turks, under whom we know there was gender equality. For example, if Bilge Kagan was literate, then his wife and daughters must also have taken education. Under Anatolian Seljuks who adopted Islam, there is no document showing that women took education. While sultan girls had manual skills and information of charities, there is no document on their literacy. Before Mehmet II, (namely before İstanbul was conquered and central structure was adopted), there is no information about the education of women. After the Enderun, established to train men of religion, regulations were realized on the education of



give religious training<sup>153</sup> (Caporal, 1982:102; Dulum, 2006; Davis, 1986; Akşit, E.E., 2004; 2012; Seven et al., 2010; Akyüz, 2011:4; Keçeci Kurt, 2011). Boys were eligible to continue the other technical schools opened in the later years to train technical staff for the madrasa and/or army. In the *devshirmeh system*, they could as well take education in the Enderun at the court. The women at the court could take such courses as reading-writing, sewing, embroidery, and music at harem.<sup>154</sup> Besides, families of the bureaucrat class would provide education to their male and female children at their own mansions. In short, while the rural girls could go to sıbyan school which was not necessary until Tanzimat in general, the girls of the urban and bureaucrat (petty bourgeoisie) families could receive private education at the mansion (Işın, 1988; Gündüz-Hoşgör, 1996:129; Akşit, E.E., 2010). As seen, the state policies that gave privilege to the training of men for technical and military staff, socioeconomic and regional inequalities played an important role in the education of girls.

Tanzimat era began with declaration of *Gülhane Hatt-ı Hümayunu* of 1839 with the purpose of keeping pace with the changing world system of the West with its economic, technologic and military progression, and eliminating with the understanding of “citizenship” the disturbance created among the non-Muslim population by the movements of nation formation in the West. As in the case of nation-state, this contract made it possible for the law to be homogenized, the sects to lose their significance, an understanding of citizenship based on the equality of individuals to be developed, while it is also accepted as the beginning of a process towards the emancipation of women and individual rights (Keyder, 2004:12; Abadan-Unat, 1981:8).

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women. There were courtly women who took courses on music, literature, poetry, sewing, embroidery and reading-writing (Davis, 1986).

<sup>153</sup> Reading Quran was being taught. Behind the avoidance of teaching women to write was “the fear that they might write love letters” (Dulum, 2006:25) and “learning to write might turn women into witches” (Davis, 1986). According to the religious rules, girls’ teachers were also female.

<sup>154</sup> For more information about the education at harem, see Akşit, E.E. (2010).

In fact, Tanzimat was a response to the Western “economic, technical and military” pressure and modernization effort. Thereupon, the relationship with the West deepened in this period and commercial life<sup>155</sup> in the Empire began to change (Kandiyoti, 1991a:8). Moreover, the other sections, especially Ottoman Court, began to come under the effect of the change in the world. For example, it was in this period that European duennas were hired for the training of the girls of the *bourgeoisie class* and the *new bureaucrats* that came into being with the changes in the social structure (Tekeli, Ş., 1997:173; Davis, 1986). Under the effect of westernization, duennas<sup>156</sup> were employed so that the children could learn a foreign language were also an important sign of status (Toska, 1998:72). The change in the women started to spread to every field of social life, including the wearing style, child care and training, playing the piano, and the works they read (Dulum, 2006). Hence, their old life style was gradually being replaced by the new one. In big cities, especially İstanbul<sup>157</sup>, however, some women had adopted the western style of life based on imitation, but they were criticized as “*türedi kadın*” (“woman derived”) both by the Tanzimat intellectuals and by the opponents of the reform. For example Fatma Fahrünnisa Hanım, a writer of Tanzimat, categorizes two different groups of women idealized and criticized in her article “*İki Aile Levhası*”: The lazy “*urban woman derived*” (“*alafranga woman*”) who is usually keen on travelling, having fun and consuming, and the “*self-sacrificing woman*” who is loyal to her house as a good wife and mother. The peasant and working women are also categorized as “*self-sacrificing women*” (Toska, 1998:72). This case was even drawing reaction for

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<sup>155</sup> The transformations in fashion and furniture with this wind of change from the West create an important market for the western tradesmen (Toska, 1998:72).

<sup>156</sup> On the other hand, they were criticized on the grounds that they would cause children to get away from their own cultures. The critiques are also visible in some works of the period. For example, the character of duenna in H. Rahmi Gürpınar’s work *Duenna* is described as evil-minded (Davis, 1986).

<sup>157</sup> Besides İstanbul being the capital, non-Muslim and foreign nationality population caused the city to be the centre of the modernization process. It led to the shaping of not only commercial and cultural life, but also women’s life style. In this sense, İstanbul is at a different position from the other cities of the period (Salonika, Beirut and İzmir, etc.). However, it should be indicated in general that there are differences between the experiences of urban women and those of the rural women (Gündüz-Hoşgör, 1996:125).

the women reforms of Tanzimat era. For example, the schools opened for Muslim girls after Tanzimat remained without students in the early years for fear that they would become like non-Muslim girls and/or “*women derived*” (Toska, 1998:71-74; Baskın, 2007:35).

Tanzimat era did not only change the living style of the Ottoman women. It also led to changes in the status of women. Being the first law on gender equality, the Law of Land in 1858 granted male and female children equal rights. Moreover, it was decided that *rüştiyes* should be opened as schools that would enable the girls to continue secondary education after the sıbyan school, which might be accepted as primary schools (Tekeli, Ş., 1985:51; Çakır, 2010:101; Gündüz-Hoşgör, 1996:130; Dulum, 2006:23; TÜSIAD, 2000:44; Baskın, 2007:112; Akşit, E.E.,2012:18; Jayawardena, 1986:28; Davis, 1986; Caporal,1982; Akyüz, 1999; Berktaş, 2004a:12). However, these schools did not become common. Almost all of them were in İstanbul and their number was inadequate (Çakır, 1996:220). In addition, the social viewpoint on the training and educating of girls in general prevented the schools from being demanded and being common.

Despite the negative social viewpoint on the training of women, there were attempts of ruling class and elites to include the women in the field of education. Behind these attempts is the relationship between the backwardness of the society and backwardness of women (Jayawardena, 1986:28). The solution is that women should be reshaped, their duties should be determined anew and “new ideal woman types” should be formed. This is because the reason for the backwardness of the society was the children who were not well-educated due to the ignorant or illiterate women/mothers. Mothers had a big role in the upbringing of children so that they could be useful for the state and nation. Accordingly, women’s social duty was to become a good mother (Toska, 1998:71; Tekeli, Ş., 1997:173; Göle, 2004:52; Akyüz, 2011:7; Berktaş, 2004a:12). The rural and urban women who were uneducated and imitated the western women were to be well educated so that they could be a good mother and bring up their children well. Therefore, a lot of innovative attempts were made at the education of women. These attempts and

changes in the social order were not welcomed by big landlords, sharia supporters and religious clergy (Gündüz-Hoşgör, 1996:137). However, incentive practices were carried out to enable the women to participate in the new institutions. A new writing was even published in the official gazette, telling the advantage of literate women as wives, in order to encourage the *rüştiyes* (Davis, 1986). These attempts affected the limited number of women who lived in the city and started to go bourgeoisie (Tekeli, Ş., 1981:377-8; 1985:51; Çakır, 2010:101,219; Çitçi, 1990:106; Abadan-Unat, 1981:10).

In addition, primary school became compulsory for girls and boys in Tanzimat era and it was decided that the number of *rüştiyes* for girls should be increased<sup>158</sup> (Kurnaz, 1999; Dulum, 2006:23; Dođramacı, E.1997:81; Caporal, 1982:102; Kırkpınar, 2013:201; Üstel, 2004). The *rüştiyes* free of charge and not compulsory were institutions where social gender roles were taught, religious information was increased and emphasis was made on a good wife and mother (Jayawardena, 1986:28; Üstel, 2004:113). Because it was not considered right in religious terms for girls to share the same space with boys of the same age or because girls had reached “the age at which they should keep away from boys” (Dulum, 2006:32-35), there arose the problem of who would become their teachers. At first, old male teachers attended their courses as they were “reliable and licensed” (Akşit, E.E., 2012:91), but later it was decided that teacher-training schools (*Darülmualimat*)<sup>159</sup> should be opened to obtain female teachers (Çakır, 1996:219-220; Taşkıran, 1973 cited in Kandiyoti, 1991b:28; Davis, 1986; Caporal,1982:104; TÜSİAD, 2000:45; Toprak, 1981:365; Berktaş, 2004a:12; Dulum, 2006:38-43; Jayawardena, 1986:28; Kurnaz, 1999; Dođramacı, E.1997:20; Akyüz, 1999).

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<sup>158</sup> In 1893 in İstanbul, it had 9 *rüştiyes* with 313 students, then in 1903 the number of schools rose to 11 *rüştiyes* with 1640 students (Caporal,1982:107).

<sup>159</sup> In the beginning, the institution did nothing but to give religious education to girls (reading Quran, memorizing it). However, curriculum alteration was made in the following years (Abadan-Unat, 1981:9). In addition, it had 29 students when it was first opened. In 1895, the number of its students rose to 350 (Davis, 1986). For details, see Akyüz (2011:13-22).

Teachership is exclusively important in that it is the profession that enabled women to exist in the public sphere in the Ottoman<sup>160</sup> (Baykan et.al, 1999:90, Akşit, E.E, 2011). In fact, it is claimed that the first profession for women in the Ottoman was midwifery<sup>161</sup> (Davis, 1986; Kurnaz, 1999; Kırkpınar, 2013:92). However, there is not information regarding the fact that its graduates were employed (Tekeli, Ş., 1997:173; TÜSİAD, 2000:45; Çakır, 2010:102; Kurnaz, 1999). It could be said in general that with Tanzimat such vocational schools as teachership and midwifery function in the Ottoman to enable women's upward social mobility and participation and strengthening in workforce. However, it was urban women who largely benefited from these schools opened only big cities such as İstanbul, İzmir and Salonika. Nezihe Muhittin tells us about who went to these schools and how the society views the profession of teachership:

The woman of constitutional monarchy period, who had not come out of her shell yet and who were developing gradually under the sun and air to complete her development, produced her most useful work in field of the profession of teachership. Until then the place of a female teacher was not accepted as more honourable than the social position of a female quack (*üfürükçü*). Under the effect of this way of thinking, a polite family could not send their daughter to school. In fact, there were no schools for girls except a teacher training school and female art school in the constitutional monarchy period. Most of the women who chose to be a teacher after graduating from these schools were those belonging to a coterie with familial upbringing and manners no so high. The daughters of pashas, gorgeous viziers, and high gentlemen! Would not condescend to these schools, but the vigilant daughters of the chefs, housekeepers, governesses and taya kalfas (Muhittin, 1931 cited in Baykan et.al, 1999:109).

Another vocational school opened in this period for women like the teacher training school was *female industrial schools*. The first one was opened by Mithat Pasha in

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<sup>160</sup> Actually, according to Akyüz (2004), there had been female teachers in the sibyan schools before Darülmualimat. Darülmualimat just made teachership as profession for females. Graduating in 1873, Fahriye, Münire, Fatma, Nigar, Zehra and Hatice hanıms are the first female teachers in history (Çakır, 1996:222). Also, R.N. Güntekin's work *Çalılıkusu* (2012) tells the story of a female teacher in the Ottoman gives detailed information about the period and profession.

<sup>161</sup> In 1826 the courses of midwifery were started in the medical school, but in 1842 female midwife started to be trained. As it was not found proper for female students of midwifery to be taught by male teachers, female teachers were brought from Europe (Çakır, 1996:221; Kurnaz, 1999; Caporal, 1982:105; Dulum, 2006:37).

1865 in Rusçuk to provide the orphan female children, while in İstanbul it was opened in 1869.<sup>162</sup> Women learned sewing and embroidery there and met the wearing need of the army (Caporal, 1982:105; TÜSIAD, 2000:45; Baskın, 2007:112; Dulum, 2006:38; Akşit, E.E., 2012; Çakır, 1996:220; Davis, 1986; Akyüz, 2011:23; Toktas et al., 2006:739). Their number increased year by year and the students' profile was largely composed of young, urban and low-income girls. Thus, male-female industry schools would later enable the lower class members to enter into the field of production (Akşit, E.E., 2012:18; 2004).

On the contrary, the schools mostly preferred by the girls of non-Muslim minorities were opened for those from upper-class families. While taking private lessons from the duennas and foreign teachers at home, non-Muslim schools enabled them to find a place for themselves in the public space through public education. These schools were not initially preferred by the Muslim families but later they came to be preferred by *petty bourgeoisie* and *ruling class* families and became schools where "female elites"<sup>163</sup> were created (Akşit, E.E., 2012:109). For example, only three Muslim girls were registered in the American college for girls in 1875. The students who were sent to these schools despite the social pressure on the families graduated. These were Gülistan İsmet, who had a courtier mother and a father who was a colonel in the army; Halide Edip, who was the daughter of the clerk of the court; and Nazlı Halid, who was the granddaughter of a state official (Davis, 1986; Tekeli, Ş., 1997:173; Gündüz-Hoşgör, 1996:132; Jayawardena, 1986:28; Abadan-Unat, 1981:10; Moghadam, 1993:80). These schools were more preferred by the new bourgeois and

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<sup>162</sup> Female schools were always opened after male schools in the Ottoman. This school was simultaneous with industry school for males, breaking this tradition (Akşit, E.E., 2012:74). Moreover, these schools, according to Akşit, E.E (2004, 2012, 2009), carried the state's education to girls at harem to the public sphere. That is, it was a social project in which lower-class Muslim girls were educated.

<sup>163</sup> Initially, there were hardly any students going to this school in this period. However, in the later years, the number of students increased under the effect of the ideological environment of the period. The graduating girls could have a job. For example, 16 of 24 Muslim women graduating from the school in 1922 became teachers, 2 became doctors and 1 became a lawyer. In addition, they played an important role in the Ottoman women movement (Davis, 1986).

bureaucrats in the later years under the effect of the ideological movements of the era.

As a result, non-Muslim schools enable the upper class to reproduce itself and create female elites on one hand and *rüştiyes*, midwife-teacher training schools and especially industry schools emphasize the education of lower classes<sup>164</sup> and offer alternatives to them on the other (Akşit, E.E.,2012:109; 2004; Tekeli, Ş.,1998b:173). Thus, these schools offered them the opportunity for upward mobility. However, these schools did not become widespread, so only some women of urban bourgeoisie class could reach it. In this case, what is important is the household head's, namely father's view of the girls' education (Davis, 1986). For example, Halide Edip's father was the clerk of the court and started to learn English after the age of 7. Similarly, Nezihe Muhittin's family had military-educated and reformist/adverse men (father, cousins, etc.) and she took private lessons from teachers at home (Gündüz-Hoşgör, 1996:130; Baykan et.al, 1999; Akşit, E.E., 2012; 2004). On the other hand, conservative families argued that their daughters do not need to take education and it would not be proper for women to take place in the public sphere. In one of the journals for women, for example, the writing of a young girl called Nedime Sara gives general information about conservative view:

I can never forget those days... When I was but a child, my uncle who was a calligrapher was writing something; I sidled up to him. "I wish I could read and write, too," said I and my uncle got angry, put off his glasses and "Auw, this would be the sign of doomsday," he said forethoughtfully (Çakır, 1996:41).

#### **4.2.2.1. The Young Ottoman Movement**

In this period, another factor that affected the state's view of women and education and enabled and forced the state to take innovative initiatives in this field was "the emergence of a western-educated Turkish aristocracy and bourgeoisie in the 19<sup>th</sup>

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<sup>164</sup> While few girls graduated from the American college every year, at least 500 students began to take education at industry schools for girls every year (Akşit, E.E., 2012:85). At this point, the effect of class stratification should not be forgotten. In other words, there was a large lower class/the ruled/the subjects under the small elite class/rulers in the Ottoman.

century” (Jayawardena, 1986:29). Generally labelled as Young Ottomans Movement<sup>165</sup>, this movement was “a reaction to the authoritarianism, extreme westernism and superficiality of the Tanzimat policies”. Their ideology was a mixture of Ottoman nationalism, Islamism and constitutionalism. Moreover, they argued for a synthesis between the western notion of “progress” and “a harmonious Islamic stage” (Kandiyoti, 1991b:25). For progress/westernization/civilization, it was necessary to educate the women. One of the leading figures, Namık Kemal wrote the following in one of his papers on the issue: “We know that in civilized countries the women, like the men, are educated. In those countries women under twenty were educated so that they could become teachers. Educated men chose their wives among these women.” (Gündüz-Hoşgör, 1996:133). This approach considered an educated man’s marriage to an educated woman and a woman’s having a job as civilization or westernization, also criticizing the traditional male-female relationships such as arranged marriage. They were passionate for a romantic affair between a woman and a man, their marriage for and with love and their intellectual recognition of each other (Gündüz-Hoşgör, 1996:134; Berktaş, 2004a:13; Sancar, 2012:88). Such thoughts and critiques were defined as “men’s mild reaction to the Ottoman patriarchal order” (Abadan-Unat, 1998:324) and were mentioned in many pieces of writing in the journal, in the books, etc.<sup>166</sup> For example, in his book entitled *Şair Evlenmesi*, Şinasi criticizes the arranged marriage system; Namık Kemal, in his novels *Intibah* and *Zavallı Çocuk*, also draws the conditions of women in the family and social life and criticizes them; Ahmet Mithat Efendi, in his studies, advocates the changes in women’s positions and states forced marriage and polygamy as “social

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<sup>165</sup> Such important names as Namık Kemal, Şinasi, Ziya Paşa, Ahmet Mithat Efendi and Şemsettin Sami were in this movement (Kandiyoti, 1991b, Jayawardena, 1986; Gündüz-Hoşgör, 1996, Berkes, 2006; Göle, 2004; Baskın, 2007; Tekeli, Ş., 1997; Abadan-Unat; 1998; Frierson, 2004:150; Moghadam, 1993:80; Göle, 1998:71; Seven et al., 2010:179; Sancar, 2012:85)

<sup>166</sup> These writings were within the framework of westernization movements, but the fact that women problem became a subject of debate began with the publication of opposite writings. Niyazi Berkes (2006) claims that Mahmut Esat Efendi’s writings initiated the debates. In one of his writings, Mahmut Esat put forward that polygamy is consistent with the nature and prevents prostitution or adultery, thus criticizing those who criticized him (Göle, 2004:51).



illness” (Kandiyoti, 1991b:25; Baskın, 2007:35; Tekeli, Ş., 1997:173; Dulum, 2006:27-28; Akyüz, 1999; Tekeli, Ş., 1998b:173; Kırkpınar, 2013:90).

Due to the early male elites’/intellectuals’ interest in the emancipation and education of women, they may be called “the earliest advocates of emancipation of women” (Kandiyoti, 1991b:25) or “male feminist” (Moghadam, 1993:70). However, many people have differently interpreted the reason why the “woman question” was first mentioned by men as can be seen in many examples<sup>167</sup> from the world. For example, for Jayawardena (1986:8), “civilized housewives” are needed by the reformers of local bourgeoisie because they wanted a “new woman” as counterpart to enhance their own civilized image. For Kandiyoti (1988:47), Ottoman intellectuals focused on women as a suitable object to voice their own “restiveness with the more stifling aspects of their society”. In other words, they stated their inability to rebel against the authoritarian and absolutist order of the state with reference to the unjust treatment/victimization of women. Furthermore, these events could be attributable to the women’s winning some freedoms as a result of a series of economic and political transformations in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. For example, the transformations within the bourgeois class after the 1870s opened a wide field of activity particularly in field of education for the women and girls of the bourgeoisie (Hobsbawn, 2003:221). The consuming and producing role of women in the economic system was realized. Therefore, the women question has been brought forward by male intellectuals as well as the bourgeoisie and middle class. Similarly, Akşit, E.E. (2004) reports that Ottoman woman was discovered together with capitalism as in Europe and America in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and thus a new type of woman was created. In fact, she states that this type of woman was urban and expanded through acquisition of a profession/job. The first examples of them are female teachers.

Initially mentioned by the male intellectuals of the era, the women question later started to be dealt with by the elite women. The priority of the male-dominated discourse was to prove themselves to the other male intellectuals. They even had to

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<sup>167</sup> For example, like Condorcet in France, and like John Stuart Mill in England (Berkday, 2004a:12).

publish their writings under pseudonyms (Çakır, 1996:25). These elite women were a group that largely received mansion training, knew a foreign language, had the chance to develop themselves and were few in number, i.e. Fatma Aliye<sup>168</sup>, Emine Seniye, Nigar Hanım, Makbule Leman, and Mihrinnüsa Hanım. The writings by this small leading group would later be published in *Terakki-i Muhadderat*, the first journal for women. In the later years and especially in the era of Constitutional Monarchy II, there was an increase in the number of women who knew to read and write, and so more women would write for the journals. The issues they dealt with (such class problems as arranged marriage, polygamy, education, combinable nature of Islam and western technology), were about revealing the class origins of these problems (Abadan-Unat, 1981:10). Almost contemporaneous with it, the issues of slavery and concubinage or the problems of women in the rural had not been brought forward (Baskın, 2007:36-38). Accordingly, this elitist women movement, having begun in Tanzimat, reached more women with the increase in the number of women who could make use of the educational facilities offered to women in Tanzimat and in the era of Abdulhamit II (1878-1908). Thus, the feminist movement in the second constitutional monarchy emerged.

It can be argued in general that the increase in the education of women, their emancipation and the state of their being part of the society would be evaluated as the prerequisite of modernisation/civilization/progress. Moreover, while this approach was against religion/Islam, they argued that religion was misinterpreted and in reality Islam was not against equality.<sup>169</sup> Behind this attitude to religion was

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<sup>168</sup> An important figure in the Ottoman women movement, Fatma Aliye Hanım was the daughter of Cevdet Paşa who was the writer of *Mecelle* (The Ottoman Civic Code) and founder of CUP (Kandiyoti, 1991b:26-7; Tekeli, Ş., 1997:174; Frierson, 2004:149; Aykol, 2012:19-22). The writings she wrote with reference to Islam made the “real” Islamic life a subject of debate and accelerated the women movement. Her writings were a response to the “traditional views” and to the West, assuming that the backwardness of the Ottoman women was Islam. She also wrote that Islam gives more rights to women than Christianity does (Toska, 1998:73-4).

<sup>169</sup> At this point, women opposition gave response by giving example of *Asr-ı Saadet Era*, the period when Mohammad the Prophet was alive, with a stance based on religion. In this period accepted as the one when Islam was the least spoilt or damaged, women were free in serving God, following science and engaging in work life. However, the reactions to women now were caused by the men

“political Islam”<sup>170</sup> and the struggle was indeed to be against it. Also, the reason for this case was ignorance and unawareness of “real laws and orders” of Islam and or misinterpretation of Islam (Göle, 2004:51-3; Jayawardena, 1986:33). For example, the rules concerning polygamy, covering and isolation of women from the public sphere had nothing to do with the religion of Islam indeed (Abadan-Unat, 1998:324). This approach bears resemblance to the reforms in Europe in that it implies that it is necessary to grasp the essence of religion and people abuse the religion for their own benefits. Moreover, this approach forms the basis of the struggle for the freedom and emancipation of religion like that of women.<sup>171</sup> On the contrary, conservatives/traditionalists/political Islam’s supporters argue that male-female relationships should accord the sharia for the preservation of spiritual values and morality. For example, such issues as the education of women, their dancing and having a photo taken meant that women’s sphere (*private sphere [mahrem]* according to the Islamic understanding) would become visible, thus signifying “the violation of privacy”. And this might potentially cause a moral collapse and destruction (Göle, 2004:51-56).

#### **4.2.3. Abdülhamid II and the Era of Autocracy (1878-1908):**

While the debates on progress and westernization were going on among the Ottomans, the developments in the West, especially the uprisings in the Balkans under the effect of the French Revolution, revealed the need for the Ottoman to develop new strategies for the purpose of avoiding disintegration. To this end,

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who were unable to understand Islam fully or perverted it knowingly (Toska, 1998:74; Göle, 2004:54).

<sup>170</sup> Defining the duality of *political Islam* and *cultural Islam*, Berkes (1964) states that modernization story of Turkey depends on the conflict and clash between these two forms of Islam: Cultural Islam is the sum of all the rituals and beliefs associated with the Muslim community or *ummah*. On the other hand, political Islam argues that Islam is a way of life. It means that every aspect of life (economic, social, political etc.) is encompassed by Islam. In other words, cultural Islamists were “secular Muslims” and saw the West as a reference to modernization (Gündüz-Hoşgör, 1996:45), while political Islamists were conservatives.

<sup>171</sup> This approach would later form the basis of the understanding of secularization in Young Turks and Kemalist movements. However, this subject will not be dealt with comprehensively in the scope of the dissertation.

Abdulhamit II declared *Kanun-i Esasi* when he ascended the throne, and thus Ottoman passed to Constitutional Monarchy rule (with most of the padishah's authorities reserved). Due to the revolts in the country and developments in the West, however, Abdulhamit abolished the assembly a few years later. In this thirty-year-long period, he established a "repressive" administration to keep the empire together and united, and the basic ideology of the state became Ottomanism. According to Nezihe Muhittin (Muhittin, 1931 cited in Baykan et al., 1999:87), this was a period when the ignorant were powerful and the educated ones (*havas*) became the slaves of the uneducated (*avam*) and the woman became the slave of slaves. To her, this state of slavery and repression affected the urban woman most of all:

It was the urban woman that was subjected to the highest suffering and burden of the autocracy. It was a shame for women to read and to walk around. It was a sin for them to show their faces, and give big laughs... She was imprisoned behind the cage and walls, and the paradise was under their husbands' feet, while the hell was awaiting them with just a signal of their father-in-laws... (Muhittin, 1931 cited in Baykan et.al, 1999:87).

According to her, emancipation of the women in that period could only be possible with the recovery of the educated men from this pressure and slavery. This is because it was a crime in this period that women should voice themselves and run into action as they were banned from talking traditionally or religiously and get into act (Baykan et. al, 1999:30). Then it was necessary that educated men should have themselves heard and secure the salvation of women. Men could criticize the regime indirectly through the subjects of woman, family and marriage though not as much as in Tanzimat (Duben, 1993).

In this period of pressure, more investment was made in the field of education than Tanzimat, which was more "liberal": There were a lot of attempts at central structuring and multiplication of schools. There appeared a big increase especially in the primary and secondary schools for males and females in the rural area in this

period.<sup>172</sup> Many new *idadis* and *sultanis* were opened in big cities and especially in İstanbul so as to train state officials and teachers. Bureaucrats and intellectuals trained at these schools would later make up the staff potentially responsible for the future of the state (Gündüz, 2008). The purpose behind this quantitative increase that would increase the rate of girls' literacy and enable the creation of new elite staff is explained by Baytal (2000) as follows: The purpose of increasing the quantity was not to increase the quality, but to prevent and control the thought and scientific studies with the new schools and teachers. In addition, by increasing the number of the courses of religion and morality, it was intended to maintain the social order around the understanding of Islamism. This case is a typical example of the fact that the state used the field of education as an ideological tool (Althusser, 1991; Üstel, 2004).

Considering the era's ideology of women and education, it seems that girls were expected to attend the school for the purpose of "being a good mother, a good wife and a good Muslim" (Kandiyoti, 1991b:27; Toska, 1998:75; Sancar, 2012:90). In this period of pressure, it was impossible to think that women should have a job and take place in the public sphere. However, the increase in women's literacy under Abdülhamid II<sup>173</sup> became influential on feminist movement and women's organization (Abadan-Unat, 1998:324; Berktaş, 2004a).

Under the effect of the global developments and the pressure of the padishah in this period, new groupings/staff/movements that were adverse and opposed the status quo and would change the future of the state started to emerge. Specially in the period of autocracy, Young Turks who attended the schools training elites for state service and formed the activist and adverse side of the Ottoman elite (Keyder, 2004:36; Göle,

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<sup>172</sup> The number of female *rüştiyes* rose to 74 in the rural areas; thus, secondary education was provided in the rural. Moreover, changes were made in the teacher training schools for girls (*Darülmuallimat*) and the number of their students increased (Akyüz, 1999).

<sup>173</sup> The increase in the rate of literacy and especially the educational and social facilities acquired by the urban women led to changes in their social status. For example, the average age of marriage for women in İstanbul was 19 according to the Ottoman census of 1885. Until 1905, it rose to 20 and increased one year of age every ten years (Duben, 1993).

1998:73) set up Committee of Union and Progress (CUP)<sup>174</sup> which demanded the declaration of constitutional monarchy again (Jayawardena, 1986:30; Kandiyoti, 1990; Gündüz-Hoşgör, 1996:74). The period beginning with the declaration of constitutional monarchy in 1908 was the one in which significant transformations/breakdowns were experienced from many aspects.

#### **4.2.4. Second Constitutional Period:**

From economic, cultural, political and administrative aspects, the structural transformations of the Ottoman with a traditional nature came to the fore in the 2<sup>nd</sup> Constitutional Monarchy and the Ottoman entered into the process of centralization, differentiation, secularization and liberation. However, modernization was not just in political field. It was also observed in the fields of education, law and economy. It is possible to observe this transformation and effect in the positions of women, too (Çakır, 1996:22). For example, Nezihe Muhittin reports that women's style of wearing, for example, changed: "Our women seemed to be rid of darkness together with the declaration of the constitutional monarchy; the veils got thinner and they saw the light of the world a bit better" (Muhittin, 1931 cited in Baykan et.al, 1999:91). This observable change first in the wearing style of women in public sphere also indicates that their visibility in the public sphere increased. Especially urban women came to be visible by breaking the traditional male-female discrimination in such fields as fashion, entertainment, education and working life (Göle, 2004:72).

Ziya Gökalp defines this period as "new life", the era of big hopes (Göle, 2004:57). With the abolition of autocratic era's censorship in this period, it became possible to express and discuss the different views (Akyüz, 1999). In the period when intense debates on the issues of women and education<sup>175</sup> were made, Göle (2004:57) argues

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<sup>174</sup> Young Turks took place in European political life before the declaration of constitutional monarch in 1908. Then they acquired an important life. For more details about Committee of Union and Progress, see Ramsaur (1957), Ahmad (1969), Keyder (1987).

<sup>175</sup> Kandiyoti (1991b:29) states that the issue of women rights was not a privileged one in this period as there was a lot of uprising and ideological chaos then. However, the issue of women's

that the ideas on the basis of Kemalist reforms were laid in this period. The most important indicator of this is that the views of women's rights and education overlap with those of the early republican era, says Göle (2004:62). Of course, it would be wrong to say that these ideas emerged suddenly; it is necessary to take into account the intellectual evolution in a historical process. This intellectual evolution in the Ottoman can date back to "men of Tanzimat"<sup>176</sup> as mentioned before.

#### **4.2.4.1. The ideological currents of the second constitutional period and women:**

In this era, women question was discussed by such writers as Tevfik Fikret, Halide Edip, Fatma Aliye, Abdullah Cevdet and Ziya Gökalp<sup>177</sup> from the perspective of their own ideological current. The approach of Ottomanism in the autocratic era lost its effect especially after the Balkan War and World War I (Akyüz, 1999), and Islamist, Westernist and Turkist currents became the ideological currents of the Ottoman gaining strength in recent years (Kandiyoti, 1991b:32; Dulum, 2006; Baskın, 2007:64-66; Abadan-Unat, 1998:326). The causes of the collapse of the empire and the differences on its solution go on in the subject of women and their education:

To the Islamists, the decline of empire resulted from subversion and abandonment of Islamist institutions and laws. Therefore, they suggested a return to *Shari'ah* and its political institution. Western culture was an enemy of the empire but adaptation of Western technology and material progress was inevitable (Kandiyoti, 1991b:32; Göle, 2004:58). In addition, the women who fail to obey the religious rules and preserve their moral purity could potentially cause the society to be dissolved and the

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emancipation was extended beyond the question of education for females. Their status in both domestic and public sphere was widely discussed in journals, literature and drama (Jayawardena, 1986:31).

<sup>176</sup> Men of Tanzimat were followed by Young Ottoman (1867-1878) and Young Turks (1889-1908) (Gündüz-Hoşgör, 1996:5).

<sup>177</sup> They expressed their views of woman in the journal *İçtihat* (for Westernists), and *Volkan, Sıratı Müstakim, Sebülürreşad, Beyanülhak* (for Islamists), and *Türk Yurdu, Yeni Nesil* (for Turkists) (Caporal, 1982:78).

order to be destroyed. Accordingly, women's education was only acceptable if it was religious-based and trained a good mother/wife/Muslim (Göle, 2004:65; Kurnaz, 1999). The religion had made the science compulsory both for men and women (Acar, 1990). However, women were to be covered, her life was to be confined to her home and polygamy was also necessary so that "happiness in family" would not be destroyed (Abadan-Unat, 1998:324).

To the Westernists, the West had a rationalistic and positivistic outlook and advanced technology. To varying degrees, Islam was responsible both for obscurantism and conditions of women as a major indicator of Ottoman backwardness (Kandiyoti, 1991b:33; Göle, 2004:58). Therefore, the unlimited education of women (Kurnaz, 1999) and riddance of Islamic traditions and customs would lead to progress and civilization. According to them, "women's freedom was synonymous with the women's attainment to the rank of humanity". In addition, this case would cause not only the woman but also the society to attain the level of civilization (Göle, 2004:61; Caporal, 1982:108-110; Dulum, 2006:27). Additionally, women's education was to be considered within the scope of human rights (Tevfik Fikret cited in Göle, 2004:59). Then women's unlimited education was important in that it could enable them and the society to attain a civilized level and so it was to be supported. In other words, the understanding of "civilization' through women's emancipation" was the topic in question (Jayawardena, 1986:25).

On the contrary, to Turkists, the national identity not based just on Islam had to be recovered. For an ideal society, it was necessary to look at the life in Turkish societies in the past (Kandiyoti, 1991b:33; Göle, 2004:58, 67, 70; Abadan-Unat, 1998:326). Ziya Gökalp, as a main figure of Turkists and the period, made women and family question as the major debates of the period (Jayawardena, 1986:32-3; Kandiyoti, 1990; Baskın, 2007:66). To him, the solution was to turn to the Ancient Turkish moralities and values.<sup>178</sup> Namely, there was equality between genders in all

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<sup>178</sup> Ziya Gökalp claims that in the pre-Islamic social life, Shamanism was the origin of male-female equality and even that "Turks had impartial history, democracy and feminism then" (Gökalp, 1977 cited in Abadan-Unat, 1998:326; Sancar, 2012:91).



spheres of life. Turks lost their values because of the influences of Persian and Byzantines. The conditions of women today were the indicator of this process of losing. The one requirement to be restored to women's right/status in all aspect of life (i.e. for all level of education) and dignity was to return to cultural authenticity (Ziya Gökalp cited in Kandiyoti, 1991b:34-5).

The debate on "woman question" among the "educated, nationalist and male elites"<sup>179</sup> of the Ottoman and the policies on woman followed/to be followed create the impression that the woman was an object, a passive and homogeneous group and a victim waiting to be saved. However, women played a role<sup>180</sup> in their and society's struggle for freedom as an activist/subject under the effect of the increase in the era's environment of freedom and other conditions as well as the rate of literacy (primarily urban and upper-class women) (Çakır, 1996; Baykan et al., 1999) and expressed their demands, thoughts and reactions through the associations<sup>181</sup> and journals<sup>182</sup>

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<sup>179</sup> Jayawardena (1986) says in *Third World Societies* and Kandiyoti (1991a) in *Muslim Society* that "the reformers of women's right and conditions are the mostly educated, nationalists and male elites", and this is true to the Ottoman society. Moreover, in Muslim societies, their main concerns are education, veiling and polygamy which comply with progress and the compatibility with religious and modernity (Kandiyoti, 1991a:3).

<sup>180</sup> Baykan et al. (1999) point out that Nezihe Muhittin is one of the best examples of women being subjects. To them, the unstable and changing environment in the period when Ottoman Empire was being dissolved and attempts were being made to establish Turkish Republic enabled the women like Nezihe Muhittin to be subjects and agents: They developed themselves without being squashed under the pressure of religion and contributed to the welfare of the new nation-state, struggling with men to found this society (Baykan et al., 1999:11). Nezihe Muhittin supported the republican ideology, defended the women's political rights, founded the People's Party of Women on 16<sup>th</sup> June 1923, but the party could not be opened and a new association was founded under the name of Turkish Women Association in 1924. Later, the association was closed as it fulfilled its function, depending on the political rights being granted (Durakbaşa, 1998:39). For more details, see Kırkpınar (2013).

<sup>181</sup> Women took place in the public sphere in an organized manner in the 2<sup>nd</sup> Constitutional Monarchy. It was realized in four different organizational forms: The organizations founded by women and for the purposes of women rights (e.g. *Müdafaa-i Hukuk-u Nisvan Cemiyeti*); the organizations founded by women and for the purposes of social aids; the women's branch of the existing organizations or the organizations founded as women's committee (e.g. *Osmanlı Hilal-i Ahmer Hanımlar Heyeti*) and associations founded for various purposes. Moreover, women's organization can be grouped as follows: charities, associations for educational purposes, the associations directly interested in women's problems, cultural associations, associations seeking to solve the problems of the country, feminist associations, political associations, female branches of the political parties. For more information about the associations, see Dulum (2006), Göle (2004),

(Kandiyoti, 1991b:43; Kandiyoti, 1991a:17; Kurnaz, 1999; Toprak, 1981:365; Sancar, 2012; Aykol, 2012).

#### 4.2.4.2. Women Movement<sup>183</sup> and its influence on women education

Ottoman women expressed their thoughts of and reactions to the system before the 2<sup>nd</sup> Constitutional Monarchy and they were largely from higher socioeconomic background families. They started to react intensely because the rights and freedoms promised to women after 1908 were not fulfilled.<sup>184</sup> They did not only make demands and requests about daily life. Initially, they were under the effect of modernization and nationalism movements<sup>185</sup> (Kandiyoti, 1991b:43; Akşit, E.E., 2012; 2004) and seemed to be supportive of them.<sup>186</sup> Later, they brought forward their own demands (firstly education and employment rights). But in fact, this

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Baykan et.al (1999:133-168), Abadan-Unat (1998), Çakır (1996), Tunaya (1984), Akşit, E.E. (2012), Akşit, E.E. (2004), Sancar (2012).

<sup>182</sup> For more details about the journals, see Kandiyoti (1991b), Abadan-Unat (1998), Toska (1998), Sancar (2012). Moreover, for the bibliography of women journals between 1869 and 1927, see [http://www.kadineserleri.org/images/yayinlar/vakif\\_yayinlari/bibliyografyalar/kadin\\_dergileri\\_bibliyografyasi.pdf](http://www.kadineserleri.org/images/yayinlar/vakif_yayinlari/bibliyografyalar/kadin_dergileri_bibliyografyasi.pdf)

<sup>183</sup> Tekeli, Ş. (1998:337)'s categorization of women movement is as follows: the period of preparation before 1910 (40-45 years), the first wave between 1910 and 1920 (the first period), stagnation period before 1980 (unproductive years) and the second wave from the 1980s to the present (the second period). According to this classification, there is a period of preparation dating back to the Tanzimat era.

<sup>184</sup> For example Emine Semiye, one of the leading figures of the era, made a lot of demands about the social life (for example, that firstly women should get off the trolleys, that restaurants for women should be opened where female servants work, that theatre plays should be performed for women, as well, that women should be engaged in trade, etc.) (Toska, 1998:75).

<sup>185</sup> Altınay (2013) states that gender is not secondary but has a central importance in nationalist understanding. As nationalism shapes femininity and masculinity, it is necessary to understand nationalism in order to grasp the gender roles. Nationalist discourse plays a big role in the formation of new woman's image in the process of nation-state process. For more information about the studies on this subject in the world and in Turkey, see Altınay (2013).

<sup>186</sup> Women were to be educated and engaged in working life for this purpose. However, they were also to be strengthened. The reformist men aware of this supported the women movement (Gündüz-Hoşgör, 1996:136; Toprak, 1981:365). Berktaş (2004b:356) interprets this situation as the process "from the absolute authority of the father to the republic of brothers". The important female figure in this process is "sister". This sister is the one who is easy to control and who is the one to ally within the war against the absolute authority of the "father" (i.e. state). Therefore, it is necessary to support the women.

movement was a reflection of the social demand for general freedom and equality. Women movement was after freedom and equality in the society which had come out of the repression era, where economic and political transformations were experienced on global and local levels and where people had started to get away from traditions while individualism began. However, the change in the state of woman in Islamic societies meant the change in state and social structure. To hinder this change, the control of woman in every field was to be made by the state (Çakır, 1996).

The field of education was another way of controlling the women in terms of their thought, level of reading, writing and point of view. By then women were offered the chance of education until secondary level (*rüştiye*) only, and it was mostly urban women that took advantage of this chance. As already mentioned, economic, social and cultural environments had prevented the rural woman from attaining the facility of education. As Gündüz-Hoşgör (1996:140) states, “The majority of women, especially those in rural areas, were subjected to the authority of men through the institutions of the religion and family.” One of the fields of struggle of women movement would, therefore, be education and struggle with associations and journals. The first consequence of this struggle was the opening of the first *idadi* (high-school) in İstanbul in 1911. Yet they were few in number. The reason was the negative viewpoint towards the schooling of the girls and that girls were already married by the time they reached the age of *idadi* or, even if they were not married, the families preferred to send their daughters to teacher training schools so that they could find a job after graduation (Dulum, 2006:36).

The *rüştiyes*, *idadis* and teacher training schools for girls increasing fast in number (Akyüz; 1999; Abadan-Unat,1981:11; Çakır, 1996:292; Jayawardena, 1986:31; Keçeci Kurt, 2011) resulted from the women movement’s struggle and from understanding the importance of education by CUP (Baskın, 2007:185). This is because CUP was a consequence of the fact that education had become widespread and that it came to appeal to the middle/lower class. In other words, education provided them with upward mobility (middle and higher socioeconomic status and and professionals) and take place in the decision-making ranks. It was for this reason

that education and socializing of woman became a field of politics for CUP. Especially the institutions training teachers would later enable the woman to get into the field of education and the working life. Ideologically, however, the state demanding the society to be organized around a new ideology took it as its favourite job and it also became in the process of nation-state building. In addition, establishing similarities the role of women as mother in reproduction in the condition of transition from traditional to modern, from religious to secular, teachers played a role as the “ideological militants” (Baskın, 2007:115-6) of the state.

The girls who applied to the teacher training schools in the previous years were largely from middle and low socioeconomic background families in urban. The changed conditions in this period increased the prestige of teacher training schools and the profession of teacher. Nezihe Muhittin tells the case as follows:

Teacher training schools, Art school for girls and newly-founded high-school for girls were wisely arranged 3-4 years after the Constitutional Monarchy and suddenly lionized, and that wrong and unfavourable mentality previously possessed about teachership was replaced by an honourable view. The noblest and gentle women willingly accepted the profession of teachership... Outdated women teachers were replaced by young, innovative and intellectual women... A certain degree of importance was attached to women assigned for teachership (Muhittin, 1931 cited in Baykan et.al, 1999:111).

Women’s demand for education, the struggle of women movement in this field (Çakır, 1996:320; TÜSİAD, 2000:39), the increased number of *rüştiyes* and *idadis* and the inadequacy of the teacher training schools for girls to train teachers have birth to the need for women’s inclusion in the higher education. According to Baskın (2007), modernization, depending on social, economic and political transformations besides them, required the national building and creation of “new woman” as well as women’s participation in the higher education.

At first, women’s higher education starting at conferences in *Darülfünun*, the only university of the Ottoman initially, was later institutionalized with the opening of *İnas Darülfünunu* (1914), which was a different institution (Çakır, 2010:102; Baskın, 2007; Toprak, 1981:365; Davis, 1986; Caporal, 1982:113; Tekeli, Ş., 1981:378;

1997:177; Jayawardena, 1986:31; Akyüz, 1999; Dulum, 2006:52-53; Arslan et al., 2012). In the early years, all the women who won the entrance exam could register at *İnas Darülfünunu*. That is, not only the graduates of public education, which includes *rüştiye*, *idadi* or teacher training school, but also those who took private education could apply to the entrance exam. The entrance exam was difficult, so private teaching institutions were opened in the following years that prepare the women for the exam (Kurnaz, 1999). For example, the *Journal of Bilgi Yurdu Işığı* opened the *Bilgi Yurdu Müessesesi* and the *Journal of Turkish Women* opened *Türk Kadını Dersanesi* (Çakır, 1996:49).

There were 129 students registered at *İnas Darülfünunu*, giving education only to women between 1914 and 1919<sup>187</sup>. Baskın (2007) makes such an evaluation about the socioeconomic background of the students:

At *İnas Darülfünunu*, there were *mültezim* children who could be labelled as the elites of the traditional social structure as well as students from the families of army members, and the children of governor, revenue officer, principal registrar. While the class origin of these students varied, it would not be wrong to assume that most of them exhibited petit bourgeois features parallel to the background of newly-developed social forms and that the students from the state officials' families were predominant (Baskın, 2007:157).

Opened in İstanbul and attended by a limited number of women, *İnas Darülfünunu* was officially closed down in 1921 as a result of the fact that female students were taught at separate classes and so protested the school and boycotted their classes, thus attending the class for males. Thereafter, coeducation was adopted by *Darülfünun* (Abadan-Unat, 1981:12; Kurnaz, 1999; TÜSIAD, 2000:39; Göle, 2004:70; Baskın, 2007:183; Akyüz, 2011:33; Arslan et al., 2012). In other words, women's demand and action to pass to the coeducation became the reason for the closure of *İnas Darülfünunu*.

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<sup>187</sup> Baskın (2007:237-242) gives information in his study on these 129 women registered. The student's name, father's name, father's occupation, form of registration, date of registration and department are given in details.

When the women graduated from *İnas Darülfünunu*, which was the highest level they could reach in the Ottoman, they could take place as teachers<sup>188</sup> in the working life.<sup>189</sup> When the women were allowed to take education in fields of medicine, dentistry and pharmacy (1917) (Dulum, 2006:53), they started to have different jobs. In addition, they were sent abroad for education for the first time (Davis, 1986). However, this was not welcomed positively in the early days. The reaction was caused by the thought that the girls who went to Europe for education could not find someone of their level and have their morality spoilt. Another question which occupied their mind was the determination of professions for which to go abroad. If they were to be housewives upon their return, there was no need for them to go. If they were to be a lawyer, judge, or doctor, etc., it was very difficult for them to find a job after returning home (Çakır, 1996:258).

However, the conditions of the era made it necessary for all the women, whether educated or uneducated, to be in working life. The high loss of male population and manpower in the Balkan War and World War I (Keyder, 1987) required women to take place in the labour sector (Kandiyoti, 1991b:30; Tekeli, Ş., 1981:378, Akyüz, 1999; Kazgan, 1981:138; Bertay, 2004a:16; Toktas et al., 2006:748). There were also new enterprises such as Advanced School for Commerce and “*Amele Taburu*” (*labour battalion*) for the employment of women in many fields of work under the war conditions (Tekeli, Ş., 1981:378). Moreover, educated women started to work at hospitals, laboratories, post offices and other service sectors (Abadan-Unat, 1981:11; Çakır, 1996:292; Moghadam, 1993:81). The growth of female employment was not in white-collar jobs and not in big cities. It was a wider mobilization throughout

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<sup>188</sup> Young Turks were making plans for the girls to go to the country for teachership, but they understood the impossibility of this under the existing conditions of the period, and enabled the Anatolian girls to take education at boarding schools in İstanbul (Çakır, 1996:242). Then these girls were sent to Anatolia as teachers after graduation (Davis, 1986).

<sup>189</sup> A lot of names among the graduates, such as Şüküfe Nihal, Aliye Esad and Saime, took an active role in women movement and national struggle (Baskın, 2007:190). They served as the founders of associations and organized meetings in occupation periods. For example, they held meetings against the British, Greek and French occupations. Such activists as Halide Edip addressed to the women in the meetings, while other women joined *Kuvayi Milliye* (Abadan-Unat, 1981:12; Tekeli, Ş., 1981:378; 1997:176; 1998b:176; Kandiyoti, 1991b:37; Kırkpınar, 2013:125).

Anatolian provinces. Furthermore, in 1915 a law by Ministry of Trade instituted a form of compulsory employment for women (such as “women labour battalion”), so the number of women workers increased rapidly. For example, in Ankara, İzmir, Sivas and Konya, 4780 women were employed in carpet production, and in Urfa 1000 women were employed in a new stocking factory; 1100 in Aydın, and 1550 in textile industry in Kütahya, Eskisehir and Karahisar (Abadan-Unat, 1981:11; Kandiyoti, 1991b:30; Gündüz-Hoşgör, 1996:141; Dulum, 2006).

In the war period uneducated women were employed as blue-collar workers while educated ones took roles in “patriotic” activities<sup>190</sup> and this affected the visibility and mobility of the women in the public sphere. As “nationalist revolutionary movement” in the independence war years in particular was concerned with emancipation of women, the difference between the educated woman and the uneducated woman began to decrease (Gündüz-Hoşgör, 1996:141). According to Baskın (2007), women entered into the working life thanks to the war and women movements, which triggered the debate in every field on the male-female discrimination in the later years.

As a result, the rise of Turkism, the requirements of the war economy, women movement and their joint effects on the social and economic policies of the CUP affected the social position, education and working rights of woman. Especially the state of the woman in field of education was affected most of all by the conditions of the Ottoman and later affected the conditions of the country above all. Starting from the process of nation-state building of Turkish Republic, it has preserved this feature so far.

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<sup>190</sup> For example, during the Balkan War (1912-1913), educated women were involved in social welfare activities to war orphans and other war wearies (Kandiyoti, 1991b:30).

### **4.3. Turkish Republic**

Turkish Republic was founded through a petty bourgeoisie revolution against the Ottoman court (Gümüšoğlu, 1998a; Keyder, 1987), and one of the fields in which it made the greatest stride when compared with Ottoman was education and women issue. Kemalist ideology tried to realize the disengagement from the Ottoman through the reforms in every field of life in the early years.

#### **4.3.1. The Advent of Citizenship, Republican Women and the Building of a “New Woman” Period (1923-1950):**

As considered in the previous chapter, education is the basic institution of the nation-state building in order to create a single national identity, culture and consciousness and make up the knowledge and skills necessary for production. The function of education in a social structure transformed from “multiethnic, multireligious and theocratic empire” to “Anatolia-based secular and unitary nation-state” (Neyzi, 2001: 411; Rankin et al., 2006:28) gains much more importance. According to Keyder (2004:10-1), for example, the purpose of nation-state is to homogenize. Every citizen will be educated in the same way and the same law will be applied to them. In the empire, however, differences are accepted and therefore it differs from the nation-state. Also Neyzi (2002) and Çağatay et al. (1990) claim that nation-state is based on an approach repudiating the class, ethnicity and sex discrimination for the purpose of creating an identity. In the establishment of Turkish Republic, there was a need for the secularization of institutions and formation of national and citizenship consciousness, namely the creation of “a new type of human being” (i.e. new political, social, cultural and economic subjects). In this context, the state of woman would live a new transformation with the process of nation-state.

As mentioned before, the daily life of woman had already started to change in the decadent period of the Ottoman. Instead of the warring men, a lot of women<sup>191</sup>

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<sup>191</sup> For the first women having taken place in the press since 1929, see Topçuoğlu (1984).



started to work as wage labourers or at public service. At the meetings, women took sides with men in national struggle. It was even claimed that the socioeconomic difference among the Ottoman women was eliminated by the togetherness or synergy in this struggle:

At the same time the intellectual Turkish woman co-worked with the saint peasant woman. One of them delivered encouraging speeches with her language, while the other carried munitions to the front on her back and with her hands. Class distinctions among the nation's citizens have disappeared since then (Nezihe Muhittin, 1931 cited in Baykan et.al, 1999:114).

As Nezihe Muhittin stated, although urban educated upper-middle socioeconomic background women, who were the pioneering women of the Ottoman women movement, supported and adopted the new state in this struggle process, these women were labelled as “İstanbul’s women” and could not take place among the “the own children of the republic” (Toska, 1998:77). Toska (1998) attributes its reason to the fact that they were perceived as the uninterrupted continuation of the Ottoman women movement or they went on their demands and actions after the national struggle. For example, People’s Party of Women founded in 1923 under the head of Nezihe Muhittin was seen as the continuation of Ottoman women movement and it was not much approved.<sup>192</sup>

*Anatolian woman* was ideal<sup>193</sup> for the new nation-state that wanted to disengage its ties with the Ottomans and create a new woman ideal, and it was glorified against *İstanbul’s woman* (Göle, 2004:91). *Anatolian woman* was the laborious woman

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<sup>192</sup> For more details, see Baykan et al. (1999), Çakır (1996), Kandiyoti (1991b), Keyder (1987), Toska (1998), Kılıç (1998), Aykol (2012).

<sup>193</sup> In a writing beginning with “To our ladies leading the women movement in İstanbul” in the *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* under the control of Mustafa Kemal, it is stressed that Anatolian woman is the ideal woman and the real purpose is to glorify them. “The image of today’s Turkish woman is the one carrying munitions to the front on the carts in the Independence War in Anatolia. If the ladies leading the women movement consider this image no as an example of right and sacrifice, but as the essence of all our lives, they can discover the real starting point of their causes. Turkish womanhood can’t have taken moved forward by walking to the world of civilization from İstanbul, but from the lands of Anatolian women, and thus it reaches its purpose in glory and honour.” (Toska, 1998:80).

having the equal responsibility with the men and based on Ancient Turkish society. In other words, it was the continuation of the woman's figure portrayed by the movement of Turkism led by Ziya Gökalp (Toska, 1998:78; Arat, 1997). In addition, it was claimed that *İstanbul's woman* was unaware of the *Anatolian woman* and she could not represent her. In response, Halide Edip answered it in a piece of writing:

Attending tea parties, being keen on fashion, and even dancing do not mean that a woman cannot think seriously about the issues concerning the country. The rights and benefits of majority of the rural woman carrying the whole burden of the country on her shoulders would later be analyzed and defended by the intellectual women in the city (Halide Edip cited in Toska, 1998:81).

In fact, the educated women from upper-middle socioeconomic background families in urban described as *İstanbul's women* were different from the *Anatolian women* in that they utilized the facilities and opportunities of the Ottoman and republican regime as well as the reforms. Even though they were possessive of the republican regime, the city/region in which they lived caused them to continue their privileged position. İstanbul even became the centre of commerce, education and culture throughout the ages (Davis, 1986). This case went on during the republican era and provided a different case of facility when it became the centre of industry. However, what rights and facilities did the new nation-state offer the *Anatolian woman* who was the ideal woman of the state and who was deprived of many rights as being “secondary even to the ox” in life? What was their position in the society? Mustafa Kemal, the founder of the republic, evaluated the position of the women in a speech in 1925:

A social state, a nation, is composed of two genders, men and women. Is it practicable that we should develop one of them and ignore the other so that the whole society could progress? Is it possible that one half of a land can rise up to the skies as long as the other half is chained to the soil? It goes beyond doubt that it is necessary to take the steps to progress and innovation with the collaboration of two genders in a friendly manner. If this is the case, reforms can be successful (Mustafa Kemal cited in Toska, 1998:71).

The new women of the new nation-state would not thus lag behind the men in terms of education, profession and employment, because progress required all the members

of the society to be improved and progress. In this context, girls' being educated, finding a job and taking place in the public sphere formed the identity of Kemalist woman (Göle, 2004:108; Berktaş, 2004a; Toktas et al, 2006). According to Abadan-Unat (1998:329), the radical reforms in favour of woman left no need for the "leadership of women movement". In other words, it was replaced by an effective "state feminism".<sup>194</sup> The basic concepts on which the new nation-state was based on were "order and progress" (in Comte's terms) and "collective consciousness, culture, solidarity and division of labour" (in Durkheim's terms). As the new social order was not founded on the "individual", woman and woman rights were defined as part of collective existence (Baykan et.al, 1999:34-5) and modernization project (Abadan-Unat, 1998:330; Tatlı et al., 2008:269). Tekeli, Ş. (1985) claims that this case led to the "schizophrenic identity" of woman. That is to say that the woman had to suppress her own wished and expectations. Similarly, Kandiyoti (1990) claims that the image of "sexless woman" was created and that the women were put in the guise of men to some extent together with the reforms.<sup>195</sup>

Similarly, the women movements of the era did not see the women rights as individual rights, rather connected them more with the basic concepts on which the state was based. In addition, the women activists in this period were among the Kemalists. For this generation, Kemalism was synonymous with feminism (Tekeli, Ş., 1985:62). Accordingly, as Abadan-Unat (1998:330) says, one who regards the state feminism as an obstacle to the women movement and associations<sup>196</sup> and then judge it would also deny the socio-economic conditions and the historical development. In other words, as Tekeli, Ş. (1998a) and Çakır (1996) state, the thesis

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<sup>194</sup> The concept of 'state feminism' is used to qualify the policies applied by the Northern European researchers to enable the female-male equality; i.e. family, education, wearing clothes and political rights, etc. (Tekeli, Ş., 1985:62).

<sup>195</sup> Being masculine was an important sign for the women to preserve their respectability and not to present themselves as a sexual object (Kandiyoti, 1990).

<sup>196</sup> Kandiyoti (1991b:42) indicates that women movement and associations were not the essential target of the state in that period and similarly, workers' associations and cultural clubs were also abolished.

that women rights were given “from top to bottom” (Acar, 1996:198) is not true when the historical conditions are taken into consideration.

For the new nation-state, women rights and women were the important symbols of the break with Ottoman and Islamic institutions (Kandiyoti, 1991b; Alkan et al., 2012). By this way, the new meanings attached to women contributed new identities and duties to them. In this sense, Gündüz-Höşgör (1996:120) explains the new regime’s practice of including the women in its political agenda with three reasons:

1) women were utilized to spread the secular bourgeois ideology in other words it is attempt to secularize, modernize and industrialize the new Turkish republic 2) women became an important source of labour, particularly for white-collar occupations 3) educated women also took part in their own emancipation movement (Gündüz-Höşgör, 1996:120).

Therefore, it can be argued that woman question was the primary issue of the state. It was also the “benchmark” of nationalization and civilization, modernization, secularization and industrialization projects (Göle, 2004:92; Toprak, 1981:368; Rankin et al., 2006:29; Alkan et al., 2012; Tatlı et al., 2008:268). That woman had become an essential problem in Kemalist ideology and had been granted rights meant struggle with the nationalist/Islamist<sup>197</sup> section of the society (Toska, 1998:79; Çağatay et al., 1990; Kara, 2006:131). For example, with the acceptance of Civil Code in 1926, which is the most important regulator of the social life in, women started to have equal rights and positions with the men within the family and society on the issues of marriage, divorce, inheritance, etc., several serious blows were made to the Islamic opposition from many aspects (Jayawardena, 1986:33; Arat, 1997; Gündüz-Hoşgör, 1996:151; 2008:28; Toska, 1998:79; Göle, 2004:102; Abadan-Unat, 1981:1; Rankin et la., 2006:28; Acar, 2006:79; Berktaş, 2004a:17). In another

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<sup>197</sup> Women came to be a field in which the Republicans and those who remained loyal to the religious order of the Ottoman worked. While women became subjects through their efforts at liberation by forming new identities for themselves in historical terms, they became the object of nationalist/religious and other ideological discourses (Baykan et.al, 1999:21; Altınay, 2013).

instance, “modern styles of dress”<sup>198</sup> were promoted (Kandiyoti, 1991b:23; Moghadam, 1993:81) as part of the westernist modernization project against the Muslim societies’ understanding based on the isolation of woman (Göle, 2004:102; Toktas et al., 2006:738). Lastly, the right to elect and be elected (Baykan et.al, 1999:23; Toska, 1998:85; Kandiyoti, 1991b:41; Dođramacı, E.1997:138; Arat, 1997; Kırkpınar, 2013:176; Moghadam, 1993:81) was introduced as a separate field of equality and liberalization for women.<sup>199</sup>

According to Kazgan (1981:139), the need to train and educate women was brought about by the fact that women were defined as work power besides their traditional roles as a wife, mother and housewife through the economic development and modernization attempts as well as by the fact that they were accepted as the cause of the backwardness of the society. Therefore, the field of education was one of the primary issues: Primary education became compulsory for boys and girls (The Law of Unification of Education in 1924 [*Tevhid-i Tedrisat*]); madrasas, and religious schools were abolished. Moreover, coeducation<sup>200</sup> was initiated in 1927. Thus, an important step based on gender equality and secular-national education was taken in education. In that period, the need for the increase in the rate of women’s schooling and literacy was explained by Mustafa Kemal as follows:

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<sup>198</sup> Göle (2004) criticizes the determination of the woman’s dresses by the new regime, the use of urban settings and the determination of the woman’s status with the decrees in the Ottoman by likening it.

<sup>199</sup> On this issue, Ş.Tekeli (1981) claims that Mustafa Kemal gave women the right to elect and be elected so as to show that Turkey was a democratic country unlike fascist Germany and Italy.

<sup>200</sup> Bařgöz et al. (1973) claim that behind the passage from the education system of sitting separately (i.e. *haremlik selamlık*) to the coeducation system lies the fact that secondary education started to have a mixed-sex system because no answer could be given for financial reasons to the demands of the daughters of the officers and officials in the country for the secondary education. In other words, the previous practice was not possible and feasible due to the financial reasons.

If a society is content with meeting the needs of just one of those that make up it, more than half of that community falls incapable and weak. If a nation is to progress and get civilized, it should adopt especially this point as the basis of this process. Our women will become scholars and scientists, too, and undergo the education process taken by our men. Then women will walk with men in the social life, helping and supporting each other (Mustafa Kemal, 1923 cited in Abadan-Unat, 1981:1).

Changing the facility of education provided to a certain class and overwhelmingly to men within that class and offering it equally to each class and women, this new regime presumed that educated women could be a potential source for white-collar, professional and managerial positions (Gündüz-Hoşgör, 1996). Therefore, the education in the early years of the Republic was not sexist, but on the contrary was based on an understanding of education aimed at eliminating sexism (Gümüšoğlu, 1998a:128). This is indicated by the fact that while in the course books before 1945 women were given a role as “mother” contributing to the salvation of the country, the traditional roles of women had not been stressed (Gümüšoğlu, 1998a:102). Women took their place as symbols in the books as “citizen women”, educated woman and careerist women (Gümüšoğlu, 1998b:77; 2013). Even though the gender roles of woman cannot be stressed, the jobs considered fit for women, i.e. teachership and nursing, were something like the continuation of their mother roles and they would find place for themselves in the public sphere through these jobs. Their participation was not for themselves, but for the purpose of being useful for the people (Göle, 2004:97; Berktaş, 2004a).

Kemalism based its own future on the tradition of the educated *middle class* (Neyzi, 2002: 141; Rutz et al., 2009:40), and so political ideology lens support to women on the way to being state officials and teachers. The women working in these fields had a prestigious position because of their jobs in this period. However, the reason for this status was that they were educated. So much so that the society did not even attach the identity of “feminine” to these women working as white-collars. They had done their best to be masculine through their dresses and behaviours. The “new woman” without a veil was in the public sphere with a dark costume, short hair and a face without make-up (Kandiyoti, 1990).

In addition, educated woman “who were from families of the Kemalist petty-bourgeoisie and professional strata could propagate the new regime’s ideology” (Gündüz-Hoşgör, 1996:146).<sup>201</sup> It was therefore necessary to support the education of women. The fathers supporting Kemalist ideology and their daughters would set an example for them (Acar, 1996:198). Göle (2004:106) defines this case as “the girls trained on the ideals of Kemalist civilization and progressive fathers”. These examples would serve to enable the society to grasp the significance of the women’s schooling. At first, the compulsory primary education compelled the families to send their daughters to the primary school. All the schools opened their doors to the female students. For example, as discussed in Chapter 1, the old engineering school in İstanbul accepted 2 women in 1927. Therefore, woman had been firstly welcomed in engineering field which has strong roots in Ottoman Empire and characterized with army and male. Also a lot of technical schools were opened for girls. For example, while there were only 2 teacher training schools for girls in 1927, this number rose to 13 in 1938 (Doğramacı, E., 1997; Gündüz-Hoşgör, 1996:147):

The high-schools and secondary schools increasing continually in number satisfied those who were hungry for education and training. While women’s professional life was confined to teachership in the past, they found the chance for other professions later through these regulations. Both the financial need severely felt under the economic effects of the World War and the spiritual aspiration due to negligence and deprivation for long years encouraged the intellectual woman to benefit from the equality of education and profession to the content of their hearts [...] Our intellectual women already thought of working, earning money, raising their knowledge and scholarship previously [...] (Muhittin, 1931 cited in Baykan et.al, 1999:119-121).

These reforms were intended to raise the educational level of women across the country, and as can be seen, it was the urban women who benefited from them more than others. This is because the values of the new regime were not internalized by all

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<sup>201</sup> Hamide Topçuoğlu, as the first professional woman of era, tells the duties given to them in her memories: “We were really privileged, that is we had a prestigious privilege in our small world like being “a female student”. All the elders showed more appreciation and acclaim to us than to the male students. We were the pioneers of the Republic aiming to make women take their parts and roles in public life and social relationships with an absolute authority and freedom of personality. We also interpreted having a job in a different manner: It was not for earning one’s life! But it was for serving, being useful and achieving.” (Göle, 2004:108)

the sections of the society and sufficient substructure qualities were not present in the rural. In this way, systematic policies in the field of education formed a group of *elite women* who benefited from this field (Öncü, 1981; Toktas et al., 2006:739; Tatlı et al., 2008:269). These elites had begun to heap together in such fields as professional jobs, fine arts and literature, and especially in academic field. According to Köker (1988), “the positivist world view of Kemalism has also been influential on family’s decisions to encourage their daughters to be educated in natural sciences at universities” (cited in Ecevit et al., 2003). However, women were rare in decision-making positions (Abadan-Unat, 1981:1; Gündüz-Hoşgör, 1996; Acar, 2006:80; Tatlı et al., 2008; Kara, 2006:131). Therefore, as Zengin-Arslan (202:401) argues, occupational ideology of these professionals and ideological climate of this period encouraged the women to attain higher education.

These changes indeed affected a small part of the urban people in the beginning. In Anatolia, however, there was a big group of people engaged in farming (almost 80% of the population), and most of them were not integrated with the market. It would therefore take some time for the girls working in the rural as unpaid family workers to be schooled (Gündüz-Hoşgör, 1996; Kırkpınar, 2013:280). Both the schools and the process of schooling were beginning to spread slowly (Kandiyoti, 1990). For example, the number of girls attending primary school in 1923-24 was about 63.000 and they were especially in İstanbul and some big cities (Doğramacı, E.1997:22). In other words, while the system was offering chances for the urban women, it was presenting limited opportunities to the rural women. The reasons for this case may be said to be the economic shortcoming of the state<sup>202</sup>, socio-economic and socio-cultural structure in the rural. Lack of buildings and teachers affected every child, while the tendency not to send the girls to school for many reasons prevented only the girls from schooling.

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<sup>202</sup> For example, the expenses on education in 1952 made up just 8.75% of the general expenses (Caporal, 1982:272). Accordingly, there were a lot of inadequacies in physical conditions (Makal, 1950).



As considered in the previous chapter, the acceptance of Latin alphabet in this period and campaign for literacy were the other reforms designed to increase the level of education. It was a period when the whole country was turned into a large private teaching institution under the judgment that “even the shepherd on top of the mountain was expected to be literate” and “the prisoners would learn to read and write” (Gümüšođlu, 1998a:102). These developments affected the urban and rural woman in a positive manner (Özby, 1981). However, women’s education remained limited, as can be understood from the inequality in literacy and gender inequality.<sup>203</sup> Nevertheless, the new schools opened were intended to school the girls both in the rural and in the lower-class. For example, the opening of village institutes was one of the outcomes of this purpose (Caporal, 1982:275).

While the state has giving support to the development of urban woman in public life with her education, profession, active and political and social rights (Özby, 1990), it also tried to school the women who formed the majority of the population, who had a low level of literacy and who, it seemed impossible, could attain the higher education (Arat, 1997; Gümüšođlu, 1999:81). What these women were expected to do was not to become “elite” women, but rather to become “educated housewife” who could transfer the republican ideology to the posterity for national identity, who knew domestic economy, and who would be servant to the country with their knowledge and initiative (Gümüšođlu, 1998a: 127; 1999:82; Akşit, E.E., 2012:144; Sirman, 1989; Çitçi, 1990:106; Toktas et al., 2006). To this end, female institutes and evening art schools for girls were opened (1928). By the 1940s 35 female institutes were opened in 32 cities and 65 evening art schools for girls in 59 towns. 16.500 women were registered in the 1940-41 academic year (Arat, 1997). There were socioeconomic background differences<sup>204</sup> in these schools: while females from

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<sup>203</sup> See Appendix B, Table B.3 and Table B.5.

<sup>204</sup> These schools were attended by women of different classes in different cities, and deepened the class differences according to Akşit, E.E. (2012:146). Toktas et al. (2006) states that a class transformation has come true in female institutes over the years. In the early years of the school, families with high socio-economic status started to send their daughters, and over the years families with low socio-economic status also started to prefer to do so. The graduates of the 1930s and 1940s were mostly from upper-middle class families from central districts of Ankara and

*middle class* (i.e. civil servant's daughters) were likely to enrol in female institutes, females from *lower class* were likely to attend evening female schools (Akşit, E.E., 2013:180).

As a result, state supported women education during the early republican era. This indicates that political ideology (i.e. in this period, it was *state feminism*) is important for educational position of woman. It proved to be a period in which the schooling rate of women was the highest in every level of education.<sup>205</sup> But even so women's acquisition of the right for education was largely inhibited by "the deep-rooted patriarchal system and class and rural/urban inequalities existing in Turkish society" (Çitçi, 1990:105).

#### **4.3.2. The Advent of Upward Social Mobility and The Inequalities Period (1950-1980):**

Under the effect of the process of nation-state building, the field of education which had the function of building national identity and citizenship consciousness, training required manpower and increasing the rate of literacy entered into a new era after 1950. As discussed in the previous chapter, Turkey had to be included in the capitalist system and reorganize its educational system and field accordingly in the new world order created by World War II, which increased the relationships with the industrialized world and led to important steps in industrial development, educational level, workforce and employment (Kazgan, 1981:139).

The need for women in the First World War and Independence War carried them to the public space but they were encouraged to return to their homes<sup>206</sup> and give birth to children for the required work power as there was not an "off-home" industry

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İstanbul, while after the 1970s the graduates were from lower-middle class from rural settlements or newly urbanized towns.

<sup>205</sup> See Appendix B, Table B.6.

<sup>206</sup> Tekeli, Ş. (1985) reports that women returned their home without any reaction and went on their traditional roles after the need for them was over after the war in western countries, too.

within the public space. Emphasis started to be placed on the role of women as “a good wife, a good mother, a good housewife and a good spouse” (Abadan-Unat, 1981:14; Sancar, 2012:21; Alkan et al., 2012). In addition, women started to be defined in the course books<sup>207</sup> as being fit for traditional roles and housework (Gümüšođlu, 1998a:102; 1999). As a result of the state policies supporting the population rise, the rate of unmarried women until the Second World War was low and the rate of fertility rose to 9.1 (Tekeli, Ő., 1985:52). Such reasons as the increased rate of population, the decreased rates of death, the lowness of agricultural incomes, the inequalities in land distribution, the fracture of land, mechanization in agriculture, etc. pushed the population of whom the majority lived in the rural (80% of the population (Keyder, 1987)) into the cities, and the cities drew attention for its educational facilities<sup>208</sup> gaining importance for children, job facilities, relatively high fees (Tekeli, Ő., 1990; Tekeli, Ő., 1985:55; Özbay, 1990; Abadan-Unat,1981:22). Accordingly, the phenomena of migration to the city from the 1950s (Gündüz-HoŐgör, 1996; Duben, 1977:360; Acar, 1996) caused changes in the social, economic, cultural and political structures of the country. These changes would later affect the women<sup>209</sup> and women’s education.

Tekeli, Ő. (1985:56) states that it was usually men who came to cities between 1950 and 1960, leaving the women at home in the villages, while they came to cities with their women and children between 1965 and 1970. The fact that the women and children left in the villages were more intensely engaged in farming prevented the children, especially girls, from schooling (Gündüz-HoŐgör, 1996). Moreover, Democrat Party (DP) allowed a lot of private courses for teaching Quran, which is similar teaching in *sıbyan school* in Conventional Ottoman Education System, to be

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<sup>207</sup> Like Gümüšođlu, Tezgör (2013) claims that course books reflect the ideology of the period and that have become a means of political and cultural socialization.

<sup>208</sup> There were no primary schools in 44% of all the villages in 1960 (Caporal, 1982: 273).

<sup>209</sup> Kandiyoti (1977) groups the female population brought about by these changes under six types: Migrating woman, traditional/rural woman, women of changed rural area, town’s women, slum women and urban middle-class women. For more details, see Kandiyoti (1977), Kandiyoti (2011).

opened in the rural areas, also keeping blind to the proliferation of the unlicensed courses. These Quran courses started to compete and disagree with the public schools, accusing the teachers, who were the symbols of Kemalist ideology, of atheism. The rising conservative understanding of the era prevented the girls from schooling and there appeared a fall in the state of schooling in the primary education especially in this period.<sup>210</sup> The rate of girls' schooling in the rural in this period was 35.45 (Caporal, 1982:249-251).

On the other hand, although there was a fall in the rate of schooling in the rural, the increase in the rate of schooling in the urban was going on: Under Democrat Party, the rate of girls' and boys' schooling in the cities was the highest (respectively 127.42 and 113.09). Caporal (1982:260) explains this situation as follows: having won the large support of the villagers, Democrat Party "followed a policy in favour of the cities. Receiving support from the traditionalist and conservative elements, Democrat Party hoped to get on well with the peasants' mentality or ideology against the girls' going to school." Urla-Zeytinoğlu (1989) defines this conservative and patriarchal ideology as follows:

When the son grows up, he will be in charge of the family property; he will provide old age security to the parents; and he will carry on the family name. The daughter, on the other hand, will be educated only to the level where she can assume some of the household responsibilities. Quite often, education of daughters is considered as a waste of money on consumed goods because they will be married "out" and take the family investment with them to the husband's family (Urla-Zeytinoğlu, 1989:15 cited in Gündüz-Hoşgör, 1996:226).

In addition to these thoughts, according to Caporal (1982:278) and Acar (2006:80), behind the fact that girls were not sent to school were religious prejudices and high rate of poverty on occasions and that the importance of education for girls had not been well understood. Considering the conclusion in the studies by P. Stirling (1965) and Pierce (1964) in villages that religion was an important "framework of life", it can also be concluded that religion had a significant effect on the girls not being sent

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<sup>210</sup> See Appendix B, Table B.6.

to school. Similarly, Makal (1950) points out to the rivalry between the Quran courses and public schools, and states that the courses drew the attention of families more quickly.

The tendency in rural to send the girls to school was low, but the absence of secondary school after the primary school in the village, i.e. the deficiency of infrastructure, was another problem for the schooling of girls: Their schooling means their getting away from home and adding another item in the familial expenses. In addition, the investment in girls' education was thought of as a waste of money (i.e. *low opportunity cost of education*) under the belief that girls would not make financial contributions to the family in the later years. Therefore, for the girls to have an education and find a job was less important than their marriage to a "wealthy" man. Moreover, to reduce the risk of girls becoming a "spinster", it was considered necessary for them to have a lower level of education than their prospective husbands (Özbay, 1990). In addition, girls' education was considered fit until a certain age, considering the girls' average age of marrying (Gök, 1990). There was not a need for a high level of education except for the basic level of literacy for the roles of being a mother and housewife (Erman, 2002 cited in Rankin et al., 2010:284).

According to the population survey of Hacettepe University in 1973, the mothers in villages found the primary school sufficient for their daughters, a case which indicates that the mothers who did not even receive such an education wanted their daughters to take an education higher than theirs but they found a higher level of education unnecessary for girls. The level of education found fit for male children was the higher education both in the rural and in the urban. In the city, higher education was not found necessary for girls. Secondary school and high school<sup>211</sup> were the educational levels without much importance (Özbay, 1981:179). However, according to the village survey of Hacettepe University in 1975, mothers wanted their daughters to move to cities and have an education to become a teacher, nurse or

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<sup>211</sup> In the 1970s, urban girls, especially the girls of big cities attended the high-schools. For example, the percentage of female students to the high-school students is 42.55% in İzmir and 7.64% in Bingöl (Caporal, 1982:301).

midwife more than their sons (Özbay, 1990; Özbay, 1981). As Özbay (1981) states, the results display the gender discrimination in education, unnecessary of education for females and problems in education system in this period.

According to Özbay (1981:174), the distribution of restricted education services in the country falls at variance with the equality of educational opportunities in law. The educational institutions concentrating in the urban and especially big cities were both inadequate and unjust, given that majority of the population lived in the rural. To reverse this situation, a law was admitted for the schooling of all the children in 10 years after the military coup of 1960. As of 1962, the budget of Ministry of National Education was increased to 14.55%. From 1961 on, much emphasis was placed on the building of schools in villages. To close the deficit of teachers, the practice of “reserve officers as teachers” was applied. High-school graduates were given the right to become teachers in village schools and reserve officers under given conditions. Later, only university graduates had this chance. In 1970-71, 10.749 high-school graduates served as teachers at village schools in return for their “military duty”. The rise in the number of schools and teachers made a positive effect on the rate of girls’ and boys’ schooling (Caporal, 1982:277).

Regional inequalities are also as important as the rural-urban divisions (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2010:10). The period with the highest level of interregional inequality was the 1970s (Keyder, 1987). The difference in schooling between the eastern and western regions led to differences between the male-female schooling rates within the regions themselves. For example, while it was observed that the rate of girls’ schooling was approaching that of boys’ and the rate of girls’ schooling was high in cities and in the west, it was low in the East and South (Caporal, 1982:268-270). According to Caporal (1982), this case in the West can be interpreted as pointing out that there was hardly any discrimination between the genders there. While assessing the difference between the regions, however, the economic, cultural and social development level of the region should be taken into account as well as the political ideology.

As can be seen, the educational facilities in the rural were inadequate and gender inequality was high in this period, depending on various reasons. Considering the educational facilities and gender inequality in the cities, it could be concluded that the urbanization that started with migration in the 1950s led to a change in the urban structure. The needs of the migrating population for education and jobs could not be met totally in the cities. In this period when the problems of shanty-town house (i.e. *gecekondu*) and unemployment were experienced, the field of education was turned into a field of inequality together with the class structure.

We are faced with the problem of access to education in shanty-town areas, which are a poor urban district: In the shanty-town areas, there were schools that would provide education and schooling neither for boys nor for girls (Caporal, 1982:268; Akar et. al, 2009:27; Gökçe, 2009). Accordingly, the low rates of schooling in the city were in the shanty-town areas. However, families tended to assign all its financial possibility to the education of male children (Tekeli, Ş., 1985:61) and the first child to go to school would be the male. Gündüz-Hoşgör (2013:523) explains this situation with the tendency of family to be more possessive of the traditional and conservative values in the process of migration. This is because the families confronted with “the other” may want to protect and control their female children in their new settlements by pressure and within their “private area”. While male children could be sent to school, they had to be strong and well-equipped as they would come across “the other” in the later years. According to Özbay (1990), the reason for this was that males could convert the status they would earn through education into economic power and that they, though partly, had fewer domestic responsibilities.

On the other hand, the girls from the middle and higher socioeconomic backgrounds of the city had more alternatives and options to go to school and have a job in this period. Moreover, middle and upper socioeconomic background families could afford the educational expenses of their children (Gündüz-Hoşgör, 1996:226). Therefore, being urban was not enough for an access to education, and an urban woman from middle or upper socioeconomic background was luckier than the

woman and/or man in the poor urban or rural area in having an access to the educational facilities. For example, although high-schools seemed open to all, they still kept their quality as a *class* institution. Half of the high-school graduates had a father with a graduation from secondary education or university and the educational level of their mothers was almost the same. Considering their professions, they were civil servants, industrialists, merchants and self-employed (Kazamias, 1966:229-233).

The economic policies and international relationships in this period led to the opening of foreign and private schools largely at the secondary level. Thus class structure and differences in the society started to become more visible and deeper. The families from middle and higher socioeconomic background in this period started to prefer the foreign and private schools in order to maintain their privileges (i.e. reproduction of the class or, as Sakaoğlu (2003:270) words, the desire to become “elite minority”) and to learn a foreign language in accordance with the requirement of the era. Another reason was that these families did not want to send their children to the public schools whose quality was being lowered due to the increased urban population. The public schools opened in the shanty-town area, however, led to institutionalization/schooling only quantitatively due to their overcrowded classes and inadequate education facilities of little or no quality.<sup>212</sup>

The new schools, institutes and institutions opened in the city in every period affected the rate of schooling positively. The opening of many universities, which was one of the significant structural changes of the period, and their spread to the whole country provided many young people with the chance for an access to the higher education. As considered in the previous chapter, alternative schools (i.e. engineering-architecture and economic-commercial sciences academies) opened because of the inability of the current universities to meet the increased demand, the population rise and the limited quotas turned into important higher education institutions and increased the higher education chances for the urban people in

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<sup>212</sup> For details, see the previous chapter.



particular. For example, these institutions had more students than the number of the students at all the universities in 1967 (Caporal, 1982:312). Given the educational level of the country in general, there was a chance for access to the higher education for a very low portion of the population. For instance, according to the census of 1975, 52% of the women at and above the age of six did not know to read and write (Kazgan, 1981:149), and the rate of the women above 11 finishing the primary school was 11%. The percentage of the women graduating from the secondary education was 7%. Higher education was, however, a luxury. Just 5 per thousand of the women was the graduate of higher education. When compared with men, the lowest rate of women was in the higher education (Özbay, 1981:174).

The study by Cavdar et al (1976) supporting the census results of 1975 indicated the inequalities in the higher education: Of those who applied to the university in 1974-75 training year, 22.6% were women, while 28% of the winners were women. The rate of rural candidates in the total number was 30.3%, while the rate of rural female candidates was 8.7%. 31% of the candidates came from three big cities, and so did 47.6% of the winners of the exam and 54% of the female students who won the exam (cited in Öncü, 1981:259 and Kazgan, 1981:161). These figures can be interpreted in two ways in the light of historical feedbacks discussed in the previous chapters:

1) When we examine these results from an optimistic perspective, we can say that the higher education in the period was accessible to the women (whether they were from rural or urban or any socioeconomic background) and those in the rural and it provided an important upward mobility. As Özbay (1990) said, education was as important a factor for social mobility as migration in the aftermath of 1950. In the early 1950s, even the fact that the son of a father who had never been schooled graduated from primary school was a huge jump. In economic terms, primary school graduation was an important development for that period because their educational level was low on the whole. In the 1970s, there was a significant<sup>213</sup> but low progress

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<sup>213</sup> In this period, the lowest gender inequality education level was illiteracy and primary school, while the highest was higher education (Kazgan, 1981:149; Abadan-Unat, 1981:27). In other words, the higher the level of education, the higher the rate and of number women who are out of education.

in field of education. It was because the general level of education was still low and urban-rural, regional and gender inequality was still existing in every stage of education (Kazgan, 1981:149). In short, it would be a big upward mobility to have an access to the higher education in the 1970s despite so many inequalities.

2) On the other hand, when we examine these results from an pessimistic perspective, we can say that the higher education of the period was more accessible to the men and urban people and that they reproduced the inequalities and their privileged positions in education: As education service and the chance for using it was limited, certain groups could benefit from it. These groups were from urban and middle-upper socioeconomic background. Women's access to higher education was determined by their class position (Özbay, 1981:174; Çitçi, 1990:106). According to Öncü (1981), these findings show that universities were a process which reinforced the existing socio-economic status of women instead of accelerating their social mobility. A consideration of the faculties preferred for "prestigious" professions shows the inequality more clearly. For example, the rate of the girls whose father was a civil servant or professional staff (Öncü, 1981:259).

As seen from above, rural-urban inequality is as visible as socioeconomic background inequality in the access to the higher education and women in this period. In Öncü (1981)'s study on fields of medicine and law<sup>214</sup>, it appears that the access of middle and upper socioeconomic background women to these fields in higher education was higher and 2/3 of them could find a job after graduation.

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However, compared to male students, the rate of females in education has gradually increased. For example, 10.6 % of population at and above the age of six was literate in 1927 (17.4 % of men and 4.6 % of women), while it was 61.5 % of population in 1975 (74.8 % of men and 48 % of women) (Kazgan, 1981:167). In 1923-24 education year 18.73 % of all students in primary schools was female, while it rose 43.30 % in 1970-71. In 1935, 43.15 % of males and 27 % of females were enrolled in primary school, they rose relatively 90.37 % and 79.40 %. The number of female students in secondary education increased 104.80 times, those of males 74.40 times from 1924-25 to 1970-71 education year. In 1924-25, only 612 females went to high school in Turkey, in 1970-71 it rose 72.802 females (Caporal, 1982). For more details see Appendix B Table B.3 and Table B.5.

<sup>214</sup> The first female lawyer affiliated to the İstanbul bar was in 1936. In the number of lawyers, which was 10% by the 1960s, there appeared an outburst after 1960 (Öncü, 1981:255).

According to her, this case is the result of the fact that the state could renew its staff under the developing conditions of the country and fast economic growth as well as socioeconomic background inequalities. Lawyers and doctors make up the elites' group in the western societies. As these professions are based on a very expensive and long process of education and the success in it depends on social relations, they are professions which have difficult barriers for those from the lower socioeconomic background of the society. In addition, women from upper socioeconomic background were not as "fearsome" as men from lower socioeconomic background with an ardent desire for promotion. In other words, "class" prejudices took precedence over gender prejudices. Thus, women could be preferred and accepted easily. Whatever the prejudices against women might be, it would be easier than lower socioeconomic background men's adaptation in the elites' group. Accordingly, the professions based on skills and expertise would be available to the upper socioeconomic background even if they were women (Öncü, 1981:262-7). Similarly, Toktas et al. (2006:747) states that because job opportunity was restricted and the chance of upward mobility increased for the men from lower socioeconomic background, a larger number of high and middle socioeconomic background families could send their daughters to university. In short, whether these women who were followers of the Republic and mostly the daughters of the first generation of women could find "a prestigious job depends on the upper classes' class prejudices and their purpose of enabling the profession to remain within the class" (Tekeli, Ş., 1985:57). In addition, it could be said that the education of women from upper socioeconomic background is a tool for the continuation of the privileges rather than for their upward mobility. Özbay (1981) claims that as the education of upper socioeconomic background women is a "means of social prestige", it was supported and therefore it was an indicator showing the socioeconomic differences.

According to an international survey of 1975, Turkey had the highest women rate (25%) of prestigious "male" professions, which are doctors, lawyers, engineers, etc. around the world. The rates in some other countries are 8.5% in Germany, 2.3% in the USA, and 4.3% in England (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2010:9; Acar, 1996). Similarly,

according to the census of 1975, the fields with the highest number of college and vocational school female graduates are scientific and technical staff, free profession, law, education and health-associated professions (Tayanç et al., 1977 cited in Özbay, 1981:184). It could be said that in Turkey, the accession of women to the fields known as “prestigious male professions” in the West weakened the definition of the profession according to the gender and formed the basis of the social perception of the professions. For example, the thought that the profession of a doctor requires affection, mercy and sympathy, which are the feelings associated largely with women, has changed the way this profession is perceived in a way different from that in the West (Öncü, 1981:264).

Even though women were engaged in professional jobs, the gender professional differentiation<sup>215</sup> did not decrease, but increased between 1950 and 1975. The reason for this is that women were concentrated in certain professions and men found a wide variety of jobs. For example, while the rate of women 24% in the sector of banking and 27.6% in that of teacher in 1963, this figure rose to 35% in both fields in 1973. According to Kazgan (1981:144), this concentration is connected with low qualifications and traditional values. However, Abadan-Unat (1981:26) explains its reason, saying that the men who interpreted these fields as sectors for social purposes left these fields and the women were employed in the fields they left. Despite everything, these developments created a gap among the women from upper socioeconomic background and the other women in the city, the women in the villages and the illiterate or less-educated women.

#### **4.3.3. Expansion but Inequalities Ongoing Period (1980 to the present):**

As considered in the previous chapter, the general structural transformations under the effect of the political understanding of Turkish-Islam synthesis and neo-liberalist

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<sup>215</sup> The index of professional differentiation measures the relative magnitude and the difference of distribution between the occupational accidents by genders. For calculation and more details, see Kazgan (1982:165) (Table VI).

approach were observed in field of education in the 1980s. Tekeli, Ş. (1998a) describes this period in general terms as follows:

Turkey is a peasants' society with a fast population rise, migrating but unable to be urbanized. Its democratic traditions are weak. Its underdeveloped economy is almost a chronic crisis. Differences of class, income and region are so wide, and the everyday troubles of daily life of the masses are so dense that "suppression of women" is bound to be always secondary to other problems (Tekeli, Ş., 1998a:345).

As mentioned before, the neoliberalist policies and imbalances in economy in this period deepen the regional, urban-rural and socioeconomic inequalities in the distribution of income. It has come to be a period when people started to seek to earn money whatever the means might be. While education and migration were two most important factors for upward mobility until the 1980s, upward mobility was difficult with these two after 1980: The cities offered harder conditions for the immigrants then. Economic policies did not encourage the paid labour encouraged by education and migration. However, trade towards the external market and tourism came to the fore. The fact that trade was in the fore increased the value of money and devalued the public and industrial services. Money had become the most important value and those who earned money could have a prestigious position in the society. The fact that money became an important value caused some groups to move downward. Turkey got acquainted with double mobility in the 1980s (Özbay, 1990). In other words, there was an upward mobility for the urbanites with a high income, and impoverishment for the middle and low-income group (Tekeli, Ş., 1990).

As the ways of earning money and forms of trade were not taught at schools, education started to lose its value and importance. It started to be taken as a meaningless means of investment. However, there appeared no fall in the number of those who went to school, because the rate of those who graduated from universities was still low. There emerged groups of students who both worked outside the university and studied there simultaneously, and also departments on trade were opened, attracting attention and demand from the students (Özbay, 1990). Therefore,

education kept its privileged status and importance despite all the aforementioned developments around money.

The change in the education policies in the 1980s is that the private sector was encouraged. With the schools opened at every level from primary school to university, socioeconomic differences become visible. Population rise and the increased demand caused the practice of entrance exam for schools. The probability that the students who could not enter the primary and secondary private schools with exams would win the university exam is falling down gradually. The demand of the middle and upper socioeconomic background families for the private teaching institutions and private courses in competitive preparation for the exam is on the increase. According to Özbay (1990), this attempt is intended to prevent the “downward mobility of the middle-class families’ children in particular”. Furthermore, the lower-income group had to get closer to the religious communities’ schools and courses (see the previous chapter).

Educational statistics regarding this period are as follows: The rate of literacy in 1980 was 67.45% across the country, 79.94% among men and 54.65% among women. In 1990, the rate of literacy increased; the rate of illiteracy dropped to 9.46% among men and 29.18% among women. However, the fall in the rate of men became faster and higher than that of women (Doğramacı, E., 1997:97). In 1999, the rate of illiteracy was 4.5% among the urban male population, and 18.7% among the urban female population. It was 10% and 30% among the rural population, respectively (TÜSİAD, 2000:35; Kağıtçıbaşı, 2010:12). However, the rate of literacy has still not reached 100%: Among the population at and above the age of six in 2011, the rate of female illiteracy was 8%, and male illiteracy was 1.7%. Eight of every ten illiterate people are women. Among the population above the age of 15, the rate of female illiteracy is 9.8%.<sup>216</sup> There is another inequality among the age groups: The older the person, the higher the rate of illiteracy. This case is valid both for men and women. However, this difference is higher among women. Another factor in women’s

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<sup>216</sup> For more information, see Ministry of Family and Social Policies (2012).

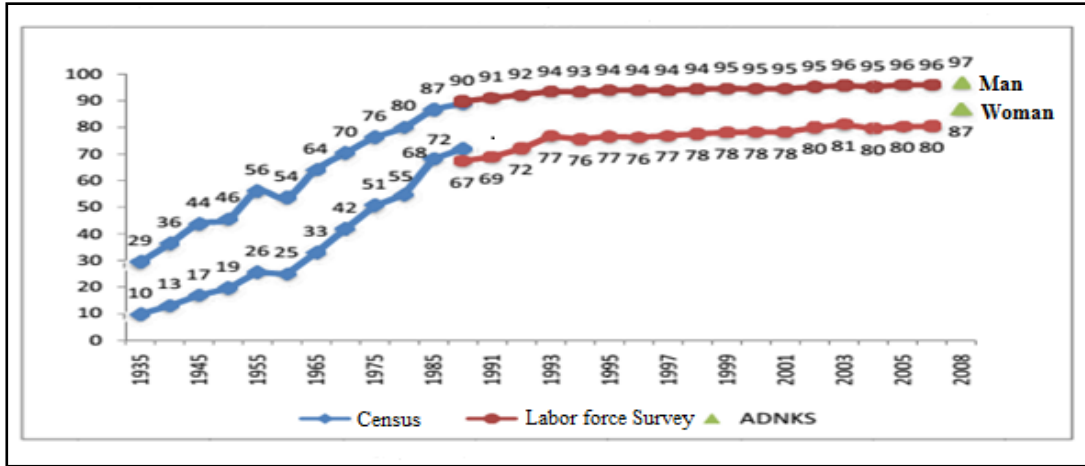
illiteracy is the rural-urban and regional difference. The rate of female illiteracy in the rural and in the East is higher than that of the women in the West (TÜSİAD, 2000:33; Otaran et al., 2003:24; Akar et al., 2009:21; Smits et al., 2003; O'Dwyer et al., 2010; Çabuk Kaya, 2013). For example, according to the figures of 2003, illiteracy for women was 16.6% in urban and 30.8 % in rural (for men 3.9% and 9%, respectively); the rate of women with no education was 63.2% in the Southeastern Anatolia and 32.1% in the Aegean region (Akar et al., 2009:22). Gündüz-Hoşgör (2010:305) explains this case as follows: There is a big need for child labour at home, in the field, for animal husbandry, shepherd, etc. in the rural. Female children make a great contribution to home economy in terms of their usage labour and exchange labour. Female children have not got a big chance in the decision<sup>217</sup> about which child in the family will go to school. "Gender inequality is closely related to cultural values and social structures." For example, mobile education was initiated in 1989-90. Traditional/conservative families did not want their daughters to share the same means of transportation with the male children. In addition, families did not send their daughters to school because of weather conditions, forced migration, conflict and insecure environment (Gündüz-Hoşgör, 2010:305-6; Smits et al., 2003). Moreover, Gündüz-Hoşgör (2008; 2010; 2013) draws our attention to the "invisible" female children, indicating that there were children who did not have an identity card in the rural and in the Eastern and Southeastern regions and who therefore could not benefit from education, one of the basic civil rights, such as health and law.<sup>218</sup> As seen, regional differences are influential on the practice of schooling (Rankin et al., 2010:283). For example, the rate of illiteracy was 42.2% in the Eastern and

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<sup>217</sup> It appears in the studies conducted that father and mother are often decision-makers. However, grandfather and grandmother may also prove to be influential on this process. See Gündüz-Hoşgör (2013).

<sup>218</sup> According to the data of Turkish Population Health Survey, 16.2% of the children born after 1998 do not have an identity card. 16.2% of male children lack it, while 17.2% of female children lack it. The children without an identity card densely occupy the eastern regions (24.7%). Moreover, the number of children in the rural without it is twice as high as that of those in the urban (Gündüz-Hoşgör, 2008: 31-2). She states that especially female children are under a higher risk for such reasons as the families' attitude of needlessness to the declaration of their children, the differences in the expectation for future between male and female children, mobile and temporary seasonal migration, international migration and forced migration after 1990.

Southeastern regions in 1990, while it was 22.3% in the West (Narlı, 2000). In 2003, this rate dropped down to 39% in the Southeastern region (Otaran et al., 2003:24).



Source: Koç et al., 2010: 16.

**Figure 4. 1: The changes in literacy rate (6+ and over) (1935-2008)**

Another point as important as illiteracy is that there are women who have never gone to a school. These women may have learned to read and write somehow, but they have not taken any education whatsoever officially. According to the Population and Health Survey of Turkey in 1998, 16.7% of the women between the ages of 15 and 49 did not attend any school (TÜSİAD, 2000:35). According to the report of UNICEF (2000), 31.9% of the girls between the ages of 7 and 13 did not attend any school. For the report, the provinces with a low human and economic level have a high rate. For example, 61.4% in Diyarbakır, 59.4% in Erzurum, 46.3% in Şanlıurfa, 17.6% in Ankara, 21.6% in İstanbul and 19.5% in İzmir (UNICEF, 2000 cited in Narlı 2000). The surprisingly high rates in three big cities may be explained with poor urban distance, migration and squatting. As Otaran et al. (2003:24) states, since migration from eastern to western region and from rural to urban is still dense, the problem of women is removed to urban settlements. These migrants usually move in shanty-town areas without educational infrastructure. Therefore, limited access to education does not solve the educational problems regarding women.



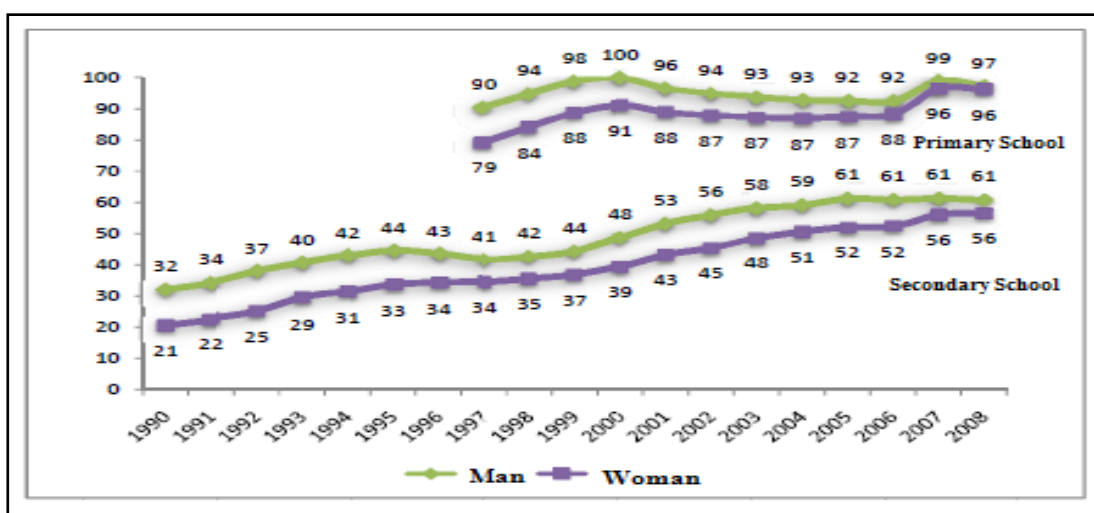
Considering the enrolment rates in the education levels from primary school to high-school from the 1980s on, there appears an increasing tendency<sup>219</sup>: In 1991-92 training year, the rate of females' enrolment to primary school was 85.38% and this rate was 91.1% for males (Narlı, 2000). In 2008-9 training year, the exact schooling rate at primary school was 96.5%. This rate was 96% for girls and 97% for boys. Also Kağıtçıbaşı (2010:13) and Acar (2006:84) point out that the raising of the compulsory primary-school education to 8 years affected the females' enrolment rate in a positive manner. This is justified by the statistics. For example, the enrolment rate in the 6<sup>th</sup> year in the rural increased by 162 % in the first year of the programme (Otaran et al., 2003:24). However, the problems, such as delayed start for the school, absence and the 6<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup>-year girls' leaving the school, are continuing (Narlı, 2000; Akar et al., 2009; Gözübüyük Tamer, 2013). In this sense, Gündüz-Hoşgör (2013) states that there are breaking points in girls' attendance to schools: If the mother needs some help after the girl's first three years at school, if she is unsuccessful at school and if she also wants to leave the school, it becomes easier to decide to disengage her from the school. The second breaking point is the post-5<sup>th</sup> year at school. The girl who reaches puberty then may not get approval for her attendance to school after then. The third breaking point is the 8<sup>th</sup> year at school. If girls are successful and win the scholarship exam for passage to the high-school, it signals that they will find a job in the future. Otherwise, they do not have to start the high-school education after the 8<sup>th</sup> year. As seen, not only is enrolment a problem, but the ability to keep them at school is also a problem: In 1994-95 training year, for every 100 male students who left the school, 120 female students left it. In the same period, the rate at which female students left secondary and higher education is almost half the male students who did so (TÜSİAD, 2000:41).

One of the policies produced while financial causes are shown as privileged problems is the delivery of textbooks at public schools free of charge, a practice which started in primary school in 2003-4 training year and in secondary education

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<sup>219</sup> See Appendix B, Table B.3 and Table B.5.

in 2006-7 (Gözübüyük Tamer, 2013). However, Gündüz-Hoşgör (2010 and 2013) states that the reason why girls are not sent to school is that there is a need for girls' labour rather than that their needs of notebooks, books, uniforms, etc. cannot be met. For example, their labour is needed in such sectors as housework, seasonal mobile agricultural worker and textile worker. According to the results of the survey in 2006, 47.7% of the children aged between 6 and 17 and employed lived in urban area and 52.4% of them in the rural area. In addition, 345 of these children are female and 66% are male (Akar et al., 2009:31). Briefly speaking, child labour affects male and female children's schooling negatively both in the rural and urban area.



\*The secondary school in the table does not mean secondary school, but high-school.

Source: Koç et al., 2010: 17.

**Figure 4. 2: The changes in net schooling rate (1990-2008)**

The figures at the secondary education are as follows: Although there were secondary school and high-school in many villages in the 1980s (Rankin et al., 2010:283), the secondary-school enrolment rate among the girls was 47.74% across Turkey while this rate was 71.26% among boys in 1991-92 training year. In 1994-95, however, girls' enrolment rate at secondary school rose to 54.52% and boys' to 76% (Narlı, 2000). In 2008-9 training year, the net rate of schooling was 58.5%; it was 60.6% among men and 56.3% among girls. The inequality between them shows the girls' tendency to leave the school. In addition, there are regional differences in the

gender inequalities in the schooling rate. At high school, however, this rate was 31.06% among girls and 42.29% among boys in 1994-95 training year. The rate at high school rose to 56% and 61% in 2008-9 training year, respectively. Girls usually go to female art schools and female institutes, teacher training schools, schools of trade, and high schools of trade, medical schools, conservatories, etc. (Caporal,1982:306-310). As known, these schools are the institutions that teach women traditional gender roles rather than providing them with a job (Özbay, 1981:184; Gök, 1990).

It is evident that there was gender difference at secondary education in 2002-3 training year shows that girls left the school or they were removed from school by their families (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2010:13). Narlı (2000) explains the gender difference at secondary education and females' low enrolment rate:

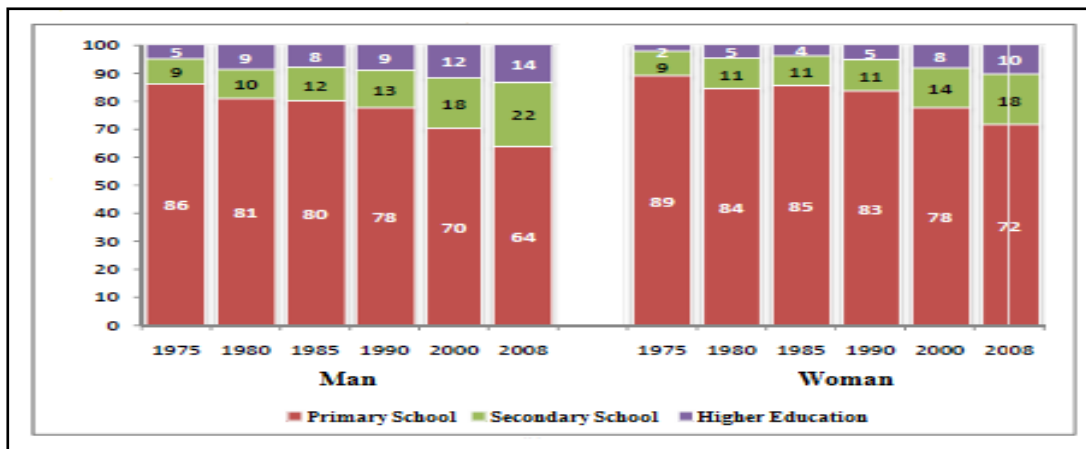
The lower level of female enrolment in the secondary education is related to three interrelated factors: discrimination against the female child when the family provides educational opportunities to the children, poverty and child labour. The economically disadvantaged families and those with more than four children always give priority to the education of the male child. Families more often utilize the female child's labour outside the home as well as in the economic activities conducted in the house. In addition to them, the female child assumes housework (Narlı, 2000).

As seen, females' schooling is prevented by a number of intertwining factors such as traditional patriarchal ideology, poverty (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2010:14; Acar, 2006:80; Akar et al., 2009:9; Çabuk Kaya, 2013) and deprivation (Gündüz-Hoşgör, 2013), the need for female labour at and outside of the home. On the other hand, many international agreements or treaties signed by Turkey (such as *Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women* (CEDAW, 1979), *Beijing Action Plan* (1995), *Convention on the Rights of the Child* (1995)) require all measures to be taken so that male and female children could have equal rights in field of education (TÜSİAD, 2000:25). For example, the project "Girls, Let's Go to School"<sup>220</sup> started by Ministry of National Education in 2003, the campaign "Dad, send me to school"

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<sup>220</sup> For more details and information, see <http://haydikizlarokula.meb.gov.tr/index.php>

<sup>221</sup> which started in 2005, MEB’s project in 2011 “The Project for Increasing the Schooling Rate of Female Children” (KEP) (2011-2013)<sup>222</sup>, and “Snowdrops”<sup>223</sup> initiated as a project of responsibility in 2000 are the initiatives that were designed to increase the rates of schooling. However, the rate of literacy is not equal with males across the country (literacy rate in 2000 census was 80.6 % for women and 93.9 % for men (Otaran et al., 2003:24)), and if this situation is considered, it appears that the policies and practices conducted to send the girls to school are inadequate.



Source: Koç et al., 2010: 17.

**Figure 4. 3: The changes in the distribution of the population by education level (%) (1990-2008)**

The above figure includes the educational levels of the total population changing with the years. As seen, there is gender inequality according to their educational levels and years. Even though the educational level of woman has increased with years, it appears that they are inferior to men at every stage. Considering the rates of men and women, today’s women have only achieved men’s levels of about ten years ago. In conclusion, there are more men than women in field of education and even

<sup>221</sup> For more details and information, see <http://www.bbog.org/ss.html>

<sup>222</sup> For more details and information, see <http://kizlarinegitimi.meb.gov.tr/tr>

<sup>223</sup> For more details and information, see <http://www.turkcell.com.tr/site/tr/turkcellhakkinda/sayfalar/sosyalsorumluluk/egitim/kardelenler/kardelenler.aspx>

though they stand on an equal level, women have a lower rate of participation in education than men.

As seen, gender inequalities in primary and secondary educations are reflected into the upper stage of education. Higher education is not compulsory in Turkey but it is officially open to everybody and free of charge. According to Özbay (1981:173), higher education provides the women with the chance to have a job outside of the traditional gender roles and take part in economic field in every branch of work. As a result, it is more important than basic education in terms of the acquisition of economic independence. However, graduation from universities is not enough for this, but labour market, employment policies as well as the field of education/department graduated. Then higher education is a new challenge for the patriarchal order. Rising against this understanding, Gök (1990) points out that women were canalized towards professions enabling the reproduction of work power rather than the roles similar to and derivations of traditional female roles as well as production, and therefore education, particularly higher education, is not important in terms of its liberalizing effect for women. Therefore, women's access to university and their field of education and ability to take part in working life should be taken into account from the aspect of patriarchal order and gender roles.

In fact, lucky are those who could reach the higher education through a qualifying system like the university entrance exam in Turkey. This is because higher education is a victory for the students who undergo a lot of difficulties, obstacles and inequalities until they attain the higher education and specifically for women. For example, in 1990-91 training year female enrolment rate was 8.9%, while this figure was 16.5 % for male. This rate rose to 13.8% and 21.3% in 1994-95, respectively (Narlı, 2000). Today there appears a growing development. The newly-opened universities<sup>224</sup> and increased quotas have become influential on this process.<sup>225</sup> However, gender inequality in each level is to the disadvantage of women at the

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<sup>224</sup> See Appendix B, Table B.1.

<sup>225</sup> See Appendix B, Table B.3 and Table B.5.

higher education, as well (Seven et al., 2010). In other words, gender inequality is more visible in the higher education institutions that produce information and train man power for the fields of social division requiring information and skills. However, the number of women who could continue their education is less than half the men who could do so (Acar, 2009:87). The schools and departments which are accepted as socially important and where well-paid professions are acquired host fewer female students. For example, the participation of women in such departments as agriculture is the least of all, but over the years, there has appeared an increase in the percentages of female students in the departments, except engineering, agriculture and forestry. Today, however, the percentage of female students has approximated that of males in the other departments like education, social and basic sciences. “Low pay/low prestige fields” are, all the same, related to women (Acar, 2006:88) such as teaching. In addition, according to Gök (1990), educational facilities at the higher education are offered in such a way as to enable given *classes* to benefit from them easily, so it means that more inequalities are experienced by women. Furthermore, as the families’ income level falls, the probability that girls may be sent to universities falls down.

In sum, despite the increasing number of women in education as well as higher education, the gender distribution in the field of study/department still exists. As Gök (1990) states, gender distribution in the departments consisted with the gender-based division of labour, that reproduced the patriarchal system and gender roles in Turkey (that is also consisted with the socialist feminist perspective arguments). For example, engineering is still male-dominated field, while education is female-dominated field in 2012 in Turkey (TUIK, 2013:60).

#### **4.4. Conclusion**

To understand the structure of today's education in Turkey, the structural transformations debated with consideration paid to the inheritance from the past are dealt with in the first chapter. This chapter is intended to deeply examine gender educational inequality in Turkey. The chapter is primarily concerned with the social status, role and educational status of the woman affected by the structural transformations, also focusing on the gender inequality, socioeconomic background, regional and urban-rural inequality in the field of education.

In the educational system of the Ottoman Empire, educational facilities were provided to the ruling class, males and urbanites only. With an agriculture-based economy, Ottoman did not need educated subjects. Brought to agenda with Tanzimat, debates over modernization, westernization and progress brought forward the structural transformations and women's participation in the field of education. Accordingly, both education and women gained importance with Tanzimat as two most important parts of the project of a new society. The value attached to women and education underwent some change together with the social transformation. The relationship built between women and backwardness of the country and its solution made it possible to offer the educational facilities to women. The schools newly opened and beginning to be spread were the attempts to enable women to receive education. However, urban-rural and class differences drew attention as factors that affected women's educational status. The educational facilities provided by the middle and upper-class urban families to their daughters, i.e. *duennas*, private tutoring, intellectual environment, made them privileged from the illiterate lower-class and rural women. This privilege enabled them to take place in the frontline in their women struggle and the "women question" to be visible by mentioning the class problems such as education, working, dresses and polygamy. This movement had been supported by upper-class men for a lot of reasons from Tanzimat onwards. Women's presence in field of education and working life in the decadent years of Ottomans is related to the westernization and social policies based on modernization

and secularization. For girls to receive a westernized and secular education was accelerated from the Young Turks' era on.

Ottoman women movement played an important role in providing educational facilities to women through associations and journals. Educated urban and upper-class women within the women movement struggled for the right of education to women. One of its important achievements was to enable women to be admitted to higher education. When we look at the students' profiles, however, it appears that they are the daughters of middle and upper-class families. Accordingly, class privileges are preserved. However, the institutions where lower-class girls take education are also existent: female art schools, female institutes and vocational schools, including teacher training schools and midwifery schools, etc. These schools served to provide women with a chance to take place in working life after graduation and to achieve upward mobility. However, these schools reproduce the gender roles and thus enable women to be a good wife, mother and Muslim even if they cannot find a place in working life.

In addition, male population and man power decreased due to the wars between 1911 and 1923, and so "uneducated" women started to work as workers at factories, and educated ones at other institutions. Though this case led to opposite voices, the pressure and objection of religious ideology could not preclude the economic difficulties. Thus, women's presence/appearance in public space led to an important breakage in cultural and religious values. The women movement has notably important role in this process. Moreover, the rise of Turkism in the late Ottoman period, the requirements of war economy, women movement and their joint effects on the social and economic policies of the CUP affected the social status, education and working rights of women.

Changing the Ottoman's educational facility provided by the Ottomans to a certain class and more to men in that class and presenting it to each class and women equally, Kemalist ideology created a big revolution in the social status of women through the laws securing gender inequality. It was *state feminism*. The ideological



and political power of caliphate and sharia would thus be shattered. In other words, any transformation in field of women rights and male-female equality meant secularization, modernization, civilization and disengagement from the Ottoman.

While the state was supporting the women to be in public life with education, profession, active, political and social rights on one hand, it tried, on the other, to school the women who made up the majority of the population, had a low level of literacy and could hardly reach higher education. These women were not expected to be “elite” women, but to become “educated housewife” who knew home economy, who would become useful, knowledgeable and initiative and who could transfer the republican ideology to the new generation for national identity.

The new women of the new nation-state would thus not lag behind men in the fields of education, profession and employment, for it was necessary that all the members of the society should be developed for “order and progress”. In this sense, Kemalist women identity consisted of girls taking education, finding a job and taking place in public space. A new state required a new woman identity and education had a significant role in this process. Women would spread the secular bourgeois ideology through their education, create remarkable labour power especially in white-collar professions and struggle for their own liberalization. Therefore, the education in the early years of Republic was not sexist, but aimed to overcome sexism. Such practices as compulsory primary school, coeducation, acceptance of Latin alphabet and abolition of *madradas* were designed to raise the educational level of the country and secure male-female, urban-rural and regional equalities. But even so woman’s use of the education right was prevented by “the deep-rooted patriarchal system and class and rural/urban inequalities existing in Turkish society”.

In the 1950s, the educational policies followed by the Democrat Party (DP) rule led to the decline in rural women’s education in particular. On the contrary, educational facilities increased and got better in cities. Migration from rural to urban in this period and emergence of shanty-town areas affected the field of education, women and education of women. Inadequate educational service despite the population rise

in urban areas caused the urbanites to seek for and pursue new chances and private and foreign schools to be opened. However, these schools were largely accessible to the upper class, which led to the formation of privileged groups/elites. On the other hand, for such reasons as the absence of school in the rural and in the poor urban districts, which are shanty-town areas, inequalities began to emerge and grow both in the same city and in the whole country. Especially class differences played an important role in education of women. The opportunities provided by the urban and middle-upper class families to their daughters enabled them to reach higher education and find an employment for “prestigious male professions”. Accordingly, women’s access to higher education in this period is tantamount to reproducing class inequalities rather than upward mobility. However, upward mobility is achieved by migration and education. When the educational level of the country is considered in general, upward mobility comes true even if an illiterate mother and/or father has/have a daughter/son who graduates from primary school.

Inadequate educational facilities in the rural affect all the children adversely, but the factors that affect girls’ education negatively are more complicated. For example, father’s attitude to education, financial possibilities, the need for girls’ labour at and outside of home, religious factors are among them. Therefore, equality of opportunity based on gender in benefiting from educational facilities depends on several variables. From the 1980s on neoliberal policies seem to have deepened the class differences. The fact that education has become a consumption item provides privileges to those who attain it. Population rise, intense demand and developments towards the service sector have made it difficult for education to be offered by the state. In the 1980s when private schools at every level were opened, competition increased and elimination exams were initiated at many schools. A big race started for prestigious schools and departments at universities. However, women’s, rural people’s and lower-class members’ access to education is more difficult than men’s, urban people’s and middle-upper class members’.

Such practices as eight years’ compulsory education and free delivery of the course books have affected the girls’ and lower-class’ participation in education in a

positive way. Nevertheless, the rate of literacy has still not become equal for men and women and it has not reached 100% yet. After the 80s, participation in secondary and higher education increased among women and across the whole country. However, women are behind men at every level of education.

As a result, though factors that affect the women's access to education varies relatively with the periods, the variables such as class, region, rural-urban divisions and political ideology gained importance and weight. On considering the extent of inequality in the higher education in particular, there appears a need to probe into the factors that have led to gender inequality. One of the purposes of this study is to make contribution to the field from this angle. Next, this will be elaborated in Chapter 5.

## **CHAPTER 5**

### **BEING FEMALE/MALE STUDENT IN EDUCATION OR ENGINEERING FACULTY**

#### **5.1. Introduction**

In this chapter, several characteristics of university students who are students in education and engineering faculties will be examined to respond to the research question that who accessed to and are participating in the higher education; what are the differences and/or similarities among them and what are the differences across and inside gender by education and engineering faculties. Therefore, as mentioned before (as called independent variables), these characteristics will be given into three subtitles: Socio-demographic characteristics, family background and educational background. However, before examining the questions, the methodology of the study will be given firstly.

#### **5.2. Methodology**

As mentioned in the theoretical chapter, the strong relationship between ascribed characteristics and educational attainment implies the inequality of educational opportunity and lack of upward mobility. This issue, therefore, in sociology of education literature has been the subject of several studies with different research design in almost every country for last decades. However, in Turkey, there are few studies on this matter that are mostly focusing on primary and secondary level of education. As mentioned before, this study focusing on higher education in Turkey aims to discuss the attainment process of gender to higher education through socialist feminist perspective. In this sense, methodological framework of the study based on

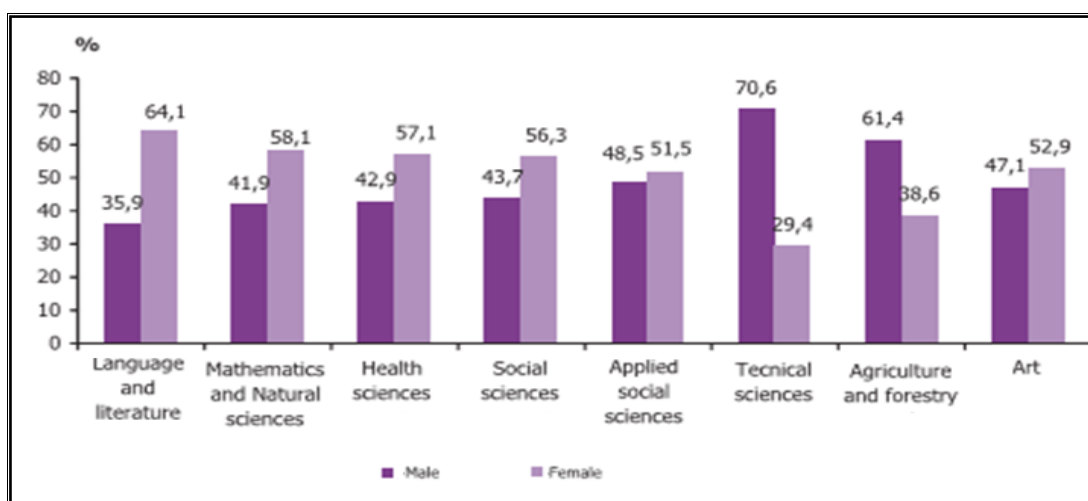
theoretical perspective namely research questions, variables, data and sample will be elaborated in this part.

### **5.2.1. Research Questions**

Considering the empirical and theoretical literature, the gender inequality of educational opportunity is related with many determinants. As mentioned in Chapter 2, macrostructural and family factors as structural dimension are strongly related with educational attainment and vary by genders. Moreover, this strong relationship is seen as the indicator of inequality of opportunity and role of education in the reproducing social inequality.

Regarding historical background of higher education as mentioned in the Chapter 3 and 4, education and engineering schools/departments, their roles and functions are different each other in Turkey. As pointed out before, since 19<sup>th</sup> century engineering has been considered as *male-dominated* field to raise necessary specialists for the army and navy while education has been found suitable for females because of gendered division of labour. In addition, the objectives of their founding are different each other: engineering schools are to raise necessary staff for army and to save the empire through these educated staff, whereas teacher training schools for females are to raise female trainer for female schools. Furthermore, teachership is considered as the continuation of motherhood roles, while engineering is related with physical power. Therefore, genders have been more strongly related with and represented in these departments.

As mentioned before, when we look at the recent statistics about the distribution of gender by faculties, it is obvious that there has been still gender disparity and gender dominated fields.



Source: TUIK; 2013: 60.

**Figure 5. 1: The field of study by gender (2011-2012)**

As seen from the figure above, majority of students in the agriculture and forestry departments and technical sciences including engineering and architecture is male, while majority of those in language and literature departments, mathematic and natural sciences and health sciences is female. Others have relatively equal gender distribution.

Similarly, gender disparity is also seen from the Eurostudent survey (2011), that our study based on quantitative analysis uses, results:

**Table 5. 1: Gender distribution by field of study (%)**

Gender	All students	Education	Engineering and architecture	Literature and human sciences	Social sciences	Natural sciences	Agriculture and forestry	Health sciences	Services
Female	50.5	57.3	30.7	63	52.3	56.8	39	61.9	44.2
Male	49.5	42.7	69.3	37	47.7	43.2	61	38.1	55.8
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	16817	3172	3669	1186	4056	2118	318	1961	337

\*Except 2-year upper high school students, graduate students and distance education students.

(For all faculties  $\chi^2=871.582$  df= 7 p=0.000)

( $\chi^2=490.276$  df= 1 p=0.000 between education and engineering (and architecture) faculties)

Table 5.1 presents the percentage of genders by field of study which depends on the International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED).<sup>226</sup> As seen, distribution of females and males varies by field of study: the majority of students in some fields namely education, literature and human science, health services are females, while others namely engineering (and architecture), agriculture and forestry and service are males. Therefore, it can be said that like general trend in higher education (Orr et al., 2011), education is a *female-dominated field*, whereas engineering as *male-dominated field* in Turkey, which is consistent with the number of students enrolled these faculties in 2010-2011 training year in Turkey (ÖSYM).<sup>227</sup>

Therefore, the specific research questions below are attempted to be answered in this study:

1. The first aim here is to understand the process of attainment to higher education so the following questions firstly should be answered? Who accesses to the education faculty as *female-dominated field* and engineering (and architecture) faculty as *male-dominated field*? Who are those students?
2. What are the differences and/or similarities among students who enrolled education and engineering (and architecture) faculties in terms of socio-demographic, family and educational background? Why do we have those differences?
3. What are the difference across and inside gender in terms of socio-demographic, family and educational background by education and engineering (and architecture) faculties? Why so?

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<sup>226</sup> The classification of the field of study depends on the International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED) developed by UNESCO to compare education statistics and indicators across nations. For details, see <http://www.uis.unesco.org/Education/Pages/international-standard-classification-of-education.aspx>

<sup>227</sup> For education faculty, 273.924 students enrolled (total), 153.353 of them are females and 120.571 students are males. For engineering faculty, 195.430 students enrolled (total), 56.931 of them are females and 138.499 students are males. For more information see <http://www.osym.gov.tr/dosya/1-58214/h/16uluslararasiswaartegitimisiniflisans.pdf>

4. Which variables affect attainment of these faculties regarding gender? In other words, do the effects on the attainment of these faculties vary by gender? If so why?

In this sense, how does education attainment process run in Turkey regarding gender? Is there any difference in the process by gender? How does the relation work in Turkey, especially in higher education related with occupational status? Related with these questions and considering education and engineering (and architecture) faculties, is gendered division of labour reproduced or not in the higher education system in Turkey? Accordingly, considering gender what can be said about the role of higher education in Turkey, reproducing social inequality or allow upward social mobility?

Therefore, the objective of our study is to explore the research questions above and to attempt to contribute and fulfil the gap in the literature about the determinants of higher education attainment in Turkey.

### **5.2.2. Questionnaire and Data**

As mentioned before, in Turkey this issue has not been studied a lot because of the difficulty in the finding data which is nationally representative. About the higher education statistics, there are two institutions in Turkey, namely Turkish Council of Higher Education (YÖK) and Student Selection and Placement Centre (ÖSYM). Their data system, however, is not open and available for academic studies<sup>228</sup> although they have shared some statistics about higher education via annually reports. Therefore, some statistics was used from their publications.

On the other hand, EUROSTUDENT project is the other information source about university students: This project coordinated by Higher Education Information System (HIS) (in Havoner, Germany) has been carried out since 2000. The second round was in 2005. Turkey participated in this project in the third round in 2007 and

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<sup>228</sup> Our petition for data about the students who applied and who enrolled the university was denied so our study is limited with published statistic by them. Furthermore, because of this denial I had to change the subject of my study.



in 2011 which is the fourth round of the project but second in Turkey. In 2000, there were only 8 countries, 11 countries in 2005, 23 countries in 2007 and 24 countries in 2011 participated (Orr et al., 2011:9).<sup>229</sup>

The main aims of the EUROSTUDENT are to get comparable key data and basic information which allow describing the socio-economic living conditions of students in Europe; to provide a structured and standardized monitoring system with which the effects of structural measures and changes can be identified for specific student groups; to describe the current situation and with the aid of international comparison to identify obstacles to an inclusive and effective European Higher Education Area (EHEA), which is related with Lisbon strategy and the Bologna process.<sup>230</sup> Therefore, this project provides a wide range of data on: the demographic characteristics and social make up of the national student populations, models of access and attendance and types of higher education, types of accommodation, funding and state assistance, living expenses and student spending, student employment and time budget and internationalization and mobility.

As a consequence, Eurostudent Survey IV (2011) questionnaire<sup>231</sup> and data were utilized for the reasons that it is the most recent tertiary student research and it contains several questions in terms of the socio-economic, family and educational background of university students in Turkey.

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<sup>229</sup> For further information, see <http://www.eurostudent.eu/> and <http://www.eurostudent.metu.edu.tr/hakkinda.html>.

<sup>230</sup> This process including many meetings and agreements between European countries is the part of the European integration process. By this way, the European Higher Education Area (EHEA) was formalized by 30 countries in 1998. The aim is to integrate universities under a same quality and standart because of that “to strength the competitiveness and attractiveness of the European higher education and to foster student mobility and employability through the introduction of a system based on undergraduate and postgraduate studies with easily readable programmes and degrees” (<http://www.ehea.info/article-details.aspx?ArticleId=3>). For more information see <http://www.ehea.info/>

<sup>231</sup> See Appendix C.

### 5.2.3. Sample

Main survey method used in Turkey is online survey in spring semester 2010 and sample technique is simple random sampling (10% from each university). The initial sample is 152.144 but the return rate is relatively low (12.8%) so 19.479 case is the final sample (Orr et al., 2011:224). In other words, the original data included 19.479 students. However, 2-year upper high school students (who constitute 0.1 % of the sample), graduate students (who constitute 11.4 % of the sample) and distance education students (who constitute 2.5 % of the sample) were excluded because undergraduate (bachelor) students who enrolled any faculty except distance education are our main case. With all these exclusions, the data set is reduced to 16.817 individual cases.

In addition to these exclusions, students from education and engineering (and architecture) faculties were selected. By the way, in the final analysis, the data will reduce to 6.841 individual cases of which 3.172 from education faculty and 3.669 from engineering (and architecture) faculty.

### 5.2.4. Variables

As discussed in the theoretical chapter, macrostructural and family related factors with several dimensions affect educational attainment and vary by gender. By the same token, for empirical studies, the common independent variables for educational attainment are family related and some socio-demographic variables (Breen et al., 2005:224). As socialist feminist perspective highlighted, socioeconomic status of family which is related with parents' educational, employment and occupational status as well as represented in higher education is crucial for educational attainment and gender inequality. Therefore, the variables are selected and organized as regards the arguments of socialist feminism and the limitation of the questionnaire.

In spite of the limitation of the questionnaire, questionnaire of Eurostudent IV provides opportunity to measure independent variables mentioned. These **independent variables** are categorized under the three subtitles: *socio-demographic variables*, *socioeconomic status (SES) of family* and *educational background*.

For *socio-demographic variables*, *age* and *the residence of origin until the age of 12* will be used:

- The *age* is measured in years of birth of respondents.
- For urbanization, *the residence of origin until the age of 12* is used which is measured as 1) city center more than 1 million population 2) city center less than 1 million population 3) country town 4) town 5) village categories.

For *socio-economic status (SES) of family*, *parents' education level*, *parents' employment status*, *parents' occupations*, *social standing of family*, *student's monthly income from parents* and *student's monthly expenses from parents* will be used. Additionally, as mentioned before, "conventional view" (Goldthorpe, 1983) ignores the mothers socioeconomic status (SES), however in contemporary societies, mothers SES is as important as fathers' one. Therefore, father's and mother's SES will be measured separately:

- *The education level* is measured as: 1) illiterate 2) drop out from primary school 3) primary school 4) secondary school 5) high school 6) university 7) master/PhD.
- *The employment status* is measured as: 1) working for daily wages such as seasonal, temporal worker 2) working for salary or wage 3) employer with paid workers 4) self-employed, but not employed any paid worker 5) unpaid family worker in family business 6) not working, but looking for a job 7) retired, not working 8) died.
- *The occupations of parents*<sup>232</sup> are measured as: 1) High level managers 2) High qualified occupations 3) Technicians and associate professionals 4) Middle/low level directory or office clerks 5) Service/sales workers 6) Skilled agricultural and fishery workers 7) Craft and related trades workers 8) Plant

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<sup>232</sup> This occupations grouping depends on the International Standard Classification of Occupations (ISCO-88). For more information see, <http://tuikapp.tuik.gov.tr/DIESS/SiniflamaSurumDetayAction.do?surumId=5&turId=41&turAdi=%209.%20Occupation%20Classifications>

and machine operators and assemblers 9) Unskilled worker 10) Member of armed forces/military 11) Not have.

- *The social standing of family* is a kind of subjective indicator of family status. It is ranking between 1 and 10 where lower value indicates low social standing.
- Finally, *student's monthly income from parents* and *student's monthly expenses from parents* are used as the indicator of affordability of family and economic resources. Therefore, these two variables are measured as average monthly income and expenses in Turkish Lira (TL).

The last but not the least, for ***educational background*** which is crucial to access to the higher education as the final part of the education circle, *type of high school*, *region of secondary school*, *kindergarden attendance* and *private-tutoring attendance* will be used:

- *The type of high school* is measured as: 1) Vocational High School 2) Science High School 3) Anatolian High School 4) Regular/Super High School 5) Private High School 6) Other, military schools, foreign schools etc.
- Because of importance of region (i.e. urban-rural difference) in terms of infrastructure, *the region of secondary school* is measured as: 1) Less than 20.000 (village) 2) Between 20.001 and 100.000 3) Between 100.001 and 500.000 4) More than 500.001.
- *The kindergarden attendance* is measured as the years of participation.
- *The private tutoring attendance* as other additional education facility is measured as the months of participation.

Therefore, the gender difference in the attendance of education or engineering (and architecture) faculty as **dependent variable** will try to be explored by these independent variables.

### **5.2.5. Data analysis**

Via SPSS, the data analysis proceeds in two stages: At the first stage, the crosstabs and loglinear analysis for categorical level of measurement and t-test and ANOVA analysis for numerical level of measurement are used to establish the relationship among variables and field of study. In addition, variables are compared both by gender who are undergraduate students and by gender who enrolled education or engineering (and architecture) faculty.

At the second stage, because of the categorical nature of most variables, logistic regression analysis is used which were estimated separately for females and males and for education and engineering (and architecture) faculty. The model is used to compare and determine whether the independent variables given have effect independently on faculty attainment and whether these effects vary by gender. Therefore, by allowing comparison of variables related with family background, the model will also help to explore how educational attainment process occurred via family status (i.e. how educational status transferred from family to individual) and which variables are important for genders to educational status.

In sum, the strong relationships among gender educational attainment and macrostructural and family factors indicate the gender inequality of educational opportunity, which limited the role of education as a means of social mobility. In this sense, the questions rise about that how does the relation work in Turkey, especially in higher education related with occupational status? Related with these questions and considering field of study in higher education, is gendered division of labour reproduced or not in the higher education system? Therefore, the objective of our study is to explore the questions above and to attempt to contribute and fulfil the gap in the literature about the determinants of higher education attainment in Turkey.

In this study, Eurostudent Survey IV (2011) questionnaire and data were used for the reasons that it is the most recent tertiary student research and it contains several questions in terms of the socio-economic background of university students in Turkey. In the analyses, *socio-demographic variables, socioeconomic status (SES) of*

*family* and *educational background* are used as independent variables: *Socio-demographic variables* includes age and the residence of origin until the age of 12; *socio-economic status (SES) of family* includes parents' education level, parents' employment status, parents' occupations, social standing of family, student's monthly income from parents and student's monthly expenses from parents; *educational background* includes type of high school, region of secondary school, kindergarden attendance and private-tutoring attendance.

The data analysis proceeds in two stages: At the first stage, the relationship between variables, genders and faculty will be described via crosstabs, t-test and ANOVA. At the second stage, logistic regression analyses will be used which allow comparison of variables by gender and faculty. Therefore, the model will contribute to compare and determine whether the independent variables given have effect independently on faculty attainment and whether these effects vary by gender.

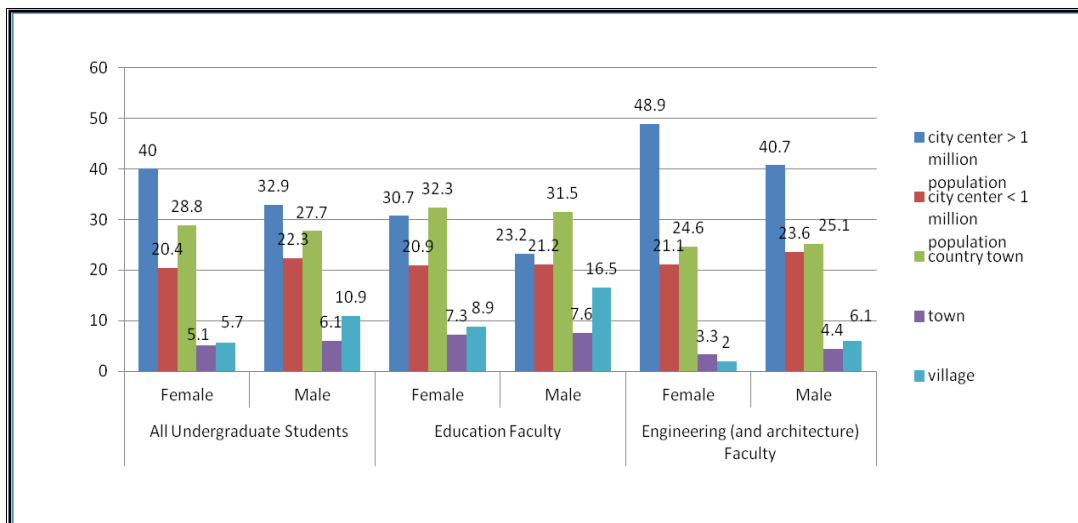
### 5.3. Socio-demographic characteristics

As given before, socio-demographic variables include **age** and the **residence of origin until the age of 12**. Table 5.2 below presents the distribution of these characteristics by faculty and gender.

**Table 5. 2: Percentage of socio-demographic variables by faculty and gender**

Variables	All Undergraduate Students		Education Faculty		Engineering (and architecture) Faculty	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
Age (Mean)	21.1244	21.5604	21.1069	21.5347	21.1525	21.5740
	t=-15.880 df= 16610.522 <b>p=0.000</b>		<b>Gender p= 0.000</b> Faculty p=0.359			
Living place until 12 years old.						
city center > 1 million population	40.0	32.9	30.7	23.2	48.9	40.7
city center < 1 million population	20.4	22.3	20.9	21.2	21.1	23.6
country town	28.8	27.7	32.3	31.5	24.6	25.1
town	5.1	6.1	7.3	7.6	3.3	4.4
village	5.7	10.9	8.9	16.5	2.0	6.1
100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %
			$\chi^2= 53.103$ df=4 <b>p=0.000</b>		$\chi^2= 42.945$ df=4 <b>p=0.000</b>	
	$\chi^2=212.474$ df=4 <b>p=0.000</b>		$\chi^2=395.436$ df=12 <b>p=0.000</b>			
Total (N)	8500	8316	1817	1354	1126	2543

As seen from the table above, although the average **age** for all undergraduate students is around 21, there is a significant difference between female (M=21.1244, SD=1.79078) and male (M=21.5604, SD=1.90520) students in terms of age ( $t(16610)=-15.880, p=0.000$ ). Moreover, considering faculties, gender is the significant but not for faculties. It means that there is a significant difference between genders, but not difference between faculties in terms of age. In sum, as seen females are relatively younger than males. This can be related with the significant difference between genders in terms of direct transition to higher education: Females (66 %) are more likely to directly enter to the tertiary education (i.e. no interruption between high school and tertiary education), compared to males (58.9 %). According to Özsoy (2002:228), females are more likely to be placed in a faculty after the first university entry exam but they are less likely to more times attend the university entry exam, compared to males. To this end, females tend to be more “rational” in the preference of faculty to enroll at the first exam. The reason can be related with the perception of gendered roles of woman -who will be married “out”- as wife, mother and housewife which are not required more education. If she is good at her education life, family can encourage daughter to achieve in higher education. If not, the investment of education for her will be waste of money and time. Therefore, females tend to work harder to achieve in the entry exam.



**Figure 5. 2: The living place until 12 years old by gender and faculty**

When we look at distribution of the **type of region in which s/he grew up until the age of 12**, there is a significant relationship between living place and gender ( $\chi^2(4, n=16816)=212.474, p=0.000$ ): we see that 5.7 % of female students and 10.9 % of male students are from village. It means that male students from rural region are about two times higher than female students from rural, that is coherent with the agricultural economy and family decision process favoring the males over females. On the other hand, the percentage of female students from city center more than 1 million population is higher than those of males: 40 % of female students, 30.7 % of males in education faculty and 48.9 % of females in engineering faculty are from city center more than 1 million population. With regard to the availability of educational facilities, specifically females have advantage of urban area. Considering faculties, the distribution of the region is significant for genders ( $\chi^2(12, n=6840)=395.436, p=0.000$ ): while 8.9 % of females in education faculty are from village, 2 % of females in engineering faculty are from village. On the other hand, the percentage of males from village in education faculty is higher than those in engineering faculty. When we look at the general percentage, 12.1 % of education faculty and 4.8 % of engineering faculty are from village. In other words, education faculty has the highest percentage rate of students from rural region. Furthermore, if we consider village and town as rural area, these percentages will increase to 19.6 % for education faculty and 8.9 % for engineering faculty. Therefore, considering region, it would be argued that education faculty appears more supportive of social upward mobility than engineering faculty, which is consistent with the general trend in many countries (Orr et al., 2011:73). On the contrary, the findings that the majority of student is from urban areas are consistent with previous studies (Mihçioğlu, 1989) on the regional inequalities.

What this indicates is that rural and urban differences which go back to early period of republic (even Ottoman Empire) have still been the issue to attain higher education. In other words, regional differences which are mainly based on inadequate infrastructure and quality education hamper the equality of educational opportunity. Considering gender, rural females are the most underrepresented group in higher



education system in Turkey. Like urban women in early republic period, urban women are more likely to attain higher education than rural women do. It would be argued that females from rural are still considered and employed as unpaid family workers and education is needless for them. That is also consisted with the relationship between agricultural economy and schooling (as socialist feminist argues). Therefore, for females from rural, attainment of education faculty is a big jump for upward mobility. Furthermore, the function of education faculty may be considered as the function of “Village Institute” where youngs in rural were granted the right to have a job and get a chance for upward mobility (Tezcan, 1999:176).

#### **5.4. Family background characteristics**

As given before, family background characteristics, called as socio-economic status (SES) of family, includes parents’ education level, parents’ occupations, parents’ employment status, student’s monthly income from parents, student’s monthly expenses from parents and social standing of family. All these characteristics will be separately discussed via several tables.

##### **5.4.1. Parents’ education level**

The parents’ education level is an important indicator of educational attainment and usually called a simple measure for social mobility (Orr et al., 2011:42). OECD (2012) defines social mobility into three categories: *upward mobility* refers a higher education level than parents, *same or status quo* is the same level of education and *downward mobility* refers a lower education level than parents. In this sense, for OECD (2012), in Turkey 66 % of respondents have the same educational attainment as their parents. It means that Turkey has the lowest intergenerational social mobility among OECD countries, except Slovakia.

To measure the family education level, the education level of father is commonly used and considered as the major determinants of the educational attainment (Özcan,

1983). However, the recent studies show that mother education level is as important as father's (Marks, 2008; Göksel, 2009; Bakış et al., 2009:17). So in order to make this clearer, we will separately compare them. To this end, like Orr et al. (2011) and OECD (2012) applied, it would be better to categorize education level as low, middle and high education level:

1. *low education level* includes primary education and below,
2. *middle education level* includes secondary and high education,
3. *high education level* includes university and above.

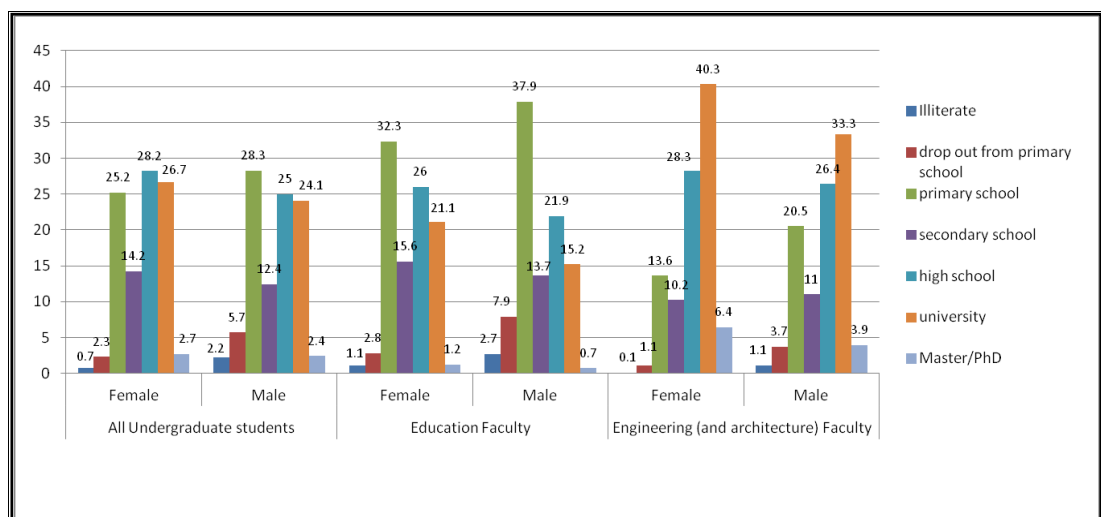
Although the table given below shows separately the percentage of parents' education level, the comparison will depend on the classification above.

**Table 5. 3: Percentage of parents' education level by faculty and gender**

Variables	All Undergraduate students		Education Faculty		Engineering (and architecture) Faculty	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
Education level of father						
Illiterate	0.7	2.2	1.1	2.7	0.1	1.1
drop out from primary school	2.3	5.7	2.8	7.9	1.1	3.7
primary school	25.2	28.3	32.3	37.9	13.6	20.5
secondary school	14.2	12.4	15.6	13.7	10.2	11.0
high school	28.2	25.0	26.0	21.9	28.3	26.4
university	26.7	24.1	21.1	15.2	40.3	33.3
Master/PhD	2.7	2.4	1.2	0.7	6.4	3.9
	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %
	$\chi^2=243.195$ df= 6 <b>p=0.000</b>		$\chi^2=81.771$ df= 6 <b>p=0.000</b>		$\chi^2=71.327$ df= 6 <b>p=0.000</b>	
			$\chi^2=648.767$ df= 18 <b>p=0.000</b>			
Education level of mother						
Illiterate	4.9	12.0	7.8	16.9	2.2	6.2
drop out from primary school	5.6	8.9	7.5	10.4	3.0	7.1
primary school	41.4	37.9	50.5	47.0	29.6	33.5
secondary school	10.9	10.1	9.6	8.5	10.3	9.9
high school	23.3	19.3	17.9	12.9	28.4	25.1
university	13.0	11.2	6.4	3.9	24.3	17.1
Master/PhD	0.9	0.7	0.3	0.4	2.2	1.1
	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %
	$\chi^2=371.126$ df= 6 <b>p=0.000</b>		$\chi^2=87.774$ df= 6 <b>p=0.000</b>		$\chi^2=81.200$ df= 6 <b>p=0.000</b>	
			$\chi^2=783.842$ df= 18 <b>p=0.000</b>			
Total (N)	8500	8316	1817	1354	1126	2543

Taking up the question, is there a difference in education level of parents, we see from the table that there is a significant difference between both genders ( $p=0.000$ ) and faculties ( $p=0.000$ ) in terms of both **education level of father** and mother. As

seen from the Table 5.3, the percentage of all male students whose father has low education level (i.e. primary and below education) is higher than those of females whose father has low education level: 36.2 % of male students and 28.2 % of female students. Moreover, females (29.4 %) are more likely to have father with high education level, compared to males (26.5 %), in general. By faculties, about half of the males (48.5 %) in the education faculty has father with low education level, while about a quarter of males (25.3 %) in engineering faculty has father with low education level. On the other hand, for females the ratios are 36.2 % and 14.8 % respectively. Additionally, while 46.7 % of females in engineering faculty has father with high education level (i.e. university and above), 22.3 % of females in education faculty has father with high education level. In other words, about half of males in education faculty has father with low education level, whereas about half of the females in engineering faculty has father with high education level. This result is in the same line with the earlier studies (Yazıcı, 2003) on the relationship between father and his daughter's education.



**Figure 5. 3: The education level of father by gender and faculty**

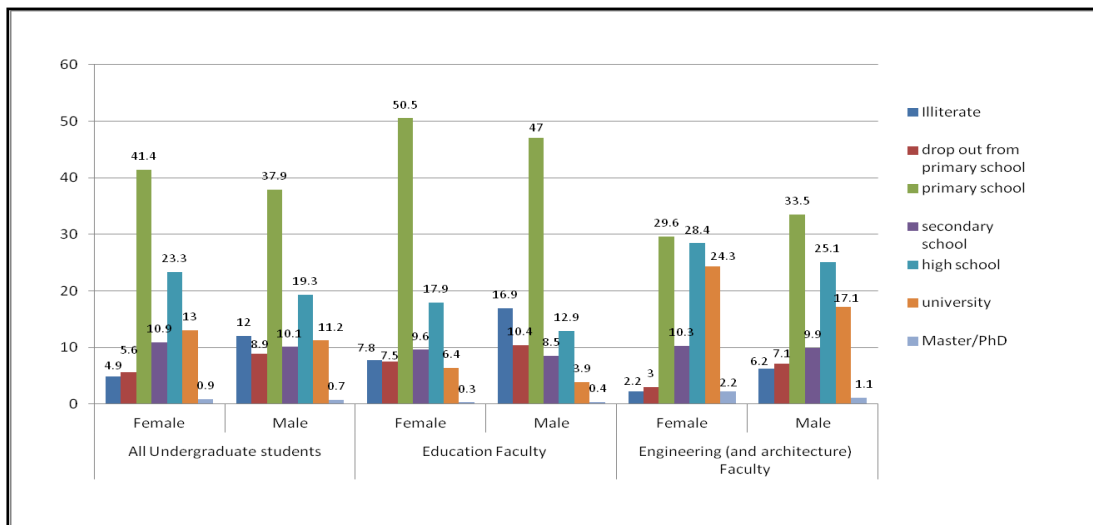
As discussed Chapter 2, considering empirical and theoretical arguments, parents' educational level is a crucial indicator to value education. Highly educated parents value education greatly and encourage and invest their children's education

particularly their daughters (King et al., 1993). Therefore, highly educated parents expect their children to achieve at least their own level of education (Stromquist, 1989:155). Regarding this, in case of Turkey, since late Ottoman period, educated fathers give more educational opportunity to daughters such as duennas, private teaching at home from foreign teachers, encouraging them for reading and writing and lastly higher education. Therefore, in the history of Turkish modernization, educated fathers have played an important role for education of daughters' and their empowerment process (as Kandiyoti (1991b:25) words "advocators of emancipation of women"). Turning to our table, thus it is not surprising to see that females' fathers are highly educated than those of males both in generally and in every faculty (respectively 29.2 %, 22.3% for education faculty and 46.7 % for engineering). However, among females, the highest rate of highly educated father is from engineering faculty which creates opportunity to have high paid and high prestige in the society (compared to education faculty). Therefore, In this sense, it would be argued that educated or higher educated father (considering father's generation (most probably they were born in 50s and 60s), they most probably graduated from the limited number of universities or academies such as Academies of Economic and Commercial Sciences and Academies of Architecture and Engineering in 70s or 80s when the schooling rate of higher education was quite low.) has transmitting educational status to their children (particularly daughters). Additionally, it would be argued that this is consisted with the changing value of faculties and occupations. In other words, in early period of republic, while teaching, which goes back to teaching training school for females in Ottoman, was important for females who were as the "agent of the Kemalist ideology", professional occupations such as engineering had become more important than teaching in terms of educated families (i.e. father) and females because of ideological climate of period (as discussed in chapter 4). Therefore, females (or males) from rural or lower socioeconomic background family allowed finding place in higher education as well as labour market. On the other hand, as Öncü (1981) and Toktas (2006) states, education for professional occupation has kept the socioeconomic background because of "class prejudice". In other words, females from educated family are more likely to be employed as engineer

than male from lower educated or socioeconomic background family. If not, females are as the part of “*reserve army of educated labour*”.

On the contrary side, males in education faculty have the lowest rate of low educated father. It basically means that attainment of education faculty allows males upward mobility. In this sense, it would be argued that because of his gendered role as “breadwinner”, male with low educated family background encourage to attain higher education specifically education faculty which gives opportunity to have a job after graduation (whether in state or private sector). Furthermore, as discussed above, the “class prejudice” may also be influential for males to select his occupation.

When we look at the **education level of mother**, we see remarkable differences between genders ( $p=0.000$ ) and faculties ( $p=0.000$ ). Although there is a significant difference between genders in terms of education level of mother, more than half of female (51.9 %) and male (58.8 %) students have mother with low education level. Therefore, their education level is higher than their mother’s. It means that for these students attendance of tertiary education is the social upward mobility regardless of faculty in terms of mother education level. Considering faculties, students in education faculty (69.4 %) are more likely to have mother with low education level compared to students in engineering faculty (43.1 %). Therefore, it is evident that education faculty is more likely to have students from low education background. With regard to the gender, the percentage of females and males in engineering faculty who have mother with high education level are about five times more than those of females and males in education faculty who have mother with high education level (for females 26.5 % and 6.7 %; for males 18.2 % and 4.3 % respectively). In other words, attendance of education faculty provides opportunity of upward mobility for both females and males regarding education level of mother. On the other hand, attendance of engineering faculty is relatively more likely to reproduce educational level of parents (specifically education level of father), compared to education faculty.



**Figure 5. 4: The education level of mother by gender and faculty**

The table and figure also indicate that since early republic period (even Ottoman Empire) gender educational inequality has been still an issue: education level of males is always higher than those of females. In other words, all social policies such as compulsory education for all gender or social aid have not solved this problem up to present. In addition, low presence of females in secondary and higher education in 70s and 80s reflects at university students' educational background via education level of mother. Moreover, it can be foreseen that gender educational equality would not achieved for decades, considering even gender disparity in primary education. Regarding uneducated women who economically and socially were dependent on their husband and less participate in decision making process (as discusses in chapter 2), it would be argued that mothers in Turkey of 2000s have played less roles in children's educational attainment. It means that in case of higher education attainment, father dominantly makes decisions, rather parents together, that is as the part of patriarchy. Turning up our table, considering mothers in education faculty with the highest rate of low education, the fathers in education faculty are "absolute" the decision makers in the family for educational attainment process. By this way, education faculty attainment is the part of the rigid gender based division of labour and a reproducer of patriarchal ideology. Therefore, females after graduation from education faculty would contribute labour, bear of children and care for family (i.e.

worker, mother, housewife - can be called as *part time worker, part time mother, part time housewife*). On the other side, according to findings (Özbay, 1990; Özbay, 1981) mothers with low education level also encourage their daughter to be teacher (as a “female friendly job” (Barone, 2011:161)) in terms of job security, and relatively flexible working hours. By this way, daughter of mother with low education level would break the “mother’s bad destiny” and empowered yourself by having a job.

As we do not want to miss the details, we look at the parents’ education level separately. However, we can generally discuss the family’s education background. This classification depends on Orr et al. (2011:42)’s model and it is like that:

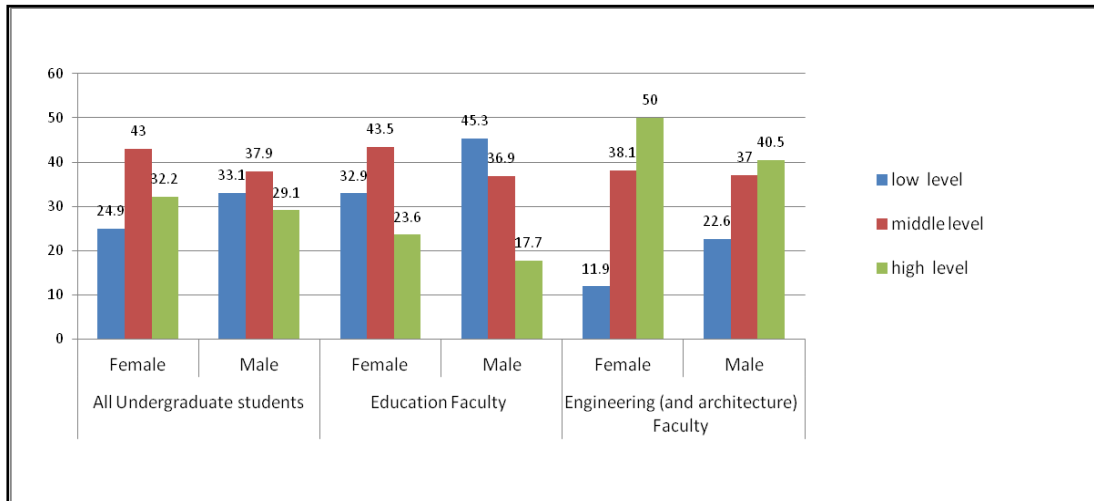
1. *Low education background*: neither a student’s father nor mother has attained to an educational level higher than primary education.
2. *High education background*: either a student’s father or mother or both parents have attained to the higher education and above.

**Table 5. 4: Percentage of family’s education background by faculty and gender**

Variable	All Undergraduate students		Education Faculty		Engineering (and architecture) Faculty	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
Education background of the family						
low level	24.9	33.1	32.9	45.3	11.9	22.6
middle level	43.0	37.9	43.5	36.9	38.1	37.0
high level	32.2	29.1	23.6	17.7	50.0	40.5
100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %
	$\chi^2=137.111$ df= 2 <b>p=0.000</b>		$\chi^2= 52.748$ df= 2 <b>p=0.000</b>		$\chi^2=62.681$ df= 2 <b>p=0.000</b>	
	$\chi^2=115.429$ df= 4 <b>p=0.000</b>					
Total (N)	8500	8316	1817	1354	1126	2543

When we look at the **family’s education background**, we see that there is a significant difference between both genders (p=0.000) and faculties (p=0.000): Females students are more likely to have family with high level of education, compared to males. Specifically the percentage is the highest among females (50 %) in engineering faculty. On the other side, percentage of males with high family education level in engineering faculty (40.5 %) is the highest as well. Therefore, it

can be concluded that while engineering faculty are more likely to include students from high education background (i.e. *status quo*), education faculty are more likely to include student from low education family background (i.e. *intergenerational upward mobility*).



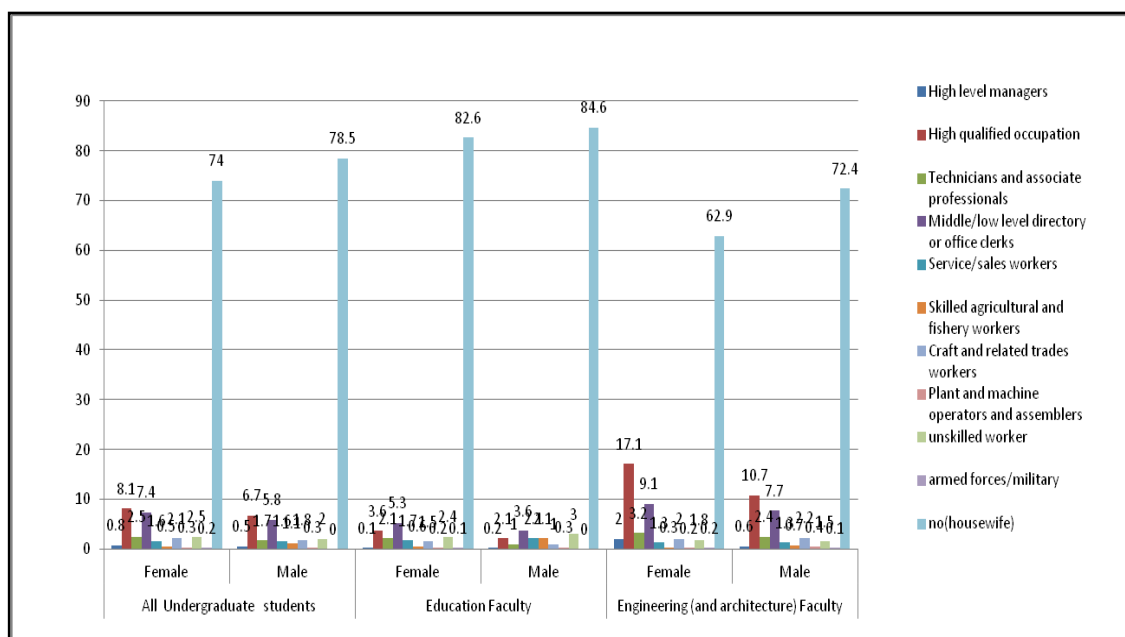
**Figure 5. 5: The education level of family by gender and faculty**

This table is also consisted with the discussion on father education level. As mentioned before, highly educated parents are aware of the difficulties in intergenerational transmission of family resources in modern/capitalist society (Blau et al., 1967; Treiman, 1970; Tansel, 1998). In this sense, having highly educated parents is seen as an advantage for females in terms of resources they have and their value of education. Considering general distribution and improvement of education level in Turkey, it is not surprising to see parents with low or middle education level. However, it is notable that children of highly educated parents are more in engineering faculty. The reasons of this can be explained by highly investment of children regardless of gender, living place (mostly from urban areas) with availability of the quality educational facilities, parents' value of occupation and parents' occupations and employment status.



### 5.4.2. Parents' occupations and employment status

The profile of parents' occupation and employment status are given tables below. As seen from the Table 5.5 and Table 5.6, the difference between father's and mother's employment status has not been interesting, considering the employment rate of women in Turkey. For TÜİK (2013), the employment ratio of women (15-64 aged) is 27.8 % in 2011. Therefore, it is not surprising to find that majority of student have mother without work (i.e. as housewives).



**Figure 5. 6: The occupation of mother by gender and faculty**

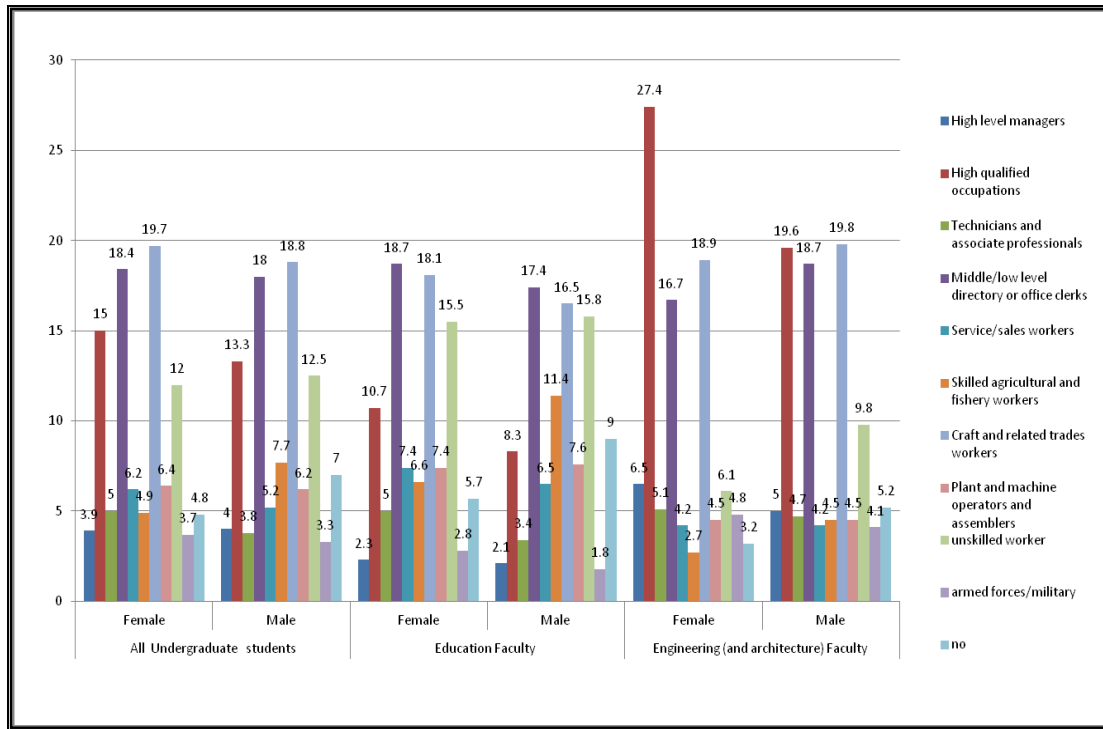
However, the ratios vary by genders and faculties: To Table 5.5 and Figure 5.6, in engineering faculty, 62.9 % of females and 72.4 % of males have mother without work, while in education faculty, these percentage increased to 82.6 % and 84.6 % respectively. On the other hand, students with mother with *high qualified occupation* which is required tertiary education are mostly in engineering faculty (17.1 % of females and 10.7 % of males).

**Table 5. 5: Percentage of parents' occupational status by faculty and gender**

Variables	All Undergraduate students		Education Faculty		Engineering (and architecture) Faculty	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
The occupation of the father						
High level managers	3.9	4.0	2.3	2.1	6.5	5.0
High qualified occupations	15.0	13.3	10.7	8.3	27.4	19.6
Technicians and associate professionals	5.0	3.8	5.0	3.4	5.1	4.7
Middle/low level directory or office clerks	18.4	18.0	18.7	17.4	16.7	18.7
Service/sales workers	6.2	5.2	7.4	6.5	4.2	4.2
Skilled agricultural and fishery workers	4.9	7.7	6.6	11.4	2.7	4.5
Craft and related trades workers	19.7	18.8	18.1	16.5	18.9	19.8
Plant and machine operators and assemblers	6.4	6.2	7.4	7.6	4.5	4.5
unskilled worker	12.0	12.5	15.5	15.8	6.1	9.8
armed forces/military	3.7	3.3	2.8	1.8	4.8	4.1
no	4.8	7.0	5.7	9.0	3.2	5.2
	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %
	$\chi^2=123.367$ df= 10 <b>p=0.000</b>		$\chi^2=47.592$ df= 10 <b>p=0.000</b>		$\chi^2=52.842$ df= 10 <b>p=0.000</b>	
			$\chi^2=540.537$ df= 30 <b>p=0.000</b>			
The occupation of the mother						
High level managers	0.8	0.5	0.1	0.2	2.0	0.6
High qualified occupation	8.1	6.7	3.6	2.1	17.1	10.7
Technicians and associate professionals	2.5	1.7	2.1	1.0	3.2	2.4
Middle/low level directory or office clerks	7.4	5.8	5.3	3.6	9.1	7.7
Service/sales workers	1.6	1.6	1.7	2.1	1.3	1.3
Skilled agricultural and fishery workers	0.5	1.1	0.6	2.1	0.3	0.7
Craft and related trades workers	2.1	1.8	1.5	1.0	2.0	2.2
Plant and machine operators and assemblers	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.4
unskilled worker	2.5	2.0	2.4	3.0	1.8	1.5
armed forces/military	0.2	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.2	0.1
no(housewife)	74.0	78.5	82.6	84.6	62.9	72.4
	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %
	$\chi^2=91.410$ df= 10 <b>p=0.000</b>		$\chi^2=38.815$ df= 10 <b>p=0.000</b>		$\chi^2=56.741$ df= 10 <b>p=0.000</b>	
			$\chi^2=448.658$ df= 30 <b>p=0.000</b>			
Total (N)	8500	8316	1817	1354	1126	2543

Likewise, students with father with *high qualified occupation* are mostly in engineering faculty (27.4 % of females and 19.6 % of males). Moreover, it can be said that females are more likely to have father with *high qualified occupation*, compared to males, that is consisted with education level of father findings. With regard to the education faculty, the common father occupational statuses are (i) *middle/low level directory or office clerks*, (ii) *craft and related trades workers* and (iii) *unskilled workers*. On the contrary, (i) *high qualified occupations*, (ii) *craft and related trades workers* and (iii) *middle/low level directory or office clerks* are

common in engineering faculty. Regarding the occupational prestige ranging,<sup>233</sup> it would be argued that students in engineering faculty are more likely to have father who has occupation with high status and social prestige.



**Figure 5. 7: The occupation of father by gender and faculty**

First of all, this picture displays the occupational change/transition experience of Turkey. As Güvenç (1998:66) states, Turkey has tried to complete “demographic transition” (which Europe completed in 300 years) including transformations “from rural to urban, from agricultural and industrial service, more technically”. Related with urbanization and industrialization which needed new knowledge and skills, the occupations and employment status have varied as well as education has expanded (i.e. *massification of education*) in Turkey. In this sense, father with high qualified and prestige occupation was highly benefitted from this process. In other words,

<sup>233</sup> Marks (2011:228-9) gives the example: “For example doctors, lawyers, senior public servants and diplomats are considered as having high level of social prestige, while teacher, clerical workers, middle level of managers, administrators and technicians are considered as having middle level of social prestige; and unskilled manual workers are considered as having low level of social prestige.”

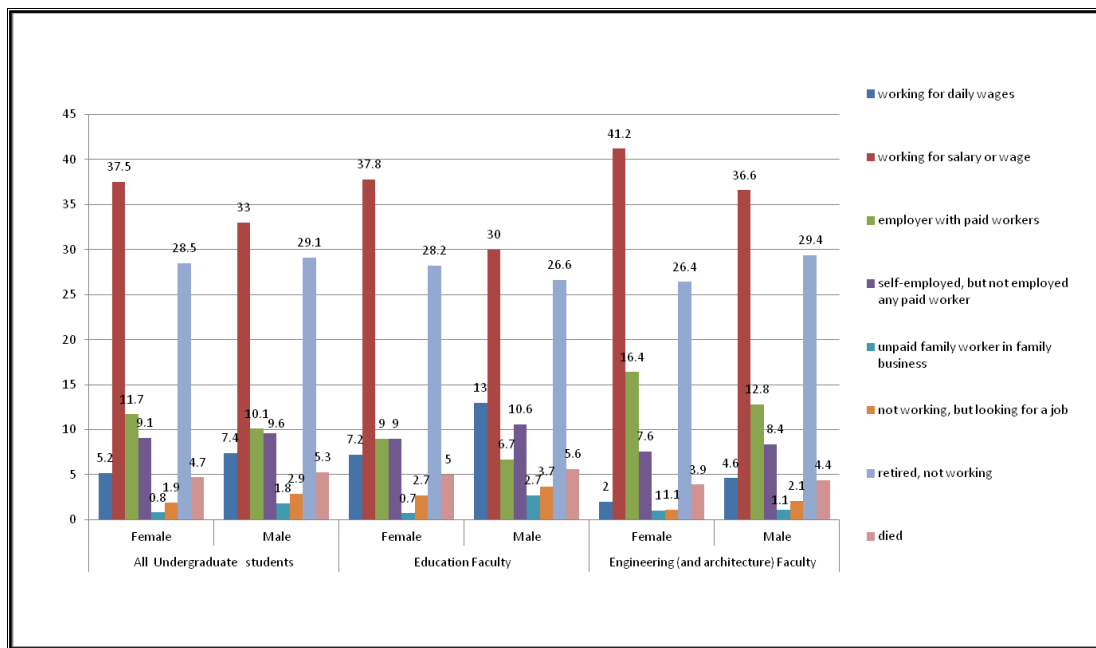
urbanization, massification of education, the occupational varieties and labour market condition have been effective on fathers' occupational status. Therefore, it would be argued that children of *professionals, middle/low level directory or office clerks* are more likely to attain higher education, particularly attain to engineering faculty because of nature of occupations required an urban settings, the availability of educational facilities of which children take advantage and the affordability of educational expenses. These findings are consisted with Özcan (1983:141) who analyzed the statistics of 1968. On the other hand, as seen from the Table 5.5, children of craft or related trades workers are significantly presented in higher education. This can be resulted from the urbanization and their affordability of educational expenses. Considering *commodification of education* since 80s, these fathers can be considered as that they are more likely to invest their children' educational attainment, compared to unskilled workers, service/sales workers.

Related with parents' occupational status, **parents' employment status** should be examined as well. As seen from the Table 5.6, like in occupational status, there is significant difference between parents' employment status by genders and faculties.

**Table 5. 6: Percentage of parents' employment status by faculty and gender**

Variables	All Undergraduate students		Education Faculty		Engineering (and architecture) Faculty	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
The father is currently doing						
working for daily wages	5.2	7.4	7.2	13.0	2.0	4.6
working for salary or wage	37.5	33.0	37.8	30.0	41.2	36.6
employer with paid workers	11.7	10.1	9.0	6.7	16.4	12.8
self-employed, but not employed any paid worker	9.1	9.6	9.0	10.6	7.6	8.4
unpaid family worker in family business	0.8	1.8	0.7	2.7	1.0	1.1
not working, but looking for a job	1.9	2.9	2.7	3.7	1.1	2.1
retired, not working	28.5	29.1	28.2	26.6	26.4	29.4
died	4.7	5.3	5.0	5.6	3.9	4.4
	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %
	$\chi^2=120.844$ df= 8 <b>p=0.000</b>		$\chi^2=296.099$ df= 24 <b>p=0.000</b>		$\chi^2=34.687$ df= 8 <b>p=0.000</b>	
The mother is currently doing						
working for daily wages	1.1	1.2	1.6	2.1	0.4	0.9
working for salary or wage	11.8	9.2	7.3	6.1	17.9	11.7
employer with paid workers	1.5	1.2	0.9	1.0	1.9	1.2
self-employed, but not employed any paid worker	1.1	0.8	1.2	0.7	1.3	1.1
unpaid family worker in family business	0.6	0.9	0.4	1.1	0.5	0.6
not working, but looking for a job	0.5	0.4	0.4	0.6	0.2	0.2
retired, not working	11.6	10.4	8.9	6.0	15.9	14.3
housewife, not working	70.2	73.9	77.8	80.4	60.2	68.0
died	1.4	1.7	1.3	2.0	1.5	1.7
	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %
	$\chi^2=58.759$ df= 9 <b>p=0.000</b>		$\chi^2=21.692$ df= 9 <b>p=0.010</b>		$\chi^2=38.117$ df= 9 <b>p=0.000</b>	
	$\chi^2=280.580$ df= 27 <b>p=0.000</b>					
Total (N)	8500	8316	1817	1354	1126	2543

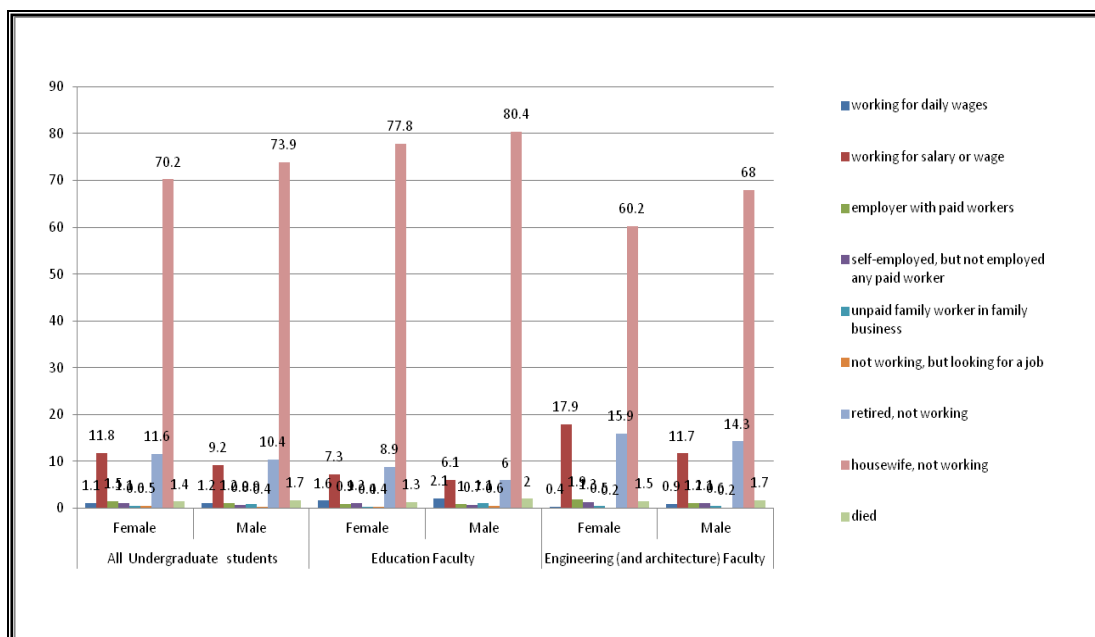
In general, student's fathers *work for salary or wages* or are *retired, not working*. The percentage for female students is 37.5 % and 28.5 %, while for male students it is 33 % and 29.1 % respectively. This situation is similar in the faculties. Additionally, the notable occupation groups are the being *employer with paid workers* and being *self-employed without any paid workers*.



**Figure 5. 8: The employment status of father by gender and faculty**

The percentage of students in engineering faculty whose father is *employer with paid workers* is higher than those of students in education faculty. On the contrary, the percentage of students in education faculty whose father is *self-employed without any paid workers* is higher than those of students in engineering faculty. Likewise, the percentage of students with father *working for daily wages* in education faculty is higher than those in engineering faculty. These findings are in same line with earlier studies such as Hisarcıklılar et al. (2010), Özcan (1983) and Özsoy (2002). All these imply the father's economic power for educational expenses of children and job security. The regular wages (whether as monthly salary or pension) or relatively high wages (whether via being *self-employed* or *employer with paid worker*) give opportunity to father for investment of children's education. On the contrary, the rate of sons of *worker for daily wages* is the highest in education faculty. This refers rural region which is consisted with the findings of living area discussed before. Therefore, it can be said that attainment of higher education for one whose father is *worker for daily wages* or *unpaid family worker* or *not working* means upward mobility.

As mentioned before, majority of mothers are *housewife and not working* in formal economy which is coherent with the general (un)employment rate of women in Turkey, which results from inadequate woman employment policies, and patriarchal ideology which defines women firstly as mother, wife and housewife (as socialist feminist argues). As discussed in Chapter 4, since particularly in early republic period, education has been a mean to create women as “a good wife, a good mother, a good housewife and a good spouse” (Abadan-Unat, 1981:14, Sancar, 2012:21) and as “an important source of labour, particularly for white-collar occupations” for the modern, secure and industrialized new Turkish republic (Gündüz-Hoşgör, 1996:120). By this way, despite of not being a part of labour market (but a part of *reserve army of educated labour*), educated women with the “traditional roles” have contributed to reproduce the ideology of the period (Kemalist ideology), to produce and care manpower. To this aim, primary school of state (compulsory education) has been played a crucial role to transmit ideology of the state to new generations as well as to reproduce gendered division of labour (Acker, 1987:419). Turning back to our case, housewife mothers of students in engineering faculty mostly fit the process. In other words, highly educated women (7% illiterate, 7.9 % is drop out from primary education, 42.5 % from primary education, 12.5 % secondary education, 26.1 % from high education, 3.7 % from higher education, 0.2% has Master/PhD degree) are housewife. On the other side, housewife mothers of students in education faculty have lower education level (13.6 % is illiterate, 9.9 % is drop out from primary education, 53.8 % from primary education, 9.4 % secondary education, 12.6 % from high education, 0.7 % from higher education, 0.2% has Master/PhD degree). However, these figures indicate that *ideal of new woman* who is educated and professional woman with the “traditional roles” has not been achieved. Therefore, it would be argued that this stems from emphasis on the role of women as wife, mother and housewife since 50s, regional inequalities, inadequate educational facilities and neoliberalism after 80s. On the other side, it would be said that mother of students in engineering faculty had more advantages in terms of educational, regional and socioeconomical background, compared to counterparts.



**Figure 5. 9: The employment status of mother by gender and faculty**

Additionally, as seen from the Table 5.6, after *housewife*, other common employment statuses for mothers are (i) *working for salary or wages* and (ii) *retired, not working*. Engineering faculty has a higher rate of mother *working for salary or wages* than education faculty has. The percentage of these mothers, moreover, is higher for females, compared to counterparts. In a similar vein, engineering faculty has a higher rate of *retired* mother than education faculty has. This can be explained like that: Regarding the condition of high qualified occupation which mothers of students in engineering faculty mostly have, mothers might get married and give birth at their late ages (e.g. after 30 years-old). This explanation is also seen as consistent with the general trend in giving birth in the late ages of highly educated women across the world. In addition, retirement policy based on the working year (e.g. about 25 years), which is not valid today, resulted in retirement in one's 40s. However, we cannot test these arguments in this case because of the limitation of given questionnaire and data.

Finally, with regard to the resource theory of conjugal power (Blood et al., 1960), mothers' economic status implies the dominant role of father in decision process (as



mentioned before). That is to say that since majority of mother is housewife and father as breadwinner (as the part of patriarchal ideology) is more likely to be more effective on family decision, specifically decision of children's schooling or faculty. On the contrary, if mother work in formal economy, she would participate the decision process in the family. Furthermore, as Smits et al. (2006:558) states that "working mothers use the power derived from their economic role on behalf of their daughters' education and/or that they are more aware of the importance of girl's education than housewives". In this sense, it can be claimed that regarding the relatively high level of ratio of mothers employed in engineering faculty, they could be more effective on decision of daughters' faculty, compared to those in education faculty.

#### **5.4.3. Other family characteristics**

Unlike other family characteristics mentioned above, some numeric characteristic of students' family namely money paid for children and social standing will be examined in this part. As stated before, the *student's monthly income and expenses from parents* are used as the indicator or proxy of affordability of family and economic resources which is one of the important determinants of educational attainment of children, specifically for daughters according to the literature.<sup>234</sup> Furthermore, considering majority of university students without a paid work when studying, their main economic resource is income from family except scholarships from state or private institutions (NGOs). Therefore, family expenses are crucial to survive in higher education for children and indicator of family economic power. In this sense, it can be argued that the more the income and expenses from family, the more the economic resources and support of family. According to YÖK (1998), expenses of family for schooling increases in parallel to the family income. Furthermore, the results of the household budget surveys conducted by TÜİK<sup>235</sup> have confirmed this argument: the family in the lowest income quarter has the lowest

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<sup>234</sup> For Turkey, Smits et al. (2006), Tomul (2007b), Tansel (2002a). See Chapter 2 for details.

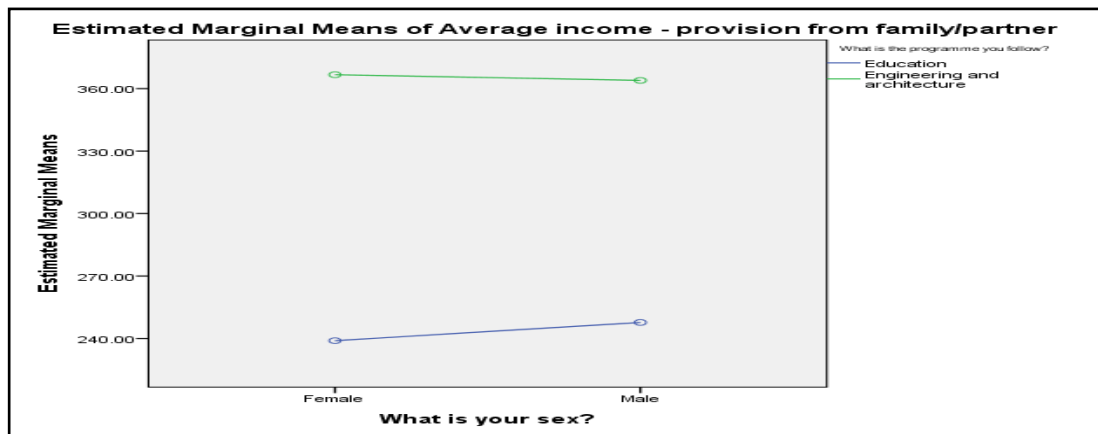
<sup>235</sup> See Appendix B, Table B.2. [http://www.tuik.gov.tr/VeriBilgi.do?alt\\_id=22](http://www.tuik.gov.tr/VeriBilgi.do?alt_id=22)

education expenses. However, this inequality among families in terms of expenses for schooling results in inequality in educational attainment (Özsoy, 2002; ERG, 2009; Bakış et al., 2009; Göksel, 2009). Depending on these results, we can discuss and forecast the economic status of students' family.

**Table 5. 7: Other socioeconomic status of family variables by faculty and gender**

Variables	All Undergraduate students			Education Faculty			Engineering (and architecture) Faculty		
	Female	Male	Total	Female	Male	Total	Female	Male	Total
Income from family/partner	293.39	320.75	307.11	238.96	247.72	242.76	366.66	363.94	364.76
	t=-5.890 df= 14953.776 p=0.000			Gender p= 0.705 Faculty p=0.000					
Total expenses paid by parents	427.10	310.25	369.23	333.5732	213.0732	281.97	562.86	415.56	460.76
	t=9.227 df= 16644.863 p=0.000			Gender p= 0.000 Faculty p=0.000					
Social standing of family	6.3656	6.3920	6.3785	5.9972	6.0746	6.0293	6.9050	6.6720	6.7435
	t=-0.914df= 16663.085 p=0.361			Gender p= 0.096 Faculty p=0.000					
Total (N)	8500	8316	16816	1817	1354	3171	1126	2543	3669

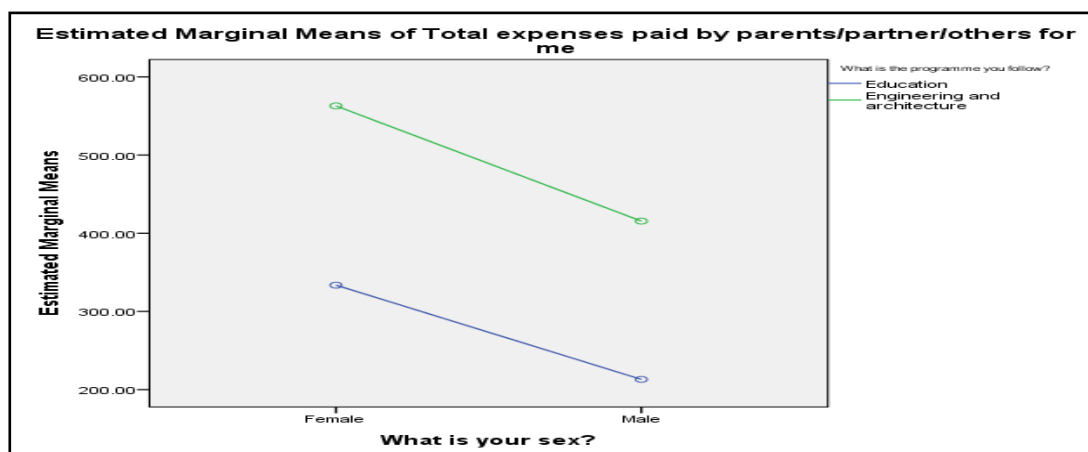
Taking up the question, is there any differences in students' monthly income and expenses from parents between genders and faculties, we found that there is a significant difference between all female and male students. Actually **income from parents** can be called as “pocket money” of students who is free to choose what to spend it for. On the other hand, **expenses from parents** are for study-related expenses directly paid by parents such as dormitory and faculty fees. The average income from family of females (293.39 TL) is lower than those of male (320.75 TL), while average of income of males is higher than average income of all (307.11 TL). Although there is significant difference between all female and male students ( $t(14953.776)=-5.890$ ,  $p=0.000$ ), there is no significant difference between genders by the faculties ( $p=0.705$ ). In other words, when comparing the faculties by income from family, gender is not significant, but faculty is significant ( $p=0.000$ ): the average of income from parents is 242.76 TL for education faculty, while it is 364.76 TL for engineering faculty. As seen from the Table 5.7, average income from parents of students in education faculty is lower than average of all students, while for engineering faculty it is higher than average income of all students.



**Figure 5. 10: The average income from parents by gender and faculty**

On the other side, the average expenses paid by parents for all students is 369.23 TL, while it is 281.97 TL for education faculty and 460.76 TL for engineering faculty. Moreover, there is a significant difference between both genders ( $p=0.000$ ) and faculties ( $p=0.000$ ) by expenses paid by parents: generally female's amount is more than males and average of expenses in engineering faculty is more than average of total and those in education faculty.

It can be associated with the parents' investment with the favor of the daughter (like fathers in early republican period). For example, if she enrolls in some faculties such as medical, engineering which have higher fee than others; or private university which has higher fee than state universities, expenses for daughter will be increased for her educational status which will be gained (called as "gold bracelet"). Therefore, it would be argued that considering that high income families are more likely to enable their children, particularly their daughters, stay in longer via economic resources they have and make more investment, females in engineering faculty are from higher income families, compared to those in education faculty. In other words, females in engineering faculty are the most advantageous group in terms of expensed paid by parents (the highest number). When we interpret this result by parents' occupation and employment status of females in engineering faculty, it is not wrong to say that it is not surprising. Moreover, the results are in the same line with studies by Özsoy (2002), Şenses (1999).

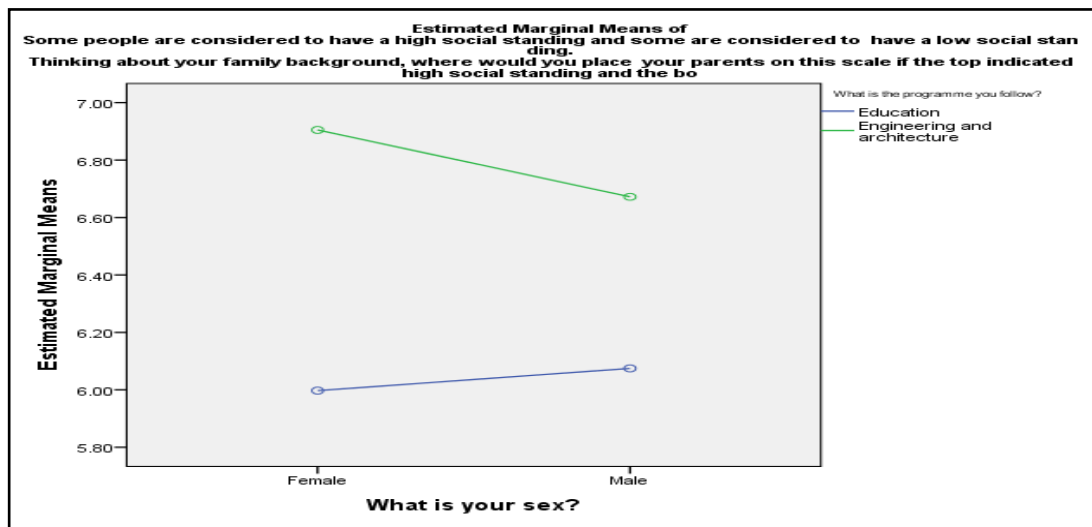


**Figure 5. 11: The average expenses from parents by gender and faculty**

We found the significant differences between two faculties by income from family and expenses paid by family, but there have been significant differences between universities in Turkey. According to research conducted by YÖK (1998) which is unique countywide study in Turkey, monthly income of families of students in private university is about three times higher than those of students in state university. In addition, there is also significant difference among state universities: Monthly income of families of university students in İstanbul, Ankara, İzmir is higher than student in other cities. For example, the difference between Yüzüncü Yıl University with the lowest amount and Galatasaray University with the highest amount is 3.6 times. However, because of the limitation of our data, we could not test these results for nowadays.

Finally, the last characteristic of family is **the social standing of family**. It is a kind of subjective assessment (i.e. as subjective indicator) of family status and ranking between 1 and 10 where lower value indicates low social standing. The average social standing value of all students is 6.3785 out of 10. In addition, there is no significant difference by genders among all students ( $t(16663.085)=-0.914$ ,  $p=0.361$ ). In a similar vein, considering faculties, there is no significant difference between genders in terms of social standing value ( $p= 0.096$ ). But the findings is like that: Females in engineering faculty have the highest value (6.9050), while females in education faculty have the lowest one (5.9972). Moreover, the value for males in

engineering faculty is 6.6720 (as the second high value), while it is 6.0746 for males in education faculty. Conversely, there is a significant difference between faculties ( $p=0.000$ ): The value of education faculty (6.0293) is lower than those of engineering faculty (6.7435).



**Figure 5. 12: The social standing of family by gender and faculty**

Actually, regarding income and expenses from parents discussed before (i.e. as objective indicators), it is expected that there will be significant difference between genders among all students. However, there is a difference between subjective indicator (i.e. their perception of the social standing) and objective indicators. In this way, “false consciousness” as a concept (borrowing from Marxist ideology) can be helpful to understand this difference. In other words, their perception of own social standing is constructed by capitalist system, ideology of the state and institutional process (which can be gone back to early republican period when Kemalist ideology is based on the tradition of educated middle class (Neyzi, 2002:141; Rutz et al., 2009:40)). On the other side, as seen from the results, the difference between faculties seems parallel with the objective indicators mentioned above. It means that the students perceive themselves that they are not coming from low-income or low socioeconomic background family, rather middle income, and socioeconomic background (6 out of 10). However, considering the differences between faculties by income and expenses from parents (the sum of them in engineering faculty is about

two times than those in education faculty), it is expected that the social standing of students in engineering faculty should be much more than those in education faculty. Therefore, despite of higher rate than education faculty (but below 7), they perceive themselves that they are middle income and socioeconomic background, like students in education faculty. In this sense, it can be said that students in higher education take position in the middle strata regardless of socioeconomic background of family or regional background. However, this phenomenon (i.e. the perception of students on their social standing) is needed further studies.

### 5.5. Educational background characteristics

As mentioned before, for *educational background* which is crucial to access to the higher education as the final part of the education circle which is a cumulative process (Duman, 2008:382), *type of high school*, *region of secondary school*, *kindergarden* and *private-tutoring attendance* will be used and compared in this part.

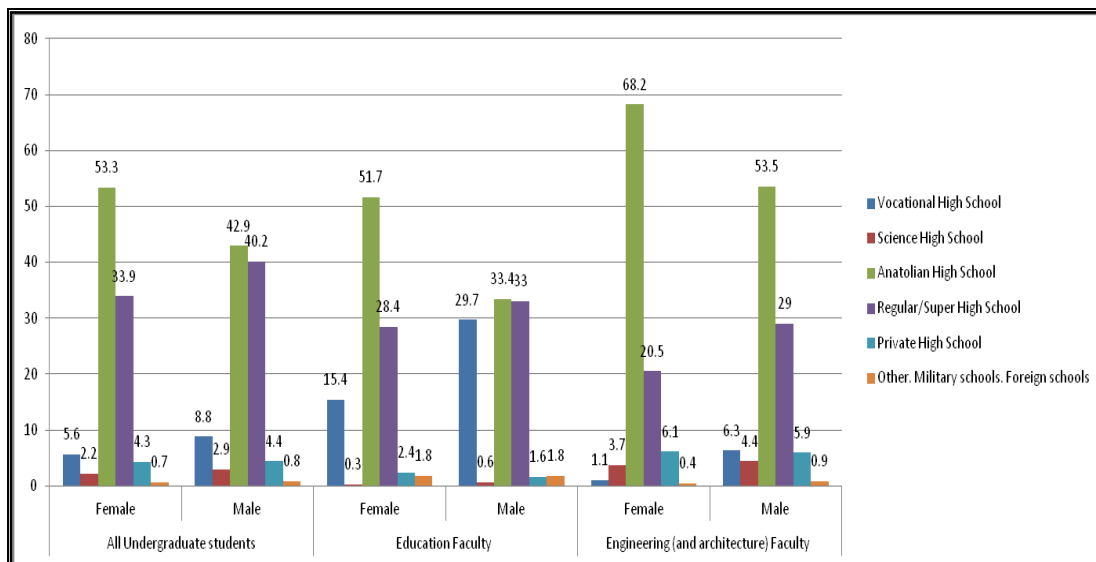
**Table 5. 8: Variables related to high school by faculty and gender**

Variables	All Undergraduate students		Education Faculty		Engineering (and architecture) Faculty	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
The type of high school						
Vocational High School	5.6	8.8	15.4	29.7	1.1	6.3
Science High School	2.2	2.9	0.3	0.6	3.7	4.4
Anatolian High School	53.3	42.9	51.7	33.4	68.2	53.5
Regular/Super High School	33.9	40.2	28.4	33.0	20.5	29.0
Private High School	4.3	4.4	2.4	1.6	6.1	5.9
Other, Military schools, Foreign schools	0.7	0.8	1.8	1.8	0.4	0.9
	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %
	$\chi^2=210.068$ df=5 <b>p=0.000</b>		$\chi^2=143.958$ df=5 <b>p=0.000</b>		$\chi^2=100.059$ df=5 <b>p=0.000</b>	
			$\chi^2=898.642$ df=15 <b>p=0.000</b>			
Region of Secondary school						
Less than 20.000	9.5	8.7	12.1	13.7	4.7	5.2
Between 20.001 and 100 .000	26.5	24.2	32.8	29.5	20.2	20.1
Between 100.001 and 500.000	23.3	27.1	24.0	28.4	21.5	26.5
More than 500.001	40.7	40.0	31.2	28.5	53.6	48.2
	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %
	$\chi^2=35.762$ df=3 <b>p=0.000</b>		$\chi^2=11.846$ df=3 <b>p=0.008</b>		$\chi^2=12.939$ df=3 <b>p=0.005</b>	
			$\chi^2=392.343$ df=9 <b>p=0.000</b>			
Total (N)	8500	8316	1817	1354	1126	2543

As mentioned in the Chapter 3, after 50s experienced economic, social and ideological transformation has resulted in demand for high school in Turkey. However, inadequate supply by state and the ideology of period have created new types of school and diversity in secondary education included Science and Anatolian high schools opened in 50s, vocational high schools and private schools (their history goes back to last period of Ottoman Period), regular high schools and super high schools opened in the 1990s. With Science and Anatolian schools as “the apple of the state’s eye” (Gök, 1997:436) which has been expected to train for higher education and then “future professionals”, state has made a hierarchical arrangement. On the other hand, other schools particularly vocational schools and regular high schools have been out of agenda of the state to be improved, compared to others. Taking this as the ground, now we can look at the Table 5.8 which displays the percentage of the type of high school of student.

Firstly, about the half of the university students are from Anatolian high school (48.1 %), regular/super high school (37 %) and vocational high school (7.1 %). The percentage of students from private school (4.4 %), science high school (2.5 %) and other school (7 %) follow them. In addition, there is a significant difference between genders in terms of **type of high school** ( $\chi^2(5, n=16815)=210.068, p=0.000$ ). The percentage of females graduated from Anatolian high school (53.3 %) is higher those of males (42.9 %), while the percentage of males graduated from vocational school (8.8 %) and regular/super high school (40.2 %) are higher those of females (5.6 % and 33.9 % respectively). In a similar vein, this distribution is valid for genders by faculties ( $\chi^2(15, n=6840)= 898.642, p=0.000$ ). In other words, females both in education (51.7 %) and engineering faculty (68.2 %) are mostly from Anatolian high school, while the percentage of males from regular/super (33 % for education faculty and 29 % for engineering faculty) and vocational school (29.7 % and 6.3 % relatively) are higher than counterparts. As seen, with regard to type of high school, students graduated from vocational high school mostly studied in education faculty (i.e. students from vocational high school are 5 times more than those in engineering faculty), whereas more students from Anatolian high school are in the engineering

faculty, specifically females. Moreover, students from private schools in engineering faculty are higher than those in education faculty. Therefore, it would be argued that this table indicates the hierarchical arrangement of state with favor of science and Anatolian high schools.



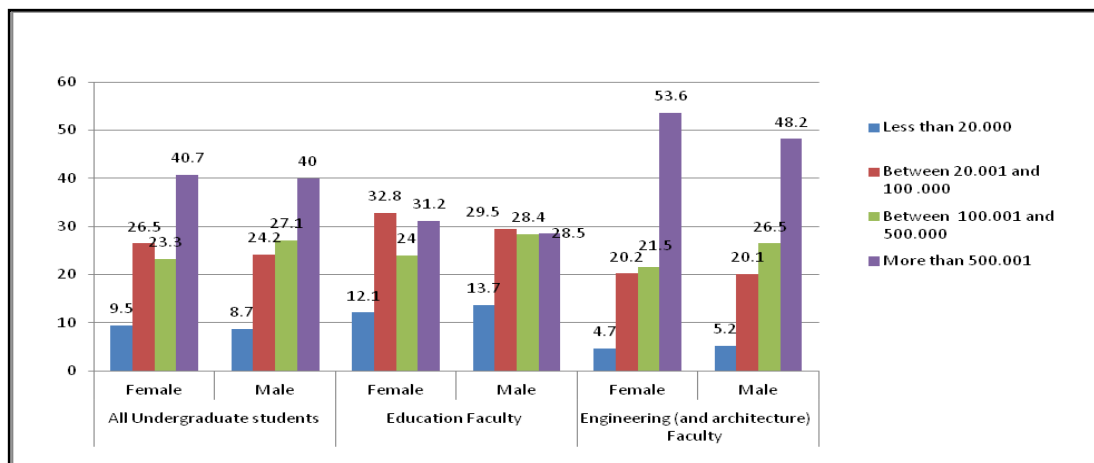
**Figure 5. 13: The type of high school bu gender and faculty**

Another remarkable result is about the students graduated from vocational high school in engineering faculty: As seen from the table and figure, the percentage of males is higher than those of females. General characteristic of vocational high school bases on gendered division of labour. For instance, technical schools for boys include mostly “masculine” departments such as electronic, electricity, machine, construction technology, metallurgy departments, while for girls they are “feminine” departments such as textile, fashion, child development, elderly care, food preparing and beauty departments. Considering these gender-based departments in vocational highs schools, the high school mostly determines the field of study in the university. Additionally, the extra grades based on the department in high school for the grade of university entry exam contribute to access to related faculty/department in the university. Therefore, it would be argued that inequality of gender educational opportunity and gendered division of labour have been reproduced by education



system in Turkey. In this sense, it would be argued that our findings point out this issue and are consistent with studies related.

When we look at the region of secondary school, we see that the **distribution of the region** is consistent with the region in which s/he grew up until the age of 12 and the type of high schools which point out the region such as urban areas with many type of and quality of high schools. Students from secondary school in region less than 20.000 residents (i.e. village) are the underrepresented group in the higher education. In addition, there is significant difference between both genders and faculties in terms of region of secondary school ( $\chi^2(9, n=6840)=392.343, p=0.000$ ): Generally, students in engineering faculty were graduated from secondary school in region more than 500.001 residents. On the contrary, in education faculty, relatively majority both females (32.8 %) and males (29.5 %) students were graduated from secondary school in region between 20.001 and 100.000 residents. In this sense, it can be concluded that students and specifically females from secondary school in region less than 20.000 residents are less likely to access to higher education and particularly engineering faculty. In this sense, it can be argued that young in urban region are more likely to access to higher education. As mentioned before, inadequate infrastructure of education in rural region hinders education attainment and equal of educational opportunity for both males and females (specifically).



**Figure 5. 14: The region of secondary school by gender and faculty**

Considering all of these findings, the type of high school and region of secondary school are associated with the opportunity of participation both in higher education and a certain faculty. Likewise, our findings confirm the previous studies (namely Akşit et al. (2000), Özsoy (2002), ERG (2009), Güneş-Ayata et al. (2005), Şen (2007), Aytaç et al., (2004), except Yazıcı (2003) who found majority of students from regular high school). Actually high school question and disparities among them are too important to be briefly discussed. However, as mentioned previous chapter<sup>236</sup>, the variety in high school system results in hierarchy and inequalities in the system. It means that some schools which select students by exam namely Anatolian, Science and some private high school provide opportunity to access higher education and for upward mobility (Tansel, 2013a:181; ERG, 2009). Indeed, the objective of states for establishing them was to select skilled and successful<sup>237</sup> young and educate them for higher education and high qualified occupations that results in and reproduces inequality of opportunity and social inequality.

According to findings, students from these schools are more successful at the university entrance exam<sup>238</sup>, compared to others (Aslankurt, 2013; Güneş-Ayata et al., 2005). However, like in higher education, there is nowadays a demand-supply<sup>239</sup> problem (ERG, 2009) in these schools because of the idea about quality education and increasing demand for tertiary education. Therefore, there has been a competitive race to achieve these schools for last decades. However, there has been relation to attainment of these schools and socioeconomic status (SES) of family which leads

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<sup>236</sup> See chapter 3 and 4. Further studies are needed about this issue.

<sup>237</sup> According to PISA 2006 results, students from these schools are more successful in PISA than counterparts (ERG, 2009:21)

<sup>238</sup> Being successful in the university entrance exam does not just mean the enrollment to a university, but enrollment to high prestige university (or sometimes high prestige field of study) in the prestige ranking. For example, Özsoy (2002) states that students graduated from vocational and/or regular high school are more likely to enroll provincial universities. So the lower enrollment rate of these students to the “central universities” which required high grade from university entrance exam implies the lower successful.

<sup>239</sup> In 2012- 2013 academic year, there are 1627 Anatolian, 144 Science, 907 Private and 1111 regular high schools in Turkey (MEB, 2013).

inequality of education opportunity: For the earlier studies, students studying in these schools have parents with high educated, high prestige/professional jobs and high income. Conversely, vocational<sup>240</sup> and regular high school are opposite in terms of SES of family. However, students in vocational high school have the worst conditions in high schools (Akşit et al, 2000; Özsoy, 2002; Şen, 2007; Aslankurt, 2013). Additionally, regarding region of high schools, the quality schools (i.e. Anatolian, science and private high schools) are usually in urban areas, that also causes and reproduces regional inequalities in terms of educational opportunity.

Considering gender, SES of females' family becomes more important for attainment of females in these schools. In this way, gender educational inequality is more likely to begin in the attendance of secondary or high school and family is the main determinants of educational attainment for females. In other words, low-income families' preference favoring sons decrease the opportunity of schooling of daughters so it results in reproducing gender inequalities. In our study, as seen, females (specifically in engineering faculty) have relatively middle or high income families. In sum, family socioeconomic background of females is related with attainment of high school which affects to access to higher education (like in late Ottoman and early republic period).

**Table 5. 9: Other educational variables by faculty and gender**

Variables	All Undergraduate students			Education Faculty			Engineering (and architecture) Faculty		
	Female	Male	Total	Female	Male	Total	Female	Male	Total
The kindergarden attended (years)	1.5579	1.4103	1.4849	1.3682	1.2297	1.3090	1.8881	1.5639	1.6634
	t=10.500 df= 16433.198 <b>p=0.000</b>			<b>Gender p= 0.000 Faculty p=0.000</b>					
The private tutoring course attended (months)	15.3578	14.6123	14.98	14.6065	13.1507	13.9842	16.8330	15.4345	15.8637
	t=6.591 df= 16814 <b>p=0.000</b>			<b>Gender p= 0.000 Faculty p=0.000</b>					
Total (N)	8500	8316	16816	1817	1354	3171	1126	2543	3669

<sup>240</sup> To Tansel (2002b), vocational high school graduates have lower unemployment rate, compared to those of regular high school. Therefore, family decision of child vocational schooling can be related with his/her participation of labor market and additional economic resource.

When we look at the other educational background, we see that kindergarden (as a preschool education) and private tutoring courses vary by gender and faculty: **Kindergarden** as the first level in education system is considered as important because it provides opportunities to ensure child's physiological, cognitive, physical and social development. In this way, child's development for educational achievement is more likely to be improved via this early education (between 0-6 age group) (Duncan et al. 1998; Polat, 2009:48-9). According to research, there is significant difference between children participated kindergarden and those did not in terms of schooling rate and development characteristics (Ural et al., 2007:14). For example, for PISA 2006 results, the students participated in kindergarden are more successful than those did not. A study related this issue put forward that expansion of kindergarden (i.e. pre-school education) is more likely to reduce the family effect on education achievement, and so educational equality would increase (Sylva et al., 2004). Additionally, there is a positive relationship between indicators of country's development and kindergarden (Akar et al., 2009:36).

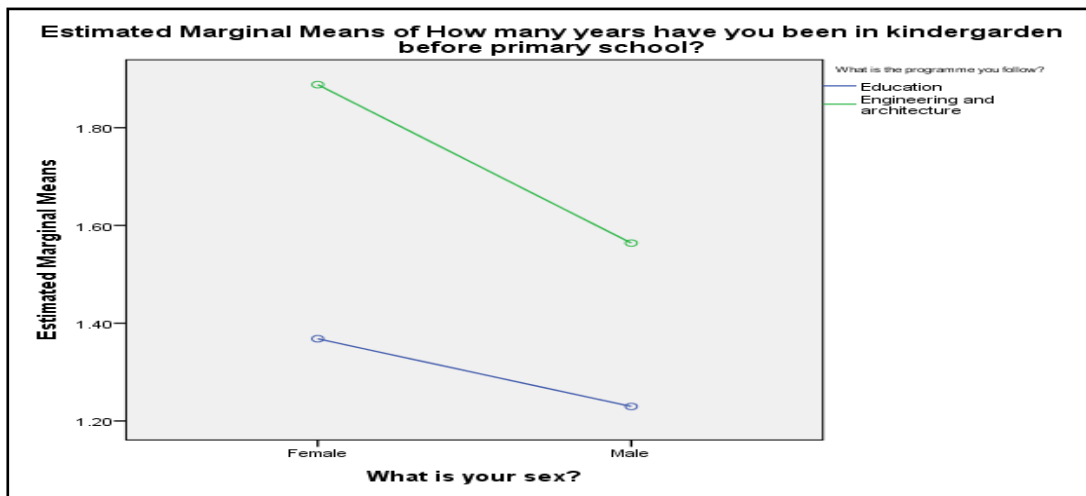
In Turkey<sup>241</sup>, its history goes back to Ottoman Empire where it was found to care orphans because of war and in 1913 there was a law to open and expand these institutions. In 1923, after regulation of "The employment of pregnant women and lactating mothers", it was decided to expand kindergardens across country to contribute women participate and stay in employment (Taner Derman et al., 2010:561). As seen, ideology of the early republic in terms of needing women power in the labour market resulted in new educational facilities for children (the effect of *mode of production* as socialist feminists states). However, kindergardens could not be spread which can be associated with the inadequate state budget after war, state priority of the primary schools to expand population reading-writing new alphabet, decrease the illiteracy rate and spread Kemalist ideology. Although state has been agenda for expanding kindergardens since 60s (for example "regulations for kindergardens" in 1962, founding of "preschool department" in Directory of Primary

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<sup>241</sup> For development of kindergarden in Turkey, see Ural et al. (2007) and Taner Derman et al. (2010).

School in MoNe in 1977, after 80s founding many private and state kindergardens, opening departments for preschool education), the schooling rate of kindergarden is still low (Taner Derman, 2010). According to World Bank (2012), for preprimary school, the gross enrollment rate is 22 % of relevant age group in 2010. This indicates the unachieved applications of state (for example inadequate and limited facilities) as well as the social group who need and benefit from kindergarden.

In additionally, the distribution of opportunity of kindergarden varies by region (Akar et al., 2009:36). In other words, there is inequality of distribution of opportunity of kindergarden. This disparity can be explained by demand and state policy: In urban areas where more educated women participate in formal economy, there has been more demand for childcare. Kindergarden as institution and/or sometimes parents fulfill this demand. Moreover, the law on compulsory kindergarden in state institutions can make childcare easier for employed women. On the contrary, in rural areas, the kindergarden demand has the lowest level because of mother who does not work for regular salary (Ural et al., 2007:15). Moreover, as discussed before, in agricultural economy, females usually look after their sisters/brothers. So, related with gendered division of labor and this domestic workload, rural female's schooling rate is lower than those of females in urban areas. Finally, although the benefits of kindergarden for child development are known, there has been not a state policy or law about compulsory kindergarden for all. Therefore, kindergarden attainment can be considered as the indicator of mother employment status and/or SES of family.



**Figure 5. 15: The kindergarden attendance by gender and faculty**

In the light of the information, when we look at the kindergarden attainment of students, we see that the distribution of kindergarden attended year confirms the mother employment status (see Table 5.6, mostly *housewife, working for salary and retired*). In addition, related with mother statuses, specifically students in engineering faculty and female students participated in kindergarden longer than counterparts do. As seen from Table 5.9, there is a significant difference between all female and male students in terms of kindergarden attended ( $t(16433.198)=10.500, p=0.000$ ). It is 1.5579 years for females and 1.4103 years for males. Similarly, this gender disparity is valid for faculties ( $p=0.000$ ). Females are more likely to participate in kindergarden longer than males in the faculties. It is 1.3682 year females in education faculty, while it is 1.8881 years for females in engineering faculty. The lowest year of participation in kindergarden belongs to males in education faculty (1.2297 years). Although it is relatively higher for males in engineering faculty (1.5639 years), it is lower than those of females in the same faculty. Related with the faculties, there are significant differences between both faculties and genders. Engineering faculty and females' average are higher than others.

Unlike kindergarden, **the private tutoring courses** are common supplementary education institution. As discussed previous chapter, private tutoring goes back to Ottoman Empire where educated and high socioeconomic background families

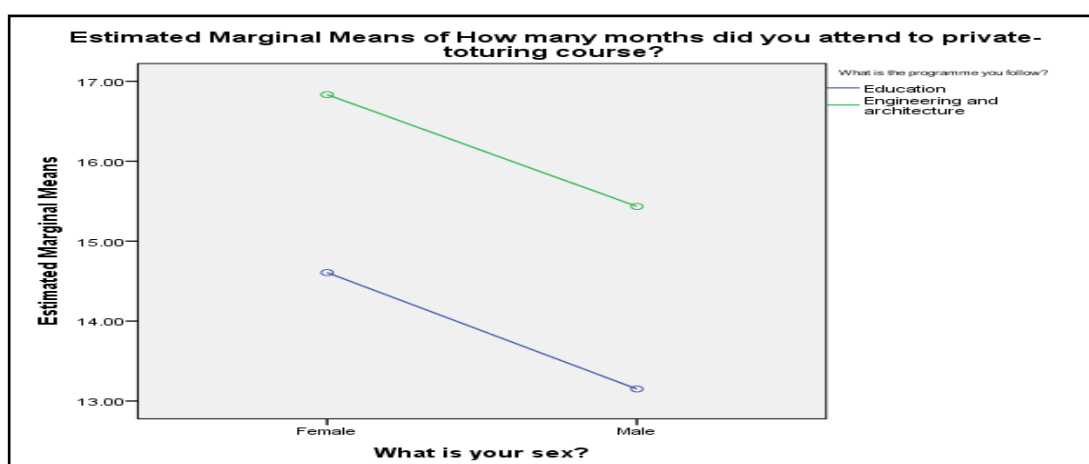
supplied their children, especially favor of their daughters, by foreign duennas/teachers in the house because of limited education facilities for females and religious reasons. Until 1970, private tutoring had worked as supporter for school lectures and some kind as preparer for school entry exams. However, with increased demand, limited supply and competition in entrance into higher education with the practice of central exam caused the private teaching institutions to increase in number especially in urban and in the West (Koşar Altınyelken, 2013:190; Tansel, 2013:181; Duman, 1984; Gök, 2005:102; TED, 2006). However, the main rise had been after 80s because of higher demand for higher education (Tomul, 2007b:124). According to Word Bank (2006 cited in Bakış et al., 2009:9) and YÖK (1998), the main reason of existence of private tutoring is the central entry examination for secondary and high level of education in the country such as Japan, South Korea and Greece. To this end, families within their financial resources send their children private tutoring courses to improve the chances of children in exam where the limited students will pass/achieved. Therefore, this limited number makes exam more competitive so supplementary resources/facilities for achievement become more important. To this end, household income (or economic resources) and parents education level are strongly associated with accessing them (Tansel et al., 2005). In other words, the high the family economic level, the more the family expenses for education of children. For example, the study of Tansel et al. (2006) based on 1994 Household Expenditure Survey in Turkey concluded that 60.65 % of the highest income families, but just 10.66 % of the lowest income families send their children a private tutoring course.

In addition, it should be kept in mind that private tutoring institutions vary by tuition fee, prestigious (Tansel, 2013a:177) and successful rate, which also create a new inequality area for family and students. Hence, as discussed before, family expenses for supplementary resources (e.g. private tutoring courses) reproduce inequality in educational opportunity (ERG, 2009; Tansel, 2013a:184-5; Bakış et al., 2009; Göksel, 2009; Gök, 2005:102) because these resources make education “commercial”, rather than a human right (Özsoy, 2002:237; Gök, 2005:105).

Therefore, as Gök (2010:133) argued, private tutoring courses reproduce prevailing inequalities, discriminations and hierarchies “based on class, gender, ethnicity and region”. For example, according to the results of IKSARA (2012), students participating in private tutoring courses are mostly from private, Anatolian, science high schools. As discussed before, these students selected by exam have high SES family. The economic power of their family supplies longer participates in prestigious private tutoring courses which increases the probability of accesses high prestigious university. Therefore, private courses contribute to reproduce their privileged position in the education system.

Taking up the question, is there any difference in gender and faculties in terms of private tutoring courses attended in our case, we found that the results are parallel with the results of kindergarden attendance. Likewise, females and students in engineering faculty are more likely to participate in private tutoring courses longer. The general average (about 15 months) displays that students are more likely to attend private courses at their last class (4<sup>th</sup> grade) of high school to transit directly after high school. Moreover, it also implies that majority of students directly enter from high school to tertiary education. If not, as after graduation s/he is more likely to continue to go to private tutoring courses (which is also related with economic conditions of family), the average would be higher. Considering the rate of interruption between high school and tertiary education (37.5 % for all students), it should be argued that majority of students participate in private tutoring at 4<sup>th</sup> grade of high school. Moreover, regarding with faculty, there is no significant difference between faculties in terms of interruption (35.9 % for education and 37.2 % for engineering faculty). Hence, the significant difference between faculties in terms of years of private tutoring courses can be explained by the affordability of family.





**Figure 5. 16: The attendance of private tutoring courses by gender and faculty**

As mentioned before, high income family is more likely to enable their children to stay in school longer (Bakış et al., 2009:11-3; Inkeles et al., 1974:134; Lipset et al., 1967) and take quality education (Inkeles et al., 1974:134; Shavit et al., 2007:38; Chevalier et al., 2002; Mayer, 2002). By the way, related with the power of affordability of family and family aspiration, family prefer to their children to be received more supplementary courses. In this sense, it can be argued that relatively high average of students (specifically females) in engineering faculty is associated with power of affordability of family. Conversely, the lower average of attendance of students (specifically males) in education faculty refers the low level of affordability of family (i.e. low income family). Hence, as mentioned before, students from low income family are less likely to participate in private tutoring longer and more time attend the university exam. To this end, it can be argued that inadequate economic resources can be “the driving force” behind the educational achievement of children.

## 5.6. Conclusion

In this chapter, socio-demographic characteristics, family background and educational background of university students were examined to shed light on the research questions that who accessed to and are participating in the higher education;

what are the differences and/or similarities among them and what are the differences across and inside gender by education and engineering faculties. The findings are as following:

*Socio-demographic characteristics* include age and the residence of origin until the age of 12: The university students are about 21 years-old. Considering gender, females are significantly younger than males. Since there is no significant difference between faculties, it can be argued that students are more likely to access to the university after graduation of high school (no interruption of education). When we look at the direct transition rate, majority of students (mostly females) pass the university entry exam at first time.

Related with urban-rural differences, females and students in engineering faculty are mostly coming from urban region. The percentage of female students from city center more than 1 million residents is higher than those of males. Student from rural regions are more likely to attend in the education faculty. Therefore, it can be stated that education faculty appears more supportive of social upward mobility than engineering faculty, which is consistent with the general trend in many countries (Orr et al., 2011:73).

When we look at the *family background characteristics* (i.e. socio-economic status (SES) of family) including parents' education level, occupations, employment status, student's monthly income from parents, student's monthly expenses from parents and social standing of family, we generally found that students from education faculty have low SES family in terms of all aspects. On the contrary, students from engineering faculty have high SES family. Furthermore, considering gender, females are more likely to come from high SES family, compared to males. For example, female students are more likely to have family with high level of education, compared to males. Therefore, it can be concluded that while engineering faculty are more likely to include students from high education background (i.e. *status quo*), education faculty are more likely to include student from low education background (i.e. *intergenerational upward mobility*). In other words, it can be argued that to

access education faculty provides opportunity for upward mobility, while engineering faculty keeps the status of family.

Finally, *educational background* of students considered as crucial aspects to reach higher education. For example, females from Anatolian high school and males from regular/super high school are overrepresented in the higher education. With regard to the type of high school, students graduated from vocational high school mostly studied in education faculty (i.e. students from vocational high school are 5 times more than those in engineering faculty), whereas more students from Anatolian high school are in the engineering faculty, specifically females. Furthermore, the distribution of region of secondary school is consisted with region of living until 12 years old. Considering urban-rural difference in terms of quality and infrastructure of education, the attainment of Anatolian or other quality high school is associated with the training in urban areas. Therefore, regional differences result in the inequality of educational opportunity.

Attainment of kindergarden and private tutoring courses are other parts of educational background. Specifically students in engineering faculty and female students participated in kindergarden longer. Likewise, females and students in engineering faculty are more likely to participate in private tutoring courses longer than counterparts. Related with the SES of family, power of affordability of family and family aspiration, family prefer to their children to be received more supplementary courses. In our case, it can be argued that relatively high average of students (specifically females) in engineering faculty is associated with power of affordability of family.

Consequently, there have been several differences between genders and faculties regarding of socio-demographic characteristics, SES of family and educational background. These differences underline the gender inequality of educational attainment. Specifically, females are relatively coming from higher SES of family, urban areas and better education background, compared to males. Considering faculty, these characteristics are also valid for engineering faculty: from higher SES

family, urban areas and better education background, compared to education faculty. In this sense, education faculty is consists of relatively disadvantage groups. In sum, it can be argued that, this faculty provides *upward mobility* for students, while engineering faculty protects *status quo*.

## CHAPTER 6

### DETERMINANTS OF PARTICIPATION IN THE FACULTIES

#### 6.1. Introduction

The results presented and discussed so far display the characteristics of students including socio-demographic characteristics, family background and educational background and the reasons behind the differences. In this way, it is seen that there are differences between genders, regarding education and engineering faculties. Although the presented percentages responded the relationship and differences between variables (bivariate analysis), they do not indicate that which factors are effective on attainment of these faculties regarding gender. In other words, which factors are more or less important in attainment of males and females to the faculties? Why? To this end, we conducted logistic regression analysis with participation in education faculty or engineering faculty as dependent variables and the socio-demographic characteristics, family background and educational background as independent variables. Finally, the aim of this chapter is to present the results, discuss and interpret them by gender regarding the previous chapters and findings. In this way, the last research question is attempted to be responded in this chapter.

Table 6.1 shows the results of the logistic regression analysis. The model based on the literature and findings from bivariate analysis is as follows:

## 6.2. Sociodemographic characteristics

The exploratory variables tested under the sociodemographic characteristics are age and living place until 12 years old. The results are like following:

As seen from the Table 6.1, age is significant for education faculty: The younger females and males are more likely than older ones to attend education faculty. On the other hand age is not significant for engineering faculty by gender. Actually, it is difficult to analyse without other variables such as living place until 12 years old. Regarding significant others and findings discussed in the previous chapters, it would be argued that the age is related with the direct transition from high school to higher education and training year participated. In other words, no interruption means being younger and continuous education (i.e. no interruption in the previous stages of education). No interruption between high school and higher education can be associated with family socioeconomic status by two ways. One of them is that high socioeconomic status family enable to pay their children's educational expenses and supply all for achievement such as private courses, training in quality schools (we can be called as *positive pushing factor*) and the other is that low socioeconomic status family have limited economic resources so one should be good at school and passed the university entry exam in the first year (we can be called as *negative pushing factor*). That is to say that, low income families are less likely to afford children's education including the cost of application of university exam, private tutoring courses and other education expenses. The competition for higher education which has transformed into a commodity or a "consumption good desired" after 80s is so difficult to achieve it for low socioeconomic families. In other words, the privatization of education including as private schools, private teaching courses has resulted in many disadvantages for children from low income families. In addition, this case can be looked through "effect of poverty on education" (Smits et al., 2006:547) but as *negative pushing factor* for achievement of higher education. In this sense, the limited economic source should be managed in "a smart way" by children who want to attain higher education and then choose a field of study which has better "secure job opportunities". Then, s/he must study hard and achieve the university

entry exam in the first year. Regarding gender, as said before, if she is good at her education life, family can encourage daughter to achieve in higher education (*i.e. opportunity of cost of education*). If not, the investment of education for her will be waste of money. Therefore, females tend to work harder to achieve in the entry exam in first year. For males, he as breadwinner should attain a faculty which gives opportunity to employ in job security after graduation. On the contrary, students in engineering faculty have opportunity to take exam in their second or third years (also stay in longer in the faculty) thanks to affordability of family. In other words, parents can support and make investment on their education including private tutoring courses or international universities. By the way, turning to our case, considering above, it can be argued that students in education faculty are more likely to have low income family background, compared to those in engineering faculty.

**Table 6. 1: Logistic Model of Female and Male Faculty Attainment**

Variables	FEMALE						MALE					
	Education <sup>1</sup>			Engineering and Architecture <sup>2</sup>			Education <sup>3</sup>			Engineering and Architecture <sup>4</sup>		
	B	S.E.	Exp(B)	B	S.E.	Exp(B)	B	S.E.	Exp(B)	B	S.E.	Exp(B)
<b>Socio-demographic characteristics</b>												
Age	<b>-.037*</b>	<b>.018</b>	<b>.964</b>	.018	.021	1.018	<b>-.057**</b>	<b>.018</b>	<b>.944</b>	.008	.014	1.008
<b>Living place until 12 years old <sup>a</sup></b>												
city center < 1 million population	.156	.089	1.169	-.034	.099	.967	.120	.109	1.127	-.109	.076	.897
country town	.147	.085	1.158	-.077	.099	.926	.107	.106	1.113	<b>-.157*</b>	<b>.077</b>	<b>.854</b>
town	<b>.383**</b>	<b>.136</b>	<b>1.466</b>	-.030	.196	.970	-.032	.156	.968	<b>-.307*</b>	<b>.131</b>	<b>.735</b>
village	<b>.281*</b>	<b>.139</b>	<b>1.324</b>	-.325	.247	.722	.139	.133	1.149	<b>-.329**</b>	<b>.119</b>	<b>.719</b>
<b>Family Background</b>												
<b>Education level of the father <sup>b</sup></b>												
drop out from primary school	-.180	.375	.835	1.081	1.068	2.949	.091	.247	1.095	.008	.269	1.008
primary school	-.065	.332	.938	.990	1.029	2.690	.185	.229	1.203	.013	.251	1.013
secondary school	-.052	.340	.950	1.097	1.032	2.996	.101	.245	1.107	.176	.260	1.193
high school	-.166	.339	.847	1.284	1.031	3.611	.099	.246	1.104	.180	.259	1.198
university	-.108	.351	.898	1.419	1.035	4.134	-.106	.271	.900	.394	.268	1.483
Master/PhD	-.461	.434	.631	1.701	1.048	5.480	<b>-.966*</b>	<b>.469</b>	<b>.381</b>	.595	.314	1.813
<b>Education level of the mother <sup>b</sup></b>												
drop out from primary school	<b>-.383*</b>	<b>.171</b>	<b>.682</b>	-.113	.293	.893	<b>-.326*</b>	<b>.139</b>	<b>.722</b>	<b>.377**</b>	<b>.136</b>	<b>1.458</b>
primary school	<b>-.397**</b>	<b>.137</b>	<b>.672</b>	-.088	.241	.916	<b>-.329**</b>	<b>.113</b>	<b>.720</b>	<b>.417***</b>	<b>.116</b>	<b>1.518</b>
secondary school	<b>-.644***</b>	<b>.165</b>	<b>.525</b>	-.041	.261	.960	<b>-.660***</b>	<b>.159</b>	<b>.517</b>	<b>.366**</b>	<b>.139</b>	<b>1.442</b>
high school	<b>-.673***</b>	<b>.160</b>	<b>.510</b>	-.009	.254	.991	<b>-.617***</b>	<b>.156</b>	<b>.540</b>	<b>.530***</b>	<b>.134</b>	<b>1.699</b>
university	<b>-.859***</b>	<b>.226</b>	<b>.424</b>	.113	.289	1.119	<b>-.979***</b>	<b>.264</b>	<b>.376</b>	<b>.570**</b>	<b>.175</b>	<b>1.769</b>
Master/PhD	-.698	.515	.498	.155	.403	1.167	.570	.547	1.768	<b>.691*</b>	<b>.344</b>	<b>1.996</b>
<b>Employment status of the father <sup>c</sup></b>												
working for salary or wage	.218	.144	1.243	.090	.250	1.094	<b>-.337*</b>	<b>.144</b>	<b>.714</b>	-.004	.138	.996
employer with paid workers	.070	.169	1.073	.473	.263	1.606	<b>-.479**</b>	<b>.182</b>	<b>.619</b>	.203	.154	1.225
self-employed without any paid worker	-.030	.165	.970	.202	.272	1.224	<b>-.363*</b>	<b>.161</b>	<b>.696</b>	-.014	.154	.986
unpaid family worker in family business	-.264	.368	.768	<b>.932*</b>	<b>.421</b>	<b>2.540</b>	-.042	.247	.959	.015	.255	1.015
not working, but looking for a job	.231	.246	1.260	.159	.411	1.172	-.404	.218	.668	.042	.211	1.043
retired, not working	.073	.141	1.076	.109	.249	1.115	<b>-.471**</b>	<b>.136</b>	<b>.624</b>	.023	.134	1.023
died	-.052	.196	.950	.121	.301	1.129	<b>-.407*</b>	<b>.190</b>	<b>.666</b>	-.043	.176	.958



**Table 6. 1: Logistic Model of Female and Male Faculty Attainment (Continued)**

Variables	FEMALE						MALE					
	Education <sup>1</sup>			Engineering and Architecture <sup>2</sup>			Education <sup>3</sup>			Engineering and Architecture <sup>4</sup>		
	B	S.E.	Exp(B)	B	S.E.	Exp(B)	B	S.E.	Exp(B)	B	S.E.	Exp(B)
<b>Employment status of the mother<sup>c</sup></b>												
working for salary or wage	-.464	.301	.629	1.295	.743	3.651	-.346	.330	.708	-.282	.306	.754
employer with paid workers	-.283	.406	.754	1.074	.782	2.928	.107	.454	1.113	-.638	.380	.529
self-employed without any paid worker	.062	.423	1.064	1.400	.812	4.054	.012	.494	1.012	.231	.405	1.260
unpaid family worker in family business	-.331	.505	.718	1.084	.873	2.956	.084	.429	1.087	-1.015	.434	.362
not working, but looking for a job	-.955	.576	.385	.471	1.040	1.601	.300	.568	1.351	-.707	.585	.493
retired, not working	-.219	.299	.803	1.258	.743	3.519	-.201	.323	.818	-.134	.302	.875
housewife, not working	-.411	.301	.663	1.405	.747	4.077	-.067	.306	.935	-.186	.296	.830
died	-.497	.393	.608	1.503	.800	4.495	-.045	.384	.956	-.035	.355	.965
<b>The occupation of the father<sup>d</sup></b>												
High qualified occupations	.165	.202	1.179	.174	.169	1.191	.348	.243	1.416	.207	.139	1.230
Technicians and associate professionals	.175	.225	1.192	.003	.217	1.003	-.033	.284	.967	.319	.179	1.376
Middle/low level directory or office clerks	.160	.197	1.174	-.125	.178	.883	-.027	.236	.973	.193	.141	1.213
Service/sales workers	.279	.224	1.322	-.211	.236	.810	.008	.271	1.008	-.027	.185	.974
Skilled agricultural and fishery workers	.323	.240	1.381	-.245	.278	.783	-.198	.269	.820	-.018	.189	.983
Craft and related trades workers	.119	.209	1.127	-.093	.189	.911	-.155	.249	.856	.268	.151	1.307
Plant and machine operators and assemblers	.289	.224	1.335	-.106	.235	.899	-.085	.268	.918	.017	.181	1.017
unskilled worker	.266	.215	1.304	-.228	.225	.796	-.152	.254	.859	.218	.164	1.243
armed forces/military	.164	.242	1.179	-.108	.224	.897	-.343	.319	.709	.202	.182	1.224
no	.212	.247	1.236	-.174	.278	.840	.008	.271	1.008	.080	.185	1.083
<b>The occupation of the mother<sup>d</sup></b>												
High qualified occupations	1.692	1.026	5.431	-.315	.308	.730	-.107	.692	.899	.023	.377	1.023
Technicians and associate professionals	1.973	1.035	7.193	-.518	.350	.596	.435	.722	1.546	.065	.409	1.067
Middle/low level directory or office clerks	1.868	1.025	6.476	-.503	.318	.605	.343	.680	1.410	-.059	.380	.943
Service/sales workers	1.828	1.049	6.224	-.418	.441	.658	.405	.715	1.500	-.195	.432	.823
Skilled agricultural and fishery workers	1.185	1.126	3.269	.000	.744	1.000	.492	.739	1.636	.047	.497	1.048
Craft and related trades workers	1.461	1.060	4.309	-.338	.421	.713	-.169	.751	.844	.068	.428	1.071
Plant and machine operators and assemblers	.400	1.277	1.491	-.170	.825	.843	-.060	.910	.942	.880	.597	2.411
unskilled worker	1.480	1.044	4.392	-.276	.415	.759	.627	.705	1.872	-.319	.430	.727
armed forces/military	.807	1.464	2.240	-.694	.831	.499	-20.057	17873.857	.000	2.144	1.298	8.537
no (housewife)	1.879	1.034	6.546	-.416	.354	.660	.071	.686	1.074	-.046	.387	.955

**Table 6. 1: Logistic Model of Female and Male Faculty Attainment (Continued)**

Variables	FEMALE						MALE					
	Education <sup>1</sup>			Engineering and Architecture <sup>2</sup>			Education <sup>3</sup>			Engineering and Architecture <sup>4</sup>		
	B	S.E.	Exp(B)	B	S.E.	Exp(B)	B	S.E.	Exp(B)	B	S.E.	Exp(B)
Income from parents	-.001	.000	.999	.000	.000	1.000	-.001	.000	.999	.000	.000	1.000
Expenses from parents	.000	.000	1.000	.000	.000	1.000	.000	.000	1.000	.000	.000	1.000
Social standing of family	-.034	.019	.967	.045	.023	1.046	.017	.019	1.017	.010	.015	1.010
<b>Educational Background</b>												
<b>The type of high school<sup>e</sup></b>												
Science High School	<b>-3.651***</b>	<b>.520</b>	<b>.026</b>	<b>1.617***</b>	<b>.352</b>	<b>5.039</b>	<b>-3.216***</b>	<b>.375</b>	<b>.040</b>	<b>.718***</b>	<b>.170</b>	<b>2.049</b>
Anatolian High School	<b>-1.465***</b>	<b>.112</b>	<b>.231</b>	<b>1.590***</b>	<b>.300</b>	<b>4.902</b>	<b>-2.031***</b>	<b>.101</b>	<b>.131</b>	<b>.528***</b>	<b>.105</b>	<b>1.696</b>
Regular/Super High School	<b>-1.881***</b>	<b>.116</b>	<b>.152</b>	<b>.982**</b>	<b>.304</b>	<b>2.669</b>	<b>-2.184***</b>	<b>.101</b>	<b>.113</b>	-.077	.106	.926
Private High School	<b>-1.629***</b>	<b>.200</b>	<b>.196</b>	<b>1.258***</b>	<b>.332</b>	<b>3.518</b>	<b>-2.576***</b>	<b>.259</b>	<b>.076</b>	<b>.341*</b>	<b>.153</b>	<b>1.406</b>
Other, Military schools, Foreign schools	.167	.312	1.182	.813	.604	2.254	<b>-.689*</b>	<b>.287</b>	<b>.502</b>	.433	.286	1.542
<b>Region of Secondary school<sup>f</sup></b>												
Between 20.001 and 100.000	.075	.104	1.078	.253	.168	1.288	<b>-.382**</b>	<b>.115</b>	<b>.682</b>	.188	.118	1.207
Between 100.001 and 500.000	-.083	.111	.921	<b>.400*</b>	<b>.171</b>	<b>1.491</b>	<b>-.497***</b>	<b>.119</b>	<b>.609</b>	<b>.410***</b>	<b>.118</b>	<b>1.507</b>
More than 500.001	<b>-.314**</b>	<b>.113</b>	<b>.731</b>	<b>.651***</b>	<b>.168</b>	<b>1.917</b>	<b>-.821***</b>	<b>.127</b>	<b>.440</b>	<b>.520***</b>	<b>.119</b>	<b>1.683</b>
<b>The kindergarden (years)</b>	-.079	.042	.924	<b>.098**</b>	<b>.037</b>	<b>1.103</b>	-.048	.059	.954	.025	.035	1.026
<b>The private tutoring course (months)</b>	-.001	.004	.999	<b>.016**</b>	<b>.005</b>	<b>1.016</b>	-.005	.005	.995	<b>.007*</b>	<b>.004</b>	<b>1.008</b>
Constant	.355	1.190	1.426	-7.105	1.428	.001	2.789	.891	16.257	-2.292	.661	.101
N	1817			1126			1354			2543		

<sup>1</sup>  $\chi^2=723.018$ , df= 67, N= 8500, p<.000, R<sup>2</sup>=0.139, 80 % of those who are in education faculty were predicted.

<sup>2</sup>  $\chi^2=508.747$ , df= 67, N= 8500, p<.000, R<sup>2</sup>=0.116, 86.3 % of those who are in engineering faculty were predicted.

<sup>3</sup>  $\chi^2=963.479$ , df= 67, N= 8316, p<.000, R<sup>2</sup>=0.199, 84.8 % of those who are in education faculty were predicted.

<sup>4</sup>  $\chi^2=647.554$ , df= 67, N= 8316, p<.000, R<sup>2</sup>=0.113, 69.9 % of those who are in engineering faculty were predicted.

\*p<0.05 \*\*p<0.01 \*\*\*p<0.001

Reference categories: a: City center, more than 1 million population; b: Illiterate; c: Working for daily wages such as seasonal, temporal worker; d: high level managers in public/private sector (parliamentarians, city manager, governor, general director); e: Vocational High School; f: Less than 20.000.

When we look at the impact of the type of region in which s/he grew up until the age of 12, we see that the region is significant for females to attain to the education faculty and males for engineering faculty. Females from town (1.466 times) and villages (1.324 times) are more likely to attend education faculty, compared to females from city center more than 1 million population. On the other hand, males from country town (.854 times), town (.735 times) and villages (.719 times) are less likely to attain to the engineering faculty, compared to males from city center more than 1 million population. This stems from the regional inequalities including inadequate facilities, quality of education so on, and variety of value of education by region, and gendered division of labour.

On the other hand, it would be argued that regarding social mobility, females coming from rural areas increase the chance of upward mobility by education faculty, while males coming from urban areas reproduce prevailing status through the advantages of living place. Considering faculty, education faculty considered as “feminine field of study” provides opportunity to play “other expected female roles” such as caring children and older when females work as teacher. In this way, as socialist feminists argues, females bear the “*triple burden*” of contributing labour, the caring children and family (i.e. “production, reproduction and care” (Beneria, 1979). Therefore, in our case, it can be argued that females in rural areas are more likely to attain to the education faculty because of high expectation of fulfil given gender roles, while working. On the other hand, the likelihood of being students in education faculty of males paves way to think that education faculty should not be seen just as feminine field of study, rather it provides opportunity for upward mobility for disadvantages groups despite of having low paid and less prestige characteristics (compared to engineering).

On the contrary, in the urban areas, there are the richer labour market chances, the greater availability of schools and social norms that encourage the education of females, compared to rural areas (Rankin et al., 2006:37; Duman, 2010; Özcan, 1983:166), but

higher and more qualified education are needed to participate in labour market. Therefore, considering the benefits (such as high-paid, high prestige) of engineering faculty after graduation, it is not surprising that engineering faculty is more likely to be more popular in young in urban areas. However, this popularity results in the “compulsory exclusion” of disadvantages groups from the competitive race. As seen from the results mentioned in previous chapter, the race for attainment of engineering faculty is relatively among students (specifically males) in urban areas.

This table displays that regional inequalities have already continued in Turkey since early republican period. Recalling our discussion on regional inequalities, residents of urban areas have experienced the all advantages of educational facilities and services such quality schools (Anatolian and Science high schools) and private tutoring courses. Inkeles et al. (1974) states urbanization refers the increasing availability of educational resources. In this sense, it can be argued that Turkey has still experienced urbanization process since 1923 despite of increasing population in urban areas. In additionally, gender division of labour can be considered as reproduced by living place. That is to say that, as socialist feminists argues, gendered roles have introduced in the family and then they are perpetuated by education. Accordingly, in urban males are lead to engineering faculties because of many leading factors such as male-dominated field, high prestige and income by their families and school attained, male dominated working conditions, while in rural females are lead to education faculty because of female-dominated field, giving combination of domestic life and gendered roles (i.e. mother, wife and housewife) and working life. In sum, for Turkey, it can be said that regional inequalities including educational facilities and gendered roles underlined in a different direction determine attainment of higher education by gender.

### 6.3. Family background characteristics

The exploratory variables tested under the family background characteristics are parents' education level, parents' occupation and employment status, student's income and expenses from parents and the social standing of family. The results are like following:

Parents' education level underlines as a crucial determinant for educational attainment by almost all studies (e.g. Tansel, 1998; Ekinci, 1999; Özsoy, 2002; Rankin et al., 2010; Göksel, 2009; Tansel, 2002a). Furthermore, it is usually used as reference point for social mobility. Since the common tendency about education level is that males' education level is usually higher than females, father's education level is usually focused in studies on educational attainment. However, as it is seen from the Table 6.1, in our case, father education level has no impact on faculty attainment for both genders, except male in education faculty. According to the findings, male who has father with Master/PhD degree is less likely to attain education faculty compared to those who has illiterate father ( $\exp(B)=-.381$ ). It can be evaluated as that the higher the father education level, the lower the probability of attain education faculty for males. In other words, father's educational background has a significant effect on children's aspiration of faculty, particularly males in education faculty. It is also consisted with the distribution of father education level by faculty.

On the other hand, it is evident that mother's education level is significant for university students, particularly all male students and females in education faculty. In this way, our findings are consistent with previous studies (Göksel, 2009; Tansel, 2002a; Rankin et al., 2006; Tunalı, 1996; Hisarcıklılar et al., 2010). Hence, it can be argued that the general tendency is that the higher the mother education level, the more likely one participates in engineering faculty. On the other hand, in our case, he with highly educated mother is less likely to attain to the education faculty. (.424 times for university, .510 times for high school, .525 times for secondary school, .672 times for

primary school and .682 times for drop out from primary school). In other words, the one with low educated mother is more likely to participate in education faculty, compared to one with highly educated mother. On the contrary, for males, the likelihood of being student in engineering faculty increases significantly and gradually with the education level of the mother. For example, he who has mother with master/PhD degree is about 2 times ( $\exp(B)=1.996$ ) as likely to attain to the engineering faculty than those with illiterate mother. In this way, regarding education level of mother, females with less educated mother have experienced upward mobility through education faculty. However, unlike previous studies, it is evident that education level of mother is more effective on males' attainment of faculty.

This result refers to mother's attainment process in Turkey. Regarding mother's generations (60s), educational, economical and ideological climate of the period with limited facilities and quota system in the universities, her attainment to education is either as social mobility (low socioeconomic background and from rural) or reproducing status of family (high socioeconomic background and from urban areas). However, considering her children, her achievement has transferred to children's educational attainment process because of the awareness of the great value of education.

When we look at the employment status of parents as the other family background item, we see from Table 6.1 that only father employment status has impact on females to attain to the engineering faculty and males for education faculty. In this sense, the mother's employment distribution (majority as housewife) can be considered as "ascribed ordinary situation" for students. In this way, the mother employment status effect can be called "zero effect". As discussed in the previous chapter, women's employment status is strongly related with the policies on labour market and rigid gendered division of labour as a part of patriarchal ideology.

Turning back to father employment status: For females who has father working as

*unpaid family worker in family business*, the likelihood of being student in the engineering faculty is 2.540 times higher, compared to those who has father *working for daily wages such as seasonal, temporal worker*. Actually, *unpaid family worker in family business* did not clearly defined in the questionnaire, so it could be defined as self-employed or farmer working for own land by respondents. However, even considering working conditions, working as *unpaid family worker in family business* relatively implies more “regular, stable and safety” work than *working for daily wages*. Therefore, father as *unpaid worker* is more likely to afford expenses and to support daughter schooling, compared to those *working for daily wages*.

On the other hand, males whose father has better or worse employment status than *working for daily wages* are less likely to attain to the education faculty. In other words, *working for salary* ( $\exp(B)=.714$ ), being *employer with paid worker* ( $\exp(B)=.619$ ) and being *self-employed without any paid workers* ( $\exp(B)=.696$ ) are relatively better status and economic conditions, while being *retired* ( $\exp(B)=.624$ ) and *died* ( $\exp(B)=.666$ ) are worse than *working for daily wages*. In this way, better or worse socioeconomic status of father has effect on him to attain to the education faculty. For example, having *unemployed* or *died* father can force him to work, which can cause dropout of school or short-term education life because of the “breadwinner role of males”.

On the contrary, taking up the question, do parents’ occupations have effect on attainment of faculty by genders, we found that neither father’s occupation nor mother’s occupation have significant effect. Interestingly, although occupations are important part of SES of family, they do not influence on faculty attainment by genders. Actually, although it is needed further studies, it can be said that it is associated with the structure of economy and job market in Turkey. In other words, it is important that how and where one is employed and outcomes of the employment (such as income, social prestige, job security etc.), rather than his/her occupation. In this sense, father “as a breadwinner” should enable to afford household expenses. By the way, one of the

reasons behind that males are lead to high-income occupations such as engineering is high possibility of to be employed in many sectors including state and private sector, that reproduces sex-segregated field of study and labour market.

Finally, when we look at the other family factors used in the model, we see that income and expenses from parents are not significant for attainment of faculty by genders.<sup>242</sup> Additionally, social standing of family is not significant. However, according to literature, economic resources of family are important for attainment of schooling, specifically for females. Furthermore, earlier studies on attainment of different education level in Turkey concluded that household income is important determinant for schooling, particularly females (Duman, 2010; Bakış et al., 2009; ERG, 2009; Göksel, 2009; Tomul, 2007b; Tansel, 2002a; Hisarcıklılar et al., 2010). In addition, as mentioned in Chapter 3 and 4, the historical facts also confirm it. For example in early republican period, the children from educated and high socioeconomic status families attain higher education. In our case, as mentioned in the previous chapter, the *student's monthly income and expenses from parents* are used as the indicator or proxy of affordability of family and economic resources, like social standing. Maybe, directly question and data about household income can provide similar results with other research and display the effect on faculty attainment. Therefore, it is needed further studies about the relationship between the household income and the attainment to faculties by gender.

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<sup>242</sup> If the odds ratios are equal 1, it refers “no association between variables” (although the p value is less than 0.005). In the case of females in education faculty, the odds ratio is so close to 1. Therefore, it is also evaluated as “no association”.



#### 6.4. Educational background

The last but not the least, the exploratory variables tested under the education background are the type of high school, region of secondary school, attendance of kindergarden and private tutoring courses. The results are like following:

The type of high school has the strongest effect on faculty attainment of both genders. Regarding faculty, s/he graduated from vocational school is more likely to attain to the education faculty, compared to those graduated from other schools, except military school for females. On the other hand, female graduated from vocational school is less likely to attain to the engineering faculty, compared to others. For example, the likelihood of attainment of females graduated from science school is 5.039 times more than those graduated from vocational school. The second high probability is for females graduated from Anatolian high school (4.902 times more). Similarly, males graduated from vocational school are less likely to attain to the engineering faculty, compared to those graduated from science (2.049 times), Anatolian (1.696 times) and private high school(1.406 times)(respectively). In sum, s/he graduated from vocational school is more likely to attain to the higher education via education faculty. On the contrary, s/he graduated from other schools such as Anatolian, science high schools is more likely to attain to the engineering faculty.

According to studies on high schools, students in Anatolian, science and private high schools<sup>243</sup> are mostly coming from high SES family (e.g. highly educated parents, high income level, professional occupations so on), whereas students in vocational and regular high schools are from low SES family (e.g. lower educated parents, low income and low prestige occupations so on) (Akşit et al., 2000; Özsoy, 2002; Şen, 2007; Tansel,

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<sup>243</sup> Private schools have more homogenous family profile than Anatolian and science high schools. The reason is the entry exam at the national level. However, selection system and the profile of achieved students indicate the reproduction of inequities. In other words, in Bourdieu's terminology, *cultural capital* is transmitted to next generations via these schools (Akşit et al, 2000).

2002b). This indicated the social inequalities and the stratified structure in secondary school have still continued since 50s. According to Akşit et al., (2000), these schools represent the *class* structure: vocational school refers low-working class, religious school refers low-working class, traditional middle class and white collars, regular high school refers mostly white-collars and low-working classes. In this way, this contradictory socioeconomic background reflects on their academic achievements.<sup>244</sup> For example, attainment of quality of high schools, PISA and university entry exam (Güneş-Ayata, et al., 2005: 104; Tansel, 2013a:181; Smits et al., 2006:547; Aslankurt, 2013). In other words, it would be argued that transmission of social inequality between generations is notable in education attainment process in Turkey which started from secondary school, even primary education. As mentioned before, “the apple of state’s eye” schools eliminate and replace “achievable” students. By the way, we can find their effect on attainment of faculty here.

The data on directly transition from high school to higher education displays the strong effect of type of high schools. The highest probability to attain to the higher education is for students in Anatolian and science high schools (ERG, 2009:21). Therefore, the inequality of educational opportunity goes back to secondary education level (even primary level because of private primary school after 80s). The reason is the disparity between demand and supply in “quality schools” which results in the great competitive race for attainment. On the other hand, students in vocational and regular high schools as disadvantages group are less likely to attain to the higher education which decreases the likelihood of upward mobility, compared to those in other schools. However, Özsoy (2002)’s studies states that students coming from vocational schools are more likely to attain to the provincial universities, which means upward mobility for them. In this sense, we face a new dichotomy and research area: central versus provincial

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<sup>244</sup> According to Ayata, et al. (2005: 104), the “unachievement” of regular school in university entry exam (only half of them pass the exam) results from the inadequate infrastructure, too demands to fulfil and crowd classrooms. All of these are the indicator of breakdown of public education system.

universities.<sup>245</sup>

Like type of high school, region of secondary school has influence on faculty attainment of both genders: Females graduated from secondary school in region with less than 20.000 residents (village) are more likely to attain to the education faculty, compared to those graduated from secondary school in region with more than 500.000 residents (big city). Males graduated from secondary school in region with less than 20.000 residents (village) are more likely to attain to the education faculty, compared to those graduated from secondary school in region with more than 200.001 residents. On the contrary, females and males graduated from secondary school in region with less than 20.000 residents (village) are less likely to attain to the engineering faculty, compared to those graduated from secondary school in region more than 100.001 residents. As seen, students in education faculty are mostly from rural areas, while those in engineering faculty are from urban areas. Regarding that Anatolian, science and private schools as quality high schools are in urban areas, it is not surprising to that majority students of engineering faculty graduated from secondary school in region more than 100.001 residents. In other words, this result is consistent with the type of high school. Furthermore, it is also consistent with the urban-rural educational inequality question (i.e. differences among “metropolitan, other urban, and rural areas” (Aytaç et al., 2004:273)).

As mentioned before, education is a cumulative process. In this sense, attainment of higher education is directly and indirectly associated with all other education level including pre-school education (Tanrikulu, 2009:3). However, generally well-educated and highly income parents in urban areas send their children to kindergarden (Ural et al., 2007:15; ERG, 2009:22). Additionally, as considered before, it is well-known that

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<sup>245</sup> Our questionnaire does not have this information. New universities recently opened in Turkey have been called as Anatolian or provincial universities. There has been huge literature about expansion of higher education (see Shavit et al., 1993), except Turkey. In this way, it should be studied in Turkey as new inequality areas in higher education.

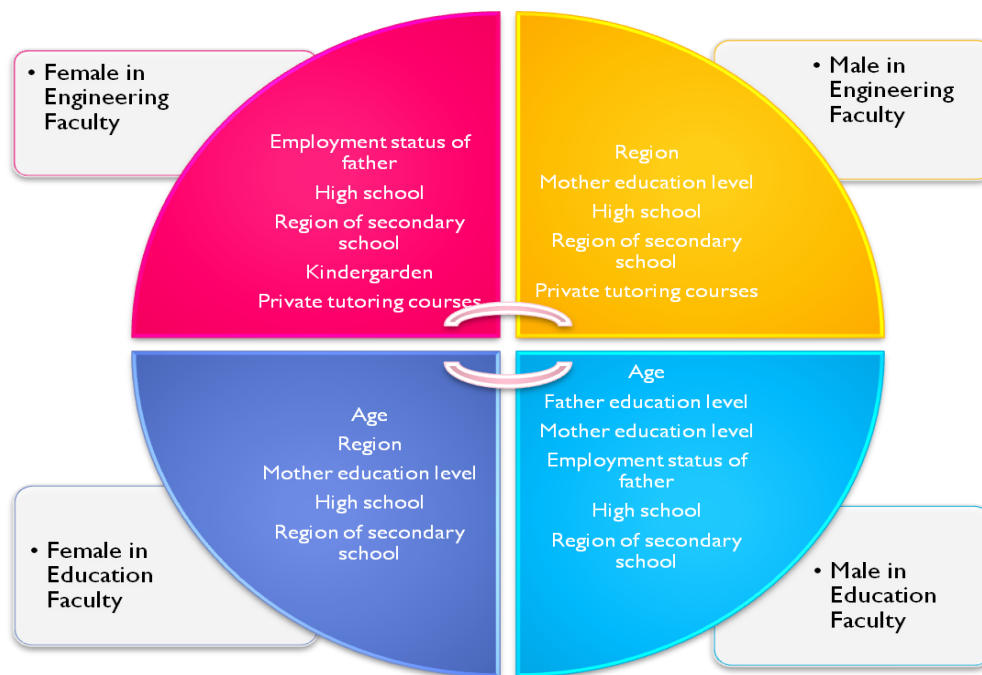
mother's employment status is strongly related with kindergarden education. Turning to our analysis, kindergarden attainment is just significant for females in engineering faculty. In other words, there is a positive relationship between duration of kindergarden and attainment of engineering faculty. Therefore, it can be argued that considering other results, females in engineering faculty are more likely to come from high socioeconomic background family, compared to others.

The last but not the least, the final variables related with education background is the private tutoring courses attended. As seen from the Table 6.1, it is significant for engineering faculty for both females and males. There is a positive relationship between them. In this way, s/he who attended private tutoring courses longer is more likely to attain to the engineering faculty. As mentioned before, quality of education and private tutoring are associated by household income level (Bakış et al., 2009:9; Tansel et al., 2005). The higher the household level, the more expenses of education is likely. In this sense, economic resources of family can be utilized for private tutoring that causes inequality of educational opportunity in entry exam for high school and university (Aslankurt, 2013; Tansel, 2013a:184-5; Gök, 2005:102). Therefore, private courses contribute to reproduce their privileged position in the education system. In this case, hence, it can be argued that students in engineering faculty are more likely to come from high SES family which can afford private tutoring courses longer.

Consequently, educational background has more impact on faculty attainment, compared to other variables. However, it should be keep in mind that all these variables related with education background are strongly associated with the socioeconomic background of family. Therefore, education and engineering faculty are different from each other in terms of sociodemographic, educational and family background variables.

## 6.5. Conclusion

In this chapter, we presented and interpreted the results of logistic regression analysis. In the analysis, socio-demographic characteristics, family background and educational background of university students are utilized as independent variables. The main aim of this chapter is to response the research question: Which variables affect attainment of these faculties regarding gender? In other words, do the effects on the attainment of the faculty vary by gender? Why? The findings are indicated in the figure below:



**Figure 6. 1: The factors for attainment of faculties by gender**

For females to attain to the education faculty; age, living place until 12 years old (as the strongest), education level of mother, type of high school and region of secondary school are statistically significant factors. In this way, the younger female from town or village who has lower educated mother and graduated for vocational school in the region with less than 20.000 residents are more likely to attain to the education faculty,

compared to counterparts. On the other hand, for males to attain to the education faculty, age (as the strongest), education level of father, education level of mother, employment status of father, type of high school and region of high school are significant. In this way, the younger male who has lower educated mother and has father with better or worse employment status than working for daily wages, graduated from vocational school in the region with less than 20.000 residents are more likely to attain to the education faculty, compared to counterparts.

In contrast, for females to attain to the engineering faculty; employment status of father, type of high school (as the strongest), region of secondary school, kindergarden and private tutoring courses attainment are significant. In this way, females who has father with unpaid family worker in family business, not graduated from vocational school, graduated from secondary school in the region with more than 100.001 residents, attended kindergarden and private tutoring courses longer are more likely to attain to the engineering faculty, compared to counterparts. On the other hand, for males to attain to the engineering faculty; living place until 12 years old, level of mother education, type of high school (as the strongest), region of secondary school and private tutoring courses are significant. In this way, males not from country town, town or village who has higher educated mother, not graduated from vocational school, graduated from secondary school in the region with more than 100.001 residents, attended private tutoring courses longer are more likely to attain to the engineering faculty, compared to counterparts.

As seen, both of females and males in education faculty are usually coming from low educated family, rural areas and vocational schools. All these refer the low socioeconomic background and disadvantages of education facilities. However, by attainments of education faculty they experiences upward mobility. On the contrary, those in engineering faculty has high educated family, urban areas and quality high schools. Furthermore, it is evident that their family expenses of schooling as

“investment of children’s future” are notable such as quality high school and private tutoring courses. In this sense, it is seen that the main factor for diversity is urban-rural difference: the greater availability of education facilities in urban areas versus inadequate education resources.

Therefore, considering the relationship between family background and inequality of educational opportunity, it can be argued that attainment of engineering faculty reproduces prevailing inequalities in terms of socioeconomic opportunities, while attainment of education faculty contributes the upward mobility.

## **CHAPTER 7**

### **CONCLUSION**

Education as an institution of a modern society has several functions such as training of individuals for skills, values and qualifies which need for occupation as well as labour market. In addition, education has plays notable role for nations, specially in nation-state building process, via transmitting values required for constructing national identity and labour. However, attainment of education has occurred as an issue in the contemporary societies. The reason of the importance of the attainment issue is that education provides opportunity for upward social mobility, social status and occupation via higher education particularly. For the educational attainment and then upward mobility, therefore, equality of educational opportunity as concept gains its importance in the society. However, many worldwide studies and reports on the equality of educational opportunity have displayed that there has been inequality of educational opportunity. In other words, the equality of educational opportunity has not been achieved yet in terms of gender, regional and socioeconomic status of family because of the strong relationship between social background or ascribed characteristics and education attainment process. Therefore, as conflict theory claims, education (re)produces inequalities and hinders the intergenerational socioeconomic mobility. On the other hand, in spite of strong relationship between ascribed characteristics and educational attainment, education has already gives opportunity for upward mobility for one with higher education than his/her parents' education level. Therefore, the question rises about the social background and attainment process. Considering gender inequality in education, the question should be asked whether the attainment process vary by gender.



In the case of Turkey, gender equality in educational opportunity has not been achieved at all education levels. However, higher education has the highest gender inequality in terms of parity between genders and gendered division of labour. Regarding historical background of higher education in Turkey that goes back to Ottoman Empire, it is obvious that education and engineering schools/departments, their roles and functions are different than each other. Since 19th century engineering has been considered as male-dominated field while education has been found suitable for females as a result of gendered division of labour: teachership is something like the continuation of their mother roles, whereas engineering is related with technical matter and physical power. In other words, genders have been more strongly related with these issues and represented with respectively. In addition, in Ottoman Empire, engineering schools were found to raise the necessary specialist staff for the army and thus they could save the army, lost territory and then the Empire. It can be argued that another clue for considering engineering as male field is that Ottoman women, that have fought for the right of higher education such as medicine training, natural sciences, did not struggle to attain engineering schools. The reasons prevented the willingness of women to engineering can be associated with the traditional education system in the Empire and internalized gendered division of labour in the society (i.e. patriarchal order). Indeed, the first woman in engineering school/faculty was welcomed in the early period of Turkish Republic (in 1927) thanks to *state feminism*.

On the other hand, teacher-training schools for females which were the results of the non-coeducational system in Ottoman Empire (i.e. female schools required female teachers because of Islam) gave the opportunity of women to be in public, enabled women's upward social mobility and participate in workforce. In the early Republic, teachers considered as the agent of new nation-state ideology (Kemalist ideology) played a crucial role in nation-state building process. The students in tertiary education in those periods were the children of middle and higher socioeconomic background families (i.e. educated, have occupation in state like soldier, administrator and lately

supporter of the Kemalist ideology). Therefore, following the socialist feminist perspective I argue that in Turkey, (i) higher education has reproduced gendered division of labour and (ii) the interaction between gender and socioeconomic status of family has been represented in higher education system since Ottoman Empire.

However, although the reflection of the interaction between gender and socioeconomic status of family goes back, the strong relationship between gender and family background began to be seen or depended after 1950. This period witnesses the social, economic, political changes (such as population rise, relationship between foreign countries, industrialization movement, mechanization in agriculture, urbanization, migration from rural to urban so on) which affect the field of education and genders. The variety in education system, thus, has resulted in emerging and growing new inequalities among families, regions and gender in the same city and around the whole country. Considering gender, middle-upper socioeconomic background and educated families in urban areas have provided opportunities to their daughters to reach higher education and, subsequently end up with professional jobs. This indicates that educational attainment depended more on socioeconomic status of family, that is, reproduction of social and economic inequalities. After 1980 with the implication of neoliberalist economic policies, the privatization of education has led the emergence of a privileged class benefitting more from education. Consequently social inequalities become deeper.

As socialist feminist perspective argues, changes in the mode of production effect the education and gender. Turkey has experienced transition from agricultural to industrial/capitalist and then neoliberal economy since 1950s. Related with mode of production, urbanization process and changes in socioeconomic status of family (including occupational and educational status of parents) have been occurred which effect field of education and gender educational inequality.

Contemporary Turkey has still gender inequality in higher education. In other words, gender parity and equal educational opportunity have not been achieved because of existing gendered-based field of study and interaction between gender and socioeconomic background of family. In addition, rural-urban diversity is still a major factor effecting attainment higher education process by gender. For example, majority of students and females have urban background. On the other hand, students from rural areas are likely to enrol in education faculties. Related with region and availability of facilities, type of high school is also important: Females from Anatolian high school and males from regular/super high school are overrepresented in the higher education. Moreover, vocational school graduates are more in education faculty, while students from Anatolian high school are more in engineering faculty. Kindergarden participation as another educational background and private tutoring participation are also significant for having gender and faculty differences. Female students and students in engineering faculty participated longer than counterparts.

The interaction between gender and socioeconomic background of family is obvious. Male and female students vary by socioeconomic status of family. Female students and students in engineering faculty are more from educated and high qualified occupational families, compared to counterparts. Additionally, the rate of mother working for salary or wages is higher in engineering faculty than those in education faculty. As seen, it can be argued that socioeconomic status of family of students in education faculty is lower than those in engineering faculty. Moreover, same conditions apply to female students, as well. This means that attaining education faculty leads intergenerational upward social mobility whereas attaining to engineering faculty refers reproducing social background or status quo.

Regarding the determinants of faculty attainment, logistic model findings are also consisted with the above results. For females the living place until 12 years old appeared as the most important determinant to attain education faculty. This is followed by age,

region of secondary school, education level of mother and type of high school. On the other hand, for the females type of high school is the most significant factor to attain engineering faculty. This is followed by employment status of father, region of the secondary school, kindergarden and private tutoring course participation. For males, however, age is the most important factor followed by employment status of father, education level of father, education level of mother, region of secondary school and type of high school in order to reach to education faculty. For males to attain engineering faculty, the type of the high school is the most important factor that is followed by region of secondary school, education level of mother, private tutoring course participation, and living place until 12 years old.

Hence, both male and female students coming from lower educated family background, rural areas and vocational schools end up with education faculty. This can be interpreted as disadvantaged students from lower socioeconomic background most likely join education facilities. However, at the same time this means that through having university degree in education program, they experience social upward mobility. On the contrary, engineering faculty includes students from highly educated family background, urban areas and better high schools that offer higher quality of education. Thus, considering the relationship between family background and inequality of educational opportunity, I argue that attainment of engineering faculty reproduces prevailing inequalities in terms of socioeconomic opportunities, while attainment of education faculty contributes to the social upward mobility. In this sense, the social inequalities depend on the socioeconomic status of family, living place until 12 years old, attending to kindergarden, getting better education at privileged high schools.

Turning to the our research question whether higher education reproduces inequalities or allow upward social mobility, I argue that engineering faculty reproduces inequality while the education faculty gives opportunity for upward social mobility. In other words, higher education in Turkey is instrumental for both reproduction of social

inequality and upward mobility. Hence, research results indicates that higher education system in Turkey has done both via faculties.

Secondly, considering gender division of labour, I argue that gender segregation is still in force in terms of the distribution/percentage of male and female students in the faculties: education as female dominated and engineering as male dominated field. However, considering the results of the regression analysis, high socioeconomic status families in urban regions have pursued children to attain to the higher education regardless of gender differences. In other words, their investment in education such as offering private tutoring courses, type of secondary school, and expenditure for education is different from those of coming from lower socioeconomic status families and rural areas. Therefore, it is evident that females from these families are more likely to attain to the engineering faculty. Moreover, it should be kept in mind that occupation and chance of being in the labour market are related with the attainment of faculty. In this sense, females graduated from engineering faculty may have more chance in urban areas, where they and their families live, thanks to their families' networks (as mentioned before, for middle or upper socioeconomic background families, the investment of daughters' education is not risky because of the high possibility of having better opportunities in the labour market via social networks (Stromquist (1989:173)).

On the other hand, males from lower socioeconomic background and/or from rural regions are more likely to attain to the education faculty as female dominated field. This means that education faculty is the only "open door" for these disadvantage groups to participate in higher education system in our case. Additionally, their educational and family background are not "sufficient" to attain to the engineering faculty as male dominated field, which required higher grades from university entry examination, compared to males coming from higher socioeconomic status families in urban regions. In other words, they do not have equal opportunity to access engineering faculty so they are not able to race/struggle for being engineer. However, their chance is higher than

females from low socioeconomic family, poor educational background and rural regions. I argue that the low enrolment rate of females with the features given above has increased the chance of attainment of education faculty for males. Furthermore, related with the gendered division of labour, males are considered as the breadwinners and education faculty is considered as that it gives opportunity to have a “secure” occupation<sup>246</sup> for one coming from low socioeconomic background. The proverb “You would be a teacher, at least” is good show how the education is perceived in the society. Males, therefore, should study and enroll education faculty for professional occupation. Nevertheless, further studies regarding the gender distribution by programs is needed to understand gender based trends.

As seen, attainment of higher education is affected by many factors, which vary by gender. Considering that this is a cumulative process, these can be suggested as *social policies* to decrease the gender inequality in higher education and attainment process: 1) It is obvious that gender inequality in higher education depends on the inequality in the previous levels. In spite of compulsory primary education, dropout and secondary school enrollment rates indicate that gender inequality begins to rise in secondary school level. Despite of the new application in 2012 called 4+4+4 (i.e. 12-year compulsory but non-continuous education), compulsory education should be 12-years and continuous for all to prevent from dropout and gender inequality in secondary and high school level. Additionally, considering the importance of kindergarden attendance in the school achievement, kindergarden should be compulsory for all and infrastructure for this should be prepared. Considering the importance of mother education level, increasing female education should be the main object of the education policies that is needed in the long-term policies. 2) The new social policies must be applied to abolish the regional and urban/ rural inequalities since those are the main causes. Educational

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<sup>246</sup> Actually, nowadays the status of teachers is discussible because of guarantee of the job in the state. They have a big “assignment problem”.

facilities and quality of education should be equal for equality of educational opportunity regardless of gender, socioeconomic background of family and region. 3) Socialization process creates gender roles which are strictly defined in family and at schools through stereotypes in the textbooks: males as breadwinners vs. females as wife, mother, and housewife. In addition, at schools, teachers' higher expectation and their encouragement to train mathematics and science for more prestigious and well-paid occupation result in gender discrimination and reproduce gendered division of labour. In this sense, the gendered division of labour should not be highlighted in the textbooks and females should be encouraged to train for more prestigious occupations and vice versa. 4) Related with prestigious and paid occupation, teachership is considered as lower prestigious and lower paid job, compared to engineering. By the way, we must here recall our research results, that is, males as "breadwinners" are less likely to attain education faculty. On the other side, women who are considered both as domestic and wage labour (i.e. *triple burden*) are encouraged to attain education faculty to carry out gendered division of labour. Therefore, social policy is needed to increase the value of teachership (such as salary and working conditions) and encourage the males for education faculty. Furthermore, females should be encouraged to be engineer by employment policies. 5) Considering the importance of employment status of mother on attainment process, new employment policies for female participant in labour market are needed. For example, equal quota system.

Consequently, this dissertation attempts to examine the determinants and differences of attainment of higher education across and within genders by faculties. It is expected to contribute the literature in a twofold manner: it gives empirical evidence about educational attainment process and equality of educational opportunity by gender and it examines the role of higher education in Turkey by investigating factors behind the process. By this way, this dissertation is tried to contribute to sociology of education literature both empirically and theoretically. However, due to using second hand data and its limitation, some factors and issues were not examined. In this sense, both

qualitative and quantitative research are needed in future as follows: How do cultural factors affect the higher education attainment process in Turkey? Are there differences among private and state universities by gender, socioeconomic and educational background of students? Are there differences among old and new (provincial) universities? Are there differences among departments in any faculties? Is it possible to point out the determinants of process by years, for example 50s, 60s, and 70s so on? Moreover, if so, did they vary by gender? As seen, there are many questions to be answered in this area but this study is a significant beginning in the area of higher education in Turkey.



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## APPENDICES

### APPENDIX A: MAJOR POLITICAL, ECONOMICAL AND SOCIAL EVENTS REGARDING EDUCATION AND GENDER

Year	Events in Ottoman Empire and Turkish State	Educational changes and effects of events on education, law and human rights regarding gender.
1299	The Ottoman Empire was established.	
1516	Ottoman Sultan became the caliph and empire became an Islamic empire ruled by religious law, Sheria.	By the 1500s, women were affected by religious law in terms of inheritance, marriage, polygamy, divorce system and public life.
1773		The first higher or technical school called <i>Mühendishane-i Bahr-i Hümayun</i> was opened in İstanbul.
1838		The boys' first secondary school was opened.
1839-1876	Tanzimat period began with the semi-constitutional charter known as <i>Gülhane Hatt-ı Hümayunu</i> ("Imperial Rescript").	To charter, women and men would benefit from identical civil rights, independent of religious affiliation.
1842		First school for widwives was opened in İstanbul.
1848		First teacher training school for men called <i>Darülmualimin</i> was established.
1856	<i>Islahat</i> charter was declared.	The buying and selling of women as slave and concubine were banned.
1858	The Law of Land was adopted.	To law, males and females got right for equal inheritance. The girls' first secondary school was opened.
1865		First Girls' Industrial School was established. First high school (sultani) for men was opened.
1869	An educational regulation called <i>Maarif-i Umumiyet Nizamnamesi</i> was declared.	Separate secondary schools for different nationalities were founded. The primary education was introduced as compulsory for girls and boys. Girl's industrial school was opened in İstanbul.



1870		First teacher training school for woman called <i>Darülmualimat</i> was established.
1872 (or 1876)		First women schoolmaster was assigned.
1875		First American School, known as İstanbul Women's College, was opened.
1876- 1878	The Constitutional Monarchy was established and this period began with the <i>Kanuni Esasi</i> .	
1877		First girl's arts and crafts school was established.
1882		Women first took place in a census records.
1900		First university called <i>Darülfünun</i> was opened in İstanbul.
1908	The Second Constitutional Monarchy period started.	
1911		First girl's high school ( <i>idadi</i> ) was opened in İstanbul.
1914		First university for woman called <i>İnas Darülfünunu</i> was opened in İstanbul.
1921		<i>Inas Darülfünunu</i> was closed so first coeducation started in the university level in Ottoman Empire.
1923	The Republic of Turkey was established. Economy Conference was held in İzmir.	People's Party of Women was formed by Nezihe Muhittin but it was not officially approved.
1924	The Constitution of 1924 was proclaimed.  The Law of Unification of Education passed in the Assembly.	The Caliphate was abolished. Sheri'a courts and religious schools were closed. The compulsory and free primary education for all children was legislated by law. People's Party of Women was reorganized as The Women's League of Turkey.
1926	Civil Code was proclaimed.	Women and men would equally benefit from identical civil rights regarding marriage, divorce, inheritance etc.
1927		First coeducation started in secondary school. First woman enrolled in engineering faculty.
1928		Latin alphabet was adopted. Girls' Institutions were established. Public schools were established.

1932		Community houses were established. Women were allowed to vote in municipal election.
1933		<i>Darülfünun</i> was closed and first republican university called İstanbul University was opened.
1934		The enfranchisement of woman was declared.
1940		Village Institutions were opened.
1950	Democrat Party won the election.	
1951		Religious schools were established.
1952		Community houses were closed.
1954		Village institutions were combined with teacher training schools.
1960	The military coup was May 27, 1960.	
1961	The Constitution of 1961 was proclaimed.	
1963	First 5-year development plan was prepared.	
1965		The private school law was accepted. The private tutoring-courses were legally accepted.
1971	The military coup was Mach 12, 1971.	
1974		Interuniversity Student Selection and Placement Centre (ÜSYM) was founded and a central application was started to admission university by Interuniversity Selection Exam. The application of correspondence education was started.
1980	The military coup was September 12, 1980.	
1981		The Council of Higher Education (YÖK) was established.
1982	The Constitution of 1982 was proclaimed.	
1983		The application of distance education was started.

1984		First private university called İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent University was opened.
1997		The 8-year compulsory primary education for all children was legislated by law.
2003		Textbook began to be distributed free of charge in the primary schools.
2005		The high school year was increased from 3-year to 4-year.
2006		Textbook began to be distributed free of charge in the secondary schools.
2012		12-year compulsory but non-continuous education was passed by a new application called 4+4+4.

## APPENDIX B: SUPPLEMENTARY TABLES

**Table B. 1: The Universities in chronological order<sup>247</sup>**

YEAR		Name	Public/Private	City	The Date of Published in Official Gazette of Establishment Law and Number of Law
1933	1	İSTANBUL UNIVERSITY	Public	İstanbul	06/06/1933-2252
1944	2	İSTANBUL TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY	Public	İstanbul	20/07/1944-4619
1946	3	ANKARA UNIVERSITY	Public	Ankara	18/06/1946-4936
1955	4	EGE UNIVERSITY	Public	İzmir	27/05/1955-6595
	5	KARADENİZ TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY	Public	Trabzon	27/05/1955-6594
1956	6	MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY <sup>1</sup>	Public	Ankara	04/06/1959-7307
1957	7	ATATÜRK UNIVERSITY	Public	Erzurum	07/06/1957-6990
1967	8	HACETTEPE UNIVERSITY	Public	Ankara	08/07/1967-892
1971	9	BOĞAZİÇİ UNIVERSITY	Public	İstanbul	12/09/1971-1487
1973	10	ÇUKUROVA UNIVERSITY	Public	Adana	30/11/1973-1786
	11	DİCLE UNIVERSITY	Public	Diyarbakır	30/11/1973-1785
	12	ANADOLU UNIVERSITY	Public	Eskişehir	30/11/1973-1787
1974	13	CUMHURİYET UNIVERSITY	Public	Sivas	09/02/1974-1788
1975	14	ULUDAĞ UNIVERSITY	Public	Bursa	11/04/1975-1873
	15	FIRAT UNIVERSITY	Public	Elazığ	11/04/1975-1873
	16	SELÇUK UNIVERSITY	Public	Konya	11/04/1975-1873
	17	İNÖNÜ UNIVERSITY	Public	Malatya	03/04/1975-1872
	18	ONDOKUZ MAYIS UNIVERSITY	Public	Samsun	11/04/1975-1873
1978	19	ERCİYES UNIVERSITY	Public	Kayseri	18/11/1978-2175
1982	20	GAZİ UNIVERSITY	Public	Ankara	20/07/1982-41 (KHK)
	21	AKDENİZ UNIVERSITY	Public	Antalya	20/07/1982-41 (KHK)
	22	TRAKYA UNIVERSITY	Public	Edirne	20/07/1982-41 (KHK)
	23	MARMARA UNIVERSITY	Public	İstanbul	20/07/1982-41 (KHK)
	24	MİMAR SİNAN FINE ARTS UNIVERSITY	Public	İstanbul	20/07/1982-41 (KHK)
	25	YILDIZ TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY	Public	İstanbul	20/07/1982-41 (KHK)
	26	DOKUZ EYLÜL UNIVERSITY	Public	İzmir	20/07/1982-41 (KHK)
	27	YÜZÜNCÜ YIL UNIVERSITY	Public	Van	20/07/1982-41 (KHK)
1984	28	İHSAN DOĞRAMACI BİLKENT UNIVERSITY <sup>3</sup>	Private	Ankara	07/03/1992-3785
1987	29	GAZİANTEP UNIVERSITY	Public	Gaziantep	27/06/1987-3389

<sup>247</sup> <http://yok.gov.tr/web/guest/universitelerimiz>; <http://www.resmigazete.gov.tr/default.aspx>; Günay et al. (2011:3-6); MEB (1993:4-5); Tekeli, İ. (2009:77-79); Ataünal (1993:107-108); MEB (2010:206-2010).

1992	30	AFYON KOCATEPE UNIVERSITY	Public	Afyonkarahisar	11/07/1992-3837
	31	ADNAN MENDERES UNIVERSITY	Public	Aydın	11/07/1992-3837
	32	BALIKESİR UNIVERSITY	Public	Balıkesir	11/07/1992-3837
	33	ABANT İZZET BAYSAL UNIVERSITY	Public	Bolu	11/07/1992-3837
	34	ÇANAKKALE ONSEKİZ MART UNIVERSITY	Public	Çanakkale	11/07/1992-3837
	35	PAMUKKALE UNIVERSITY	Public	Denizli	11/07/1992-3837
	36	MUSTAFA KEMAL UNIVERSITY	Public	Hatay	11/07/1992-3837
	37	SÜLEYMAN DEMİREL UNIVERSITY	Public	İsparta	11/07/1992-3837
	38	İZMİR INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY	Public	İzmir	11/07/1992-3837
	39	KAHRAMANMARAŞ SÜTÇÜ İMAM UNIVERSITY	Public	Kahramanmaraş	11/07/1992-3837
	40	KAFKAS UNIVERSITY	Public	Kars	11/07/1992-3837
	41	KIRIKKALE UNIVERSITY	Public	Kırıkkale	11/07/1992-3837
	42	GEBZE INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY	Public	Kocaeli	11/07/1992-3837
	43	KOCAELİ UNIVERSITY	Public	Kocaeli	11/07/1992-3837
	44	DUMLUPINAR UNIVERSITY	Public	Kütahya	11/07/1992-3837
	45	CELAL BAYARV UNIVERSITY	Public	Manisa	11/07/1992-3837
	46	MERSİN UNIVERSITY	Public	Mersin	11/07/1992-3837
	47	MUĞLA SITKI KOÇMAN UNIVERSITY <sup>2</sup>	Public	Muğla	11/07/1992-3837
	48	NİĞDE UNIVERSITY	Public	Niğde	11/07/1992-3837
	49	SAKARYA UNIVERSITY	Public	Sakarya	11/07/1992-3837
50	HARRAN UNIVERSITY	Public	Şanlıurfa	11/07/1992-3837	
51	GAZİOSMANPAŞA UNIVERSITY	Public	Tokat	11/07/1992-3837	
52	ZONGULDAK KARAEMLAS UNIVERSITY	Public	Zonguldak	11/07/1992-3837	
53	KOÇ UNIVERSITY	Private	İstanbul	07/03/1992-3785	
1993	54	ESKİŞEHİR OSMANGAZİ UNIVERSITY	Public	Eskişehir	18/08/1993-496 (KHK)
	55	BAŞKENT UNIVERSITY	Private	Ankara	14/09/1993-515 (KHK)
1994	56	GALATASARAY UNIVERSITY	Public	İstanbul	06/06/1994-3993
1996	57	FATİH UNIVERSITY	Private	İstanbul	07/06/1996-4142
	58	IŞIK UNIVERSITY	Private	İstanbul	07/06/1996-4142
	59	İSTANBUL BİLGİ UNIVERSITY	Private	İstanbul	07/06/1996-4142
	60	SABANCI UNIVERSITY	Private	İstanbul	07/06/1996-4142
	61	YEDİTEPE UNIVERSITY	Private	İstanbul	07/06/1996-4142
1997	62	KADİR HAS UNIVERSITY	Private	İstanbul	30/05/1997-4263
	63	ATILIM UNIVERSITY	Private	Ankara	15/07/1997-4281
	64	ÇANKAYA UNIVERSITY	Private	Ankara	15/07/1997-4282
	65	BEYKENT UNIVERSITY	Private	İstanbul	15/07/1997-4282

	66	DOĞUŞ UNIVERSITY	Private	İstanbul	15/07/1997-4281
	67	İSTANBUL KÜLTÜR UNIVERSITY	Private	İstanbul	15/07/1997-4281
	68	MALTEPE UNIVERSITY	Private	İstanbul	15/07/1997-4282
	69	ÇAĞ UNIVERSITY	Private	Mersin	15/07/1997-4282
1998	70	BAHÇEŞEHİR UNIVERSITY	Private	İstanbul	18/01/1998-4324
	71	HALIÇ UNIVERSITY	Private	İstanbul	18/01/1998-4324
1999	72	UFUK UNIVERSITY	Private	Ankara	18/12/1999-4488
	73	OKAN UNIVERSITY	Private	İstanbul	18/12/1999-4488
2001	74	İZMİR UNIVERSITY OF ECONOMICS	Private	İzmir	14/04/2001-4633
	75	YAŞAR UNIVERSITY	Private	İzmir	14/04/2001-4633
	76	İSTANBUL UNIVERSITY OF COMMERCIAL	Private	İstanbul	14/04/2001-4633
2003	77	TOBB UNIVERSITY OF ECONOMIC AND TECHNOLOGY	Private	Ankara	01/07/2003-4909
2006	78	ADYAMAN UNIVERSITY	Public	Adıyaman	17/03/2006-5467
	79	AKSARAY UNIVERSITY	Public	Aksaray	17/03/2006-5467
	80	AMASYA UNIVERSITY	Public	Amasya	17/03/2006-5467
	81	MEHMET AKİF ERSOY UNIVERSITY	Public	Burdur	17/03/2006-5467
	82	HİTİT UNIVERSITY	Public	Çorum	17/03/2006-5467
	83	DÜZCE UNIVERSITY	Public	Düzce	17/03/2006-5467
	84	ERZİNCAN UNIVERSITY	Public	Erzincan	17/03/2006-5467
	85	GİRESUN UNIVERSITY	Public	Giresun	17/03/2006-5467
	86	KASTAMONU UNIVERSITY	Public	Kastamonu	17/03/2006-5467
	87	AHİEVİRAN UNIVERSITY	Public	Kırşehir	17/03/2006-5467
	88	ORDU UNIVERSITY	Public	Ordu	17/03/2006-5467
	89	RECEP TAYYİP ERDOĞAN UNIVERSITY <sup>3</sup>	Public	Rize	17/03/2006-5467
	90	NAMIK KEMAL UNIVERSITY	Public	Tekirdağ	17/03/2006-5467
	91	UŞAK UNIVERSITY	Public	Uşak	17/03/2006-5467
	92	BOZOK UNIVERSITY	Public	Yozgat	17/03/2006-5467
	93	İSTANBUL BİLİM UNIVERSITY	Private	İstanbul	28/03/2006-5475
2007	94	AĞRI İBRAHİM ÇEÇEN UNIVERSITY	Public	Ağrı	29/05/2007-5662
	95	ARTVİN ÇORUH UNIVERSITY	Public	Artvin	29/05/2007-5662
	96	BATMAN UNIVERSITY	Public	Batman	29/05/2007-5662
	97	BİLECİK ŞEYH EDEBALI UNIVERSITY <sup>4</sup>	Public	Bilecik	29/05/2007-5662
	98	BİNGÖL UNIVERSITY	Public	Bingöl	29/05/2007-5662
	99	BİTLİS EREN UNIVERSITY	Public	Bitlis	29/05/2007-5662
	100	ÇANKIRI KARATEKİN UNIVERSITY	Public	Çankırı	29/05/2007-5662
	101	KARABÜK UNIVERSITY	Public	Karabük	29/05/2007-5662
	102	KARAMANOĞLU MEHMETBEY UNIVERSITY	Public	Karaman	29/05/2007-5662

	103	KIRKLARELİ UNIVERSITY	Public	Kırklareli	29/05/2007-5662	
	104	KİLİS 7 ARALIK UNIVERSITY	Public	Kilis	29/05/2007-5662	
	105	MARDİN ARTUKLU UNIVERSITY	Public	Mardin	29/05/2007-5662	
	106	MUŞ ALPARSLAN UNIVERSITY	Public	Muş	29/05/2007-5662	
	107	NEVŞEHİR HACI BEKTAŞ VELİ UNIVERSITY <sup>5</sup>	Public	Nevşehir	29/05/2007-5662	
	108	OSMANİYE KORKUT ATA UNIVERSITY	Public	Osmaniye	29/05/2007-5662	
	109	ŞİİRT UNIVERSITY	Public	Siirt	29/05/2007-5662	
	110	ŞİNOP UNIVERSITY	Public	Sinop	29/05/2007-5662	
	111	ACIBADEM UNIVERSITY	Private	İstanbul	18/05/2007-5656	
	112	İSTANBUL AREL UNIVERSITY	Private	İstanbul	18/05/2007-5656	
	113	İSTANBUL AYDIN UNIVERSITY	Private	İstanbul	18/05/2007-5656	
	114	ÖZYEĞİN UNIVERSITY	Private	İstanbul	18/05/2007-5656	
	115	İZMİR UNIVERSITY	Private	İzmir	18/05/2007-5656	
	2008	116	ARDAHAN UNIVERSITY	Public	Ardahan	31/05/2008-5765
		117	BARTIN UNIVERSITY	Public	Bartın	31/05/2008-5765
118		BAYBURT UNIVERSITY	Public	Bayburt	31/05/2008-5765	
119		GÜMÜŞHANE UNIVERSITY	Public	Gümüşhane	31/05/2008-5765	
120		HAKKARİ UNIVERSITY	Public	Hakkari	31/05/2008-5765	
121		İĞDIR UNIVERSITY	Public	İğdir	31/05/2008-5765	
122		ŞIRNAK UNIVERSITY	Public	Şırnak	31/05/2008-5765	
123		TUNCELİ UNIVERSITY	Public	Tunceli	31/05/2008-5765	
124		YALOVA UNIVERSITY	Public	Yalova	31/05/2008-5765	
125		PİRİ REİS UNIVERSITY	Private	İstanbul	08/02/2008-5733	
126		İSTANBUL KEMERBURGAZ UNIVERSITY	Private	İstanbul	31/05/2008-5765	
127		İSTANBUL ŞEHİR UNIVERSITY	Private	İstanbul	31/05/2008-5765	
128		GEDİZ UNIVERSITY	Private	İzmir	19/08/2008-5796	
129		HASAN KALYONCU UNIVERSITY <sup>6</sup>	Private	Gaziantep	19/08/2008-5796	
2009	130	MELİKŞAH UNIVERSITY	Private	Kayseri	19/08/2008-5799	
	131	ZİRVE UNIVERSITY	Private	Gaziantep	28/02/2009-5839	
	132	YENİ YÜZYIL UNIVERSITY	Private	İstanbul	28/02/2009-5839	
	133	TOROS UNIVERSITY	Private	Mersin	07/07/2009-5913	
	134	İSTANBUL MEDİPOL UNIVERSITY	Private	İstanbul	07/07/2009-5913	
	135	KTO KARATAY UNIVERSITY	Private	Konya	07/07/2009-5913	
	136	MEVLANA UNIVERSITY	Private	Konya	07/07/2009-5913	
	137	NUH NACİ YAZGAN UNIVERSITY	Private	Kayseri	07/07/2009-5913	
	138	TURGUT ÖZAL UNIVERSITY	Private	Ankara	07/07/2009-5913	
	139	TED UNIVERSITY	Private	Ankara	07/07/2009-5913	

2010	140	TÜRK- ALMAN UNIVERSITY	Public	İstanbul	10/04/2010-5979
	141	YILDIRIM BEYAZIT UNIVERSITY	Public	Ankara	21/07/2010-6005
	142	BURSA TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY	Public	Bursa	21/07/2010-6005
	143	İSTANBUL MEDENİYET UNIVERSITY	Public	İstanbul	21/07/2010-6005
	144	İZMİR KATİP ÇELEBİ UNIVERSITY	Public	İzmir	21/07/2010-6005
	145	NECMETTİN ERBAKAN UNIVERSITY <sup>7</sup>	Public	Konya	21/07/2010-6005
	146	ERZURUM TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY	Public	Erzurum	21/07/2010-6005
	147	KAYSERİ ABDULLAH GÜL UNIVERSITY	Public	Kayseri	21/07/2010-6005
	148	FATİH SULTAN MEHMET PRIVATE UNIVERSITY	Private	İstanbul	24/04/2010-5981
	149	İSTANBUL 29 MAYIS UNIVERSITY	Private	İstanbul	24/04/2010-5981
	150	SÜLEYMAN ŞAH UNIVERSITY	Private	İstanbul	24/04/2010-5981
	151	İSTANBUL SABAHATTİN ZAİM UNIVERSITY	Private	İstanbul	24/04/2010-5981
	152	BEZMİALEM VAKIF UNIVERSITY	Private	İstanbul	24/04/2010-5981
	153	CANİK BAŞARI UNIVERSITY	Private	Samsun	24/04/2010-5981
	154	ANTALYA INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITY	Private	Antalya	21/07/2010-6005
	155	ŞİFA UNIVERSITY	Private	İzmir	10/12/2010-6082
156	AVRASYA UNIVERSITY	Private	Trabzon	10/12/2010-6082	
2011	157	ADANA SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY UNIVERSITY	Public	Adana	14/04/2011-6218
	158	İSTANBUL GELİŞİM UNIVERSITY	Private	İstanbul	03/03/2011-6114
	159	ÜSKÜDAR UNIVERSITY	Private	İstanbul	03/03/2011-6114
	160	GEDİK UNIVERSITY	Private	İstanbul	03/03/2011-6114
	161	BURSA ORHANGAZİ UNIVERSITY	Private	Bursa	03/03/2011-6114
	162	ALANYA HAMDULLAH EMİN PAŞA UNIVERSITY	Private	Antalya	03/03/2011-6114
	163	UNIVERSITY OF TURKISH AERONAUTICAL ASSOCIATION	Private	Ankara	03/03/2011-6114
	164	ANKARA BİLGE UNIVERSITY	Private	Ankara	03/03/2011-6114
165	İPEK UNIVERSITY <sup>8</sup>	Private	Ankara	03/03/2011-6114	
2012	166	İSTANBUL MEF UNIVERSITY	Private	İstanbul	19/4/2012- 6296
	167	MURAT HÜDAVENDİGAR UNIVERSITY	Private	İstanbul	16/5/2012-6307
	168	NIŞANTAŞI UNIVERSITY	Private	İstanbul	16/5/2012-6307
2013	169	ANKARA SOCIAL SCIENCES UNIVERSITY	Public	Ankara	22/1/2013-6410
	170	SELAHATTİN EYYUBİ UNIVERSITY	Private	Diyarbakır	31/1/2013-6414
	171	ANKA TECHNOLOGY UNIVERSITY	Private	Ankara	12/6/2013-6492
	172	İSTANBUL ESENYURT UNIVERSITY	Private	İstanbul	12/6/2013-6492
	173	KANUNİ UNIVERSITY	Private	Adana	12/6/2013-6492
	174	KONYA FOOD AND AGRICULTURE UNIVERSITY	Private	Konya	12/6/2013-6492
	175	SANKO UNIVERSITY	Private	Gaziantep	12/6/2013-6492

<sup>1</sup> Before 1956, it founded as “High Architecture and Urban Institute”, and then called as “Middle East High and in 1959 named Middle East Technical University.

<sup>2</sup> The name of the university founded in 1992 with the name of Muğla University replaced with Muğla Sıtkı Koçman University in the date of 16/5/2012.



- <sup>3</sup> The name of the university founded in 2006 with the name of Rize University replaced with Recep Tayyip Erdoğan University in the date of 12/4/2012.
- <sup>4</sup> The name of the university founded in 2007 Bilecik University replaced with Bilecik Şeyh Edebali University in the date of 19/4/2012.
- <sup>5</sup> The name of the university founded in 2007 Nevşehir University replaced with Nevşehir Hacı Bektaş Veli University in the date of 30/10/2013.
- <sup>6</sup> The name of the university founded in 2008 Gazikent University replaced with Hasan Kalyoncu University in the date of 19/4/2012.
- <sup>7</sup> The name of the university founded in 2010 Konya University replaced with Necmettin Erbakan University in the date of 19/4/2012.
- <sup>8</sup> The name of the university founded in 2011 Altın Koza University replaced with İpek University in the date of 12/6/2013.

**Table B. 2: Distribution of household education consumption by Quintiles ordered by income**

Survey year	Total	Quintiles ordered by income				
		1. 20 %	2. 20 %	3. 20 %	4. 20 %	5. 20 %
2002	1,3	0,4	0,6	0,7	1,2	2,2
2003	2,0	0,3	0,7	1,0	1,5	3,4
2004	2,1	0,5	0,9	1,2	2,1	3,3
2005	1,9	0,7	0,7	1,2	1,9	2,9
2006	2,1	0,5	1,5	1,6	2,0	3,1
2007*	2,5	0,5	1,0	1,7	1,8	4,4
2008	2,0	0,7	0,9	1,5	1,7	3,0
2009	1,9	0,7	0,7	1,2	1,6	3,1
2010	2,0	0,8	0,9	1,2	1,7	3,4
2011	2,0	0,7	0,8	1,3	1,6	3,4

\*New population projections have been used since 2007.

Source: TÜİK [http://www.tuik.gov.tr/VeriBilgi.do?alt\\_id=22](http://www.tuik.gov.tr/VeriBilgi.do?alt_id=22)

**Table B. 3: Rates of Female and Male Students By Level of Education (%) (1923-2011)**

School year	Primary Schools		Secondary schools		High Schools		Vocational and Technical schools		Higher Education	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
1923/'24	79,9	20,1	-	-	-	-	79,0	21,0	90,2	9,8
1924/'25	77,2	22,8	79,3	20,7	72,6	27,4	72,0	28,0	82,3	17,7
1925/'26	77,2	22,8	76,7	23,3	70,0	30,0	70,5	29,5	82,8	17,2
1926/'27	80,1	19,9	75,7	24,3	74,7	25,3	67,3	32,7	83,5	16,5
1927/'28	70,5	29,5	78,9	21,1	72,0	28,0	63,4	36,6	88,7	11,3
1928/'29	67,7	32,3	73,2	26,8	74,6	25,4	62,3	37,7	90,4	9,6
1929/'30	65,7	34,3	73,5	26,5	75,3	24,7	60,8	39,2	92,1	7,9
1930/'31	64,4	35,6	74,4	25,6	76,0	24,0	64,4	35,6	87,1	12,9
1931/'32	64,2	35,8	75,2	24,8	73,8	26,2	65,2	34,8	86,8	13,2
1932/'33	64,5	35,5	72,5	27,5	76,6	23,4	68,6	31,4	85,6	14,4
1933/'34	65,2	34,8	73,3	26,7	76,6	23,4	68,1	31,9	85,5	14,5
1934/'35	65,9	34,1	74,1	25,9	78,6	21,4	66,0	34,0	85,7	14,3
1935/'36	66,0	34,0	73,5	26,5	78,5	21,5	64,3	35,7	84,7	15,3
1936/'37	66,3	33,7	72,8	27,2	77,9	22,1	61,1	38,9	84,6	15,4
1937/'38	66,7	33,3	72,7	27,3	77,1	22,9	62,0	38,0	83,3	16,7
1938/'39	67,3	32,7	72,1	27,9	76,5	23,5	63,7	36,3	82,6	17,4
1939/'40	68,4	31,6	72,3	27,7	77,1	22,9	65,4	34,6	81,5	18,5
1940/'41	69,2	30,8	72,5	27,5	75,9	24,1	72,0	28,0	79,9	20,1
1941/'42	69,2	30,8	72,4	27,6	76,4	23,6	73,7	26,3	79,3	20,7
1942/'43	69,1	30,9	71,5	28,5	77,6	22,4	75,8	24,2	78,8	21,2
1943/'44	68,3	31,7	70,8	29,2	79,1	20,9	77,3	22,7	79,5	20,5
1944/'45	64,5	35,5	70,6	29,4	79,6	20,4	78,7	21,3	80,0	20,0
1945/'46	63,8	36,2	70,2	29,8	80,0	20,0	80,6	19,4	81,4	18,6
1946/'47	63,6	36,4	69,4	30,6	79,4	20,6	82,1	17,9	80,9	19,1
1947/'48	64,0	36,0	69,7	30,3	79,4	20,6	81,3	18,7	82,0	18,0
1948/'49	63,9	36,1	71,1	28,9	79,8	20,2	80,1	19,9	81,4	18,6
1949/'50	63,1	36,9	72,9	27,1	79,5	20,5	79,4	20,6	81,2	18,8
1950/'51	62,9	37,1	73,7	26,3	79,1	20,9	78,2	21,8	80,4	19,6
1951/'52	63,0	37,0	74,5	25,5	78,4	21,6	77,5	22,5	80,5	19,5
1952/'53	63,0	37,0	74,3	25,7	78,5	21,5	75,6	24,4	81,3	18,7
1953/'54	62,7	37,3	73,7	26,3	78,2	21,8	77,9	22,1	81,9	18,1
1954/'55	62,4	37,6	73,4	26,6	77,7	22,3	78,1	21,9	82,7	17,3
1955/'56	62,4	37,6	73,2	26,8	75,5	24,5	78,4	21,6	83,2	16,8

1956/'57	62,4	37,6	73,5	26,5	74,2	25,8	78,2	21,8	83,5	16,5
1957/'58	62,5	37,5	74,0	26,0	74,1	25,9	77,2	22,8	84,2	15,8
1958/'59	62,7	37,3	74,0	26,0	73,4	26,6	75,4	24,6	83,1	16,9
1959/'60	62,9	37,1	74,9	25,1	74,2	25,8	72,0	28,0	79,5	20,5
1960/'61	62,8	37,2	75,7	24,3	74,1	25,9	69,8	30,2	80,1	19,9
1961/'62	62,1	37,9	75,8	24,2	74,9	25,1	67,5	32,5	79,7	20,3
1962/'63	61,7	38,3	75,4	24,6	75,0	25,0	66,2	33,8	79,7	20,3
1963/'64	61,2	38,8	74,2	25,8	74,1	25,9	67,1	32,9	80,0	20,0
1964/'65	60,8	39,2	73,2	26,8	74,1	25,9	67,3	32,7	78,8	21,2
1965/'66	60,5	39,5	72,7	27,3	73,3	26,7	66,7	33,3	79,0	21,0
1966/'67	60,0	40,0	73,0	27,0	72,9	27,1	67,6	32,4	79,4	20,6
1967/'68	59,5	40,5	73,0	27,0	72,2	27,8	67,2	32,8	81,0	19,0
1968/'69	58,9	41,1	73,2	26,8	72,2	27,8	66,4	33,6	81,0	19,1
1969/'70	58,3	41,7	72,9	27,1	71,7	28,3	65,4	34,6	81,3	18,7
1970/'71	57,7	42,3	73,2	26,8	71,3	28,7	66,1	33,9	81,1	18,9
1971/'72	57,1	42,9	72,9	27,1	70,7	29,3	66,0	34,0	80,8	19,2
1972/'73	56,5	43,5	72,3	27,7	69,3	30,7	65,2	34,8	80,6	19,4
1973/'74	56,1	43,9	71,6	28,4	68,3	31,7	64,1	35,9	79,9	20,1
1974/'75	55,7	44,3	70,7	29,3	67,2	32,8	65,9	34,1	78,1	21,9
1975/'76	55,4	44,6	70,6	29,4	67,0	33,0	69,4	30,6	66,3	33,7
1976/'77	55,3	44,7	68,8	31,2	65,9	34,1	72,4	27,6	70,2	29,8
1977/'78	55,0	45,0	68,0	32,0	65,6	34,4	72,6	27,4	71,3	28,7
1978/'79	54,9	45,1	67,1	32,9	64,9	35,1	72,2	27,8	74,0	26,0
1979/'80	54,8	45,2	66,6	33,4	64,3	35,7	72,0	28,0	75,3	24,7
1980/'81	54,6	45,4	65,7	34,3	63,3	36,7	71,1	28,9	74,0	26,0
1981/'82	54,0	46,0	65,2	34,8	61,6	38,4	70,8	29,2	72,5	27,5
1982/'83	53,6	46,4	64,8	35,2	59,9	40,1	71,3	28,7	70,3	29,7
1983/'84	53,3	46,7	64,7	35,3	58,2	41,8	71,9	28,1	66,3	33,7
1984/'85	53,0	47,0	64,9	35,1	57,2	42,8	72,1	27,9	68,6	31,4
1985/'86	52,8	47,2	65,0	35,0	57,3	42,7	71,8	28,2	67,6	32,4
1986/'87	52,9	47,1	64,8	35,2	57,0	43,0	70,8	29,2	66,6	33,4
1987/'88	52,8	47,2	64,6	35,4	56,9	43,1	69,5	30,5	66,6	33,4
1988/'89	52,9	47,1	64,0	36,0	57,2	42,8	68,1	31,9	66,4	33,6
1989/'90	52,9	47,1	63,5	36,5	56,9	43,1	67,2	32,8	66,5	33,5
1990/'91	52,9	47,1	63,2	36,8	57,1	42,9	66,0	34,0	66,4	33,6
1991/'92	52,9	47,1	62,8	37,2	57,0	43,0	64,9	35,1	65,9	34,1
1992/'93	52,8	47,2	62,1	37,9	57,6	42,4	66,5	33,5	65,5	34,5
1993/'94	52,6	47,4	61,9	38,1	57,8	42,2	65,7	34,3	62,6	37,4

<b>1994/95</b>	52,6	47,4	61,5	38,5	58,3	41,7	65,5	34,5	61,5	38,5
<b>1995/96</b>	52,6	47,4	61,6	38,4	57,7	42,3	64,5	35,5	60,9	39,1
<b>1996/97</b>	52,8	47,2	61,2	38,8	57,0	43,0	63,3	36,7	60,6	39,4
<b>1997/98</b>	55,0	45,0	8 year obligation education has begun from 1997-1998 education year. Then data are given on this coverage.		56,1	43,9	61,5	38,5	60,2	39,8
<b>1998/99</b>	54,6	45,4		56,3	43,7	60,8	39,2	60,1	39,9	
<b>1999/00</b>	54,1	45,9		56,8	43,2	61,0	39,0	59,4	40,6	
<b>2000/01</b>	53,8	46,2		56,2	43,8	62,5	37,5	58,8	41,2	
<b>2001/02</b>	53,4	46,6		55,8	44,2	62,3	37,7	58,3	41,7	
<b>2002/03</b>	53,3	46,7		57,1	42,9	63,7	36,3	58,5	41,5	
<b>2003/04</b>	53,0	47,0		54,6	45,4	62,5	37,5	58,6	41,4	
<b>2004/05</b>	52,9	47,1		54,0	46,0	62,4	37,6	58,2	41,8	
<b>2005/06</b>	52,6	47,4		54,1	45,9	61,9	38,1	57,6	42,4	
<b>2006/07</b>	52,4	47,6		54,0	46,0	61,1	38,9	57,4	42,6	
<b>2007/08*</b>	52,2	47,8		52,7	47,3	58,9	41,1	57,0	43,0	
<b>2008/09</b>	51,9	48,1		52,2	47,8	57,1	42,9	56,6	43,4	
<b>2009/10</b>	51,6	48,4		52,4	47,6	56,9	43,1	44,3	55,7	
<b>2010/11</b>	51,2	48,8		52,6	47,4	56,8	43,2	45,1	54,9	
<b>2011/12</b>	51,2	48,8	51,6	48,4	55,1	44,9	54,4	45,6		

\*The population statistics after 2007 depend on ADNKS.

Source: Adapted by author from TUIK, 2012.

**Table B. 4: Number of Applicants and Accepted Students to Higher Education by Year (1975-2012)**

Year	Accepted/Placed Students	Applicants
1975	64.498	
76	40.849	
78	37.428	
79	40.622	
80	41.574	
81	54.818	
82	72.983	
83	105.158	361.158
84	148.766	436.175
86	165.579	503.520
87	174.269	628.389
89	193.665	824.128
90	196.253	892.975
91	199.735	876.633
92	260.303	979.602
93	414.732	1.154.571
95	383.974	1.265.103
97	445.302	1.398.595
98	419.604	1.359.585
2000	440.028	1.410.346
2001	455.913	1.473.908
2002	614.125	1.540.411
2003	1.171.719	1.502.644
2004	1.362.208	1.786.963
2005	1.298.666	1.730.876
2006 <sup>248</sup>	590.509	1.678.383
2007	626.390	1.776.441
2008	833.515	1 531 184
2009	786.677	1.451.350
2010	763.516	1.588.624
2011	789.167	1.759.998
2012	865.482	1.895.479

Source: Dođramacı, 1989:7; Turanlı, 2003:227; <http://osym.gov.tr/belge/1-12668/gecmis-yillardaki-sinavlara-ait-sayisal-bilgiler.html>

<sup>248</sup> The reason for low applicant number is that education year of high schools was increased to 4 years in 2005 (Küçükcan, 2009:177; Gözübüyük Tamer, 2013:23).

**Table B. 5: The numbers of students by the gender at all levels of education (1923-2011)**

School year	Primary schools			Secondary Schools			High Schools			Vocational and Technical Schools			Higher Education		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
1923/24	341 941	273 107	62 954	5 905	-	-	1 241	-	-	6 547	5 172	1 375	2 914	2 629	285
1924/25	390 368	301 381	88 987	10 052	7 976	2 076	2 234	1 622	612	7 147	5 146	2 001	3 483	2 865	618
1925/26	406 788	313 893	92 895	11 622	8 917	2 705	2 748	1 923	825	6 835	4 820	2 015	3 930	3 256	674
1926/27	435 563	348 978	86 585	15 644	11 848	3 796	3 159	2 359	800	6 581	4 428	2 153	3 551	2 964	587
1927/28	461 985	325 695	133 969	19 858	15 674	3 763	3 819	2 748	1 071	7 718	4 896	2 822	3 918	3 477	441
1928/29	477 569	323 260	154 309	23 225	16 996	6 229	4 168	3 111	1 057	8 504	5 302	3 202	3 827	3 461	366
1929/30	469 071	308 028	161 043	25 398	18 662	6 736	4 746	3 574	1 172	8 150	4 953	3 197	3 682	3 390	292
1930/31	489 299	315 072	174 227	27 093	20 148	6 945	5 699	4 333	1 366	9 101	5 859	3 242	4 186	3 646	540
1931/32	523 611	335 921	187 690	30 316	22 805	7 511	6 940	5 120	1 820	9 203	6 002	3 201	4 704	4 081	623
1932/33	567 361	366 125	201 236	36 068	26 140	9 928	7 873	6 027	1 846	7 013	4 813	2 200	5 295	4 535	760
1933/34	591 169	385 247	205 922	42 332	31 038	11 294	9 563	7 326	2 237	7 715	5 255	2 460	5 851	5 005	846
1934/35	647 360	426 798	220 562	45 812	33 936	11 876	9 847	7 744	2 103	8 187	5 404	2 783	6 624	5 674	950
1935/36	688 102	454 128	233 974	52 386	38 497	13 889	13 622	10 691	2 931	9 229	5 938	3 291	7 277	6 162	1 115
1936/37	714 178	473 720	240 458	62 955	45 833	17 122	17 219	13 407	3 812	10 358	6 328	4 030	8 354	7 064	1 290
1937/38	764 691	509 949	254 742	74 107	53 883	20 224	20 916	16 129	4 787	11 134	6 899	4 235	9 384	7 820	1 564
1938/39	813 636	547 180	266 456	83 642	60 335	23 307	24 364	18 636	5 728	12 352	7 871	4 481	10 213	8 431	1 782
1939/40	905 139	619 246	285 893	92 308	66 693	25 615	26 255	20 232	6 023	14 310	9 361	4 949	12 130	9 884	2 246
1940/41	955 957	661 279	294 678	95 332	69 097	26 235	24 862	18 881	5 981	20 264	14 580	5 684	12 844	10 262	2 582
1941/42	939 829	650 455	289 374	94 642	68 555	26 087	28 217	21 550	6 667	24 641	18 162	6 479	14 693	11 654	3 039
1942/43	940 411	649 471	290 940	84 181	60 180	24 001	28 073	21 790	6 283	29 971	22 725	7 246	15 945	12 563	3 382
1943/44	995 999	680 384	315 615	75 319	53 314	22 005	28 906	22 876	6 030	36 971	28 592	8 379	18 293	14 551	3 742
1944/45	1 246 818	804 120	442 698	70 430	49 735	20 695	27 734	22 082	5 652	44 639	35 148	9 491	19 502	15 603	3 899
1945/46	1 357 740	865 860	491 880	65 608	46 074	19 534	25 515	20 411	5 104	54 248	43 724	10 524	19 273	15 688	3 585
1946/47	1 413 983	899 206	514 777	60 980	42 307	18 673	24 355	19 329	5 026	62 828	51 580	11 248	21 531	17 417	4 114
1947/48	1 448 093	926 440	521 653	59 093	41 160	17 933	23 245	18 457	4 788	59 905	48 708	11 197	25 230	20 688	4 542
1948/49	1 468 382	938 534	529 848	61 314	43 612	17 702	22 100	17 635	4 465	55 461	44 399	11 062	25 209	20 512	4 697
1949/50	1 591 039	1 003 452	587 587	65 168	47 489	17 679	21 440	17 042	4 398	55 522	44 077	11 445	25 091	20 363	4 728
1950/51	1 616 626	1 016 915	599 711	68 187	50 262	17 925	22 169	17 526	4 643	53 289	41 663	11 626	24 815	19 953	4 862
1951/52	1 643 034	1 035 328	607 706	74 765	55 728	19 037	22 529	17 671	4 858	51 897	40 246	11 651	24 040	19 348	4 692
1952/53	1 692 135	1 066 739	625 396	82 465	61 302	21 163	29 053	22 796	6 257	50 893	38 485	12 408	24 366	19 812	4 554

1953/54	1 762 351	1 104477	657 874	92 339	68 053	24 286	31 420	24 584	6 836	58 386	45 506	12 880	23 309	19 090	4 219
1954/55	1 866 666	1164616	702 050	111 896	82 114	29 782	35 369	27 471	7 898	64 939	50 739	14 200	28 069	23 220	4 849
1955/56	1 983 668	1 238 327	745 341	133 217	97 576	35 641	33 412	25 237	8 175	72 675	56 960	15 715	36 998	30 764	6 234
1956/57	2 140 347	1 335 704	804 643	162 179	119 249	42 930	37 407	27 764	9 643	80 072	62 581	17 491	39 820	33 251	6 569
1957/58	2 260 451	1 412 228	848 223	193 733	143 403	50 330	43 503	32 255	11 248	86 470	66 750	19 720	42 060	35 415	6 645
1958/59	2 402 855	1 507 248	895 607	222 625	164 657	57 968	51 231	37 612	13 619	91 469	69 012	22 457	46 466	38 597	7 869
1959/60	2 514 592	1 582 798	931 794	254 966	190 865	64 101	62 368	46 278	16 090	98 010	70 543	27 467	54 069	42 972	11 097
1960/61	2 866 501	1 800 026	1 066 475	291 266	220 486	70 780	75 632	56 016	19 616	108 221	75 495	32 726	65 297	52 290	13 007
1961/62	3 147 146	1 953 604	1 193 542	318 138	241 261	76 877	88 982	66 621	22 361	115 810	78 131	37 679	65 084	51 893	13 191
1962/63	3 370 679	2 079 281	1 291 398	337 816	254 608	83 208	101 387	76 069	25 318	126 024	83 469	42 555	70 649	56 293	14 356
1963/64	3 562 140	2 181648	1 380 492	344 139	255 435	88 704	102 384	75 916	26 468	149 148	100 086	49 062	77 281	61 791	15 490
1964/65	3 769 282	2 291 185	1 478 097	354 257	259 449	94 808	97 935	72 584	25 351	162 592	109 486	53 106	84 335	66 454	17 881
1965/66	3 933 251	2 377 666	1 555 585	412 453	299 673	112 780	111 181	81 497	29 684	177 783	118 608	59 175	97 309	76 918	20 391
1966/67	4 216 930	2 528 188	1 688 742	492 950	359 914	133 036	132 801	96 807	35 994	191 082	129 197	61 885	108 632	86 254	22 378
1967/68	4 450 353	2 645 824	1 804 529	569 397	415 678	153 719	151 864	109 589	42 275	200 037	134 465	65 572	123 683	100 180	23 503
1968/69	4 686 572	2 761 604	1 924 968	639 841	468 367	171 474	187 019	135 057	51 962	207 774	137 964	69 810	140 000	113 330	26 670
1969/70	4 906 995	2 858 992	2 048 003	700 950	511 098	189 852	214 950	154 028	60 922	217 332	142 206	75 126	147 175	119 721	27 454
1970/71	5 013 408	2 892 654	2 120 754	810 983	593 415	217 568	253 742	180 940	72 802	244 144	161 328	82 816	169 793	137 759	32 034
1971/72	5 101 196	2 911 101	2 190 095	895 107	652 428	242 679	271 900	192 330	79 570	263 184	173 754	89 430	169 672	137 061	32 611
1972/73	5 244 131	2 963 745	2 280 386	930 337	672 191	258 146	293 278	203 347	89 931	266 144	173 554	92 590	168 818	136 016	32 802
1973/74	5 324 034	2 984 655	2 339 379	926 887	663 702	263 185	304 371	207 966	96 405	285 439	182 922	102 517	177 281	141 661	35 620
1974/75	5 377 708	2 993 176	2 384 532	945 569	668 090	277 479	339 240	228 100	111 140	313 431	206 598	106 833	262 302	204 883	57 419
1975/76	5 463 684	3 028 684	2 435 000	1 038 844	733 941	304 903	385 688	258 456	127 232	387 748	269 049	118 699	321 568	213 292	64 847
1976/77	5 499 456	3 038 764	2 460 692	1 074 289	739 559	334 730	428 696	282 589	146 107	435 726	315 495	120 231	344 305	241 619	73 342
1977/78	5 454 566	3 000 757	2 453 809	1 107 455	752 791	354 664	456 661	299 536	157 125	469 430	340 775	128 655	346 476	247 145	79 538
1978/79	5 570 935	3 057 827	2 513 108	1 109 948	745 084	364 864	482 232	312 967	169 265	482 839	348 584	134 255	333 312	246 808	79 878
1979/80	5 618 697	3 078 341	2 540 356	1 180 233	786 550	393 683	531 760	341 969	189 791	514 923	370 701	144 222	270 278	203 500	66 778
1980/81	5 694 860	3 109 061	2 585 799	1 147 512	753 523	393 989	534 605	338 515	196 090	520 332	370 064	150 268	237 369	175 558	61 811
1981/82	5 864 161	3 165 230	2 698 931	1 239 727	808 901	430 826	540 504	333 177	207 327	530 695	375 513	155 182	240 403	174 345	66 058
1982/83	6 042 486	3 239 159	2 803 327	1 332 809	864 084	468 725	519 721	311 074	208 647	541 157	385 637	155 520	281 539	197 962	83 577
1983/84	6 500 539	3 465 408	3 035 131	1 450 624	938 125	512 499	529 765	308 388	221 377	560 415	402 826	157 589	322 320	213 650	108 670
1984/85	6 527 036	3 457 460	3 069 576	1 586 581	1 030 188	556 393	583 727	334 095	249 632	576 067	415 499	160 568	398 185	273 028	125 157
1985/86	6 635 821	3 504 415	3 131 406	1 673 723	1 087 877	585 846	627 985	359 690	268 295	616 676	442 534	174 142	449 414	303 932	145 482
1986/87	6 703 895	3 544 588	3 159 307	1 761 794	1 140 925	620 869	672 574	383 298	289 276	666 319	471 652	194 667	481 600	320 624	160 976
1987/88	6 880 304	3 636 054	3 244 250	1 870 515	1 207 603	662 912	697 227	396 885	300 342	720 567	501 002	219 565	503 623	335 603	168 020

1988/'89	6 766 829	3 580 166	3 186 663	2 019 980	1 292 249	727 731	719 872	412 070	307 802	772 272	525 904	246 368	560 446	372 034	188 412
1989/'90	6 848 083	3 622 824	3 225 259	2 038 537	1 295 358	743 179	751 729	427 516	324 213	830 716	558 575	272 141	644 835	428 497	216 338
1990/'91	6 861 722	3 631 900	3 229 822	2 108 579	1 331 897	776 682	799 358	456 403	342 955	900 205	593 771	306 434	705 409	468 406	237 003
1991/'92	6 878 923	3 640 324	3 238 599	2 116 625	1 328 707	787 918	894 047	509 494	384 553	977 010	634 443	342 567	759 047	500 585	258 462
1992/'93	6 707 725	3 543 917	3 163 808	2 242 875	1 393 735	849 140	990 760	571 049	419 711	752 711	500 514	252 197	859 484	563 068	296 416
1993/'94	6 526 296	3 433 959	3 092 337	2 303 418	1 424 809	878 609	1 078 483	623 518	454 965	809 051	531 826	277 225	1 083 063	677 635	405 428
1994/'95	6 466 648	3 401 163	3 065 485	2 318 915	1 426 255	892 660	1 155 827	673 509	482 318	894 738	586 035	308 703	1 107 320	681 408	425 912
1995/'96	6 403 300	3 370 218	3 033 082	2 296 386	1 414 760	881 626	1 201 138	693 322	507 816	961 727	619 996	341 731	1 160 688	706 400	454 288
1996/'97	6 389 060	3 375 510	3 013 550	2 269 620	1 389 357	880 263	1 158 095	660 317	497 778	980 203	620 093	360 110	1 222 362	740 584	481 778
1997/'98	9 084 635	5 000 886	4 083 749	8 years' obligation education began in 1997-1998 education year. The data are given on this coverage.			1 166 195	653 660	512 535	963 774	592 558	371 216	1 330 241	800 619	529 622
1998/'99	9 609 050	5 248 426	4 360 624				1 282 605	721 896	560 709	998 071	606 382	391 689	1 382 149	830 374	551 775
1999/'00	10 028 979	5 429 184	4 599 795				1 399 912	795 302	604 610	916 438	558 687	357 751	1 419 927	843 999	575 928
2000/'01	10 480 721	5 635 131	4 845 590				1 487 415	835 471	651 944	875 238	547 441	327 797	1 508 205	886 945	621 260
2001/'02	10 477 616	5 597 061	4 880 555				1 673 363	933 070	740 293	906 456	564 986	341 470	1 568 384	913 960	654 424
2002/'03	10 331 645	5 503 427	4 828 218				2 038 027	1 163 065	874 962	985 575	627 637	357 938	1 798 623	1 052 739	745 884
2003/'04	10 479 538	5 558 195	4 921 343				1 963 998	1 071 918	892 080	1 050 394	656 135	394 259	1 841 546	1 079 059	762 487
2004/'05	10 565 389	5 587 775	4 977 614				1 937 055	1 045 986	891 069	1 102 394	687 660	414 734	1 969 086	1 145 161	823 925
2005/'06	10 673 935	5 615 591	5 058 344				2 075 617	1 123 459	952 158	1 182 637	732 282	450 355	2 181 217	1 256 118	925 099
2006/'07	10 846 930	5 684 609	5 162 321				2 142 218	1 156 418	985 800	1 244 499	760 771	483 728	2 291 762	1 315 878	975 884
2007/'08	10 870 570	5 676 872	5 193 698				1 980 452	1 044 607	935 845	1 264 870	744 631	520 239	2 372 136	1 352 627	1 019 509
2008/'09	10 709 920	5 553 871	5 156 049				2 271 900	1 186 244	1 085 656	1 565 264	893 697	671 567	2 757 828	1 560 460	1 197 368
2009/'10	10 916 643	5 632 328	5 284 315				2 420 691	1 268 098	1 152 593	1 819 448	1 034 443	785 005	3 322 559	1 472 453	1 850 106
2010/'11	10 981 100	5 623 476	5 357 624				2 676 123	1 408 446	1 267 677	2 072 487	1 177 725	894 762	3 626 642	1 636 444	1 990 198
2011/'12	10 979 301	5 622 661	5 356 640				2 666 066	1 375 231	1 290 835	2 090 220	1 151 197	939 023	4 112 687	2 238 988	1 873 699

Source: TUIK, 2012.



**Table B. 6: The rates of schooling by the types of education**

Eras	Primary school			Secondary school			High school			Vocational and technical schools			Higher education		
	Female	Male	Total	Female	Male	Total	Female	Male	Total	Female	Male	Total	Female	Male	Total
<b>Mustafa Kemal's Era (1923-1938)</b>	222.24	68.99	97.70	749.97	481.40	610.20	613.03	769.23	726.44	155.30	35.87	60.96	361.12	151.72	172.21
<b>İsmet İnönü's Era (1938-1950)</b>	120.52	83.39	95.55	-24.15	-21.32	-22.09	-23.22	-8.55	-12.00	155.41	459.99	349.50	165.32	141.53	145.68
<b>Democrat Party's Era (1950-1960)</b>	64.44	63.51	63.86	288.84	332.10	320.36	292.44	188.74	209.99	153.99	66.04	84.17	148.18	122.13	127.04
<b>May 1960-1970</b>	127.55	82.69	99.31	239.41	210.91	218.07	352.47	290.98	306.85	201.51	128.69	149.10	188.67	220.58	214.03

Source: Caporal, 1982.

## APPENDIX C: EUROSTUDENT NATIONAL QUESTIONNAIRE<sup>249</sup>

### Eurostudent National Questionnaire

Dear Participant;

Eurostudent Survey, in which our country participates, aims to determine and compare the social profile of the university students in Europe. One of the objects of the study is to identify the obstacles to the European Higher Education Area through international comparisons and to produce policies for structural changes. In this survey, students are asked to examine the demographic and socioeconomic characteristics and student exchanges between European universities. Please find the most appropriate answer to the question that is extremely important for scientific research and establishing national policies. The responses to the survey will be kept confidential and will be used for scientific purposes.

You can access to the survey from the internet address ([eurostudent.metu.edu.tr](http://eurostudent.metu.edu.tr)) with a user name and password given below. The survey is designed to be completed in 15-20 minutes. Thank you for your contribution to this work.

Eurostudent Turkey Research Committee

Prof. Dr. Nezih Güven, Doç. Dr. Ayşe Gündüz Hoşgör, Y. Doç. Dr. Mustafa Şen

#### 1. Personal Details

1.1. How old are you? \_\_\_\_\_

1.2. What is your sex?

- Female
- Male

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<sup>249</sup> For core version of the survey see, [http://www.eurostudent.eu/download\\_files/documents/Questionnaire\\_EIV.pdf](http://www.eurostudent.eu/download_files/documents/Questionnaire_EIV.pdf) Furthermore, the questionnaire in Turkish is available from <http://eurostudent.metu.edu.tr/anket.pdf>

**1.3. What is your marital status?**

- Single
- Single, but I have a long term relationship.
- Single, but I got engaged.
- Married

**1.4. If you are married, do you have any children?**

- No.
- Yes. **If yes;** How old is your youngest child? \_\_\_\_\_

**1.5. Do you have any disability or long-standing illness which makes difficult your study?**

- No
- Yes

**1.6. How many people are there in your household (including you)?:** \_\_\_\_\_

**1.7. What is the number of people working in your household?:** \_\_\_\_\_

**1.8. Where have you been mostly until 12 years old?**

- City center
- Country town
- Town
- Village

**1.9. How many siblings do you have (including you)?:** \_\_\_\_\_

**1.10. How many students are there in your household (including you)?:** \_\_\_\_\_

## **2. Study Background**

**2.1. What qualification did you use for higher education entry?**

- Vocational High School
- Science High School
- Anatolian High School
- Regular/Super High School
- Private High School
- Other, Military schools, Foreign schools

○ **2.2. Before university, did you ever attain any vocational training or course?**

- Yes
- No

**2.3. Before entering higher education, did you have any experience on the labour market?**

- No, no experience.
- Yes, casual minor jobs (in holidays and leisure times).
- Yes, I had a regular paid job (for at least 6 months).

### **3. Current Study Situation**

**3.1. How long have you been in the university?**

- I enrolled this year.
- My first year
- My second year
- My third year
- My fourth year
- My fifth year
- More than five year

**3.2. What is the programme/field of study you follow?**

- Education
- Literature and Human Sciences (Language, Arts, Theatre, Theology etc.)
- Social Sciences (Economy, Sociology, History, Public Administration, Business, Communication and Law)
- Natural Sciences (Physics, Chemistry, Mathematics, Biology, Statistics)
- Engineering and Architecture (Urban and Regional Planning, Industrial Design, etc.)
- Agriculture and forestry
- Health Sciences (Medicine, Dentistry, Pharmacy, Veterinary, etc.)
- Services (Social Services, Tourism, Office Management, etc.)

3.3. Please select from the list the name of the city where your department is.

Adana	01
Adıyaman	02
Afyon	03
Ağrı	04
Amasya	05
Ankara	06
Antalya	07
Artvin	08
Aydın	09
Balıkesir	10
Bilecik	11
Bingöl	12
Bitlis	13
Bolu	14
Burdur	15
Bursa	16
Çanakkale	17
Çankırı	18
Çorum	19
Denizli	20
Diyarbakır	21
Eđirne	22
Elazığ	23
Erzincan	24
Erzurum	25
Eskişehir	26
Gaziantep	27
Giresun	28
Gümüşhane	29
Hakkari	30
Hatay	31
Isparta	32
İçel	33
İstanbul	34
İzmir	35
Kars	36
Kastamonu	37
Kayseri	38
Kırklareli	39
Kırşehir	40

Kocaeli	41
Konya	42
Kütahya	43
Malatya	44
Manisa	45
Kahramanmaraş	46
Mardin	47
Muğla	48
Muş	49
Nevşehir	50
Niğde	51
Ordu	52
Rize	53
Sakarya	54
Samsun	55
Sırt	56
Sinop	57
Sivas	58
Tekirdağ	59
Tokat	60
Trabzon	61
Tunceli	62
Şanlıurfa	63
Uşak	64
Van	65
Yozgat	66
Zonguldak	67
Aksaray	68
Bayburt	69
Karaman	70
Kırıkkale	71
Batman	72
Şırnak	73
Bartın	74
Ardahan	75
Iğdır	76
Yalova	77
Karabük	78
Kilis	79
Osmaniye	80
Düzce	81

#### 4. Living Conditions

##### 4.1. Where do you live during the study term/semester?

- The home with my family
- The university dormitory
- The Yurt-Kur dormitory
- The private dormitory
- The dormitory of foundation or association
- With relatives or familiar person
- Alone in the home which is rented or belonged my family
- Rent home with my siblings/friends
- With my siblings/friends in the home belonged my family

##### 4.2. What is the average monthly income at your disposal from the following sources?

	Average Income (TL)
1. Provision from family/partner	
2. Financial support from public sources	
2.1 non-repayable grant	
2.2. repayable loan	
2.3. scholarship	
3. Financial support from private institutions	
3.1. non-repayable grant	
3.2. repayable loan	
3.3. scholarship	
4. Self-earned income through paid job	
5. Other	
6. Total income	

**4.3. What are your average monthly expenses for the following needs?**

	A) I pay out of my own pocket	B) Paid by parents for me
<b>1. Living costs <i>per month</i></b>		
- Accommodation (including utilities, water, electricity so on)		
- Food expenses		
- Clothing and personal care		
- Transportation		
- Health costs (e.g. medical insurance)		
<b>2. Study-related costs <i>per semester</i></b>		
- Tuition fees, registration fees, examination fees		
- Social welfare contributions to the university/ college and student association		
- Learning materials (e.g. books, photocopying, DVDs, fields trips)		
3. OTHER		
4. TOTAL		
5. GENERAL TOTAL: (A) + (B) =		

**4.4. If you are working, how is it related with your training in the university?**

- I do not work
- Highly related
- Closely related
- Little related
- No related

**4.5. How satisfied are you with your living conditions below?**

	1) Strongly Satisfied	2) Satisfied	3) Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	4)Dissatisfied	5)Strongly Dissatisfied
1.Accommodation condition					
2.Material condition					
3. Course load					
4.Workload(if employed)					

**4.6. How many hours do you spend in a typical week in taught courses, personal study and on paid jobs? (Try to remember day by day and fill in the sum of hours over the whole week including the weekend.)**

	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	Sunday
1. Taught studies (lessons, seminars, labs, tests, etc.)							
2. Personal study time (like preparation, learning, reading, writing homework)							
3. Paid jobs							



## 5. International Mobility

### 5.1. What are your language skills?

(Please rate your grade of proficiency in the applicable language(s).)

	No knowledge	Very Poor	Poor	Moderate	Good	Very Good
1. English						
2. French						
3. Germany						
4. Spanish						
5. Italian						

### 5.2. Do you plan to go abroad to participate educational events (such as lectures, learning the language, an internship) in the future?

- No, I do not plan.
- I am not sure.
- Maybe
- Yes, I definitely plan
- Yes, I have already organized everything.

### 5.3. Have you ever been abroad for education (such as lectures, learning the language, an internship)?

- Yes
- No

If your answer is “yes”, please go to next question. If it is “no”, please go to 5. 8.

### 5.4. If you have been abroad for education, how long have you participate?

	Duration in months
1) Participate in lecture	
2) Language course	
3) Internship / work placement	
4) Other (summer school etc.)	

**5.5. Please write the country name where you stayed longest for education and duration.**

Country (Select the name below): \_\_\_\_\_

Months: \_\_\_\_\_

Germany, England, France, Spain, Italy, the Netherlands, Ireland, other European countries, USA, Canada, Russia, Central Asia and Caucasus countries, Middle East countries, other countries

**5.6. Which of the following sources did you use to fund your enrolment abroad?**

	Monthly Amount (TL)
Contribution from parents/family	
Own income from previous job	
By working during my studies abroad	
Study grants/loans from host country	
EU study grants	
Support by home state loan (repayable)	
Support by home state grant (non-repayable)	
Private support for abroad education	
Other	
<b>GENERAL TOTAL</b>	

**5.7. Was your enrolment abroad part of any of the following programmes? (Please specify the name of the programme. Multiple answers are possible.)**

- No programme
- ERASMUS/TEMPUS
- LINGUA
- Other EU-programme
- Other (Please, fill in the name of the programme:\_\_\_\_\_)

**5.8. To what extent are the following aspects an obstacle for an enrolment abroad to you?**

	Big obstacle	Obstacle	Moderate obstacle	Less obstacle	No obstacle
Insufficient skills in foreign language					
Difficulties in getting information					
Problems with accommodation in the host country					
Separation from family, friends					
Loss of social benefits from my country (e.g. child allowance, price discounts for students)					
Loss of opportunities to earn money					
Expected additional financial burden					
Lack of personal drive					
Expected delay in progress in my studies					
Presumed low benefit for my studies at home					
Problems with recognition of results achieved in foreign countries					
Limited access to mobility programmes in home country					
Problems with access regulations to the preferred country (visa, residence permit)					
Limited admittance to the preferred institution and/or study programme in foreign country					

## 6. Family Background

### 6.1. What is the highest level of education your father and mother have obtained?

	Father	Mother
Illiterate		
Drop out from primary school		
Primary school		
Secondary school		
High school		
University		
Master and PhD		

### 6.2. What is your father/ mother currently doing?

	Father	Mother
working for daily wages such as seasonal, temporal worker		
working for salary or wage		
employer with paid workers		
self-employed, but not employed any paid worker		
unpaid family worker in family business		
not working, but looking for a job		
housewife, not working		
retired, not working		
died		
I do not know		

**6.3. What are the most recent or former occupations of your father and mother?**

	Father	Mother
high level managers in public/private sector (parliamentarians, city manager, governor, general director)		
High qualified occupations required higher education (lawyer,architech, doctor,dentist, faculty members, teacher etc)		
technicians and associate professionals (laboratorian, nurse, dental technicians, electronic technicians etc)		
middle/low level directory or office clerks in public/private sector (bookkeeper, cashier, communication service chief)		
Service/sales workers (cook, waiter, security workers, shop asistant)		
skilled agricultural and fishery workers (farmer, fisher, forester, rancher etc.)		
craft and related trades workers		
plant and machina operators and assemblers (driver, machinst etc)		
unskilled worker (building worker, cleaning worker etc.)		
armed forces/military		
no (housewife, not having any occupation, diabled etc.)		

**6.4. Some people are considered to have a high social standing and some are considered to have a low social standing. Thinking about your family background, where would you place your parents on this scale if the top indicated high social standing and the bottom indicated low social standing?**

- High social standing
- 
- 
- 
- 
- 
- Low social standing

**6. 5. Please select the most appropriate statement below.**

	1) Strongly Agree	2) Agree	3) No idea	4) Disagree	5) Strongly Disagree
EU membership will improve the quality of education in the universities.					
EU membership will improve the living conditions of university students.					
EU membership will facilitate the process of university graduates to find a job.					
EU membership will make it easier to go to university students for training in EU countries.					
EU membership will accelerate the brain drain from Turkey to EU countries.					

## **APPENDIX D: LETTER OF COMMITMENT**

To EUROSTUDENT National Committee;

I commit that I will only use the selected variables from Eurostudent Project IV in my PhD dissertation and give the reference to the academic rules. Furthermore, I know that I have to obtain your permission for another study on the project and data.

Thank you for sharing data.

Yours sincerely.

Aylin (Çakıroğlu) Çevik

## APPENDIX E: CURRICULUM VITAE

### PERSONAL INFORMATION

Surname, Name: Çevik, Aylin  
Nationality: Turkish  
Date and Place of Birth: 12 January 1979, Ankara  
Marital Status: Married  
Phone: +90 505 274 15 98  
email: [caylin@metu.edu.tr](mailto:caylin@metu.edu.tr), [aylincakiroglucevik@gmail.com](mailto:aylincakiroglucevik@gmail.com)

### EDUCATION

Degree	Institution	Year of Graduation
MS	METU, Department of Sociology	2007
MS	Ankara University, Department of Philosophy Teaching	2003
BS	Ankara University, Department of Sociology	2002
High School	Batıkent Super High School, Ankara	1997

### WORK EXPERIENCE

Year	Place	Enrollment
2002- Present	METU, Department of Sociology	Research Assistant

### FOREIGN LANGUAGES

Advanced English

### GRANTS

January 2011-August 2011: Graduate research fund by Higher Education Council of Turkey (8 months) University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA) Graduate School of Education and Information Studies. Advisor: Prof. Dr. Walter Allen.



## BOOKS BY INTERNATIONAL PUBLISHERS

1. Quality of Life and Happiness: in case of Turkey  
Lambert Academic Publishing, Almanya, ISBN 978-3-8484-3718-4

## PUBLICATIONS

1. Arun, Ö. and A. Çakıroğlu-Çevik. "Quality of life in An Aging Society: A comparative analysis of age cohorts in Turkey", *Zeitschrift für Gerontologie und Geriatrie*, June, 1-6 (2013)
2. Arun, Ö. and A. Çakıroğlu-Çevik. "Quality of Life in Aging Societies: Italy, Portugal and Turkey-Cross-country Comparisons of Conditions of Elderly", *Educational Gerontology*, 37(11), 945-966 (2011)
3. Çakıroğlu-Çevik, A. and Ö. Arun. "Is happy aging Possible? Determinants of happy aging in Turkey", *GeroBilim, Journal on Social and Psychological Gerontology*, Issue 01/2009.
4. Çakıroğlu-Çevik, A. "Hermeneutik Sosyolojisi (Hermeneutical Sociology)", Forthcoming in *Felsefe Ansiklopedisi VII*

## PAPER PRESENTED

1. "Yüksek Öğrenime Erişimdeki Eşitsizlikler" (*Inequalities in Accessing Higher Education*) presented at the **1<sup>st</sup> Workshop of the Social Sciences PhD. Candidates'**, Ankara, Turkey, 23-25 May 2012.
2. "'Türkiye'de Yabancı Uyruklu Öğrenci Olmak' Üzerine Bir Araştırma" (A Study on 'Being International Student in Turkey') presented at the **1<sup>st</sup> International Symposium on the Sociology of Education**, Ankara, Turkey, 10-11 May 2012.
3. "Social Relations (Networks) in Aging Societies: Germany, Romania and Turkey" presented with Özgür Arun at the **10<sup>th</sup> Conference of the European Sociological Association**, Geneva, Switzerland, 07-10 September 2011.

4. “Quality of Life in an Ageing Society- A Comparative Analysis across Generations in Turkey-” (*Yaşlanan bir Toplumda yaşam kalitesi: Türkiye’de Kuşaklararası Karşılaştırmalı Bir Analiz*) presented with Özgür Arun at the **IV<sup>rd</sup> International Symposium on Social and Applied Gerontology in Turkey**, Antalya, Turkey, 28-30 April 2010.
5. “Quality of Life in Ageing Societies: Italy, Portugal and Turkey- Cross-country Comparisons of Conditions of Elderly-” presented with Özgür Arun at the **9<sup>th</sup> Conference of the European Sociological Association**, Lizboa, Portugal, 02-05 September 2009.
6. “Relationship between Quality of life and Happiness in Turkey” presented at the **CINEFOGO/ESA Post-Graduate Summer School 2008**, Crete, Greece, 14-18 July 2008.
7. “Mutlu Yaşlanma Mümkün mü? Türkiye’de Mutlu Yaşlılığı Belirleyen Faktörler.” (*Is Happy Ageing Possible? Determinants of Happy Ageing in Turkey*) presented with Özgür Arun at the **III<sup>rd</sup> International Symposium on Social and Applied Gerontology in Turkey**, Antalya, Turkey, 16-18 April 2008.
8. “Karatepli Fıkralarına Sosyolojik Bir Bakış”. (The Sociological View to Anecdotes of Karatepli) presented at the **KIBATEK XIII. Edebiyat Sempozyumu, Adana-Antakya, Turkey, 13-19 November 2006 and published in paper book** (Nobel Kitabevi, Adana 2007, p. 35-55)

#### **ATTENDED PROJECTS:**

1. “Role Model Project-Ankara” (March 2005)  
Funded by British Council and Middle East Technical University, worked as coordinator, leader of groups and controller of questionnaire and field studies.
2. “Sultansazlığı Project-Kayseri” ( November 2004)  
Funded by Envy (Energy and Environmental Investments Inc.), worked as researcher and interviewer.
3. “Social Impact Assessment of Households from Alaçalı Dam-Yeşilvadi, Avcıkoru” (July 2001)  
Funded by State Water Administration and Envy (Energy and Environmental Investments Inc.), worked as researcher and collector of data.  
“Renault Market Research-Ankara” (May 2001)

Funded by Renault-Karden, worked as collector of data.

4. “Assessment of Situation After 1999 Earthquake-İzmit” (September 1999)

Funded by Department of Sociology of Ankara University and İzmit city council, worked as one entering data.

## APPENDIX F: TURKISH SUMMARY

### TÜRKÇE ÖZET

#### Tezin Amacı

Eğitim, bazı değer ve normlar yeni kuşaklara aktarması, eğitilmiş ve vasıflı bireyler veya işgücü sağlama gibi işlevlerinden dolayı modern toplumların önemli kurumlarından birisi olarak değerlendirilmektedir. Bu nedenle, eğitim sadece toplumların ekonomik ve sosyal kalkınmalarını değil, aynı zamanda bireylerin güçlenmesini, mesleki ve toplumsal statü sağlama, iş piyasasında yer almasını ve yukarı hareketliliğini (özellikle de yükseköğrenim sayesinde) etkilemektedir (Buchmann et al., 2001:88-9; Benavot, 1989:14; Eserpek, 1977a; 1977b; Hallinan, 2000:72; Göksel, 2009; Havighurst, 1968:129; Tomul, 2009:949; Toktaş et al., 2006:737; World Bank, 2000). Eğitim bu bahsi geçen bireysel ve toplumsal etkilerinden ve öneminden dolayı, yıllardır birçok araştırmanın ve uygulamanın konusu olmaktadır.

Eğitimin bireysel ve toplumsal/ulusal düzeydeki etkileri göz önüne alındığında, eğitime erişim ve eğitsel başarı daha çok önem kazanmakta; bu nedenle de erişim ve başarı yıllardır birçok araştırmanın sorununu/sorusunu oluşturmaktadır. Fakat Türkiye’de, eğitim meselesi diğer ülkelerde olduğu gibi, siyasetin, sosyal politikaların ve gündelik hayatın konusu olmasına rağmen, eğitim konusunda, özellikler de sosyoloji alanında, sınırlı sayıda çalışma vardır. Türkiye’de yapılan çalışmalara baktığımızda, çoğunluğunun ilköğretim ve orta öğretim konusunda olduğunu görüyoruz. Başka bir deyişle, Türkiye’de yükseköğrenim birkaç çalışmanın konusu olabilmektedir. Aslında yükseköğrenim iyi bir gelecek ve yukarı hareketlilik için bir araç olarak görülmekte, gençler ve aileleri için önemli bir gündem olarak yaşanmaktadır. Üniversiteye giriş için ailelerin ve çocuklarının verdikleri “mücadele” gerçekten dikkat çekicidir. Fakat, eğitim

sosyolojisi literatüründe dünyada yükseköğrenim konusunda çok sayıda çalışma olmasına rağmen, Türkiye’de maalesef çok azdır. Bu bağlamda, bu çalışma ile yükseköğrenim meselesinin önemini ortaya koymak ve böylece Türkiye’deki eğitim sosyoloji literatürüne katkı sağlamak amaçlanmaktadır.

Ayrıca, eğitim birikimsel (kümülatif) bir süreç olduğu için, önceki seviyelerdeki (ilk ve orta öğrenimde) herhangi bir problem yükseköğrenimi etkilemektedir. Başka bir deyişle, eğitim belli formel dönemlere ayrılmış olması gerçeğine rağmen, başlangıçtan bitişene kadar birbirini tamamlayan entegre bir süreçtir (Tanrıkulu, 2009:3). Öyleyse, kalitesiz okullar ve toplumsal cinsiyet eşitsizliği gibi problemlerin birikmiş sonuçları yükseköğrenime yansımaktadır. Bu bağlamda, yükseköğrenim bu birikmiş problemlerin bir çeşit göstergesi olarak değerlendirilebilir. Öyleyse, yükseköğrenimi incelemek, Türkiye’deki eğitim sistemindeki bu problemlerin tamamen açığa çıkmasına yardımcı olacaktır. Eğitim sistemindeki bu problemleri ortaya koymak için, hem bütün eğitim seviyelerine hem de Türkiye’deki eğitim sisteminin dönüşümüne odaklanmaya gerek vardır. Bu bağlamda, bu çalışmada öncelikle, Türkiye’deki eğitim alanının dönüşümünün (eğitimin dönüşümü sosyolojisi) incelenmesi amaçlanmıştır. Başka bir deyişle, Türkiye’deki (i) eğitim alanının evrimi, (ii) ulus-devlet inşa süreci, modernleşme süreci, eğitim üzerine ekonomik ve politik dönüşümler ve toplumsal tabakalaşma gibi makro-yapısal dönüşümler, ve (iii) sosyal eşitsizliklerin eğitime yansımaları açıklanmaya çalışılacaktır. Çünkü Türkiye’deki eğitimin tarihsel arka planı, günümüz eğitim sistemini, özellikle de yükseköğrenimi anlamamıza yardımcı olacaktır.

Türkiye’deki eğitim alanının dönüşümü, çok boyutlu sosyal bir kurum olan eğitimin birçok aktörünün (ulusal ve küresel düzeydeki politik ve ekonomik aktörlerin (Nohl, 2008: 10, 15)) mücadele alanı olduğunu göstermektedir (Bourdieu et al., 1977; 1992). Burada, eğitimin işlevi ve yüklenen anlamı karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Yani eğitim, ideolojik ve ekonomik açıdan bireyler/vatandaşlar yaratmak için kullanılmaktadır. Örneğin, ulus-devlet inşa sürecinde, dil ve kültür birliği, ortak semboller ve ideallerin

oluşturulması eğitimle gerçekleştirilecektir. Böylece aynı zamanda ulusal kimlik ve vatandaşlık da yaratılmış olacaktır (Gellner, 1983). Öyleyse, ortak dil ve kültür eğitim olmadan yaratılmaz ve eğitim olmadan ulus olmaktan bahsedilemez. Tek bir kimlik ve benzerlikler yaratma aracı olan eğitim (Akşit et al., 2000; Topses, 1999; Caporal, 1982; Neyzi, 2001; Gümüšođlu, 2005:13), aynı zamanda, istenen deęerlerin ve kimliklerin oluşturulduđu bir “üretim” alanıdır. Ulusal kimlik/yurttaşlık oluşturmanın yanında, ulusal iş piyasası için yeni bilgiler ve yeteneklerin kazandırılması da eğitimle gerçekleşir. Kısacası, yeni kimlik ve iş piyasası için yeni iş gücü, eğitimle üretilir. Öyleyse, ulus-devlet sürecinin mihenk taşı, eğitim alanıdır. Bu süreçte, zorunlu ilköğretimin temel amacının, çocukları “ulusal” deęerler, dil ve kültür ile donatılmış “iyi vatandaşlar” olarak eğitmek olduđu iddia edilebilir.

Öte yandan, lise eğitimi ve özelde de yükseköğrenimin işlevi belirli profesyonel meslekler için bazı bilgi ve yetenekler aktarmasıdır. Daha önce deęinilen, bireysel düzeydeki eğitimin anlamı ve işlevi göz önüne alındığında, yükseköğrenim iyi gelirli bir meslek, sosyal statü ve iyi bir gelecek için bir araç olarak deęerlendirilmektedir. Bu nedenle, yükseköğrenime erişim, bu amaçları gerçekleştirmek için önemlidir. Tam da burada, bir mesele olarak eğitime erişimdeki eşitsizlik ile karşılaşyoruz. Bu bağlamda, kimin eğitime eriştiđi, kimin erişemediđi sorunu/sorusu eğitimde fırsat eşitsizliğine ve erişimdeki eşitsizliklere işaret etmektedir. Başka bir deyişle, mesele “aile geçmişi, bölge, etnisite, ırk veya toplumsal cinsiyet gibi varolan özelliklere bakılmaksızın” (Parelius et al., 1978:283) her kişinin eğitime erişim için eşit şansa sahip olup olmamasıdır.

Eğitimde fırsat eşitliği temelde üç aşamada tanımlanır: erişimde eşitlik, katılımıda eşitlik ve çıktılarda eşitlik. Eğitimde fırsat eşitliğini başarmak için, bu üç aşamanın gerçekleştirilmesi gerekir. Fakat, birçok farklı ülkede yapılan ampirik çalışmalar, eğitime eşit erişimin henüz başarılmadığının altını çizmektedir. Türkiye’de de eğitime erişimdeki eşitsizlik hâlâ devam etmektedir. Bununla ilgili bazı istatistikler şöyledir: 1980 yılında ülke genelinde okuryazarlık oranı %67.45, erkekler arasında bu oran

%79.94, kadınlar arasında %54.65'ti. 1990 yılında okuryazarlık oranı arttı; okur-yazmalık erkekler arasında %9.46'ya, kadınlar arasında ise %29.18'e düştü. Fakat, erkeklerdeki okuryazarlık oranı kadınlara göre daha hızlı ve yüksektir (Doğramacı, E., 1997:97). 1999 yılında, kentteki erkeklerdeki okur-yazmazlık oranı %4.5 iken kentteki kadınlarda bu oran %18.7'di. Bu rakamlar kırsal için sırasıyla %10 ve %30'du (TÜSİAD, 2000:35; Kağıtçıbaşı, 2010:12). Fakat, günümüzde hâlâ okuryazarlık oranı %100'e ulaşamamıştır: 2011 yılında 6 yaş ve üzeri için kadınlarda okur-yazmazlık oranı %8, erkeklerde ise %1.7'dir. Yani okur-yazmaz her 10 kişiden 8'i kadındır. 15 yaş üzeri nüfusta, kadın okur-yazmanlık oranı %9.8'dir. Kadın-erkek eşitsizliği yanında yaş grupları arasındaki eşitsizlikler de söz konusudur: Yaş yükseldikçe, okur-yazmazlık artmaktadır. Bu durum, hem kadınlar hem de erkekler için geçerlidir. Kadınların okur-yazmazlıklarını etkileyen bir diğer faktör, kent-kır ve bölgesel eşitsizliklerdir. Kırsaldaki ve Doğu'daki kadın okur-yazmazlık oranı, kentteki ve Batı'dakine göre yüksektir (TÜSİAD, 2000:33; Otaran et al., 2003:24; Akar et al., 2009:21; Smits et al., 2003; O'Dwyer et al., 2010; Çabuk Kaya, 2013). Örneğin, 2003 rakamlarına göre, kadınlar için kentte okur-yazmazlık oranı %16.6, kırsalda ise %30.8 (erkekler için bu oranlar sırasıyla %3.9 ve %9); eğitimsiz kadınların (hiçbir eğitim kurumuna gitmemiş) oranı Güneydoğu Anadolu Bölgesinde %63.2, Ege bölgesinde ise %32.1'dir (Akar et al., 2009:22). İlköğretim düzeyinde ise, 1991-92 öğretim yılında, kadınların ilkokula kayıt oranı %85.38 iken erkeklerin oranı %91.1'dir (Narlı, 2000). 2008-9 öğretim yılında net ilkokullaşma oranı %96.5'tir. Bu oran kadınlar için %96 iken, erkekler için %97'dir. Ortaöğretim düzeyine baktığımızda ise, 1991-92 öğretim yılında, ülke genelinde ortaöğretim okullaşma oranı kadınlar için %47.74 iken, erkekler için bu oran %71.26'dır. 1994-95 öğretim yılında bu oranlar kadınlar için %54.52'ye, erkekler için de %76'ya yükselmiştir (Narlı, 2000). Yükseköğrenime geldiğimizde ise, 1990-91 öğrenim yılı için, kadınların okullaşma oranı %8.9, erkeklerin ise %16.5'tir. Bu oranlar 1994-95 yılı için sırasıyla %13.8 ve %21.3'e yükselirken (Narlı, 2000) günümüzde ise

büyük bir gelişme sergilemektedir. Yeni açılan üniversiteler<sup>250</sup> ve yükseltilen kontenjanlar bu artışta etkili olmuştur. Fakat, çalışma alanlarına göre toplumsal cinsiyet dağılımında olumlu gelişmeler olmasına rağmen, eşitsizlik/dengesizlik hâlâ devam etmektedir. Örneğin, 1999-2000 öğrenim yılında, mühendislik fakültesindeki kadınların oranı %23'tü. Bu oran 2006-2007 öğrenim yılında %23.7'ye yükseldi ve 2011-12'de %29.4 oldu. Buna karşın, 2006-2007 öğrenim yılında eğitim fakültesindeki kadınların oranı %47.2 iken 2011-12'de %51.5'e yükseldi (TÜSİAD, 2008:55, TUIK, 2013:60). Görüldüğü gibi, Türkiye herhangi bir eğitim seviyesinde bile eğitimde fırsat eşitliğini toplumsal cinsiyet ve bölge açısından başaramamıştır.

Teorik ve ampirik literatüre göre, eğitimde fırsat eşitsizliği birçok belirleyici/değişken ile ilgilidir. Devlet ve küresel güçleri (örneğin uluslararası örgütler ve antlaşmalar, küresel işbölümü, modern kültürel eğilim, devlet politikaları, sanayileşme ve kentleşme) içeren makro-yapısal faktörler ve ailenin sosyoekonomik statüsü, aile yapısı ve ailenin karar alma sürecini içeren aile faktörü, eğitime erişim süreciyle güçlü bir şekilde ilişkilidir ve bu faktörlerle etkileri toplumsal cinsiyete göre değişmektedir. Eğer aile geçmişi eğitime erişim sürecini güçlü bir biçimde etkiliyorsa, bu durum o toplumda eğitimde fırsat eşitliği olduğu anlamına gelmektedir. Başka bir deyişle, varolan özellikler ve eğitime erişim arasındaki ilişki, eğitimde fırsat eşitsizliğini ve yukarı hareketliliği değerlendirmek için önemli bir göstergedir. Ayrıca, aralarındaki güçlü bir ilişki, eğitimde fırsat eşitsizliğinin ve eşitsizlikleri yeniden üretimin (yeniden üretim/çatışmacı teorisinin iddia ettiği gibi) bir göstergesi olarak görülmektedir. Bu bağlamda, Türkiye'de eğitime erişim süreci nasıl işlemektedir? Toplumsal cinsiyete göre bu süreçte farklılıklar var mıdır? Tezdeki bu sorular, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun son dönemlerinden günümüz Türkiye'sine kadar gerçekleşen sosyal, ekonomik ve siyasal olayların etkilerinin tarihsel analizi ile tartışılmıştır. Böylece, bu çalışmada ikinci olarak, toplumsal cinsiyete göre eğitime erişim sürecinin (ki bu durum eğitimdeki toplumsal

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<sup>250</sup> Bakınız Appendix B, Table B.1.



cinsiyet eşitsizliğini göstermektedir) araştırılması ve tartışılması hedeflenmektedir. Bu bağlamda, Türkiye'deki yükseköğrenimden önceki aşamalardaki erişim süreci ve yükseköğrenime yansımaları, toplumsal cinsiyete göre incelenecektir. Dolayısıyla, bu tez çalışmasının temel araştırma problemini, yükseköğrenime erişim sürecinin toplumsal cinsiyete göre incelenmesi oluşturmaktadır. Türkiye'de yükseköğrenimde nicel olarak toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliği sağlanmış olsa bile, toplumsal cinsiyete göre erişim sürecinin nasıl gerçekleştiğini (özellikle de yükseköğrenime erişim sürecini) inceleyen çok sınırlı sayıda çalışma mevcuttur. Bu bakımdan, bu çalışmada uygulanan araştırma yöntemleri ve bulgularıyla literatüre hem teorik hem de ampirik katkı sağlamak da amaçlanmaktadır.

### **Teorik Arka Plan**

Gelişmekte olan ülkelerde eğitimdeki toplumsal cinsiyet eşitsizliği önemli ve temel bir mesele olmasına rağmen, eğitim teorileri bu meseleyle doğrudan ilgilenmemektedir. Ya bu meseleyi görmezden geliyorlar veya toplumsal cinsiyeti dikkate almıyorlar. Örneğin, *beşeri sermaye teorisine* göre, eğitim, ulusal kalkınma için insan kaynağına yatırım yapmak anlamına geliyorken, *statü kazanma teorisine* göre ise eğitim meslek ve sosyal statü edinmek içindir. Ayrıca, *işlevselci teoriye* göre eğitim toplumsal düzenin devamlılığı için gerekli olan sosyal değer ve normların aktarımını sağlıyorken, *yeniden üretim/çatışmacı teoriye* göre ise, eğitim, özellikle de yükseköğrenim, sınıf eşitsizliklerini ve statükoyu (var olan sosyal sistemi) sürdürüp yasallaştırmaktadır. Görüldüğü gibi, bu eğitim teorileri eğitimdeki toplumsal cinsiyet eşitsizliği ile ilgilenmemişlerdir. Fakat, *liberal*, *radikal* ve *sosyalist feminist teoriler* eğitim alanındaki eşitsizlikler de olmak üzere toplumsal cinsiyet eşitsizliğinin yaşandığı tüm sosyal alanlarla ilgilenmektedirler. Dolayısıyla, bu tez, feminist özellikle de sosyalist feminist pozisyon alarak konuyu incelemektedir.

Bu tezin neden sosyalist feminist perspektife dayandığını açıklamak için kısaca diğer teorilere değinmek faydalı olacaktır: Aslında *işlevselci ve yeniden üretim/çatışmacı teoriler* eğitimdeki eşitsizliklerin farkındalar. Fakat eşitsizlik hakkındaki iddiaları birbirinden farklıdır. *İşlevselcilere* göre, eğitimdeki eşitsizlikler toplumun devamlılığı için kaçınılmaz ve gereklidir. Buna karşın diğerleri, bu eşitsizliklerin adaletsiz olduğunu ve üstesinden gelinmesi gerektiğini savunmaktadırlar. Daha önce belirtildiği gibi, *işlevselci teoriye* göre, eğitim toplumsal düzeni sürdürmek için bir araçtır. Buna ek olarak, ulusal kalkınma için bütün çocuklar insanî sermaye olarak eğitilmelidirler. Dolayısıyla, “gelişmekte olan ülkelerde sosyal gelişmeye en büyük engel” (Rankin et al., 2006:25) olan eğitimdeki toplumsal cinsiyet eşitsizliği nedeniyle kadınların eğitimi konusu önem kazanmıştır. Fakat, bu teoriye göre eğitim, bütün vatandaşların katılımına eşit olarak açık ve liyakat sisteminin çalıştığı bir sistemdir. Bu bağlamda, eğitimdeki toplumsal cinsiyet eşitsizliği sistemden değil, “yetersiz” kalitedeki bireyler (bilişsel yetenek gibi) ve ailelerinin farklı ekonomik, kültürel ve sosyal faktörlere dayanan kararından kaynaklanmaktadır. Örneğin, kız çocukları geleceğin “anneleri, ev kadınları”, erkek çocukları ise geleceğin “ekmek getireni” olarak görülmektedir (Stromquist, 1989:167). Böylece, ailelerin çocuklarının eğitim kariyeri hakkındaki kararları toplumsal cinsiyete dayalı işbölümüyle ilgilidir. Öte yandan, *yeniden üretim/çatışmacı teoriye* göre, devletin ideolojik aygıtı olarak eğitim (Althusser, 1991), egemen sınıfların ve onların ideolojilerinin lehine çalışır. Bu şekilde, insanlar sosyal işbölümünü (sosyal tabakalaşma) kaçınılmaz olarak içselleştirirler. Bu durum şu anlama gelmektedir: Alt sınıflar yükseköğrenim sayesinde sınıflarını değiştiremeyecekleri (yukarı hareketlilik) için, alt sınıfların daha üst eğitime veya yükseköğrenime ihtiyaçları yoktur. Böylece onlar, daha alt düzeydeki eğitimi kabul etmek zorunda kalırlar (Stromquist, 1989:168). Görüldüğü gibi, bu teoriler sınıf eşitsizliği ile ilgilenirler, sınıf-içi eşitsizlikleri, toplumsal cinsiyet eşitsizliği ve yukarı hareketlilik ihtimali ile değil.

Bu iki teoriden farklı olarak, *feminist teoriler* (*liberal, radikal ve sosyalist feminist teoriler*) farklı nedenler ileri sürmelerine rağmen eğitimdeki toplumsal cinsiyet

eşitsizliğinin altını çizerler. Kısaca farklılıklarını şöyle özetleyebiliriz: *Liberal feminist teorinin* eğitim çerçevesinde üç ana tema yer alır: Bunlar; eşit fırsatlar, sosyalizasyon ve cinsiyete dayalı tipleştirme ve cinsiyete dayalı ayrımcılıktır (Acker, 1987:423; Stromquist, 1989:169; Baba, 2007:26; Martusewicz et al. 1994:13-15). *Liberal feministlere* göre, cinsiyetler arası “aynılık” nedeniyle, kadınlar ve erkekler eğitim dahil her sosyal alanda eşit fırsatlara sahip olmalılar. Fakat toplumsal cinsiyete dayalı işbölümü ve cinsiyet rolleri, ailede ve okullardaki sosyalizasyon süreciyle empoze edilir. Örneğin, “erkekler daha prestijli ve iyi gelirlili ‘erkeksi’ mesleklere yönelik eğitime teşvik edilirken kadınlar daha az gelirlili fakat daha ‘kadınsı’ servis mesleklerine hazırlanması için yönlendirilir” (Jaggar, 1983:176). Böylece, ayrımcılığın kümülatif sonuçları kadınların eğitim ve iş gücü piyasasındaki, özellikle de daha prestijli iş kariyeri ve daha iyi gelirlili mesleklere, ikincil katılımına neden olur.

Diğer taraftan, *radikal feminist* perspektif eğitimdeki toplumsal cinsiyet eşitsizliğini biyolojik işbölümüne dayandırır. Şöyle ki, “temelde, kadınların doğurma ve ona bakma yetenekleri”nin (Stromquist, 1989:171) olması, biyolojik işbölümünün temelini oluşturur. Başka bir deyişle, anne ve eş olarak kadın, *özel alana* aittir. Bu bağlamda, annelik kadının esas rolü olarak görüldüğü için (Arnot, 2002), kadının herhangi bir eğitimsel veya mesleki statüye ihtiyacı yoktur. Biyolojik işbölümü, böylece, kadının sınırlandırılması da belirler, ki bu durum toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliğine ve fırsat eşitliğine karşıttır. Ayrıca, *radikal feministlere* göre; aile ve okullar, ataerkilliğin bir parçası olarak cinselliği inşa ve kontrol eden ve biyolojik işbölümünü yeniden üreten (*cinsellik politikası* (Millett, 1971)) temel kurumlardır (Firestone, 1970; Acker, 1987:419). Öyleyse, “kadın bedeni” politikası üzerinde yükselen sistem, eğitimdeki toplumsal cinsiyet eşitsizliğini yaratmaktadır.

Son olarak, *sosyalist feminist perspektif*, toplumsal cinsiyet eşitsizliği için ataerkillik, aile, üretim biçimi ve sınıf kavramlarının altını çizer. Marksist terminolojiden gelen sınıf kavramı, kapitalizmi ve modern toplumları işaret eder. Bu bağlamda, *sosyalist*

*feministler*, anne-babanın eğitimsel ve mesleksi statüleriyle ilişkili olan ailenin sosyoekonomik statüsüne vurgu yapmaktadırlar. Ayrıca, birbirini güçlendiren kapitalizm ve ataerkillik arasındaki etkileşimin varlığına da dikkat çekmektedirler (Arnot et al., 1987; Acker, 1987:426; Stromquist, 1989:172; Baba, 2007:26; Sancar, 2012:23). Böylece, eğitimin işlevi kadını hem anne ve eş (ataerkil ideolojinin bir parçası olarak) hem de işçi (*yedek emek ordusu*'nun bir parçası) olarak (yeniden) üretmektir. Başka bir deyişle, eğitimin işlevi, kapitalist sosyal düzenin devamı için gerekli olan cinsiyete dayalı işbölümünü dikkate alarak ataerkil ve ekonomik değerleri yeniden üretmektir. Kadın ucuz iş, evle ilgili roller ve işler, düşük gelir ve daha az prestijli mesleklerle sınırlandırıldığı için (MacDonald, 2012:17), kadının, yüksek prestijli ve yüksek gelirli mesleklere ulaşma imkanı veren yükseköğrenime erişmesi beklenmez. Fakat, orta ve yüksek sınıftan kadın, yükseköğrenime erişebilir. Bu durum, toplumsal cinsiyet ve sınıf arasındaki etkileşimle açıklanabilir: Kadının eğitimi için yapılan yatırım, mezuniyetten sonra yüksek gelirli bir işe sahip olma ihtimali nedeniyle (Stromquist, 1989:173) “çöpe atılan bir para” değildir (eğitimin fırsat maliyetine göre). Fakat, sınıfsal anlamda kadınların yükseköğrenime erişmesi diğer faktörlerin olmadığını göstermez. Hemşirelik, öğretmenlik, sosyal hizmetler gibi kadın egemen bölümlerin varlığı toplumdaki ataerkil ideolojiyi işaret etmektedir (Arnot, 2002:28; MacDonald, 2012:18).

Sonuç olarak, karmaşık ekonomik ve meslek yapısına sahip günümüz toplumlarını anlamak ve incelemek için bu üç yaklaşımdan en uygun perspektifin *sosyalist feminist perspektif* olduğu görülmektedir. Böylece, bu tez iki temel argümana dayanır: (i) yükseköğrenim toplumsal cinsiyete dayalı işbölümünü yeniden üretir ve (ii) toplumsal cinsiyet ile ailenin sosyoekonomik statüsü arasındaki etkileşim yükseköğrenim sistemine yansır. Türkiye'deki yükseköğrenimi dikkate aldığımızda, eğitim fakültesinin kadın-egemen alan, mühendislik fakültesinin ise erkek-egemen alan olduğu açıktır. Ayrıca, sosyalist feminist perspektifin argümanlarıyla tutarlı olan bir durum da, öğretmenliğin (mühendisliğe göre düşük ücretli ve prestijli) çoğunlukla kadınlar tarafından tercih edilmesidir. Öyleyse, Türkiye'deki yükseköğrenimin toplumsal cinsiyete göre, yukarı

hareketliliğe izin verip vermediği veya eşitsizlikleri yeniden üretip üretmediği sosyalist feminist perspektife ve argümanlarına dayanarak incelenebilir.

### **Tarihsel Arka Plan**

Türkiye’de eğitime erişimin tarihçesi için eğitim alanının dönüşümüne bakmak gerekir öncelikle. Erken cumhuriyet döneminden başlayan eğitim alanındaki bu dönüşümler, makro-yapısal dönüşümlerin etkisi sonucunda ortaya çıkar. Aslında, eğitim alanındaki bu dönüşümleri anlamak için ulus-devlet sürecine ve bu süreci etkileyen cumhuriyet öncesi dönüşümlere bakmak gerekir.

Tarım ekonomisine dayalı Osmanlı’daki geleneksel eğitim sistemi, çoğunluğun “iyi bir Müslüman” ve “yönetilenler”; azınlığın ise “yönetenler” olarak yetiştirildiği bir sisteme dayanıyordu. Eğitimli olan kentli ve yönetici sınıf, aldıkları eğitimle çoğunluktan ayrılıyordu. Özellikle erkeklerin eğitim ile yukarı hareketliliği mümkün iken, kadınların eğitimi ilkokul seviyesinde kalıyordu. Ayrıca sanayi öncesi toplumdaki, dinin eğitim üzerindeki denetimi Osmanlı İmparatorluğu için de geçerliydi. Ancak dünyadaki ekonomik, sosyal, kültürel ve ideolojik dönüşümlerden etkilenen her toplumun kendi devamlılığını sağlaması için yaptığı gibi, Tanzimat sonrasında, Osmanlı da sistemi yeniden üreten ve devamını sağlayan eğitim alanında yenilikler yaparak dönemi yakalamak ve ona ayak uydurmak için çaba gösterdi. Bunun için azınlıklar, kadınlar gibi dezavantajlı gruplar için reformlar yapıldı, yeni okullar açılarak özellikle askerî alandaki (toprak kaybının önüne geçmek için) eksiklikler giderilmeye çalışıldı. Batının sanayileşme yolundaki hızlı ilerlemesi ve ulusculuk hareketleri, Osmanlı’nın toplumsal yapısında, sınıfsal ve eğitimsel alanda dönüşümleri beraberinde getirdi. Özellikle Osmanlı’nın son dönemlerinde, açılan birçok yeni okul türünün, yaygınlaştırılma çabası söz konusudur. Yurt dışına gönderilen öğrencilerle de Osmanlı sistemi ayakta tutulmaya çalışıldı. Eğitim alanındaki dönüşüm sonucunda genişleyen bir bürokrat sınıf oluşmuştur

son dönemde. Kadınlar için ise, daha sonra değinileceği gibi, Osmanlı'nın son dönemlerindeki mücadeleyle eğitim alanında yer almaya başladılar.

Sonuç olarak Osmanlı eğitim sistemindeki dönüşümler; toplumsal yapı, uluslararası ilişkiler, toplumsal işbölümü, üretim biçimi, teknolojik gelişmeler ve devletin ideolojisi ile birlikte şekillenmiştir. Ayrıca belirtmelidir ki, eğitim alanı da bu alanları etkilemiştir. Dolayısıyla, birbirlerini dönüştüren ve değiştiren etkileşimli bir ilişki söz konusudur.

Türkiye'de cumhuriyetin ilan edilmesi ve ulus-devlet inşa sürecinde ise, eğitimin bu sürecin bir parçası olarak kullanıldığını görüyoruz. 1923-1950 arasındaki bu ilk dönemde, eğitim milli kimlik, birlik ve vatandaşlık bilinci yaratma işlevine sahiptir. “çok dinli, teokratik, tarım imparatorluğu”dan “laik, uniter ulus-devlet”e dönüşen ve “muasır medeniyet seviyesi”ne ulaşması hedeflenen bir toplumda, eğitime büyük rol düşmekteydi. Bu dönemde eğitimin iki işlevinden bahsedilebilir: İlk olarak, okuma yazma oranı düşük ve çoğunluğu kırsalda yaşayan nüfusun, ulus-devlet, yurttaşlık, laiklik ve Kemalist ideolojiyi benimsemiş yeni bireyler olarak şekillendirilmesi gerekir. Bu nedenle, eğitim bu amaca dönük olarak yeni düzenin *kültürlendirme* amacına hizmet etmiştir. İkinci olarak, özellikle İzmir İktisat Kongresi'nde de belirtildiği gibi kapitalist dünyada var olabilmek için gerekli işgücünün yetiştirilmesine ihtiyaç vardır. Bu nedenle eğitim gerekli insan gücünü yetiştirme görevini üstlendi. Ülkenin ihtiyacı olan genç, çalışkan, laik, üretken bireyler olarak onlardan beklenen, ülkenin “muasır medeniyet seviyesi”ne ulaşmasını sağlamaktır. Kısaca eğitim ve eğitilmiş bireyler için “rejimin gardiyanları” anlayışı tek partili dönemin temel yaklaşımıdır.

İlk Anayasa ile insan hakkı ve devletin görevi olan eğitim, sınıf, cinsiyet ve bölge ayrımı yapmaksızın -Osmanlıdaki sistemden farklı olarak- tüm vatandaşlara eşitlik sağlandı. Bu açıdan kadınların Cumhuriyet ile birlikte eğitim alanında var olmaları, kadın-erkek eşitliği ve insan hakları açısından önemli bir kırılma noktası olarak okunabilir.

Kadınların toplumsal hayattaki geleneksel rollerinden sıyrılarak yükselmeleri ve giderek siyasal hayatta da yerlerini almaları bakımından temel bir adımdır. Ancak sosyoekonomik düzey, bölge ve ideolojik farklılıklar dönüşümlerin toplumun her kesimine ulaşmasını ve gerçekleşmesini engellemiştir.

1950-1980 arasında ise, cumhuriyetin ilk yıllarındaki bazı eğitim kurumları, hem partilerin siyasi ve ekonomik ideolojisine, hem toplumsal dönüşüme hem de uluslararası ilişkilere bağlı olarak değişime uğradı. 50'lerdeki Demokrat Parti'nin hem geleneksel/muhafazakâr söylemi hem de liberal söylemine bağlı olarak geliştirdiği politikalar, eğitim alanına da yansdı. Ayrıca yaşanan küresel ve yerel ekonomik ve sosyal dönüşüm siyasal, ekonomik, kültürel ve eğitim alanında birçok değişime neden oldu. Özellikle sağlıktaki gelişmelere paralel nüfus artışı, kırdan kent göç ve kentleşme olgusu bu dönemde eğitimdeki dönüşümlere damgasını vurdu. İlk olarak, eğitim kurumları kentte artan talebe cevap veremedi. Devlet, yetersiz kaynaklar nedeniyle yeni özel okulların açılmasına izin verdi. Bu durum ise, sınıfsal farklılıkların belirginleşmesine ve giderek artmasına neden olacaktır. İkinci olarak, kentli ve orta-üst sosyoekonomik sınıftan aileler çocuklarını, birçok nedene bağlı olarak okullar arasındaki "daha iyi" olanlara yönlendirmekte ve "seçkin azınlık" olma yolunda ilerlemektedir.

Orta öğrenim talebindeki ve düzeyindeki artışın yaygınlaşması, daha sonraki yıllarda kolayca iş bulma ve toplumsal saygınlık nedeniyle yükseköğrenim talebine yol açtı ve üniversite kapısında yığılmalar başladı. Bu nedenle, sadece İstanbul ve Ankara'da olan birkaç üniversiteye ek olarak, birçok şehirde yeni üniversiteler açıldı. Talep o kadar çoktur ki, üniversiteler de yetmedi, akademiler de açılmaya başlandı. Ekonomik gelişme, özel sektörün alandaki artışı ve halkın yukarı hareketlilik arzusu nedeniyle akademiler, alternatifler olarak değerlendirildi. Ancak, karşılanamayan yükseköğrenim talebine cevaben, sınıfsal ve bölgesel eşitsizlikleri keskinleştirecek özel yüksekokullar çoğalmaya başladı bu dönemde. Yeni açılan üniversiteler, akademiler ve yüksekokullar; artan iç göç, kentleşme, nüfus artışı ve ekonomi politikalarına bağlı olarak üniversite

talebine yetersiz kalmaya devam ettikçe, yeni uygulama ve kurumlarla çözüm aranmaya çalışıldı: "Mektupla öğretim" uygulaması, YAYKUR ve Anadolu Üniversitesi Açık Öğretim Fakültesi bunlardan bazılarıdır. Ayrıca üniversiteler için merkezî sınav uygulamasına geçilmesi de bu dönemdedir. Daha adil bir biçimde öğrenciyi seçme ve üniversiteye yerleştirmeyi amaçlayan bu uygulama, talebin çokluğu ancak kontenjanların azlığı nedeniyle büyük bir rekabete ve yarışa dönüştü.

1980 sonrasında ise küresel düzeydeki dönüşüm (neoliberalizm) eğitim alanına farklı bir yaklaşım getirmiştir. Artık küresel pazarda bilgi ve eğitim bu anlamda çok daha kıymetlidir, çünkü dünya ölçeğinde rekabet halindeki kapitalist şirketler ve bireyler için; eğitim, iş ve bilgi üretilen kurumlar değer kazanır. Dolayısıyla, bu süreç hem bireysel hem de şirketler bazında eğitime ve bilgiye ayrı bir işlev yüklenmesine neden olur. Ancak eğitime katılım sürecini kişinin bölgesel, ekonomik, sosyal, kültürel sermayesi ve toplumsal cinsiyeti etkilemektedir.

Türk-İslam sentezi ve neoliberalist yaklaşımı içeren 80 sonrası hakim ideoloji, eğitim de dahil olmak üzere bir çok alanda özelleştirmelere yol açtı. Artık eğitim bir meta veya toplumun tüm katmanları tarafından "arzulanan bir tüketim metası" haline dönüşmeye başladı. Daha çok yukarı hareketlilik aracı ve el ve beden işinin düşük statülü olarak algılanması, daha çok eğitim alanında kalmaya ve özellikle yükseköğrenime erişimde rekabete neden oldu. Devletin eğitimdeki rolü azaldı ve özel teşebbüsler her düzeyde eğitim alanında yer almaya başladılar. Eğitimin sosyal hizmetlerden çıkması yani özelleşmesi, sadece ayrıcalıklı bir kesimin bu hizmetten yararlanmasına ve sınıfsal eşitsizliklerin derinleşmesine neden oldu. Özel okullar dışında devletin kurduğu Anadolu, Fen lisesi gibi ayrıcalıklı okullar da, yeni bir eşitsizlik alanı yarattı. Yükseköğrenimdeki eşitsizlik alanı ise, özel üniversitelerin varlığıdır. Sayıları son dönemlerde hızla artan bu kurumlar, üniversite talebine çözüm olamamıştır ve üniversiteye giremeyen, bekleyen binlerce öğrenci vardır.



Sonuç olarak, Osmanlı'dan devralınan kurumlar üzerine inşa edilmeye çalışılan Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin toplumsal yapısında önemli sosyal eşitsizlikler göze çarpmaktadır. Dönemlere göre çeşitli misyonlar yüklenmiş olan eğitim, hemen her dönemde sosyal eşitsizlikleri azaltmanın veya gidermenin ve yukarı sosyal hareketliliği sağlamanın etkin bir aracı olarak görülmüştür. Bu konuda Cumhuriyetin ilk yıllarında sistemin izin verdiği ölçüde başarı görülse de, günümüze kadar uzanan sonraki dönemlerde eğitim, bu beklentiyi yeterince karşılayamamıştır. Çünkü özellikle 1950'lerden itibaren uygulanan politikalar nedeniyle eğitim, sosyal eşitsizliği yeniden üreten ve çoğaltan bir alan olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Talep, idealler ve nitelik gibi beklentiler bir yana, özellikle yükseköğrenime erişimdeki eşitsizlikler sosyoekonomik durum, bölge (kır-kent, bölgelerarası) ve toplumsal cinsiyet eşitsizliklerini daha da derinleştirmiştir. Öte yandan, yükseköğrenim hâlâ sosyal mobilité işlevini de korumaktadır. Dolayısıyla, günümüzde önemli olan artık üniversite ve alan (field of study) sıralamasında eğitim alanında nerede yer alındığıdır. Tüm bunlar ise durumu, sosyolojik bir araştırma konusu haline getirmiştir.

### *Eğitimdeki Toplumsal Cinsiyet Eşitsizliği*

Türkiye'nin bugünkü eğitim alanını anlamak için geçmişten aldığı mirası dikkate alarak tartışılan yapısal dönüşümlerin, toplumsal cinsiyete göre etkileri farklı şekillerde olmuştur.

Daha önce de değinildiği gibi, Osmanlı'da geleneksel eğitim sisteminde sadece yönetici sınıf, erkekler ve kentliler için eğitim olanakları sağlanıyordu. Tarıma dayalı bir ekonomiye sahip Osmanlı'da yüksek eğitilmiş tebaaya gerek yoktu. Tanzimat ile birlikte gündeme gelen modernleşme, batılılaşma ve ilerleme tartışmaları yapısal dönüşümleri ve kadınların da eğitim alanında yer almasını gündeme getirdi. Dolayısıyla, hem eğitim hem de kadınlar yeni bir toplum projesinin en önemli iki parçası olarak Tanzimat ile birlikte önem kazandı. Eğitime ve kadına verilen değer toplumsal dönüşüm ile birlikte

değişime uğradı. Kadınlar ve ülkenin geri kalmışlığı arasında kurulan ilişki ve çözümü, kadınlara eğitimin olanaklarının sunulmasını sağladı. Yeni açılan ve yaygınlaştırılmaya çalışılan okullar, kadınların eğitim almasını sağlamaya yönelik girişimlerdi. Ancak kırkent ve sosyoekonomik farklılıklar, kadınların eğitimsel statülerini etkileyen faktörler olarak dikkati çekmektedir. Orta ve üst sınıf kentli ailelerin kızlarına sağladığı eğitim olanakları (i.e. mürebbiyeler, konak eğitimi, entelektüel çevre), onları okuma-yazma bilmeyen, alt sınıf ve köylü kadınlardan ayrıcalıklı kılıyordu. Bu ayrıcalık, onların kadın mücadelesinde ön saflarda yer almalarını ve önce eğitim, çalışma, kılık-kıyafet, çokeşlilik gibi sınıfsal sorunları dile getirerek “kadın sorunu”nu görünür kılmasını sağladı. Bu hareket, Tanzimat döneminden itibaren üst sınıf erkekler tarafından da birçok nedene bağlı olarak desteklenmişti. Osmanlı’nın çöküş yıllarında ise, kadının eğitim ve çalışma hayatında olması, modernleşme ve sekülerleşmeye dayalı batılılaşma ve sosyal politikalarla ilgiliydi. Kadınların, Batı tarzında ve laik bir eğitim alması Jön Türkler döneminden itibaren hızlanmaktadır.

Osmanlı kadın hareketi, dernekler ve dergiler aracılığıyla kadınlara eğitim olanaklarının sağlanması konusunda önemli rol oynamıştır. Kadın hareketi içinde yer alan eğitilmiş, kentli, üst sınıftan kadınlar, diğer kadınların eğitim hakkı için mücadele etmişlerdir. Önemli başarılarından birisi de kadınların yükseköğrenim almasını sağlamaktır. Ancak öğrenci profiline baktığımızda, orta ve üst sınıftan ailelerin kızları olduğu görülmektedir. Dolayısıyla, sınıfsal ayrıcalıklar korunmaktadır. Ancak alt sınıftan kızların eğitim aldığı kurumlar da yok değildir: kız sanayi okulları, kız enstitüleri ve meslek okulları (öğretmenlik, ebelik gibi). Bu okullar, kadınlara mezun olduktan sonra çalışma hayatında yer alabilme ve yukarı hareketlilik imkânı sağlayabilme işlevine sahipti. Ancak toplumsal cinsiyet rollerini yeniden üreten bu okullar kadınların, çalışma hayatında yer almasalar bile iyi bir eş, anne ve müslüman olmasını sağlama işlevine sahipti.

Ayrıca 1911-1923 yılları arasındaki savařlardan dolayı erkek nüfusunun ve işgücünün azalması ile “eđitimsiz” kadınlar işçi olarak fabrikalarda, eđitilmiş kadınlar ise diđer kurumlarda çalışmaya başladılar. Bu durum muhalif seslere neden olsa da, dinsel ideolojinin baskısı ve itirazı ekonomik zorunlulukların önüne geçememiştir. Böylece kadınların kamusal alandaki varlıkları/görünürlükleri kültürel ve dinsel değerlerde önemli bir kırılmaya neden olmuştur. Ayrıca, Osmanlı’nın son dönemlerindeki Türkçülüđün yükselmesi, savaş ekonomisinin gereklilikleri, kadın hareketi ve bunların ortak etkileri sonucundaki İttihat Terakki’nin sosyal ve ekonomik politikaları, kadının toplumsal durumunu, eğitim ve çalışma haklarını etkilemiştir.

Osmanlı’nın, belirli bir sınıfa ve o sınıf içinde daha çok erkeklere sağladığı eğitim olanađını deđiřtiren ve eşit bir şekilde her sınıfa ve kadınlara sunan Kemalist ideoloji, kadın-erkek eşitliğini sağlayan yasalarla (*devlet feminizmi*) kadının toplumsal konumunda büyük bir devrim yarattı. Böylece, hilafet ve řeriatın ideolojik ve politik gücü sarsılmış olacaktı. Bir başka deyişle, kadın-erkek eşitliđi ve kadın hakları alanındaki her dönüřüm, Osmanlı’dan kopuř, laikleşme, modernleşme ve uygarlaşma anlamına geliyordu. Elbette ulus-devletin ilk yıllarındaki kadına yönelik politikaların arkasında Osmanlı Kadın Hareketinin olduđunu da belirtmek gerekir.

Devlet bir yandan kadınları, eđitilmiş, meslek sahibi, aktif, siyasal ve sosyal haklarına kavuřmuř kamusal alnadaki elit kadın olması için desteklerken, diđer yandan nüfusun çođunluđunu oluřturan, okuma-yazma oranı çok düşük ve yüksek öğrenime ulaşması mümkün gözükmeyen kadınları okullařtırmaya çalıştı. Bu kadınlardan beklenen elit kadın olması deđil, cumhuriyet ideolojisini yeni nesile aktaracak (ulusal kimlik için), ev ekonomisini bilen, yurda yararlı, bilgili, inisiyatif sahibi “eđitilmiş evkadını” olması idi. Yeni ulus-devletin yeni yetişen kadınları, eğitim, meslek ve iş edinme konusunda erkeklerin gerisinde kalmayacaklardı. Çünkü “düzen ve ilerleme” için toplumun tüm üyelerinin kalkınması gerekiyordu. Bu bağlamda kadınların okuması, meslek sahibi olması ve kamusal alanda yer alması, Kemalist kadın kimliđini de oluřturuyordu. Yeni

bir devlet, yeni bir kadın imajını gerektiriyordu ve eğitim bu anlamda önemli bir role sahipti. Kadınlar aldıkları eğitimle laik burjuvazi ideolojisini yayacak, özellikle beyaz yakalı mesleklerde önemli işgücü kaynağı oluşturacak ve kendi özgürleşmeleri için mücadele edebilecekti. Bu nedenle de, Cumhuriyetin ilk yıllarındaki eğitim, cinsiyetçi değil, cinsiyetçiliği aşmaya çalışan bir niteliğe sahipti. Zorunlu ilkokul, karma eğitim, Latin alfabesinin kabulü, medreselerin kaldırılması gibi uygulamalar ile hem ülkenin eğitim seviyesi yükseltilmeye hem de kadın-erkek, kırsal-kent, bölgelerarası eşitlik sağlanmaya çalışılmıştır. Fakat, yine de kadının eğitim hakkını kullanması “Türkiye’de var olan kökleşmiş ataerkil sistem, sınıf ve kırsal-kent eşitsizliği” (Çitçi, 1990:105) ile engellenmiştir.

1950’lerde ise, Demokrat Parti iktidarının uyguladığı eğitim politikaları, özellikle kırsaldaki kadının eğitiminin gerilemesine neden oldu. Buna karşın kentlerde eğitim olanakları artarak devam etti. Bu dönemde başlayan kırsaldan kente göç ve gecekondu olgusu, eğitim alanını, kadınları ve kadının eğitimi etkiledi. Kentlerdeki nüfus artışına karşın yetersiz eğitim hizmeti, kentlilerin yeni fırsatlar peşinde koşmasına, özel ve yabancı okulların açılmasına yol açtı. Ancak daha çok üst sınıfın erişebildiği bu okullar, ayrıcalıklı grupların/seçkinlerin oluşmasına yol açtı. Öte yandan, kırsalda ve yoksul kent bölgeleri olan gecekondu bölgelerinde okul olmayışı gibi nedenlerden ötürü, hem ülke genelinde hem de aynı şehirde eşitsizlikler görünürleşmeye ve büyümeye başladı. Özellikle sınıfsal farklılıklar kadınların eğitimi konusunda önemli rol oynuyordu. Kentli ve orta-üst sınıftan ailelerin kızlarının eğitimi için sundukları fırsatlar, onların yükseköğrenime erişimini sağladı ve “saygın erkek meslekleri”ne sahip olmalarına yol açtı. Dolayısıyla, bu dönemde kadınların yükseköğrenime erişimi, yukarı hareketlilikten daha çok, sınıfsal eşitsizlikleri yeniden üretme anlamına gelmektedir. Ancak 1950 sonrasında yukarı hareketlilik göç ve eğitim ile gerçekleşmektedir. Genel olarak ülkenin eğitim seviyesi düşünüldüğünde, okur-yazmaz bir anne ve/veya babanın, ilkokul mezunu kızı/oğlu olması bile yukarı hareketliliktedir.

Kırsaldaki yetersiz eğitim koşulları bütün çocukları olumsuz etkiler. Ancak kızların eğitimini olumsuz etkileyen faktörler daha karmaşıktır. Örneğin, babanın eğitime bakışı, maddi imkânlar, kızların ev içinde ve dışında emeğine olan ihtiyaç, dini etkenler gibi. Dolayısıyla, eğitim olanaklarından yararlanmada cinsiyete dayalı fırsat eşitliği birçok değişkene bağlıdır. 80'lerden itibaren ise, neoliberal politikalarla sınıfsal farklılıkların derinleştiği görülmektedir. Eğitimin tüketim malı haline gelmesi, ona erişenlere ayrıcalık sağlamaktadır. Nüfus artışı, yoğun talep ve daha çok hizmet sektörüne yönelik gelişmeler eğitimin, devlet tarafından karşılanmasını zorlaştırdı. Her düzeydeki özel okulların açıldığı 80'li yıllarda, rekabet artmış ve birçok okulda seçme sınavları uygulanmaya başlamıştı. Prestijli okullar ve üniversitelerdeki bölümler için büyük bir yarış başlamıştı. Ancak kadınların, kırsaldakilerin ve alt sınıfların erişimi erkeklere, kentlilere ve orta-üst sınıftakilere göre daha zordur.

8 yıllık zorunlu eğitim, ücretsiz ders kitaplarının dağıtımı gibi uygulamalar kızların ve alt-sınıfların eğitimde kalma süresini olumlu etkilemiştir. Ancak, hâlâ okur-yazarlık oranı kadın ve erkekte eşitlenmemiş ve %100'e ulaşmamıştır. 1980 sonrasında orta ve yükseköğrenime katılım oranını ülke genelinde ve kadınlarda artırmıştır. Ancak kadınlar her eğitim düzeyinde erkeklerin gerisindedir. Sonuç olarak, kadınların eğitime erişimini etkileyen faktörler dönemlere göre göreceli olarak farklılık gösterse de, sınıf, bölge, kırsal-kent farklılıkları, siyasal ideoloji gibi değişkenlerin ağırlık kazandığını görüyoruz.

### **Araştırma Yöntemi**

Bu tez, iki araştırma yöntemine dayanmaktadır:

1) *Tarihsel -karşılaştırmalı analiz*: Tezin tarihsel arka planını oluşturan bu yöntem, toplumsal cinsiyet eşitsizliğinin derinlemesine ve -tarihsel bir arka planı olması nedeniyle- Türk modernleşmesinin tarihsel-karşılaştırmalı analizine dayanmaktadır. Sosyalist feminist perspektifine ve tarihsel analizlerin günümüze ışık tutacağı gerçeğine

dayanan bu yaklaşım, evrimsel bir süreç içinde gerçekleşen olayların anlaşılmasına katkı sağlayacağı için kullanılmıştır.

2) *Nicel analiz:* Toplamda 19.479 öğrencinin katıldığı, Eurostudent Araştırması IV (2011) anketi ve seçilmiş verileri kullanılarak oluşturulan nicel bir analize yapılmıştır.

Eurostudent Araştırması, 2000 yılında başlayan Lizbon Stratejisi ve Bologna Süreciyle ilgili olarak Avrupa Yüksek Öğrenim Alanı'na hizmet eden bir araştırmadır. Türkiye ise aday ülke olarak bu araştırmaya 2007 ve 2011 yıllarında katılmıştır. Araştırmanın asıl amacı, Avrupa'daki üniversite öğrencilerinin sosyoekonomik yaşam koşullarını karşılaştırmaya yarayacak veri elde etmek ve böylece yapısal dönüşümler hakkında bilgi edinip Avrupa Yüksek Öğrenim Alanı için engel oluşturabilecek durumları saptamaktır. Öğrencilerle ilgili birçok alanı içeren ankette; öğrencilerin demografik özellikleri, aile geçmişleri, yükseköğrenime erişim biçimi, konakladığı yerin özellikleri, burslar ve krediler, harcamaları, istihdam durumu, zaman kullanımı, uluslararası hareketliliği gibi başlıklar yer almaktadır. Türkiye'deki üniversite öğrencileriyle ilgili güncel ve ulusal düzeydeki bu çalışma, çalışmamızda seçilen değişkenlere göre analiz edilmiş ve yorumlanmıştır.

Ayrıca, Türkiye'deki yükseköğrenimin geçmişini dikkate aldığımızda görüyoruz ki, eğitim ve mühendislik fakültelerinin, rolleri ve amaçları birbirinden farklıdır. 19. yüzyıldan beri mühendislik fakültesi erkek-egemen alan olarak kurulurken, eğitim fakültesi, cinsiyete dayalı işbölümü nedeniyle kadınlara uygun olduğu için kurulmuştur: Öğretmenlik annelik rollerinin devamı gibi algılanırken, mühendislik fiziksel güç, askerlik ve matematikle ilgilidir. Başka bir deyişle, toplumsal cinsiyet güçlü bir şekilde bu alanlarla ilgilidir ve bu alanlarda temsil edilmektedir.

Bunlara ek olarak, tarihsel açıdan bu bölümlere baktığımızda, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda, mühendislik okullarının ordu ve donanmaya gerekli elemanları yetiştirmek ve böylece orduyu, kaybedilen toprakları ve imparatorluğu kurtarmak

amacıyla kurulduğunu görüyoruz (Göle, 1998). Bu okulların kaydettiği öğrenciler, askerî amaçlar için, erkekte ve kadınların bu alana alınması söz konusu bile değildi. Mühendisliğin erkek alanı olduğu algısını güçlendiren bir başka ipucu ise; tıp, doğa bilimleri eğitimi gibi alanlarda yükseköğrenim hakkı için mücadele eden Osmanlı kadınlarının mühendislik için mücadele etmemesidir (Naymansoy, 2010:3). Kadınların mühendisliğe karşı isteksizlikleri, Osmanlı'daki geleneksel eğitim sistemi ve içselleştirilmiş cinsiyete dayalı işbölümüyle ilgili olabilir. Aslında, mühendislik fakültesine kadınların ilk girişi *devlet feminizmi* sayesinde Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin ilk yıllarına (1927) rastlamaktadır (Karaca, 2012: 319; Zorlu, 2014:70). Öte yandan, Osmanlı'daki karma olmayan eğitim sonucunda kadın öğrencilere ders verecek kadın öğretmen ihtiyacı nedeniyle açılan, kadın öğretmen yetiştiren okullar, kadınlara kamusal alanda olma, yukarı hareketlilik ve iş piyasasına katılma olanakları/fırsatları sağlamıştır. Cumhuriyetin ilk yıllarında ise, yeni ulus-devlet ideolojisinin (Kemalist ideoloji) ajanı olarak görülen öğretmenler (devletin “ideolojik militanları” (Baskın, 2007:115-6)), ulus-devlet inşa sürecinde önemli rol oynamışlardır. Bu dönemdeki üniversite öğrencilerinin sosyoekonomik geçmişlerine baktığımızda, onların orta ve üst sosyoekonomik geçmişe sahip ailelerden geldiği görülmektedir. Bir başka deyişle, ailelerin genel özelliği, eğitilmiş, asker, yönetici gibi devletle ilişkili mesleklere sahip ve ayrıca Kemalist ideolojiyi destekleyen aileler olmalarıdır (Acar, 1996:198; Zengin-Arslan, 2002:10). Dolayısıyla, hem bu tarihsel geçmiş hem de Eurostudent IV (2011) datası dikkate alındığında, erkek-egemen alan olarak mühendislik fakültesi ve kadın-egemen alan olarak eğitim fakültesi seçilmiştir. Orijinal data toplamda 19.479 öğrenciden oluşmaktadır. Fakat, çalışmanın konusu herhangi bir fakülteye kayıtlı olan lisans düzeyindeki üniversite öğrencileri olduğu için, 2 yıllık yüksek okul öğrencileri, mastır/doktora öğrencileri ve açıköğretim öğrencileri örneklem dışında kalmıştır. Sonuçta, lisans öğrencilerinden oluşan asıl örneklem 16.817'ye düşmüştür. Fakültelerdeki örneklem sayısı ise, mühendislik fakültesi için n=3.669 ve eğitim fakültesi için n=3.172'dir. Toplumsal cinsiyet dağılımı ise, mühendislik fakültesinde

kadınlar için n=1.126, erkekler için n=2.543; eğitim fakültesinde kadınlar için n=1.817, erkekler için n=1.354'tür.

Literatür ve datanın sınırlılıkları çerçevesinde oluşturulan bağımsız değişkenler ise şöyledir: sosyodemografik değişkenler (yaş ve 12 yaşına kadar yaşanılan yer), ailenin sosyoekonomik statüsü (anne-babanın eğitim seviyesi, istihdam durumu, meslekleri, ailenin sosyal konumu, öğrencinin aileden aldığı aylık para miktarı, ailenin öğrenci için aylık harcaması) ve eğitim geçmişi (lise türü, ortaokulunun bulunduğu yer, anaokulu/kreşe katılım süresi, dershaneye katılım süresi).

Analiz ise iki aşamada gerçekleştirilmiştir: İlkinde, toplumsal cinsiyete ve fakülteye göre, bağımsız değişkenler betimleyici istatistiksel yöntemlerle karşılaştırılarak şu sorulara cevap aranmıştır: Eğitim ve mühendislik fakültesine giden öğrenciler kimdir? Aralarında ne tür benzerlik ve/veya farklılıklar vardır? İkinci aşamada ise, logistik modelleme ile değişkenlerin fakültelere katılıma etkileri analiz edilmiştir. Toplumsal cinsiyete göre değişkenlik gösteren faktörler ve etki düzeyleri ortaya konulmaya çalışılmıştır.

## **Bulgular**

### *Mühendislik veya Eğitim Fakültesinde Kadın/Erkek Öğrenci Olmak*

Üniversite öğrencileri ortalama 21 yaşındadır ve kadın öğrenciler erkeklerden daha gençtir. *12 yaşına kadar yaşanılan yer* değişkenine göre ise, kadın öğrencilerin ve mühendislik fakültesindeki öğrencilerin çoğunluğu kentsel alanlardan gelmektedir. Kırsal alanlardan öğrencilerin çoğunluğu eğitim fakültesinde öğrencidir.

*Ailenin sosyoekonomik statüsünü* oluşturan değişkenlerin hepsinde, eğitim fakültesi öğrencilerine göre mühendislik fakültesi öğrencilerinin yüksek sosyoekonomik statüdeki aileden geldikleri görülmüştür. Özellikle mühendislik fakültesindeki öğrenciler, yüksek



eđitimli, profesyonel meslek sahibi, dzenli gelir sahibi ailelerden gelmektedirler (eđitim fakltesindeki ođrencilere gbre). Ayrıca mshendislik fakltesindeki kadın ođrenciler, diđer ođrencilere gbre daha yksek sosyoekonomik statl bilerden gelmektedirler. Buna karřın, eđitim fakltesindeki erkekler ise, en dűřk sosyoekonomik stat bilerdeki ailelerden gelmektedir. Bir bařka deyiřle, eđitim fakltesindeki erkek ođrenciler en dezavantajlı grup olarak karřımıza çıkmaktadır.

Son olarak *eđitim geđmiřlerine* gbre, genel olarak kadın ođrencilerin Anadolu Lisesi'nden ve erkeklerin Dűz/Sűper Lise'den mezun olduklarını gbr b yoruz. Faklterlere gbre okul t rlerindeki dađılım ise; Meslek Lisesi mezunları ođunlukla eđitim fakltesinde ođrenci iken, Anadolu Lisesi mezunları mshendislik fakltesinde ođrencidir. Mshendislik fakltesindeki ođrencilerin ođunluđunun ve kadın ođrencilerin kentteki okullardan mezun oldukları dikkat eken bir bařka deđiřkendir. Anaokuluna/kreře ve dershaneye devam etme s rleri, kadın ve mshendislik fakltesi ođrencileri arasında, diđerlerine gbre daha uzun s relidir. Ođrencinin dershaneye daha uzun s re gitmesi, ailenin maddi g b c b ve eđitim masraflarını karřılama yeteneđiyle ilgilidir. Dolayısıyla, bu durum ailenin sosyoekonomik stat b s deđiřkenleriyle tutarlılık g bstermektedir.

Son u e olarak, fak lte ve toplumsal cinsiyete gbre ođrenciler, sosyodemografik b zellikler, ailenin sosyoekonomik stat b s ve eđitim geđmiři deđiřkenlerine gbre farklılıklar g bstermektedir. Bu farklılıklar toplumsal cinsiyete gbre eđitime eriřimdeki eđitsizlikleri g bstermektedir. b zellikle, kadın b niversite ođrencileri, erkeklere gbre, yksek sosyoekonomik stat b bilerden, kentlerden ve daha iyi eđitim geđmiřinden gelmektedirler. Faklteye gbre ise, mshendislik fakltesindeki ođrenciler, eđitim fakltesindekilere gbre, yksek sosyoekonomik stat b bilerden, kentlerden ve daha iyi eđitim geđmiřinden gelmektedirler. b zetle, eđitim fakltesinin yukarı hareketlilik sađladıđı, mshendislik fakltesinin ise stat b koyu koruduđu iddia edilebilir.

### *Fakültelere katılımı belirleyen faktörler*

Bağımsız değişken olarak kullandığımız sosyodemografik özellikleri, ailenin sosyoekonomik statüsünü ve eğitim geçmişini fakültelelere erişimi etkileyen faktörler olarak kadın ve erkek için ayrı ayrı analiz ettik. Bu analizlere göre, hangi değişkenin nasıl etki ettiğini ve değişkenlerin cinsiyete göre farklılık gösterip göstermediğini ortaya koymaya çalıştık. Logistik regresyon analize göre bulgular şöyledir:

Kadınların eğitim fakültesine katılımını; yaş, 12 yaşa kadar yaşanan yer (en güçlü), annenin eğitim seviyesi, lise türü, ortaokulunun bulunduğu yer etkilemektedir. Öte yandan, erkeklerin eğitim fakültesine katılımını; yaş (en güçlü), babanın eğitim durumu, annenin eğitim durumu, babanın istihdam durumu, lise türü ve ortaokulun bulunduğu yer etkilemektedir.

Buna karşın, kadınların mühendislik fakültesine katılımını; babanın istihdam durumu, lise türü (en güçlü), ortaokulun bulunduğu yer, anaokuluna/kreşe ve dershaneye katılım süresi etkilemektedir. Öte yandan, erkeklerin mühendislik fakültesine katılımını; 12 yaşa kadar yaşanan yer, annenin eğitim durumu, lise türü (en güçlü), ortaokulun bulunduğu yer ve dershaneye katılım süresi etkilemektedir.

Görüldüğü gibi, eğitim fakültesindeki hem kadın hem de erkek öğrenciler, genellikle düşük eğitim seviyesine sahip ailelerden, kırsal alanlardan ve meslek lisesinden gelmektedirler. Bütün bu özellikler düşük sosyoekonomik geçmişi ve eğitim fakültelerinin dezavantajlı gruplarını işaret etmektedir. Fakat, eğitim fakültesine erişim ile yukarı hareketlilik gerçekleşmektedir. Buna karşın, mühendislik fakültesindeki öğrenciler, yüksek eğitilmiş ailelerden, kent alanlarından ve kaliteli liselerden gelmektedirler. Ayrıca, bu ailelerin, çocuklarının “geleceği için yaptıkları yatırım” olan eğitim harcamalarını da (kaliteli okullar ve dershaneye gönderme gibi) açıktır. Bu bağlamda, iyi okullar, dershane hizmeti gibi eğitim olanaklarının fazlalığı kentsel alanları işaret etmektedir. Öyleyse, burada temel farklılık yaratan değişken kent-kır

eşitsizliğidir: kentlerdeki fazla eğitim olanaklarına karşılık kırsaldaki yetersiz eğitim kaynakları.

Sonuç olarak, kentsel alanlar ve ailelerinin yüksek sosyoekonomik statüye sahip olması mühendislik fakültesine erişimi kolaylaştırmaktadır. Aile geçmişi ve eğitimde fırsat eşitsizliği arasındaki ilişkiyi göz önünde bulundurduğumuzda, mühendislik fakültesine erişim, sosyoekonomik fırsatlar açısından varolan eşitsizlikleri yeniden üretirken, eğitim fakültesine erişimin yukarı hareketliliğe yardımcı olduğu iddia edilmektedir.

## **Sonuç**

Mühendislik ve eğitim fakültelerini karşılaştırarak Türkiye'deki yükseköğrenime erişimi ve bunun üzerinden yükseköğrenimin işlevini toplumsal cinsiyete göre incelediğimiz bu çalışmada, *sosyalist feminist perspektife* dayanarak şu sonuçlara varılmıştır: (i) Türkiye'deki yükseköğrenim toplumsal cinsiyete dayalı işbölümünü yeniden üretmektedir ve (ii) toplumsal cinsiyet ve ailenin sosyoekonomik statüsü arasındaki etkileşim, Osmanlı İmparatorluğundan beri yükseköğrenim sistemine yansımaktadır. Fakat, bu etkileşim Osmanlı'ya kadar geriye gitmesine rağmen, 1950 sonrasında daha güçlü ve görünür olmaya başlamıştır. Daha önce değinildiği gibi, 50 sonrasında yaşanan sosyal, ekonomik ve politik dönüşümler, hem eğitim alanını hem de kadınları etkilemiştir. Eğitim sistemindeki çeşitlilik, böylece, aynı şehirde ve ülkenin genelinde aileler, bölgeler ve kadın-erkek arasında yeni eşitsizliklerin oluşmasına ve büyümesine neden olmuştur: Kentteki orta ve üst sosyoekonomik geçmişli ve eğitilmiş aileler, kızlarının yükseköğrenime ve sonunda profesyonel bir mesleğe erişimi için olanaklar sağlamaktadır. Bu durum, eğitime erişimin ailenin sosyoekonomik statüsüne dayandığını, yani sosyal ve ekonomik eşitsizliklerin yeniden üretildiğini göstermektedir. 1980 sonrasında ise neoliberal ekonomi politikaları ile eğitimdeki özelleştirmeler, eğitimden daha fazla yararlanan ayrıcalıklı bir sınıfın oluşmasına yol açmıştır. Sonucunda da, sosyal eşitsizlikler daha da derinleşmeye başlamıştır.

Sosyalist feminist perspektifin iddia ettiđi gibi, üretim biçimindeki deđişimler eğitimi ve kadını etkiler. Bu anlamda, Türkiye tarım ekonomisinden sanayi/kapitalist ve sonrasında neoliberal ekonomiye geçişi 1950 sonrasında yaşamaktadır. Dolayısıyla üretim biçimiyle ilişkili olarak, kentleşme süreci ve ailenin sosyoekonomik statüsündeki deđişim (anne-babanın mesleki ve eğitimsel statülerindeki deđişim) meydana geldi ve bu durum hem eğitim alanını hem de eğitimdeki toplumsal cinsiyet eşitsizliğini etkiledi.

Günümüz Türkiye'si hâlâ yükseköğretimde toplumsal cinsiyet eşitsizliğine sahiptir. Başka bir deyişle, cinsiyet dengesi ve eğitimde fırsat eşitliği, hem toplumsal cinsiyete dayalı bölümlerin/fakülterin varlığı hem de toplumsal cinsiyet ve ailenin sosyoekonomik statüsü arasındaki güçlü ilişki nedeniyle başarısızdır. Bunlara ek olarak, kır-kent farklılığı, yükseköğretime erişim sürecini etkileyen önemli bir faktördür. Örneğin, üniversite öğrencilerinin çoğunluğu ve kadın öğrenciler kentlerden gelmektedir. Öte yandan, kırsaldan gelen öğrencilerin, eğitim fakültesine erişme ihtimali daha yüksektir.

Toplumsal cinsiyet ve ailenin sosyoekonomik statüsü arasındaki etkileşim ise açıktır. Kadın öğrenciler ve mühendislik fakültesindeki öğrenciler, diğerlerine göre, daha eğitilmiş ve profesyonel meslek sahibi ailelere sahiptir. Ayrıca, maaş karşılığı çalışan annelerin oranı, mühendislik fakültesinde daha yüksektir. Görüldüğü gibi, eğitim fakültesindeki öğrenciler daha düşük sosyoekonomik statülü ailelere sahiptir. Öyleyse, bu durum, eğitim fakültesine erişimin kuşaklar arası yukarı sosyal hareketliliğe neden olduğunu, mühendislik fakülterine erişimin ise sosyal geçmişi veya statükoyu yeniden ürettiğini göstermektedir. Başka bir deyişle, Türkiye'deki yükseköğretim, fakülteler aracılığıyla hem yukarı hareketliliği hem de sosyal eşitsizliklerin yeniden üretimini sağlamaktadır.

İkinci olarak, toplumsal cinsiyete dayalı işbölümüne göre, fakülteler için cinsiyet dağılımı hala geçerlidir: kadın-egemen alan olarak eğitim fakültesi ve erkek-egemen

alan olarak mühendislik fakültesi. Fakat, yaptığımız analiz sonuçlarını göz önüne alırsak, kentteki yüksek sosyoekonomik statülü aileler, cinsiyet farkı gözetmeksizin, çocuklarını yükseköğrenim için teşvik etmektedirler. Başka bir deyişle, bu ailelerin; dersane, kaliteli okullar ve diğer eğitim harcamaları gibi yaptıkları eğitim yatırımları, düşük sosyoekonomik statüdeki ve kırsal alanlardaki ailelerin yaptıklarından farklıdır. Öyleyse, bu ailelerden gelen kadınların, mühendislik fakültesine erişme ihtimali daha yüksektir.

Öte yandan, düşük sosyoekonomik geçmişten ve/veya kırsal alandan gelen bir erkeğin, kadın-egemen alan olan eğitim fakültesine erişme ihtimali daha yüksektir. Bizim örneğimizde, dezavantajlı grupların yükseköğrenime dahil olması için tek “açık kapı” eğitim fakültesidir. Ayrıca, bu erkeklerin eğitim ve aile geçmişleri, yüksek üniversite sınav puanı isteyen mühendislik fakültesine erişmek için “yeterli” değildir (kentteki yüksek sosyoekonomik statülü ailelerden gelen erkeklere göre). Başka bir deyişle, onlar mühendislik fakültesine erişmek için eşit olanaklara/fırsata sahip değiller ve bu nedenle mühendis olmak için mücadele edemezler. Fakat, onların şansları, düşük sosyoekonomik statülü ailelerden ve kırsal alandan gelen, zayıf eğitim geçmişi olan kadınlardan daha yüksek. Bu bahsedilen özelliklere sahip kadınların eğitime düşük katılma oranı, erkeklerin eğitim fakültesine erişme şansını artırmaktadır. Ayrıca cinsiyete dayalı işbölümüyle ilişkili olarak da, erkekler “ekmek getiren” olarak algılanmakta ve düşük sosyoekonomik geçmişe sahip biri için, eğitim fakültesi “güvenli” bir meslek sahibi olma imkânı veren bir fakülte olarak değerlendirilmektedir. “En azından öğretmen olacaksın.” cümlesi, toplumda öğretmenliğin nasıl algılandığını gösteren iyi bir örnektir. Erkekler, bu nedenle, profesyonel meslek için çok çalışmalı ve eğitim fakültesine kayıt olmalıdır. Fakat, cinsiyete dayalı eğilimleri anlamak için, bölümlere göre cinsiyet dağılımını konu olan daha fazla çalışmaya ihtiyaç vardır.

Görüldüğü gibi, yükseköğrenime erişimi etkileyen ve toplumsal cinsiyete göre çeşitlilik gösteren birçok değişken vardır. Bu sürecin birikimsel (kümülatif) olduğunu göz önüne

aldığımızda, yükseköğretimdeki ve erişim sürecindeki toplumsal cinsiyet eşitsizliklerini azaltmak için sosyal politika olarak şunlar önerilebilir: 1) Yükseköğretimdeki toplumsal cinsiyet eşitsizliğinin, daha önceki eğitim düzeylerindeki eşitsizliklere dayandığı açıktır. İlköğretim zorunlu olmasına rağmen, okulu terk ve ortaöğretime kayıtlı öğrenci oranları, toplumsal cinsiyet eşitsizliğinin ortaöğretim düzeyinde artmaya başladığını gösteriyor. 2012 yılında “4+4+4” olarak uygulamaya geçirilen 12 yıllık kesintili ve zorunlu eğitimin, orta ve lise düzeyindeki okulu terk ve toplumsal cinsiyet eşitsizliğini engellenmek için kesintisiz hâle getirilmesi gerekmektedir. Ayrıca anaokulu/kreş eğitiminin önemini göz önüne aldığımızda, okulöncesi eğitim herkes için zorunlu olmalı ve bunun için gerekli altyapı oluşturulmalıdır. Annenin eğitim düzeyinin önemi göz önüne alındığında da, kadınların eğitim seviyesini artırmayı hedefleyen uzun vadeli eğitim politikalarına ihtiyaç vardır. 2) Bölgeler arası ve kırsal-kent eşitsizliklerini ortadan kaldıracak yeni sosyal politikalara ihtiyaç vardır. Eğitim kaynakları ve eğitim kalitesi; ailenin sosyoekonomik statüsü, toplumsal cinsiyet ve bölge gözetmeksizin, eğitimde fırsat eşitliği için eşit olmalıdır. 3) Ailede ve okulda ders kitapları aracılığıyla tanımlanan toplumsal cinsiyet rolleri, sosyalizasyon süreciyle oluşturulur/yaratılır: erkek “ekmek getiren” olarak, kadın “eş, anne ve evkadını” olarak. Ayrıca, okullarda öğretmenlerin erkek öğrencilerden yüksek beklentileri, onları iyi gelirli ve prestijli meslekler için matematik ve fen alanlarına yönlendirmeleri, toplumsal cinsiyet ayrımcılığına ve toplumsal cinsiyete dayalı işbölümünün yeniden üretilmesine yol açar. Bu bağlamda, okul kitaplarında toplumsal cinsiyete dayalı işbölümünü vurgulamak yerine, daha eşitlikçi bir yaklaşım sergilenmesi ve kadınların, erkek mesleği olarak görülen mesleklere yönlendirilmesi gerekmektedir. Ya da erkeklerin aynı şekilde kadın mesleği olarak görülen mesleklere yönlendirilmesi gerekir. 4) Öğretmenlik, mühendisliğe göre, düşük prestijli ve düşük gelirli bir meslek olarak algılanmaktadır toplumda. Bu nedenle, erkeklerin eğitim fakültesini tercih etme ihtimalleri daha düşüktür. Öte yandan, ev işçisi ve ücretli işçi olarak görülen kadının, toplumsal cinsiyete dayalı işbölümü gerçekleştirmesi için de, eğitim fakültesine gitmesi

desteklenir. Öyleyse, öğretmenlik mesleğinin değerini yükseltecek (gelir ve çalışma koşulları gibi) ve erkekleri öğretmenlik mesleğine yöneltecek sosyal politikalara ihtiyaç vardır. Ayrıca, istihdam ve çalışma politikaları ile, kadınlar mühendislik mesleği için desteklenmeli ve yönlendirilmelidir. 5) Annenin istihdam ve çalışma durumunun fakültelere erişim üzerindeki önemini göz önüne aldığımızda, kadının işgücü piyasasında yer alması için kota sistemi gibi yeni istihdam politikalarına ihtiyaç vardır.

Sonuç olarak, yükseköğrenime erişim sürecini etkileyen faktörlerin toplumsal cinsiyete göre farklılıklarını incelemeye çalışan bu tez ile, literatüre hem ampirik olarak hem de teorik olarak katkı sunulması amaçlanmıştır. Fakat, datanın ikinci el olması ve sınırlılıkları nedeniyle, bazı değişkenler ve sorunlar tezin dışında kalmıştır. Bu bağlamda, hem nitel hem de nicel yeni çalışmalara ihtiyaç vardır. Örneğin, kültürel faktörler bu süreci nasıl etkilemektedir? Özel ve devlet üniversiteleri arasında toplumsal cinsiyet, ailenin sosyoekonomik statüsü ve eğitim geçmişi değişkenlerine göre farklılık var mıdır? Eski ve yeni üniversiteler arasındaki öğrenci profili olarak farklılıklar nasıldır? Fakülteler içinde bölümlere göre farklılık var mıdır? Yıllara göre (50ler, 60lar gibi) eğitime erişimi etkileyen faktörleri ortaya çıkarmak mümkün müdür? Görüldüğü gibi, bu alanla ilgili cevaplanması gereken birçok soru vardır. Fakat, bu çalışma Türkiye'deki yükseköğrenim alanı için önemli bir başlangıç olacaktır.

## APPENDIX G: TEZ FOTOKOPİSİ İZİN FORMU

### ENSTİTÜ

Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>
Enformatik Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>
Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>

### YAZARIN

Soyadı : ÇEVİK

Adı : AYLİN

Bölümü : SOSYOLOJİ

**TEZİN ADI** : HIGHER EDUCATION IN TURKEY IN THE CONTEXT OF GENDER, UPWARD MOBILITY AND REPRODUCTION OF INEQUALITIES: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE EDUCATION AND ENGINEERING FACULTIES

**TEZİN TÜRÜ** : Yüksek Lisans  Doktora

1. Tezimin tamamından kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.
2. Tezimin içindekiler sayfası, özet, indeks sayfalarından ve/veya bir bölümünden kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.
3. Tezimden bir (1) yıl süreyle fotokopi alınamaz.

**TEZİN KÜTÜPHANEYE TESLİM TARİHİ:**