

CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF GENDER POLICY IN TURKISH  
EDUCATION: EVIDENCE FROM POLICY DOCUMENTS AND PRINT  
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Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

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## **ABSTRACT**

### **CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF GENDER POLICY IN TURKISH EDUCATION: EVIDENCE FROM POLICY DOCUMENTS AND PRINT MEDIA**

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The purpose of the study was threefold: (1) to examine policy discourses on gender policy in education in the last decade in Turkey, (2) to examine media discourses on gender policy in education in the last decade in Turkey, and (3) to examine teachers' views of gender policy in education in the last decade in Turkey.

The study utilized critical discourse analysis as a research tool to investigate the discursive implications of gender equality/inequality in education embedded in language and information of educational policy documents and print media. The textual discourse analysis involved 124 publicly available policy documents published by 12 organizations and a total of 252 newspaper clippings published in

14 different national newspapers in the last decade. In order to investigate the perceptions of teachers regarding these policies and news reports, interviews were conducted with 13 teachers working at different levels of education in Ankara.

Results indicated that there were indicators of gender inequalities at each stage of policy making, from policy formulation to implementation. While official statements seemed to be in line with gender equality perspective, inconsistencies underlying most educational policies created a political reality causing gender inequalities in Turkish context. It was also revealed that media coverage of this policy discourse reinforced the ways patriarchy and policy collides in Turkey. Participating teachers provided examples of sexist practices at schools stemming from gender norms and dominant patriarchal culture. Namely, structure of the curriculum, sexist practices and gender discrimination at schools created gender inequalities in education.

**Keywords:** Gender inequalities in education, educational policies, policy discourse, critical discourse analysis

## ÖZ

### TÜRK EĞİTİMİNDE TOPLUMSAL CİNSİYET POLİTİKALARININ ELEŞTİREL SÖYLEM ANALİZİ: POLİTİKA DÖKÜMANLARI VE YAZILI BASINDAN KANITLAR

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Bu çalışmanın amacı üç yönlüdür: (1) Türkiye'de son on yılda eğitimde toplumsal cinsiyet politikalarına ilişkin politika söylemlerini incelemek, (2) Türkiye'de son on yılda eğitimde cinsiyet politikaları üzerine medya söylemlerini incelemek ve (3) öğretmenlerin son on yıldaki eğitimdeki cinsiyet politikalarına ilişkin görüşlerini incelemek.

Bu amaçla, 14 farklı gazetede son on yılda yayınlanan 252 adet eğitim haberi, Milli Bakanlığı ve eğitim alanında çalışmalar yapan çeşitli sivil toplum kuruluşları tarafından son on yılda yayınlanan 124 adet eğitim raporu ve politika dokümanı, Eleştirel Söylem Analizi yöntemiyle analiz edilmiştir. Benzer şekilde, incelenen eğitim haberlerin ve eğitim politikalarının öğretmenler tarafından nasıl algılandığını belirlemek amacıyla Ankara ilinde, Milli Eğitim Bakanlığına bağlı

değişik eğitim kademelerinde görev yapan 13 öğretmen ile yarı yapılandırılmış görüşmeler yapılmıştır.

Çalışmanın sonuçlarına göre eğitimde toplumsal cinsiyet politikalarında, politikaların oluşturulmasından uygulamaya kadar her aşamasında, cinsiyet eşitsizliği göstergeleri vardır. Yasal söylemlerin eşitlik ilkesiyle uyumlu görünmesine karşın, eğitim politikalarını çerçeveleyen tutarsızlıklar, cinsiyet ayrımcılığını pekiştiren, eşitsizliklere neden olan politik bir gerçeklik yaratmaktadır. Benzer şekilde politikaların medyada yansıtılış biçimi de eğitim politikalarının toplumun cinsiyetçi ve ataerkil yapısını yeniden üreten yapısını ortaya koymuştur. Araştırmaya katılan öğretmenler, kız çocuklarının eğitimini olumsuz yönde etkileyen ve eşitsizlik yaratan eğitim süreçlerine değinmişlerdir. Eğitim programlarının geleneksel cinsiyet rollerini pekiştiren yapısı, okullardaki cinsiyetçi ortam ve uygulamalar cinsiyet eşitsizlikleri yaratmaktadır.

**Anahtar kelimeler:** Eğitimde cinsiyet eşitsizliği, eğitim politikaları, politika söylemleri, eleştirel söylem analizi

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

**AKP:** Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi

**CDA:** Critical Discourse Analysis

**CDS:** Critical Discourse Studies

**CHP:** Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi

**ECA:** Europe and Central Asia Region

**EFA:** Education for All

**ERG:** Eğitim Reformu Girişimi

**ERI:** Education Reform Initiative

**EU:** European Union

**ETCEP:** Eğitimde Toplumsal Cinsiyet Eşitliğinin Geliştirilmesi Projesi

**Ka-Der:** Kadın Adayları Destekleme ve Eğitim Derneği

**KSGM:** T.C. Başbakanlık Kadının Statüsü Genel Müdürlüğü

**MDG:** Millennium Development Goal

**MONE:** Ministry of National Education

**NGO:** Nongovernmental Organization

**OECD:** Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

**PISA:** The Programme for International Student Assessment

**SADEV:** Swedish Agency for Development Evaluation

**SETA:** Siyaset, Ekonomi ve Toplum Araştırmaları Vakfı



**TAP:** Türk Akademisyenler Platformu

**TESEV:** Türkiye Ekonomik ve Sosyal Etüdler Vakfı

**ULEGDER:** Uluslararası Eğitim Gönüllüleri Derneđi

**ULUED:** Uluslararası Eğitimciler Derneđi

**UN:** United Nations

**UNESCO:** United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization

**UNICEF:** United Nations Children's Fund

**UNGEI:** The United Nations Girls' Education Initiative

**WENR:** World Education News and Review

## **CHAPTER 1**

### **INTRODUCTION**

This chapter includes four parts. The first part provides a background to the study. In the second part, the purpose of the study and the related research questions are presented. Later, the significance of the study is discussed in the third part. Finally, the fourth part presents the definitions of important terms used in the present study.

#### **1.1. Background of the Study**

##### **1.1.1. Equality of Educational Opportunities**

Education, which is a powerful predictor of political participation in democratic process and realization of human rights in societies, plays a critical role in social and economic developments in the knowledge based economy. Due to its central role in development of nations, improvements in the quality and quantity of education and ensuring equality of educational opportunities are among significant components of countries' political agendas (Ferreira and Gignoux, 2011; Tomul, 2008). Equality of educational opportunity refers to individuals' equal access to and equal benefit of educational opportunities. It can be defined as providing equal education to all the individuals in a society regardless of their background and gender, presenting opportunities to benefit from educational facilities at the best level qualitatively and quantitatively at all levels of education, and securing all of the above mentioned points by law. To be more precise, equality of educational opportunities bestows on individuals a chance to develop their skills and capabilities without any discrimination and prevention and an equal access to and participation in education (Güven, 2000; Tezcan, 1994).

The relationship between schooling and social inequality has been the central issue in the sociology of education since World War II. However, the concept of inequality of educational opportunity has remained ambiguous and unstable over time and across societies as changes and developments in social life shaped the educational policies and practices to a great extent. The social and intellectual movement of progressivism considered public education, which meant schools would be accessed freely and equally by all children, as an essential instrument of social progress. Thus, progressivism at the beginning of the twentieth made the concept of equality more explicit in education (Clark, 2001; Hallinan, 1998). Up to 1950s, the concept of equality of educational opportunities was bounded by a superficial definition of providing equal opportunities of education for all regardless of their language, religion, race and gender. Social developments and regulations experienced after World War II attributed new meanings and wider dimensions to the concept of equalities in education, including issues such as a quantitative increase of enjoying the right to basic education and meeting the needs of individuals with disabilities (Güven, 2000; Jencks et al, 1972& Wexler, 1976 as cited in Hallinan 1988).

Although equalizing access and participation in education are considered as key equality objectives, achieving equality in education to make schools truly egalitarian institutions requires a more holistic and integrated approach analyzing complex relationships that exist between economic, political, socio-cultural and affective systems in society (Lynch and Baker, 2005). According to Shor (1992), educational inequalities are rooted in the system at the macro level rather than personal and group deficit as the gap between different groups of people in the society brings complex challenges and disadvantages on the part of subordinate groups. Along with improving educational attainment, today's labor market necessitates increasing the quality of education by equipping all the children with high quality knowledge and skills for long term economic growth of nations. It is possible to associate attending schools with economic growth only when students effectively improve their cognitive and non-cognitive skills required by the labor market (World Bank, 2011). In this respect, scholars of social stratification argued

that expansion of education would not close the gap between lower and upper classes and increase in the attendance rates is not a strong indicator of an equal education for all (Shavit et al, 2007).

In Turkey, thanks to projects and initiatives of MONE and other social organizations, schooling rates at basic education level increased considerably in the last twenty years. However, in spite of recent practices and incentives to increase enrollment rates, 6% of girls and boys at the age of compulsory education are not enrolled in school (ERG, 2014). Another worrying point is that the ratio of students who do not attend school at secondary education level is considerably higher. Moreover, the ratio of females who are not enrolled in school is higher than their male counterparts at that level. It means that at secondary education level females are more disadvantaged than males, especially in the eastern part of the country, with 7-8 percent difference (ERG, 2014). Besides, there are outstanding quality related problems in Turkish education system such as the inadequacy of investments in education, problems in access to education, social inequalities caused by gaps in access to preschool, gender inequalities and regional disparities in the quality of education, differences in the qualities of schools, and problems of teacher training (UN, 2013). Many research studies indicated that there are indicators of educational inequalities between students from lower and upper classes in terms of both educational attainment and outcomes. Social inequalities, regional disparities and different qualities of schools and schooling widen achievement gap between students from different backgrounds (Aydagül, 2006; Buyruk, 2008; Ferreira and Gignoux, 2010; Sarier, 2010; Smits and Hoşgör 2006; Tomul; 2008). There is apparently a problem of inequalities of educational opportunities in Turkish context considering the aforementioned problems in the system, which necessitates an improvement in the quality of national education along with efforts to increase access to education especially in disadvantaged regions of the country (ERG, 2012).

### **1.1.2. Gender Inequalities in Education**

Education has divergent returns in many realms of human life such as reducing poverty, increasing the quality of life through enlarging job opportunities and health standards of individuals, and strengthening the democracy. Through its transformative power and its vital role in helping people realize their full potential, education becomes an impulsive force for realizing other development goals (UNGEI, 2009; UNGEI, 2013). Education empowers women in particular to acquire equal rights and overcome discrimination. It is possible to witness the returns of female education in diverse settings. At individual, familial and social level, female education engenders greatest returns of all development investments (UNGEI, 2013; World Bank, 2009a). Education enhances the quality of women's life by expanding their job opportunities and participation in labor force and reducing domestic violence. Educated women play a more active role in the society with their increased participation in political and democratic processes (Subrahmanian, 2007; UNGEI, 2013). As educated women are more informed about health issues such as family planning, pre and post natal care, child bearing, and care and nutrition (Dilli, 2010; Fuke, 2007; World Bank, 2009a), increased year of female schooling also results in healthy and more educated generations (UNGEI, 2013) Moreover, educated women provide richer learning opportunities to their children and improve the quality of children's education (Dilli, 2010; Jolly and Mehrotra, 1997). Mothers' education level is an important indicator of particularly girls' enrollment and attainment levels (Roudi-Fahimi and Moghadam, 2003). Namely, female education plays an exceedingly important role in personal and national development as it enables females to fulfill their potential and contributes to developments in diverse spheres of social life (Acar, 2003; ERI, 2010; Yazan, 2014).

Although it has long been acknowledged that female education is highly correlated with spheres of human and social development and ensuring gender equity in education has long been a critical concern in educational agenda of many developing countries, female education has not been addressed adequately and stands to be an under-invested area in many communities (Bandyopadhyay and

Subrahmanian, 2008; UNESCO, 2005). In spite of recent advances in girls' education, gender equity in education has not reached the intended level, and females are still disadvantaged compared to male counterparts especially in developing, low income countries. According to EFA Global Monitoring Report, income is the most striking reason for gender disparities, and low income countries lag behind middle and high income countries in ensuring gender equity in education. Girls are still underprivileged at all levels of education due to discriminatory treatments and lower quality of education provided to them, and they constitute 54% of the children out of school worldwide (UNGEI, 2013).

Almost every sphere of Turkish education sector has passed through significant policy changes and new initiatives in the last decade. As a part of education reform movements, Turkey considered girls' education as a critical priority and engaged in many vigorous attempts and a wide range of government and nongovernment initiatives to adequately address this highly prominent issue (Aydagül, 2013). As a result of these policy initiatives and educational reform efforts, Turkey has made significant progresses in its attempt to reach gender equity in education. According to UNICEF and World Bank education reports, enrollment rate for both girls and boys in primary education was above the Europe and Central Asia region (ECA) average in 2012-2013. Net enrollment rates for four-year secondary education level also indicated progress with respect to gender parity (70.8% for boys, 69.3% for girls) (MONE, 2013; UNICEF, 2013; World Bank, 2014). Moreover, Turkey made significant progress in increasing the quality of education for both genders considering the average PISA performance scores and the results of nationwide exams (Ferreira and Gignoux, 2010; Sarier, 2010; World Bank, 2014). Despite all the progresses in terms of increasing access and learning outcomes, improving the quality and equality still stands to be a challenge in Turkey (Aydagül, 2013). First of all, it is difficult to come up with a comprehensive assessment regarding attendance to education as MONE's statistics do not provide data on absenteeism and dropout rates (ERG, 2013). Similarly, although Turkey has achieved significant improvements in increasing access to education at all levels of education in the last two decades, gender inequalities are

still prominent in the Eastern provinces, in rural areas, and for poorer and larger households (Engin-Demir, 2012; Ferreira and Gignoux, 2010; Sarier, 2010). As statistics indicate continuing regional disparities regarding girls' education, it is necessary to carry out a deeper analysis and detailed investigation of this crucial phenomenon. In this context, more qualitative and local level data need to be collected to examine the quantity and quality of education provided for all, particularly for girls in Turkish context.

Complex relations between education and other social institutions in the society necessitate analyzing the indicators of gender equalities in education within a range of various indicators of inequalities beyond the education system (Subrahmanian, 2005). In Turkey, girls and women are subject to different forms of inequalities at different stages of their lifetime. They face sexist practices, physical, economic and social discrimination, and sexual violence. Gender biases and discrimination in the early stages of their life influence girls' development negatively. Due to traditional practices, girls are forced to unwanted and early marriages, and they are assigned unequal distribution of labor in the family (UN, 2013). It is also necessary to reflect on patriarchal social structure fed by religious basis both to identify the content and scope of gender inequalities and to uncover the implicit indicators of gender inequalities in education (Sayılan, 2012). To be more precise, gender discriminatory traditions and practices rooted in a strong patriarchal culture and Islamic beliefs filter down to schools in Turkey and reinforce traditional gender roles in the society (Acar, 2003; UNGEI, 2013; Tomul, 2005; Yazan, 2014). School organization, standardized educational practices and informal instruction methods, and content of educational materials and curricula all disadvantage females in the education system (Acar and Ayata, 2000; Esen, 2013; Tan, 2010; Tezcan, 2003). Explicit and hidden messages in the official and hidden curricula tailor students to fit into their traditional gender roles and also define different achievement criteria and standards for two genders (Tan, 2010).

### **1.1.3. Educational Policy Discourse and Gender**

A comprehensive analysis of gender inequalities in education entails a holistic picture of social inequalities and women's status in the society along with the educational policies undertaken. To this end, it is crucial to examine different social dynamics in Turkish society triggering educational changes and reforms, and shaping gender policies in education. Education reforms and educational policy making are formed in alignment with the changes in economic and political fabric of the society as these processes are inevitably interwoven. The value system in a society, social equity, and economic well-being are driven by the education policies and reforms while the structure of the curriculum and schooling and organization of learning activities are basically shaped in the context of ideological changes in the society (Wang, 2013). As a result of educational policies of conservative Islamist government in the last decade, every sphere of Turkish education system has passed through significant policy changes. Islam and Islamic code of conduct have gained a new momentum by exceeding the boundaries of the dichotomy between modernity and tradition which was particularly manifest on the gender plane (Göle, 2003). As gender problems in education have gained new dimensions in recent years, it has become more prominent to examine gender policy in education from a critical perspective. It is not possible to unearth the factors causing gender inequalities in education without a critical investigation of interconnected interactions among educational policy making and other social dynamics shaping gender policy in education (Sayılan 2012). Such an approach primarily necessitates a detailed description of Turkish education context and gender policy in education in the last decade in an attempt to highlight the roots of gender inequalities in education. In this context, an analysis of teachers' perspectives of gender policy in education is also necessary as teachers are actively engaged in policy on a regular basis, and their interpretation of the policy functions as a new production of policy. At different educational settings, policy is constantly being made and remade by teachers with different personal, political, and professional viewpoints (Heimans, 2012; Naidu, 2011).



As policies set parameters of thoughts and actions which are conceivable and enacted upon, the language of policies is never value-free or neutral and policy texts often represent ideological tenets explicitly (Hernandez, 2013). Considering that policy discourse creates, shapes, and produces truths (Allan, 2008) which determine individuals' gender perspectives and behavior patterns, existence of gender biases in policy discourse and negative consequences of gendered policy making systematically disadvantage females in the education system (Allan, 2008; Lombardo et al., 2012). In this context, present study examines discursive juncture where gender inequalities are created through ambiguities and contradictions within and across policy and policy discourse (Allan, 2008). CDA studies explore the relationship between language and social and political contexts of language use (Paltridge, 2013). Along with the socially important issues such as nationalism, ethnicity, immigration, and human rights, the representation and construction of gender as a social entity is a remarkable issue to be studied in discourse studies (Van Dijk, 1997, DeLamater & Hyde, 1998; Talbot, 1998). Through a detailed analysis of the direct and hidden messages embedded in policy discourse and a careful examination of social contexts shaping the discursive dynamics, it is aimed to reveal values and ideologies which cause and reproduce gender inequalities in education (Paltridge, 2013; Wooffitt, 2005). Discourse, power, and knowledge interactively structure realities and identities in a society. Without the circulation and functioning of discourse, relations of powers cannot be exercised (Foucault, 1980; Foucault, 1994). Discourse plays a critical role in the constitution or construction of social identities, social relations and systems of knowledge and meaning (Foucault, 1978; Fairclough, 1995). In Butler's (1993) theory of performativity, people construct their gender identity by behaving in the limits of cultural norms defining masculinity and femininity. Considering that language operates within the cultural and ideological systems in a society, people construct their gender identity by adapting their existence to gender discourses (Alsop et. al, 2002; Foucault, 1998; Strozeir, 2002). In this sense, a comprehensive analysis of what information is included or excluded from texts guides us to find out how discursive features worked to indoctrinate a particular form of gender identity.

Media is one of the powerful tools of the government, which imposes social norms and reinforces gender inequalities in society (Bordo, 1993). Policy and media discourses are interrelated as they share some common characteristics. Media constitutes preferred discourse of education policies and privileges particular policies and particular voices to talk about policies (Thomas, 2002). Besides, government policies are interpreted from different angles and reflected in different ways in media discourses. Whether they are produced in the private or government sectors, ideological nature of public discourses manifests itself both in policy and media discourses. Discursive struggles in media and policy discourses construct subjectivities, different world views, and ways of knowing or representing the self. They influence public spheres and shape public opinion and social relations through discursive representations of realities (Thomas, 2002). As research found a correlation between the content of press items and public opinion together with evidence of agenda setting (Thomas, 2002; Fairclough, 1995), media plays an important role in transmitting and reproducing the gender roles in the society. Gender identity emphasized in the media texts and female representation in media are important as gender roles and roots of gendered practices in the society are reproduced through media channels. In Turkish context, research studies verified the role of media discourses in reproducing gender inequalities. Namely, women are portrayed within the framework of socio-cultural norms and cultural values and the traces of dominant patriarchal system in the society in the print media (Bal, 2014; Çelik and Uysal, 2012). In this context, it might be argued that policy and media discourses collide to reinforce traditional gender roles and to promote a particular gender identity which disadvantage girls in the education system.

## **1.2. Purpose of the study**

The purpose of the study was threefold: (1) to examine policy discourses on gender policy in education in the last decade in Turkey, (2) to examine media discourses on gender policy in education in the last decade in Turkey, and (3) to examine teachers' views of gender policy in education in the last decade in Turkey.

The study utilizes critical discourse analysis as a research tool to investigate discursive implications of gender equality/inequality in education embedded in language and information of educational policy documents and print media.

### **1.3. Research Questions**

The following questions guided the study:

1. How is gender policy in education reflected in the policy documents published in the last decade in Turkey?
  - 1.1. How is gender identity reflected in educational policy documents?
  - 1.2. Are there any discursive indicators of gender inequalities in education embedded in policy documents?
2. How is gender policy in education reflected in the print media in the last decade?
  - 2.1. How does print media discourse shape people's understanding and perception of gender policy in education in the last decade?
  - 2.2. How is gender identity reflected in the news reports?
  - 2.3. Are there any discursive indicators of gender inequalities in education embedded in the news reports?
3. What are the perceptions of teachers regarding gender policy in education in the last decade?

### **1.4. Significance of the Study**

While the concept of inequalities of educational equality is widely studied in the literature (Buyruk, 2008; Ferreira and Gignoux, 2010; Garoman, 2001; Mehan, 2001; Salehi-Isfahani, Hassine and Assad, 2014; Sarier, 2010; Tomul, 2008), the potential significance of the present study lies in the investigation of gender policy in education. The quality of student learning in the later years is determined by the quality of education provided to them in the initial years of education (World Bank, 2011). Therefore, it is clearly significant to analyze the gender policy in education at basic education level as girls' overall educational life and their

participation in economic and social life in the long run will be shaped through the quality of education they have attained at that level. Similarly, it is prominent to address gender policy in education for both the empowerment of females in diverse areas of social life and the substantial development of the country correspondingly. In this context, the present study examines educational policies which are the reflections of social and political dynamics in the country. A critical analysis of gender policy in education will reveal interconnected interactions among education system and other social institutions. In Turkish context, gender inequalities are reinforced through certain educational practices based on values and morals of dominant ideology. Therefore, in order to reach a better argumentation about gender inequalities in education, it is important to examine gender policy in education and traditional practices such as gender segregations, gender stereotyping and discriminations which disadvantage females in Turkey (Sayılan 2012; Acar and Ayata, 2002).

Research studies conducted on girls' education revealed that there is a problem of gender inequality in education, (Alat and Alat, 2011; Dilli, 2006; Gönenç, Ayhan ve Bakır, 2002; Mercan, 2010; Tomul, 2008) and schools are still under the influence of traditional gender roles permeating society (MoNE, 2013; UNGEI, 2013). This problem is worsened by the fact that educational policies do not address this prominent issue adequately. Policy efforts focus on schooling tendencies and equality between two genders in terms of educational access and attainment. Namely, the length of education, graduation ratio and success rate of students who have access to education are basic concerns of ensuring a quality and equal education. However, schooling tendencies constitute one dimension of access to a quality education. A holistic analysis of the issue may be possible through an investigation of absenteeism and dropout rates, which can clarify the sustainability of educational attainment and degree of academic achievement (ERG, 2014). On the other hand, while gender discrimination is considered one of the reasons hindering educational attainment of females, for those who are enrolled in schools, sexist practices in education determine how and to what degree they benefit from education. For this reason, it is significant to identify the

content and scope of gender inequalities in education and to uncover the implicit indicators of inequalities underlying those sexist practices. In this way, it could be possible to reveal how girls become disadvantaged in education system while gender inequality is presumed as one of the prominent issues in education (Sayılan, 2012). To this end, the present study aimed to investigate educational policies from a critical perspective as policies inform school practices and shape gender perceptions of stakeholders. More specifically, a critical analysis of policy discourse provides a deeper exploration of framing of policy and their likely consequences. To be more precise, the ways policy makers present the problems, solutions and particular gender perspectives inform the ways people interpret gender inequalities in education. In this framework, it is aimed to find out how issues and priorities of gender policy in education are addressed in policy documents (Monkman and Hoffman, 2013).

An investigation of how policy texts present gender policy in education and ideologies embedded in these presentations supplements other scientific studies on gender policy in education as it addresses this prominent issue in a critical way. The relationship between discourse and politics manifests itself in emphases and omissions in policy language, which shapes people's understanding of reality. Considering that education policy making process is under the influence of a complex system of different interest groups, formal institutions, and organizations, educational policy analysis necessitates exploring the relationship between policy texts and their historical, political, social, and cultural context (Marginson, 1993; Taylor, 2004). In other words, educational policies reflect the ideologies, values, and norms of the society, and they cannot be analyzed free from their social context. In this respect, it is necessary to question "whose values are validated in policy" (Ball, 2012 p. 3) and to examine the values, norms, and ideologies embedded in policy documents from a critical perspective. By carrying out a detailed and critical analysis, it is expected to clarify discursive indicators of gender inequalities in education in a broad sense and unearth gender biased ideologies, cultural values, and belief systems embedded in the policy discourse in particular.

Critical discourse analysis examines the ideology and subliminal and explicit messages power entails through discourse (Allan, Iverson and Ropers-Huilman, 2010). CDA is not just a systematic and normative analysis of discursive elements in itself. Interpretations and explanations of areas of social life produced by a critical analysis both present the causes of social wrongs and the knowledge which might have a role in solving and mitigating them under the right circumstances (Fairclough, 2013). In other words, CDA highlights the cultural values, ideologies, and choices in policy texts to figure out both the roots of and solutions to social problems (Hernandez, 2013). The investigation of values and choices in policy documents will reveal the mutual relationship between politics and policy in education (Hernandez, 2013). This investigation will also clarify how gender inequality in education is produced and reproduced and trace the possible solutions consequently. Besides, the language of policy documents may contribute to construction of a certain gender identity as language plays an important role in forming and reinforcing gender norms and values of a society (Ansary and Babaii, 2003). By carrying out a CDA, the present study investigates discursive elements which promote particular gender identities and cause gender inequalities. This kind of an analysis unearths the forces that shape gender policy in education and the ways discursive framing of policies influence gender perceptions of individuals.

The present study depicts a detailed analysis of policy documents, newspaper coverage of educational policy making, and teachers' reflections in relation to gender policy in education in the last decade. With the help of a critical attention to media and policy discourses, it is aimed develop a comprehensive understanding of social dynamics and ideologies shaping gender policy in education and particular gender perspectives informing sexist practices in educational settings. As ruling class controls the most effective tools and mechanisms such as the education system, political system, judicial system, and media organs which transmit the ideologies, governments construct the distorted truths in policy and media discourses which both direct the society and shape their standpoint (Fiske, 1996; Gazioglu-Terzi, 2015; Lynch and Baker, 2005). More specifically, media is one of the powerful tools of government which imposes

social norms and reinforces gender inequalities in society (Bordo, 1993). Nevertheless, although there has been an increasing attention on gender inequalities in education in recent years, there is still little consideration of the role of educational policy making and the power of media in producing and reproducing gender inequalities in education. In this sense, it is aimed to examine the language and information embedded in newspaper coverage of gender policy in education in order to better comprehend how gender inequalities are reinforced and reproduced through printed media. It is also significant to analyze how mainstream coverage of education over a ten year period situates gender policy in education to find out the relationship between media and policy discourses. A critical analysis of representation of education policies in print media helps to reveal the effects of media on people's perceptions in relation to policy priorities and the traces of political issues in the reporting of news. As language incorporates divergent meanings and expressions in the ways different parties use, a critical attention to media representations of educational policies provides an understanding regarding power relations in media discourses (Cohen, 2010).

Even if many studies have been carried out in the field of media, there is limited number of studies investigating how people perceive and make sense of the messages presented in media channels (Erdoğan and Civelek, 2012). The present study extends the findings obtained from discursive data by critically investigating teachers' perception of both gender policy in education and newspaper coverage of gender policy in education. This part of the study entails two facets: how teachers perceive gender policy in education and how they construct meaning of news reports on gender policy in education in the last decade. An analysis of teachers' perceptions of gender policy in education is prominent as they are the implementing agents of policies whose interpretations of the policy function as a new production of policy (Naidu, 2011). Teachers' interpretations of policies as presented in print media reveal both the impact of media in shaping public perception regarding gender policy in education and different ways of interpreting the messages embedded in media discourses. While the media do not expose only one standpoint, there are a number of ways people perceive the media texts and the

messages presented in media channels (Stack and Kelly, 2006). Reflections of teachers' prior knowledge and beliefs, which undoubtedly inform their interpretations, and impact of media discourses on teachers' understanding and perceptions of gender policy in education are analyzed in an interrelated manner. This kind of an analysis reveals broader social dynamics, power relations, ideological tenets, and cultural values shaping individuals' interpretations of gender policy in education.

### **1.5. Definitions of Terms**

**Critical Discourse Analysis:** Critical discourse analysis as a type of discourse analysis examines the mutual relationship between language and social and political contexts of language use. It aims to reveal and to interpret different social meanings, norms, values and perspectives embedded in texts, talks, and other communicative contexts (Fairclough, 1995; Paltridge, 2013, van Dijk, 2008). In this study, critical discourse analysis is applied to analyze the language and information embedded in educational policy texts and news reports.

**Educational policy:** Education policy consists of government policies, laws, rules and principles that maintain education system. Through education policy making processes, governments have controlling power over education (Marginson, 1993). Education policy has multi-faceted orientations as formal schooling is organized in line with stakeholders' personal values, perceptions, resources, and values which operate in wider structures and institutions (Jones, 2013).

**Equality of Educational Opportunity:** An equal and fair division of educational and education related resources excluding any discrimination based on sex, race, social status, confession or political opinion and without any special privileges for any classes (Lynch, 2000; Myers, 1942).

**Gender Parity in Education:** Gender parity is a numerical concept and it refers to equal proportion of boys and girls enrolled in the education system (Aikman and Unterhalter, 2007; UNESCO, 2003). Gender parity is a rather narrow aspiration as it refers to equal access and participation in education (Subrahmanian, 2007).



**Gender Equality in Education:** Gender equality in education refers to empowering both genders equally through a quality education. Access to education is a starting point for ensuring gender equality in education as it comprises various aspects of education (Unterhalter, 2005). It is associated with equality of educational outcomes regarding the length of schooling, achievement, academic qualifications, and equal job opportunities and earnings for both genders (UNESCO, 2003).

**Gender and Sex:** Talbot (1998) considered gender as “socially acquired characteristics which are perceived as masculine and feminine” (p. 7). Gender is the state of being male or female based on socially and culturally defined characteristics while sex refers to anatomical and biological differences between males and females. According to Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2003) sex is “a biological categorization based primarily on reproductive potential, whereas gender is the social elaboration of biological sex” (p. 10).

**Gender Roles:** Gender roles are culturally and socially defined behaviors as appropriate to a person’s gender. Gender roles define how males and females think, speak, dress, and interact in the society.

**Gender Stereotyping:** Gender stereotypes are commonly hold beliefs regarding people’s abilities, thoughts, and feelings based on their gender. Gender stereotyping is making generalizations regarding characteristics and behavior of two genders.

## **CHAPTER 2**

### **REVIEW OF LITERATURE**

This chapter introduced the related literature about theories of gender and inequalities of education opportunity, educational policies and critical policy analysis so that rationale of the study and findings can be better interpreted. The review began with gender theories; definitions of sex, gender and gender identity. It continued with theories of educational sociology which provide different educational perspectives into social inequalities and education. Then, feminist sociological theories of education were presented in order to highlight different approaches to gender inequalities and their educational implications. The literature review continued with a synthesis of research studies on inequalities of educational opportunity. The analysis of related literature revealed four key dimensions; socio-economic and socio-cultural factors, regional disparities, differences in the qualities of schools and gender inequalities in education. Contemporary studies were summarized in line with these dimensions. After that, the concepts of educational policies and policy discourses were defined by different researchers in different studies were reviewed. In the last part, literature on critical policy analysis with a specific focus on studies analyzing educational policy documents and media coverage of educational policies was summarized.

#### **2.1 Theorizing Gender**

##### **2.1.1. Basic Assumptions of Sex, Gender and Gender Identity**

In order to comprehend discursive construction of gender identity and the role of discourse in reproducing gender inequalities, it is prominent to focus on the definitions of sex and gender and distinction between these two categories.

Biological essentialists and social constructionists perceive gender in different ways. Essentialist camp suggests that differences between people root in essences and natures which constitute identities. In this perspective, social categories are biologically determined and entitative (Medin and Ortony, 1989).

Biological determinism of gender is challenged by feminist scholars who distinguished culturally specific characteristics attributed to masculinity and femininity from anatomical features (Hawkesworth, 1997). In this sense, social constructionist camp view gender as external to the individual shaped by social understandings and discourse (DeLamater & J Hyde, 1998). In this perspective, gender is defined as a social and cultural entity defining our personal identities while sex refers to biological differences between men and women. Talbot (1998) considered gender as “socially acquired characteristics which are perceived as masculine and feminine” (p. 7). According to Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2003) sex is “a biological categorization based primarily on reproductive potential, whereas gender is the social elaboration of biological sex” (p. 10).

In this context, it is prominent to clarify the concept of gender identity which can be defined as person’s own identification of themselves as male or female. Though it had traditionally been regarded to have resided in individuals in psychology, the importance of societal structures, cultural expectations, and personal interactions in developing gender identity have also been recently recognized. Now, there is a significant body of evidence to support the view that both environmental and biological factors influence the conceptualization of gender identity (APA, 2015). The concept of gender identity closely related to gender role which is defined as “the outward manifestations of personality that reflect the gender identity” (Ghosh, 2011). According to Anselmi and Law (1998), “gender” describes the roles the society assigns to women and men and these roles are rooted in socially and culturally defined beliefs and assumptions in relation to behavior and emotions of males and female. While culture determines gender roles, the way people behave and think and the differences between women and men originate from socialization (Rollins, 1996). As social factors such as upbringing, socialization, social background shape a person’s essential characteristics permanently and

profoundly (Rangel & Keller, 2011), people's recognition of themselves and others as male or female, namely the gender identity, is socially constructed (Eckert and Mc-Connell Ginnet, 2003).

Butler (1990, 1993) held a post structuralist approach to gender drawing upon theories of Beauvoir and Foucault which emphasize the importance of social context in construction of gender identity. Beauvoir (1973) asserted that 'one is not born but rather becomes a woman' suggesting that gender is an aspect of identity gradually acquired. In this perspective, gender is unnatural by definition and being a female is perceived as cultural interpretation of being a female. Butler (1990) rejected the casual relationship between sex and gender arguing that "gender is neither the casual result of sex nor as seemingly fixed as sex" (p.6). According to Butler (1990) a person becomes a woman under cultural compulsion but the compulsion does not come from sex. The one who becomes a female is not necessarily female.

It is further argued that sex and gender should not be viewed as separate and independent concepts as gender subsumes sex. Butler criticized naturalness of sex as it is not constructed on the basis of anatomical and biological properties but culturally and socially enforced (Butler, 1993). In other words, Butler (1993) rejected the idea of biological categorization of sex claiming that sex is also another social construct:

The category of "sex" is, from the start, normative; it is what Foucault has called a "regulatory ideal." In this sense, then, "sex" not only functions as a norm, but is part of a regulatory practice that produces the bodies it governs, that is, whose regulatory force is made clear as a kind of productive power, the power to produce - demarcate, circulate, differentiate - the bodies it controls. (p.1)

Foucault's work has especially been significant in challenging the idea of natural and normal sexuality and gender. His conceptualization of discourses and classification of sexuality over historical periods paved the way for the post-structuralist theorization of gender. According to Foucault gender is a form of dynamic subjectivity as it has various meanings within different social context (Kostas, 2013). In a similar vein, gender is considered as a process and a

performativity in the theory of performativity. In this theory, “becoming a woman” is something one continuously reaffirms and displays publicly by behaving in line with the cultural norms defining masculinity and femininity. As gender is historically and socially constructed, there are variable acts of gender which is not acquired once and for all at early stages of life (Cameron, 1997).

In contribution to the theory of performativity, Connell underlines the importance of not thinking of womanhood or manhood as being fixed by nature. Similarly, he also finds it simplistic to think of them as being simply imposed from outside, through social norms or pressure from authorities (Connell, 2009). Instead, similar to de Beauvoir, he supports the view that gender construction follows many different paths, contains many tensions and uncertainties, and at times produces unstable results. Connell suggests that the function of gender is to fill in the gaps left by biology, while disagreeing with social constructionists who simply view the body as a “landscape” on which we draw or a perspective from which we speak. He rather asserts that although gender is constructed socially and it is not predetermined by biology, our bodies do actually play a part in this material construction. He reaches the conclusion that the categorization of male and female is significant simply because the society views them to be so (Connell, 2005 as cited in McGinley 2010; Connell, 2009).

Foucault’s discussions about discourse and power are also at the center of gender theories. Discourse is defined as the effects of power as it is constructed and practiced in relation to power relations (Foucault, 1978). Foucault (1998) took the attention to gender power relations at the micro political level as power related to macrostructures manifest itself through proliferating discourse. In other words, discourse both produce and transmit the power. His perception of power, discourse and subjectivation had important implications for the discursive construction of gender identity. Gender identity is considered as a performance and repetitive behavior within the limits of discursive specification. The predominant discourse operates in the framework of compulsory heterosexuality which shapes a performance of binary and univocal sex/gender (Strozier, 2002). Performative character of gender underpins the role of discourse that constructs gender identity.

People construct their gender identity by adapting their existence to gender discourses. In this sense gender identity is a process affected by language and the cultural system within which it operates as subjectivity is constructed through language (Alsop et al., 2002).

Foucault relates the theory of power to the body in his idea that the body is a cultural rather than a natural entity constructed through power. He perceives the body as the principal site of power in the social sphere. In a similar way, Foucault perceived sexuality as the effect of historically specific power relations. His theory explains different aspects of female oppression stemming from men's desire for power and control. It sets the analytical framework of obvious ways females are enslaved and controlled through deep-seated cultural perceptions of feminine sexuality. There are certain ways in which male supremacy oppresses females but the feminist analysis of female oppression indicates that gender inequality is built and legitimized through the biological difference between the male and female bodies. The inferiority of women in society is linked to biological differences legitimizing inferiority of female body according to male standards. On the other hand, biological functions are combined with social characteristics and the root of women's oppression lies in dominant ideological perceptions making the female oppression of a creation of culture (McNay, 1992). These discussions take the attention to how social norms, cultural practices and proliferating discourses transmit the power and consequently construct gender identity. Culturally defined value systems shape the women's subordination and women's status in the society. In this framework, the dynamics of women's suppression in society are examined as in relation to social sphere as a site of power, considering that social norms reinforced by cultural institutions such as schools and family, and institutionalized prejudicial norms (Kostas, 2013).

## **2.2.Theories of Educational Sociology**

Different sociological theories bring diverse perspectives to social issues and realities which impact educational practices and policies in various different ways. It is crucial to study theories of educational sociology in order to highlight

different aspects of social inequalities and education. Among these theories, functionalist theory, conflict theory and critical theory bears significant notions of education as an important institution in the society. Functionalism is mainly concerned about the socialization function of schools and focuses on the role of education with respect to maintenance of social order by transferring the shared values and norms of the society. Conversely, conflict theory mainly views schools as institutionalized agents which reproduce the inequalities in the society. Lastly, conflict theory draws attention the transformation role of schools to create a democratic society by eliminating the inequalities in the society. In this part, functionalist theory, conflict theory and critical theory will be examined to have a wider perception of the meaning attached to education and to draw a more complete picture of inequalities in education in general and gender equity in education in specific.

### **2.2.1. Functionalist Theory**

Functionalists mainly deal with intellectual, political, social and economic purposes of education. Teaching basic concepts and skills such as reading, writing and mathematics and transmitting specific knowledge such as literature and history and helping students to gain higher order thinking skills constitutes the intellectual purposes of schooling. As for the political purposes, schooling serves to direct students towards patriotism, to teach students the basic laws of the society, to prepare citizens who will participate in political order and to assimilate diverse cultural groups into common political order. On the other hand, to select, train and allocate individuals into the division of labor and to prepare students for their future occupational roles forms the economic purpose of schooling. The process of socialization which assigns children various roles, behaviors and values of the society in order to ensure stability and cohesion generates the social purposes of schooling (Feinberg and Soltis, 1998).

Functionalism argues that education operates the smooth functioning of society along with other social institutions. In this perspective, society is considered like the human body which consists of systems, organs, cells, each distinct and yet

interrelated through roles played in maintaining health. In other words, society is regarded as kind of machine producing the dynamic energy which rises as one part articulates with another and makes society work. Interdependent parts of society function together in order to establish and maintain the social order. All the parts of the system must work in general consensus so that the society functions properly. In this context, one of the purposes of schooling is the maintenance of social order by passing on children skills, knowledge, norms and values shaping their roles and status in society (Strawn, 2009; Feinberg and Soltis, 1998). Another role of the school is to generate a socialization process that fosters independence, rewards achievements, and creates an understanding of the status and reward system in society (De Marrais & Le Compte, 1999).

Contrary to philosophers such as Kant, Herbart and Spencier who claim that the purpose of education is to enable individual reach their full potential which places individuals at the core of educational process, Durkheim believes that education is the socialization of young generations. Because of this reason education should answer the needs of the society (Tezcan, 1993). While describing the relationship between education and society Durkheim asserts that in every society there is a notion of *the ideal person* and education system of the society serves for producing the ideal. Even though the ideal person changes from society to society and even in the same society over time, educational practices search for it in favor of the survival of society (Ergün, 2006).

Likewise, Durkheim regards the moral values as the foundations of the society and he claims that even if the forms of education changes over time education carries vital importance in forming the moral unity which is crucial for social cohesion and harmony (Feinberg and Soltis, 2004). He perceives morality as the set of duties and obligations that affects the behaviors of individuals. He thinks that modern morality roots in reason rather than religion and he constructs a theory of educational practice comprising three basic elements of morality; discipline, attachment to social groups and individual autonomy (Ergün, 2006). Thus, Durkheim claims that as the central integrative institution of society and a crucial



aspect of maintenance of social order, the modern educational system has replaced the church (Feinberg and Soltis, 2004).

Functionalists like Dreeben assert that school serves both a social and an individual functions. On social level schools ensures that skills and attitudes required by an industrial urban democracy acquired and conserved. On the individual level, schools increase the possibility that distribution of income prestige and authority and placement into jobs will be legitimate. Therefore, the modern school contributes to the selection of individuals on the basis of merit and talent and restrains the distribution of income, social positions and authority on the basis of family background, race, sex and religion (Feinberg and Soltis, 2004)

### **2.2.2. Conflict Theory**

Conflict theory is originated from the ideology of Karl Marx who argues that the social order is based on a class system separating the society into different classes as upper class, middle class and working class among which the presence of conflict is unavoidable (Sadovnik, 2001). Conflict theory underlies the notion that school functions in the interests of the dominant groups in the society. It is argued that schools work for the benefit of dominant privileged class by ensuring social reproduction of economic and political status quo in a way that gives the illusion of objectivity, neutrality and opportunity. In this way, schools, as an institutionalized agent contribute to the reproduction of attitudes and dispositions for the continuity of the current system dominated by the privileged class (Feinberg and Soltis, 2004).

For conflict theorists, powerful members of dominant groups deny subordinate groups and ensure the continuity of power, privilege and authority on their part while setting the rules for success and opportunity in society (Strawn, 2009). The competition between groups for power, income, and social status is examined by concentrating on the outstanding significance of social institutions in the conflict (Andersen and Taylor, 2007). Contrary to functionalists who assert that underlying force behind social and educational change stands to be the progressive movement

toward development and social integration, conflict theorists regards that driving motive for this change is the unending struggle between different groups to hold power and status. Schools are considered to be a crucial agent in this struggle (Feinberg and Soltis, 2004).

Conflict theory discusses the disintegrative aspect of education rather than its unifying and stabilizing function. Schools as hierarchical institutions play crucial roles in reflecting conflict and power in society. In other words, education reproduces different aspects of inequalities in society such as race, class and gender (Andersen and Taylor, 2007). That is to say, conflict theorists draw attention to the fact that educational institution empowers the class positions of groups and allows the elite to control the masses. Even if it is assumed that the official goal of education in society is to establish a universal mechanism for achievement, in fact educational opportunities and the quality of education are not equally distributed. Thus, conflict theorists assert that socialization function of education is really indoctrination into capitalist ideology. In essence, students are socialized to value interests of the state and to serve to sustain it (Andersen and Taylor, 2007).

### **2.2.3. Postmodern- Critical Theory**

Intellectual movements of the late twentieth century, such as postmodernism, deconstructionism, and critical pedagogy has influenced the sociological study of education. These intellectual movements viewed the study of education from a critical, oppositional, and sometimes neo-Marxist perspective. Critical theory has been viewed as a post-modernist theoretical and political activity. It highlights the relationship between social systems and people, how they produce each other, and it deals with the society's emancipation from all kinds of oppression and subordination (Bronner & Kellner, 1989; Saha, 2001; Yates, 2010).

Parallel to the conflict theorists, critical theorists also think that school resembles miniature society where the students experience the presence of class discriminations and students are exposed to the culture of a certain dominant group

at schools .Conflict and critical theorists share the idea that the schools institutionalized “cultural capital” representing certain kinds of knowledge, abilities, values, social practices and as well as legitimating the forms of attitudes, behaviors, talking and dressing which belong to dominant culture (Giroux, 1988). Nevertheless, critical theory suggests that students need to be aware of their own cultural capital and learn both to reproduce and politically analyze the society from their own perspective than that of the dominant group (Giroux, 1981).

To the early critical theorists (most of whom were associated with the Frankfurt School), systems of education are among the institutions that foster and reinforce capitalist beliefs through the rhetoric of meritocracy, through testing, through tracking, through vocational training or college preparatory curricula and so forth (Bowles& Gintis, 1976; Apple, 1979; Popkewitz, 1991 as cited in Popkewitz & Fendler, 1999). Critical pedagogy which is rooted in conflict theory symbolizes the reaction of progressive educators against such institutionalized functions. It is in an effort to raise questions about inequalities of power, about false myths of opportunity and merit for many students within educational institutions which cause individuals and groups to abandon the very aspiration to question or change their lot in life (Popkewitz & Fendler, 1999).

Berstein claims that how a society selects, classifies, distributes, transmits and evaluates the educational knowledge, it considers to be public, reflects both the distribution of power and the principles of social control (Bernstein, 1971). Critical theorists are interested in “the influences of educational knowledge and cultural formations that perpetuate of legitimate and unjust status quo” in specific. Citizens need to possess a critical capacity to resist such power effects (Popkewitz & Fendler, 1999, p.46). In this framework, critical theorists believe that how meaning and knowledge are produced by students, teachers and authorities in the school should be examined carefully (Giroux, 1988). Contrary to functionalist theorists that give priority to shared values and knowledge in the society, critical theorists perceive schools as social institutions which lead students to gain new types of knowledge reflecting the pluralistic and democratic view of society (Sadovnik, 2001).

Critical theory perceives the school as a tool for social transformation and as a form of social improvement which is to be enhanced (Giroux, 1988; Yates, 2010). Schools must donate students with necessary knowledge and thinking skills to transform the society into a democratic one (Giroux, 1988). Classrooms, as a place for political action, seek to establish a truly democratic culture through a form of education empowering and liberating in terms of dominant ideology. That is, while schools are seen as agents of transformation and change in the society, teachers play an active role in this process as transformative intellectuals (Sadovnik, 2001; Saha, 2001). Teachers and students need to consider the voices and identities of marginalized groups and regard these diversities as a base for change and alternatives of institutional sexism, classism and racism (Sadovnik, 2001). Similarly, Giroux asserts that teachers should be sensitive to the cultures of students form subordinate groups as their needs are not met within the school environment which is based on the culture of the dominant group (Giroux, 1988).

### **2.3. Feminist Sociological Theories of Education**

As Bourdieu pointed out, education system plays a vital role in maintaining the social order along with other social institutions where male domination is the most influential. Education is a central ideological site which reproduce gender inequalities (Dillabough, 2003). In this context, feminist theories of education consider education as a path to individual freedom and investigate female oppression in educational settings and its interaction with other forms of oppression such as class, race and sexuality (Jackson, 1997). Even if they addressed the problem of gender inequity from their own particular standpoint, all feminist sociologists highlighted gender inequalities in education and marked the main role of education as to maintain gender equality (Thompson, 2008).

Different feminist theories approached the question of gender inequality and their educational implications in divergent ways. Eisentein (1984) pursued three major feminist approaches with a variety of arguments about social aspects of gender. Among these theories, radical feminism asserted that gender oppression which predates and roots other forms of oppressions such as race and class is the deepest

and oldest type of exploitation. Socialist feminism takes the attention to capitalism which is root of class oppression as class, race and gender oppression are interrelated in complex ways. In this perspective, the only way to liberate the women is to eliminate capitalism. On the other hand, liberal feminists argued that women can be liberated without any major changes in the economic and political fabric of contemporary capitalist system. An educational theory neglecting feminist perspectives and gender analysis does not address the needs of both male and females and also lacks certain ways enriching existing pedagogies (Jackson, 1997). In this respect, this part of the paper discusses major feminist theories and their education applications in an attempt to question the role of education from a feminist perspective.

### **2.3.1. Liberal Feminism and Education**

The basic tenet of liberal feminism is securing equal opportunities for both genders. Liberal feminists argued that it is necessary ensure that women have the same rights as men through equal access to certain social services. Inequalities between women and men root in lack of political equality and official interference in reproductive freedom of women. In other words society violates gender equality through restricting women as a group and through unequal treatment of women in public realm (Saulnier, 1996). Reducing the female access to civil right and social resources like education and employment produces gender inequalities (Giddens, 2001). Liberal feminists take the attention to changes in socialization practices, attitudes and legal processes in an attempt to maintain gender equality. It is necessary to execute political and legal reform and materialize fairer laws towards women to ensure equality between men and women. Reforms to introduce equal rights and freedom of individuals should be executed gradually without distracting the status quo. In this way, equality can be achieved without altering the structure of the society (Acker, 1987; Brookes, 2008; Samkange,2015).

In the educational field, the main aim is to eliminate all the barriers hindering girls' self-realization. Different factors can be influential in preventing girls reaching their full potential such as educational factors, individual variables and

discriminatory labor practices. Liberal feminist educationalists focused on three major issues in their discussions of gender inequalities: equal opportunities, socialization and sex stereotyping and sex discrimination (Acker, 1987). There are a number of factors causing inequalities such as culture and differential gender socialization within the culture stemming from attitudes of the individuals. Liberal feminism postulates gradual reforms to ensure equal rights for both genders and legitimacy of equality through laws and policies. To this end, the changes and improvements can be achieved with the help of female empowerment and education (Samkange, 2015). Gender inequalities can be eliminated when women enjoy equal educational opportunities as their male counterparts. In other words, education is the most powerful means of social change in an attempt to ensure gender equality for liberal feminists (Saulnier, 1996).

Another concern of liberal feminists is related with socialization, gender roles and gender stereotyping. In this perspective, social institutions such as family and school transmit traditional attitudes and orientations limiting life chances and potentials of individuals. This kind of a differential socialization creates gender stereotypes and roles which disadvantage females in occupational and familial realms. While females are placed in a position of dependency males are taught to suppress their feelings and caring potential (Acker, 1987).

### **2.3.2. Socialist/Marxist Feminism and Education**

Socialist feminist perspective links ideological factors to economic forces in that capitalism as a driving force of patriarchy. Altering the gender roles without changing patriarchal and capitalist system which depends on free female labor force would not eliminate the factors causing women's inferiority (Stromquist, 1988). According to socialist feminists, women are exploited within the confines of a capitalist patriarchal family and oppression in the family is constantly reinforced by the conditions in the labor market. Women's free labor helps the entire capitalist patriarchy to function as the capitalist system relies on female labor and massive distribution of wealth (Stromquist, 1988; Thompson, 2001). Women's subordinate position and inequalities they experience in the social

realms root in gendered division of labor. Sexist practices are enhanced through capitalism as paid work is separated from housework which is considered as the women's prior responsibility. Men are freed from housework and provided with higher standards of living with more leisure time, personal services and luxuries which lead to female exploitation in the family. On the other side of the coin, women do not have access to prestigious and high income jobs in the capitalist economy reinforcing their subordinate position in the society (Thompson, 2001; Trueman, 2016).

Neo-Marxist trends within the sociology of education had an impact on socialist feminist perspective of education. Socialist feminists dealt with women's position in the family and in the capitalist economy. Within this framework, the role of education in reproducing the class system and gendered division of labor was questioned through neo-Marxist lenses. The socialist feminist discuss gender in education with reference to other forms of inequalities namely race and class. Socialist-feminists argued that the interrelations between gender, race and class shape girls' lives in an out of school (Acker, 1987). In socialist feminist perspective, there are sexist elements in school curriculum and gendered division of labor is shaped in educational context through practices and organization of schooling. In a similar vein, schools are organized and run in ways that reproduce social classes and gender relations which are the roots of inequalities in the society (Barrett, 1980; Bowles and Gintis, 1976).

Interconnections between gender and class inequalities are visible in educational settings. First of all, for middle and upper class families investment in female education is less risky due to their better social and economic status. On the other side of the coin, the socialist feminists argued that there is a greater demand for female education as women occupy more positions in the labor force in industrial countries. Occupations requiring sophisticated technologies rather than physical strength afflicted the patriarchal perceptions and gender stereotypes keeping women in the house enabling women new spaces in the labor force (Stromquist, 1988).

Lastly, socialist feminist discussed the relationship between motherhood and schools which reveals another dimension of women's exploitation. It is argued that school system contributes to women's exploitation and subordinate position as it makes use of mothers' free participation in educational activities. In Britain, especially middle class mothers are expected to transfer cultural capital to children by educating them before they start school in order to benefit from schooling better. Moreover, while women provide unpaid help by carrying out different tasks at schools such as assisting classroom activities especially at disadvantaged areas, schooling hours and holiday also restrict women's full time employment (Acker, 1987; Thompson, 2011). In this respect, socialist feminist perspective of education has been criticized as its theories on girls' inferiority and disadvantaged position in schools and discussions on single-sex schools roots in experiences of middle class white British people (Acker, 1987).

### **2.3.3. Radical Feminism and Education**

Similar to socialist feminists, for radical feminist radical change in the social structure challenging the male dominance and patriarchal structure is vital (Acer, 1987). According to Warren (1980), gender equality can be maintained when the structure of the society is altered through the basic changes in the institutions of marriage, motherhood and heterosexuality. Radical feminists rejected heterosexuality, love and marriage considering them male institutions and they believed women should create alternative intuitions to meet their needs without male supremacy (Shibles, 1989). Radical feminism is criticized as it puts too much emphasis on biological reductionism and essentialism without providing explanations regarding underlying reasons of male dominance (Acker 1987). Another critique of radical feminism is its deficiency in approaching gender problem on ideological platform without considering class relations and racism (Stromquist, 1988).

Radical feminists consider patriarchy as the main reason of women's subordination. In this understanding the basic topic of feminist movement is patriarchy rather than women's issues (Shibles, 1989). It is argued that male



dominance exposed to women by society is the essence of the patriarchy. Physical and sexual violence inflicted by men has an impact on working condition, financial and social opportunities provided to women. Male supremacy approved by the society should be altered to challenge the status quo in an attempt to change the social structure and particularly the social institutions such as families (Samkange, 2015). In other words, in order to change the patriarchal structure of the society, women should be liberated by removing physical and emotional violence exposed by men in social settings such as the classroom and playground (Trueman, 2016).

In this perspective, women's subordination roots in power relations originating from sexual differences. The family as the main institutions of the society plays an important role in reproduction of gendered division of labor. Education system also contributed to reproduce the patriarchal system of the society by discriminatory and oppressive practices and male dominant policies (Stromquist, 1988). Radical feminist asserted that higher levels of illiteracy among women stems from the fact that females are directed to tasks requiring less level of skills and knowledge legally through formal education. Education system contributes to maintenance of patriarchal system and sexual division of labor by directing females to careers which are line with women's domestic responsibilities (Stromquist, 1988). For radical feminists, another aspect of education reproducing gender inequalities is related with co-education. It is argued that male dominance in mixed gender settings influence girls education negatively because of oppressive behaviours of male teachers and students, sexual harassment and violence and unequal treatment of females in classroom environment. Therefore, radical feminist believed single sex education would benefit girls by providing an education free from negative effects of male dominance (Acker 1987).

#### **2.4. Inequalities of Educational Opportunity**

In the present world, education is portrayed by extensive social injustices which necessitate equalizing access and participation within different levels of formal education for different social groups primarily. In this framework, the concept of equality of educational opportunity has been considered as dividing educational

and education related resources more equally or fairly excluding any discrimination based on sex, race, social status, confession or political opinion without any special privileges or disadvantages for any classes (Lynch, 2000; Myers, 1942). Considering the equality in education in relation to educational outcomes, the factors preventing students from attaining academic success and subsequent occupational status by merit have been deeply analyzed by researchers (Hallinan, 1988). An analysis of research studies related to inequalities of educational opportunities revealed some key dimensions such as socio-economic and socio-cultural factors, regional disparities, differences in the qualities of schools and gender inequalities in education. In this part, related research studies will be discussed in line with these common themes.

#### **2.4.1. Socio-economic and Socio-cultural Factors**

As economic, political and cultural structure of the society shapes the quality of education in societies, educational inequalities are rooted in socioeconomic and socio-cultural structure of the society. More specifically, social injustices are reproduced through education as socio-economic and socio-cultural status of the family is an important determinant of children's education worldwide. Children coming from low income families are disadvantaged in the education system as financial difficulties of the family negatively influenced their education (UNESCO, 2015). Besides, social status and cultural capital of the family shape the educational opportunities enjoyed by children. According to Mehan (2001) schools implement a curriculum based on the cultural capital of dominant classes which inevitably causes reproduction of inequalities in educational settings. In this context, Bourdieu (1999) argued that education system of industrialized societies serves to reproduce cultural capital and to legitimate class inequalities. Similarly, children also become disadvantaged in the education system when their families lack the basic values, attitudes and skills needed for educational attainment and achievement. Students coming from dominant class are more likely to be successful at school as they hold a certain linguistic and cultural competence inherited by family socialization. Impact of social status and cultural capital of

family is obviously seen in the case of blacks and whites. Parents of white students have higher level of education, occupational status than blacks resulting in higher educational outcomes on the part of white students (Garoman, 2001).

On the other hand, even if discriminated groups demonstrate higher achievement level, it is not rewarded by the society causing failure to achieve equality of employment, income and access to college degrees. Therefore, it is clear that inequalities are rooted in the system at the macro level rather than personal and group deficits. It can be asserted that as the gap between different groups of people in the society brings complex challenges and disadvantages on the part of subordinate groups, economic and social inequalities cannot be wiped out by educational gains (Shor, 1992). Socioeconomic status of family also effects learning and academic achievement of children. Poverty, inadequate family resources and poor nutrition slows down the learning process of children from lower classes. Students from lower classes lag behind their peers in terms of academic development and they have a tendency towards behavior disorders (Aikens and Barbarian, 2008; Van der Berg, 2010).

In this context, Tomul (2008) examined the effect of family variables on school enrollment rates among 15-18 years old children in Turkey by using data from the 2005 Household Budget Questionnaire Results of the State Statistics Institute. According to the results, parents' level of education, household size and level of income affected educational attainment of children. Among these variables fathers' level of education had the most influential effect and family variables affected the girls' participation in education particularly. The findings of Tomul's study (2008) complemented other findings in the literature. Goramon (2001) asserted that children raised in affluent homes with more educated parents enjoy the opportunity of having the required family resources. Students do well at school as they read good books at home, have more chance to visit museums, to go the theater and to attend concert. Pal (2004) found a correlation between the education level of mother and educational attainment of girls revealing the positive influence of parents' level of education on girls' schooling. In general terms, when parents have higher level of education children have higher schooling ratio. Another

determinant of girls' education was socio-economic and socio-cultural status of the family. Socio-economic status of the family does not cause significant differences with respect to enrollment rates and schooling ratio. However, upper class families allocate more resources for the education of their children which causes striking differences in terms of quality of education provided to students (ERG, 2104). Besides, level and quality of parental involvement depend upon the social and cultural resources of possessed by parents from different social classes. Even if they are interested in their children's education working class parents either felt uncomfortable helping their kids at school or practice useless strategies such as depending too much on the teacher (Mehan, 2001).

Salehi-Isfahani, Hassine and Assad (2014) investigated inequality of educational opportunities in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) by using student scores from tests administered by the international consortium Trends in Mathematics and Science Study since 1999. Results indicated that educational achievements in most MENA countries are significantly explained by inequality of opportunities. In spite of investments for free public educations most MENA countries did not achieve to provide equality of educational opportunity compared to European countries, Latin America and the United States. It was also revealed that family background and community were the most important factors affecting inequality in achievement.

Ferreira and Gignoux (2010) investigated the inequalities of educational opportunity by examining quantity (attainment) and the quality of schooling (achievement) in Turkey. For this aim, they utilized data from the DHS (Demographic and Health Survey) and PISA. PISA data showed that family background variables such as parental education, father's occupation and the ownership of books, cultural possessions and electronics explain the largest inequality shares compared to other variables. Similarly Buyruk (2008) asserts that education level of parents and intellectual accumulation of parents and social class of families are also influential in the equality of educational opportunities in Turkey. Other research studies yielded similar results showing that socio-economic and socio-cultural status of the family is an important indicator of

educational disparities in Turkey (Aydagül, 2006; Smits and Hoşgör 2006; World Bank 2005).

Sarıer (2010) carried out an analysis of high school entrance exam (OKS-SBS) and PISA results to examine the inequalities of educational opportunity in Turkey. The study utilized the statistical data obtained from Turkish Statistics Institute, the OECD and MONE. In terms of socio-economic and socio-cultural background, it was found out that these variables created differences concerning academic achievement among students. The achievement level of students coming from lower classes tends to be lower in Turkey compared to the OECD and Finland which is an indicator of inequalities of educational opportunities. As for the enrollment rates, it was discovered that as the education level increase female school enrollment rate decrease showing gender inequalities in education. According to the results, there are significant differences in student performance with respect to gender and region in both exams. It was seen that females are more successful than males in general while their achievement level stand to be lower in eastern part of the country.

All over the world, educational inequalities are reinforced with neoliberal educational policies which limit the educational opportunities within the borders of capitalist class system. Socioeconomic and socio-cultural background has an impact on academic achievement in both developed and developing countries. In Turkey, there is a huge difference in terms of academic achievement between students from different social backgrounds. It is obvious that family background variables are more influential on student performances in Turkey, as in the other developing countries, considering variations in PISA results. In fact, educational policies of MONE to ensure educational equalities target primary level of education and there are not any steps or policies that compensate the inequalities at secondary level on ministry's agenda. Social inequalities manifest themselves at especially secondary level of education as fields of study and further education levels are determined according to social class of students (UNDP 2008 as cited in Sayılan, 2012; World Bank, 2013; OECD, 2012).

In Turkey, students are enrolled to high schools based on their scores in nationwide secondary schools entrance exams. This exam system necessitates expensive academic supports from private teaching institutions and tutors. In order to attend high quality schools students start taking private tutoring classes at very early ages. Students from higher social classes attend to Science High Schools and Anatolian High Schools which are the most successful and prestigious public schools. On the other hand, students from disadvantaged families attend to low quality and low performing schools such as Vocational High Schools. As there is a high correlation between enrollment in the top secondary schools and family income, it is not possible to change vicious circle of inequality and poverty in society (ERG, 2014).

#### **2.4.2. Regional Disparities**

Regional disparities in education are among the prominent factors shaping the inequalities of educational opportunities globally. In conflict-affected areas and in many of the world's poorest countries, education of children is affected negatively. Most of the children out of school live in low and middle income, conflict affected countries (EFA, 2014). The results of the studies carried out in relation to equality of educational opportunities in Turkey revealed critical problem of "social equity" regarding equal access to education. That is to say, there are serious educational disparities regarding gender, region and socioeconomic status in Turkey with a tendency of increase in the southeastern provinces (Aydagül, 2006; Smits and Hoşgör 2006; World Bank 2005). In this framework, Sarier's (2010) research study indicated that there are significant differences in student performance with respect to gender and region in both high school entrance exam (OKS-SBS) and PISA exams. It was seen that females are more successful than males in general while their achievement level stand to be lower in eastern part of the country

Other research studies examining regional disparities with respect to equality of educational opportunities in Turkey yielded similar results. There still striking disparities between the west and east regions of the country in relation to employment and education (European Training Foundation, 2006). In his study Akbey (2006) analyzed the education in South Eastern Anatolia with respect to

equality of educational opportunity. Compared to other regions of Turkey the ratio of educational attainment is lower at all levels of education in Southeastern Anatolia. The crowded classrooms, multigrade classes, lack of teachers are among the reasons causing inequalities of educational opportunities in the region. However, Ferreira and Gignoux (2010) found out that regional differences in enrollment were revealed to be non-significant when other circumstances were controlled.

In Turkey, in spite of recent practices and incentives to increase enrollment rates 6% of girls and boys at the age of compulsory education are not enrolled in school. Another worrying point is that the ratio of students who do not attend school at secondary education level is really high. Moreover, the ratio of females who are not enrolled in school is higher than their male counterparts at that level. It means that at secondary education level females are more disadvantaged than males especially in eastern part of the country, with 7-8 percent difference (ERG, 2014). Location of residence has significant effect on educational attainment of girls' especially at middle school and high school levels and the value of girls' education is underestimated especially in rural areas of the country (Tansel, 2002; UNICEF, 2003; Rankin and Aytac, 2007). There are a number of reasons for lower enrollment rates and lower academic achievement rates in rural areas ranging from traditional attitudes of parents towards education to insufficient facilities and unmotivated teachers (Kirdar, 2009; Tansel 2002). Living in urban areas promotes girls' education in specific because of changes in traditional perceptions regarding education and modernizing influences on parents (Ranking and Aytac, 2007; Tansel, 2002).

As socio-economic structure of the society change across the country, gender inequalities in education become more striking in the eastern part of Turkey. Traditional division of labor in families is practiced in the regions where girls' enrollment rates are low. In addition to cultural factors, economic structure of the society impacts the enrollment rates, especially for girls. Although it does not have significant contribution to production, informal traditional employment rates rises from western to eastern parts of the country. However, the Eastern Black Sea

Region is exceptional. As male population migrate to western cities to find jobs and females have more responsibilities at home which may positively affect the girls' education (ERG, 2009; Hoşgör and Smits, 2006). Another dimension of regional disparities is related with resources and money allocated for education. Families in big cities are more probable to enroll their children in secondary education and spend more money for education compared to the families living in places with a population less than 20.000. Regional differences with respect to access to education are not striking at primary level of education compared to secondary level. However, even at primary level more resource and money is allocated for education in metropolitan settlements (ERG, 2014).

All in all, it should be considered that increased years of schooling cannot be considered as an indicator of educational quality as it is only possible to associate attending schools with economic growth when students effectively improve cognitive and non-cognitive skills required by the labor market. Along with improving educational attainment, today's labor market necessitates increasing the quality of education equipping all the children with high quality knowledge and skills for long term economic growth of nations (World Bank, 2011). In this respect, an improvement in the quality of national education is needed along with efforts to increase access to education especially in disadvantaged regions of the country (ERG, 2012).

#### **2.4.3. Differences in the Qualities of Schools**

Different qualities of schools and distinct curricular tracks or streams create obstacles for the equality of educational opportunities in many educational systems. The most common track placement is determined by students' prior academic achievement. Students with higher achievement level are enrolled in academic tracks that teach the prestigious subjects and prepare them to higher education. Students from less privileged strata whose achievement levels are lower are more likely to attend non-academic tracks that prepare them for immediate entry into the labor force. As students' achievement is correlated with their socio-economic origin transmits the inequality between generations (Shavit, 1990).



The results of TIMSS, considering academic achievement, socioeconomic status and school differences, indicate that up to eighth grade in-school variations which depend on student characteristics were found to be higher than among schools variations which depend on school qualities (ERG, 2014). While at primary level of education socio-economic status of the family is the most important factor affecting academic achievement of students, school differences are more influential at secondary level. The main reason for this difference is that students are tracked to different schools based on their academic achievement at secondary level of education. This tracking system causes nationwide educational inequalities as students from lower SES continue to be disadvantaged at secondary education and cannot benefit the equal educational opportunities (ERG, 2014). Students are enrolled in different schools based on their performances in secondary education entrance exam and the most successful one are accepted to Science High Schools and Anatolian High Schools. Tracking students to schools with different qualities based on their exam results decreases the average quality of education and causes inequalities. As academic performance of students depends on specific qualities of schools which are uneven across different educational institutions, this system also causes lifelong inequalities among students (ERG, 2014; World Bank, 2011).

To Garoman (2001) variation among the schools that students attend and differential quality of schooling are determiners of educational outcomes of students. As differences in school qualities become more striking, the quality of education changes for children from different social backgrounds (Sayılan, 2012). In Turkey, public schools are disadvantaged compared to private schools in terms of the inadequacy of activities and facilities of schools, shortage of qualified teachers. Administrators and teachers are to be more focused on discipline problems and misbehaviors of students stemming from shortcomings and teaching and learning process is negatively affected. Moreover, while students are provided with the activities that teach them flexibility, time management and communicative skills at private schools, students attending public school are expected to obey and to respect the authority, to obey the rules and to do what they are told. Especially at secondary level of education, school cultures and regimes

are becoming distinct at an increasing speed. There are outstanding differences between private schools and some privileged public schools of middle and upper class and general high schools. Similarly, general high schools differ from vocational and technical high schools. Schools that appeal middle and upper classes provide more equal educational opportunities and practices. In regular public schools, it is more probable to witness more conservative and sexist practices (Sayilan, 2012; Tanman, 2008).

#### **2.4.4. Gender Inequalities in Education**

Educational participation improves the life prospects of girls by shaping their future roles and status in the society. Nevertheless, women cannot utilize the same opportunities as their male counterparts which manifest itself in lower education level and fewer opportunities for female participation in social life (UNESCO, 2003). A closer look at gender educational disparities reveals that we are facing a phenomenon that influences women from different societies and levels of development. Cultural and socioeconomic forces are known to shape educational access and attainment of women; yet, when degrees and patterns of access and attainment are taken into consideration, we see that class differences and cultural diversity alone seem to fall short of explaining why inequalities in women's education exist and prevail (Stromquist, 1988).

Studies revealed some important factors affecting gender inequality in education including unequal attention and treatment given to girls, classroom and school culture which cause girls' low self-esteem, gender stereotyping in curriculum and in course book, stereotyped assumption in relation to sexes and difference in abilities and organization of schools (Chapman, 2001; Colclough, 2004). Similarly, sex-differentiated dress codes reproduced gender stereotypes and caused gender discrimination at public schools. Harbach (2016) argued that dress code is a part of larger process of identity process and sexualization of girls rather than as a type of every day school policy. The role of dressing in gender socialization is underlined by Arvanitidou and Gasouka (2013) asserting that dressing is one of the cultural agents constructing gender identities. Bahl's study (2005) revealed that

women's dressing was used as a social control mechanism and as an agent of social change in different cultures. The analysis of the political and social uses of women's dressing and the context of creating particular dress code and styles are important in showing the ways dress code at schools shape certain gender identities (Bahl, 2005).

The factors that cause gender inequalities in education is summarized by Stromquist (1988) as follows: Two main sets of obstacles define the factors, namely the obstacles classified as being "school-related" and the obstacles identified as being "home-related". With regards to school-related obstacles, distance to school, presence of female teachers in the classroom, "relevant" curriculum, lack of counseling facilities, and gender-segregated curricula in schools are the variables identified in the literature. On the other hand, when deciding to enroll females in schools and letting them continue their schooling, home-related obstacles have consistently been linked to such variables as parents' attitudes and aspirations towards their daughters, their socioeconomic level, their years of education, cultural and religious values of their society, and the number of younger siblings in the household.

Gender perception and beliefs of teachers constitute another significant dimension of gender inequalities in education. Teachers share stereotyped assumption in relation to sexes and difference in abilities which results in differential treatment and sexist practices in classrooms. Girls are thought to be get lower scores on IQ tests and they are directed to the jobs which are more appropriate for their roles in the social life (Chapman, 2001). This problem is worsened by the fact that the issue of gender is neglected in teacher training in many developing countries, where gender sensitization courses are given only to very few teachers (Colclough et al., 2003). Setting the 'right' curriculum and training teachers to become 'gender-aware' might prove to be a demanding process. Regardless of your curriculum design, the way teachers interpret it still has a vast influence. Teachers have the power to become role models and to give students a sense of direction and encouragement both to boys and girls, but then again they also have the power

to disparage and marginalize them, and thus help to preserve stereotypes. Many studies in literature have indeed revealed that teachers believe girls to be less intelligent than boys, and therefore to be bound to settle for less well-paid jobs (Colclough, 2004). In Bangladesh, the majority of the teachers interviewed did not themselves expect their own daughters to find a job after their education. It is not realistic to expect teachers to detach themselves from strong social and cultural norms of their own society. In intensely patriarchal societies, involving teachers in gender-equity programs is not so easy. Besides, even when they become involved, they experience strong obstacles related to the intensity of patriarchal values in choosing how to lead their own lives, careers, and activities (Mahlase, 1997).

Hiring more women teachers and training them well are set as top priorities in countries with high gender disparities. The number of female teachers is extremely low in many countries. Women constitute only one-third, if not less, of teaching professionals in Sub-Saharan Africa. When strong correlations between girls' enrolments at primary level and the presence of female teachers are taken into consideration, it becomes evident that any strategy targeted at gender disparities is bound to employ deliberate policy measures to change this ratio. Some initiatives lead the way: 'centers of excellence' have been set up in many sub-Saharan countries by the Forum for African Women Educationalists (FAWE) with the aim of improving the capacity of teachers, introducing courses on gender sensitization and awareness, the teaching of science, maths and technology, and training in gender-responsive methodologies (Colclough et al., 2003)

The impact of female teachers, as crucial agents of change, on girls' education was also underlined. Research studies indicated that presence of female teachers promoted girls' education especially in developing countries (UNESCO, 2006; Haugen et. al, 2014; UNGEI, 2011). It was revealed that families are more likely to send their daughters to school when there is a female teacher. Studies indicated that countries with more or less equal numbers of male and female teachers are closer to gender parity in education. Presence of female teachers is an important determinant of girls' schooling for especially conservative families as they do not approve their daughters to be taught by a male teacher. The equal proportion of

female teachers at different levels of education is both an indicator of progress towards gender equality and empowerment of women through education (UNESCO, 2006; UNGEI; 2011). Female teachers enhanced girls education as they provide positive role models for girls, act as advocates for girls and promote girl-friendly learning environment at schools (Engin Demir, 2012; Colclough et al., 2003; Herz and Sperling, 2004; Rihani, 2006).

All in all, legislative and policy reforms play a crucial role in establishing an empowering environment that promotes gender equality in education. It needs to make investments in redistribution by means of sparing resources for female education and taking special measures to diminish inequalities. If it is aimed to make schools better places of learning for both girls and boys, such measures as positive messages in curricula, teachers' skills and attitudes, safety and improved facilities are significant components of any gender-equality strategy (Colclough et al., 2003).

#### **2.4.4.1. Gender Inequalities in Education in Turkey**

Since 1999, Turkey has achieved a fast progress towards gender equity in both lower and upper secondary levels. Turkish National Education statistics illustrated that girls' schooling ratio has been increasing in recent years. Nevertheless, female schooling ratio is lower than the total and male schooling ratio at every level of education and schools are still under the influence of the traditional gender roles permeating society (MONE, 2013; UNGEI, 2013a). Research studies conducted on girls' education revealed that there is a problem of gender inequality in education (Alat and Alat, 2011; Dilli, 2006; Gönenç, Ayhan ve Bakır, 2002; Mercan, 2010; Tomul, 2008). Despite the increases in girls' schooling ratio, the problems regarding social mobility, income inequalities and academic performance have remained unsolved. It is obvious that access to education does not guarantee an equal and quality education for all (ERG, 2014). Traditional gender roles negatively affect both girls' and boys' education coming from low-income families. While boys are guided to have jobs and girls are directed to stay at

home and do the housework so they do not have a chance to be enrolled in secondary and tertiary education levels (Sayılan, 2012).

Research studies examining the impact of familial patriarchy shaping girls' education revealed that girls were disadvantaged in rural and less educated and male dominant families. In those families, men prefer their views to perform domestic chores, women believe men should make the important decisions and social life is based on gender segregation (Rankin and Aytac, 2006; Smit and Hosgör, 2006). Traditional gender roles assigned to the girls at early ages, social norms and poverty stood to be a striking reason for girls' being out of school. While cultural factors and patriarchal codes of living hindered the enjoyment of equal opportunities by girls, religious beliefs and practices defined women's social status and their education to a great extent (Göneç, Ayhan and Bakır, 2002; Engin-Demir, 2012). In this sense, it is prominent to examine the impact of family's religiosity on girls' education (Rankin and Aytaç, 2008). In their research study, Rankin and Aytac (2008) examined the effect of religiosity and the headscarf on the educational attainment of children. Results indicated the role of cultural factors in educational attainment as gender disparity in education rooted in patriarchy rather than religiosity. It was found that patriarchal beliefs and practices negatively influenced girls' education. Besides, girls whose fathers supported wearing headscarf were less likely to attend school beyond primary level

The role of socio-cultural factors and patriarchy in girls' educational attainment in Turkey was confirmed by other research studies. Social norms drawing attention to 'purity' of women and 'honor' of the family continue to be the major barrier to female education regardless of improvement in girls' education such as increased years of compulsory education, boarding school and free transportation opportunities for children from rural areas (Smiths and Gunduz-Hosgör, 2003). The problem of accessible schools still exists in rural areas. The boarding schools are not very effective solutions because of the patriarchal family structure in the society. Moreover, in addition to cultural barriers to girls' education, Islamic conservative political atmosphere, which keeps the discussions regarding

coeducation alive, is one of the remarkable dynamics in the country (Sayılan, 2012).

Research studies indicated that male preference for education in the families was another significant barrier in front of girls' education (Alat and Alat, 2011; Dilli, 2006). The cost of education was a determinant of only girls' education. Dilli (2006) found that educating the boys were considered more important than educating the girls in the families. It was believed that their husbands would take care of them when girls got married (Dilli, 2006). When financial resources of the family are limited, families tend to keep the girls at home as helping their mother at home and dealing with household works were thought to be girls' prior responsibilities rather than going to school (Dilli, 2006). In this context, Pal (2004) conducted a review of literature on girls' educational attainment in developing countries and concluded that there was tendency towards boy preference in education. Limited economic resources of the families, lesser returns for the family on investment of girls' and girls' free domestic labor were among the reasons for son preference in developing countries. Safety and cultural concerns regarding girls' propriety were among the other factors shaping the decisions of the families. Gönenç, Ayhan and Bakır (2002) found that responsibilities of girls in domestic sphere such as household duties and taking care of younger siblings hindered girls' education in Turkey. Thus, girls who did not have education or who withdraw from the school did not have a role model except for being a housewife. In this context, Alat and Alat (2011) and Dilli (2006) found that early marriages were among the significant barriers in front of girls' education. Besides, Dill (2006) asserted parents thought that schooling was not agreeable for girls who entered the puberty and early marriages hindered girls' education.

It was also highlighted that gender inequalities are more striking in eastern Turkey (ERG, 2009; Ferreira and Gignoux, 2010; Hoşgör and Smits, 2006; Sarier, 2010) Sarier (2010) discovered that as female school enrollment rate is lower at higher levels of education, particularly in eastern Turkey. According to the results of his study, females are more successful than males in general while their achievement levels stand to be lower in eastern part of the country. In the same

way, Ferreira and Gignoux (2010) found out that gender inequalities are particularly prominent in the Eastern provinces, in rural areas and for poorer and larger households. It was further discovered that although gender is a determinant of differences in enrollment, but not in achievement. It means that when they have the opportunity to go to school, girls do no worse than boys.

On the other hand, there were structural barriers in front of girls' education. Alat and Alat (2011) found out that lack of adequate accommodation facilities for girls was found be the most outstanding factor for parental resistance to girls' schooling in Ordu, Giresun, Gümüşhane, and Sinop provinces of Turkey where girls' school enrollment rates were lower compared to the other cities in the Black Sea Region. This study revealed that families preferred send their daughters to Koran schools with boarding facilities in that region. Similarly, Dilli (2006) and Gönenç, Ayhan and Bakır, (2002) found that transportation problem and lack of suitable schools in the neighborhood were important factors influencing girls education.

Another aspect of gender inequalities in education is co-education dispute in Turkish context. Research studies indicated that conservative families did not approve girls to be educated in the same environment with boys because of patriarchal beliefs regarding women's weakness, purity and family honor (Engin-Demir, 2012; Smits and Gunduz-Hosgor, 2003; Kırdar, 2009). Even if the studies marked co-education one of the socio-cultural barriers to girls' education, importance of co-education for children's social development was underlined in the related literature. According to Halstead (1991) education should prepare children to take part in a social life shared by men and women and shape positive attitude towards the opposite sex. In this respect, co-education provides a natural and enriching environment which result in healthier relations between two genders. Tan (2007) argued that schools are the most feasible and accessible social environments where two genders can socialize in public life. On the other hand, studies conducted in single sex educational settings revealed the traces of gender inequalities. School culture, organization of school, official and hidden curricula reinforced traditional gender roles and created discrimination. Namely, an analysis of differing school cultures and patriarchal practices highlight the roots of male



dominance single sex schools. Whether they provide religious education or not, secondary schools contribute to protect existing patriarchal structure of the society in Turkey (Acar and Ayata, 2000). On the other hand, school cultures which vary across different secondary schools influence gender issues. While private institutions and privileged public schools are more advantageous with respect to gender equality, gender discrimination is obviously seen in general high schools and vocational technical high schools. Male hegemony is explicit especially in vocational technical high schools as male teachers outnumber their female counterparts. Similarly, female teachers are under the influence of discriminatory behaviors of male teachers and students. Besides, Islamic ideology is accepted as a norm in high schools which provide religious education. Social control is ensured through gender segregation in those schools. Gender segregation regulates relations between males and females both in classes and in other social settings. Interaction between two genders is discouraged in opposition to westernizing culture of public schools (Acar and Ayata, 200; Sayılan, 2012).

Most of the research focuses on equality between males and females in terms of educational attainment which constitutes only one side of the coin. On the other side of the coin, school organization, standardized educational practices and informal instruction methods all disadvantage females in the education system. Marchbank and Letherby (2007) argued that organization of school, official and hidden curricula, and social relations in the classroom created gender discrimination. Explicit and hidden messages in the official and hidden curricula tailor students to fit into their traditional gender roles and also define different achievement criteria and standards for two genders. Content of educational materials and curricula also reinforce gender stereotypes in society (Tan, 2010). All in all, it can be concluded that even if the primary concern of policies on girls' education is to increase enrollment rates, getting girls into school constitutes only one dimension of the issue. As the social construction of gender determines both enrollments and importance attained to girls' education, policy efforts on more complex social processes and their consequences should be prioritized (Monkman and Hoffman, 2013).

## **2.5. Educational Policy and Policy Discourse**

Policy is defined as “a statement of government intentions” (Doherty, 2007 p. 198). In this sense policy aims to exercise political power through intervention, initiation or legitimation of a set of practices. They are purposeful statements which specify principles and actions targeting to reach desired goals or to deal with a problem or a need. Policy brings about change and possibilities of change both through production and enactment stages (Heimans, 2011). The changing emphasis in educational policy is rooted in two different paradigms, namely ‘state-controlled’ approaches to policy analysis and the ‘policy cycle’ approach. These two approaches show differences in separating the “formulation” and “implementation” stages of policy analysis. In the 1990s, the trend shifted to analyzing policy from a ‘recipient’ point of view. The recipient perspective of “state-controlled” camp takes policy as a linear entity which ‘gets done’ to people by a line of implementers whose roles are clearly defined in legislation (Bowe, Ball and Gold, 1992; Naidu, 2011)

Marginson (1993) defined policy documents as public expressions of the intent of the government. Governments have controlling power over schools which directly influence the education policy making processes. The goal of policy making process is maintaining social stability and status quo. As policy making process centered around a top-down model, prescriptive policies from above aim to protect the existing interests of dominant groups in society. The relationship between discourse and politics manifest itself in the effect of government on society and also in constitutive and controlling effect of society on government. Thanks to the interpretative and reproducing functions of discourse, governments can construct the distorted truths in discourses which both shape the society and public opinion (Irvine, 2002; Terzioğlu, 2015).

According to Bacchi (2000), the way policy is framed and the way their presentation influence the public perceptions of policies and possibilities of action are clearly political in nature. Policy formulation entails ideological, political and economic parameters driven by social structure of the society. There is not a

straightforward way of analyzing educational policies without capturing ideological underpinnings and other complex dynamics and primary actors in the policy-making field (Ball, 2012). Policies shape micro-levels of society by setting parameters of thoughts and actions which are conceivable and enacted upon. For this reason, the language of policies is not value-free or neutral and policy texts often represent ideological tenets explicitly (Hernandez, 2013). Ideological underpinnings of policies which influence the ways people perceive the world are embedded in the language of the policy texts. Discursive framing of policy texts affect how policies shape perceptions of reality and reveals the forces shaping the text (Monkman and Hoffman, 2013).

Meaning is established both in the production and in context of the policy enactment. Textual analysis of policy documents and interpretations and enactment of policy are equally important for the policy studies. Policy is perceived in relation to conditions of both its production and its interpretation. Interpretation of the policy in practice functions as a new production of policy (Heimans, 2011). Social logics of policy practice change in different policy contexts depending on the way power is possessed by social agents. While policies are produced by the government for larger groups of individuals at macro level, the enactment of the policy happens at micro level. In educational settings, teachers remake policy for their groups of students while politicians generate policy for thousands of schools. The power of the politician is mediated by the teachers' power which is made material through enactment of the policy at school level (Heimans, 2011).

Policy can best be seen as texts formed by discourses. Therefore, policy is regarded as a representation which is encoded and decoded in complicated ways. Policy texts can be classified as 'readerly' or 'writerly', depending on the degree of interpretation allowed to the reader; however, these policy texts are constantly and inevitably interpreted, challenged, adopted, and adapted in varying work contexts. Therefore, policy is continuously being made or remade at different educational environments. This approach to policy formation paved the way for a better understanding of the complexities of the relationships in policy making.

Whereas policy might affect the nature of teaching and learning, teachers are obliged to build their own interpretations of the policy using their own personal, political, and professional viewpoints. Teachers are actively engaged in policy on a regular basis. They are urged to continuously build and interpret policy in their profession. This, however, necessitates a particular level of understanding and skill in handling the policy process. For this reason, teachers ought to possess a thorough knowledge of policies and policy processes (Naidu, 2011).

Development of states is directly affected by educational policy making process considering the impact of education on the destiny of individuals. Education reforms in a nation should be analyzed in alignment with the changes in economic and political fabric of the society as those changes are inevitably interwoven. The structure of the curriculum and schooling and organization of learning activities are shaped in the context of ideological changes to a great extent. In the same way, it is inevitable that the value system in the society, social equity and economic well-being are driven by the changes in the educational arena (Wang, 2013). As education policy making process is under the influence of a complex system of different interest groups, formal institutions and organizations, educational policy analysis necessitates exploring the relationship between policy texts and their historical, political, social and cultural context (Marginson, 1993; Taylor, 2004).

Education policy has multi-faceted orientations as formal schooling is organized in line with stakeholders' personal values, perceptions, resources and values embedded in institutions and wider structures (Jones, 2013). Curriculum, as a source of information and values, is an ideological and cultural reproducing tool of the society. The form of information and values helping this reproduction process creates the ideological content of the curriculum and is determined by education policies (Apple, 2000). Values are discursively constructed and they are embedded in the policy language. While certain truths are legitimized over others, certain values can be excluded in policy language (Hernandez, 2013). As ruling class controls the most effective tools and mechanisms such as the education

system, political system, judicial system and media organs which transmit the ideologies; ideologies, cultural values and belief systems are closely related to power relations in society (Fiske, 1996). Power is produced and transmitted through discourse and knowledge as discourse, power and knowledge interactively structure realities and identities in a society. Without the circulation and functioning of discourse, relations of powers cannot be exercised (Foucault, 1980; Foucault, 1994). The formation or legitimating of power elites and also participation of social groups in policy formation make policy making process more or less democratic. When political and technocratic elites strictly direct policy formation, policy operates as ideology (Levinson, 2009).

## **2.6. Gender Policy in Education in Turkey**

As a result of educational policies of conservative Islamist government in the last decade, every sphere of Turkish education system has passed through significant policy changes. Islam and Islamic code of conduct gained a new momentum by exceeding the boundaries of the dichotomy between modernity and tradition which was particularly manifest on the gender plane (Göle, 2003). While neo-liberal reforms in education increased educational inequalities and gender problems in education gained new dimensions. Although there are many projects aiming to increase the enrollment rates of girls, it has become more difficult to reach equal and quality education for girls. Thus, it is not possible to comprehend the problem of girls' education without realizing that patriarchal structure in the society is fed by religious basis and aims to have control over females (Sayılan 2012).

In general terms, the government's gender policy is informed by a new mode of patriarchy which is viewed as combination of religious-conservative, nationalist and liberal value sets. The party holds a neo-liberal conservative approach to women's issues and its conservative stance towards womanhood, stemming from religious and nationalist understanding, limits woman within a familial sphere (Coşar and Yeğenoğlu, 2011). According to Haspolat (2015), neo-liberal conservative gender policies of the governing party resulted in considerable deteriorations in the social and citizenship status of Turkish women in recent

years. Arat (2010) argues that religious world views and certain Islamist discourses pose for women celebrates restrictive gender roles assigned to women. Educational policies and policy discourses promotes orthodox understanding of women's status which limits women's choices and engagement in the public world and disadvantaged women in terms of their access to resources, economic opportunities and participation in democratic process (Annin, 2009; Arat, 2010).

According to Üşür (1992) both republican and Islamic ideology legitimized certain female identities on ideological basis. In Islamic ideology female identity was defined through the roles *motherhood and wives*, while republican ideology prioritized the identity of educated and working woman. However, it is noteworthy that recent discourse of Islamist ideology promoted veiled and religious woman. This new Islamist ideology approved female education as long as it did not interfere with domestic responsibilities and roles of woman. In conservative ideology, women are educated to be sacrificing mothers and good spouses in accordance with traditional values and patriarchal codes of the society. The mentality transformation regarding traditional gender roles has not taken place among religious and conservative groups. Even the well-educated women from conservative circles emphasize the motto that "a woman's place is her home" (Tan, 2007). According to Dedeoğlu (2012) patriarchal values and familial responsibilities limited women's participation in the labor force. As women's labor market participation as it is a strong indicator of gender equality in the society, the limited number of women in labor market shows show ineffectiveness of gender policies in changing women's dependent position.

The meaning of gender equality is shaped through a variety of discursive practices including policy making processes (Verloo, Lambardo and Bustela, 2007) the language of policy documents may contribute to construction of a certain gender identity causing inequalities as language plays an important role in forming and reinforcing norms and values of a society (Ansary and Babaii, 2003). Therefore, most research on gender and and politics literature has focused on the process or the content of policymaking through gender sensitive lenses (Lombardo et al., 2012). Several studies have been carried out to examine portrayal of women and

conceptualizations of gender in the discourses of political parties in Turkey. Gazioğlu-Terzi (2015) examined gender perspectives of governments through a critical analysis of Turkish governments' political discourse on women and family between 1989 and 2011. The study showed that despite the changes in the political discourse on gender issues, discourse did not reflect a true gender equality perspective. Women were not defined as independent and equal individuals in the policy discourse of Turkish governments. In a similar study, Haspolat (2015) examined gender perceptions and presentation of woman issues in the election declarations of mainstream political parties. Terkan (2010, 2016) conducted similar studies to examine gender discourses of political parties. The results of these studies were parallel in showing that portrayal of women and gender issues differ among political parties in Turkey. The parties in the conservative camp conceptualized womanhood in the frame of cultural and moral values and emphasized women's prior role in the maintenance of Turkish family. According to the results of studies conducted by Terkan (2016) and Haspolat (2015), AKP holds a conservative approach to women and foregrounds motherhood roles and policies of the party limits women within domestic sphere. However, conceptualization of gender in the discourses of opposition parties was different. The parties with leftist ideology hold a respectively more egalitarian approach to gender issues and challenged the patriarchal norms through the arguments of democracy and modernity. They respected the freedom and the rights of women as independent individuals. The role of women in protecting the values of secularism and democracy as opposed to religious and traditional norms was emphasized (Gazioğlu-Terzi, 2015; Haspolat, 2015; Terkan, 2016).

## **2.7. Critical Policy Studies**

Most of the research on policy analysis are commentary and critique rather than empirical research and there is a limited number of published work on policy analysis in education (Ball, 1990; Taylor, 2004). The synthesis of critical policy studies in the literature revealed CDA as a common method used by the researchers investigating the relationship between policy and power relations in society. There is a close relationship between discourse and 'moments' of social

practices. Discourse both internalizes and is internalized by other social events and elements (Harvey, 1996 as cited in Fairclough 2013). Critical Discourse Analysis presents a framework for a detailed investigation of public discourses as it questions the relationships between power relations in the society and local everyday practices (Thomas, 2004). A deeper exploration of policy documents through a critical analysis reveals the ways the policy is formed, framed, implemented, and understood by different individuals (Mokman and Hoffman, 2013). Therefore, CDA analyzes both meaning and meaning making in a dual relationship. In other words, CDA is not simple analysis of discourse as an independent entity, but it requires an in-depth analysis of dialectical relations between discourse and other elements that surround the discourse. Such an approach requires a detailed description and analysis of the milieu which frames the discourse at the first step. According to Foucault, discourses are not simply texts, they are forms of power. Power relations can be established, maintained or extended through discursive connections in policy texts. Critical policy analysis uncovers the relations and territory of power, ideology, language and discourse (Doherty, 2007).

Monkman and Hoffman (2013) utilized feminist critical policy discourse analysis to analyze girls' education policy documents of 14 international organizations between 1995 and 2008. The study aimed to find out the ways the discursive framing of girls' education policy shape public perceptions of girls' education. Three types of discursive arguments were revealed in the policy documents: justice arguments, utility arguments and empowerment arguments. The analysis showed that primary attention of policies on gender equality in education was on measurable indicators referring to girls' and boys' schooling ratio. The policy discourse did not consider gender as a social issue within the framework of social inequities. The logic of arguments for girls' education regarding benefits, barriers and rationale and theory of action were excluded in policy documents. The limited of explanations in the policy texts constituted a superficial framing which hinder a meaningful dialogue about girls' education in the public discourse.



Critical discourse analysis as a type of discourse analysis research aims to reveal and interpret different social meanings, norms, values and perspectives embedded in texts, talks and other communicative contexts (Fairclough, 1995; Paltridge, 2013, van Dijk, 2008). CDA studies the mutual relationship between language and social and political contexts of language use. It aims to explore the ways in which issues such as gender, ethnicity, cultural differences, ideology and identity are shaped and stated in the discourse (Paltridge, 2013). Thomas (2005) utilized CDA to analyze an education policy document with respect to discursive constructions of teacher identities and to address the problem of teacher quality. The study revealed that there is an emphasis on professional development and revitalization in discourse on teacher quality. The discourse on teacher identity and quality marked teachers' contribution to knowledge economy and national prosperity significant. The study showed that dynamic nature of CDA makes it a suitable method for critical policy analysis.

The role of power relations and inequalities in producing social problems are investigated by CDA. In particular, CDA examines the discursive aspects of power relations and inequalities, dialectical relations between discourse and power and their reflections on other complex relations which constitute social life (Fairclough, 2013). Taylor (2004) investigated whether CDA can be used effectively in policy studies in "new times" and the possibilities to use CDA or further social democratic goals. The study was based on a larger research examining the equity implications of Education Queensland's reform agenda. The analysis of policy documents from a genre chain and linguistic perspective indicated that CDA can be used effectively to explore competing discourses and marginalized discourses and to document discursive shifts in policy implementation. The implications of revealed discursive and linguistic issues were of particular value for teachers and policy activists to comprehend, implement use the policy texts in emancipatory ways. In this context, Hernandez (2013) employed CDA to analyze policies of White House Initiative on Educational Excellence for Hispanics with respect to educational opportunity and equity. Through a critical policy analysis of how Latino educational opportunity is discursively constructed in federal policy,

the study challenged conventional policy analyses. Latino educational opportunity and policy subjects are framed through a market based language in the policy discourse. The results indicated discursive construction of educational opportunity in line with the economic well-being of the country

According to Taylor (2005), CDA provides an appropriate framework for a systematic analysis of policy texts as it examines the relationship between language and social processes and the role of language within power relations. CDA enables researchers to go beyond speculation and see discursive construction of power relations. CDA mediates between social analysis and semiotic/linguistic analysis. Social analysis focuses on the external relations while linguistic analysis refers to internal relations of the text. In this kind of an inter-discursive analysis, properties of the text are connected with the social practices in the wider context (Fairclough, 2001; Taylor 2005). Fairclough (1993) applied CDA to analyze marketization of discursive practices in contemporary British universities. He examined the order of discourse of the contemporary university by analyzing the following documents: press advertisements for academic posts, program materials for an academic conference, an academic curriculum vitae and entries in undergraduate prospectuses. The study illustrated the contribution of CDA in comprehending the research into the effects of social and cultural changes on contemporary organizations. The analysis of universities in their text and discourse practice dimensions revealed matters such as shifting authority relations and shifts in self-identity within organizations in line with the contemporary social changes.

Policy and media discourses are interrelated as they share some common characteristics. Whether they are produced in the private or government sectors, ideological nature of public discourses manifests itself both in policy and media discourses. Discursive struggles in media and policy discourses construct subjectivities, different world views and ways of knowing or representing the self. They influence public spheres and shape public opinion and social relations through discursive representations of realities (Thomas, 2010). As research found a correlation between the content of press items and public opinion together with evidence of agenda setting (Thomas, 2002; Fairclough, 1995), media plays an

important role in transmitting and reproducing the gender roles in the society. Gender identity emphasized in the media texts and female representation in media are important as gender roles and roots of gendered practices in the society are reproduced through media channels. In Turkey, women are portrayed within the framework of socio-cultural norms and cultural values and the traces of dominant patriarchal system in the society in print media (Bal, 2014; Çelik and Uysal, 2012).

A critical analysis of representation of education policies in print media helps to reveal the effects of media on people's perceptions in relation to policy priorities and the traces of political issues in the reporting of news. As language incorporates divergent meanings and expressions in the ways different parties use, a critical attention to media representations of educational policies provides an understanding regarding power relations in media discourses (Cohen, 2010). Thomas (2002) analyzed the media coverage of an education policy in Queensland secondary school curriculum (Health and Physical Curriculum) by using CDA. The study investigated the newspaper debates over policy initiative by conceptualizing policy and media texts as public sphere. The analysis showed that print media give prominence to discourses marginalized in a policy document in a short period of time. The results indicated that media discourses on education worked to construct authoritative public voices on education policy through a complex process of claims and counter claims, of contestation and negotiation and through links across discursive sites. The analysis of print media on Health Physical Curriculum also indicated that in addition to contestations over knowledge about policy, discursive struggles over policy also caused the construction of subjectivities through marginalization of teachers.

## **CHAPTER 3**

### **METHODOLOGY**

This chapter provides an overview of the research methods and techniques utilized in the present study. The chapter starts with the description of the research design with a detailed explanation of Critical Discourse analysis as a methodological framework. It continues with the context of the study which presents a comprehensive description of contemporary educational policies in Turkey. Next, the data sources and procedures for data collection and analysis are addressed in detail. Following that, the strategies and method utilized to ensure trustworthiness of the study are presented. In the politics and ethics part, unarticulated features, unexpected events, and obstacles impacting the study are discussed. The chapter proceeds with the role of the researcher; namely the standpoint and values of the researcher influencing the nature of the present study are discussed at length. Finally, limitations and delimitations of the study are presented.

#### **3.1. Restatement of the Purpose and Research Questions**

The purpose of the study was threefold: (1) to examine policy discourses on gender policy in education in the last decade in Turkey, (2) to examine media discourses on gender policy in education in the last decade in Turkey, and (3) to examine teachers' views of gender policy in education in the last decade in Turkey. The study utilizes critical discourse analysis as a research tool to investigate discursive implications of gender equality/inequality in education embedded in language and information of educational policy documents and print media.

The following questions guided the study:

1. How is gender policy in education reflected in the policy documents published in the last decade in Turkey?
  - 1.1. How is gender identity reflected in educational policy documents?
  - 1.2. Are there any discursive indicators of gender inequalities in education embedded in policy documents?
2. How is gender policy in education reflected in the print media in the last decade?
  - 2.1. How does print media discourse shape people's understanding and perception of gender policy in education in the last decade?
  - 2.2. How is gender identity reflected in the news reports?
  - 2.3. Are there any discursive indicators of gender inequalities in education embedded in the news reports?
3. What are the perceptions of teachers regarding gender policy in education in the last decade?

### **3.2. Overall Research Design**

The research questions stated above were investigated through employing a critical discourse analysis of policy documents, newspaper clippings and the teacher interviews. Qualitative data from three different sources, which complement one another, were analyzed in order to investigate gender policy in education in detail. The present study utilized three dimensional model of Fairclough (1995) as a methodological framework and three phases of the study were designed in alignment of this model. As CDS utilizes any method that is relevant to the aims of its research studies (van Dijk, 2008), an iterative process of document analysis offered by Bowen (2009) was employed to analyze a broad range of textual materials in the present study. In Phase I, a critical analysis of educational policy documents was carried out in order to examine policy discourses on gender policy in education. For this aim, relevant parts of the policy documents published in the last decade in Turkey were selected initially and the analysis processed with a thematic analysis. In phase II, the study employed a critical analysis of news

reports published in 14 national newspapers in Turkey in the last decade in an attempt to examine media discourses on gender policy in education. Phase I and Phase II of the study fitted into *Description Stage* of Fairclough's (1995) model as it included a textual analysis of empirical materials. Namely, these comprehensive and qualitative data from two different sources were coded and analyzed through a thematic analysis from critical perspective in an interrelated manner. Data gathered from teacher interviews supplemented the data from document analysis phases of the study. Phase III was merged with Phase I and II as preliminary analysis of news reports and policy document consisted the basis of the interview questions. Similarly, content analysis of the teacher interviews was carried out by using the code list constructed during document analysis stage. The aim was to examine teachers' views of gender policy in education in the last decade in Turkey. Besides, teacher interview served to find out the role of print media discourse in shaping people's understanding and perception of gender policy in education in the last decade. Therefore, Phase III fitted into *Interpretation Stage* of Fairclough's (1995) three dimensional model which is concerned about meanings derived from discursive materials. Similarly, researcher's interpretation of the textual materials was a part of interpretation stage of CDA. At the end of the data analysis stage, there phases of the study were merged by integrating the data from three different data sources. This final stage required a more focused and in-depth review of data set and a close attention to research context. In order to establish a well-informed interpretation of data, the researcher interpreted the information embedded in the discursive materials considering the contextual characteristics and social conditions of policy production. In this sense, complete analysis of data fitted into *Explanation Stage* of Fairclough's (1995) model as it provided insights on the interactions between policy discourse and social conditions of production. The overall research design is summarized in Table 3.1. Besides, Figure 3. 2 presents a summary of Fairclough's (1995) three dimensional model and implementation of it in the present study.

Table 3.1

*Summary of the Research Design*

<b>Educational Policies of MONE on Gender Equality</b>		
<b>Phase-1 : A Critical Analysis of Policy Texts</b>	<b>Phase 2- A Critical Analysis of News Reports</b>	<b>Phase 3- Teacher Interviews</b>
<p><b>Purpose:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- to examine policy discourses on gender policy in education in the last decade in Turkey</li> </ul>	<p><b>Purpose:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- to examine media discourses on gender policy in education in the last decade in Turkey</li> </ul>	<p><b>Purpose:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- to examine teachers' views of gender policy in education in the last decade in Turkey.</li> </ul>
<p><b>Design:</b> Qualitative Design</p>	<p><b>Design:</b> Qualitative Design</p>	<p><b>Design:</b> Qualitative Design</p>
<p><b>Data Sources:</b> Policy Documents: MONE and NGOs</p>	<p><b>Data Sources:</b> education news in the 14 national newspapers in the last decade.</p>	<p><b>Data Sources:</b> Semi-structured interviews with teachers in K-12 schools (<math>n=13</math>)</p>
<p><b>Data Analysis:</b> Document Analysis , CDA</p>	<p><b>Data Analysis:</b> Document Analysis, CDA</p>	<p><b>Data Analysis:</b> Content Analysis of semi-structured interviews, CDA</p>

### 3.2.1. Critical Discourse Analysis

There are different approaches to discourse analysis. Textually oriented discourse analysis is concerned about the linguistic features of the texts such as whole text organization (narrative, argumentative etc.), grammatical and semantic features (transitivity, action, voice, mood and modality), words (vocabulary, collocations, use of metaphors etc.) (Fairclough, 2001). Other approaches rooted in Foucauldian perspective pay close attention to historical and social context of the text (Fairclough, 2003). Foucault's theory of discourse and power and his conceptualization of textual discourse analysis underpins Fairclough's CDA paradigm. In the same way, his discussions about discourse are also at the center of gender theories. Discourse is defined as the effects of power as it is constructed and practiced in relation to power relations (Foucault, 1978). Critical discourse analysis as a type of discourse analysis examines the mutual relationship between

language and social and political contexts of language use. It is aimed to reveal and interpret different social meanings, norms, values and perspectives embedded in texts, talks and other communicative contexts (Fairclough, 1995; Paltridge, 2013, van Dijk, 2008).

Rogers (2004) asserted that there are always different social political, racial and economic reflections in discourses and he considered CDA both as a theory and a method to be used by researchers investigating the relationship between language and society. CDA is interested in the role of verbal interaction, communicative practices, properties of texts and speech in the reproduction of power abuse, social inequality and injustice (van Dijk, 2008). It aims to explore the ways in which issues such as gender, ethnicity, cultural differences, ideology and identity are shaped and stated in the discourse (Paltridge, 2013). While unearthing the direct and hidden meanings of texts, social contexts shaping the discursive dynamics and the role of the discourse in constructing the social and political inequalities are examined (Paltridge, 2013; Wooffitt, 2005).

CDA is not simple analysis of discourse as an independent entity, but it requires an in-depth analysis of dialectical relations between discourse and other elements that surround the discourse. It is an analysis of both meaning and meaning making in a dual relationship (Fairclough, 2001). The role of power relations and inequalities in producing social problems are investigated by CDA. Discursive aspects of power relations and inequalities, dialectical relations between discourse and power and their reflections on other complex relations which constitute social life are investigated (Fairclough, 2013). According to Fairclough (1995), the main purpose of the critical discourse analysis is:

To systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, events and texts and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes; to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power (p.132).

Fairclough (1995) identified three dimensions of CDA (1) Description-deals with formal and linguistic properties of the texts, (2) Interpretation- is concerned with the relationship between discursive process of production and interpretation of the



text and (3) Explanation- is concerned with relationship between interaction (process of production and interpretation) and social context. The present study utilized three dimensional model of Fairclough (1995) as a methodological framework. Such an approach requires both a detailed discursive interpretation and a careful analysis of the milieu which frames discursive practices along with textual analysis. To this end, the present study included discursive interpretations of both the researcher and the participating teachers. In this sense, reflections and insights of the researcher was an important part of the study as the findings of the study was influenced by her personal interpretations to a certain degree. Detailed information about the researcher is presented in the following parts of this chapter. A close attention to the social context of the study revealed the ways policy texts construct gender identities and values and ideologies embedded in policy texts which cause gender inequalities in education. In the following parts, a detailed description of the research context is also provided. Fairclough's (1995) framework for CDA is illustrated in Figure 3.1. Besides, Figure 3. 2 presents implementation of Fairclough's model and dimensions of the present study:

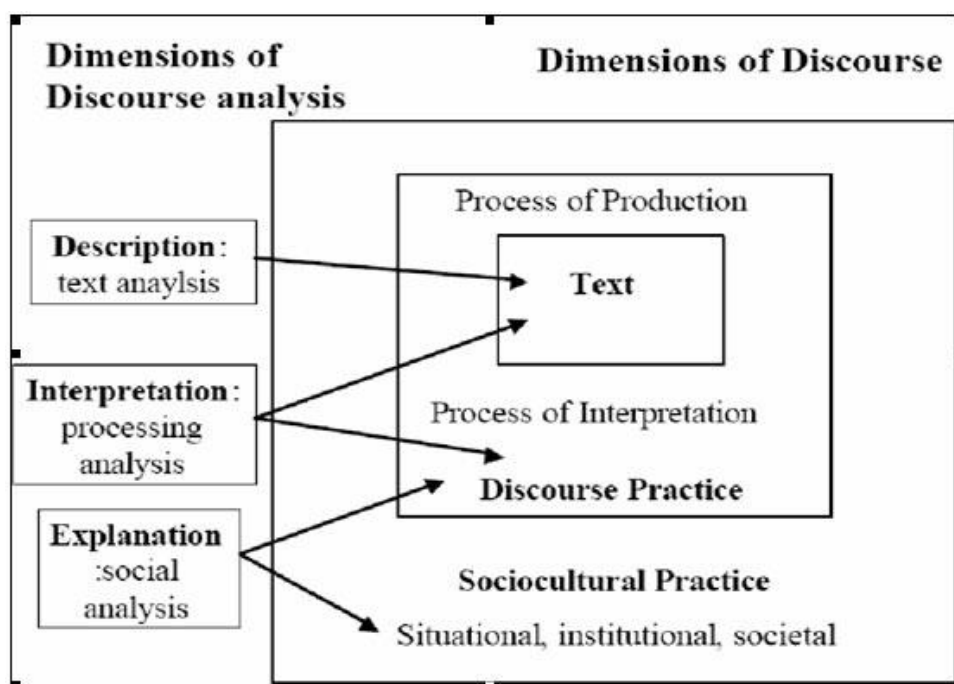


Figure 3.1. Fairclough's Model of CDA (1995)

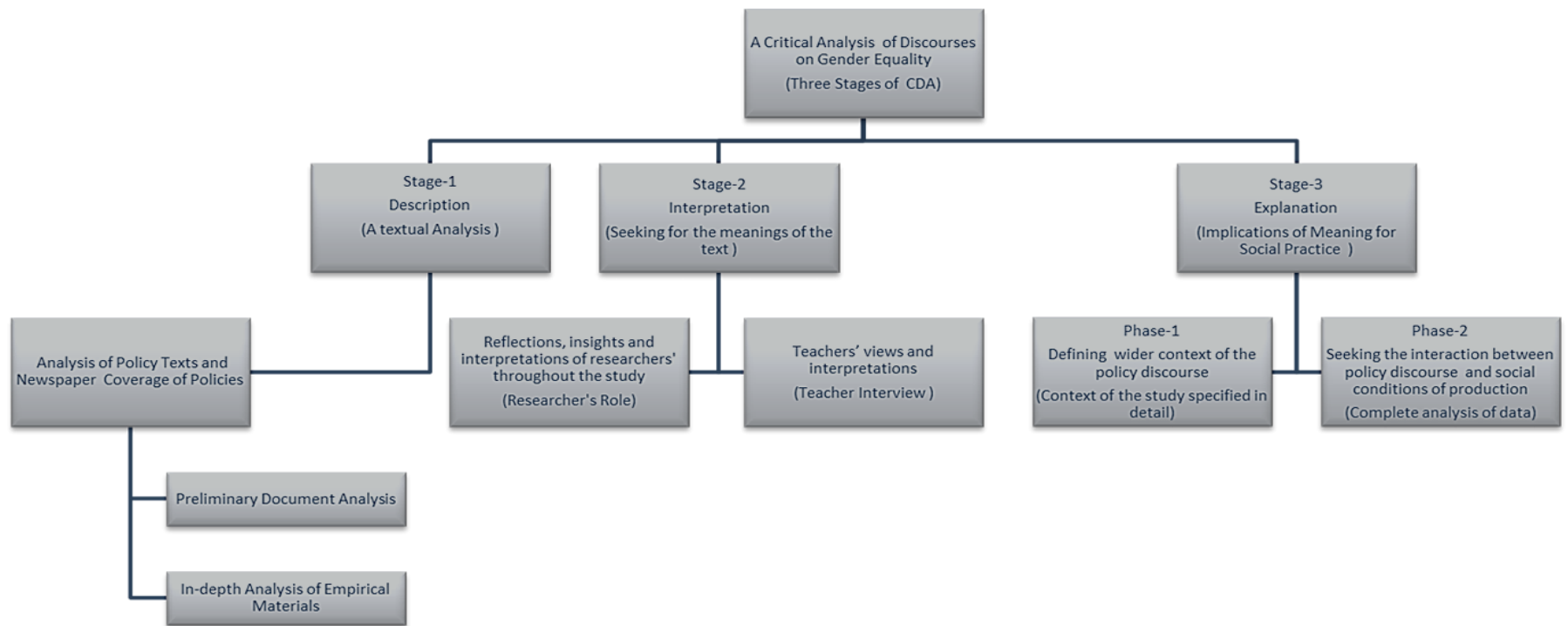


Figure 3.2 Dimensions of the Study (Adapted from 3D Model of Fairclough, 1995)

### **3.3. Context of the Study**

An overview of the gender policy in education and contemporary educational policies in Turkey is necessary to highlight the underpinnings of gender inequalities in education. A holistic picture of policy changes in Turkey will also provide insights on gender identity formation through education policies. To this end, this part of the study presents an overview of gender policy in education in Turkey. Next, contemporary education policies influencing girls' education, gender identity formation and causing gender inequalities in particular are summarized. In this way, it is aimed to give a detailed description of context of the study and to provide an in-depth analysis of gender policy in Turkish education in its social setting.

#### **3.3.1. Gender Policy in Education in Turkey**

The changes in economic and political fabric of the society trigger education reforms and educational policy making. To be more precise, the structure of the curriculum and schooling and organization of learning activities are basically shaped in the context of social changes in the society (Wang, 2013). Changes in the political and social fabric of the society have implications for gender policy in education in particular. As Terkan (2016) asserted, conceptualization of gender is a part of power relations in the society and gender perspectives of different political actors play a significant role in construction of particular gender identities in Turkish context. Turkey has passed through transformations in gender policy in education since the foundation of Turkish Republic in 1923. Those changes were basically shaped in the context of ideological and social changes in the society. Gender policy in education was shaped in line with modernization and Westernization efforts during the early years of republican period. Education policy between 1923 and 1950 prioritized scientific positivism, secularism, modernity and gender equality in schools (Şimsek and Yıldırım, 2004). As a part of the modernization process of the new nation state, educational policy targeted to promote a new, modern and secular female identity and to make women

independent members of the society. Owing to social, economic and judicial rights provided to women along with educational policy efforts, positive improvements in female education took place in the Republican Period and female enrollment rate has been rising since the foundation of the Turkish Republic in 1923 (Ceylan, 2010; Çetin, 2003; Gelişli, 2004; Gürol, 2003)

Almost every sphere of Turkish education sector has passed through other significant policy changes and new initiatives in the last two decades. As a part of education reform movements, Turkey considered girls' education as a critical priority and engaged in many vigorous attempts and a wide range of government and nongovernment initiatives to adequately address this highly prominent issue (Aydagül, 2013). With the expansion of compulsory education to 8 years in 1997, government's efforts were on ensuring access to all children basic education. As a part of effort to increase access, national campaigns to increase girls' enrollment rates were executed. Several nationwide campaigns aimed to encourage families to send girls to school and these campaigns considered education as an important agent to ensure gender equality in Turkey. The "All Girls to School" campaign which targeted to increase girls' schooling ratio at basic education level (grades 1-8) was launched in 2003 in collaboration with UNICEF. The project lasted 5 years and considerably contributed to the increases in girls' enrolment rates in rural areas and southeast provinces (Aydagül, 2013; O'Neill and Guler, 2009; Yazan, 2014).

Along with "All Girls to School", NGOs and MONE initiated many campaigns and projects to raise Turkish girls' education to international standards. NGOs founded campaigns such as "Father Send me to School", "Snowdrops" which contributed to the improvements in girls' education by granting many female students with scholarships (Aydagül, 2013; KSGM, 2008a). Similarly, Ministry of National Education started the Project called "Project for Increasing Enrollment Rates Especially for Girls" in 2011. The Project aimed to increase girls' enrollment rates especially in disadvantaged regions of the country and the activities concentrated especially in the 15 eastern provinces (Engin-Demir, 2012).

These policy efforts and investments contributed to the increases in girls' enrollment rates to a great extent. Recent research studies indicated that gender gap in access to education has disappeared in primary education and narrowed significantly in secondary level. According to UNICEF and World Bank education reports, enrollment rate for both girls and boys in primary education was above the Europe and Central Asia region (ECA) average in 2012-2013. Net enrollment rates for four-year secondary education level also indicated progress with respect to gender parity (70.8% for boys, 69.3% for girls) (MONE, 2013; UNICEF, 2013; World Bank, 2014). Moreover, Turkey made significant progress in increasing the quality of education for both genders considering the average PISA performance scores and the results of nationwide exams (Ferreira and Gignoux, 2010; Sarier, 2010; World Bank, 2014). However, it is difficult to come up with a comprehensive assessment regarding attendance to education as MONE's statistics do not provide data on absenteeism and dropout rates (ERG, 2013).

Table 3.2

*Schooling Ratio by Educational Year and Level of Education (%) Between 1997- 1998 and 2011- 2012 Educational Years*

Educational Year	Primary Education			Secondary Education			Higher Education		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
1997-1998	84.74	90.25	78.97	37.87	41.39	34.16	10.25	11.28	9.17
1998-1999	89.26	94.48	83.79	38.87	42.34	35.22	10.76	11.81	9.67
1999-2000	93.54	98.41	88.45	40.38	44.05	36.52	11.62	12.68	10.52
2000-2001	95.28	99.58	90.79	43.95	48.49	39.18	12.27	13.12	11.38
2001/2002	92.40	96.20	88.45	48.11	53.01	42.97	12.98	13.75	12.17
2005/2006	89.77	92.29	87.16	56.63	61.13	51.95	18.85	20.22	17.41
2006/2007	90.13	92.25	87.93	56.51	60.71	52.16	20.14	21.56	18.66
2007/2008	97.37	98.53	96.14	58.56	61.17	55.81	21.06	22.37	16.69
2008/2009	96.49	96.99	95.97	58.52	60.63	56.30	27.69	29.40	25.92
2009/2010	98.17	98.47	97.84	64.95	67.55	62.21	30.42	31.24	29.55
2010/2011	98.41	98.59	98.22	66.07	68.17	63.86	33.06	33.44	32.65
2011/2012	98.67	98.77	98.56	67.37	68.53	66.14	35.51	35.59	35.42

*Source: Statistics of Ministry of National Education, 2015–2016.*

Table 3.3

*Schooling Ratio by Educational Year and Level of Education (%) Between 2012-2013 and 2015- 2016 Educational Years*

Educational Year	Primary Education			Lower Secondary Education			Upper Secondary Education			Higher Education		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
2012-2013	98.86	98.81	98.92	93.09	93.19	92.98	70.06	70.77	69.31	38.50	38.40	38.61
2013-2014	99.57	99.53	99.61	94.52	94.57	94.47	76.65	77.22	76.05	39.89	38.90	40.93
2014-2015	96.30	96.04	96.57	94.35	94.39	94.30	79.37	79.46	79.26	39.49	37.95	41.10
2015-2016	94.87	94.54	95.22	94.39	94.36	94.43	79.79	79.36	80.24			

*Source: Statistics of Ministry of National Education, 2015–2016.*

Although Turkey has achieved significant improvements in increasing access to education at all levels of education in the last two decades, gender inequalities are still prominent in the Eastern provinces, in rural areas and for poorer and larger households (Engin-Demir, 2012; Ferreira and Gignoux, 2010; Sarier, 2010). The problem of accessible schools still exists in rural areas. Social norms drawing attention to ‘purity’ of women and ‘honor’ of the family continue to be the major barrier to female education regardless of improvement in girls’ education such as increased years of compulsory education, boarding school and free transportation opportunities for children from rural areas. The boarding schools are not very effective solutions for the students in those regions because of the patriarchal family structure in the society (Sayılan, 2012; Smiths and Gunduz-Hosgrir, 2003).

As in the other developing countries, various political and cultural issues which can be categorized as macro-structural and familial factors, influence girls’ education in Turkey. Macro-structural factors lead to gender disparity as the government distributes educational resources to different individuals at different rates (Rankin and Aytaç, 2006). As for the familial factors, cultural beliefs and socio- economic status of the family are influential. Social inequalities and access to education are mutually related and economic factors play a determining role in children’s education. When the family’s economic resources are limited, girls perform housework while boys work outside. However, even if economic factors influence the education opportunities of both genders, girls are more disadvantaged because of sexist practices reinforcing social class and economic inequalities. In low income large families, parents prefer to send their boys to school instead of girls in spite of the fact that when they have the opportunity to go to school; girls do no worse than boys (ERG, 2014; Sayılan, 2012).

According to Göle (2003), changes in gender policy in education in the last decade were a part of educational policies of the conservative Islamist government. The boundaries between modernity and tradition were reconsidered in the frame of a new Islamist identity. A new momentum of Islam and Islamic code of conduct manifested itself on gender policies. Neoliberal-conservative patriarchy



characterizes AKP's gender policy. In other words, government's gender policy is informed by a new mode of patriarchy which is viewed as combination of religious-conservative, nationalist and liberal value sets. The party holds a neo-liberal conservative approach to women's issues and its conservative stance towards womanhood, stemming from religious and nationalist understanding, limits woman within a familial sphere (Coşar and Yeğenoğlu, 2011).

Although there are many project aiming to increase the enrollment rates of girls, it has become more difficult to reach equal and quality education for girls. Thus, it is not possible to comprehend the problem of girls' education without realizing that patriarchal structure in the society is fed by religious basis and aims to have control over females (Sayılan, 2012). An analysis of Turkish education system reveals that progress towards gender parity in education does not guarantee gender equality. Schools reproduce the traditional gender roles that permeate the society. Women are still subject to discriminatory practices in social life (such as son preference, early marriages, gender based seclusion and segregation) which leads to a lack of education and lower female education level compared to their male counterparts. Gender discriminatory traditions and practices rooted in a strong patriarchal culture and Islamic beliefs filter down to schools in Turkey (Acar, 2003; UNGEI, 2013; Tomul, 2005; Yazan, 2014).

### **3.3.2. Recent Education Policies in Turkey**

#### **3.3.2.1. 4+4+4 Education System**

Education, which is free of charge at compulsory education level, is a regal right for ever citizen according to the Constitution of the Turkish Republic. Recent studies showed that nearly 20 million students are enrolled in formal and non-formal education institutions in Turkey. One million teachers work in 81 provinces distributed across seven regions in Turkey. Turkish education system is mostly (by almost 94%) based a centralized management in accordance policies of education determined by Atatürk Mustafa Kemal after the establishment of Turkish Republic (Gülcan, 2014; Kamal, 2017). Atatürk established a secular education system in an

effort to transform the traditional, Islamic community into a “modern” society. Education reforms of Republican Period were mostly secularist driven. Therefore, education played a critical role in the modernization and Westernization process of the country in its early years (Gök, 2007; Kamal, 2017).

Turkish education system passed through many changes and reforms regarding the length of compulsory education, curriculum and the content of subjects since the *Tevhid-i Tedrisat Kanunu* (Law of Unification of Instruction) was published in 1924 (Başdemir, 2014). The changes and reform movements in education have been overshadowed by political and economic instability in the country. Education has long been a political and philosophical battleground between people with differing world views: secularists and religious conservatives in particular (Aydağül, 2013; Kamal, 2017). In 2002, AKP, which has its roots in the Islamist Milli Görüş movement, won the general elections. It was the first time in decades that a one-party government came to power after unstable governments. Despite the changes AKP executed in an effort to comply with EU’s Copenhagen criteria, there were signs of an increasing polarization between what one might call the “secularists” versus the “Islamists” in the country (Çakıroğlu and Toprak, 2007). The Islamic and conservative orientation of the governing party affected the latest social policies undertaken in the country which manifested itself obviously in educational field in specific.

The most radical change in the education system was executed in 2012 since the expansion of compulsory education in 1997. The length of compulsory education was increased from 8-12 years. Under the provisions of new laws, the age of entry to primary education has been lowered to age of 5.5 years. The education system was redefined into 3 levels (primary, lower and upper secondary) with 4 years of education in each level (Aydağül, 2013). Although the change seems positive, it has been criticized by different stakeholders for being politically and religiously motivated (Aydağül, 2013; MONE, 2013; OECD, 2013; Kamal, 2017).

The primary education cover 8 years of education covers four year primary and four year compulsory lower secondary schools. The compulsory primary education

starts at the age of 5 (children who completed 66 months). However, children between the ages of 61 and 66 who are thought to be physically and cognitively ready may be directed to primary school education upon the written request of the parents. The new system makes it possible to choose different programs and İmam Hatip schools for lower secondary education. It is also possible attend Open Lower Secondary School for 14 years students who completed primary education but did not attend lower secondary education because of any reasons. Upper Secondary education consists of four year compulsory and non-formal education including general vocational and technical education institutions. It is possible to attend Open Upper Secondary High Schools for students who cannot attend intuitions providing face-to-face education, who are over the formal education age or who want to go on distance education at the secondary education level (MEB, 2012).

Many NGOs and universities agreed on that new legislation was put into practice without adequate preparation and piloting so it lead to many technical problems (Gür et al., 2012). Changes in the structure of primary education necessitates a holistic evaluation by considering the situation of pre-school education, physical conditions of schools, professional orientation, transitions between new education levels, changes in the school subjects and the structure of teacher education in Turkey (Coşkun and Gündoğdu, 2013). Separation of primary and secondary institutions in new system necessitates additional funding, personnel and restructuring of schools (OECD, 2013) which were not planned and prepared beforehand.

New regulations and reforms should be enacted in consensus upon adequate discussions among all the stakeholders including political parties, educators, universities, non-governmental organizations and media (Hacettepe University, 2012). METU (2012) stated that education policies should be developed based scientific information and by integrating all the stakeholders in the decision making process. Kandemir et al. (2013) and Karadeniz's (2012) studies revealed that teachers considered new legislation as an imposition as it was enacted without

adequate research and discussions and without consulting the practitioners in its early stages. Successful implementation of changes requires many actions such as adaptations in the primary curriculum considering the need of five year old children, in-service trainings for the teachers and regulations in teacher training programs and teacher employment (Güven, 2012).

In Türk Eğitim-Sen's survey (2012a), most of the educators (87.1%) expressed that they disagreed the recent change regarding the age of entry to primary education. They expressed that it is inconvenient for the students to start school as they are not ready to learn reading and writing considering their cognitive and motor maturation. Likewise, it was also stated that as physical conditions of schools and security measures are not proper for that age group, starting schooling early might cause orientation problems for the students which could affect their academic achievement. Eğitim Bir-Sen's (2013) survey also revealed that teachers and parents did not find the change positive. Participants stated that the new regulation was put into practice without taking students' developmental characteristics into account. Children do not acquire self-care skill at that age and they do not have readiness to learn reading and writing. In this context, Ankara University (2012) claimed that students who are 60-72 months old should be enrolled compulsory pre-school education and start primary education afterwards. METU (2012) also expressed that instead of starting the primary education one year earlier pre-school education should be a part of continuous compulsory education system.

The new 4+4+4 system made it possible to choose a vocational education track at the age of 11. Although this structural change was enacted to improve student transitions between levels, it can cause more segregation among schools and further inequalities (OECD, 2013). The perceptions of universities and non-governmental organizations expressed in terms of professional orientation and interrupted education are mostly shaped around the concerns regarding readiness of students and inequalities. According to METU (2012), professional orientation at early stages of education is not agreeable as students' cognitive maturation is

not sufficient to make decisions about their future. Similarly, Boğaziçi University (2014) stated that professional orientation is healthy after students become aware of their talents and interests and also the requirements of professions and the employment opportunities. Students do not become mature enough to meet these requirements even at the age of fifteen. In Hacettepe University's report (2012) it was emphasized that in most developed countries, professional orientation starts at the last years of secondary education.

Another important issue about the new education system is related with school enrollment rates and the quality of education. Open-schools and distance education options will take children from lower classes out of education system which cause inequalities in terms of both enrollment and the quality of education (Boğaziçi University, 2012). According to Ankara University (2012), new legislation hinders the right of education and principle of equality of educational opportunity. Changes in the structure of compulsory education lowered the compulsory education period to 4 years in practice and made the girls, disabled children, children from lower classes and rural areas disadvantaged. The new system might prevent children from lower classes from attending school after first four years. It reinforces and reproduces the inequalities and social stratification by excluding children from education system (Ankara University, 2012). The changes will adversely affect girls who are less likely to attend high school compared to boys due to social norms and patriarchal practices in the country. The new legislation made it possible for parents to keep their daughters at home upon finishing first four years of education. Children who are out of education system are prone to child labor and early marriages in legal platforms (Türk Eğitim Sen, 2012b; Eğitim Sen, 2012a).

### **3.3.2.2. Co-education**

Co-education is among the socio-cultural barriers to girls' education for especially conservative families (Engin-Demir, 2012; Kırdar, 2009). Although the studies marked co-education one of the socio-cultural barriers to girls' education, there are not many research studies in the literature investigating the effects of co-education

on students and on girls in specific. It is obvious that apart from being socio-cultural barriers to girls' education, co-education dispute is an ideological issue in Turkish context. Islamic conservative political atmosphere, which keeps the discussions regarding coeducation alive, is one of the remarkable dynamics shaping the education policies and practices in the country (Sayılan, 2012).

Importance of co-education for children's social development was underlined in the related literature. According to Halstead (1991) education should prepare children to take part in a social life shared by men and women and shape positive attitude towards the opposite sex. In this respect, co-education provides a natural and enriching environment which result in healthier relations between two genders. Tan (2007) argued that schools are the most feasible and accessible social environments where two genders can socialize in public life. Although it has many sociological and pedagogical dimensions, co-education dispute was framed with religious and patriarchal arguments in Turkish context. Supporting and religious groups and unions perceived co-education as a pedagogic fault and expressed that education system should be recovered from this delusion. In order to support their presuppositions, those groups emphasize psychological and physical differences between males and females which necessitate gender specific educational programs. In their perspective, co-education brings under achievements for students because of the difference between two genders (Eğitim Bir Sen, 2012; TAP, 2013).

Eğitim Sen (2014) considered co-education, which became a current issue with 4+4+4 education system, as a part of government policies targeting at installing a religious education. The union made references to the relationships between education policies and "educating pious generations" and "conservative lifestyle" discourses of the governing party. Those discourses indicate that driving force behind single-sex education is the religious truths and conservative life style in Turkey. According to Eğitim Sen (2014) the supporting groups and unions take the attentions to the higher academic achievements in single sex schools in order to put religious underpinnings of their perspectives out of sight. Religious groups do

not support single-sex education to increase girls' achievement, the main concern is to save girls' honor.

### **3.3.2.3. İmam Hatip Middle Schools**

First Imam Hatip schools were opened to train imams and preachers in 1923 after the foundation of Turkish Republic. It was a part of state's strict control over all religious activity which roots in the Turkish republican adherence to secularism. Later in 1997, most of the schools were closed upon a postmodern coup when the military made the Islamic Welfare party resign. Middle schools were closed as after the expansion of compulsory education to eight years. The following regulations made it almost impossible to enter the Turkish universities for imam hatip graduates (Letsch, 2015). Along with the recent changes in the education system, imam hatip middle schools which provided religious education along with the core curriculum were reestablished. According to the governing party, the new system was more flexible and it was designed to meet diverse needs of families and children (Aydagül, 2013).

Although the government argues the revival of schools responds to the demands of conservative families, there are opposing views regarding the driving force of the policy. According to Andrew Finkel who is a British-educated journalist, a Newyork Times blogger and veteran foreign correspondent in Istanbul, the real purpose of the legislation was to ensure children start religious education early rather than to increase length of the compulsory education. Education reform in 1997 extended the five year period of compulsory education to eight continuous years which hindered religious education until ninth year. Therefore, the latest education reform was a part of the struggle between secularist and conservative government which dates back to previous reform in 1997 showing that the new legislation was politically and religiously motivated (Kamal, 2017).

Except for the İmam Hatip Middle Schools, the new system did not introduce any vocational schools at middle school level (MEB, 2012). It meant that starting of vocational education at early ages was restricted with religious education which

also limited the choices and needs of students from other religious sects. Transformation of ordinary secular schools into religious schools at those early stages is an apparently a process of “*Islamizing*” the education system and raising religious and ideological prototype people in the long run (Eğitim Sen, 2012b).

Another change in the system was related to the elective courses introduced at middle school level. The curriculum of imam hatip schools includes must religious courses such as Quran, the Life of the Prophet and Basic Religious Knowledge (two hours per week for each course), which are elective courses in other schools. The contents of those courses are the same in all schools (Aydagül, 2013; ERG, 2012). In this sense, the new legislation was criticized as they think it is considered as a part of the process to change the secular education system to “raise devout youth” in line with “the Sunni faith” (Gursel, 2014). Eğitim İş (2012) mentioned the worries about a transformation process to make all the schools imam hatip schools in time considering common religious courses in the curriculum and changes in the dress code making it possible to wear headscarf at school.

According to Eğitim-Sen’s report (2012b), as the schools in the same neighborhood became imam-hatip schools, students who wanted to attend regular schools had to change their schools. It increased the distance between their homes and schools and the class sizes in regular schools which caused many difficulties regarding orientation and transportation. Similarly, along with those practical problems, transformation of ordinary schools into imam-hatip schools resulted in a waste of resources as many of the imam-hatip schools had lower number of students than their capacity (Gülcan, 2014).

Eğitim Bir-Sen’s survey (2013) indicated that most of the administrators, teachers and parents were content with the elective courses practices. Parents mostly chose the Quran courses and the Life of the Prophet Muhammad. On the other hand, Eğitim Sen’s report (2013) showed that because of various reasons such as lack of teachers of other elective courses, low number of students choosing different elective course, peer pressure and social pressure, religious elective courses has become “must elective” courses especially in schools located in suburbs.



#### **3.3.2.4. Dress Code and Headscarf Issues**

The changes and regulations in the dress code were executed gradually starting from 2012. With the first regulation in the dress code in September 2012, girls were allowed to wear headscarves in imam hatip schools and during elective religious courses in ordinary state schools. Later in 2014, more radical changes in the dress code removing school uniforms and allowing headscarves in all the state schools were put into practice. Girls were officially allowed to wear the Islamic headscarf in school starting in fifth grade.

There were a range of interpretations and criticisms concerning the dress code and headscarf issues rooting in the political and ideological standpoints of the stakeholders. In order to conceptualize the recent dress code and headscarf policies in Turkey, it is prominent to analyze how dress codes implemented since the establishment of Turkish Republic has become a controversial issue, discussions about whether removing school uniforms and allowing headscarf mean freedom, research and practice in the world (Taneri, Ulutaş and Akgündüz, 2015).

There are different views and opinions about implementing dress code policy at schools. On the one hand, implementing a dress code or school uniform policy is considered as a part of wider arrays of policies including violence and academic achievement. In this context, school uniform policies and dress codes are linked with controlling students' behavior and maintaining order at schools. On the other hand, dress codes and uniform policies are thought to be superficial solutions to management problems at schools. Similarly, it is believed that dress codes limit parents' rights to decide how to raise their children and violate freedom of particular students especially those coming from religious families (Anderson, 2002). In Turkey, the regulation concerning the removal of school uniforms was widely criticized by different groups and organizations for different reasons such as motivation, security, discipline and economic factors. It is also indicated that social inequalities can be reproduced as the clothing choices of students depend on socio-economic status and social class of their families (Eğitim Bir Sen, 2012; Eğitim-Sen, 2012b; Gür et al, 2012; Türk Eğitim Sen, 2012c).

Although the changes in the dress code addresses many other issues such as removal of uniforms, hair style, make up and mustang and beard; the new regulations were mostly criticized for the headscarf freedom at primary school. The probable reason behind these criticisms was the fact that allowing girls to wear headscarf at school was clearly against the reforms of Atatürk which shaped formal gender identity formation in Turkish context during the Republican period (Taneri, Ulutaş and Akgündüz, 2015).

The clashes between principles of secular education and religious beliefs cause fundamental problems and create many questions to be answered. The interrelationship between the right of education and the freedom of education makes the phenomenon more challenging for the policy makers considering cultural diversity, with a plurality of religions in today's world (Smith, 2007). The balance between religion and education is maintained by different policies and provisions in different contexts in the world. Turkey, which is a secular state with predominance of Muslim population, ensured its commitment to secularism through prohibitions to wear headscarves and other religious symbols in educational settings. Manifestation of religious beliefs through clothing choices was inhibited on the basis of secularity. In this way, it is believed that education became more conducive to promote tolerance and understanding (Smith, 2007).

Aydemir (2008) asserted that headscarf issue was a highly controversial issue between conservative Islamist groups and the secularists in Turkey rather than just a personal choice stemming from religious beliefs. Literature on headscarf dispute in Turkey highlighted that perceptions of people regarding headscarf issue change according to their beliefs and ideological standpoint (Aydemir, 2008; Göle, 1996; Mabokela and Seggie, 2008; Taneri, Ulutaş and Akgündüz, 2015). Marshall's study (2005) revealed different perspectives of feminist and Islamist women regarding wearing headscarf. For feminist women, wearing headscarf is a reflection of sexual objectification and men's suppression on women while Islamist women thought veiling protected them from being judged by their sexuality. In this context, some critics (Gür, 2016) assert that changes in the

Turkish education system are closely related with the transformation in the country in the last twenty years. Social and political winds in Turkey have shifted in recent years affecting the public demands on education and policies undertaken by the governing party. Reforms and new legislations such as regulations in dress code and headscarf were taught to be based on popular demands of different social groups for plurality while headscarf ban at schools was considered as an undemocratic practice hindering the education of girls coming from conservative families. For this reason, groups and nongovernmental organizations in the conservative camp considered changes in the dress code which allow girls wear the Islamic headscarf in school starting in fifth grade as a positive improvement in Turkey's process of modernization and democratization. It was believed that girls from conservative families got their freedom to wear headscarf at school which was an important part of female liberation (Eğitim Bir Sen, 2012; Gür 2016; Gür et al, 2012; Türk Eğitim Sen, 2012c).

On the other hand, ideological and political dimensions of dress code regulation were emphasized by secularist groups. Clothing is an ideological part of the process to create social groups, to define the place of dominance and power and regulate the relations of obedience in a smooth, proper and legitimate manner (Barnard, 2002). In this sense, it was argued that there was a hidden agenda in the recent changes to Islamize the education system. The new legislation was a critical step of the social engineering attempts to raise a devout generation which limits female freedom and liberation under the name of democratization and humanization (Eğitim Sen, 2014; Gürsel, 2014; Yeşilyaprak, 2016).

In a parallel way, in Taneri, Ulutaş and Akgündüz's study (2015), students and teachers expressed that the changes in the dress code was political which aims to ensure headscarf freedom at school. Toruk's (2011) study revealed a high level consensus among participants on civil servants' and students' right for wearing headscarf at tertiary education level. However, there are opposing views on allowing elementary and middle school students to wear headscarf. It could be inferred that the society respect the freedom of adults to wear headscarf while it

was questioned to allow infants to wear headscarf at school. However, thanks to the recent regulations in dress code, parents became free to make their daughters wear headscarves as early as age 10 which resulted in decreases in headscarf age for females in Turkey (Gürsel, 2014). All in all, it can be asserted that the power of education to change the society and create social groups manifested itself in the dual relationship between recent educational policies and changes in the fabric of society.

### **3.4. Identification of Corpus**

In order to carry out an in-depth examination of the phenomenon, it is necessary to gather multiple forms of data rather than using a single data source (Creswell, 2007; Polit & Hungler, 1983). The present study utilized qualitative data from three different data sources in an attempt to explore the discursive structure of gender policy in education thoroughly. By triangulating the data, the researcher also aimed to reduce the potential biases stemming from evidence from a single data source reduced (Bowen, 2009).

The data sources comprise *the corpus* in discourse studies. The Corpus is the selection of text samples to be used in discourse analysis (Fairclough, 1992). In the present study, data sources consisted of teacher interviews, educational policy documents and newspaper clippings of 14 national newspapers supporting different ideological perspectives and power groups in Turkish society in the last decade.

#### **3.4.1. Educational Policy Documents**

As for the educational policy documents, the researcher tried to reach a whole range of qualitative data as it was aimed to provide an in-depth analysis of the phenomenon under investigation (Creswell, 2007). To this end, a detailed investigation for educational policy documents published in the last decade was carried out and a total of 124 documents which are the representations of policy discourse on gender issues in education were included in the corpus. Documents

were selected and downsized following three main criteria. First of all, the researcher searched for policy documents published between 2005 and 2015. Within this time range, the documents with implications of gender policies undertaken by MONE and other organizations engaging in girls' education in Turkey were chosen. It was aimed to choose the most widely disseminated documents which reached a broad range of audience so the readily available online documents were included in the corpus upon an intensive internet search.

The initial stage required the search and collection of all the official texts related to girls' education and recent education policies in Turkey. At this stage, all the related policy documents were surveyed by conducting an online research. The websites of MONE, ERG, World Bank, UNESCO, UNICEF, UNGEI, and Teachers' Unions in Turkey (Eğitim-Sen, Eğitim Bir-Sen etc.) which have an impact of policy making processes and which are the public faces of education policies regarding girls' education were examined. The textual discourse analysis involved 124 publicly available policy documents produced between 2005 and 2015 by 28 organizations (MONE, NGOs, international development agencies, universities and multi-organizational initiatives).

First of all, in order to examine MONE's gender agenda in education, the reports of girls' education projects of MONE, National Education Statistics published by MONE, related legislation documents and Council Meeting Reports were selected. The reports of international organizations with a central role in the field (UNICEF, UNESCO etc.) and those investigating girls' education in Turkey and Turkish education system were included in the corpus. Besides, the reports of organizations with an overall gender focus such as KSGM were also selected as they included parts addressing girls' education. Reports of NGOs and Teachers' Unions were chosen for the analysis as well, as they are the representations of public perceptions of gender policies in education. Lastly, statements of opinion published by universities were also included as they have an impact on both policy development and on public perception of policies to a great extent. During this

phase documents were organized into categories in line with the recent educational policies.

### **3.4.2. Newspaper Clippings**

At the first stage, 14 national newspapers supporting different ideological perspectives and power groups in Turkey were chosen and coded for the purpose of the study. Upon a detailed examination of online archives of those newspapers, a total of 252 newspaper clippings on education were selected. Especially the ones related to female education and gender inequalities were included in the study. Selected newspaper clippings were categorized in line with the recent educational policies in Turkey.

### **3.5. Teacher Interview**

Teacher interviews constituted another form of data source for the present study. In order to examine viewpoints of participants in relation to gender policy in education in the last decade, semi-structured interviews were carried out. The interviews enable the researchers to uncover participants' points of views and perspectives in relation to research focus (Marshall and Rossman, 2006). They provide data in participants own words unearthing their interpretations of the phenomenon under investigation (Bodgan and Biklen, 1992). Considering the advantages it provides, data on teachers' perceptions of gender policy in education was collected through semi-structured interviews with teachers working at state schools. This part of the study had two facets: *(1) teachers' views of gender policy in education in the last decade and (2) teachers' interpretations of gender policy as presented in the print media in the last decade.* The impact of media discourses shaping the teachers' perception and viewpoints regarding gender inequalities in education was examined through a critical analysis of teacher interviews. In other words, reflections of teachers' prior knowledge and belief which undoubtedly inform their interpretations of news reports and impact of media discourses on shaping teachers' understanding and perceptions of gender policy in education were analyzed in an interrelated manner. The interviews were used to supplement

data from the document analysis phases of the study and to verify the findings. Detailed information on analysis of teacher interviews was provided through this chapter.

### **3.5.1. Sampling Procedure for the Interview**

Purposeful sampling strategy was utilized for the selection of participants in the teacher interview phase of the study. Purposeful sampling strategy provides “information-rich” cases for an in depth analysis of the topic in question. It requires setting the criteria to select the participants for the study initially (Merriam, 2009; Patton, 1990). Three criteria were used to select the teachers for the interview: (1) *the teachers should have at least ten years of experience*, (2) *the teachers should demonstrate a potential for contributing the study* and (3) *the teacher should be working at different levels of education*. As the research focuses on gender policy in education in the last decade, it was important that the participating teachers had at least ten years of experience. In that way, it would be easier for them to interpret the related newspaper clippings and to reflect on the education policies as a practitioner. As for the second criteria, it was important to be knowledgeable about the recent educational policies and gender inequalities in education for contributing the study. During the interview, participants were asked to interpret the hidden messages and indicators of inequalities embedded in the newspaper clippings. In order to read between the lines to comment on both explicit and implicit meanings of the news, the participant needed to have certain level of awareness regarding gender inequalities and social dynamics shaping the educational policies. In a parallel way, while trying to ensure the participants had the potential to better contribute to the research study, snowball sampling method was utilized. Participants advised other teachers who were information-rich and who had the potential to contribute the study. For the third criteria, in order to capture a wide range of perspectives on the research focus, the researcher tried to reach teachers working at different levels of education. She utilized maximum variation sampling as a strategy and aimed to maximize the differences in participants’ view points at the beginning of the study and to explore the

phenomenon thoroughly (Creswell, 2007). Maximum variation sampling enabled the researcher to gain greater insights by looking at the issue from all angles.

First of all, the researcher prepared a list of teachers whom she met previously. As the researcher had eleven years of teaching experiences at different levels of education, she had a chance to access many teachers from different backgrounds. Being knowledgeable about the teacher profile and the nature of the research, the researcher prepared the tentative participant list with both a researcher and insider perspective. Next, the researcher chose the teachers meeting pre-determined sampling criteria from her list and seven of the volunteer teachers were interviewed at the first stage. Later, the researcher asked the participants to suggest other teachers knowledgeable about the issues discussed during the interview to take part in the study. In this way, researcher reached more than ten teachers and interviewed six of the volunteer ones. There is no clear answer regarding the sample size and it is recommended to collect data until information reaches redundancy. Data saturation indicates that study is based on adequate sample size and ensures content validity. Interviews were conducted until reaching a point of data saturation (Merriam, 2009; Francis et al, 2010). After interviewing roughly 10 participants, the researcher felt data reached redundancy and she was no longer hearing new comments. In order to ensure the data saturation, the researcher conducted a few more interviews and a total of 13 interviews were conducted for the study. List of participating teachers is provided in Table 3.4.

Table 3.4

*List of Teachers Participating in the Study*

<i>Teacher</i>	<i>Gender</i>	<i>School Type</i>	<i>Experience (in years)</i>	<i>Education Level</i>
T1	Female	Middle School	10	Master's Degree (Phd Student)
T2	Female	Elementary School	10	Bachelor's Degree
T3	Female	Elementary School	10	Master's Degree
T4	Male	Middle School	12	Bachelor's Degree
T5	Female	İmam Hatip Middle School	10	Master's Degree
T6	Female	Preschool Education	15	Bachelor's Degree



Table 3.4 (Continued)

T7	Female	Vocational and Technical High School	11	Master's Degree
T8	Male	Anatolian High School	18	Master's Degree (Phd Student )
T9	Female	Elementary School & High School	11	Bachelor's Degree
T10	Male	Elementary School	28	Bachelor's Degree
T11	Male	Elementary School	15	Master's Degree
T12	Female	Middle School	10	Doctorate Degree
T 13	Female	High School	15	Master's Degree

### 3.5.2. Interview Procedure

The extensive review of the literature and preliminary analysis of newspaper clippings and policy documents constituted the basis of the interview questions. The information and insights derived from the preliminary analysis stage helped generate interview questions and recent educational policies were used to formulate the interview schedule. Upon development of schedule, the interview questions were read through by two experts in educational sciences and one expert on gender studies. Their suggestions about the content and the clarity of the questions were taken into consideration and it was decided to rewrite or rephrase some of the questions. Considering the suggestions of the expert on gender studies, two questions about gender mainstreaming were added in the schedule.

In the first part of the interview, the participants were asked background questions information about their experience, education, education level and school type they teach at. There were questions about print media preferences and tendencies; how often they read newspapers, whether they follow a specific newspaper, and the genre of news they prefer. Upon getting the necessary information about their profile, teaching context and print media preferences, general questions about teachers' viewpoints and experiences of gender mainstreaming and gender inequalities in education were asked.

Later, the participants were asked to express their viewpoints of recent education policies and gender issues in education. The questions were organized in line with the recent educational policies. After getting enough information about teachers' perceptions of a specific education policy, they were guided to interpret the news about that specific policy. The main focus of the interview was to get an in-depth understanding of teachers' interpretations of media discourses on education policies so the researcher selected sample newspaper clippings to be interpreted by the participants in this part. During this stage, the researcher had the flexibility of changing the order of questions or omitting some questions and asking a new prompt. She provided prompts in order to remind the relevant issues if necessary. At certain points, more information or specification probes were given trying not to disturb the nature and the goal of the interview (Yıldırım and Şimşek, 2005). While the participants were answering the interview questions, the researcher listened to them carefully and tried to catch the information that related to research study. When the participant expressed a point that needed further information, the researcher probed for more data. If necessary, the researcher guided the participants to certain newspaper clippings referring to a specific policy for a deeper understanding of their perceptions concerning the issues in question.

### **3.5.3. Pilot Test of Teacher Interview**

Pilot study as important part of an effective research study provides valuable data for the full-scale study. In addition to assessing the feasibility of the study, pilot study helps to assess the proposed data analysis technique to uncover the potential problems through analyzing the preliminary data. It is also useful to develop further research questions and make revision in the research plan (Van Teijlingen and Hundley, 1998). In this study, the teacher interview was piloted with a teacher in December 2015 and it took 135 minutes. Piloting improved the quality of the study by finding solutions for the problems and challenges encountered during the implementation of the interview. After the pilot study, the researcher talked to the participant teacher about the difficulties she had during the interview and about her suggestions. She expressed that it was difficult to pay attention to the news reports

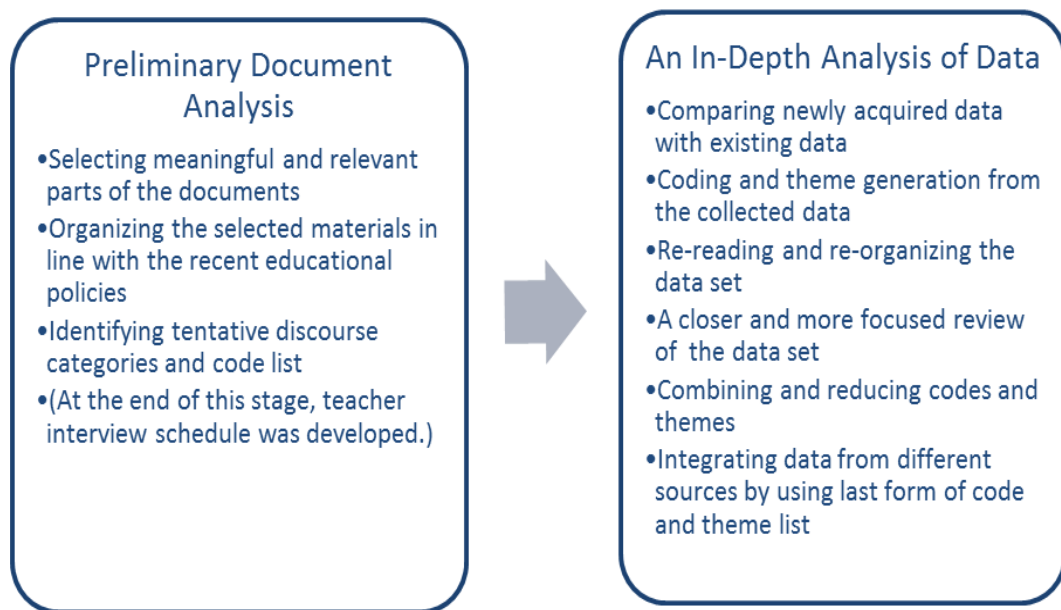
because of the time pressure and the length of the texts. It was hard to pick up the important points in the discourse and provide specific explanations without any preparation. The researcher decided to make some changes in the procedure of the interview. It was decided to ask the teacher to read the selected news reports before the interview, if they agreed, and to direct the teachers' attention to the related news at certain points. Those adaptations clearly increased the effectiveness of the interview process. When the teachers read the news previously, they became more attentive and they caught the critical points easier during the interview. Similarly, the data gathered during the pilot testing were useful to revisit the interview questions for further improvements or revisions. The researcher changed the wording of some questions and provided more explanations and examples to make the questions clear for the participants. Pilot study also helped the researcher reflect on her listening and interviewing skills. With the help of the pilot study, the researcher understood that it was hard to be flexible in asking questions without manipulating the interviewee. Another difficulty was asking the right follow up questions without interrupting the respondent. It was a good chance to reflect on how to improve the related interview skills before the implementation.

Upon getting the approval of METU, Human Subjects Ethics Committee (See Appendix F), interviews with teachers were performed on April 4<sup>th</sup> – July 31<sup>th</sup> 2016. The data for the present study were collected from teachers who were assured of anonymity. First, the participants were asked to sign an Informed Consent Form (see Appendix B). All interviews were conducted in person, mostly out of schools or in a silent room in the schools. The interviews were administered outside class time and they lasted 60-80 minutes. Responses of the interviewees were taped as they spoke, and then transcribed.

### **3.6. Data Analysis Procedure**

According to van Dijk (2008), CDS utilizes any method that is relevant to the aims of its research studies which are also used in discourse studies in general. As the

present study involved a broad range of policy documents, an iterative process of document analysis process offered by Bowen (2009) was employed. Document analysis was used in combination with content analysis of teacher interviews. The analysis started with first-pass document review identifying relevant parts of the textual materials and continued with thematic analysis in which a closer look at the data set took place (Bowen, 2009). Summary of the data analysis process can be found in figure 3.3.



*Figure 3.3* Summary of the Data Analysis Process

The qualitative nature of this dissertation study requires careful management of data (Miles & Huberman, 1994). After the first-pass document review, all the relevant policy documents and newspaper clippings were organized according to revealed discourse categories while teacher interviews were transcribed and filed according to participant pseudonyms. Later, the transcriptions were checked by the researcher by reading them and listening to audio records at the same time for reliability purposes. In qualitative studies, data collection and analysis procedures complement each other. Merriam (2009) asserted that, "Analysis begins with the first interview, the first observation; the first document read ... It is an interactive process throughout that allows the investigator to produce believable and trustworthy findings" (p. 151). Throughout the data collection process, the

researcher studied the documents and the data gathered roughly while collecting further data at the same time. As the data collection and analysis stages went hand in hand, a tentative code list was constructed during the preliminary analysis stage.

In the second stage, the policy documents, newspaper clippings and teacher interviews were analyzed with this tentative code list by the researcher. The code list was constantly improved and changed while analyzing the data gathered from different sources. Namely, the codes used during the analysis of policy documents were applied to the analysis of news reports and interview transcripts respectively (Bowen, 2009). Discourse categories and tentative codes served to integrate data from three different sources as they were complementary of each other. More specifically, the second stage involved line by line open coding process of selected textual materials. The researcher constantly compared emerged discourse categories with the existing ones while re-reading and re-organizing the empirical materials. Emerged codes and categories were combined and reduced in order to reach the most relevant interpretation of data (Cohen et al., 2007). At that point, a segment of each data set was coded by both the researcher and education researcher to address the reliability concerns. The researchers coded each material individually and marked the critical expressions in the documents. Later, they compared their coding to see the parallelism and it was seen that there was over 90% agreement between researchers. If they had differences in their coding, researchers discussed the meaning they derived from the discourse and the relevancy of critical meanings they assigned to the statements. The data coded included some controversial statements in which researchers could not agree on the existence of critical meaning. These controversial statements constituted 4% of total data coded.

When all the data were collected, a thematic analysis with a more focused review of data set took place (Bowen, 2009). At this stage, “tentative findings were substantiated, revised, and reconfigured” (Merriam, 2009, p. 178). The researcher re-read and compared emerged codes and categories “to discover commonalities, differences, and similarities” across data sets (Cohen et al., 2007,

p. 461). Namely, in order to establish relations between data sets, consistencies between codes and categories were checked and emerged discourse categories were further refined. The analysis revealed that most arguments in the data sets fall into three main discourse categories regarding gender policy in education (1) *Gender Identities*, (2) *Gender Equality*, (3) *Barriers to Girls' Education*. The researcher integrated the data gathered from three different sources by using the last form of discourse categories and codes and presented the results in a parallel way in Chapter 4.

Table 3.5

*Code List for the Analysis of Data*

Discourse Categories	Sub Categories and Codes
<b>Discourse Category 1</b> <b>Gender Identity and Socialization</b>	<b>1- Traditional Gender Roles</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Motherhood Roles</li> <li>- Domestic Responsibilities</li> <li>- Perceptions of Womanhood</li> <li>- Inferiority of woman</li> <li>- Defining woman in Familial Sphere</li> <li>- Male Privilege</li> <li>- Challenging gender roles</li> </ul> <b>2- Gender Stereotyping</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Sexist dress code (color, female specific restriction etc.)</li> <li>- Clothes choices</li> <li>- Stereotypical assumptions</li> <li>- Gendered vocational choices and orientations</li> <li>- Reinforcing gender stereotypes</li> <li>- Differences between two genders</li> </ul> <b>3- Submissive Female Identity</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Weakness of women</li> <li>- Male domination and superiority</li> <li>- Protection of girls (single sex education and headscarf)</li> <li>- Female honor and decency</li> <li>- Social pressure: monitor and control female behavior</li> <li>- Conservative and patriarchal values</li> </ul> <b>4- Conservative and Muslim Woman</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Islamic ideology</li> <li>- Patriarchal and conservative values</li> <li>- Sanctity of family</li> <li>- Veiling- wearing headscarf at early ages</li> <li>- Gender segregation-single sex schools</li> <li>- Religious schools and courses</li> </ul>

Table 3.5 (Continued)

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<p><b>Discourse Category 2</b> <b>Gender Equality</b></p>	<p><b>1. Equality Arguments</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Education for all</li> <li>- Legislative framework of gender equality</li> <li>- Positive discrimination</li> <li>- Fairness and justice</li> <li>- Gender discrimination</li> <li>- Inferior status of woman in Turkish society</li> <li>- Gender mainstreaming</li> <li>- Islamic perception of gender equality</li> <li>- Legitimizing gender inequalities</li> <li>- Equal treatment of both genders</li> </ul> <p><b>2- Gender Parity in Education</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Policy priority- Girls' education projects</li> <li>- Girls' enrollment rates</li> <li>- Attendance and dropout rates</li> <li>- Lack of quality of education for all</li> <li>- Regional disparities</li> </ul> <p><b>3- Female Freedom</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Gender discrimination</li> <li>- Female oppression</li> <li>- Sexist dress code</li> <li>- Rights of women</li> <li>- Child rights</li> <li>- Right of education</li> <li>- Democracy</li> <li>- Parental choices</li> <li>- Headscarf ban</li> <li>- Imposing headscarf at early age</li> </ul>
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<p><b>Discourse Category 3</b> <b>Barriers to Girls' Education</b></p>	<p><b>1- Family Related Factors</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Male privilege in the families</li> <li>- Patriarchal lifestyle</li> <li>- Education level of parents</li> <li>- Socio-education factors-family income</li> <li>- Differential treatment of girls</li> <li>- Socio-cultural factors</li> </ul> <p><b>2- Regional Disparities</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Disadvantaged regions             <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Lower enrollment rates</li> <li>- Lower quality of education</li> <li>- Higher drop-out levels</li> </ul> </li> <li>- Poverty</li> <li>- Immigration</li> <li>- Attitudes towards girls' education</li> <li>- Traditional structure of the region</li> </ul>
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Table 3.5 (Continued)

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**3- Socio-economic and Socio-cultural Factors**

- Male dominance
- Inferior status of women in the society
- Patriarchal codes of living
- Cultural values and norms
- Religious beliefs
- Headscarf ban
- Early marriages
- Co-education
- Gender segregation

**4- School Related Factors**

- School infrastructure
  - School security
  - Transportation
  - Teacher quality
  - Curricula
  - Educational materials
  - School environment
  - School system
    - 4+4+4 Education system
    - Open Education
    - Continuous Basic Education
    - Length of Compulsory Education
    - Religious education
  - School culture
  - Gender discrimination and sexist practices
  - Differential gender socialization
  - Number of female teachers
  - Male dominance at schools
- 

### **3.7. Trustworthiness of the Study**

“The trustworthiness of qualitative research is often questioned by positivists, perhaps because their concepts of validity and reliability cannot be addressed in the same way in naturalistic work” (Shenton, 2004, p.63). Thus, Lincoln and Guba (1985) proposed *credibility, transferability, dependability and conformability* terms instead of validity and reliability in qualitative studies. In order to ensure trustworthiness of the present study the researcher employed the following quality assurance methods. The researchers attempt to portray a true picture of the



phenomenon in question is associated with the credibility issue (Shenton, 2004). The researcher needs to spend the necessary efforts to describe phenomenon/events as they actually occurred to address credibility.

The first strategy utilized for addressing credibility in the present study was the use of data triangulation which prevented reliance on one single viewpoint or on one single data source. Data triangulation aimed to reduce the potential biases stemming from evidence from a single data source (Bowen, 2009) and to increase the credibility of the study. The sampling strategy also contributed to the credibility of the study and strengthened the research findings. The researcher utilized maximum variation sampling strategy to involve teachers working at different levels of education to capture a wide range of perspectives relating to gender inequalities in education.

Another strategy applied to increase the credibility of the study was prolonged engagement. It was ensured via searching, scanning and analyzing the documents in an extended time period. In order not to miss any details and to explore the hidden patterns in the discourse, the researcher devoted an adequate time for searching and analyzing the documents. In addition, peer debriefing and peer review strategies were utilized to ensure credibility of the study. According Lincoln and Guba (1985) the role of the peer debriefer that of a “devil’s advocate,” who both keeps the researcher honest by asking hard questions about methods, meanings, and interpretations and offers the researcher a chance for catharsis by listening to her feelings kindly. At every stage of the study, the researcher had debriefing sessions with her colleagues and her supervisor. The meetings were useful to discuss alternative approaches and interpretations which helped the researcher recognize her own biases and preferences (Shenton, 2004) and also added to confirmability of the study.

Confirmability refers to concerns for objectivity in order to hinder researcher’s biases. To ensure as far as possible that findings were not rooted in the characteristics and preferences of the researcher, ongoing reflective commentary was utilized (Shenton, 2004). The researcher kept a reflective journal and detailed

notes throughout the study. The use of a reflective journal enables the researcher to record his/her reactions, assumptions, expectations, and biases about the research process and adds rigor to qualitative inquiry (Morrow and Smith, 2000). Initial impressions of each data set during the document analysis and interviews and the patterns appearing to emerge were recorded. Strengths and weaknesses of the techniques were also considered in each step of the study. Lastly, detailed methodological description also added to the integrity of research results to be scrutinized (Miles & Huberman, 1994; Shenton, 2004). Throughout the study, the researcher kept thick descriptions in the data collection and data analysis parts. For a possible reanalysis by other researchers, all data was arranged in a well-organized manner with a detailed methodological description. In the same way, in order to acknowledge readers about role of the researcher's personal assumptions, values and beliefs in the study, the researcher's position and bias were clarified in the research paper.

As for the transferability concern, it must be noted that the results of a qualitative study need to be interpreted within the boundaries of its context but similar studies can be conducted in different settings are of great value (Shenton, 2004). Transferability was addressed by providing systematically detailed descriptions of the participants, the research process, and data collection and analysis procedures. Although it is difficult to make a case for the transferability or generalizability of the study, the researcher made a thick description of the context to enable an interested reader to make comparisons with other contexts. The contextual characteristics and setting of the study were identified in detail so that other researchers may make transferability judgments to implement the findings of the study and generalize those findings to similar contexts.

Dependability criterion refers to the consistency of the findings and addresses the issues of reliability in qualitative research. As for the reliability concerns, code-recode technique and intercoder agreement techniques were employed (Guba, 1981). For the code-recode procedure, at the beginning of data analysis stage researcher recoded a segment of the data upon waiting for about two weeks to

compare the results of two coding processes. Peer examination also helps to increase consistency of the findings along with the credibility (Krefting, 1991). For this aim, researcher consulted another researcher in the field who is knowledgeable about gender inequalities in education and who has a sufficient experience in qualitative research to check the research plan and the implementation. In qualitative studies, rich field notes the researcher obtained with the help of a good-quality tape recording and transcriptions of the recording enhances the reliability. Another strategy for the reliability is intercoder agreement considering the stability of responses from multiple coders of data set (Cresswell, 2007).

Apart from the use of a good quality tape recording and careful transcriptions of the recordings in order not to lose any important data, inter-coder agreement was utilized to address the reliability of the present study. Inter-coder agreement aimed to increase the reliability of the findings and to ensure findings of the study were drawn from the data. Having a second coder provided an external check on the highly interpretive coding process (Cresswell, 2007). The purpose and research questions of the study important points of the analysis were explained to a second coder. Upon deciding on what to look for in documents, the second coder coded a segment of each data set individually. After coding, the researcher had a meeting with the second coder, and they compared the codes and examined the text segments that were coded. For the differences they had, they discussed how relevant their codes were. The reviewers and the researchers negotiated and finalized the coding list, which would help the coding process of the later documents. Table-3.6 provides a summary of the actions to be taken for trustworthiness in the study:

Table 3.6

*Trustworthiness of the Study*

<b>Lincoln and Guba' (1985) criteria for trustworthiness:</b>	<b>Strategies used in the study</b>
<b><i>Credibility</i></b> (in preference to internal validity)	Prolonged engagement via data collection in an extended time and peer examination
<b><i>Transferability</i></b> (in preference to external validity)	Contextual characteristics and setting of the study identified in detail
<b><i>Dependability</i></b> (in preference to reliability)	Code-recode technique and interrater reliability
<b><i>Confirmability</i></b> (in preference to objectivity)	Ongoing reflective commentary Detailed methodological description

**3.8. Politics and Ethics**

While qualitative studies attempt to uncover the meanings participants construct and share within the framework of phenomenon being studied, there are certain unarticulated features having a material impact on the study and shaping the politics of the research (Punch, 1994). The researcher play a vital role in a qualitative research which makes him/her the research instrument as the research depends on “a person’s perception of the field situation one person’s perception of the field situation at a given point in time, that perception is shaped both by personality and by the nature of the interaction with the researched” (Punch, 1994, p. 84). The role of the researcher in the present study was explained in detailed in related part of this chapter. Other features shaping the politics of this research include the purpose and the nature of the research study, unexpected events and unanticipated obstacles in the field.

The purpose and the nature of the research shaped the political aspect of this study. Teacher interviews aimed to identify the role of media discourses in shaping people’s understanding and perception of gender policy in education in the last decade. Teachers expressed their views of gender policy in education and their interpretations of gender policy in education as presented in the print media in the last decade. The nature of the interview necessitated the participants to express

their political stance and world views while discussing the education policies and interpreting the newspaper clippings. The necessary permissions were taken from the center at the university for the ethical reasons, and it was granted that the recordings would be used only for the sake of research, and in the consent forms it was stated that the anonymity of people involved in the study would be secured. Nevertheless, the teachers still had doubts about the genuine purposes of the study. Some of the teachers felt involuntary for the study and they stated their doubts and concerns about privacy. On the other hand, the participating teachers were really cautious while answering the interview questions and at some points they asked the researcher whether they should express their genuine opinions or not. The participants were questioning if those recordings would be disseminated in some ‘undesired’ ways and they repeatedly asked not to include their names in the research paper. The worries of the teachers were rooted in the current processes and changes Turkey passed through and difficult times they experienced meanwhile. Upon a single party rule for more than a decade, there have been many questions regarding the freedom of expression and the freedom of thought in Turkey in recent years. The teachers were worried that it would be illegal even to criticize the policies of the government. Especially, after the military coup attempt in July 2015, it became nearly impossible to find participants for the study. It was an unexpected and unanticipated event which altered the research process in divergent ways. After the government declared a state of emergency, people had dilemmas in their perception of legal rights and illegal behaviors with a common paranoid state of mind. While some of the teachers seemed suspicious about the real purpose of the study, others warned the researcher not to criticize education policies in the research paper to be on the safe side. Those comments and reactions forced the researcher to cancel the last four interviews. Therefore, data collection process ended after the military coup attempt in July 2015.

Another difficulty faced in the course of the study is related with the physical and mental effort required from the participating teachers. The structure of the interview necessitated the participants both to discuss some important educational topics and to reflect on the education news in the print media. Such an interview

was a time consuming and tiring activity for the teachers which required a serious physical and mental effort. It was another reason for why the teachers felt involuntary for the study. On the other side of the coin, even if they participated in the study on voluntary basis, the nature of the interview made most of the teachers nervous as they felt being assessed by the researcher on their knowledge in the related areas. During the negotiation talks, the researcher informed the teachers about the research topic and handed in the newspaper clippings to be read before the interview. The interview questions were not shared with the participants before the interview. Although the researchers informed the teachers that there was not a right or wrong answer for the questions in the interview schedule and some of the teacher got ready and searched the issues to be discussed during the interview.

The last issue shaping the politics of the present research was related to social processes influencing the research results. The information gathered for the purpose of the study was not a separate reality but a part of the contemporary issues in Turkish social context. The effect of current issues and hot topics in the country's agenda was overtly seen in the teachers' responses during the interview which sometimes made it difficult to focus on purpose of the research. The events such as the terrorist attacks and child abuse events had effects on the teachers' responses to the interview questions. Within this framework, the researcher analyzed the interviews considering that perspectives of the participants were shaped by particular phenomenon and certain variables in the research setting.

As for the ethical standards in the study, the proposal for conducting this study was also sent to the Ethics Committee of the university and it was granted permission. Ethical considerations required that all participants in this study be voluntary. In order to ensure the voluntariness of all participants, their consents in written documents were acquired. In the negotiation talks, participants were informed about the purpose of the study so that they know what is being studied. The researcher also included a statement in the consent forms explaining the purpose of the present study and how it would investigate the issues in question.

Another important concern in qualitative studies is ensuring the protection of participants' rights and identities while trying to reveal their life worlds to a large audience. In the present study, identities of the participants were protected and confidentiality was ensured by the researcher. Along with the statements in the consent form, recordings were filed by using codes and pseudonyms to ensure that only the researcher would reach and review them. Any means of identifying people like names or other information in the transcripts were masked with pseudonyms. Lastly, any specific names that could reveal the identity of participants or the institutions were eliminated in the dissertation. In order to guarantee that any data collection attempt should not harm participants emotionally or psychologically, participants' rights and dignity have been respected. Any concern about that issue was discussed during the negotiation talks before data collection started.

### **3.9. Role of the Researcher**

The researcher's values and philosophies are clearly part of the research, as the knowledge is socially constructed and always political in critical educational research (Hatch, 2002). The researchers inevitably filter the knowledge through their political stance and they cannot be detached from the reality they are studying. As the standpoint of the researcher shapes the social phenomenon they study, it is difficult to claim that the researchers are objective and apolitical in critical educational research (Agar, 1996; Hatch, 2002). The interpretations of the researchers are affected from their personal values and beliefs. Considering the nature of the critical research and qualitative studies, it is nearly impossible to avoid or exclude bias in critical research although bias is not applicable in scientific studies. In this context, the vital role of the researcher is to be reflexive monitoring their own biases and responses and being aware of their individual impact on the context (Agar, 1996).

To clarify my own positionality in this study, I am an experienced teacher and a young female researcher. I was raised in a democratic and leftist middle-class family in a small town. I attended to public schools during my education and I

worked as a teacher of English at public schools. I had eleven years of teaching experience at primary, secondary and tertiary levels which provided me the chance to explore the dynamics shaping the education system in Turkey. The starting point of this research dates back to my early years of teaching when I first became interested in female education. While I was working in a village in Sivas and I was writing my master's thesis on girls' education. Being a teacher in a disadvantaged region of the country was an invaluable opportunity for me to gain first-hand insights and information about different dimensions of gender inequalities in education. My observations in my work environment, the conversations I had with the female students, the administrators and the teachers were broadening my horizons and making me more gender sensitive as a teacher. After being an active participant in such an environment where traditions and the social norms were shaping the educational practices, the ties between school and society became more visible for me. For this reason, writing my master's thesis was not only an academic process but also an invaluable opportunity making me aware of the social realities in rural areas of the country.

At that time, girls' education projects and campaigns were gaining momentum but girls were still educated in a male-dominant value system. The practices at school, the behaviors and attitudes of teachers stemming from patriarchal and conservative structure of the society clearly disadvantaged female students. When I first saw two girls washing the dishes in the teachers' room I was deeply affected and started the question the role of schooling in those girls' lives. Girls seemed to internalize their inferior position the society and they never questioned the roles assigned to them. It was more interesting to observe that girls had negative attitudes towards the teachers with liberal ideas. One of the girls said "I do not want to study because our destiny is to get married with a man our family chooses and to raise children. It is meaningless to rebel against this truth. I have never thought of going to the secondary school."

Actually, I was interested in barriers to girls' education and I never thought of the power of words shaping the gender inequalities. While I was listening to the



inspector's conversation with my students I realized the role of discourse producing and reproducing gender inequalities. He was talking about the importance of education in one's life and saying that "Boys, these are especially important for you. You should study hard and attend good secondary schools. Girls' will get married and their husbands will take care of them." The speech the inspector was the reflection of the gender roles in the society. It was just one example of the educational practices reproducing the gender inequalities in the society. Those things girls experienced were more influential than the things written in the course books so it was clear that school, like other social institutions in the society, was teaching girls how to fit their gender roles. It was not formal schooling; it was just the reflections of life in Sivas.

It is undeniable that writing this thesis provided me with invaluable experience to look back at the last ten years of Turkey from an educational perspective in an era when Turkey is experiencing change and transformation in almost all areas. Being a female academician in a country where women are forced out of social life and placed one step behind men in every phase of their lives meant for me that the challenges and hopes met on the same axis. Though I consider myself among the lucky few, experiencing the challenges and conflicts of being a woman in Turkey is the reason why I started to dream of equality for girls in the education system and why I decided to spread my efforts by writing this thesis in order to make a contribution to fulfill this dream. This thesis is probably a product of the conflict between the roles that were cut out for me by the society and the challenges of me being an educator striving for an equal life for women in our society. Regardless of your social status and education level, being a woman is not easy in a society that does not even respect women's right to live. Every time I encountered news of femicide, child marriages, and sexual abuse in the media, I woke up to the fact that there still was a long way ahead to provide freedom for women in Turkey. However, I have never felt hopeless and dreamt to be a part of the solution, not the problem. Conducting this research, I wholeheartedly believed that the first and the most significant step in this long journey is to provide girls with quality and equal education.

### **3.10. Limitations of the Study**

Although the present study resulted in significant findings regarding gender policy in education in Turkish context, there were a number of limitations to be considered while interpreting the findings. In an attempt to investigate teachers' views of gender policy in education in the last decade in Turkey, teacher interviews were carried out in the present study. Findings concerning the role of the policies shaping gender inequalities were limited to the perspectives of the teachers as practitioners. Although the present study provided a comprehensive picture of teachers' views of gender policy in education, an analysis of perspectives and opinions of policy makers and other stakeholders was not in the scope of the present study. Besides, it should be considered that findings derived from teachers' interpretations of news reports were based on the personal insights and views of the participating teachers. Similarly, findings about classroom practices shaping gender inequalities in education were limited to the experiences and opinions of the participating teachers which resulted in limitations for the generalizability of the related findings. Lastly, the reader should keep in mind that, experiences and insights of the researcher was an important part of the study as the findings of the study was influenced by her personal interpretations to a certain degree. Another researcher from a different background would bring other perspectives and interpret the data in different ways.

### **3.11. Delimitations of the Study**

There were also delimitations within the boundaries of the present study. First of all, the present study contributed to a deeper understanding of the ways girls' education was affected by educational policies. However, it was not intended examine gender policy in education in a general sense; the investigation and interpretation of policy documents were limited to gender policy in education. In a similar way, an investigation of teachers' views regarding educational policies of MONE from different angles was beyond the boundaries of this study. Findings of the present study were limited to the discursive data on gender policy in education in the last decade in Turkey. It should be noted that textual materials were only

limited to educational policy documents and educational news reports published in the last decade. Educational materials such as curricula, course books and teacher's guides were not analyzed within the present research framework. A more comprehensive and detailed framework including other textual materials influencing the classroom practices and gender perceptions of the stakeholders could enrich findings.

## **CHAPTER 4**

### **RESULTS**

This chapter presents the results of the study. It was not easy to decide how to present the findings as the study utilized a comprehensive data from three different sources (1) educational policy documents, (2) news reports, and (3) teacher interviews. Emerged discourse categories and codes served to “discover commonalities, difference and similarities” and establish well-informed relationship across data sets (Cohen et al., 2007, p. 461). Discourse categories were useful to and to combine findings and organize this chapter in particular. To be exact, the analyses guided the research to present the findings into three main sections in line with emerged discourse categories (1) Gender Identities, (2) Gender Equality, and (3) Barriers to Girls’ Education. Research questions are addressed through this chapter. As findings and discursive information presented this chapter are interrelated parts of a wider sociocultural practice, complete analysis and synthesis of data provided answers for research questions of the study.

#### **4.1. Gender Identities**

Social institutions such as family and school transmit traditional attitudes and orientations limiting life chances and potentials of individuals. This kind of a differential socialization creates gender stereotypes and roles which disadvantage females in social realms (Acer, 1987). School curriculum, teachers’ stereotyped assumptions in relation to genders and abilities shaping their expectations and attitudes, organization of schools, educational practices and discourses of

educational materials play a critical role in transmitting gender roles and shaping gender identities (Stromquist, 1988; Chapman, 2001). In a similar vein, educational policy documents play an important role in transmitting and reproducing the gender roles in the society. The gender identity emphasized in policy texts and female representation in policy document is important as gender roles and roots of sexist practices in the society are reproduced through policy and media discourses. In this context, present study explored discursive construction of gender identities through an in-depth analysis of educational policy documents, newspaper coverage of educational policy making and teachers' reflections in relation to the policies in the last decade. This part of the study presents an investigation of how policy texts create a certain gender identity and how a preferred form of gender identity is encouraged through printed media. Teachers' interpretations of gender identity formation through policy and media discourses and their views regarding gender policy in education are included to verify the findings.

#### **4.1.1. Traditional Gender Roles**

When the international and national policy documents on girls' education were examined through critical lenses, the first concepts emerged from the analysis were *traditional gender roles* and *motherhood roles* limiting women in familial sphere. ETCEP report published in 2016 drew the attention to the role of schools in transmitting traditional gender roles through explicit and implicit messages. Another example can be found in EFA Global Monitoring Report published by UNGEI in 2014. The report referred to traditional gender roles in schools in spite of improvements in the enrollment rates:

*Okul, toplumsal cinsiyet rollerine yönelik kalıp yargıları açık ve örtük iletilerle öğrencilere taşırken bireyleri geleneksel cinsiyet rollerine uygun davranışlara yöneltmekte ve toplumsal cinsiyet ayrımcılığına zemin hazırlamaktadır. (ETCEP, 2016)*

By means of exposing students with stereotypes for gender roles through explicit and implicit messages, the school directs individuals towards behaviors consistent with traditional gender roles and paves the way for gender discrimination. (ETCEP, 2016)

*Fast progress is feasible, as the example of Turkey shows: it has almost achieved parity at both lower and upper secondary levels, even though the gender parity index in 1999 was 0.74 in lower secondary and 0.62 in upper secondary. But there is no room for complacency. Traditional perceptions of gender roles that permeate society filter down to schools. (UNGEI, 2014b)*

The analysis revealed that there were many references to gender roles in different parts of educational policy documents discussing drop-out and absenteeism. To start with, the reports stressed that the reasons for the dropping out change with respect to gender reflecting the persistent sexual division of labor in the society:

*Çalışma türü ve devamsızlık birlikte incelendiğinde, hem kız hem de oğlan çocukların öncelikli olarak ev işleri nedeniyle devamsızlık yaptıkları görülür. Ev işleri nedeniyle devamsızlık yapma oranı 8. sınıftaki kız öğrenciler için % 35, oğlan öğrenciler için ise % 23'tür. Tarla işlerinde ya da yevmiyeli olarak çalışma ise oğlanlarda kızlara oranla daha yaygındır... Tarlada çalışma oranında cinsiyet farkı görülmezken, ev işlerine katkı konusunda kız çocukların çok daha fazla iş yükü olduğu gözlemlenir. (ERG, 2015)*

When work/labor type and absenteeism are examined together, it can be seen that both girls and boys are primarily absent from school on account of housework. The rate of absenteeism due to housework is 35% for female students in the 8<sup>th</sup> grade and 23% for the male students. Working in the field or day labor is more common in boys than in girls ... While there is no gender difference in the working rate in the field, it is observed that girls have much more work load in contributing to domestic housework. (ERG, 2015)

*Bölgesel olarak farklar göstermekle beraber okulu terk etmiş erkek çocuklar eve para getirecek bir işte çalışırken, kız çocuklar daha çok evde ailelerine ev işi veya kardeş bakımında yardım etmektedirler. (AÇEV, ERG, KA-DER, 2008)*

Despite some regional differences, girls are more likely to help their family members with housework or sibling care while boys who have left the school are working to bring money home (AÇEV, ERG, KA-DER, 2008)

The interviewed teachers also emphasized that traditional gender roles and motherhood roles assigned to girls disadvantaged them in the education system. T 4 referred to the impact of patriarchal social structure and lack of education in shaping gender roles:

*Bu kızlar niye okula gidemiyor? Çünkü bu kızlar evde çalışıyorlar, ailelerine yardım ediyorlar vesaire vesaire... (T 3)*

Why can't these girls go to school? Because these girls are working at home. They are helping their families, etc., etc. (T 3)

*Buradan baktığım sırada belki devlet olarak kız ve erkeklere eşit olarak eğitim alsın diyorlar ama toplumda bu tam olarak yerleşmemiş diye düşünüyorum. Ya bizim toplumumuzda şu yerleşmiş bir yargı, Türk toplumunda özellikle diye düşünüyorum, erkekler çalışır, para kazanır, kızlar da evlenir, ev işine bakar, çocuk yetiştirir şeklinde yerleşmiş değerler olduğu için hep o şekilde düşünülüyor. Bunun çoğu insan farkına bile varmıyor. (T 10)*

When I look at it, maybe the state seems to be encouraging girls and boys to receive equal education, but this is not fully established within society. I mean, this is a deep-seated preconception in our society, I mean specifically in Turkish society, which men work and earn money while girls marry, take care of housework, and raise children. Since these are deeply-rooted values, people are inclined to think that way. Many people do not even come to realize this. (T 10)

*Sebepleri arasında dediğim gibi kültürel farklılıklar, yani kız çocuğunun okumaması gerektiğine olan inanış, kız çocuğunun belki ergenlik sonrası hemen evlendirilmesi gerektiğini düşünen bir zihniyet, kız çocuğuna biçilen rolün işte annelik olması, ev kadını olması, çocuklarına bakmasının gerektiğinin düşünülmesi. Bunların hepsinin kökeninde tabi eğitimsizlik ve biraz da ataerkil bir toplum olmamızdan kaynaklanan sorunlar var. (T 4)*

Like I said before, among the reasons, there are cultural differences, the belief that girls are not to be studying, and the mindset that assumes they are to be getting married after puberty. The role that is cut out for girls is to be a mother, or a housewife, and the idea that they should be taking care of their children. All these are of course rooted in ignorance and the fact that we are sort of a patriarchal society. (T 4)

On the other hand, some of the documents highlighted reproduction of gender roles and gender discrimination through education. In a report published by Eğitim Sen in 2014, it was stressed that sexist statements in course books and curricula promoted a traditional female identity restricting women in familial sphere. The document denounced Ministry of Education for ignoring the demand on providing a course on gender mainstreaming. Another example can be found in Sexism in Education report published by Eğitim Sen in 2014 which foregrounded traditional roles assigned to women. The document referred to conservative gender policies of the government shaping educational policies by quoting a government official and stating sexist language in a teachers' book:

*Bu yıl da toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliği dersi talebini yok sayan MEB, geçmiş yıllarda yaptığı gibi kız çocuklarını aile-ev-eş üçgeni içerisinde tanımlayarak toplumsal cinsiyet ayrımcılığını ders kitapları ve müfredat ile derinleştirmeye devam edeceğini gösteriyor. (Eğitim Sen, 2014a)*

The MoNE, which has ignored the demand for gender equality lessons this year also, shows that it will continue to deepen gender discrimination through textbooks and curriculum by

defining girls within family-home-spouse triangle as it did in previous years. (Eğitim Sen, 2014a)

*2014'te Cumhurbaşkanı Erdoğan kadın öğrencilere "Evlilik olayını geri atmayın. Nasibinizi bulunca kararınızı veriniz. Çok seçici de olmayın. O zaman gülistandan boş çıkarsınız" çağrısında bulundu. Her yıl cinsiyetçi ders kitapları ve sınıf içi uygulamalar hazırlayan MEB ise Cumhurbaşkanı'nun çağrısını hazırladığı ders kitapları ile hayata geçirdi. Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Talim ve Terbiye Kurulu'nun 2011 tarihli kararıyla 2012-2013 eğitim-öğretim yılından itibaren 5 yıl süreyle "ders kitabı" olarak kabul edilen ve Pasifik Yayınları'na ait olan Sosyal Bilgiler Öğretmen Kılavuz Kitabı'nın "Adım Adım Türkiye" başlıklı ünitesinde; "Kınanın gelin olacak kızın yeni evine bağlı kalacağını sembolize etmek üzere yakıldığını, gelinin evinin ve kocasının yoluna gerekirse kurban olacağını vurgulandığını söyleyiniz" ifadesi yer aldı. Sendikamızın Bakanlığa yönelik yazdığı uyarıcı mektuba ise halen yanıt gelmiş değil. (Eğitim Sen, 2014b)*

In 2014, President Erdogan told female students: "Do not postpone marriage. When you find a possible prospective husband, make your decision. Do not be too picky, either. Then, you'll leave the rose garden only empty-handed". The Ministry of Education, which prepares sexist textbooks and classroom practices every year, materialized the message of the President by the textbooks they have prepared. In the unit entitled "Step by Step Turkey" of the Social Studies Teacher's Guide Book, which was accepted as a "course book" for 5 years starting from 2012-2013 academic year by the decision of the Board of Education of the Ministry of National Education, it read "... the henna is dyed (during wedding ceremonies) to symbolize that the bride will be attached to her new house, and that the bride will sacrifice herself to her house and her husband if necessary". The warning letter written by the union against the Ministry is still unanswered. (Eğitim Sen, 2014b)

A similar example can be found in the news report of 13<sup>th</sup> June 2014 published in Cumhuriyet. The report criticized sexist language in a teachers' book for 5<sup>th</sup>. According to the report, women's inferior position in Turkish family was reinforced through sexist elements in educational materials. The word choice in the teachers' book, "sacrifice" (Tr. Kurban) was prominent:

***MEB onaylı kitapta, 11 yaşındaki çocuklara 'iyi gelin' olma eğitimi***

*5.sınıf kız çocuklarına nasıl 'iyi gelin' olacaklarının öğretildiği ortaya çıktı. Sosyal Bilgiler dersi için öğretmenlere rehber olmak üzere hazırlanan Pasifik Yayınlarına ait Öğretmen Kılavuz Kitabında, "Kınanın gelin olacak kızın yeni evine bağlı kalacağını sembolize etmek üzere yakıldığını, gelinin evinin ve kocasının yoluna gerekirse kurban olacağını vurgulandığını söyleyiniz" deniliyor. 4+4+4 Eğitim Yasasının ardından kamuoyunda 'küçük gelin' tartışması yaşanmış, yeni sistemin 'küçük gelinler' yaratacağı iddiaları uzun süre gündemi meşgul etmişti. (13.06.2014, Cumhuriyet)*

**In MONE-approved book, education on being a 'good bride' for children aged 11**

It turned out that the 5<sup>th</sup> grade girls are taught how to be a 'good bride'. In the Teacher's Guide Book of the Pacific Publications, which is prepared to guide teachers for the Social



Studies lesson, it is said that "the henna is dyed to emphasize that the bride will be devoted to her new house and that she will sacrifice herself for her house or her husband if necessary." After the 4 +4 +4 Education Law, there was a public debate about 'child brides' and the claims of the new system to create 'child brides' had long preoccupied the agenda. (13.06.2014, Cumhuriyet)

Besides, analysis of the present study also revealed that discursive structure of some policy documents reproduced traditional gender roles which disadvantage girls and limit their educational and life prospects. Policy documents supported education of women in order that they fulfill their domestic and motherhood responsibilities appropriately. In AÇEV's report, the importance of eliminating the sexist elements in the educational materials was underlined by the Minister of Education of the time. However, it was contradictory that the role of mother education in children's academic achievement was also emphasized by the minister. The document promoted women education in order to fulfill their motherhood roles better and invalidated the role of education in empowerment of girls:

*Nimet Çubukçu, ayrıca eğitimin içeriğinde de toplumsal cinsiyet açısından gelişmeler sağlanması gerektiğini söyleyerek, ders kitaplarındaki cinsiyetçi öğelerin bu açıdan gözden geçirildiğini ekledi. Bakan Çubukçu, eğitimli annelerin çocuklarının eğitim süreçlerinde daha başarılı olduklarını özellikle vurguladı. (AÇEV, 2005)*

Nimet Çubukçu further added that gendered aspects of education should also be improved and that the sexist items in textbooks are being looked at from this point of view. Minister Çubukçu especially emphasized that educated mothers' children are more successful in their education process. (AÇEV, 2005)

In MONE's circular published in 2010 by General Directorate of Girls' Technical Education on increasing school enrollment rates of girls at secondary level, the document made references to roles of girls and women in traditional family life while stating girls' education as a policy priority. The choice of word "traditional family life" (Tr. Geneleksenl aile hayatı) showed that traditional gender roles assigned to women in Turkey were promoted:

*Geleneksel aile hayatı içinde önemli rolleri üstlenen genç kız ve kadınları; ekonomik ve sosyal hayata hazırlamak ve meslek edinmelerine yönelik eğitim ortamlarını oluşturmak temel politika ve önceliklerimizdendir. Günümüzde alınan ulusal ve uluslararası kararlar ve üst politika belgeleri de kadının toplumdaki konumunun belirlenmesinde pozitif ayrımcılığı zorunlu kılmaktadır. Tüm genç kızlarımızın eğitimli bireyler olarak sosyal ve ekonomik*

*hayata kazandırılması, ülkemizin sosyal gelişmesine ve ekonomik olarak kalkınmasına önemli katkılar sağlayacaktır. Bu amaçla ilgili her kamu ve özel kurum ve kuruluşların bu genelgede belirtilen görev ve sorumlulukları ilgili mevzuat çerçevesinde titizlikle yerine getirmelerinin sağlanması hususunda bilgilerinizi ve gereğini rica ederim (MEB Kız Teknik Öğretim Genel Müdürlüğü, 2010)*

It is our basic policy and among our top priorities to prepare young women and girls, who play important roles in traditional family life, for economic and social life and to create educational environments for them to obtain a job. Today's national and international decisions and top policy documents also require positive discrimination in determining the position of women in society. Integrating all our young girls into social and economic life as educated individuals will provide important contributions to the social and economic development of our country. To this end, I would like all public and private institutions and organizations to take utmost care to fulfill the duties and responsibilities specified in this circular letter with due diligence (MEB General Directorate of Girls' Technical Education, 2010).

The importance of education in order to fulfill motherhood responsibilities was also indicated in UNICEF Turkey's report. This report reflected girls as "mothers and primary care-givers of the future" in line with the traditional gender roles in Turkish society. Women were assigned a role of raising children discursively:

*As the mothers and primary care-givers of the future, their families will miss out on better standards of health and nutrition and it is unlikely that the country will reach the level of development it should. (UNICEF Turkey, 2005).*

Another example of can be found in TAP's report on co-education published in 2013 which encouraged women to perform traditional roles through specific focus on gender segregation in social realm. The preferred discourse on the uncontested status for women in the private realm attached sentimental value to the family and women's family roles. By making references to the history of traditional women movement and to its recommended future, the document centralized female education policies on the permanent existence of traditional Turkish family:

*Türk toplum geleneğinde "Bacıyan-ı Rum" gibi müesseselerle kadın örgütlenmesi içinde kadınların eğitim, ticaret, pazar denetçiliği, yöneticilik gibi konular edindikleri tarihsel bir gerçektir. Bu müesseselerin sadece kadın örgütleri olduğu, Ahiliğin yanında yer alan kurumlarla toplumu dinamize ettiği açıktır. Kurtuluş Savaşı'nda da bu tür örgütlenmelerin savaşın ekonomik ve lojistik desteği olduğu, kimi zaman da bizzat savaşın içinde Nene Hatun, Kara Fatma, Gördesli Makbule, Tarsuslu Adile Onbaşı, Nezahat Onbaşı, Halide Onbaşı (Adivar) adları ile kahramanlar çıkardığı unutulmamalıdır. Türk kadını, tarihi sürekliliğinde kendini kendi değerlerinin müesseseleri ile yetiştirmesini bilmiştir. Geleceğin Türk kadını da tarihi müesseselerini yeniden ihya ederek zamana taşıyan, aile meşhumunu üstün bir toplumsal hareket kaynağı bilen değerlerinden devşirecektir (TAP, 2013b).*

In the Turkish societal tradition, it is a historical reality that women got specific positions in such areas as education, commerce, market supervision, and management through women's associations like "Bacıyan-ı Rum". It is clear that these institutions are specifically women's organizations, and that they have mobilized society together with other institutions supporting Ahi-order. It should not be forgotten that such organizations provided economic and logistical support during the War of Independence, and sometimes they themselves created heroes of war with women like Nene Hatun, Kara Fatma, Gördesli Makbule, Tarsuslu Adile Corporal, Nezahat Onbaşı, and Halide Onbaşı (Adıvar). Turkish woman has always known how to grow herself with the institutions of her own values throughout history. Turkish women of the future will also revive the historical institutions and carry them to our time, and gather the concept of 'family' from our own values that view it as a superior source of social movement (TAP, 2013b).

Besides, in one of the documents on providing guidance for vocational education at secondary level sent by district national education directorate, importance of orienting girls to the occupations which do not hinder their motherhood roles was stressed. Occupational orientation was officially declared as tool to prepare girls for their motherhood roles in the document. In this context report on Gender Inequalities in Vocational Schools published by ERG and Çelikel Education Foundation took the attention to gender roles and sexual division of labor shaping students' program choices. The report emphasized that traditional gender perceptions filter down to vocational schools reproducing gender stereotypes and inequalities through education:

*Toplumda icra edilen mesleklerde kadın ve erkek oranlarının dengeli olmadığı bilinen bir gerçektir. Kız ve erkek çocuklarında cinsiyeti belirleyen bedensel farklılıkların dışında, meslek seçimini belirleyen genel ve özel yeteneklerin ileri yaşlarda ortaya çıktığı bilinmektedir (Kuzgun, 2006). Kadın ve annelik rollerini aksatmayacak meslekler geleneksel olarak kadınlara önerilmelidir. (MESBİL ANKARA, 2015)*

It is a well-known fact that male and female proportions are not balanced in the professions performed in society. Apart from the physical differences that determine gender in boys and girls, it is known that general and special abilities that determine vocation selection emerge in older ages (Kuzgun, 2006). Occupations that will not disrupt the roles of women and motherhood should traditionally be recommended to women. (MESBİL ANKARA, 2015)

*Mesleki ve teknik liselere devam eden öğrencilere bakıldığında, belirli program türlerinde genç erkeklerin, belirli program türlerinde ise genç kadınların daha yoğun olduğu görülmektedir. Aşağıdaki örneklerde görülebileceği üzere, bu tür okulların genç kadınlara uygun olmadığı yönünde düşünceler vardır. Genç kadınlar için uygun olabilecek bölümler, görüşme yapılan genç erkekler tarafından şu şekilde belirtilmiştir: moda, tasarım, çizim, çocuk gelişimi, iletişim. Derinlemesine bakıldığında bu bölümlerin, toplumda kadınlara atfedilen rollerle ilişkilendirilebilecek bölümler olduğu görülür. Her ne kadar genç kadınların geleneksel olarak "erkek mesleği" genç erkeklerin de kadın mesleği olarak*

*algılanan bölümlere girmesinin önünde resmi bir engel olmasa da, bu tür seçimler azınlıktadır. (ERG& Çelikel Eğitim Vakfı, 2015)*

Looking at the vocational and technical high school students, it is observed that young men are more dominant in certain program types and young women in certain other program types. As can be seen in the following examples, there are preconceptions that such schools are not suitable for young women. The departments that may be appropriate for young women were indicated by interviewed young men as fashion, design, drawing, child development, and communication. Looking deeply, it can be seen that these are departments that can be associated with roles attributed to women in society. Although there is no formal obstacle for young women to enter "male professions" and young men to enter "female professions", such choices are only rare. (ERG& Çelikel Education Foundation, 2015)

*Araştırmada mesleki ve teknik eğitimin geleneksel cinsiyet rollerine göre meslek programlarına ayrıştığı ve sunulan eğitimin toplumsal cinsiyet rollerini yeniden üreterek pekiştirdiğine ilişkin bulgulara da erişilmiştir. Görüşme yapılan öğrenciler Motorlu Araçlar Teknolojisi, İnşaat Teknolojisi, Makina Teknolojisi, Metal Teknolojisi gibi alanların genç kadınlara uygun meslek alanları olmadığını ifade etmişlerdir. Özellikle erkek öğrenciler Çocuk Gelişimi, Moda, Tasarım, İletişim, Sağlık gibi alanların kadınlar için uygun meslekler olduğunu belirtmiş ve okullarında böyle alanlar olmamasına rağmen kadın öğrencilerin neden bu okulları tercih ettiklerini sorgulamışlardır. Ayrıca öğretmenlerin de bu doğrultuda yönlendirmelerinin olabildiğini gözlemlenmiştir. (ERG, 2015)*

It has also been found in the research study that vocational and technical education has been broken down into vocational programs according to traditional gender roles, and that the education offered reinforced gender roles by regenerating them. The interviewees stated that such fields as Motor Vehicle Technology, Construction Technology, Mechanical Technology, and Metal Technology were not suitable for young women. In particular, male students pointed out that areas such as Child Development, Fashion, Design, Communication, and Health were suitable occupations for women and they were puzzled by why some female students chose to study in their school even though there were no such departments in their school. It has also been observed that the teachers could also lead students in this direction. (ERG, 2015)

The analysis revealed that media coverage of this policy discourse reinforced the ways patriarchy and policy collides in Turkish context. In the newspaper clippings, there was also a specific emphasis on female motherhood roles:

*Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Mesleki ve Teknik Eğitimi Genel Müdürlüğü Grup Başkanı Şennur Çetin: "Türkiye'de asıl sorun işsizlik değil, mesleksizlik ve nitelikli personel eksikliğidir... Bir erkeği eğitirseniz bir adamı eğitmiş olursunuz. Bir kadını eğitirseniz bir aileyi bir kuşağı eğitmiş olursunuz. " diye konuştu. (11.04.2013, Bugün)*

Şennur Çetin, General Directorate of Vocational and Technical Education, MONE, said: "The main problem in Turkey is not unemployment, but it is lack of professions and qualified personnel... If you educate a male, you will have educated one man. If you educate a woman, you will have educated a family, or a generation". (11.04.2013, Bugün)

*MEB Kız Teknik Eğitimi Genel Müdürü Emine Kırar, "Hepimiz kız çocuklarının okullaşması, ekonomik özgürlüğünü alması ve daha iyi anne olarak yetişmesi için uğraş veriyoruz. Biz ortaöğretime bu çocukları geçirelim, erken evlilikten kurtaralım derken böyle bir kararın alınması ülkemiz adına zuldür, günahdır. O nedenle bu madde değiştirilmeli" diye konuştu. (2.11.2010, Hürriyet)*

Emine Kırar, General Director at Department of Girls' Technical Education, MONE, said "We all work for schooling of girls, for making them financially independent, and for raising them as better mothers. While we are trying to enroll them in the secondary education and save them from early marriages, taking such kind of a decision is embarrassing, it is a wrongdoing. Therefore, this clause needs to be amended." (2.11.2010, Hürriyet)

When the participating teachers were asked to interpret the news reports, they questioned the motherhood roles assigned to girls. T 4 and T 6 pointed out the importance ensuring economic freedom of mothers rather than educating girls to fulfill their motherhood roles. One other noteworthy point was regarding the meaning of selected word "oppression" (Tr. Ezilmek) and its negative connotation. On the other hand, T 6 criticized the sexist language in the media and gender policies of the governing party. The teacher questioned the girls' education policies promoting restrictive gender and motherhood roles which positions women as the cultural essence rather than an individual:

*...Milli Eğitim Bakanlığının görevi daha iyi anne olarak yetiştirmek midir tabi kız çocuklarını, orada bir soru işareti var. (T 4)*

...Is the duty of MONE to train girls to become better mothers, there is a question mark there. (T 4)

*... Kız çocuklarının daha iyi anne olabilmesi için yetiştirilmesi diyor, ekonomik bağımsızlığını verirseniz daha iyi anne olacağına inanıyorum ben bir kız çocuğunun. ...Ama toplumumuzda yerleşmiş birşey vardır işte eğer kadının ekonomik bağımsızlığı yoksa erkektir döverdir, severdir, ekonomik bağımsızlığı yoksa onun altında ezildiğini görüyorum toplumda gezdiğim bölgelerde. O yüzden önce iş imkânının sağlanması lazım (T 10)*

...They are talking about girls being raised to become better mothers. Well, I believe if you give a girl her financial freedom, she will become a better mother... But there is a preconception in our society. If a girl does not have her financial freedom, it is seen as a natural right for a man to choose either to "love" her or just to "beat" her. I see in different regions I visit that when a girl does not have financial freedom, she is oppressed by her husband. Therefore, girls need to be given opportunities to work. (T 10)

*...Şimdi burada tamamen bir cinsiyetçi dil var. Kız çocuğu anne nedir? Her kız çocuğu anne mi olmalıdır? Bunu istiyor mudur? Tabii ki bunu geliştiren iktidarın, kadını birey olarak tarif etmemesi, kadını sadece aile içinde ve kutsal anne olarak tarif etmesinin de tabi*

*dediğim gibi ideolojik. İçinde o modele göre öğrenci yetiştirecek ama dediğim gibi her zaman kızlar üzerinden kızlara bir rol model dayatılıyor bu da tabii iyi anne olmak çok çocuk doğurmak ve iyi anne olmak. Hani ekonomik özgürlüğünü ele alması diyor ama bunu yansıyan daha iyi anne olarak yetişmesi için uğraş verir.(T 6)*

...Now, I mean there is an entirely sexist language here. For a girl, what is a mother? Do all girls need to be mothers? Do they really want it? Of course, the fact that the ruling party develops this language, that they do not define women as individuals, but rather they define women only within the context of family and depict them as sacred mothers, it is all ideological, like I said before. Students will be raised based on that model within (these schools), but as I said it is all done through girls, a role model is forced on girls, and it is obviously being a good mother and giving birth to many kids. Well, they are talking about gaining economic independence, but the reflection of this attitude would be making an effort to raise them as better mothers (T 6)

While interpreting the news report of 2<sup>nd</sup> November 2010 published in Hürriyet, T 1 naturalized the traditional gender roles and motherhood roles stated in the report by referring to the mission of girls' vocational schools in Turkey. In the background information, the teacher referred to the ways gendered division of labor was promoted in single sex vocational schools:

*...kız meslek liselerinde, eskilerden beri benim annem de kız meslek lisesi mezunu, işte iyi bir hanımı olma, ev ekonomisi, zaten derslerin içeriği de o şekilde, çocuk gelişimi o lise bölümünde hani ortaokulda yapılmıyordur ama. Yani o zaten hani onların okullarında, kız teknikte bu yapılıyor hani iyi anne olması, işte çocuk gelişimi zaten alanlarından da belli. (T 1)*

Since the old times, in girls' vocational schools, my mother is also a graduate of girls' vocational schools by the way, the content of classes is also that way, I mean being a good housewife, home economics, and so on. Child development, well, that will come only in high school level, though, they are probably not teaching it in middle school. I mean, that is already what they do in their schools, in girls' technical schools, being a good mother, child development, it is all obvious from the very fields of study. (T 1)

There were different arguments and perspectives in relation to headscarf issue in different newspapers which referred to traditional gender roles assigned to women in Turkish society. The news report of 1<sup>st</sup> of October 2014 published in Yeni Şafak contextualized headscarf regulation within the discourses of patriarchal practices causing female oppression. The report quoted an official of the opposition party which revealed the political aspect of headscarf issue in Turkish context. Another example could be found in the news report of Radikal published on 6<sup>th</sup> of October 2014. The title of the report condemned imposing a scarf on girls at the age of ten.

In a deeper interpretation, the report implied that wearing headscarf reinforced traditional gender roles. The lead part of the report quoted the negative effects of wearing headscarf at early ages from a famous professor which served to make it more credible and convincing for the reader:

***Ortaöğretimde başörtüsünün serbest bırakılması***

*Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi (CHP) İzmir İl Kadın Kolları "Türban Türkiye'nin sorunlarını örtemez"*

*Bugün 10 yaşında bir kız çocuğu başını örtmeye karar verecek, yarın da evlenmeyi mi karar verecek? Kadını eve kapatmak isteyen, eğitimsiz kadınların yetiştirdiği çocuklar üzerinden ülkenin geleceğini planlayanlara karşı ayağa kalkmak ve hayır demek bize düşüyor. Eğitime yapılan bir değişiklik meyvelerini 15-16 yıl sonra verir" diye konuştu. (01.10.2014, Bugün)*

**Freeing headscarves in middle schools**

Republican People's Party (CHP), Women's Branch, İzmir District: "Turban cannot cover the problems of Turkey"

Republican People's Party (CHP) Women's Branch, İzmir District, said: "Today, a 10-year-old girl will decide to cover her head, and then will she decide to marry tomorrow? It is up to us to rise against and say no to those who wish to lock women inside their houses and to those planning the future of our country over kids raised by uneducated women. A change made in education bears its fruit 15-16 years later." (01.10.2014, Bugün)

***10 yaşında türban ayıptır***

*Türkiye'de sosyal psikolojinin kurucularından Prof. Dr. Çiğdem Kağıtçıbaşı, 10 yaşında türbanın çocuk gelişimi açısından son derece yanlış olduğunu söyledi. Kağıtçıbaşı'na göre 10 yaşında türban "Çocuğa vaktinden evvel cinselliği öğretmektir" ve ayıptır. (06.10.2014, Radikal)*

**Turban at the age of 10 is a shame!**

Professor Çiğdem Kağıtçıbaşı, one of the pioneers of Social Psychology studies in Turkey said that getting girls to wear turban at the age of 10 is extremely wrong in terms of child development. According to Kağıtçıbaşı, getting a child to wear turban at that age is "to teach them about sexuality prematurely", and it is a shame. (06.10.2014, Radikal)

The participating teachers foregrounded negative impacts of wearing headscarf at early ages by referring to their experiences. T 1 and T 2 mentioned how wearing headscarf deprived girls of their childhood by limiting their movements and behaviors. The details the teachers provided revealed the role of wearing headscarf in gender socialization. Women identity imposed to girls at early ages was

highlighted in the selected words such as “become more serious” (Tr. Ağırlaşmak) and “like a mature woman”, (Tr. Büyük kadın gibi) and “like an adult”, (Tr. Yetişkin gibi):

*...hani kendini kapatma mesajı var yani, kendini kapat. Ve çocuk kendini ifade etmesini öyle yani hareketlerinde her şekilde aslında çocuğa bir kısıtlama getiriyorsun...(T 9)*

...I mean there is a hidden message there to cover yourself, cover yourself. And the child learns to express herself that way. I mean in her actions, in every way possible, you are actually putting limitations to the the child ... (T 9)

*Kız çocuğu uzun uzun elbiseleriyle işte başı örtülü bir şekilde okula geliyor. Ama o çocuk oyun çağında o üzerindeki kıyafetin ağırlığından en başta zaten koşmayı bile unutuyor bence. O bile çocuk hakkını, oyun hakkını elinden almış oluyorsun çocuğun, çok küçük yaş bence 5. Sınıf. Artı o kadar küçük yaştaki çocuğa sen kadınsın kimliği yükleniyor, ona göre ağırlaşıyor zaten, 1 yıl önce benim ilkököl bahçemde koşup-oyunayan çocuk, 1 yıl sonra beni ziyarete geldiğinde büyük kadın gibi, ağır ağır konuşması, hareketleri, her şeyiyle apayrı bir kimlik olarak karşıma çıkıyor. Çünkü öyle yüklenmiş, tanıyamıyorum bile bazen.... Küçük çok küçük. (T 2)*

The girl is coming to school in very long clothes, her head covered. But that child is still in play age, and I am guessing she even forgets to run in the first place due to the weight of those clothes on her. Even with this (practice), you are actually abusing their rights as a child, and you are taking away their rights to play, I mean 5<sup>th</sup> grade is too early if you ask me. Besides, you are imposing female identity to such a small child, and she becomes more grave in this context anyway, the girl that runs and plays in my playground only one year earlier talks heavily and seriously like a mature woman one year later when she comes to visit me. Her moves, everything about her.. she becomes a whole new identity. That is because she has been imposed that way, I cannot even recognize them sometimes. That age is little.. way too little. (T 2)

*Yani, şöyle olabilir, onları hemen birer yetişkin gibi algılayıp işte davranış kodları oluşturmaya çalışıp, hani çocukları birden, geçen yıl çocukken oynarken bahçede ertesi yıl sanki hani böyle bir kendini yetişkin, ergen kız adayı gibi ya da öyle görme eğilimi olup, çocuğun üstüne çok fazla yük binebilir bundan dolayı. (T 1)*

That is, it might result in something like this: we might turn to perceive them as adults and try to set behavior modes for them, and while they were simply kids playing in the garden only one year ago, they might start seeing themselves as adults or candidates to adolescence and this might put too much pressure on them. (T 1)

#### **4.1.2. Challenging Gender Roles**

Another prominent point revealed by the analysis was related with the role of education in challenging gender roles. ERG’s gender mainstreaming report published in 2009 indicated that female education was perceived as a useful tool to



better fulfill motherhood roles. Namely, it was argued that in spite of recent improvements in enrollment rates; education has not challenged the traditional gender roles, perceptions and attitudes defining women in familial sphere. The changes in the content of educational materials were discussed in an attempt to challenge gender roles and existence of sexist elements in the materials was also indicated in Woman and Education Policy Document published in 2008 by KSGM:

*Kadına yönelik şiddet ve işgücüne katılımı ilgili veriler eğitim sürecinin bireylerin toplumsal cinsiyetle ilgili değer, tutum ve davranışlarında yeterli bir dönüşüm sağlayamadığına işaret eder. Sonuç olarak, toplumda genel olarak kadının aile içindeki rolü ön planda kalmaya devam etmekte ve eğitim ise kadının annelik rolünü daha başarılı oynaması için bir araç olarak görülmektedir. Buna bağlı olarak, daha yüksek oranda kadının daha uzun süre eğitim alır hala gelmesine rağmen toplumsal cinsiyet roller açısından köklü bir dönüşüm gerçekleşmemektedir. (ERG, 2009b)*

Data on violence against women and participation in the workforce indicate that the educational process has not adequately transformed the values, attitudes, and behaviors of the individuals on gender. As a result, the leading role of women in the family in general continues to pre-exist in society, and education is seen as a tool for women to learn how to play a more successful role in motherhood. Accordingly, although higher numbers of women receive longer periods of training at higher levels now, there is no radical transformation in terms of gender roles. (ERG, 2009b)

*Kızlar ve erkekler için benimsenen farklı sosyalleşme biçimleri her iki cinsin tercihlerini etkilemektedir. Bu durumu dikkate alan Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, ders kitapları ve eğitim materyallerinde cinsiyet eşitliğinin sağlanması ve kadına karşı ayrımcılığın engellenmesi amacıyla, ilgili kaynaklarda kadın-erkek ile kız ve erkek çocuklara ait bilgi, fotoğraf ve resimlerde sayısal ve niceliksel açıdan eşitlik sağlamaya çalışmakta, geleneksel olarak kadın için uygun görülen roller/işlerde (öğretmenlik, annelik hemşire, ev kadınlığı, vb) ya da önemsiz rollerde gösterilen kadınlar yerine, toplumda aktif olarak rol alan "başarılı kadın" vurgusuna yer verilmekte, erkeğin güçlü, başarılı, zeki, aktif ve bağımsız; kadının ise uysal, düzenli duygusal gibi özelliklerle tanımlanmasından kaçınılmaktadır. Ancak halen eğitim materyallerinde cinsiyetçi öğelerin varlığı söz konusudur. (KSGM, 2008a)*

Different forms of socialization adopted for girls and boys influence the preferences of both sexes. Taking this into account, the Ministry of National Education is trying to provide qualitative and quantitative equality while presenting information, photographs and images of women/men and girls/boys in the related sources in order to ensure gender equality in textbooks and educational materials and to prevent discrimination against women. Instead of presenting women in roles traditionally seen as suitable for women (teachers, maternity nurses, housewives, etc.) or presenting them in trivial roles, the image of a "successful woman" who plays an active role in society is emphasized. It is avoided that men are defined as strong, successful, intelligent, active and independent, while the woman is defined as being docile, regular and emotional. However, sexist items still exist in educational materials. (KSGM, 2008a)

The importance of challenging traditional gender roles was also emphasized in the reports of girls' education projects analyzed in this study. The reports stressed the impact of the projects in increasing gender awareness of the stakeholders and in ensuring gender equality in society:

*Özetle, Eğitimde Toplumsal Cinsiyet Eşitliğinin Geliştirilmesi Projesi (ETCEP) ile eğitim sistemindeki tüm paydaşların toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliği konusunda farkındalık kazanmaları sağlanarak eğitimde eşitlikçi bir bakış açısının geliştirilmesi hedeflenmiştir. Dolayısıyla bu alanda yapılan çalışmalar, eğitimde toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliğine yönelik mevcut yapının iyileştirilmesine katkı sağlamaktadır. (ERG, 2015)*

In summary, the Project for the Promotion of Gender Equality in Education (ETCEP) aims to develop an equitable perspective in education by ensuring that all stakeholders in the education system are aware of gender equality. Thus, work done in this area contributes to the improvement of the current structure of gender equality in education. (ERG, 2015)

*Projelerin genel amaçları arasında, kız ve erkek çocuklarının eğitimleri süresince cinsiyete dayalı herhangi bir ayrımcılığa maruz kalmadan eğitim hakkından eşit ölçüde yararlanmalarını sağlamak ve öğretmenlerin toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliğine yönelik duyarlılıklarını artırmak ve benzeri amaçlar yer almaktadır. (ETCEP, 2016)*

Besides other similar purposes, the overall objectives of the projects are to ensure that girls and boys enjoy equal access to education without being subjected to gender discrimination during their education and to increase the sensitivity of teachers to gender equality. (ETCEP, 2016)

*Özetle, hangi nedenle olursa olsun eğitimci, sosyal çalışmacı, gazeteci gibi çeşitli mesleklerden pek çok kişi, toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliğinin ancak kadın ve erkeklerin eğitim fırsatlarından eşit olarak yararlanmasıyla sağlanabileceği noktasında buluşmuş, bu alanda istediklerini gerçekleştirmek için kampanyayı bir araç olarak görmüşler. (AÇEV, ERG, KA-DER, 2008b)*

In summary, many people from various professions, such as educators, social workers, and journalists, have agreed on the idea that gender equality can only be achieved by equally providing women and men with educational opportunities, and they have seen the campaign as a means to achieve their goals in this area. (AÇEV, ERG, KA-DER, 2008b)

*Given the influence of gender roles and the extent of gender inequalities in many aspects of life in Turkey, the UNICEF Country Office, with an 80 per cent female staff, is closely aware of the gender dimensions of its work and of the need to strive for gender equality. The Office has a strong culture of mainstreaming and highlighting gender and gender equality, especially equality for girls, in all components of the Country Programme - and now also in its emergency work. (UNICEF Turkey, 2013)*

In a newspaper clipping of Bugün published on 21<sup>st</sup> February 2013, the role of girls' education project in challenging traditional gender roles was stressed. There was also an emphasis on traditional gender roles and preference for boys in the

families. The report discursively disclosed negative effects of traditional gender roles on girls' education:

*ŞANLIURFA İl Milli Eğitim Müdürü Metin İlci, kız çocuklarının eğitime yönlendirilmesi konusunda seferberlik başlattıklarını söyledi. İlci, özellikle kırsal kesimde eğitimden mahrum kalan kız çocuklarının okula gönderilmesi konusunda eğitim camiasının yoğun şekilde çalıştığını belirtti. "Kırsal bölgede anne ve babalar maalesef okuma konusunda tercihlerini erkeklerden yana kullanıyor. Anneye evde yardımcı olmak ve kardeşlerine bakmakta ikinci annelik görevi kız çocuklarına verilmektedir. Bu sebeple bu projenin önemini bilerek, özellikle kentimizde kız çocuklarının okullaşması için etkin bir şekilde öğretmenlerimizle birlikte seferber olacağız". (21.02.2013, Bugün)*

Metin İlci, ŞANLIURFA Provincial Director of National Education, said that they started mobilizing their girls in the direction of education. He noted that the education community is working intensively on the issue of sending girls to school, especially in the rural areas, where girls are deprived of education. "Unfortunately, parents in rural areas give boys a priority to study. Girls are given the duties of helping their mother at home and looking after their siblings as a secondary mother. For this reason, knowing the importance of this project, we are effectively mobilizing, together with our teachers, especially for the schooling of girls in our city". (21.02.2013, Bugün)

T 14 and T 10 pointed out the ways gender roles and traditional practices caused gender inequalities in education. T 14 implied the importance of girls' education projects in challenging gender roles and male preferences especially in rural regions. T 10 referred to effect of gender stereotypes shaping parental preferences and social perspectives of girls' education:

*'Haydi Kızlar Okula' denildiği sırada şimdi aslında seslenilmesi gereken bana göre kızlar değil toplumun kendisidir. Çünkü küçük yaştaki bir kız çocuğu okula gideyim mi, gitmeyeyim mi hani okumayı sever ama onu karar verme aşamasında değil gitme aşamasında veya elinde değil, onu yönlendirecek gönderecek ailesidir. O yüzden topluma bana göre seslenilmesi lazım, az önceki bahsettiğim bizim Türk toplumunda yaygın olan hani "kız çocuğu, anne olur, evinin işini yapar" inancına... (T 10)*

When you say "Let's go to school, girls!", who you actually need to be calling out to is the society itself, not the girls. Because a girl at a small age is not at a point to decide on whether she should be going to school or not, even if she likes studying, or it is just beyond her control. The ones to direct her and send her to school is her family. Therefore, we need to appeal to the society, and we need to address to the common belief in Turkish society that asserts "a girl becomes a mother and takes care of the housework"... (T 10)

*Yani mutlaka katkısı vardır kırsal bölgeleri düşünürsek yani kırsal bölgelerde hala şey anlayışı hâkimdir çünkü erkek çocuğu okusun, iş sahibi olacak, meslek edinecek, ailesini geçindirecek ama kız çocuğu şart değil ona eşi de bakabilir, o bize evde yardım etsin mantığı hâkim olduğu için hani bu kadar birebir takibin olumlu olduğunu düşünüyorum. (T 14)*

I mean I am sure it makes a contribution. When you think about rural areas, the old ideas still stand. The mentality that boys study, find a job, maintain their families, but it is not a must for girls, her husband can take care of her; therefore, she can just help in the family (and not study) is still dominant. For this reason, I am in favor of this way of one-to-one follow-up of families. (T 14)

#### 4.1.3. Gender Stereotyping

The analysis revealed that dress code policies reinforced and reproduced gender stereotypes and traditional gender roles. Moreover, dress code policies enabled school authorities to regulate student identity and create discriminatory practices at schools. The examination of MONE's dress code circular published in 2013 revealed that requiring students to dress in gender specific colors taught students to adopt gender roles which were not always equal for both genders:

*1) Okullarımızda kılık kıyafet uygulamasında velilerce yapılacak olan oylama veya anket neticesinde velilerimizin çoğunluk kararına göre uygun görülecek öğrenci kılık kıyafetlerine, tüm öğrencilerce uyulmasının sağlanması, alınan kararın serbest rekabet ortamında, fırsat eşitliği sağlamak amacıyla, okulların ilan panoları ile web sayfalarında duyurulması.*

*6) Belirlenecek öğrenci kılık kıyafetlerinin kız ve erkek öğrenciler için ayrı ayrı renklerde seçilmesi mümkün olmakla birlikte, kıyafetlerde sade ve düz renk seçimine dikkat edilmesi. (Meb Öğrenci Okul Kılık Kıyafetleri Genelgesi-2013)*

1) As a result of the voting or questionnaire that will be done with the parents about the dress code in our schools, all pupils are expected to adhere to the student uniforms which are deemed appropriate according to the decision of our parents. In order to ensure equality of opportunity in the free competition environment, the final decision is to be announced on the web pages of the schools.

It is possible to choose different colors for boys and girls while determining the dress code, but simple and plain colors are to be chosen. (The Mone Circular on Student Clothing – 2013)

Other examples of dress code policies which reinforced sexist stereotypes could be found in the summer circular of General Directorate of Secondary Education published in 2008 and MONE's Dress Code Regulations. The first document outlined gender specific policies which made more restrictions on girls' clothing at schools. Besides, contextualization and wording of the second document revealed that dress code policies were female specific. Discursive structure of the policy documents unearthed the traces of female sexual objectification on legitimate basis at schools. The analysis revealed that gender specific dress code of MONE

reinforced sexist stereotypes and norms which sexualized girls and created a sense of shame for having feminine body. Deeper interpretation of selected words and phrases such as “revealing” (Tr. Vücut hatlarını belli eden) highlighted how rigid codes of dressing outlined for women created gender oppression in Turkish society:

- 1) *Erkek öğrencilerimizin ceket giyme ve kravat takma zorunluluğunun kaldırılması, öğrenciye yakışır, sade, kollu/yarım kollu gömlek veya tişört giymeleri,*
- 2) *Kız öğrencilerimizin şeffaf olmayan vücut hatlarını belli etmeyen badi, streç vb. darlıkta kıyafet olmayacak şekilde, öğrenciye yakışır, sade kollu/yarım kollu gömlek veya tişört giymeleri*  
*Kıyafetlerin pedagojik esaslara uygun olmasına özen gösterilmesi, kot, streç, tayt vb. pantolonlar ile okulca belirlenenlerin dışında, simge, sembol, şekil ve yazuların yer alacağı, vücut hatlarını belli eden darlık ve türde yakasız, kolsuz kıyafetler giymemeleri, (Meb Ortaöğretim Genel Müdürlüğü Yaz Dönemi Öğrenci Kılık Kıyafetleri Genelge/2008)*

- 1) The requirement of male students to wear jackets and ties is abolished, and they are expected to wear simple, sleeved/half-sleeved shirts or t-shirts in a way that suits students.
- 2) Female students are expected to avoid revealing, transparent clothes that are too tight, i.e. stretch clothes. They are expected to wear simple, sleeved/half-sleeved shirts or t-shirts in a way that suits students.

Special care should be taken to ensure that the clothes conform to pedagogical principles, and schools are expected to discourage students from wearing such clothes as jeans and stretches, and clothes that bear symbols, shapes and letters other than those determined by school authorities, and tight, collarless, and sleeveless clothes that reveal body lines. (The Mone General Directorate of Secondary Education Circular Letter On Summer Term Student Clothing)

**MADDE 4 – (1) Öğrenciler;**

- a) *Öğrenim gördükleri okulun arması ve rozeti dışında nişan, arma, sembol, rozet ve benzeri takılar takamaz,*
- b) *İnsan sağlığını olumsuz yönde etkileyen ve mevsim şartlarına uygun olmayan kıyafetler giyemez,*
- c) *Yırtık veya delikli kıyafetler ile şeffaf kıyafetler giyemez,*  
*Vücut hatlarını belli eden şort, tayt gibi kıyafetler ile diz üstü etek, derin yırtmaçlı etek, kısa pantolon, kolsuz tişört ve kolsuz gömlek giyemez. (Millî Eğitim Bakanlığına Bağlı Okul Öğrencilerinin Kılık Ve Kıyafetlerine Dair Yönetmelik)*

**CLAUSE 4 – (1) Students cannot wear...**

- a) badges, emblems, symbols, pins, and similar ornaments other than those of their own schools,
- b) clothes that negatively affect human health and clothes incompatible with seasonal conditions,

c) ripped or holey clothes, and transparent clothes, revealing clothes like shorts and tights, and short skirts, slit skirts, short pants, sleeveless shirts and T-shirts. (Regulations On Student Clothing In Mone-Affiliated Schools)

TAP's report on co-education encouraged gender stereotypes in career choices and gendered vocational interests. It was noteworthy that the document tried to justify its arguments by referring to research findings without any references. The emphasis on democratic demands of the society served to influence public perception of equality. Besides, Eğitim Bir Sen's report on co-education also included stereotypical notions and assumptions in relation to different abilities and interests of two genders:

*Toplumsal hayatta "Meslekî cinsiyet" kavramını haklı çıkaran araştırmaların da ortaya koyduğu üzere, kadın ve erkek cinslerinin meslek tercihlerinde aynı hedeflere odaklanmadıkları aşikar iken kanunun "denklik" kavramından ayrılarak "eşitlik" kavramına göre toplumu dizayn etmesi demokratik taleplerle de uyuşmayacaktır. (TAP, 2013b)*

As the research that justifies the concept of "occupational gender" in social life also shows, the fact that laws and regulations design the society according to the concept of "equality" rather than the concept of "equivalence" will not coincide with democratic demands when it is obvious that males and females do not focus on the same goals in their occupational preferences. (TAP, 2013b)

*Aralarındaki farklarını özetlediğimiz iki cinsiyetin bir arada eğitim görmesiyle birçok mahzurun ortaya çıkacağı tabidir. Çünkü kadın ve erkeğin ilgi alanları, yetenekleri az çok farklılık göstermektedir. Alman Der Spiegel'in (25.08.2003) kaydettiği gibi: "Normal şartlarda kadınlar ve erkekler farklı beyin yapıları ile dünyaya gelirler. Erkek beyni dünyayı sistematik olarak algılaya yeteneğiyle dünyaya geliyor; buna karşılık kadın beyni ise duyarlı ve empatik yapılı olarak donatılıyor." Yine kız çocuğunun his dünyası duygulu hülyalardan zevk alır. Güzel masallardan hoşlanır. Oysa ki erkek çocuğu, makine icatları, karışık savaş aletleri tasarlar; savaşlarda bulunmayı, güçlü olmayı tahayyül eder. Kız çocuğu ise, güzel kadın süsleri arasında hülyalara dalmayı, acayip çiçeklere ve çok renkli kuşlara sahip olmayı tercih eder. (Eğitim Bir-Sen, 2012c)*

It is only natural that many disadvantages will arise from getting the two genders, whose differences we have summed up, to study together. It is because the interests and talents of males and females vary to some extent. As the German magazine Der Spiegel notes (25.08.2003): "Under normal circumstances, men and women come to the world with different brain structures. The male brain comes to the world with the ability to systematically perceive the world, while the female brain is equipped with a sensitive and empathic structure." Then again, girls' world of feelings enjoys sentimental dreams. She likes beautiful stories and fairytales, whereas the male child designs mechanical inventions and complicated combat devices, and dreams of being in wars and being strong. A girl, on the other hand, prefers to plunge into daydreams and fantasies among female ornaments, and to possess wondrous flowers and colorful birds. (Eğitim Bir-Sen, 2012c)

When the newspaper coverage of the changes in the dress code was analyzed it was seen that there were not serious criticisms regarding the changes in most of the newspapers. The meaning and positive connotation of the word “free/unrestricted/allowed” (Tr Serbest) was noteworthy. Besides, some of the news reports specifically included sexist details of MONE’s dress code. One example can be found in the news report of 28<sup>th</sup> November 2012 published in Milliyet:

### ***Öğrencilerin yeni kıyafetleri***

*Eğitim Bakanlığı’ndaki ‘kıyafet’ çalışmasının ayrıntıları netleşiyor. Düzenlemeye göre, ilköğretimde haftanın bir günü kıyafet ‘serbest’ olacak, diğer günlerde de etek veya pantolon giyilebilecek. (8.7.2009, Hürriyet)*

### **New Dress Codes for Students**

The details of the work on new 'dress code' in the Ministry of National Education are becoming clear. According to new regulations, in primary schools, clothing will be completely 'unrestricted' for one day a week, and on other days wearing skirts or pants will be allowed. (8.7.2009, Hürriyet)

### ***Okullarda tek tip kıyafet kalkıyor***

*Okullarda kılık ve kıyafet serbest olacak, kot pantolonla gidilebilecek. Ancak; yırtık, delikli, şeffaf, vücut hatlarını belli eden şort, tayt, diz üstü etek, derin yırtmaçlı etek, kısa pantolon, kolsuz tişört ve kolsuz gömlek giyilemeyecek. (28.11.2012, Milliyet)*

### **No more uniforms at schools**

Students do not have to wear uniforms at schools. They will be able to go to school wearing jeans. However, wearing torn, transparent tights which reveal boy lines, short trousers, and sleeveless shirts is forbidden at schools. (28.11.2012, Milliyet)

The participating teachers also emphasized that dressing was one of the important agents of gender socialization at schools. T 6 emphasized that gender specific color and clothes choices created gender discrimination at schools. Similarly, T 13 took the attention to differential treatment of two genders when they broke the dress code at schools. The teacher referred to gender stereotyping through education in his/her response. Another noteworthy point was related with selection of words “cute” (Tr. Sevimli) for boys who violate dress code and “frowned upon” (Tr. İğreti) for disobeying girls:

*Kız çocukları bir gösteri yapıldığında onlar pembe, onlar mavi kıyafetler. Etekler ya da pantolonlar. Okul formaları yine düne kadar böyleydi. Şimdi kızlar içinde pantolon alternatifleri var ama birçok okul yine kızlar etek, erkekler pantolon şeklinde çocuğun cinsiyetçi kimliğini de direkt ayırtıran bir yerden ayrımcılık oluyor bu da... Yönetmeliğe baktığımızda, erkek çocukların kılık kıyafetine dair belirleyici bir şey yokken vücutlarına dönük belli bir müdahale yokken, kız çocuklarının kıyafetlerine dönük bir müdahale görüyoruz bu başı açık değil, kolsuz giyemez. Bu giyemez lafı bir müdahaledir....Bu dayatma dediğim gibi daha çok kız çocuklarının bedeni üzerinden şekilleniyor. (T 6)*

When the school organizes a show, the girls wear pink, and the boys blue. Skirts or trousers. School uniforms were also that way until recently. Now there is the option to wear trousers for girls as well, but many schools still choose skirts for girls and trousers for boys. This also defines gender identity of children, and this is also a type of discrimination... When we look at the regulations, there is nothing very definitive about boys' clothing or there is no interference towards them, but there is interference towards girls' clothes, she is not uncovered, she cannot wear sleeveless, and so on... this "cannot wear" is an interference... this imposition is usually shaped on girls' bodies. (T 6)

*Mesela kız öğrencinin kılık, kıyafetine daha fazla dikkat etmesi bekleniyor, işte bak eteğin mesela senin kısa deniyor ama erkek olduğunda biraz daha hani sevimli geliyor. Sanki öyle bir şey algıladım ben o zamanlar. Yani kız öğrenci yaptığında daha iğreti duruyor mesela, hoş karşılanmıyor ama erkek yaptığında, dikkat et, sakalını kes ya da şöyle giyin ama çok böyle negatif düşünülüyor sanki. (T 13)*

For instance, girls are expected to pay more attention to their clothing. For instance, they say your skirt is too short, but when it is a boy, it just becomes a bit cuter. I sort of felt that way those times. I mean when it is the girl breaking the dress code, it is more frowned upon, but when it is the boy, yes, they tell them to pay more attention, to shave their beard, or wear this and that, but they do not develop negative thoughts about them because of clothing. (T 13)

In a similar vein, the participating teachers foregrounded gender stereotypes in their comments on co-education. There were different views on single sex education among the participants. T 7 and T 10 justified single sex education by referring to different gender roles assigned to boys and girls. Besides, T 1 further naturalized single sex education by referring to religious practices. The teachers' statements invalidated the ways to challenge *gender stereotypes through education*:

*Yani şu anda algıladığım kadarıyla negatif bir şey yok gibi, yani kız, öğretim programının zorunluluğu çerçevesinde kızlar ya da erkekler olarak ayrılabilir. Özelliği çerçevesinde yani cilt bakımı bölümünde erkeklerin olmasını düşünemeyiz bizim okulumuzda da var ya da motor bölümünde bayanların olması hani çok uygun değil gibi. ...- Yani burada bir cinsiyet ayrımcılığı yapıldığını düşünmüyorum... Yani toplumun getirdiği roller, kadınlara-erkeklerle biçilen roller bu anlamda inkâr edemeyeceğimiz (T 7)*



I mean as far as I can see, there is nothing negative about this, I mean schools can be separated as boys' and girls' schools, depending on the requirements of instruction type. Depending on the type of study, I mean we cannot expect boys to study in skincare department. We also have this in our school. To have girls in departments on mechanics, it does not look very appropriate to me. ...-I do not think there is sexual discrimination here... I mean the roles that society gives or sees fit to males and females, we cannot deny these. (T 7)

*Kız çocukları ayrı okusun, erkek çocukları zaten ben düşünce olarak, insan olarak buna karşıyım. Kız çocuklarının elbette ayrı okuyacağı okul vardır diyelim ki sağlık lisesinde kız sağlık lisesinde meslek lisesinde okuyorsa ona yönelik de o orda ayrı okuyabilir veya erkek çocuğun da erkeklerin sadece yapabileceği bir işse orda ayrı okuması gayet doğal... (T 10)*

Personally, I am against the idea of girls and boys studying separately. However, of course, there might be schools where girls can study separately, though, say for instance in vocational schools of health, girls can study there separately. Or if there are jobs only males can perform, it is very natural that only boys study in such schools. (T 10)

*Mesela kıza yönelik kurs olabilir, yemek kursudur ya da ne bileyim kuran kurslarında da ayrılrsa iyi olabilir. Herhalde bu ona yönelik bir şey, biraz tamamen teknik bir kanun diye düşünüyorum ama, o konulara yönelik... (T 1)*

For example, there might be courses only for girls, like cooking course, or I don't know, maybe it can be better if they are separated in Qur'an courses, too. I guess this is something regarding these areas, I think this is rather a technical law, addressing issues like these... (T 1)

On the other hand, most of the teachers criticized single sex education for reinforcing gender stereotypes through education. T 8 and T 2 denounced single sex education for being discriminatory and criticized persistence of *gender stereotyping* in school systems. T 8 highlighted the ways constructing one sex education environments legitimized gender stereotypes in the society. Besides T 1 and T 8 emphasized the impact of single sex education in reproducing gender roles in the society:

*... Evet yine orda kız çocuklarının bazı mesleklerden koparılma eğilimi olduğunu düşünüyorum ben. Yani erkek çocukları işte ticaret liseleri, makina bölümleri ama kız çocukların gitti şeyler halk eğitim kursları, Kuran kursları, ev ekonomisi şeyleri yani yine ayrıştırma var. Hani kadın belli rollerle belli mesleklere yönlensin erkekler belli mesleklere yönlensin. ...Buna kişilerin kendileri karar vermeli, yani siz çocuklara sen otomobile gidersen erkeksin sen kadınsın otomobile gidersen diyemezsiniz. Yani buna siz karar veriyorsanız iktidar olarak toplumsal cinsiyeti dayatıyorsunuz demektir. (T 8)*

...Yes, again I believe there is an inclination to draw girls away from certain types of professions there. That is, boys go to business high schools, mechanical departments, and so on, but girls go to public education centers, Qur'an courses, or home economics courses, I

mean there is a discrimination there. You know, girls should turn towards these occupations, and boys should head for those occupations. ...Individuals should actually decide on these issues themselves; that is, you cannot say you are a boy, so you should study automotive, and you are a girl, you cannot study it. I mean, as a government, if you are the ones deciding on this, it means you are imposing gender discrimination. (T 8)

*Buna kim karar verecek? Evet öyle bir yönetmelik var, ama o yönetmeliğin eğer ucu açıksa, zaten toplumda kıza yüklenen görevler, erkeğe yüklenen görevler ayrı. Burada iyice artık kutuplaşmış olacaklar. Keşke karma olsa, keşke mesela biraz önce konuştuğumuz biçki-dikişi erkek öğrenciler de yapsa. Yani kontrolsüzlüğe gider bu işin sonu o zaman kız-erkek ayrımcılığı yapılır, bu çeşit bahaneler adı altında çok daha rahat yapılabilir. Normalleştirilir, insanlar buna alışır... (T 2)*

Who will decide on this? Yes, there is such a regulation, but if that regulation is open-ended and open to interpretation, it is already the case in society that duties assigned to girls and boys are already different. They will become completely polarized in this way. It had better be mixed, I wish, for instance, tailoring were done by boys as well, like we discussed earlier. I mean this kind of regulation ends up unregulated, then boys and girls will be discriminated against, giving excuses based on this regulation. It will get normalized and people will just take it for granted... (T 2)

*Çocukların kendisini rahat hissetmesi açısından ya da başka açılardan bilemiyorum ama okul açısından doğru bulmuyorum. Yani okulda kızların ve erkeklerin ayrı olması bakış açılarını değiştirir, onların kendilerine biçtiği rolü değiştirir, yani o yaş gruplarında diğer arkadaşlarıyla iletişimde hani onların yerlerini görmekte ben çok zorluk yaşatacağımı düşünüyorum... Yani fırsat eşitliğini negatif etkileyeceğini düşünüyorum. (T 13)*

From the point of making kids feel comfortable, or from other points, no matter how you look at it, I do not find it to be a correct way of practice in terms of school (education). I mean the fact that boys and girls are separated in school changes their perspective, it changes the role they assign to themselves. I think it will give them difficulties in establishing communication with their peers and seeing their places in life.. That is, I believe it will affect equality of opportunity negatively. (T 13)

#### **4.1.4. Submissive Female Identity**

Discursive structure of the documents analyzed in this study formed a submissive female identity through portraying women as dependent and weak individuals. In the policy documents analyzed in this study, femininity was defined by *weakness*, *powerlessness*, and *submissiveness*. In their documents, Eğitim Bir Sen and TAP centralized co-education arguments on differences between two genders. In those documents, girls were discursively positioned in an inferior status through an emphasis on female weakness and powerlessness. This discourse is typically associated with conservative and patriarchal understanding of gender identities:

*...Kadınlar erkeklerden bedensel, ruhsal ve cinsel açıdan pek çok farklılıklar gösterir. Eğitim ve öğretim hayatı bakımından önemli gördüğümüz bazılarını sıralayalım. Kadında genellikle vejetatif sinir sistemi daha oynaktır. Tecrübi psikoloji araştırmaları, kadın ve erkekte genel akıl kapasitesinin eşit olduğunu, ancak bu iki cins arasında akıl kapasitesini oluşturan çeşitli melekeler bakımından bazı farklılıkların bulunduğunu göstermektedir. Erkek mantıki istidlal (çıkarım), sayılarla çalışma yeteneği (karmaşık matematik problemlerini çözme) ve teknik beceri bakımından kadına nazaran üstündür. Buna karşılık kadın; lisan ve konuşma yeteneği, hızlı yazma, parmak mahareti, hatırlama ve gözlem hızı bakımından erkeğe nazaran üstündür. İki cins arasında karakter bakımından da şu gibi farklar dikkati çeker: Erkekler karar almağa, bağımsızlığa, ihtirasa ve kritik davranışlara büyük eğilim gösterir; kadın ise daha insancıl ve toplumsaldır; nörozlara (bir çeşit ruhsal bozukluk) daha fazla istidat gösterir; kadının düşünce ve davranışları, genellikle entelektüel analizlerden ziyade hislerinin tesiri altındadır. (Eğitim Bir Sen, 2012c)*

Women show many differences from men physically, mentally, and sexually. Let us list some that we consider significant in terms of education. Generally, the autonomic nervous system is more volatile in women. Experimental psychology research shows that general intellectual capacity is equal for men and women, but there are some differences in various faculties that make up the intelligence capacity between these two sexes. Males are relatively superior to females in terms of logical inferencing (deduction), ability to work with numbers (solving complex mathematical problems), and technical skills. On the other hand, language and speaking ability, fast writing/typing, finger skills, and speed of remembering and observation are better in females compared to the males (2). Differences in character between the two sexes are noteworthy: Men have a tendency towards taking decisions, independence, ambition and critical behavior, whereas women are more humane and social. Women show more inclination towards neuroses (a kind of psychiatric disorder), and their thoughts and behaviors are often under the influence of their emotions rather than intellectual analysis. (Eğitim Bir Sen, 2012c)

*...Yarışmacı ve rekabetçi bir toplum yapılanmasında erkek ve kadın fizyolojilerinin birbirinden farklı özelliklere sahip olduğu ortaya çıkmıştır. Erkek fizyolojisi, cismanî güç gerektiren iş sahalarında kadın rakiplerine göre öne çıkmaktadır. Bütün dünyada spor etkinlikleri tüm branşlarda kadın ve erkek cinslerinin aynı branşlarda farklı rekor limitlerine sahip olduğunu göstermektedir. (TAP,2013b)*

In a competitive society, male and female physiologies have been manifested to have different characteristics. Male physiology stands out from female competitors in work fields that require physical strength. Sports events all over the world are organized in such a way that in all branches male and female genders have different record limits within the same branch. (TAP, 2013b)

In its report on co-education, Eğitim Bir Sen foregrounded physical and emotional weaknesses of females. The document reflected females as individuals who are in need of male protection. The wording of the document assembled hierarchical power relations between two genders which subordinated women to men in Turkish society:

*Erkekler özellikle ergenlik döneminde hareketlidirler. Bu çağda atılganlık, egemen olma ve babalık dürtüleri mevcuttur. Kadında ise ergenlik çağı organizmanın korunmaya en fazla muhtaç olduğu bir dönemdir. Bu devrede organizmaya ağır yükler yükletilmesi cinsel – hormonal olgunlaşma sürecinin ahengini bozabilir. Kadınlar bedensel güç bakımından erkeğe nazaran daha zayıftırlar..... Bir araştırmada, kadındaki gücün erkekte elde edilenin ancak % 43'üne ulaşabildiği tespit edilmiştir... Ailede; erkek için esas olan kadına sahip olmak, ona temellüktür. Kadın için esas ise, erkeğe teslim olmak, şahsiyetini mümkün mertebe muhafaza ve onu erkeğe kabul ettirmek, erkeği kendi “ruh ve beden havzasında ” tutmaktır. (Eğitim Bir Sen, 2012c)*

Males are especially active during adolescence. In this period, they possess instincts of assertiveness, sovereignty and paternalism. In females, on the other hand, adolescence is a period when the organism is most in need of protection. In this phase, heavy loads on the organism may disrupt the sexual-hormonal maturation process of females. Women are weaker in terms of physical strength than men. ...In one study, it was determined that the power of females could only reach 43% of males... In family, what is essential for man is to possess the woman, to have seizin of her. What is essential for the woman, on the other hand, is to surrender to him, to keep her personality as intact as possible, as well as to get the man to accept her personality, and to keep the man within his own “natural soul and body”. (Eğitim Bir Sen, 2012c)

Most of the participating teachers emphasized patriarchal values promoting submissive and powerless females. They referred to differential gender socialization in the Turkish families and at schools creating female inferiority. T 10 criticized preconceived male superiority over females in Turkish society. In the background information the teacher referred to differential gender socialization creating a submissive female identity. Similarly, T 6 emphasized the male dominated power structures in patriarchal societies. The teacher's statements “devlet geleneği” and “power” (Tr. Güç) highlighted legitimate male superiority in Turkish society. On the other hand, the teacher pointed out inferior status of girls and male preference in the families:

*Yani taa yıllardan gelen, doğuştan gelen halkları da tam oturmuş toplumumuza da oturmuş bir düşünce var erkek güçlüdür, erkek istediğini yapar. Bir toplumda şimdi kızlarımızı ayırıp da bir köşeye koyduğumuz sırada tamamen bu düşünceye çocuklarımızı da itmiş oluruz tamamen bunların karşısındayım. (T 10)*

I mean there is an opinion that has developed over the course of history and has well-settled among our people and in our society, which asserts men are powerful, men can do what they desire. In a society, if you put your girls away to a distant corner, you are actually pushing your kids into this misconception. I am completely against these. (T 10)

*Öğretmenlerin okullarda kızlara sürekli prensesim, canım benim falan ama erkeklere aslanım falan gibi diller ile sürekli meşrulaştırılan ve sürekli hani erkekler içinde çok zor*

*hani kızlar için kötü olan ifade hani kız gibi olmak ama erkekler içinde onlara çok öğretmenler üzerinden de farkında olmadan hani aile, öğretmen, okul dedik toplumsal dünyada onlara da çok ciddi yük yükleniyor. Her zaman güçlü olması, ağlamaması bekleniyor.... İki çocuğundan birini okutacak, tabii ki erkek çocuk devletin geleneğinde her zaman güçtür, neslin devamını sağladığı için daha ön plandadır. Kız çocuk dışarıya gidecektir falan filan bundan dolayı kızını eve çekiyor oğlunu okutuyor. (T 6)*

The teachers are using language that constantly justifies discrimination, saying “my princess”, “my darling” to girls and “my lad!” and “my lion” to boys. I mean this is difficult both for boys and girls. I mean the idea of being girly is imposed to girls, but at the same time a really heavy burden is also loaded on boys as well in societal life by teachers, by their family or by the school. Boys are expected to be strong at all times, and not to cry... They will allow one of their two kids to study, of course boys are always equated with power in state tradition, and they are in the forefront since they ensure continuation of generations. The girl will be married to an outsider, and this and that, so they draw their girls back home, and let their boys study. (T 6)

Newspaper coverage of educational policies on girls’ education revealed the ways educational practices reproduced submissive female identity by legitimating male dominance over women. A sexist message sent by Ministry of Education was a good example of this phenomenon. The message suggested parents to regulate their reactions to children’s misbehavior based on their gender. It is further suggested to monitor and protect girls. There were different interpretations and reflections of this event in the analyzed newspapers. In the newsreport published by Sözcü in 2013, the message was criticized pointing out the reaction of parents. The report also stressed that the message was prepared by psychologists and counselors which was an implicit criticism:

**KIZ ÇOCUKLARI KONTROL ALTINA ALIN:** ...Genelde öğrencilerin durumuyla ve velilerin tutumlarıyla ilgili tavsiyelerin paylaşıldığı adresten velilere giden mesaj, ailelerin de tepkisine yol açtı. **REHBER ÖĞRETMENLER HAZIRLADI:** Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, “Anne-babanın izleme ve kontrol çabalarını artırması, erkek çocukların uzun vadede daha fazla problemlerle davranış göstermelerine neden olurken, kız çocukların problemlerle davranışlarının azalmasını sağlamaktadır. Çocuğunuza vereceğiniz tepki onun cinsiyetine göre farklı sonuçlara yol açabilir.” şeklinde gönderdikleri mesajın uzman psikologlar ve rehber öğretmenler tarafından hazırlandığını söyledi. (Sözcü, 2013)

**TAKE GIRLS UNDER CONTROL:** ...The message sent to the parents from the e-mail address which is used to give some advice about the success level of students and attitudes of the parents caused reaction on part of parents. **E-MAIL PREPARED BY COUNSELLORS:** The Ministry of Education reported that the message that read "An increased parental monitoring and control efforts cause boys to display more problem behaviors in the long term, whereas these types of efforts help to reduce problem behaviors

in girls. Your response to your child may lead to different outcomes depending on his or her gender” was prepared by expert psychologists and guidance teachers. (Sözcü, 2013)

On the other hand, the same message was reflected as a positive execution in the newsreport published by Akit on 21<sup>st</sup> August 2013. Discourses on religion and morals invalidated the criticism of the message concerning female oppression. In a deeper interpretation, re-contextualization of families’ protection of girls in a discourse of religion and morals aimed to create hegemonic masculinities in which government and parents have the right and the authority to control girls’ behavior. Similarly, girls were situated in an inferior position which dispossessed the right to actively create their own lifestyle choices. Another noteworthy point was regarding the meaning of selected word “protect” (Tr. Sahip çıkmak) and its negative connotation:

#### ***CHP’den eğitime ‘özgür kız’ baskısı***

*Tek parti döneminde toplumsal ahlakın ortadan kaldırılması için yoğun çaba harcayan, dini kişi, kurumları hedef alan CHP, şimdi de ailelerin kız çocuklarına sahip çıkmasına karşı çıkıyor. Kız çocuklarının aileleri tarafından takip edilmesinin ülke geleceği açısından büyük yıkımlar meydana getireceğini öne süren CHP’li Bihlun Tamaylıgil, kız ve erkek öğrencilerin ayrı ayrı okullarda okutulmasına da itiraz etti.*

#### ***Kızlar toplumsal baskı altındaymış***

*Kız çocuklarının toplumsal baskı altında bulunduğunu savunan Tamaylıgil, mesajın kız çocuklarına daha fazla psikolojik şiddet öngördüğünü ileri sürdü. Uzman psikologlar ve rehberler eşliğinde hazırlanan mesajın çağdaş eğitim sistemi ve bilimle alakası olmadığını öne süren Tamaylıgil, mesajla erkek egemen ve baskıcı zihniyetin velilere empoze edildiğini öne sürdü. (21.08.2013, Akit)*

#### **CHP’s pressure on education: Free girls**

CHP, which targeted religious people and institutions and tried hard to destroy morals of the society during one-party period, protests against families’ protection of girls. Bihlun Tamaylıgil, who argued that monitoring girls by their families will destroy the future of the country, objected to single-sex education.

#### **Girls face social pressure?**

Mrs. Tamaylıgil argued that girls face social pressure and message of MONE regarding monitoring of girls causes psychological violence against girls. She told that the message which was prepared by expert psychologists and counselors was not in line with contemporary education system and modern science, and it imposes patriarchal and oppressive mentality to parents. (21.08.2013, Akit)

When they were asked to interpret the headlines in those two different newspapers, some of the teachers expressed that they did not know that ministry send this message before. However, most of the participating teachers criticized it for being discriminatory. T 8 and T 3 referred to the traces of patriarchy and gender discrimination embedded in the message. T 8 condemned the Ministry of Education for reproducing gender inequalities:

*Eğer bir ahlaksızlıktan bahsediliyorsa siz sadece bir tarafı koruyarak, kollayarak bunun önüne geçemezsiniz. Diğer tarafı da, yani o grubu korumak, kollamak yerine o grubu eğitmeniz gerekiyor. Hani balık tutmayı ona da öğretmeniz, kendini nasıl koruyacağını öğretmeniz gerekiyor. Öğretmediğiniz zaman evde baba koruyor, evlendikten sonra koca koruyor. Velez ki bu denklemden bir şey olduğu zaman, arıza olduğu zaman kadın korunmaz kalıyor. (T 3)*

If you are talking about a profligacy, you cannot prevent this by protecting and watching over one side only. You need to educate the other side as well, instead of just protecting one side only. You need to teach her how to protect herself, you need to teach her how to catch fish – instead of giving her the fish. When you do not teach her, then the father protects her at home, and then the husband protects her after marriage. And when something happens within this cycle, when something goes wrong, the girl is left unprotected. (T 3)

*Benim bundan haberim olmamıştı gerçekten çok ilki ilki çok tuhaf ve çok saçma bir şey yapıyorlar. İşte bu aynen erkek egemen toplumun ya da erkek egemen bakış açısının eşitlikçi olmayan cinsiyet ayrımcılığının dimi? Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı tarafından aslında yeniden üretildiğini anlatıyor yani. (T 8)*

I did not know about this really; they are doing something weird, very ridiculous. This is an exact reflection of male-dominant society, male-dominant perspective, and non-egalitarian gender discrimination, isn't it? I mean it shows that it is being reproduced by MoNE. (T 8)

T 5 and T 3 questioned why female identity was associated with decency and morality:

*Tamamen cinsel ayrımcılığı olan bir mesaj ve benim düşüncem bu.. Neden erkek değil de kız yani neden kızların üzerinden böyle bir mesaj gelmiş, gerçekten bu cinsiyet ayrımının bir örneği...Bunu direkt ahlakla bağdaştırmışlar. Yani sanki kız çocuğu eşittir ahlak yani. (T 5)*

It is a message that definitely involves gender discrimination, and I am of that opinion.. Why is this message based on girls, and not on boys? This really is an example of gender discrimination... They directly linked this with morality. That is, (the message says) a girl is equal to morality. (T 5)

*... Kızlarınkı namus, erkeklerinki değil mi ya da hem dini kriterler yönünde, hem yasalar önünde yapılan ahlak ya da ahlaksızlığın şeyleri farklı mıdır? Değildir. Ama dediğim gibi 2 görüşe de katılmıyorum. Evet insanlar çocuklarına sahip çıkmalı, çocuklarını korumalı ama çocuklarını. Kızlarını ya da erkeklerini değil, çocuklarını. Ama diğer taraftan da kızlarını*

*korumak demek de şey değildir, kız çocuklarını baskılamak anlamına geldiğini de düşünmüyorum. (T 3)*

... Doesn't what counts as pudicity for girls count as pudicity for boys? Both in terms of religious criteria or before law, are morality (pudicity) or immorality (impudicity) different entities for different genders? No, they are not. But, as I said, I disagree with both opinions. Yes, people need to look out for their kids, protect their kids, but their "kids", not their daughters or sons, their kids. However, on the other hand, I do not think protecting your daughter means suppressing or pressurizing them. (T 3)

In their interpretations, teachers emphasized the concept of *female oppression*. T 5 stated that the message implied that women were in need of protection and suggested keeping girls at home in the name of protection which created female oppression. T 8 asserted that headline presented in Newspaper C legitimized female oppression and patriarchal power by suggesting parental control over girls' behavior and it created psychological and symbolic violence:

*Yani kızları kontrol altına alın, erkekler serbest kalsın. Burada sanki kızların zararlı ve kontrol altına alınması gereken varlıklarmış gibi davranılmış yani. Kapatılması yani burada mesajlar kızları eve kapatın gibi ve baskı altına alın gibi. Bu baskı yaratır yani. (T 5)*

This means take girls under control, suppress them, and let the boys free. Girls are treated here as if they are harmful creatures that need to be taken under control. They need to be locked up, I mean here the message is to lock them up at home and put them under pressure. This creates pressure, of course. (T 5)

*Sahip çıkmaktan kastı da orda onları iktidar altına alın, kızlar kadınlar kontrol edilecek varlıklardır, sürekli kontrol edilmeleri gerekir gibi bir şey var arka plan bilgisi var bura da. Yani onlar sürekli kontrol edilmelidir, kız çocuklarını kontrol edin hani kızını dövmeyen dizini döver diye bir şey var ya. ...kız çocuklarının üzerinde bir sembolik şiddet, psikolojik şiddet ürettiyor. Bunu okuyan bir çocuk burada bir sembolik şiddeti hissedecektir. Ve burada kız çocuklarının sürekli takip edilmesi dediğiniz şey ailelerin çocuklar üzerinde iktidar kurması, daha çok da erkek egemen iktidarını kız çocuklarının üzerinden yeniden üretilmesi söz konusu. (T 6)*

What it means to "look out for/protect" them is to lay claim to them, girls and women are entities to take control of. Here, there is the hidden message that they need to be constantly controlled. That is, they need to be checked regularly, control your daughters, as in spare the rod and spoil the girl. ...It creates symbolic violence and psychological violence on girls. A child who reads this will feel the symbolic violence. And here what it means to follow girls constantly is to rule over the girl; and even more here you are reproducing male-dominance over girls. (T 6)

*... Çocukları baskı altına alan kız çocukları üzerinden erkek egemen toplumu yeniden üretmeye yönelik bir haber, kız ve erkek çocuklarını eşit gören bir haber değil bu, söylem de değil yani. (T 8)*



... This is a piece of news that puts girls under pressure and aims to reproduce male-dominant society over girls. This news is not something that takes girls and boys equally, neither is the expression used there. (T 8)

Moreover, the analysis revealed further evidences of discursive construction of particular gender identities that work to privilege men over women. Eğitim-Sen's report criticized preconceived assumptions regarding womanhood and female sexuality which served to promote single sex education. The document denounced the supporters of gender segregation for reinforcing a submissive female identity. The negative connotations of the selected words "dangerous" (Tr. Tehlikeli) and "objectionable" (Tr. Sakıncalı) were noteworthy. In the background information, the document revealed that co-education was supported in the name of protecting girls due to their weak and dependent personalities:

*Ortaçağ'dan itibaren bazı din ve inançların, kadının şeytana aldanabilen zayıf doğası ve kişiliği iddiasından hareketle, hayatın çeşitli alanlarında erkeklerle bir araya gelmesini tehlikeli ve sakıncalı olarak görmüştür. Karma eğitim karşıtları kadınlar ile ilgili olarak "fitne", "fesat" fikirleri bulunan, onları ergenlikten itibaren erkekleri tahrik eden, cinsel bir nesne olarak görmekte ve bu nedenle eğitimde tek cinsiyete dayalı eğitimin uygulanmasını savunmaktadır... (Eğitim Sen, 2014c)*

Since the Middle Ages, some religions and beliefs, acting in the light of the weak nature and personality of a woman which can be deceived by the devil, have considered their coming together with men in various areas of life as dangerous and objectionable. Opponents of mixed education view women as having "fitna", "mischief" ideas, see them as a sexual object, which provokes men starting from puberty, and therefore advocate the practice of single-sex education... (Eğitim Sen, 2014c)

The analysis revealed that some of the news reports foregrounded sexual abuse and sexual deviation within the discourses of co-education. One example could be found in the news report of 28<sup>th</sup> of September 2014 published in Akit. The report aimed to impose single sex education on the surface interpretation. In deeper interpretation, they aimed to create a hegemonic possession in which government and parents have the authority to control girls' behavior in the name of protection. Discussions on sexual abuse portrayed girls as sexual objects which served to create a weak and dependent female identity:

### ***Karma eğitim tacizi tetikliyor***

***Okul müdür yardımcısı kızlı-erkekli oturmaya yasakladı ve sordu: Hayat kadını mı olacaksınız?***

Research findings reveal that coeducation does not have a positive impact on students; rather, it triggers and increases the cases of abuse at schools. (28.09.2014, Akit)

### **Coeducation Triggers Abuse**

**School Vice-Principal forbade girls-boys sitting together in class and asked: Will you be prostitutes?**

*Yapılan araştırmalar 'Karma eğitim modeli'nin öğrencilerin pedagojik eğitimi üzerinde artı bir etki oluşturmadığı tam aksine taciz olaylarını artırdığını ve tetiklediğini ortaya koyuyor. (28.09.2014, Akit)*

The news report of 2<sup>nd</sup> December 2014, Cumhuriyet foregrounded the ways certain female identities were encouraged by supporters of single sex education. The reported referred to arguments on sexual abuse in mixed gender schools and criticized the dominant ideology inclining single sex education in the background information. Negative connotations of the selected words “almond-shaped moustache” (Tr. Badem bıyık) and “social pressure” (Tr Mahalle baskısı) are noteworthy in this sense:

***Tasfiye Sırası Karma Eğitimde:*** Veliler, okul müdürlerine gidip kızlarını oğlanlarla aynı okulda okutmak istemediklerini söyleyecek. Eh, madem talep var; “hizmetkâr devlet”, kızlara ayrı okul açacak. Bir süre sonra siz, “Benim kızım karma okusun” dediğinizde müdür bey badem bıyığının altından sırtarak, “Emin misiniz” diye soracak. Kızınızı elinizle kötü yola itiyormuşsunuz gibi bir hava yaratacak. Mahalle baskısı yoğunlaşacak... Eğer karma eğitim, ahlak erozyonunu, cinsel tacizi, erken hamileliği tetikliyorsa, otobüste, metroda, uçakta kadın-erkek birlikte seyahatin de aynı tehdidi içerdiği söylenemez mi? Hatta aynı işyerinde kızlı-erkekli çalışmanın, aynı halkoyunu ekibinde el ele tutuşmanın, giderek aynı caddede birlikte dolaşmanın da tehlikelerinden söz edilemez mi? O halde “pozitif ayrımcılık” veya “kızları koruma” bahanesiyle kadını toplumdaki soyutlamakta, sonra da hepten evine yollamakta yarar yok mudur? Hazırlanan tam da budur. (02.12.2014, Cumhuriyet)

**Now is the turn for coeducation to get eliminated!:** Parents will go to school principals and ask for their daughters not to study together with the boys in the same school. Well, now that we have request for it, “the servant state” will open schools exclusively for girls. After a while, when you go to schools and say “I would like my daughter to receive coeducation”, the principal will ask you, smiling under his almond-shaped moustache, “Are you sure?”. He will create an atmosphere as if you were throwing your own daughter to the lions by your own hands. Peer pressure will intensify... If coeducation triggers moral erosion, sexual abuse, and early pregnancy; then, can't we claim that it is the same for all places where both

genders stay together, as in traveling together in busses, trains, and planes? Can't we even talk about dangers of working together with the opposite sex, holding hands with them in the same folk dance team, and, gradually, walking together on the same street? The agenda aimed through such discourses under cover of 'positive discrimination' and 'protection of girls' is detaching women from society altogether. (02.12.2014, Cumhuriyet)

When they were asked to interpret the aforementioned news, most of the participating teachers agreed that the emphasis on “protection” of girls defined females as weak and inferior individuals. In a similar vein, T 8 condemned sexual objectification of women through gender segregation arguments. The teacher criticized the print media for positioning women as inferior to men through sexist discourses which resembled patriarchal value system:

*...Kızların sanki böyle çok korunmaya muhtaç, güvenliklerinin sağlanması gereken bir yönü varmış gibi sergileniyor, yani hep bu var zaten, hep kız çocukları koruma çabası var. O bahane ama sanki o bakımdan göndermiyorlar gibi bu tamamen bahane, göndermemek için. ... Kız çocukların gelişimini de olumlu yönde etkilemediğini düşünüyorum. Çok küçük yaşta kimlik veriliyor onlara, sen kadınsın kimliği veriliyor. (T 2)*

Girls are presented as if they are in need of protection and as if they need to be kept safe, I mean it is always the case anyway, there is a constant effort to protect girls. That is just an excuse, though. They act as if they are not sending their daughters to school for this purpose, but it is just an excuse not to send them to school. ... I do not think it affects girls' development positively. They are given an identity at a very young age in this way, they are given the identity of womanhood. (T 2)

*Karma eğitim namus ve namussuzluk ile eşleştiriliyor ne acı. Keşke toplumsal ihtiyaçlar açısından olaya bakılsa. Haberlerde karma eğitimle birlikte kadının ikinci sınıf vatandaş olarak görülmesi de destekleniyor...(T 12)*

Coeducation is associated with pudicity and impudicity, what a shame. If only we looked at the issue from the viewpoint of societal needs. On the news, the fact that women are seen as a second-class citizen through coeducation is also supported... (T 12)

*Kadını sadece bir yararlanılacak bir cinsel obje olarak gören bir mantık var, diyor ki kız çocukları erkeklerle beraber okursa erkekler onlara saldırır. Ya da efendim, burada onların kafasındaki kadını namus olarak gördükleri için tamam mı, sadece namus objesi olarak kadın olarak bunların kadının bedeni üzerinden bir politika yürütüldüğü için şurada bu söylenenlerin hepsi kadını aşağılamaya yönelik, onu fetiş olarak bir obje bir cinsiyet objesi olarak gösteren bir şey. Yani burda insanların karma eğitimde insanın insanla olan ilişkisini engellemeye dönük olarak, niye bir istekte bulunuyor onu anlamış değilim. (T 8)*

There is a mentality that views women merely as a sexual object to be taken advantage of, which says if girls study together with boys, boys will attack them (sexually). This is what they have in mind, it is because they equate women with pudicity/chastity, right? They see them merely as an object of chastity. Since they are following their policies upon women's bodies, these all what they say about women here are all humiliating. These are showing

women in a fetish way, as an object, as a sexual object. I do not understand why they are attempting something in a way to prevent people's interaction with each other. (T 8)

In the news reports, discourses on headscarf and dress code foregrounded the arguments regarding female honor and protection. The news report of 6<sup>th</sup> February 2008 published in Radikal highlighted that wearing headscarf was associated with honor and protection. The title of the report drew the attention to male supremacy reinforced by dress code outlined for women. The details selected revealed the ways headscarf was encouraged by males in the social realm validating male dominance over females. In the background information, the report referred to submissiveness and powerlessness created through imposing headscarf over women. The narrative structure of the report indicated that the newspaper adopted a critical perspective regarding headscarf issue:

***Türban tartışması: Erkeklerimiz bunu hak ediyor mu?***

*Bir ruh hekimi olarak bir genç kızın kendini neden kapatacağı konusu beni hep çok ilgilendirdi. Bu nedenle, türbanın yasak olmadığı ve üniversite yaşamına ilk girdiği yıllarda, kapanan öğrenci kızlara, uygun ortamlarda samimi olarak bunu sordum ve onlarla çeşitli samimi konuşmalarımız oldu. Kız öğrencilerin büyük kesimi, kapandıktan sonra erkeklerin kendilerine artık taciz edici şekilde bakmadığını, 'bir baci' muamelesi gördüklerini söylerlerdi. Özellikle İstanbul dışından gelen kızlar için kapanma, bir tür savunma aracıydı, bu 'bana dokunmayın' mesajı vermek gibi bir şeydi. Üstelik toplumda özellikle erkekler okumuş- yazmış kesimin kapanmasından çok memnundu. Çoğu satıcı ödüllendirir gibi en iyi malı çok ucuza satıyor, 'aferin kızım' biçimi onları destekliyordu. (06.02.2008, Radikal)*

**Headscarf debate: Do our men deserve this?**

As a psychiatrist, why a young girl would cover herself has always kept me very interested. For this reason, at a time when turban was not banned and covered girls started entering universities for the first time, I sincerely asked this to girls in an appropriate environment for them and had various sincere conversations with them. A big part of the girls said that after they covered their heads, men did not look at them harassingly anymore, they were treated like "a lady". Especially for girls coming from outside Istanbul, veiling was a kind of defense mechanism. It was like giving the message of 'Do not touch me'. Moreover, the society, especially men, was pleased with the veiling of educated women. Most sellers were selling their best products very cheaply as a way of rewarding them and saying 'well done my daughter, well done!'. (06.02.2008, Radikal)

The news report of 2<sup>nd</sup> March 2015 published in Yurt foregrounded how dress code regulations at schools served to monitor and control female behavior. The school principle legitimized the sexual abuse by directing boys to control girls' dressing:

***Müdür Yardımcısı: Mini etekli kızları taciz edin***

*Kepez Atatürk Anadolu Lisesi müdür yardımcısı Filiz G., okuldaki 31 sınıf başkanını toplayarak, "Bu okulda kızlar mini etek giyiyor. Bu tacize açık bir durum. Böyle giyerlerse tacizi hak ediyorlar. Erkek öğrencilerden bir tim kuracağım. Erkekler mini etek giyen kızları önce uyuracak. Eğer devam ederlerse taciz yapılacak" dedi. (02.03.2015, Yurt)*

***Vice-Principal: Harass the girls in mini-skirts***

Filiz G., vice-principal of Kepez Atatürk Anatolian High School, gathered 31 class presidents at the school and said, "Girls are wearing miniskirts in this school. This is a situation that invites harassment. They deserve harassment when they wear it. I will put together a team made up of male students. They will first warn the girls in miniskirts. If they continue wearing them, they will be harassed by the team." (02.03.2015, Yurt)

When they are asked to interpret aforementioned news reports, the participating teachers centralized their arguments on sexual abuse and female honor. They criticized the idea that veil that is a protection and a symbol of honor for women through making comparisons between veiling and non-veiling women. In the background information, the teachers referred to the expectations placed on women from an early age to submit to men. Those expectations manifested itself in the form of veiling. Likewise, T 8 specifically emphasized that headscarf is a symbol of male dominance and inferiority of women in the society:

*Kadınları da kendi arasında ayırmış oluyor, açık ve kapalı olarak, doğru savunma aracı olabilir. O şekilde bakılıyor olabilir erkek gözüyle o doğrudur. Ama sanki başı açık olan şey değil gibi. Namuslu değilmiş gibi görünüyor. (T 2)*

You are making a distinction among women themselves in this way, as covered and uncovered women. It can be considered a correct defense mechanism in a way because it is a fact this is the way it is interpreted from a man's perspective. But it sounds as if the ones that are not covered are not... well... they look as if they are not virtuous/pure. (T 2)

*O zaman işte kız öğrenciler tacizden korunmak için, bir bacı olarak görünmek için kapanyorlarsa, o zaman karşı bir mesajı da bunun hani tersten okunması da açıklar. Buyurun gelin beni taciz edin anlamı mı yüklü açıklarda da diyesi geliyor insanın. Bana dokunmayın mesajı veriyorsa türban, açıklar da bana dokunun mu diyor? (T 3)*

Then, if the girls are covered in order to be free of harassment, or to be considered as a “lady”, then this message will also be counter-interpreted. You are inclined to ask yourself, are the uncovered ones inviting others for a harassment? If the turban is giving the message of “do not harass me, are the uncovered ones asking for a harassment? (T 3)

*...Çocuğunu o şekilde göndermeyi düşünen bir veli ise ‘Ya, evet, iyi kapalı gönderdim. Çocuğum daha düzgün anlaşılıyor. Daha dindar yetişecek, daha iyi olacak, daha namuslu, erkekler onu rahatsız etmeyecek’ diye de görebilir. Farklı şekilde gazete okuyan kişiler tam tersi bu durumdan endişelenip, işte bu kez çocuklar arasında bir ayırım yapılacak sanki hani kız çocuklarının bir kısmı daha namuslu, daha iyi de diğerleri öyle değilmiş gibi bir algı oluşturulacak. Hani bu da daha büyük bir ayırma yol açacak diye de düşünebilir. (T 14)*

...A parent who is considering to send their girl to school covered will tend to think “Well, yeah, I made a correct choice by sending her to school covered. Now she will be more religious and purer, become a better person, and boys will disturb her less”. Another person who follows newspapers with different ideology will think oppositely and will be worried about the situation, thinking now this time a distinction will be made between girls themselves and they will find some of the girls purer and more virtuous, which will cause further discrimination. (T 14)

*Saçının görülmesinden erkek etkilenecek diye siz saçınızı göstermiyorsunuz onun için örtüyorsunuz, ya da böyle diyorlar birileri dolayısıyla siz sürekli erkeğin egemenliğini, erkeğin baskısını meşrulaştıran bir kıyafetle yaşıyorsunuz. Dolayısıyla kişi o eğitim sürecindeki uygulanan bu müfredatla ya da bu eğitim uygulamalarıyla erkek egemen kültürü içselleştiriyor. Evet diyor erkekler üstündür, benim örtünmem lazım. Yani erkek kafasını çevirsin benden rahatsız olursa demiyor ya da dünyada pek çok yer var bakılacak, niye bana bakıyor demiyor ya da bana bu şekilde bakmaya hakkı var mı diye de sorgulayamıyor, tamamen kendisinin suçlu olduğu, suçlu olacağı ve teşhirci konumuna düşeceği bir süreç yaratılıyor. (T 8)*

You are not showing your hair fearing that boys will be influenced by this, and you are covering your head, or this is simply what they argue, in either case you are starting to live in a clothing style that constantly justifies male dominance and male pressure. Therefore, a girl who receives education under this curriculum or under these educational practices internalizes a male-dominant culture. Yes, they say, men are superior and I need to be covered. I mean she is not saying “if the man is disturbed with me, he can just turn his head around” or “there are so many things to look at in the world, why does he choose to look at me” or she is not questioning if he has the right to look at her that way. An environment in which she is found utterly offending and a position she will be seen as an exhibitionist are constantly created. (T 8)

Besides, participating teachers foregrounded gender discrimination experienced in those schools in their interpretation. T 8 criticized sexual objectification of girls through employing control mechanisms over female body:

*Okulda çocuklar mini etek giyiyor, tayt giyiyor, okul kıyafeti giymiyor bu tacize açık bir durum? Yani kız çocuklarını taciz edilecek nesnelere olarak gören bir zihniyeti okula yerleştirirseniz, onları kapatırsınız. (T 8)*

Girls are wearing miniskirts and tights in school and not uniforms, this is a situation that is open to harassment. If you display a mentality that sees girls as objects to be harassed in this way, you just get them covered. (T 8)

*Büyük bir ihtimalle işte disiplinle baş edemeyince erkeklerden yardım alması. Burada da tabii cinsiyet ayrımcılığı var sen erkeğin niye aklına öyle bir şeyi sokuyorsun o da ayrı bir mesele. (T 1)*

Most probably the school management is using this argument based on boys' attitude when they cannot control the issue through disciplinary methods (when they cannot deal with girls not following the dress code). But here there is gender discrimination again. Why are you implanting the idea of harassment in boys' mind, this is another side of the issue. (T 1).

#### **4.1.5. Conservative and Muslim Women**

According to the results, dominant discourse in educational policy texts and media texts promoted a conservative and orthodox female identity. On the other hand, some of the policy documents and newspaper clippings included criticisms of the dominant ideology in the country which limited women's choices and freedom within the borders of patriarchal and conservative value system in the society. To start with, in Ulued's report on 4+4+4 education system, there was an emphasis on including religious elements in the curriculum and in the textbooks. The discursive details included in the document are circumstantial evidences of the attempts to organize the curriculum and textbooks to promote a conservative female identity. The document adopted a conservative perspective in guiding to omit the parts of the course book which are not in line with Islamic ideology. Another important finding was related with the meaning of the selected word "postpone veiling" (Tr. Tesettürü ötelemek). The document supported wearing headscarf at early ages in the background information.

##### ***Yeni Sistemde Müfredatın Yeniden Ele Alınması Gerekir***

*Kitaplarda hatt-ı Kur'an'ı, İslam mukaddesatını, tesettürü aşâğılar ve ötelere kısımlar bulunmaktadır. Bunlar hemen çıkartılmalıdır... Şu aşamada gerek hazırlanacak programda gerekse yazılacak ders kitaplarında iman hakikatleri esas alınmalıdır. Kur'an'ın mucizevi yönü ve Peygamber efendimizin mucizelerinin yer aldığı bu dersler, öğretici olmasının yanında, eğitici ve davranışlara yön verici olmalıdır. (ULUED, 2012)*

##### **The Curriculum Needs to be Reevaluated in the New System**

The books contain parts that humiliate the words of Qur'an, the Islamic sanctities, and veiling. These parts must be removed immediately... At this stage, both the curriculum to be

prepared and the textbooks to be written should be based on the truths of faith. These lessons, which will contain the miraculous aspects of the Qur'an and the miracles of our Prophet (saas), should not only be educational and instructive, but also possess aspects that will guide the behaviors of students. (ULUED, 2012)

Different Eğitim Sen reports foregrounded the ideological and political aspects of changes and regulations implemented in 4+4+4 education system. Recent education policies on religious courses, co-education and imam hatip middle schools were criticized for inclining religious youth and promoting a conservative female identity:

*Eğitim müfredatının dini söylem ve kurallara göre değiştirilmesi, öğrencilerin kılık kıyafetlerinin dini referanslara göre belirlenmesi, din derslerini seçmeye zorlanması, din eğitiminin okul öncesine hatta kreşlere kadar indirilmesi, 4+4+4 ile okulların dönüşümü sürecinde en donanımlı okulların imam hatip yapılması, yeterli talep olmamasına rağmen ısrarla normal ortaokullar içinde imam hatip sınıflarının açılması, doğrudan inanç istismarı şeklinde gündeme getirilen her okulda ibadethane (mescit) açılmasının zorunlu hale getirilmesi gibi uygulamalar “dindar nesil” hedefiyle hayata geçiriliyor. (Eğitim Sen, 2014c)*

Such practices as changing curriculum according to religious discourse and rules, determining school uniforms based on religious references, forcing the students to choose religion courses, starting religious education during pre-school period or even in kindergarten, making imam hatip high schools (religious vocational high school) most equipped of all schools during the transformation of schools with 4 + 4 + 4, persistently trying to open imam hatip classes within regular schools despite lack of enough request for it, and pushing the requirement of opening a prayer room in every school, which is considered a direct belief abuse, are being realized within educational system with the aim of creating a "religious generation". (Eğitim Sen, 2014c)

### ***Öğretmenlerimizin, Çocuklarımızın Geleceğine Sahip Çıkmaya Devam Edeceğiz!***

*Eğitim Sen olarak 4+4+4 şeklinde ifade edilen düzenlemenin eğitimin niteliğini artırmak için değil, eğitim hizmetini şirketlere sunmak, çocuklarımızı işçileştirmek ve müfredatın daha fazla muhafazakârlaştırılmasını sağlamak amacıyla yapıldığını ifade etmiştik. Bunun kızların eğitimine bakan yüzü kızların ev işlerinde kullanılması ve muhafazakâr kadın kimliği çizilmesi. (Eğitim-Sen, 2012c)*

### **We Will Keep Protecting the Future of our Teachers and Students!**

As Eğitim-Sen, we have stated that the regulation, expressed as 4 + 4 + 4, is introduced not to increase the quality of education, but to hand in educational services to companies, to make our children workers and to make the curriculum more conservative. On the girls' education side of the issue, the aim of this regulation is to get the girls to be used in domestic work and to build a conservative woman identity. (Eğitim-Sen, 2012c)



*Kız çocuklarının ayrı okullara gönderilmesini savunmak, eğitimde cinsiyet eşitliğini sağlamayı değil, mevcut eşitsizlikleri daha da derinleştirmeyi, kadınlarla erkeklerin dini gerekçelerle mekânlarını ayırmayı, kamusal alanda kadınların varlığını sınırlandırmayı hedeflemektedir. Böylesi bir tutum Türkiye'deki mevcut cinsiyet ayrımcı yapıyı pekiştirecek, toplumdaki ataerkil düzenin sonucunda var olan ayrımcılığı derinleştirecektir. (Eğitim Sen, 2014c)*

Defending the practice of sending girls and boys to separate schools aims not to achieve gender equality in education, but to deepen current inequalities, to divide the environments of men and women based on religious reasons, and to limit the existence of women in the public arena. Such an attitude will reinforce the already-present gender discrimination in Turkey and deepen the discrimination that already exists as part of patriarchal order in society. (Eğitim Sen, 2014c)

The news reports highlighted the ways a conservative and religious female identity was promoted through regulations in dress codes. The reports contextualized headscarf issue within the discourses of conservative and religious values imposed to children at early ages. The news report of 24<sup>th</sup> September 2014 published in newspaper Milliyet negated the meaning of veiling (Tr. Tüurban) by drawing the attention of the reader to the political and ideological underpinnings of the regulation in deeper interpretation. Likewise, Yurt centralized the news on headscarf regulation on the goals of the government to raise devout youth by quoting the president of the time:

#### ***TÜRBAN DOKUZ YAŞINA İNDİ...***

*4+4+4 sistemine geçilirken söyledik.. İlkokulun dört yıla indirilmesinin de okula başlama yaşının beşe çekilmesinin de nedeni buydu.. Amaç, dokuz yaşına, on yaşına gelen kızın tesettüre bürünebilmesiydi. Gerisi teferruat.. (24.09.2014, Milliyet)*

#### **TURBAN AT THE AGE OF 9**

We warned about it when they were introducing the 4 + 4 + 4 system. The reasons why the number of elementary school years was reduced to four and the age of starting school was made five were obvious to us. The aim was to be able to get the girls to be covered from the age of nine to ten. The rest is simply detail. (24.09.2014, Milliyet)

#### ***5'inci sınıftan itibaren başörtüsü***

*Bir gün olmuyor ki eğitimle ilgili iyi bir haber duyalım. Son on iki yılda AKP ile beraber eğitim adeta can çekişiyor. Hatırlarsanız, Başbakan Erdoğan, 2012 yılı Şubat ayında yaptığı açıklamada aynen şu ifadeleri kullanmıştı: 'Biz muhafazakâr, demokrat, tarihten gelen ilkelerine sahip çıkan bir nesil yetiştireceğiz. Bunun için varız. Beyler, önce başınızı öne eğin de hem çağdaş hem dindar bir nesil nasıl yetiştirilmiş onu bir düşünün.' demişti. (24.09.2014, Yurt)*

### **Headscarf at the 5th Grade Level:**

There is not a single day when we hear good news about education. Education system has almost been in the throes of death for the last twelve years of AKP.

If you remember, President Erdoğan used these exact expressions in his explanation in February, 2012: “We will raise a generation that is conservative, democratic and who preserves the values and morals of the past. We are here to do this. Gentlemen, you need to consider how to raise a generation who is both modern and religious”. (24.09.2014, Yurt)

In a newspaper clipping of Radikal published in 2008, there were implications on the ways headscarf served to reinforce traditional gender roles and conservative female identity. The education policies of the governing party were denounced for limiting women’s life choices outside the periphery of family. The report referred to the gender policies of the governing party which defined the familial sphere as the natural locus of women and support education of women in order that they fulfill their domestic responsibilities appropriately:

#### ***AKP'nin hedefi, kadın dayak yemesin, eğitimi olsun, evinde otursun:***

*Kadın ve aileden sorumlu Devlet Bakanlığı'nın çalışmalarıyla AKP, kadına yönelik şiddete karşı iyi mücadele veriyor. Türban düzenlemesiyle de genç kızlara üniversite kapısını açıyor. Ama konu, kadının toplumsal konumunun güçlenmesi, iş hayatında yer alması olunca AKP çizgisini belli ediyor: kadınlar evinde oturup mümkün olduğunca çok çocuk yetiştirmek. (Newspaper M)*

#### **The goal of AKP is to hinder violence against women and to make them educated housewives at the same time:**

Thanks to the efforts of Ministry of Women and Family, AKP fights well with violence against women. Likewise, the new regulation on headscarf opens the doors of universities to girls. However, in relation to rising the status of women in society and involving them in the workforce, AKP shows its real standpoint: Women should stay at home and raise as many children as possible. (13.03.2008, Radikal)

The participating teachers emphasized the role of education in creating a conservative female identity. T 9 reflected headscarf as an agent of gender socialization. The teacher criticized imam hatip schools and imposing headscarf on girls which reinforced conservative and religious female identity at very early ages. Besides, T 5 provided further examples of differential gender socialization in an imam hatip school. The teacher portrayed how unequal treatment of girls in imam hatip schools positioned them as inferior to boys The details included in the

teacher's response revealed that a conservative and religious female identity was promoted in imam hatip schools.. The meaning of the selected words and expressions were also noteworthy: "due to religious obligation" (Tr. Dini taasuptan dolayı) and "because the voice of the girls is forbidden" (Tr. Kızların sesi haram olduğu için). Besides, T 8 referred to ideological aspect of inferior status of girls in imam hatip schools:

*Tabi kız çocukları da İmam Hatip okullarına gitsin direk ortaokuldan sonra işte okuldan sonra evde oturtulsun okudu mu okudu ya da işte gitsin Kuran kursunda hoca olsun direk önünü kesiyor zaten çocukların... Burada kendini kapatma mesajı var yani, kendini kapat. Ve çocuk kendini ifade etmesini öyle yani hareketlerinde her şekilde aslında çocuğa bir kısıtlama getiriyorsun. Hani senin kafan kapalı sen Müslüman evladısın hareketlerine dikkat et demiş oluyorsun. (T 9)*

Of course, let the girls go to Imam Hatip schools right after secondary school, and let them sit at home after school. When you ask the parents "did she study?", the answer is "yes, she did". Or let her go to Qur'an course and be an instructor there afterwards. This is directly cutting her off anyway... and here there is a message to cover herself, cover yourself. And the girl cannot learn to express herself. In her actions, in every way, you are bringing limitations to the girl. I mean you are saying, your head is covered, you are a Muslim girl, so you need to watch your actions. (T 9)

*Şimdi benim kendi okuluma baktığımızda imam hatip ortaokulundayım ben. Orada mesela erkekler ön plana çıkar. Yani bir koro oluşturulacaksa kızların sesi haram olduğu için işte erkeklerden koro oluşturulur. Müfredatta bir ayırım yok. Bunu müfredatta uygulayan öğretmen, yapıyorsa bunu öğretmen yapıyordur. Yani müfredatta birebir öyle bir şey yok yani müfredatta. Dediğim gibi okulun misyonu önemli, diğer okulları bilmiyorum ama benim okulum imam hatip ortaokulu. Lise kısmını da gözlemleyebiliyorum. Hele lisede bu direkt var yani. Biraz daha ortaokulda küçük görüyorlar ama lisede çok bariz var zaten. Ergenlik yaşına girdikleri için dini taassup gereği dini ölçülerden dolayı kız çocuklarının sesinin haram olması ya da dini bakış açısı olduğu için okulda diyebilirim.... Direkt bir baskı yok, sözselsel bir şey yok ama psikolojik olarak çocuk etkileniyor ve o da başörtüsü iyi bir şey, takılırsa iyi olur, takılmazsa kötü diyerek algılayıp takabiliyor. (T 5)*

When you look at my school, for instance, I am in imam hatip middle school, by the way, you see that boys are always in the forefront. That is, if you are going to form a choir, it is formed by males only since girls' voice is considered illicit in Islam. There is no such distinction in the curriculum. It is the teacher that applies this in the curriculum, if it is done, it is the teacher doing it. Like I said what really matters is the mission of the school. I do not know about other schools, but my school is imam hatip middle school. I can also observe high school section. In high school, it is even stricter. They consider girls rather junior in middle school, but in high school everything becomes more obvious. I can say the reason is that since they have entered adolescence, due to religious bigotry or religious criteria and religious perspective, girls' voice is considered illicit. There is no direct pressure. There is nothing verbal, but the girl is influenced psychologically, and she starts to wear a headscarf,

thinking that headscarf, or wearing a headscarf is a good thing, and it is wrong not to wear it. (T 5)

*İmam olmayacak kız çocuklarını imam hatiplerde okutmak onların geleceğe yönelik umutlarını kıran bir süreç... İmam Hatiplerde kız çocuklarını siz ikincileştiriyorsunuz imam olamayacağı halde onu orda okutuyorsunuz bu da bir ideolojidir...İşte başörtüsünün dayatılması bir yanıyla orda İmam Hatip okullarının başörtüsünün uygulaması ve onun dışında da çocukların diğer okul düzeylerinde de artık daha çok muhafazakâr bir kimlikle yetiştirilmeye çalışmaları onların var olan erkek egemen kültürü içselleştirmesini sağlıyor ya da ona yönelik davranışları o simgeler üzerinden yeniden üretiyor. Yani kültürü üreten şeylerden bir tanesi de simgelerdir. Dolayısıyla simge olarak kullanılan oradaki inanç simgesi dediğiniz başörtüsü bu şeyi üretiyor yeniden muhafazakâr, erkek egemen bir toplum yapısı üretiyor örtük olarak, ya programı öyle işliyor sonuç olarak.(T 8)*

Making the girls who will actually not become imams study in imam hatip schools is a process that actually discourages girls... You are putting the girls in a secondary position in imam hatip schools by making them study there although they will not become imams, and this is an ideology. That is, forcing headscarves there and other than that trying to raise kids in a conservative identity make them to internalize the already-existing male dominant culture or reproduce the behavior patterns of this type over those symbols. In other words, one of the entities that produce culture is symbols. Therefore, the headscarf, which we call a symbol of belief, reproduces a conservative, male-dominant culture because in the end that is how they cover the curriculum. (T 8)

## **4.2. Gender Equality**

According to Bourdieu, education is one of the vital ideological sites which maintain male dominant social order and reproduce gender inequalities (Dillabough, 2003). While education has a significant impact on reducing social inequalities and strengthening democracy, increased level of equality in society results in progress towards gender equality in education (UNGEI, 2009). The dual relationship education system and other social institutions where male domination is the most influential makes it necessary to examine the roots of gender inequality within the indicators of inequalities beyond the education system (Subrahmanian, 2005). It is also significant to identify the content and scope of gender inequalities in education and uncover the implicit indicators of inequalities in order to reveal how girls become disadvantaged in education system while gender inequality is presumed as one of the prominent issues in education (Sayılan, 2012). Considering that the meaning of gender equality is shaped through a variety of discursive practices including policy making processes (Verloo, Lambardo and Bustela, 2007), the conceptual and discursive framework of equality arguments in the

policy documents and in the printed media were examined in the present study. To this end, this part of the paper presents a detailed investigation of policy and media discourses pertaining to gender policy in education. Teachers' interpretations of equality arguments presented in the printed media and their views of gender policy in education are also included to verify the findings.

#### 4.2.1. Equality Arguments

Policy documents analyzed in this study foregrounded females as a part of population deserving equal rights and education opportunities. National Conference Report of Gender Mainstreaming and Gender Equality in Education Project published in 2005 emphasized the role of schooling and other social processes to better social status of women through equality arguments. In Policy Document on Women and Education published by Directorate General on the Status of Women in 2008, the problems of female education and gender inequalities in education were underlined through equality arguments:

*Eđitim ve öğrenim alanında tüm dünyada yaşanan hızlı ilerleme ve gelişmelere rağmen, dünyanın pek çok bölgesinde kadınların eğitimi hala bir sorun teşkil etmektedir. Kadınlar ve kız çocukları eğitim fırsatlarından erkeklere oranla daha az yararlanmakta, toplumsal cinsiyete dayalı eşitsizlikler devam etmektedir. Oysa kadınların ekonomik, sosyal, kültürel ve siyasal yaşamdaki konumlarını güçlendirmek, hak, fırsat ve imkânlardan eşit biçimde yararlanmalarını sağlamakla mümkün olacaktır (KSGM, 2008a)*

Despite rapid progress and development in the field of education and training all over the world, the education of women is still a problem in many parts of the world. Women and girls are less able to benefit from education opportunities than men, and inequalities based on gender continue. However, strengthening women's position in economic, social, cultural, and political life will only be made possible by letting them make equal use of rights and opportunities. (KSGM, 2008a)

*Acuner, eğitim alanındaki eşitsizliklerin kadının toplumsal konumundan ayrı düşünülmemeyi gerektirdiğini ve dolayısıyla da Türkiye'nin soruna sosyal devlet anlayışı çerçevesinde resmi ve sivil paydaşlarla beraber hareket ederek ayrımcılık yapmama ilkesi temelinde yaklaşması gerektiğini dile getirdi. Eğitim politikaları ile birlikte istihdam politikalarının da ele alınması gerektiğini, bu yaklaşımın özellikle yoksulluğun kadınsılaştığı günümüzde yoksullukla mücadele için zorunlu olduğunu belirtti. Berktaş, "Kız çocuklarının eğitimi ile beraber ele alınan kadının toplumsal konumunu yükseltme çalışmalarının hayatın her alanında yaşanan cinsiyet eşitsizliklerine dair kapsamlı politikalar üretebilmemizi sağlayacaktır" dedi. (AÇEV, ERG, KA-DER, 2005)*

Acuner argued that inequalities in education should not be considered separately from the social position of women, and therefore Turkey should approach the problem on the basis of the principle of non-discrimination by acting with official and civil stakeholders within the framework of understanding of social state. He noted that employment policies must be approached together with education policies, and that this approach is essential for the struggle against poverty, especially since poverty is feminized today. Berkay said: "The efforts to raise the social position of the women, which is treated in conjunction with girls' education, will enable us to produce comprehensive policies on gender inequalities in all areas of life". (AÇEV, ERG, KA-DER, 2005)

The policy documents analyzed in this study highlighted the impact of gender discrimination in social realm and inferior status of women in Turkey in creating gender inequalities in education. One example could be found in UN's Millenium Development Goals Report published in 2013 which contextualized girls' education within the discourses of the gender inequalities and gender discrimination in the society. The document foregrounded cultural factors leading to inferior status of women. Besides, In AÇEV's report on girls' education published in 2008, there was an emphasis on eliminating gender discrimination in the society. Discursive framing of the document marked gender discrimination in the society as a factor causing lower female enrollment rates and lower female achievement level at schools:

*It is emphasized that the gender-based inequalities faced by women and girls constitute barriers to their access to fundamental human rights. Women in Turkey face structural obstacles in accessing education, employment and - as a result - financial resources, food, social security, health and social services. Girls and women face, at different stages of their lives, different forms of discrimination and inequality such as physical, economic, social and sexual. They become subject to sexual violence, and are forced to early and unwanted marriages. Because they are not considered as individuals they become subject to inequitable distribution of labour within the family. These problems are compounded by structural factors arising from regional disparities, and by the use of references to tradition and religion in a way that consolidates inequality and discrimination against women. (UN, 2013)*

*Nur Otaran ve ekibi tarafından hazırlanan analiz raporundaki şu tümceler kız çocukların eğitime erişimlerindeki temel soruna işaret etmektedir: "(...) Mesele kız çocuklara sağlanan eğitim imkânlarının genişletilmesinin ötesindedir. Bu bir başlangıç noktasıdır. Ama asıl önemlisi, kız çocukların okula yönelmelerinin ve okulda başarılı olmalarının önündeki engellerin sistematik biçimde ortadan kaldırılmasıdır. Daha basiti, toplumsal cinsiyet ayrımcılığına son verilmesinden söz ediyorum. Erkeklerin ve kızların eşit fırsatlara sahip olmaları gerekiyor." (AÇEV, ERG, KA-DER, 2008)*

The following expressions from the analysis report prepared by Nur Otaran and her team point to the fundamental problem of girls' access to education: "(...) The problem is beyond

the expansion of educational opportunities for girls. This is merely a starting point. But the main point is systematically removing the obstacles to girls' schooling and their success at school. More simply, I am talking about ending gender discrimination. Men and women must have equal opportunities. (AÇEV, ERG, KA-DER, 2008)

ERG's Education Monitoring Report published in 2015 emphasized restructuring education policies and learning environment in line with the principles of gender mainstreaming. In another document published by ERG in 2009, the role of education in challenging values and dynamics causing inferior status of women in the society was stressed:

*Kadınların ve erkeklerin eğitim hakkından eşit olarak yararlanabilmesi için öncelikle eğitim sisteminde toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliğinin sağlanması ve eğitimin bileşenlerinin bunu destekleyecek biçimde dönüştürülmesi gerekmektedir. Bu anlamda yapılacak her tür düzenleme ve çalışma, toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliğinin sağlanması yolunda önemli bir adımdır. Ancak eğitimde bu dönüşümün gerçekleşebilmesi için öncelikle mevcut yapıda iyileştirilmesi gereken alanlar saptanmalıdır. Böylece eğitim politikalarının ve öğrenme ortamlarının toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliği çerçevesinde yeniden yapılandırılmasının önündeki sorun alanlarını giderecek uygulamalar geliştirilebilir. (ERG, 2015)*

In order for women and men to enjoy equal access to education, gender equality must first be ensured in the education system, and education components must be transformed in a way to support it. Any arrangement and work to be done within this sense is an important step towards gender equality. However, in order for this transformation to take place in education, firstly, the areas to be improved in the existing structure should be determined. Thus, practices that will address the problem areas in restructuring education policies and learning environments within the framework of gender equality can be developed. (ERG, 2015)

*Eğitimin dönüştürücü potansiyelinin ortaya çıkarılması, toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliğinin sağlanması yolunda önemli bir adımdır. Ancak, eğitimin dönüştürücü potansiyelinin gerçekleşmesi için öncelikle toplumsal cinsiyet eşitsizliğine yol açan değer ve dinamiklerin eğitim sistemindeki yansımalarının saptanması ve değiştirilmesi gerekir. (ERG, 2009b)*

Uncovering the transformational potential of education is an important step towards ensuring gender equality. However, in order to realize the transformational potential of education, it is necessary to determine and change the reflections of values and dynamics in the education system that lead to gender inequality. (ERG, 2009b)

In the policy documents analyzed in this study, there was an emphasis on *education for all*. Annual Report of UNICEF published in 2013 underlined the importance of ensuring gender equality through education. The discursive structure of the document indicated the ways educational policies and practices could challenge gender discrimination. Similarly, Eğitim-Sen's report on co-

education also indicated the role of education in ensuring gender equality through an emphasis on equal rights and opportunities for all:

*UNICEF Turkey is accustomed to taking into account and drawing attention to the different needs of girls and boys in all of its planning, research, advocacy, advice and communications, and in all kinds of training and capacity building activities. It seeks to use disaggregated data whenever possible in monitoring the situation of children and the performance of interventions for children. It also ensures equal representation of the sexes in its activities work to promote the participation and engagement of children and young people. UNICEF's gender-awareness and concern for gender equality is shared with its partners and has helped to highlight issues such as the need to increase the number of women in school management or to underline the roles of fathers in child care and development. (UNICEF Turkey, 2013)*

*Eğitimdeki temel değerler arasında en önemlisi, herkesin eşit olarak görülmesi ve öğrencilerin bütün yönlerini geliştirmenin sağlanmasıdır. Eşitlik kavramı, cinsiyete dayalı, dini, siyasi ya da sınıfsal köken açısından hiçbir ayrıcalığı kendi yapısı içinde barındırmaz. Okullarda hangi gerekçeyle olursa olsun, öğrenciler içinde oluşturulacak en küçük bir ayrıcalık veya ilgisizlik, çocuk hakları ihlalidir. (Eğitim Sen, 2014c)*

Among the core values in education, it is most important that everyone is approached equally and that the students are improved in all respects. The concept of equality excludes any type of discrimination in terms of gender, religion, political or class origin. In schools, the smallest privilege or apathy to be created among students, whatever the reason, is a violation of children's rights. (Eğitim Sen, 2014c)

Besides, the analysis revealed that MONE documents emphasized equality in education. The principles of general and equal education for all stated in the general principles part of National Education Law included equality arguments. Similarly, in the legislative proposal of changing primary and education law, gender equality principle was also stated:

#### **I. Genellik ve Eşitlik**

**Madde 4-** Eğitim kurumları dil, ırk, cinsiyet ve din ayrımı gözetilmeksizin herkese açıktır. Eğitimde hiçbir kişiye, aileye, zümreye veya sınıfa imtiyaz tanınmaz.

#### **V. Fırsat ve İmkân Eşitliği**

##### **Madde 8**

*Fırsat ve İmkân Eşitliği Madde 8- Eğitimde kadın, erkek herkese fırsat ve imkân eşitliği sağlanır. Maddî imkânlardan yoksun başarılı öğrencilerin en yüksek eğitim kademelerine kadar öğrenim görmelerini sağlamak amacıyla parasız yatılılık, burs, kredi ve başka yollarla gerekli yardımlar yapılır. Özel eğitime ve korunmaya muhtaç çocukları yetiştirmek için özel tedbirler alınır. (Milli Eğitim Temel Kanunu)*

#### **I. Generality and Equality**

**Article 4** – Educational institutions are open to everyone regardless of language, race, gender, and religion. No person, family, franchise or class can be privileged in education.

#### **V. Equality of Opportunity**



### **Article 8 -**

In education, opportunities are equally provided for men and women. In order to ensure that successful students lacking financial means are able to study up to the highest levels of education, necessary assistance is provided through free boarding, scholarship, loans, and other means. Special measures are taken to raise children who are in need of special education and protection. (National Education Fundamental Law)

**MADDE 4- (1)** 222 sayılı Kanununun Mülga 22 nci maddesi aşağıdaki şekilde yeniden düzenlenmiştir.

"Madde 22- İlköğretim 6-14 yaşlarındaki çocukların eğitimi ve öğretimini kapsar, kız ve erkek bütün vatandaşlar için zorunludur ve Devlet okullarında parasızdır." (İlköğretim Ve Eğitim Kanunu İle Bazı Kanunlarda Değişiklik Yapılmasına Dair Kanun Teklifi)

**ARTICLE 4 – (1)** 22<sup>nd</sup> clause of 222<sup>nd</sup> article has been abrogated and rearranged as follows. "Article 22 - Primary education involves education and training of children between the ages of 6 and 14, is compulsory for all boys and girls, and is free in state schools. (İlköğretim Ve Eğitim Kanunu İle Bazı Kanunlarda Değişiklik Yapılmasına Dair Kanun Teklifi)

### **XII – Karma eğitim:**

Madde 15 – Okullarda kız ve erkek karma eğitim yapılması esastır. Ancak eğitimin türüne, imkan ve zorunluluklara göre bazı okullar yalnızca kız veya yalnızca erkek öğrencilere ayrılabilir. (1739 Sayılı Milli Eğitim Temel Kanunu )

### **XII – Coeducation**

**Article 15 -** It is compulsory for girls and boys to have mixed education in schools. However, depending on the type of education, facilities, and obligations, some schools can be divided as girls-only or boys-only schools. (National Education Fundamental Law, Article 1739)

Furthermore, the present study indicated that some policy documents reproduced gender inequalities through implicit and explicit messages. Eğitim Bir Sen's report on co-education positioned women in an inferior status discursively by focusing on the differences between men and women. The report reflected single sex education as a pedagogical remedy for gender inequalities in education. Similarly, in TAP's report on co-education published in 2013, preferred discourse on differences between two genders with a specific focus on physical weaknesses of females created gender inequalities:

*Karma eğitim ergenlik çağındaki öğrencilerin eğitim ve akademik başarılarını düşürmektedir. Mühendislik alanlarında kız öğrencilerin başarı gösterememeleri vakıa haline gelmiştir. Kız öğrenciler erkeklere göre daha az maaşlı ve daha rahat olan mesleklerin seçimine yönelmekte ve bu konuda daha iyi eğitim imkânı "eşitlik" ilkesi gereği hayata geçememektedir. Eşitlik her türlü yasal tedbire rağmen sağlanamamaktadır. Buna göre, kadınların toplum içinde daha aktif rol oynaması için farklı bir pedagojik zihniyetle meselenin ele alınması gereği açıktır.... Bu yazımızda karma eğitimi tıbbi ve psikolojik açıdan değerlendirmek istiyoruz. Ancak konuyu anlamak için öncelikle kadın-erkek farklarından bahsetmemiz gerekiyor. Bazı kişiler "kadınlarla erkekler birbirleriyle eşittir "*

*deseler de gerçek böyle değildir. Kadınlar erkeklerden bedensel, ruhsal ve cinsel açıdan pek çok farklılıklar gösterir. (Eğitim Bir Sen, 2012c)*

Mixed education reduces educational and academic achievement of students in adolescence. It has become an established fact that female students cannot succeed in the field of engineering. Girls tend to choose jobs that are less salaried but more comfortable compared to men, and the possibility of providing them with better education to address this point cannot be realized due to the principle of "equality". Equality cannot be provided despite all legal measures. It is therefore clear that in order for women to play a more active role in society, a different pedagogical mentality should be adopted... In this article, we want to evaluate mixed education in terms of medical and psychological aspects. However, in order to understand the subject, we first need to talk about the differences between men and women. Although some people say "men and women are equal to each other", that is actually not the case. Women show many differences from men physically, mentally, and sexually. (Eğitim Bir Sen, 2012c)

*İnsanlar yasa önünde eşit iseler de toplumsal akılda kadın-erkek ilintileri ve cinsiyetlerin sosyal hayat karşısında aldığı konumlar, tavırlar, ilgiler "eşitlik" fikrinin insan tabiatına uygun bir kavram olmadığını göstermiştir. Yarışmacı ve rekabetçi bir toplum yapılanmasında erkek ve kadın fizyolojilerinin birbirinden farklı özelliklere sahip olduğu ortaya çıkmıştır. Erkek fizyolojisi, cismanî güç gerektiren iş sahalarında kadın rakiplerine göre öne çıkmaktadır. Bütün dünyada spor etkinlikleri tüm branşlarda kadın ve erkek cinslerinin aynı branşlarda farklı rekor limitlerine sahip olduğunu göstermektedir. (TAP, 2013b)*

Although people are equal before law, in societal mind, different positions, attitudes, and interests that male and female genders take in social life have shown that the idea of "equality" is not really suitable for human nature. In a competitive society, male and female physiologies have been manifested to have different characteristics. Male physiology stands out from female competitors in work fields that require physical strength. Sports events all over the world are organized in a way that in all branches male and female genders have different record limits within the same branch. (TAP, 2013b)

On the other hand, one of the participating teachers emphasized that gender discourse of the government officials was more influential than the legislative discourse on the behaviors and attitudes of school administrators and teachers. In deeper interpretation, T 8 denounced government officials for legitimating gender discrimination at schools through their sexist speeches:

*Okullardaki öğretmenlerin de davranışlarını biçimlendiren bir durum, siyasilerin kadına yönelik yaptıkları olumsuz söylem ve tutumlar. Onları etkiliyor. Mesela okullardaki idareciler işte eğitim sendikaları ya da iktidara yakın sendikacıların idarecileri aynen o siyasilerin söylediği gibi davranıyor. Onlar orda birşey söylediğinde aradan birkaç gün geçince benzer şeyleri, davranışları onların davranışlarında da görüyoruz. Yani ne yapıyorlar işte kendi her ne kadar açık hükümler olmasa da yönetmelikte. Ya da aksine hükümler olsa da onlardan aldıkları güçle o söylemin gücüyle okullarda keyfi uygulamalar yapıyorlar. Yani o söylemin, söylemi arkalarına alarak kanunu yok sayıyorlar aslında. (T 8)*

Negative expressions and attitudes of politicians also shape the teachers' behaviors at school. They influence them. For instance, school administrators, educational unions, or unions that are rather close to the ruling party start acting exactly as what the politicians say. When those politicians say something up there, we see similar behaviors or attitudes in administrators and others. That is, what they are doing is simply performing arbitrary practices despite lack of clear-cut provisions in regulations, or even despite existence of opposite regulations. They take power from these statements and expressions. In a way, they are actually ignoring or disregarding the existing law by taking support from these statements. (T 8)

The participating teachers expressed that gender equality was a challenge in the Turkish education system. Teachers asserted a number of related factors causing and reproducing gender inequalities in education. T 5 discussed how education system reinforced gender roles and traditional practices which disadvantaged females. T 8 held a critical stand point by drawing the attention to gender equality and ideological mechanisms at work in educational settings. Besides, T 7 and T 3 provided more specific examples of the ways the content and the delivery of the curriculum created and reproduced gender inequalities:

*Şimdi öğretim programının özelliğini kim belirliyor yani iktidar tarafından belirlenen, dışardan ideolojik olarak belirlenen bir gereklilik ise bu ya da toplumsal cinsiyet eşitsizliği ve toplumsal cinsiyete bağlı bir iş bölümü şekillenmişse, eğitim programı da buna göre şekilleniyorsa zaten var olan eşitsiz yapıyı yeniden üretiyor demektir. (T 8).*

Now, who decides on the features of the curriculum? If it is determined by the ruling party, or if it is determined ideologically from outside, or if gender inequality and a gender-based division of labor are already settled in society and curriculum is shaped according to this inequality, then it means all these factors are recreating the unequal structure. (T 8)

*... sistemde bazı delikler var. Bunlar da bazı geleneklerin ya da bazı görüşlerin içeriye sızmasına ya da eşitsizlik yaratmasına sebebiyet verebilir. Yani eşitsizliğe sebebiyet veren bir eğitim sistemimiz var. Soruyu doğru algıladıysam, kız ve erkekler açısından yani kız çocukları biliyorsun erken yaşta evlendirilebiliyor ya da ev işlerine baktırılabilir. Fazla okutulmayabilir yani kız çocuğu okutulmasa da olur denilebiliyor bazı kesimlerde. Eğitim sistemi de işte bazı boşluklar bırakarak bunlara izin veriyor. (T 5)*

... there are some gaps in the system. And these gaps might allow some traditions and opinions to infiltrate into the system and create inequality. That is to say, we have an education system that allows for inequalities. If I understand the question correctly, in terms of boys and girls, I mean girls can be made to marry at an early age, to do the housework at home. They are not allowed to study further, or people in some regions might just say it would be ok not to let girls study. Educational system allows these to happen by leaving some gaps there. (T 5)

*Şimdi benim kendi okuluma baktığımızda imam hatip ortaokulundayım ben. Orada mesela erkekler ön plana çıkar. Yani bir koro oluşturulacaksa kızların sesi haram olduğu için işte erkeklerden koro oluşturulur. Müfredatta bir ayrım yok. Bunu müfredatta uygulayan öğretmen, yapıyorsa bunu öğretmen yapıyordur. Yani müfredatta birebir öyle bir şey yok yani müfredatta. (T 7)*

When you look at my school, for instance, I am in imam hatip middle school, by the way, you see that boys are always in the forefront. That is, if you are going to form a choir, it is formed by males only since girls' voice is considered illicit in Islam. There is no such distinction in the curriculum. It is the teacher that applies this in the curriculum, if it is done, it is the teacher doing it. (T 7)

*Annelik mi öğretecekler bu çocuklara yani nedir bunun nasıl bir şey var kafasında nedir biz biliyoruz ki o kitaplarda bunlar öğretilecek işte nedir, kız çocukları ağır başlı olmalıdır. Şöyle yapmalıdır böyle yapmalıdır yavaş, yavaş bunlar girecek, giriyor da. Nasıl giriyor, değerler eğitimi ile giriyor. Değerler eğitimi incelediğimizde, ciddi anlamda daha eşitsizliği ifade eden cümleler var o eğitimlerin içerisinde. (T 3)*

Will they teach these kids motherhood, I mean what is this, what do they have in their minds? We know that what they are going to teach in these books are these, I do not know, girls should be solemn, they should do this and that.. All these will enter books slowly, and it is actually happening now. How do they enter? Through values education. When you analyze values education, you see statements that seriously express inequality. (T 3)

When they were asked to express their views on gender equality, the participating teachers provided different perspectives on equality. The views of T 3 were noteworthy in declaring the indicators of gender inequality. She/he negated the meaning of equality through religious references and centralized his opinions on positive discrimination. However, his/her positive discrimination and equality arguments were contextualized in a mild discourse of a gender stereotyping. Similarly, narrative structure of the answer naturalized traditional gender roles in the society making childcare a female priority:

*Cinsiyet eşitliğine bireysel olarak çok inanmıyorum. Çünkü kadın ve erkeğin farklı yaratıldığında, kadınların pozitif ayrımcılık noktasında onlara pozitif ayrımcılık tanınması gerektiğini düşünüyorum. Ama işte bunun da, yani bu pozitif ayrımcılığın da doğru yorumlanması gerektiği. Yani kadınlara yapamazsın, edemezsin, evinde otur, bu sana bir lütuftur, bir iyiliktir o yüzden evinde oturduktan ziyade, sen yapabilirsin, ama nedir, senin cinsiyetinin getirdiği roller vardır, sen zaman içerisinde anne olacaksın, işini ve anneliğini aynı anda yürütebilmelisin gibi toplumsal eşitliğin bu doğrultuda olması gerektiğini düşünüyorum. (T 3)*

Personally, I do not really believe in gender equality a lot. Since men and women were created differently, I believe women should be positively discriminated. However, this positive discrimination should also be interpreted correctly. I mean rather than saying “you

cannot do this and that, you need to sit at home, this is a favor and blessing to you, so just sit here at home”, we should be saying “you can do it, but you know there are roles that your gender brings, in time you will become a mother, you need to be able to run your work and motherhood together”, and social equality should be established in this direction. (T 3)

T 11 also negated the meaning of equality by using the words “irritating” (Tr. İrite edici) and “distressing” (Tr. Tedirgin edici) His statements revealed classical argumentations of Islamic-conservative understanding of gender equality proposing that men and women enjoy different privileges. On the other hand, the example he provided referred to equity principle supporting fairness and justice:

*Yani eşitlik kelimesi biraz irite edici yani eşitlik şöyle bazı yerlerde kadınların üstünlüğü vardır bazı yerlerde yani erkeklerin üstünlüğü vardır. Bunu şöyle belki şöyle bir örnekle anlatabiliriz. Yani herkes günlük 2’şer tabak yemek yesin yani herkes 1 somun ekmek yesin çok mantıklı bir şey değil yani. Evet yani, eşitlik biraz şey yapıyor yani her tarafta hani beni biraz tedirgin eden bir kavramdır yani. (T 11)*

Well, the word equality is a little irritating. Equality is something like this: in some areas women are superior, and in some men are superior. We can explain this by such an example: Everyday, everybody shall eat 2 plates of meal and 1 loaf of bread each, I mean this would not make much sense. So, yes, the word equality is a little.. I mean for people from all walks of life, it is at least for me a little distressing. (T 11)

T 5 and T 6 both defined gender equality through equal rights and opportunities arguments. T 5 supported an equal treatment of both genders and condemned the practices hindering girls’ opportunity even to live. On the other hand, T 6 contextualized gender equality within the discourses of government policies and public goods and services:

*Yani kız ya da erkek olmasının bir rolünün olmaması yani bunun bir faktör olmaması bazı fırsatları yakalamak için. Eğitim fırsatı en önemlisi, iş olabilir başka iş fırsatı, eğitim fırsatı, evlilik ile ilgili olabilir. Yaşama fırsatı bile denilebilir yani bazen kız çocuklarının yaşanması bile istenmiyor. (T 5)*

I mean whether you are a boy or a girl should not be a factor in catching some opportunities. The most significant one is educational opportunities, and others are employment opportunities, or maybe opportunities regarding marriage. We can even think about the right to live. That is, sometimes girls are not given even the right to live. (T 5)

*Eşitliğin sağlanmasındaki cinsiyet olarak dezavantajlı görünen cinsiyet tüm dünyada kadınlar olarak görünüyor ve pozitif ayrımcılık dediğimiz kavramda toplumsal eşitliği sağlamak için kadınlara pozitif ayrımcılık gerektiren hükümetlerin bu tür planları uygulaması savunuluyor. Bunlar nedir işte dediğim gibi maddi kaynaklara ulaşmada eşitlik, eğitim olanaklarına ulaşmada eşitlik, sağlığa kavuşmada eşitlik gibi kamusal hizmetlerin*

sunumundan, diğer hizmetlerin alımına kadar tüm konularda birebir eşitliği savunuyor. (T 6)

The gender that is seen at a disadvantage all over the world is females, and therefore it is argued that the governments need to be providing females with positive discrimination in order to ensure social equality. What are the duties that governments need to be doing? I mean as I said, providing public services to ensure equality in accessing financial possibilities, education, health services, and possible other services are some of the duties of governments for real equality. (T 6)

In the report of 12<sup>th</sup> of February 2013, Bugün foregrounded an Islamic and chauvinist perspective of equality. The headline of the report condemned receiving the help of European Union to promote girls' education. It is the circumstantial evidence of perception supporting Islamic supremacy regarding womanhood and female education. The lead of the report quoted governor of an eastern province to make the condemnation more credible and legitimate:

**"Kız çocuklarının eğitiminde AB'nin yardımına muhtaç kalmamız büyük ayıp"**

*Bitlis Valisi Veysel Yurdakul, kız çocuklarının eğitiminde büyük bir ayıpla karşı karşıya olduklarını söyledi. "Dinimiz kadın, erkek herkesin üzerine ilmi, okumayı farz ediyor. Ne acıdır ki ilmi kılcal damarlara kadar iletilmiş bir imparatorluğun torunları olarak kız çocuklarının eğitimi konusunda AB'nin yardımına, finansmanına ve fonuna muhtaç hale gelmişiz." diyen Vali Yurdakul, "Bu öncelikle benim ayıbım. Daha sonra milli eğitim müdürünün ve bu salonda bulunan herkesin ayıbı. Bu ayıbı hep beraber kaldıracacağız." dedi. (12.02.2013, Bugün)*

**"The fact that we are in need of help from the EU in the education of girls is a great shame"**

Veysel Yurdakul, the Governor of Bitlis, said that they were facing a big shame in the education of girls. He said: "Our religion obligates both men and women to study and read. With sadness, despite being grandchildren of an empire that carried science to the furthest corners of its land, we have become in need of the EU's help, financial assistance, and funding for the education of our girls." The Governor Yurdakul also added: "This shame is firstly on me, and then on the Director of National Education here and everyone else in this meeting hall. We will get rid of this shame altogether". (12.02.2013, Bugün)

In this context, the participating teachers emphasized the role of education in shaping people's views of equality. T 6 and T 9 highlighted the ways education shaped gender perceptions and gender identities. Their responses revealed the traces of gender discrimination in the educational settings:

*... Bu toplumsal cinsiyet öyle rahatsız edici bir şey ki bazen bir olaya bakış açısı erkek bakış açısı olabiliyor. Çünkü öyle eğitildik, eğitim sistemimiz erkekti... Çocuklar bu eşitsizliği*

*maalesef öğreniyorlar. Bunu nereden öğreniyorlar, önce aileden öğreniyorlar. Aileden sonra okulda devam ettiriliyor bu süreç. Onun sonucunda medya zaten cinsiyetçi bir dile sahip olduğu için sürekli destekleniyor. Bu neden ile de çocuklar çok genç yaşta bu eşitsizliğe değil yani çocuk yaştan itibaren onu maalesef bilinçaltlarına yerleştirerek gidiyor ve sonradan bunu değiştirmek çok güç oluyor. (T 6)*

... This gender issue is so disturbing that sometimes your perspective on an issue might unknowingly be that of male-perspective. It is because we were educated that way, our education system was male-dominant. Unfortunately, our children grow into this inequality. How do they learn this inequality? Firstly, they learn it from their family. After family, this process is continued within the education system. Since media already uses a sexist language, this inequality is constantly supported. For this reason, the children, not that they want inequality, they grow up with these ideas engraved in their subconscious and it becomes even harder to change it later. (T 6)

*... Baktığın zaman şu anda üniversite seviyesine gelen kız çocuklarının bile hâlâ ya inanılmaz zihniyette olan öğrenciler görüyorum. Yani hani fırsat eşitliğini kendisi kafasından çıkarmış, hani kadın bu bu roldedir düşüncesiyle gelen kız çocukları var kendini erkekle aynı eşit yere koymak yerine kendini otomatikmen bir alt kademede kabul eden kız çocukları var. (T 9)*

When I look at it, I witness girls with unbelievable mentalities even at university level. There are girls that are completely away from the idea of gender equality themselves. They have these opinions that women have these and those roles. Instead of seeing themselves equally with men, they automatically consider themselves at an inferior level. (T 9)

#### **4.2.2. Gender Parity in Education**

In the documents analyzed, discourses on gender equality were organized around a range of arguments on making girls' education a policy priority and promoting gender equality in education. AÇEV, ERG and KA-DER's report on girls' education published in 2008 indicated the importance of girls' education and also underlined the significance of providing equal and quality education for all. Similarly, in MONE's circular published in 2010 by General Directorate of Technical Education for Girls on increasing school enrollment rates of girls at secondary level, importance of girls education was emphasized by indicating social and economic returns of female education. Besides, in ERG's report on equality in education published in 2009, there was an emphasis on economic returns of female education. The report marked girls' education as one of the prominent issues for the development of the country:

*“Kimse ‘kızlar sistem dışında kalabilirler’ demiyordu, ama kızların eğitiminin önemini de görmüyorlardı. MEB ile birlikte illerden gelen verileri inceledik ve alandaki çalışmalarını*

*organize edecek yeni stratejiler belirledik.....Toplumsal dönüşümün mutlaka eğitim kıstaslarının eşit şartlarda, ama kaliteli bir şekilde toplumun bütün kesimlerine yansımaya olabileceğine inanıyorduk. ....biz yıllardır kadınların eğitimini, eşitliğini gündeme getiriyorduk.” (AÇEV, ERG, KA-DER, 2008)*

"Nobody was of the opinion that 'girls can stay outside the system', but they did not see the significance of girls' education, either. We have examined the data coming from the provinces together with the Ministry of National Education and we have determined new strategies to organize the work in the area ... We have always believed that social transformation could only be based on educational equality, but with high quality reflected to all segments of the society. ... for years we have brought women's education and equality to the agenda. (AÇEV, ERG, KA-DER, 2008)

*Günümüzde alınan ulusal ve uluslararası kararlar ve üst politika belgeleri de kadının toplumdaki konumunun belirlenmesinde pozitif ayrımcılığı zorunlu kılmaktadır. Tüm genç kızlarımızın eğitilmiş bireyler olarak sosyal ve ekonomik hayata kazandırılması, ülkemizin sosyal gelişmesine ve ekonomik olarak kalkınmasına önemli katkılar sağlayacaktır. Bu amaçla ilgili her kamu ve özel kurum ve kuruluşların bu Genelgede belirtilen görev ve sorumlulukları ilgili mevzuat çerçevesinde titizlikle yerine getirmelerinin sağlanması hususunda bilgilerinizi ve gereğini rica ederim. (MEB Kız Teknik Öğretim Genel Müdürlüğü, 2010)*

Today's national and international decisions and top policy documents also require positive discrimination in determining the position of women in society. Integrating all our young girls into social and economic life as educated individuals will provide important contributions to the social and economic development of our country. To this end, I would like all public and private institutions and organizations to take utmost care to fulfill the duties and responsibilities specified in this circular letter with due diligence. (MONE General Directorate of Technical Education for Girls, 2010)

*Daha önceki bölümlerde paylaşılan araştırma sonuçları bu büyük resim bağlamında ele alındığında kızlarla ilgili tablonun ne kadar ağır olduğu bütün acımasızlığıyla ortaya çıkmaktadır. Türkiye'nin ekonomik kalkınmasının önündeki en önemli engellerden biri, bilindiği üzere, kentli kadınları işgücüne katılımının yetersizliğidir. Kadınların işgücüne etkin katılımı için ise üniversite eğitimine erişimleri belirleyici durumdadır. Yani, kız çocuklarının yükseköğretime erişimi ülkemiz için kritik önemdedir. (ERG, 2009a)*

When the research results shared in the previous chapters are handled within this bigger frame, the gravity of the issue of girls' education becomes more obvious. As is known, one of the most important obstacles to the economic development of Turkey is the inadequacy in participation of urban women in the workforce. Access to university education is the determining factor for effective participation of women in the workforce. That is, girls' access to tertiary education is critical to our country. (ERG, 2009a)

The newspaper coverage of girls' education projects highlighted the efforts of the government to increase girls' enrollment rates as part of policy initiatives. In Zaman's and Bugün's newsreports statistical data and quotations of officials served to emphasize the positive effects of the girls' education project in the news



reports. News reports eliminated the related concepts such as equity and equality and framed the success of policy efforts within easily measurable indicators. It was discursively disclosed that efforts to increase enrollments was prioritized:

*Türk Hükümeti'nin 2 yıl önce başlattığı "Haydi Kızlar Okula" kampanyasıyla bu konu üzerinde titiz bir çalışma gerçekleştirdiğini ifade eden Calivis, "Türkiye bulunduğu bölgede çok kısa sürede inanılmayacak kadar büyük bir başarı elde etmiştir. 2 yılda 113 binden fazla kız öğrencinin okullaşması sağlanmıştır" dedi. (19.05.2005, Zaman)*

Calivis, who stated that Turkey has done a meticulous work on the subject with the campaign of "Let's go to school, girls!", which was initiated by the Turkish Government two years ago, said: "Turkey has achieved an incredible success in a very short period of time. More than 113.000 girls have become enrolled in schooling within 2 years". (19.05.2005, Zaman)

***Iğdır'da 100 kız çocuğu eğitime kazandırıldı: Iğdır'da, "Kız Çocuklarının Okullaşmasının Arttırılması" projesi kapsamında okula gidemeyen 100 kız çocuğu, aileleri ile görüşülerek okullara kazandırıldı. (11.04.2011, Bugün)***

**100 girls were brought into education in Iğdır:** Parents of 100 girls who were not able to attend school were interviewed within the scope of "Raising Schooling of Girls" project and they were brought into schools in Iğdır. (11.04.2011, Bugün)

*Kız çocuklarının okullaşmasında uluslararası diğer bir gösterge olan cinsiyet oranlarının da kız çocukları lehine artışlar gösterdiğini vurgulayan Avcı, "Bu çerçevede, ilköğretimde 2002-2003 eğitim ve öğretim yılında her 100 erkek öğrenciye karşılık 91,10 kız öğrenci okullarırken bu oran 2013-2014 eğitim ve öğretim yılında ise her 100 erkek öğrenciye karşılık 102,25 kız öğrenci şeklinde gerçekleşmiştir" dedi. (21.11.2014, Hürriyet)*

Avcı emphasized that gender ratios, which is another international indicator of girls' schooling, also showed an increase in favor of girls. "In this framework, while 91.10 female students were enrolled in elementary school for every 100 male students in 2002-2003 academic year, this ratio raised to 102,25 female students for every 100 male students during 2013-2014 academic year" he said. (21.11.2014, Hürriyet)

The analysis revealed that positive improvements in access to education as a result of recent girls' education policies were emphasized. World Bank report on gender equality published in 2012 and EFA Global Monitoring report published by UNGEI in 2014 stressed Turkey's success in narrowing the gender gap in education by highlighting the increasing enrollment rates:

*Turkey has made significant improvements in access to education at all levels, including at pre-schooling. Primary school enrollment is almost universal and the gender gap has been overcome as virtually all girls and boys attend primary schools. Also, Turkey performs above the Europe and Central Asia region (ECA) average<sup>6</sup> for primary enrollment. With*

*progress in access, quality issues have come to the fore in education reforms. (World Bank, 2012)*

*Turkey has made greater progress. In 1999, 87% of boys made it to lower secondary school, compared with 65% of girls. By the end of the decade, this large gap had been almost closed. Gender inequalities remain in upper secondary education but they also narrowed rapidly over the last decade. The turning point was the extension of compulsory education from five to eight years in 1997, accompanied by a range of strategies aimed at widening access. A conditional cash transfer program that provided a larger benefit for girls than for boys also helped close the enrolment gap. (UNGEI, 2014b)*

Even if there were many parts stressing betterments in enrollment rates of girls' as a result of girls' education projects, discursive framing of policy documents indicated insufficiency of these projects in ensuring gender equality in education:

*Despite the progress made and the degree of understanding among the partners, the full achievement of the Programme's goals continues to depend on factors like positive economic conditions and social stability, effective governance and coordination, and adequate resource mobilization. Ensuring consistent and sufficient commitment to social inclusion, gender equality and the rights and well-being of the most disadvantaged girls and boys requires constant attention in the face of competing priorities, alternative norms and values and some specific sensitivities. (UNICEF Turkey, 2013)*

*Son dönemde, MEB tarafından toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliğine ilişkin önemli adımlar atılmaya başlanmış, çeşitli projeler yürütülmüştür. Ancak söz konusu adımlar önemli olmakla birlikte bütüncül bir etki yaratabilmesi adına tek başına yeterli değildir. (ERG, 2015)*

Recently, important steps have been taken by the MoNE on gender equality and various projects have been carried out. Still, though important, these steps alone are not enough to make a holistic impact on the issue. (ERG, 2015)

***Three key policies are behind the achievements in closing the gender gap in education:*** *First, in 1997 compulsory education was extended to 8 years. To ensure its successful implementation, regional primary boarding schools were established, the bus transport system was improved to focus on children living in rural areas, and scholarships for children of poor families were expanded. Second, the Conditional Cash Transfer Program<sup>9</sup> was introduced in 2003 and included greater education benefits for girls than for boys<sup>10</sup>. The evaluation of the Conditional Cash Transfer Program shows its significant impact on girls' secondary school enrollment with smaller effects on girl's primary education. Third, the Government, in collaboration with the private sector and non-governmental organizations, has launched successful nation-wide campaigns including „Hey Girls, Let's go to School" with emphasis on the ten provinces with the lowest schooling rate. (World Bank, 2012)*

The field report of a European Union project for increasing enrollment rates especially for girls published in 2012 highlighted regional disparities and gender equalities in Turkey in spite of positive returns of the projects on girls' enrollment rate. The report also stressed the importance of monitoring girls' attendance and drop-out rates closely:

*Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı ve diğer kamu kurumlarınca yürütülen çalışmalar ve çeşitli sivil toplum kuruluşlarının gerçekleştirdikleri kampanyalarla, özellikle ilköğretimde okullulaşmada önemli kazanımlar elde edilmiştir. Ne var ki, yürütülen bütün çalışmalar ve yapılan yasal düzenlemeler, özellikle kız çocuklarının, hem ilköğretimde hem de ortaöğretimde okullulaşma oranlarının Türkiye'nin bütün bölgelerinde belirlenen hedeflere ulaşmasında ve eğitimde cinsiyet eşitliğinin sağlanmasında yeterli olmamıştır. Okullulaşma oranının artırılması kadar önemli bir başka boyut da okula gidebilen kız çocuklarının okula düzenli olarak devam etmelerinin sağlanması ve okulu terk etmelerinin önlenmesidir. Bu konuda hem kamunun hem de sivil toplum kuruluşlarının gayreti sürmektedir. (MEB, 2012a)*

*The work carried out by the Ministry of National Education and other public institutions and the campaigns carried out by various non-governmental organizations have resulted in significant gains in schooling, especially in primary education. However, all the work undertaken and the legislative arrangements made have not been sufficient, especially for girls, to achieve the targets set in all regions of Turkey in enrollment rates in both primary and secondary schools and to ensure gender equality in education. As well as increasing the enrollment rate, another important dimension is to ensure that girls who attend school are able to attend the school on a regular basis and avoid drop-outs. In this regard, efforts are being made by both the public and non-governmental organizations. (MONE, 2012a)*

In the report of 18<sup>th</sup> August 2014, Cumhuriyet highlighted the persistent gender inequalities in education in rural areas. Quoting a girl from a disadvantaged region of the country served to make the report more credible and convincing. On the other hand, the selection of the details and narrative structure unearth the insufficiency of the projects and policy efforts in challenging traditional gender roles and patriarchal social structure:

*İlkokulu bitirdikten sonra okuyamayan onlarca kız çocuğundan 13 yaşındaki Didem Çıplak, köyde büyük bir çoğunluğun kız çocuklarını yatılı okula göndermediğini söyledi. Eğitimde erkekler kadar şanslı olmadıklarını belirten Didem Çıplak, şöyle dedi: "Bu şans yakalamak için Milli Eğitim Bakanından köye okul istiyoruz. İlkokul bitince okul hayatımızın sona ermesini istemiyoruz. Özellikle kız çocukları 'okusun' diye bir çok kampanya yapılıyor. Ama biz bunlardan da yararlanamıyoruz. Köyde okula gönderilmeyen kızlar okula giden erkek çocukların tüm işini görüyor. Ya da küçük yaşta evlendiriliyor." (18.08.2014, Cumhuriyet)*

13-year-old Didem Çıplak, one of the dozens of girls who could not attend school after elementary school, said most of the families in the village do not send their daughters to the boarding schools. She indicated that girls are not as lucky as boys in terms of educational

opportunities. She also noted: “In order to have the chance of education, we want a school in the village from MoNE. We do not want our education to end after graduating from primary school. There are many projects especially for girls’ education, but we cannot benefit from those projects. In the village, girls who do not attend the school do all the housework of boys that go to school, or they are forced to get married at early ages.” (18.08.2014, Cumhuriyet)

The participating teachers also stressed insufficiency of girls’ education projects. Teachers 2 questioned effectiveness and continuity of the projects considering their advertisements. Similarly, T 5 stressed the discrepancy between official gender discourse and girls’ education projects. On the other hand, T 6 implied that projects could reach a limited number of girls which fell short of closing the gender gap in education:

*Biraz önce söylediğim gibi oluyor, reklamı büyük, bol, bolca konuşulan ama çok da hayatı hani nasıl diyeyim, yaşama yerleştirilebilen projeler olmuyor bence, devamı gelmiyor. (T 2)*

It happens as I said earlier, these are projects with big publicity, and they are widely talked about, but they are not fully realized, they are not followed upon. (T 2)

*Bir yandan kızların eğitimlerini desteklediklerini söylüyorlar değil mi kampanya yapıyorlar? Ama bir yandan da kızların kontrol altında tutulması gerektiğini söylüyorlar. İşte o yüzden çelişki gördüm. Davranış ile sözlerde, söylemlerde çelişki gördüm. Bu şekilde olmaz hem böyle söyleyip hem bu şekilde söylemesi. (T 5)*

On the one hand, they say they support girls’ education, they organize campaigns, right? But on the other hand, they say girls should be kept under control. Therefore, I see a contradiction here between behaviors and statements, expressions. You cannot do it, or achieve anything this way. (T 5)

*Katkısı olmadı mı? Oldu şöyle ki ... aile ikna edilirse Türk Eğitim Gönüllüleri onun sorumluluğunu alıyordu. Aile de okumasına izin veriyordu bir şekilde. Maddi desteği sunuyordu ama bir çocuk, iki çocuk, üç çocuk ile bu aradaki farkın kapatılması mümkün değil. (T 6)*

Didn’t it have a contribution? Of course, it did. You know, when the family was persuaded, Turkish Education Volunteers Foundation took financial responsibilities of the girl. The family let the girl study somehow. They were provided with financial support, but you cannot close this big gap with just a few girls. (T 6)

The analysis indicated that policy documents foregrounded gender parity arguments by presenting data on school enrollment and drop-out levels. Turkey’s progress in narrowing the gender gap in enrollment rates was considered insufficient in most of the documents. On the other hand, it was revealed that

gender parity arguments framed gender equality in education within easily measurable indicators and numerical concepts which overshadowed persistent inequalities. To start with, EFA Global Monitoring Report published by UNGEI in 2014 and UNICEF Annual Report published in 2013 emphasized regional differences in enrollment rates. Besides, UN Millenium Development Goals Report published in 2013 indicated that girls had lower enrollment rates at secondary level in disadvantaged regions:

*Nevertheless, despite overall progress, problems remain. Girls in rural areas are more disadvantaged and some differences by region have been not only deep but also persistent: in the poor predominantly Kurdish provinces of Siirt, Muş and Bitlis, just 60 girls are enrolled in secondary school for every 100 boys, with little change in recent years. (UNGEI, 2014b)*

*MoNE reports almost 100 per cent enrolment for both girls and boys in primary and middle school. In four-year secondary, net enrolment rates (boys: 70.8%; girls 69.3%) show improved enrolment and gender parity. Geographical disparities and non- attendance/drop-out – particularly among disadvantaged children - persist. (UNICEF Turkey, 2013)*

*Moreover, although gender parity has largely been achieved at the primary school level, similar progress has not been made at the other levels of education. Girls' enrolment in secondary education falls as low as 20–30% in provinces such as Van, Muş and Bitlis. (UN, 2013)*

In 18<sup>th</sup> Education Council report there was a specific emphasis on increasing girls' enrollment rates at secondary level of education. The document stressed improvements in free boarding education opportunities in order to increase female enrollment rates:

**13. MADDE** *Ortaöğretime erişimde güçlük yaşayan çocukların erişimlerini kolaylaştırmak için mevcut pansiyonların kapasiteleri artırılmalı, kapanma durumunda olan yatılı ilköğretim bölge okulların (YİBO) dan uygun olanların ortaöğretim pansiyonlarına dönüşümü sağlanmalı ve kız çocuklarının erişiminin sağlanması için gerekli tedbirler alınmalıdır.*

**14. MADDE** *Kız öğrencilerin ortaöğretime devamlarına ilişkin teşvikler artırılarak sürdürülmeli, bu konuda 1739 sayılı Yasanın 15. maddesi daha etkin hâle getirilmelidir. (18. MEB Şurası Kararları)*

**ARTICLE 13:** In order to facilitate the access of children who face difficulties in accessing secondary education, the capacities of existing pensions should be increased and the appropriate regional primary boarding schools (YİBO) that will be closed should be transformed into secondary school boarding houses and necessary measures should be taken to ensure access for girls.

**ARTICLE 14:** The incentives for secondary school attendance of girls should be maintained and increased, and the 15th article of the Law No. 1739 should be made more effective. (18<sup>th</sup> MoNE Education Council Decisions)

In this context, ERG's report on gender equality in education provided interrelated discourses of improvements in gender equality with an emphasis on policy initiatives and lack of quality education for all. Another report of ERG published in 2014 highlighted lack of equal and quality education for all considering regional disparities in Turkey:

*Erişim oranlarıyla ilgili rakamlar incelendiğinde, kız çocuklarının eğitime katılımlarını yükseltmek için uygulanan ikna yöntemleri ve maddi teşvik politikalarının ilköğretime erişimde cinsiyet eşitliği açısından bir iyileşme sağlandığı görülmektedir. Ancak erişimde niceliksel eşitlik tam olarak sağlanamamıştır. (ERG, 2009b)*

When figures related to access rates are examined, it appears that persuasion methods and financial incentive policies for raising educational attainment of girls have improved gender equity in access to primary education. However, quantitative equality in access is still not fully achieved. (ERG, 2009b)

*Türkiye'de okullulaşma oranları, özellikle kız çocukları açısından, yakın geçmişte önemli ölçüde artmıştır. Ancak sosyal hareketliliğin aynı oranda artmamış olması ve belli bölgelerde gelir eşitsizliğinin yüksek ve akademik performansın görece olarak düşük kalması, yalnızca erişimi artırmanın eğitimde eşitlik ve kalite konularında ilerleme sağlanmasını garanti etmediğini açıkça ortaya koyar. (ERG, 2014c)*

The enrollment rates in Turkey have increased considerably in recent years, especially for girls. However, the fact that social mobility has not increased at the same rate and the fact that inequalities of income have remained high and academic performance relatively low in certain regions demonstrate that merely increasing access does not guarantee progress in equality and quality in education. (ERG, 2014c)

Analysis of the newspaper clippings revealed the news reports posted in Hürriyet and Bugün foregrounded improvements in girls' enrollment rates. Increases in the girls' enrollment rates were highlighted with an emphasis on policy efforts and projects run in disadvantaged regions. The news report posted 21<sup>st</sup> November 2014 in Hürriyet quoted Minister of Education of the time to officially reflect improvements in girls' schooling ratio as important achievements in international scale:

Bakan Avcı, tüm eğitim ve öğretim kademelerinin okullaşma oranlarında önemli iyileşmeler sağlandığını vurguladı. Kız çocuklarının okullaşmasında uluslararası diğer bir gösterge olan cinsiyet oranlarının da kız çocukları lehine artışlar gösterdiğini vurgulayan Avcı..." (21.11.2014, Hürriyet)

Minister Avcı emphasized that schooling rates have improved in all levels of education and training significantly. Avcı also emphasized that gender ratios, which is another international indicator of girls' schooling, also showed an increase in favor of girls. (21.11.2014, Hürriyet)

*Bitlis'te kız çocuklarının eğitime kazandırılması amacıyla yürütülen çalışmalar kapsamında, tüm kızların okula kazandırıldığı belirtildi. İl Milli Eğitim Müdürlüğü öncülüğünde gönüllü öğretmenler tarafından kent merkezi, ilçe ve köylerde yürütülen kız çocuklarının eğitime kazandırılması çalışmaları, sonuç verdi. (31.12.2014, Hürriyet)*

It was reported that all the girls in Bitlis were enrolled in school as a result of projects for increasing enrolment rates of girls. It was thanks to the endeavors of voluntary teachers directed by Provincial Directorate for National Education towards ensuring enrolment of girls in city centers, provinces and villages. (31.12.2014, Hürriyet)

***Iğdır'da 100 kız çocuğu eğitime kazandırıldı:*** *Iğdır'da, "Kız Çocuklarının Okullaşmasının Arttırılması" projesi kapsamında okula gidemeyen 100 kız çocuğu, aileleri ile görüşülerek okullara kazandırıldı. (11.04.2011, Bugün)*

**100 girls were brought into education in Iğdır:** Parents of 100 girls who were not able to attend school were interviewed within the scope of "Raising Schooling of Girls" project and they were brought into schools in Iğdır. (11.04.2011, Bugün)

Another important concept emerged within the discourses of gender parity was girls' higher drop-out levels. ERG monitoring report published in 2014 and 2015 foregrounded girls' higher drop-out levels in spite of their high enrollment rates. However, the previous report published in 2012 highlighted higher drop-out levels of boys. Besides, a report on monitoring drop-out published by AÇEV, ERG and KA-Der in 2008 contextualized drop -out levels within a gender discourse. The report also emphasized the increases in girls' drop-out levels at 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> grades. It was revealed that as they get older girls had greater risk of dropping out of school:

*Dolayısıyla, okullulaşma oranları doğrultusunda ortaöğretime erişimde kız ve erkek öğrenciler arasında farklılık göze çarpmasa da; devamsızlık oranları, erişimin cinsiyet ayrımında farklılaştığına ve erkek öğrencilerin kız öğrencilere göre daha çok devamsızlık yaptıklarına işaret etmektedir. (ERG, 2014b)*

Therefore, while there is no striking difference between girls and boys in access to secondary education in terms of enrollment rates, absenteeism rates indicate that access is differentiated by gender, and male students are more absent than girls. (ERG, 2014b)

*Eğitimcilerle yapılan görüşmeler, oğlanların devamsızlık riskinin daha yüksek olduğuna işaret etmiştir. Buna karşın e-Okul verileri, kızların oğlanlara göre daha fazla devamsızlık*

yaptığını göstermektedir. Ayrıca kız öğrencilerin okuldan alınma ve sürekli devamsızlık risklerinin daha yüksek olabileceği düşünülmektedir. (ERG, 2015)

Interviews with educators indicated that the boys had a higher risk of absenteeism. On the other hand, e-School data show that girls are more absent than boys. It is also thought that the risks of withdrawal by parents and permanent absenteeism are higher for girls compared to boys. (ERG, 2015)

*Ayrıca 2010 yılında 1-5 ve 6-8. sınıflar için mazeretsiz öğrenci devamsızlığı sosyoekonomik altyapı, okul başarısı, yerleşim yeri ve cinsiyet temelinde ayrılmaktadır. Erkek öğrenciler kız öğrencilere göre daha çok devamsızlık yapmaktadır. (ERG, 2014)*

Besides, in 2010, 1<sup>st</sup> to 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup> grades unexcused school absenteeism levels showed variances on the basis of socioeconomic infrastructure, school success, settlement place, and gender. Male students are more absent than female students. (ERG, 2014)

*Elimizde okulu terk etmiş öğrencileri saptayacak bir yasal çerçeve ve buna bağlı veri tabanı olmadığı için yaş sınırını aşma nedeniyle öğrenim dışında kalmış olan öğrencileri okulu terk etmiş olarak değerlendirmek yanlış olmayacaktır. Üzerinde durulması gereken başka bir önemli nokta, kız öğrencilerde bu oranın daha yüksek olduğudur. Yıllar itibariyle, kızların erkeklere göre % 5-10 arasında daha yüksek bir oranı okulu terk etmektedir. Okulu terk durumunun 5. ve 6. sınıflarda yoğunlaştığı görülmektedir. Kız öğrencilerde bu yoğunlaşma erkeklere oranla daha fazladır. ...Bu durum diğer faktörler yanında sekiz yıllık zorunlu eğitimin henüz tam olarak yerleşmediğinin de bir göstergesidir. (AÇEV, ERG, KA-DER, 2008)*

Due to the lack of a legal framework to determine drop-out students at school, and no databases on this, it will not be wrong to consider students who have left schools due to age limitations as drop-out students. Another important point that needs to be emphasized is that this rate is higher in female students. Over the years, girls are leaving the school with a 5-10% higher rate than boys. The school dropout levels seem to concentrate in the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> grades. For girls, this concentration is higher than for males. ... This is an indication that, besides other factors, the eight-year compulsory education has not yet been fully established. (AÇEV, ERG, KA-DER, 2008)

There were different arguments on the factors leading to girls' lower enrollment and higher drop out levels in the policy documents analyzed in this study. ERG's monitoring report published in 2013 draw the attention to regional disparities with respect to enrollment rates. There were different arguments on the relationship between girls' enrollment and parental characteristics. ERG's report and European Union's field report marked the socio-economic status and attitudes of parents as prominent determinants of girls' enrollment and drop-out levels. ERG's report and Türk Eğitim Sen's report on 18<sup>th</sup> Education Council indicated that these factors were influential especially on the transition from primary to secondary education:



*Ancak, cinsiyete göre dağılım iller arasında farklılaşmakta; özellikle okullulaşma oranının düşük olduğu illerde kız ve erkek çocuklarının okullulaşma oranları arasındaki fark açılmaktadır. ... Bireyin sosyoekonomik altyapısı ilköğretimden ortaöğretime geçişin önemli belirleyicilerindedir. Ailenin gelir ve eğitim düzeyi arttıkça bireyin ortaöğretime geçiş olasılığı yükselmektedir. ...Ayrıca, bireyin eğitim sistemini terk etmesinde ve özellikle kız çocuklarının eğitime katılımında, ailelerin eğitime ilişkin tutumlarının, çocuklarını eğitime devam etme konusunda desteklemelerinin ve cesaretlendirmelerinin çok önemli olduğu vurgulanmıştır. (ERG, 2013)*

However, distribution by gender varies among different cities and the difference between the enrollment rates of girls and boys becomes particularly evident especially in cities where the enrollment rate is low. ... The socio-economic infrastructure of the individual is an important determinant of the transition from primary education to secondary education. As the income and education level of the family grow, the likelihood of the individual transitioning to secondary education increases. ... It has also been emphasized that parents' attitudes towards education, the support for their children to continue education and their encouragement are crucial determinants in school abandonment and in participation of girls in education. (ERG, 2013)

*Bulgular, bazı durumlarda çocukların kişisel nedenlerden dolayı okula gitmedikleri, devamsızlık yaptıkları veya okulu bıraktıklarını göstermektedir. Bunlardan en önemlisi öğrencinin başarısız olması ve eğer eğitimini sürdürürse başarısız olmaktan korkması olarak ortaya çıkmıştır. Bu durumda aynı zamanda okul ve ortamı ile yakından ilgili olan başarısızlık çocukların özellikle de kızların okulu bırakmasında en önemli nedenlerden biridir. Zaten birçok aile başarısız olan kız çocuklarını hemen okuldan almakta, buna karşılık başarısız olsa da erkek çocuklarını okutmayı sürdürmektedir. (MEB, 2012a)*

Findings show that in some cases children do not go to school, engage in absenteeism or leave school due to personal reasons. The most important of these is the failure of the student and the fear of failing if they continue their education. In this case, failure, which is also closely related to the school and its environment, is one of the most important reasons why children, especially girls, leave school. Many families are already taking their unsuccessful daughters out of school immediately, but continue to let their boys study even if they fail. (MONE, 2012a)

*İlköğretimden ortaöğretime yönlendirmenin yeterli bağlayıcılığa sahip olmaması, sorunun devam etmesine neden olmaktadır. Ortaöğretimde anlamlı olmayan yönlendirmeler sonucu, öğrencilerin öğrenimini tamamlamadan okulu terk edişlerinde artış görülmektedir. Yine bazı coğrafi bölgelerde ilköğretim ikinci kademesinde kız öğrencilerin okul terklerine zorlandıkları bilinmektedir. (Türk Eğitim Sen, 2010)*

The fact that the transition from primary education to secondary education is not sufficiently enforced results in the continuation of the problem. As a result of misguidance in secondary education, we witness an increased level of school drop-outs before the students complete their education. It is also known that in some geographical regions girls in secondary education are compelled to leave school. (Türk Eğitim Sen, 2010)

The analysis revealed that gender differences in enrollment and drop-out levels were influenced by socio-cultural and socio-economic factors. Example can be

found in a report published by AÇEV, ERG and KA-Der in 2008 and Türk Eğitim Sen's report on 18<sup>th</sup> Education Council:

*Okulu terke yol açan nedenler, eğitim sistemi ve okul koşullarının yanı sıra sosyo-kültürel ve ekonomik koşullardan da kaynaklanmakta, öncelikleri ve ağırlıkları bölgeler itibariyle farklılıklar göstermektedir. Ayrıca kız ve erkek öğrencilerin okulu terk nedenleri arasında da farklılıklar olduğu gözlenmiştir. (AÇEV, ERG, KA-DER, 2008)*

Reasons leading to school dropout stem from the socio-cultural and economic conditions as well as the educational system and school conditions, and the priorities and weights of these factors vary by region. It was also observed that there were differences between male and female students' reasons for dropout. (AÇEV, ERG, KA-DER, 2008)

*İlköğretim ve ortaöğretimde öğrenci kayıt ve takibinin MEBBİS üzerinden e-kayıt yoluyla gerçekleştirilmiş olması, bu oranların artmasında etkili olmuştur. Ancak, Türkiye'de göçer, tarım işçiliği yapan, ormanda çalışan, sisteme kayıt olmayan, plansız şehre göçen vb, ailelerin çocuklarının (özellikle kız çocukları ve özel eğitim gerektiren öğrencilerin) okuma oranının hala çok düşük olduğu gözlemlenmektedir. (Türk Eğitim Sen, 2010)*

The fact that the enrollment rates and students' follow-up in primary and secondary education were carried out through e-registration via MEBBİS has been effective in revealing an increase at these rates. However, it is observed that the rate of literate children (especially girls and special education students) is still very low in Turkey, especially in families of immigrants, agricultural workers, forest workers, non-registered workers, and unplanned migrations to city, and so on. (Türk Eğitim Sen, 2010)

Participating teachers expressed that dropping-out was problem for both girls and boys. T 9 addressed the regional factors in this context while T 2 stressed the importance of monitoring school enrollments and dropping out:

*Türkiye okul bırakmada açık ara Avrupa şampiyonu demiş, yani bu sadece kız çocukları için değil bizim için erkek çocukları için de aynı Türkiye'de. Yani özellikle daha varoş kesimlerle okul bırakma çok yaygın. (T 9)*

It says here that Turkey is the leading country in Europe in terms of dropout rates, I mean this is not just for girls, the same is true for boys in Turkey. Especially in the suburbs, dropping out of school is very common. (T 9)

*...Kız için de geçerli erkek için de geçerli ama, konuşulan daha çok kız olduğu için söylüyorum. Kaç tane kızımız liseyi bitirip mezun olabiliyor, bunun takibi çok önemli, yani o takip sistemi kuruldu mu, düzenli işliyor mu, veriler var mı, bilgiler var mı, bunların bilinmesi gerekiyor bence. (T 2)*

...It is true for both girls and boys, though, I mean I am telling this because girls are the ones discussed widely. How many of our girls end up finishing and graduating from high school? Following this up is really crucial. I mean, is there a mechanism to follow this, is it working properly, do we have the data and information on this. I think we need to know these points. (T 2)

### 4.2.3. Female Freedom

In the policy documents analyzed in this study, dress code and headscarf issues were contextualized within the discourses of female freedom and rights of women. Dominant discourse defined female freedom through arguments of equality and democracy. The reports of Eğitim Bir Sen, SETA Analiz and Türk Eğitim Sen, legitimized allowing headscarf at schools through normative claims of female freedom and democracy. The reports foregrounded wearing headscarf as a human right and headscarf ban as a form of female discrimination and restriction. A deeper interpretation of the reports revealed that there was a preferential perception in the reports as they did not include other dimensions of the headscarf issue in Turkish context. Another noteworthy point was related with the meaning of the selected word “normalization” (Tr. Normalleşme) in the report of SETA. In the background information the report naturalized common Islamic dress code consisting of headscarf through democracy and normalization arguments. Besides, the details included and negative connotation of the selected words in Eğitim Bir Sen report provided circumstantial evidence of political aspect of headscarf issue in Turkey:

#### ***Kılık ve Kıyafet Yönetmeliği***

*Yönetmeliğin Kur'an-ı Kerim derslerinde ve İmam Hatip Okullarında başörtüsüne serbestiyet tanınması olumlu olmakla birlikte, diğer ders ve okul türlerinde bu serbestliğin tanınmaması, temel hak ve hürriyetlere ilişkin bir kısıtlamadır. Ancak aynı yönetmelikte ilköğretim ve ortaöğretim kurumlarında başörtüsü yasağını sürdüren bir ifadenin yer alması, özgürlükleri önceleyen ve öğrencilere özgüven aşılamayı amaçladığı ifade edilen bu yönetmeliğin en büyük çelişkisidir. Kız çocuklarının özellikle ortaöğretim düzeyinde okullaşma oranlarının arzu edilen düzeyde olmadığı Türkiye’de, kendi tercihiyle başını örten bir öğrenciye sadece İmam Hatip Okullarının kapısının açık olması, insan hakları bağlamında değerlendirilip yeniden gözden geçirilmesi gereken bir konudur. Zaten yönetmelik sonrası yapılan tartışmalarda öne çıkan en önemli hususlardan biri, başörtüsü serbestliğinin bütün okullara getirilmemiş olmasıdır. Toplumun taleplerinin eğitim sistemine yansıtılabilmesi ve böylece eğitim sisteminin demokratikleşmesi ve normalleşmesi için, bu konuda yeni bir düzenleme ihtiyacı bulunmaktadır. (SETA, 2012)*

#### **School Dress Codes**

The regulation is positive for giving freedom to headscarves in Qur'an lessons and Imam Hatip Schools, but the lack of recognition of this freedom in other classes and school types is a limitation on fundamental rights and freedoms. However, the existence of a clause that bans the headscarves in elementary and secondary education institutions is the biggest contradiction of this regulation, which aims at emphasizing freedoms and instilling

confidence in the students. In Turkey, where girls' schooling rates are not at the desired level, especially at secondary school level, the fact that only the doors of Imam Hatip Schools are open for a student who covers her head by her own will is a subject that needs to be evaluated and re-examined in the context of human rights. One of the most important issues that have already come to the fore in the debates after the regulation is that the headscarf freedom is not brought to all schools. In order for the demands of society to be reflected in the education system and thus for democratization and normalization of the education system, there is a need for a new regulation in this respect. (SETA, 2012)

*Ense tıraşı, sakal, favori, bıyık, tırnak uzunluğu ile ilgilenen, çalışanların kot ve benzeri pantolon giymeyeceği hükmünü içeren, inancı gereği başını örtme ihtiyacı duyan ve tercihinden dolayı saygı duyulması gereken kadın çalışanlara başörtüsü yasağı getiren darbe döneminin ürünü, çağdışı yönetmeliği tanımadığımızı haykırmak için buradayız. Öğrencilerin kılık ve kıyafet yönetmeliği değişmiş, tek tipçilikten vazgeçilmiş, imam hatip okullarında bütün derslerde, diğer okullarda sadece Kur'an-ı Kerim dersinde başörtüsü serbestisi içerecek şekilde serbest kıyafet hakkı tanınmışken, öğretmen adaylarına staj dönemlerinde serbest kıyafetle okula gitme hakları iade edilmişken, eğitim çalışanlarının saçıyla, bıyığıyla, ense tıraşıyla, favorisiyle, pantolonunun kumaşıyla ilgilenilmesini kesinlikle doğru bulmuyoruz. (Eğitim Bir Sen, 2013c)*

We are here to exclaim that we do not recognize the anachronistic coup-period regulation that deals with neck shavings, beards, sideburns, mustaches, length of the nails, that involves the ruling that the employees cannot wear jeans and similar trousers, and that bans the headscarf for women who wish to wear it based on their beliefs and who need to be respected for that. Although the dress code has been changed for students, uniformity is given up altogether, and freedom of headscarves has been recognized in all classes in Imam Hatips and Qur'an classes in other school types and although the teachers are given the right to go to school without a dress code in the internship period, we find it absolutely wrong to be dealing with the hair, the neck shave, sideburns, and the type of fabric used in their trousers. (Eğitim Bir-Sen, 2013c)

*Özel kanunu olan polis ve asker dışında, belli yaşa gelmiş hiçbir insana ne giyeceğini dayatmanın öncelikle bir insan hakkı ihlali olduğuna inanıyoruz. Bir insanın giyinme tarzı bizi rahatsız ediyorsa, insan özgürlüğüne bakış açımızı sorgulamamız, ne kadar demokrat olduğumuzu, bir kere daha değerlendirmemiz gerekmektedir. Özgürlüğü sadece kendisi için isteyen insanlar, ancak başka insanlara nasıl giyinmesi gerektiğini dayatırlar. Bizim saçımıza, sakalımıza, bıyığımıza, eteğimizin, giyeceğimiz kıyafetin rengine bir şablon çizilmesi, bizi ne kadar rahatsız ediyorsa, başkalarının kıyafet hakkına bakış açımızın da aynı ölçüde olması gerekmez mi? Buradaki tek sınır, toplumsal ahlak ve değerlerimiz olmalıdır. (Türk Eğitim Sen, 2012b)*

Except for police officers and soldiers, who have specific regulations, we believe that it is primarily a violation of human rights to impose what to wear to a person at a certain age. If the way a person dresses makes us feel uncomfortable, we need to question our point of view on human freedom and evaluate how democratic we are. It is only those people who ask for freedom only for themselves that impose on other people how to dress. If it bothers us to have limitations put on our hair, our beard, our mustache, on the color of our skirts and clothes, it should also bother us to put limitations on others' clothing styles. The only limitation here should be our social ethics and values. (Türk Eğitim Sen, 2012b)

On the other hand, in different Eğitim Sen reports, headscarf regulation was criticized through human rights and female freedom arguments. In a report on headscarf published in 2013, allowing headscarf at schools was reflected as an obstacle for female freedom. The report emphasized that cultural and traditional practices causing gender discrimination were reinforced through legislative measures. Similarly, the report on dress code published in 2012 reflected dress code policies as a step towards the Islamization of education. In the background information, unidirectional freedom ensured through dress code regulation was criticized. The report also drew the attention to the contradiction between banning religious symbols and allowing headscarf in the same legislation. Besides, reflecting headscarf as a religious symbol revealed political dimension of the regulation:

*Eğitim-Sen, bugün Resmi Gazete'de yayımlanan ve okullara kıyafet serbestliği getiren yönetmeliğin aynı zamanda kız öğrencilerin seçmeli Kuran-ı Kerim derslerinde başörtü takmasının yolunu açtığını hatırlatarak, "Bu durum çocuklar arasında kamplaşma yaratacak, bazı bölgelerde kız çocuklarına yönelik fiilen baskı oluşturacaktır. Okullarda dinsel kıyafetlerin giyilmesini "kıyafet serbestliği" kapsamında değerlendirmek mümkün değildir" değerlendirmesinde bulundu. Eğitim-Sen'den yapılan yazılı açıklamada, 4+4+4'ün "dindar ve kindar nesil yetiştirme" projesinin gerçek amacının yavaş yavaş ortaya çıkmaya başladığı belirtilerek, bugün Resmi Gazete'de yayımlanan Milli Eğitim Bakanlığına bağlı okulların öğrencilerinin kılık ve kıyafetlerini düzenleyen yönetmeliğe değinildi. (Eğitim Sen Başörtüsü Açıklaması, 2013)*

Eğitim-Sen warned that the regulation published in the Official Gazette, which has brought freedom of clothing in schools, opened the way for female students to wear headscarves in elective Quran classes, saying, "This situation will create polarization among children and will actually create pressure on girls in some regions. It is not possible to consider wearing religious clothes within the scope of "clothing freedom". In the written statements made by Eğitim-Sen, the regulations published in the Official Gazette on the uniforms and clothes of the students in schools affiliated to the MoNE were evaluated, and it was mentioned that the real purpose of the 4 +4 + 4 project, which is "to raise religious and vindictive generations", has started to appear gradually with these regulations. (Eğitim Sen Başörtüsü Açıklaması, 2013)

*"Yönetmelikte siyasi sembol içeren simge, şekil ve yazıların yer aldığı fular, bere, şapka, çanta ve benzeri materyallerin kullanılmayacağı, kısa kollu gömlek ve tişört giymenin yasak olduğu, etek boyunun diz altında olması gerektiği belirtilirken, dini simgeleyen kıyafetlerin okullarda giyilecek olması büyük bir çelişkidir". "Okullarda dinsel simgeler kesinlikle kullanılmamalıdır". Açıklamanın sonunda kılık kıyafet yönetmeliğinde yapılan değişikliklerin, eğitim sisteminde yaşanan yoğun dinselleştirme uygulamalarının geldiği noktayı gösterdiği vurgulanarak "hangi ad altında olursa olsun, okullarda dini yaşam tarzını yaygınlaştıran, gelişme çağındaki çocukların psikolojisini olumsuz etkileyecek dinsel*

*simgeler kesinlikle kullanılmamalıdır” ifadelerine yer verildi. (Eğitim Sen Kılık Kıyafet Açıklaması, 2012)*

"It is a great contradiction that while it is forbidden to wear short-sleeved shirts and t-shirts, short skirts, the scarfs, hats, bags, and similar items containing political symbols, it is allowed to wear clothes symbolizing religion in schools". "Religious symbols should never be used in schools". At the end of the announcement, it was emphasized that the changes in the dress code displayed the point that the intense religious practices in the education system reached, saying “religious symbols that will adversely affect the psychology of the children in the period of development should absolutely not be used under any name”. (Eğitim Sen Kılık Kıyafet Açıklaması, 2012)

In this context, T 6 criticized unidirectional freedom enabled through dress code regulation by discussing the limitations of students’ dressing. In the background information, teacher condemned the governing party for changing the dress code on the basis of conservative and Muslim culture. The meaning of phrase “biased freedom” (Tr İşine gelen özgürlük) was noteworthy in this sense:

*Türbanı getirdik diyor, özgürlüğü getirdik diyor ama diğer taraftan diğer çocukların da kısa kollu giymesine karşı. Hani bunu yasak ediyor hala. İşlerine gelen özgürlük var burada. (T 6)*

They say they brought turban, that they brought freedom, but on the other hand, they are against other children wearing short-sleeved shirts and t-shirts. I mean it is still forbidden. It is the kind of freedom that suits their book. (T 6)

When legislative discourse on MONE’s dress code regulation was analyzed, it was revealed that rigid articles of dress code limited female freedom and rights. Dress code created differential freedom standards for boys and girls and reinforced gender inequality in education. Another disturbing point was related with the early age when headscarf was allowed. The legislation was in line with the trend teaching young girls to adopt modest styles of dress. Besides, allowing a young girl to wear headscarf takes the right of free choice from her as the child is too young to think and make the right decision on her own:

**MADDE 4 – (1) Öğrenciler;**

- a) Öğrenim gördükleri okulun arması ve rozeti dışında nişan, arma, sembol, rozet ve benzeri takılar takamaz,
- b) İnsan sağlığını olumsuz yönde etkileyen ve mevsim şartlarına uygun olmayan kıyafetler giyemez,
- c) Yırtık veya delikli kıyafetler ile şeffaf kıyafetler giyemez,

- d) *Vücut hatlarını belli eden şort, tayt gibi kıyafetler ile diz üstü etek, derin yırtmaçlı etek, kısa pantolon, kolsuz tişört ve kolsuz gömlek giyemez*
- e) **(Değişik: 27/09/2014 tarihli ve 29132 sayılı R.G.)** *Okullarda yüzü açık bulunur; siyasî sembol içeren simge, şekil ve yazıların yer aldığı fular, bere, şapka, çanta ve benzeri materyalleri kullanamaz; saç boyama, vücuda dövme ve makyaj yapamaz, pirsing takamaz, bıyık ve sakal bırakamaz,*
- f) **(Değişik: 27/09/2014 tarihli ve 29132 sayılı R.G.)** *Okul öncesi eğitim kurumlarında ve ilkokullarda okul içinde baş açık bulunur. (Millî Eğitim Bakanlığına Bağlı Okul Öğrencilerinin Kılık Ve Kıyafetlerine Dair Yönetmelik)*

**CLAUSE 4 – (1) Students cannot wear...**

- a) badges, emblems, symbols, pins, and similar ornaments other than those of their own schools,
- b) clothes that negatively affect human health and clothes incompatible with seasonal conditions,
- c) ripped or holey clothes, and transparent clothes,
- d) revealing clothes like shorts and tights, and short skirts, slit skirts, short pants, sleeveless shirts and T-shirts.
- e) **(Adapted: 27/09/2014 dated and 29132 numbered law O.G.)** Students cannot cover their faces; wear scarfs, hats, bags and similar items containing symbols, figures and letters with political connotations; dye their hair; have a tattoo or piercing; put on make-up; and grow beard and mustache.

**(Adapted: 27/09/2014 dated and 29132 numbered law O.G.)** Students cannot cover their heads during pre-school education and in elementary school. (Regulations on Student Clothing In Mone-Affiliated Schools)

In some of the news reports, headscarf ban was reflected as a barrier to female freedom. The news report of 8<sup>th</sup> February 2014 published in Bugün contextualized female freedom within the discourses of religion. The newspaper adopted conservative perspective by foregrounding freedom of religion and belief in the report. Similarly, in the report of 6<sup>th</sup> December 2014 published in Star, headscarf issue was contextualized within the discourses of freedom and democracy. The report revealed that change in dress code was a part of a wider process aiming at reconstruction of education system:

***Eğitimde değişiklikler istişare ile olmalı***

*Abdullah İkinci (ÖĞ-DER Erzurum Şube Başkanı): “...Avrupa’da “Yüzyılın Pedagojik Yanlışı” diye adlandırılan, bilimsel verilerin iddiaları doğruladığı bir yanlışa herkesi mahkûm eden Karma Eğitim mecburiyetine son verilmelidir. Öğrencilerin Kılık ve Kıyafet Yönetmeliğindeki Sınırlama Kaldırılmalıdır. Okullarımızda kız öğrencilere uygulanan çağdışı başörtüsü yasağı son bulmalıdır. Bakanlık, hiçbir öğrencinin inanç özgürlüğünü kısıtlamamalı, yönetmelikteki sınırlamayı kaldırarak, kız öğrencilerin haklarını toptan iade*

*etmelidir. Kamuda Kılık ve Kıyafet serbestliğinde erkekler de göz önünde bulundurulmalıdır. Müfredat ve ders kitapları baştan sona yeniden gözden geçirilmeli maneviyatı önemseyen bir ekip tarafından yeniden yazılmalıdır. Erzurum da ortaöğretimdeki kız ve erkek öğrencilerin yaşadığı yurt sorunu çözülmelidir. Kız İmam hatip lisesinin yurdu mutlaka yapılmalıdır. Tüm ilçelerden gelen öğrencilere hitap edecek yatılı İmam Hatip Kız Okulu açılmasını tüm halkımız bekliyor." 08.02.2014 (Bugün)*

### **Changes in education need to be negotiated**

Abdullah İkinci, ÖĞ-DER Erzurum Branch Chairperson, said: "The obligation to receive education in mixed-sex classes, which is called as "Pedagogical Mistake of the Century" in Europe due to scientific findings on the contrary, should at once be abolished. The limitations on the dress code regulations should be removed. The outdated headscarf ban applied to girls in our schools must come to an end. The Ministry shall not restrict the freedom of belief of any student, and shall revoke the rights of female students, wholly, by lifting the restriction in the regulations. Men should also be taken into consideration in clothing freedom in state. The curriculum and the textbooks must be revised and rewritten from scratch by a team that cares for spirituality. In Erzurum, the dormitory problem of girls and boys in secondary education should be solved. Girl's Imam Hatip dormitory house must absolutely be built. All our people are waiting for the opening of the Imam Hatip Girls' School, which will appeal to students from all the districts". 08.02.2014 (Bugün)

### **Eğitimde özgürlükçü paradigma: Devletin ideolojisinden halkın iradesine...**

*...eğitim alanında yapılan değişiklikleri yalnızca pedagojik sonuçlarıyla/boyutlarıyla sınırlamak da doğru değildir. Zira bu süreçte, okullarda serbest kıyafet uygulamasına geçilmesi, başörtülü öğretmenlerin kamuda istihdam edilmelerinin önünün açılması, özel okullarda farklı dil ve lehçelerde eğitimin mümkün hale getirilmesi, andımız uygulamasına son verilmesi ve imam-hatip okullarına yönelik ayrımcılığın kaldırılması gibi birçok özgürlükçü düzenleme de hayata geçirilmiştir. Yeniden yapılanma sürecindeki tüm bu adımlar sayesinde, eğitim alanı hem pedagojik gereklilikler açısından daha yetkin hale gelmeye hem de daha demokratik ve çoğulcu bir yapıya evrilmeye başlamıştır 06.12.2014 (Star)*

### **Libertarian paradigm in education: From state ideology to people's ideology**

... it is not right to limit the changes made in the field of education to pedagogical results/dimensions alone. In this process, many libertarian arrangements such as the introduction of unrestrictive dress codes in schools, the possibility of headscarved teachers to be employed in state, making education in different languages and dialects in special schools possible, ending the practice of 'morning pledges' in schools, and eliminating discrimination against imam hatip schools have been put into practice in this period. Through all of these steps in the restructuring process, the field of education has begun to evolve into a more democratic and pluralistic structure as well as becoming more competent in terms of meeting pedagogical needs. 06.12.2014 (Star)

In the reports of Sözcü and Yurt, there was an emphasis on child rights and disadvantages of wearing headscarf in early ages. The reports claimed that imposing headscarf on little girls was against the child right and influence their



psychology negatively. The report of 27<sup>th</sup> September 2014 published in Sözcü quoted Turkish Bar Association to foreground the legal dimension of the issue and to make the report more credible:

***TBB'den 'okullarda türban' açıklaması***

*Türkiye Barolar Birliği, türban kullanımını 9 yaşa indiren yönetmelik değişikliği hakkında bir açıklama yayımladı. Yapılan yazılı açıklamada türban kullanımını 9 yaşa indiren değişikliğin Resmi Gazete'de yayımlandığı belirtilerek "Bu düzenleme ile türbanın ortaöğretim sınıflarına da sokulması, dikkatler ülkemizin ve bölgemizin içinde bulunduğu sorunlar yumağında iken kadın özgürlüğünü sınırlamada bir adım daha atmaktır. Anayasamızın 2. maddesine aykırı olduğu gibi, doğrudan Birleşmiş Milletler Çocuk Haklarına Dair Sözleşme'nin 14. maddesinin düzenlediği "çocuğun düşünce, vicdan ve din özgürlükleri hakkına, Kadın Haklarına Karşı Her Türü Ayırıcılığın Kaldırılması Sözleşmesi'ne ve Avrupa İnsan Hakları Mahkemesi kararlarına açıkça aykırılık oluşturmaktadır" ifadeleri kullanıldı. 27.9.2014 (Sözcü)*

**Statement from The Turkish Bars Association about "turban in schools"**

The Turkish Bars Association has issued a statement on the change in the regulation, which has pulled the age of turban use to the age of 9. The written statement explains that the change in the use of the turban has been published in the Official Gazette, saying that "while everyone's attention is focused on the load of problems in our country and in our region, the introduction of the headscarf into secondary education classes is another step in limiting women's freedom. It is not only contradictory to Article 2 of our Constitution, but it also directly contradicts with "the right of the child to freedom of thought, conscience and religion", which is directly regulated by Article 14 of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women's Rights, and the decisions of the European Court of Human Rights". (27.9.2014, Sözcü)

***Anaokulu ve ilkokula da mı başörtüsü!***

*İster başörtüsü taksin ister takmasın bu psikolojik dayatma ileride kız çocuklarımızda çok ciddi psikolojik travmalar yaratacaktır! O zaman bunun hesabını kim verecek çok merak ediyorum... Yani AKP Hükümeti'nin aldığı bu karar, nereden bakarsanız bakın toplumda yaratacağı psikolojik baskının yanında sosyolojik anlamda da kutuplaştırıcı bir etki yaratacaktır. Tamamen siyasi rant elde etmek için hükümet programında ve parti programında yokken, apar topar, hele de şu ortamda, böyle bir uygulamaya gidilmesi, çocuklar üzerinden 'din istismarı' yapmaktan başka bir şey değildir. (25.9.2014, Yurt)*

**Headscarves in kindergarten and primary school, too?**

Whether they are covered or not, this psychological imposition will create serious psychological trauma in all our girls the future! I wonder who will account for it then... That is, no matter how you look at it, this decision of the AKP government will have a sociological polarizing effect, as well as the psychological pressure that it will create in society. Pushing this kind of a regulation, though it is not in the government program and party program, is nothing but making 'religion exploitation' over children in order merely to obtain a political gain. (25.9.2014, Yurt)

The news report of Cumhuriyet published in 24<sup>th</sup> September 2014, drew the attention to getting a little girl wear headscarf by means of new dress code regulation. The report questioned the free choice dimension of wearing headscarf in primary school level. It was claimed that fathers orient girls to cover up as girls are too young to make such a big decision. In the background information, the report referred to patriarchal codes of living limiting women's behavior and dressing. The importance gender equality in education was pointed out by referring the use of "student" as a gender free word:

*"Ortaöğretimde başörtüsü serbestisi", kız ve erkek olmak üzere, iki cinsiyeti aynı anda anlatan bir sözcük olan "öğrenci ye özgürlük değil, 10 yaşındaki kız çocuklarının babalarına "baş kapatma" hakkı vermektir. 24.09.2014 (Cumhuriyet)*

'Freedom of headscarf in secondary school' is not a freedom given to 'students', a term which is used to describe both genders, rather it is a right given to female students' fathers to make their 10-year-old daughters wear headscarves. 24.09.2014 (Cumhuriyet)

While interpreting the news reports, the participating teachers also emphasized the free choice dimension of wearing headscarf in early ages. Most of the teachers agreed that wearing headscarf in early ages limited the rights of free choice. T 2 emphasized impact of parents in girls dressing choices while T 7 point out importance peer pressure element. On the other hand, T 7 pointed out the role of schools in reinforcing female oppression through imposing dress codes in early ages:

*Doğru evet işte yani çocuğun kendi iradesiyle değil de, annesinin-babasının isteğiyle kapanmış oluyor, ondan bahsediyor değil mi? ...10 yıllık süreçte üçüncü okulum, 2 tane okulumda bunu deneyimledim çok net. Çocukların istemediği halde o başını kapattıklarını biliyorum. (T 2)*

Yes, this is correct, I mean girls are covering their heads not by their own will, but by their parents' will, it is talking about that, right? ...This is my third school within the last 10 years, and I have explicitly experienced this in two of my schools. I know of girls who are obliged to cover their heads against their own will. (T 2)

*Bakıyorsunuz çoğu takmış, o da takmak istiyor. Bu normalleşiyor artık küçük yaşta ya da sonrası olması gerektiği yani kendi o yaşta tam karar veremedi idrak edemedi, bunu yapması gereken bir zorunluluk gibi algılıyor o çocuk o yaşta ve çoğu takıyor... (T 5)*

She looks around and sees the majority are covered, so she also wants to cover her head. This becomes normal then, doesn't matter at a small age or later. Without really deciding

clearly, or without really comprehending what she is doing, she takes it as an obligation and wears it at that age, the majority does. (T 5)

*11 yaşındaki bir çocuğun bunu sorgulama ve idrak etme kapasitesi yok ve bir şekilde birilerinin baskısıyla o örtüyü takacak. Ve eğer okulda da bu serbest hale gelirse çocuk daha yaşamının çok başında, çok hayati bir kararı vermiş olacak. Aslında belki okuldaki ortamda, okulda serbest olmasa belki daha o yaşta din bu kadar şeyi getirilmese çocuk belki ilerde bunu sorgulamaya başlayacak ama öyle bir karar almayacak. (T 7)*

An 11-year-old does not have the potential to question and comprehend this decision, and somehow she will wear it under the pressure of others. And if it becomes liberated in school, the girl will have decided on something so vital at a very early age in her life. Indeed, if it is not liberated in school, if religion does not bring so many obligations at that age, the child might start questioning at later ages and will not take this kind of a decision. (T 7)

Participating teachers also highlighted children's rights and freedom of girls in their comments on allowing headscarf at schools. The teachers' responses exemplified the ways imposing headscarf on a little girl deprived her of her childhood. T 9 and T 2 pointed out how dressing like a grown-up would influence behaviors and feelings of little girls:

*Yani giyimine, kuşamına bakacak ama belki içinden, içindeki şeyleri yapamayacak yani hani belki çıkıp oynamak isteyecek, başka koşmak isteyecek ama çocuğun üzerinde otomatikman zaten bir baskı var. Kendi ifade edemeyen bir, bir çocuğun eğitimde ne kadar ilerleyeceğini bekleyebilirsin. Eğitimi de kısıtlayacak tabi ki, belki daha çekingen olacak, belki daha utangaç olacak. (T 9)*

I mean she will look at the way she dresses, her clothes, but from inside, she will not be able to do the things that she desires in herself. I mean maybe she will want to go outside and play, or to run outside, but there is already a pressure on the girl. How much can you expect an individual who cannot express herself to proceed in education? Of course, this will also limit her education, maybe she will become more shy, and more introvert. (T 9)

*Kız çocuğu uzun uzun elbiseleriyle işte başı örtülü bir şekilde okula geliyor. Ama o çocuk oyun çağında o üzerindeki kıyafetin ağırlığından en başta zaten koşmayı bile unutuyor bence. O bile çocuk hakkını, oyun hakkını elinden almış oluyorsun çocuğun, çok küçük yaş bence 5. sınıf. (T 2)*

The girl is coming to school in very long clothes, her head covered. But that child is still in play age, and I am guessing she even forgets to run in the first place due to the weight of those clothes on her. Even with that, you are actually abusing their rights as a child, and you are taking away their rights to play, I mean 5<sup>th</sup> grade is too early if you ask me. (T 2)

Besides, T 6 criticized imposing headscarf on girls at early ages by discussing restrictions on girls and their rights. The teacher questioned free choice element in female's decision to wear headscarf in Turkey. In the background information, the

teacher referred to oppression of women in Turkish society through men's control over female body:

*Onların yerlere kadar etekleri kořmalarını engelliyor. Bunlar özgürlük müdür yoksa çocuęında hakkı mıdır bazı şeyler? Sonuçta aile ve devletin verdiği kararlar sonucu öyle geliyorlar...18 yaş altını dünya çocuk olarak kabul ettiği için, bedenine dair ne devletin ne de ailenin daha doğrusu bir yaptırımı olamaz. Kesinlikle bu o yařtaki çocuęun kendi kararı diye kabul etmiyorum. Bu belli bir yönlendirme ile yapılıyor. 18 yaşı üstü için kesinlikle konuşmuyoruz hani artık o bir bireydir öyle kabul edilir. Vücutu ile ilgili açmak istedięi kadarda açabilir, istedięi kadarda kapatabilir kendi kararı, kendi özgürlüğü olduęu sürece. Bu öyle iç içe geçmiş şeyler ki toplum orada çıkıyor. 18 yaş üstü olsa bile insan evlenince kocasının isteęi ile kapanabiliyor hani bu kendi isteęiyle deęil... (T 6)*

These overly long skirts of girls prevent them from running. Now, is this freedom, or are some of these things rights of children? At the end of the day, they are coming to school that way based on the decisions of their parents... Since the whole world considers those under 18 as children, neither the state nor the families can have a sanction on their bodies. I definitely do not take it as a decision of her own will at that age. This is made through certain guidance. We are not talking about those over 18, I mean if you are over 18, you are an individual; this is how we consider it. She can decide on how much to reveal or how much to cover, as long as that is her decision and her freedom. These are all intertwined issues, so you see the society there. Even if a girl is over 18, she might be forced to cover by the will of her husband, I mean it is not by her own will. (T 6)

### **4.3. Barriers To Girls' Education**

Educational participation improves the life prospects of girls by shaping their future roles and status in the society. Nevertheless, women cannot utilize the same opportunities as their male counterparts which manifest itself in lower education level and fewer opportunities for female participation in social life (UNESCO, 2003). Studies revealed some important factors causing gender inequality in education including unequal attention and treatment given to girls, classroom and school culture which cause girls' low self-esteem, gender stereotyping in curriculum and in course book, stereotyped assumption in relation to sexes and difference in abilities and organization of schools (Chapman, 2001; Colclough, 2004). Since 1999, Turkey has achieved a fast progress towards gender equity in both lower and upper secondary levels. Turkish National Education statistics illustrated that girls' schooling ratio has been increasing in recent years. Nevertheless, female schooling ratio is lower than the total and male schooling ratio at every level of education and schools are still under the influence of the

traditional gender roles permeating society (MONE, 2013; UNGEI, 2013). Research studies conducted on girls' education revealed that there are complex and wide ranging barriers in front of girls' education in Turkish context (Alat and Alat, 2011; Dilli, 2006; Gönenç, Ayhan and Bakır, 2002; Tan, 2010). In this framework, the present study highlighted a number of arguments regarding barriers to girls' education in the educational policy documents, in the printed media and in the teachers' reflections. This part of the paper presents a detailed investigation of policy language and media discourses on barriers in front of girls' education. Teachers' interpretations of the issues presented in the printed media and their views of gender policy in education are also included to verify the findings.

#### **4.3.1. Family Related Factors**

There was an emphasis on *the preference for the education of boys and education level of parents* limiting girls' education in the policy documents analyzed in this study. Different documents published by ERG marked education level of parents as a significant determinant of girls' education. Another example of parental variables on girls' education can be found in the report on monitoring drop-out published by AÇEV, ERG and KA-Der in 2008. Discursive structure of the document revealed the negative impacts of patriarchal social structure on girls' education. While mother's education level was reflected as an important factor influencing girls' enrollment rates positively, it was stressed that it was generally the fathers who decided girls to drop out of school:

*Ebeveynlerin eğitimsiz olması, kız çocuklarının eğitimi önündeki en büyük engellerden biri olarak ortaya çıkmaktadır. Babasının ya da annesinin eğitim düzeyi 1 yıl daha fazla olan kız çocuklarının eğitime katılım olasılığı oranı % 3 daha yüksektir. (ERG, 2009a)*

The fact that parents are uneducated is emerging as one of the biggest obstacles to girls' education. The girls with parents whose education level is one year higher has 3% higher likelihood of attending education. (ERG, 2009a)

*Tansel'e göre, sosyoekonomik durumun göstergeleri olan hane geliri ve ailenin eğitim düzeyi akademik performansı belirleyen iki etmendir. Bakış'ın çalışmasında ise kız çocukları için ailenin eğitim düzeyinin düşük olması, Güneydoğu'da yaşıyor olmak ve hane*

*gelirinin tarımla sağlanıyor olması durumlarında eğitime erişim olasılığı azalmaktadır. (ERG, 2014e)*

According to Tansel, household income and education level of the family, which are indicatives of socioeconomic status, are two determinants of academic performance. In Bakış's study, it was found that, the probability of access to education is reduced for girls when their parents' level of education is low, when they live in the Southeast Turkey, and when household income is provided by agriculture. (ERG, 2014e)

*Annelerin eğitim durumu bilhassa kız çocukların okula devamını etkilemektedir. Görüşülen annelerden okuma – yazma bildiğini söyleyen veya 1-2 yıl da olsa okula gitmiş olan anneler çocuklarının, ama özellikle de kız çocuklarının, okumaları için ellerinden geleni yaptıklarını, gerekirse babaları ikna etmek için uğraştıklarını söylemişlerdir. ...Kız çocuklar için okulu terk kararını daha sıklıkla babanın vermiş olduğunu görüyoruz. ...Kız çocukların okula devam etmesinde annenin okuryazarlığının en önemli faktör olması hiç kuşkusuz en çarpıcı sonuçtur. (AÇEV, ERG, KA-DER, 2008)*

The educational status of the parents is particularly influential on girls' continued schooling. Among the mothers who are interviewed, those who say they know how to read or write or those with at least with 1 or 2 years of schooling have said that they were doing their best to get their children, but especially their daughters, to study and that they were trying to convince their fathers, if necessary ... We see that, more often, their fathers were the ones that gave the decision to leave the school for girls... It is undoubtedly the most striking result of the study that literacy level of their mothers is the most important factor determining whether the girls continue to study or not. (AÇEV, ERG, KA-DER, 2008)

Another important point stressed in the documents was related with the preference for the education of boys in the families. National Conference Report 1 published by AÇEV, ERG and KA-DER in 2005 linked the preference of the families to the inferior status of women in the society. Another example of the parental preference can be found in the field report of a MONE's European Union project for girls' education published in 2012. The report illustrated the fact that academic achievement was a determinant of only girls' education. Son preference in the families indicated male privilege in Turkish society in the background information:

*Mardin için tanımlanan sorunlar, toplumsal yapı, ekonomik nedenler, eğitimde kaynak problemi ve dil problemi olarak özetlendi. Kadınların toplumsal yapıdaki ikincil konumu nedeniyle kız çocuklarının eğitime erişimi ve devamı konusunda ailelerin tercihlerini erkek çocuktan yana kullandıkları ve kız çocuklarını ekonomik yetersizliklerin yanı sıra kültürel nedenlerle de okula göndermedikleri ifade edildi. (AÇEV, ERG, KA-DER, 2005)*

The problems identified for Mardin were summarized as social structure, economic reasons, resource problem in education, and language barrier. Because of the secondary position of women in the social structure, it was stated that the families use their preferences for

educational access and continuity in favor of their sons, and they do not send their daughters to school due to economic reasons as well as cultural reasons. (AÇEV, ERG, KA-DER, 2005)

*Bu durumda, aynı zamanda okul ve ortamı ile yakından ilgili olan başarısızlık çocukların özellikle de kızların okulu bırakmasında en önemli nedenlerden biridir. Zaten birçok aile başarısız olan kız çocuklarını hemen okuldan almakta, buna karşılık başarısız olsa da erkek çocuklarını okutmayı sürdürmektedir. (MEB, 2012a)*

In this case, failure, which is also closely related to the school and its environment, is one of the most important reasons why children, especially girls, leave school. Many families are already taking their unsuccessful daughters out of school immediately, but continue to let their boys study even if they fail. (MONE, 2012a)

Besides, ERG's reports in 2009 and 2014 referred to socio-economic barriers to girls' education by marking family income as significant determinant of girls' education at secondary level:

*Hanenin geliri, lise düzeyinde kızların eğitime katılımı için belirleyicidir. Geliri düşük ailelerde kızların ortaöğretime devam olasılığı daha azdır. Geliri kısıtlı hanelerin erkek çocuğun eğitime devam etmesinden yana tercih kullanarak, toplumsal cinsiyet eşitsizliklerinin yeniden üretilmesine neden oldukları söylenebilir. Bu noktada da eşitliğin sağlanabilmesi için kamu müdahalesi gereklidir. (ERG, 2009a)*

The income of the family is determinative for the participation of girls in high school education. Girls in low-income families are less likely to continue secondary education. It can be argued that income-constrained families cause the recreation of gender inequalities by using a preference for boys to continue their education. State intervention is necessary to ensure equality at this point. (ERG, 2009a)

*Araştırma bulguları, ailenin sosyoekonomik durumunun okula devam etme konusunda belirleyici olduğuna işaret eder. Ailenin yoksulluğu nedeniyle çocukların gerek evde, gerekse dışarıda çalışmaları, okullulaşmayı olumsuz etkilemektedir. Ek olarak, birden fazla çocuğu olan ve tüm çocukları okutmanın maliyetini karşılayamadığını ifade eden ailelerin, öncelikle kız çocukları okuldan aldıkları ifade edilmektedir. (ERG, 2014b)*

Survey findings indicate that the socioeconomic status of the family is a determinant of school continuity. Due to poverty in the family, the fact that children work both at home and outside the home affects schooling negatively. In addition, it is stated that families who have more than one child and cannot afford the cost of schooling for all their children withdraw firstly girls from school. (ERG, 2014b)

The field report of a European Union project executed by MONE for increasing enrollment rates especially for girls published in 2012 and ERG's report published in 2009 stressed the notion that boys in the same family were not negatively influenced by the factors hindering girls' education which was a reflection of

gender discrimination in the society. Besides, the role of education in reproducing gender inequalities was emphasized in ERG' report published in 2009. The report highlighted social inequalities which had a negative impact especially on girls' education:

*Gelirinin yarısından fazlası tarımdan gelen hanelerde, kız çocuklarının eğitime katılım olasılığı oranı % 19 daha düşüktür. Kırsal kesimde bulunan bu hanelerin çoğu için eğitim kurumlarına ulaşmak önemli bir sorun teşkil etmektedir. Bu faktörün yalnızca kız çocuklarında belirleyici olması ise, erkek çocukları için bir ölçüde aşılabilen sorunların kız çocukları için aşılmadığını, böylelikle toplumsal cinsiyet eşitsizliğinin eğitim yoluyla yeniden üretildiğini göstermektedir. (ERG, 2009a)*

In families with more than half of the income coming from agriculture, the likelihood of girls participating in education is 19% lower. Access to educational institutions is an important problem for most of these dwellings in rural areas. The fact that this factor is determinative mostly for girls shows that some of the problems that can be overcome to a certain extent for boys cannot be overcome for girls, and that gender inequality is reproduced through education. (ERG, 2009a)

*Ailenin, tüm çocukları okutmanın kendisine ciddi maliyetler getireceği, bu maliyetleri zaten karşılayacak durumun olmadığı düşüncesinde olması ve kız çocuğunun okul başarısızlığı bahane edilmek suretiyle hemen okuldan alınması da sık rastlanan durumlardan biri olarak göze çarpmaktadır. Ancak bu durum erkek çocuklar için fazla söz konusu olmamaktadır. Bu noktada, kızlara yönelik toplumsal cinsiyet algısı nedeni ile onlar aleyhine bir cinsiyet ayrımcılığının yapılması söz konusudur. (MEB, 2012a)*

The fact that families think having all the children study will cost them considerably, that they are not in a position to meet those costs anyway, and the fact that they use their daughters' failure at school as an excuse to take them away from school immediately are also common occurrences in families. However, this is not much of a case for boys. At this point, what happens here is gender discrimination against girls on account of gender perception towards girls within society. (MONE, 2012a)

*Araştırmaların gösterdiği gibi erkeklerin ilk ve ortaöğretime katılımı üzerinde toplumsal eşitsizliklerin etkisi göreceli olarak düşük, kızların katılımı üzerinde ise oldukça yüksektir. Dolayısıyla, bu rapor boyunca ele alınan eşitsizliklerin yükünü en ağır şekilde yaşayan grup kız çocuklarıdır. Sosyoekonomik ve bölgesel eşitsizliklerin faturasını en çok kız çocuklarımıza ödetiyoruz. ...Sonuç olarak, Türkiye'de eğitimin mevcut yapısı sosyoekonomik ve toplumsal cinsiyet eşitsizlikleri güçlendirmektedir. (ERG, 2009a)*

As the research shows, the impact of social inequalities is relatively low on boys' school participation in primary and secondary school, while it is quite high on girls' participation. Therefore, it is the girls that are obliged to carry most of the burden created by the inequalities discussed throughout this report. We mostly make our girls pay for socioeconomic and regional disparities in society. ... In conclusion, the present structure of education in Turkey strengthens socioeconomic and gender inequalities. (ERG, 2009a)



In the report of 19<sup>th</sup> May 2005, Zaman quoted Minister of Education of the time. There were references to socio-economic and socio-cultural barriers to girls' education. The selection of the details and the presentation of the report foregrounded family factors centralizing the government policies on convincing families to prioritize girls' education. Another noteworthy point was related with the statements of the Minister of Education invalidating religious factors affecting girls' schooling negatively:

*Bakan Çelik, kız çocuklarının okula gönderilmeme nedenlerine de değinerek, en önemli nedenin ekonomik olduğunu, 7-8 çocuğu olan bir ailenin bu çocukları okutmasının büyük bir maddi yük oluşturduğunu söyledi. "İlköğretimde, dini taassuptan dolayı kız çocukları okula gönderilmemezlik edilmiyor" diyen Çelik, "küçük yaşta kız çocuklarının evlendirilmesi geleneği" nedeniyle okutulmadıklarını, aileleri ikna ederek bundan vazgeçirmeye çalıştıklarını anlattı. Çelik, "İnsanların cehalet gibi mazereti varsa, biz onların aklına, gönlüne hitap etmek zorundayız" dedi. Hüseyin Çelik, kızların okutulmamasının bir nedeninin de ailelerin erkek çocuklarını ileride kendileri için güvence olarak görmelerinden kaynaklandığını, "kız, nasıl olsa evlenip gidecek" gözüyle bakıldığını, bu nedenle okula gönderirken de erkek çocukların tercih edildiğini ifade etti. (19.5.2005, Zaman)*

Referring to the reasons why the girls were not sent to the school, Minister Çelik said that the most important reason is financial, and that it is a great financial burden for a family with 7-8 children to get all these children to study. Çelik, who said that "In elementary school, it is not the case that girls are not sent to the school because of religious fanaticism", added that they were not being taught because of "the tradition of marrying girls at a young age", and that they tried to persuade their parents to give it up. Çelik said, "If people present the excuse of their being ignorant, we have to appeal to their minds and hearts". Hüseyin Çelik stated that another reason why girls are not educated is because they consider the boys in the family as a guarantee for themselves in the future, whereas they consider the girls as the ones who will "get married and leave the house", and thus they use their preference in favor of boys. (19.5.2005, Zaman)

When they were asked to interpret the news report above, T 3 and T 8 implied that social values lead to male preferences in the families. Teachers' comments refuted the arguments on financial barriers to girls' education. There were also references to regional disparities in girls' education in the teachers' responses:

*Bakan Bey, çocukların okula gönderilememe sebeplerinin ekonomik olduğunu söylüyor. Evet, ekonomik etmenler vardır ama 7-8 çocuğu olan bir ailenin bu çocuklarını okutmasının büyük bir maddi yük oluşturduğunu, yani kız çocuğunun masrafı neyse erkek çocuğunun masrafı da odur, burada ekonomik yönden ziyade asıl kültürel etmenlerin daha önde olduğunu düşünüyorum. Evlendirme geleneğinden bahsedilmiş. Ne yazık ki bazı bölgelerde yani bu sorun ve ne yazık ki dini kullanarak bu sorun var, bu kısma katılıyorum. Ama dediğim gibi Türkiye'nin genelinde değil, sadece belirli bölgelerinde. (T 3)*

The minister says that there are financial reasons for not sending children to school. Yes, there are financial reasons, and it is a great financial burden for a family with 7-8 children to get these children to study, but whatever the cost is for a boy, it is the same for a girl, here I believe that cultural factors are more dominant, rather than financial reasons. He talks about the tradition of making the girls to get married. Unfortunately, in some regions, we witness this problem, in some regions, by means of exploiting religious ideas, I agree with this idea here. But, like I said, it is not true for Turkey as a whole, it is true for some parts of it. (T 3)

*Zaten burada sınıfsal bir yanı var demiştim ya az önce. Yani ne oluyor, liselerde çocuğun hem ailenin sosyo-ekonomik durumundan kaynaklı zorunlulukları varsa hem de zaten: “ kız çocuğu okumasın başımıza yük olmasın, yarın bir gün üniversiteye gitmesin bir de onun masrafı var”, bu düşünüldüğünde öncelikle iş kız öğrencilerin üstüne kalıyor. Yani ilk fatura ona çıkıyor, ilk acıyı o çekiyor bu anlamda. (T 8)*

Like I said earlier, this is related to the class they belong to. I mean what happens is, if the family already has requirements stemming from their socio-economic status when the children are at high school, and if the family holds the opinion that “why let the girl study, and make her a burden on us, why let her go to university and pay for the costs”, then it is firstly the girls that are sacrificed. I mean they are the ones to pay the bill, and do the suffering. (T 8)

T 14 also referred to preference for the education of boys in the families. The teacher contextualized gender inequalities within the discourses of patriarchal codes of living and gender stereotypes. Similarly, T 3 took the attention to differential treatment of girls by families which is another reflection of male privilege in Turkish society. Besides, T 13 foregrounded socio-economic and socio-cultural barriers in front of girls’ education. The emphasis on family variables revealed the role of social injustices in creating gender inequalities in education:

*Mesela eğitimde aile açısından bakarsak ailenin çocuğunda, erkek çocuğuna öncelik vermesi mesela onu daha iyi bir okula gönderme eğiliminde olması ya da mesela aynı başarı ya da başarısızlık göstermesine rağmen erkek çocuğunun ileride iş ihtiyacını düşünüp ona bir yandan daha fazla imkân sağlama çabası eşitsizliği gösterir. (T 14)*

For instance, in families, the fact that families give priority to boys in education, and be inclined to send them to better schools, or the fact that they try more to provide boys with more opportunities considering their job prospects, despite their equal levels of success or failure, show inequalities in families. (T 14)

*Kız öğrenci arkadaşımın öğrencisi, erkek öğrenci başka, yani abisi başka bir sınıfta. Okullarda bu Yerli Malı Haftası vardır. Öğretmen Yerli Malı Haftası yapacağını, ailelerin de gönlünden kopan istedikleri hazırlıkları getirebileceğini söylüyor. Öğretmen şeyi gözlemliyor, işte anne bir poşetlerle sınıfa geliyor. Kadın da baya bir şey yapmış herhalde falan diyor. Çocuğunu sınıfa koyduktan sonra o poşetleri alıp, oğlunun sınıfına götürüyor*

*Yerli Malı Haftası için hazırladığı her şeyi. Çünkü kızı onu yapsa da olur, yapmasa da olur gibi bazen insanların zihninde şey olabiliyor, öyle bir olgu oluşabiliyor. (T 3)*

There is a girl in one class, and her elder brother in another class. We have “Local Foods Week” in our schools. The teacher asks parents to prepare local foods at home and send to school at that week. The teacher observes this: these two children’s mother comes to class, with her hands full with bags of food. And the teacher thinks “well, she prepared a lot for the week, well done!” After the mother leaves her daughter to class, she takes all the bags prepared for Local Foods Week to her son’s class. Because she thinks in her mind it does not matter if her daughter contributes anything for the week or not. What matters is her son, and there is such a conceptualization. (T 3)

*Bilindiği üzere ülkemizde kız çocuklarının tamamı eğitim sistemine dahil edilemiyor. Bunun birçok sebebi var; ailelerin kızların eğitimine önem vermemesi, bazı ailelerin karma eğitime karşı olması, maddi koşullar veya okula ulaşamama (mevsimlik işçilerin çocukları) vb. Ama bütün bunlar milli eğitimin sorumluluğu ortadan kaldırmaz, MEB bu sorunlara çözüm bularak kız çocuklarını eğitime dahil etmeli. (T 13)*

As is known, not all the girls can be involved in educational system in our country. There are many reasons for this: that the families do not pay much regard to girls’ education, that some families are against coeducation, financial conditions, and difficulties in accessing schools (as in children of seasonal workers), and so on. However, all these factors do not eliminate the responsibilities of MoNE. The MoNE needs to involve girls in education by finding solutions to these problems. (T 13)

#### **4.3.2. Regional Disparities**

In the policy documents analyzed, there was an emphasis on geographical disparities influencing girls’ education negatively. Changing female enrollment rates with respect to region were highlighted in different policy documents. ERG’s report on equality and academic achievement indicated girls’ lower enrollment rates in Eastern and Southeastern Anatolian and Central Anatolian regions. It was also emphasized that gender differences in enrollment rates became more striking at secondary level of education. Likewise, UNICEF Annual Report 2013 and EFA Global Monitoring Report published in 2014 stressed that girls’ secondary education enrolment rates were lower in eastern provinces:

*2012-13 eğitim-öğretim yılında, özellikle ortaöğretim düzeyinde, cinsiyetler arasındaki okullulaşma farkları çoğu bölgede 3-4 yüzde puanı aşmazken, Güneydoğu, Kuzeydoğu ve Ortadoğu Anadolu bölgelerinde erkek öğrencilerin okullulaşma oranları kız öğrencilere oranla ortalama olarak 7-8 yüzde puan daha yüksektir. Bu durum, halihazırda düşük okullulaşma oranlarına sahip bu bölgelerde kız öğrencilerin eğitime erişimde oldukça geride kaldığını gösterir .... İlköğretim düzeyinde kız çocuklarının okul dışında kalması*

*olasılığı erkekler ile aynı iken ortaöğretime geçişte, özellikle de doğu bölgelerinde, kadınların daha çok okul dışında kaldığı gözlemlenmektedir. (ERG, 2014e)*

In the 2012-13 school year, especially at the secondary level, the enrollment rates of male students in the Southeast, Northeast and Middle East Anatolian regions were 7-8% higher than the average of female students, while the schooling differences between the genders did not exceed 3-4% in most regions. This indicates that, in these regions, which already have low enrollment rates, girls are far behind in access to education... While the likelihood of girls staying out of school at primary level is the same as that of boys, it is observed that in secondary education, especially in eastern regions, women are more out of school. (ERG, 2014e)

*Moreover, although gender parity has largely been achieved at the primary school level, similar progress has not been made at the other levels of education. Girls' enrolment in secondary education falls as low as 20–30% in provinces such as Van, Muş and Bitlis. (UN, 2013)*

*Girls in rural areas are more disadvantaged and some differences by region have been not only deep but also persistent: in the poor predominantly Kurdish provinces of Siirt, Mus and Bitlis, just 60 girls are enrolled in secondary school for every 100 boys, with little change in recent years. (UNGEI, 2014b)*

Likewise, regional disparities in education were also highlighted the news reports. In the news report of 30<sup>th</sup> May 2013, Zaman foregrounded disadvantaged provinces with respect to girls' education. The report also referred to failure of the latest reforms in education in ensuring gender equality in education:

#### ***Eğitimde en sorunlu iller Urfa, Hakkâri ve Van***

*İlköğretimden mezun olanların içinde kızların oranı Türkiye genelinde yüzde 47 iken bu oranın en düşük olduğu il yüzde 39'la Şanlıurfa. Eğitim açısından karnesi pek başarılı olmayan iller arasında Şanlıurfa'dan sonra Van, Hakkari, Ağrı ve Ardahan geliyor.*

*Bu yıl uygulamaya konulan 4+4+4 eğitim sistemiyle eğitim süresi uzarken okula başlama yaşı öne alındı. Lise eğitimi herkes için zorunlu hale getirildi. Ancak atılan bu adımlara rağmen bölgeler ve cinsiyetler arası fırsat eşitsizlikleri sürüyor. (30.05.2013, Zaman)*

#### **The most problematic cities in education are Urfa, Hakkâri, and Van**

While the proportion of girls in primary school graduates is 47% in Turkey overall, this ratio is the lowest in Şanlıurfa with 39%. Van, Hakkari, Ağrı and Ardahan follow Şanlıurfa in terms of failure in education.

With the 4 + 4 + 4 education system put into practice this year, the age of the starting was made lower while the duration of compulsory education was extended. High school education was made compulsory for everyone. Despite these steps, however, inequalities between regions and genders persist. (30.05.2013, Zaman)

In Türk Eğitim Sen's Report on 18<sup>th</sup> National Council, there was an emphasis on low quality of education in eastern and remote parts of the country and girls' high drop-out level in those areas:

*Türkiye'nin doğusunda ve daha uzak bölgelerinde, ortalama olarak kalite bölgelere göre değişmekte ve daha düşük düzeyde ve yeterlilikte seyretmektedir. Örneğin; Doğu Anadolu'da halen kayıtlı olan 15 yaşındakilerin ortalama PISA puanları 372 veya Akdeniz bölgesindeki ortalama puanın yüzde 82'sidir. Üstelik doğu bölgelerinde, özellikle kızlar için ilkokullara kayıtların daha düşük olması nedeniyle, okulu bırakan öğrencilerin yetenekleri ortalamalara bile yansımamaktadır. (Türk Eğitim Sen, 2010)*

In the eastern and further regions of Turkey, the quality varies on average according to the regions, and it is at a lower level and adequacy in these areas. For example, the average PISA scores of 15-year-olds currently registered in Eastern Anatolia are 372, or to put it differently, it corresponds to 82% of the average score of the Mediterranean region. Moreover, in the eastern regions, especially for girls, the competencies of students dropping out of school are not even reflected in percentages because the enrollment is lower in primary schools. (Türk Eğitim Sen, 2010)

ERG's report on equality and policy analysis stressed the role of socio-economic and socio-cultural factors on girls' education in eastern part of the country. In addition to regional disparities, another ERG report published in 2015 draw the attention to educational inequalities observed in the slums of big cities because of poverty. It was indicated that poverty is reinforced by immigration, race, disability and gender creating disadvantaged groups of children:

*...Birçok faktörün Güneydoğu Anadolu Bölgesi'nde kızların eğitime katılımını olumsuz etkilediğini göstermektedir. Olası faktörler arasında, geleneksel değer yargıları, yerinden edilmiş olma deneyiminin yarattığı sorunlar ve evde konuşulan dil ile okulda kullanılan dil arasındaki farktan bahsedilebilir. Bu etmenin yarattığı etki, bu konuda ciddi, kapsamlı ve ayrıntılı çalışmaların ivedilikle yapılmasını zorunlu kılmaktadır. (ERG, 2009a)*

... A number of factors indicate that girls' participation in education in Southeast Anatolia is negatively affected. Possible factors include traditional value judgments, problems created by the experience of being displaced, and the difference between the language spoken at home and the language used at school. The impact of these factors requires that urgent, comprehensive, and detailed work be done in this regard. (ERG, 2009a)

*...bölgesel farklılıklar kadar kent içi farklılıkların da yüksekliği, var olan eşitsizliklerin ne denli yaygın olduğunu ortaya koymaktadır. Özellikle kayıt dışı kentsel ekonomide, mevsimlik gezici ve geçici tarım işlerinde ve ev işlerinde çocuk işçiliğinin değişik formlarına tanık olmak mümkündür. Maddi yoksunluk, çocukların iyi olma halini belirleyici faktör olarak ortaya çıkmaktadır. Çoğu zaman maddi yoksunluk; göç, etnik köken, anadil, engellilik, toplumsal cinsiyet gibi faktörlerle birleşmekte ve dezavantajlı çocuk grupları oluşturmaktadır. (ERG, 2015)*

... as well as regional differences, the weight of intra-urban disparities shows how commonly inequalities exist. It is possible to witness various forms of child labor, especially in the informal urban economy, in seasonal mobile agriculture work, in temporary agriculture work, and in domestic work. Financial deprivation emerges as the determining factor for the well-being of children. Most often than not, financial deprivation is accompanied by migration, ethnicity, mother tongue, disability, and gender, and creates a disadvantaged groups of children. (ERG, 2015)

In another document published in 2008 by AÇEV, ERG and KA-DER there was an emphasis on socio- economic factors in migration receiving provinces of western Turkey. In immigrant families, girls' schooling was affected by economic difficulties and lack of role models negatively.

*Çok hareketli bir nüfusu var Aydın ve çevresinin. Sonra anneler okuma-yazma, hatta Türkçe bilmiyorlar... En önemlisi zor koşullarda yaşayan bu insanlara gittiğimizde 'okula gitmeli, eğitim almalı' diyoruz ama örnek de yok hayatlarında. Etrafına bakıyor kız çocuk, annesine bakıyor, ablasına bakıyor. Evlenecek ve tarlada çalışmaya devam edecek. Kocasının durumu iyi olursa, tarlada çalışmayı bırakıp, evde oturacak. İyi örnekleri yok. Şunu tespit etmek gerekir, Aydın'da, insanlar Doğu veya Güneydoğu'daki gibi okul olmadığı veya uzak olduğu için değil, ailece çalışmak zorunda oldukları için okula gidemiyorlar. (AÇEV, ERG, KA-DER, 2008)*

Aydın and its surroundings have a very vibrant population. There again, the mothers do not know to read or write, or even do not speak Turkish ... Most importantly, when we go to these people, who live in difficult conditions, we say 'she must go to school, and she must be educated', but they see no examples in their lives. The girl is looking around, at her mother, or at her sister. She will get married and keep working on the field. If her husband is in good condition (financially), she will stop working on the field and stay at home. There are no good examples. It is necessary to determine that, in Aydın, people cannot go to school because they have to work as a family, not because there are not schools in the region or not because they are in distant places, as in the East or Southeast. (AÇEV, ERG, KA-DER, 2008)

The participating teachers also highlighted regional disparities rooting in socio-economic and socio-cultural factors. T 4 and T 7 talked about parents who did not support girls' education in migration receiving parts of Ankara. T 7 added that parents could deny girls' education in case of difficulties, indicating attitudes of parents towards girls' education on deeper interpretation:

*Ben Haymana'da çok kısa bir süre görev yaptım. Orada bazı velilerin kız çocuklarını okula göndermek istemediklerine şahit oldum. Haymana tabi Ankara'nın merkez ilçelerinden biri değil. Kültür olarak biraz daha farklı bir yerde bölge. Öyle bir şeyle karşılaştım. (T 4)*

I worked for a short time in Haymana. I witnessed some parents there who did not want to send their daughters to school. Obviously, Haymana is not one of the central districts of Ankara. It is at a rather different place culturally, so I witnessed such cases there. (T 4)

*Bir önceki okulumda gecekondü bölgesinde çalışıyordum ve orda geçimini hurdacılıkla sağlayan aileler vardı Niğde'den, İç Anadolu'dan göç etmişler daha küçük şehirlerden Ankara'ya göç etmiş aileler vardı ve kız çocuklarını okutmak istemiyorlardı kesinlikle. Şu andaki eğitim sisteminde 4+4 zorunlu olmasına rağmen lise eğitimi okula göndermek istemeyen ailelerimiz vardı ve birebir giderek, ikna ederek çocuğunu, kızını, kız çocuklarını okula göndermesini sağladık. Hatta gidip okula kendim yazdırdım lisesi ama geçenlerde bi haber geldi çocuk 9. sınıftan 10. sınıfa geçti babası ve annesi yine göndermek istemiyor, yani desteklemiyorlar. Bir yerde onun eğitiminden hemen vaz geçebiliyorlar, en ufak bi sıkıntıda. (T 7)*

In my previous school, I worked in the slums, and there were migrant families from Central Anatolia, from Niğde, or smaller cities there, and they earned their living on waste collecting. They did not want their daughters to study in any way. There were families who did not want to send their daughters to school although it was mandatory in our current 4+4+4 educational system. By contacting them personally, by persuading them, we got them to send their daughters to school. I even got one student registered to high school myself, but I heard some time ago that she passed from 9<sup>th</sup> grade to 10<sup>th</sup>, but her parents still do not want her to continue; that is, they do not support it. In a way, they can easily give up her education, in the face of smallest problems. (T 7)

*Mesela çocuğunuzu şehir dışına göndereceksiniz ve Bitlis'li bir ailesiniz. Kız çocuğunuzu göndereceksiniz, ne istersiniz işte mutlaka çok belirli şartların yerine gelmesini istersiniz. Yani çok güvenlik şartlarının oluşmasını aynı zamanda da ekonomi konusunda refahınızın yüksek olması gerekir. Hani bu burada çok faktör var ve kat edilmemesi gereken yol belki de çok uzun. Yani Batılı bölgelerle veya Orta Anadolu'nun yani işte Akdeniz bölgesinde yaşayan insanların okullaşma oranıyla Doğu'daki okullaşma oranının birbirine yaklaşması kısa vadede çok gerçekçi olmaz yani. (T 11)*

Say you are a family from Bitlis, and you are going to send your daughter out of city for education. Because you will send your daughter, what will you expect? You will expect very specific conditions to be met. You firstly expect to guarantee her safety, then you need to be well-off financially. I mean there are many factors here, and there is a long way to take. I mean, expecting the rate of schooling in Eastern regions to get closer to that in Western regions, Central Anatolia, and the Mediterranean region in the short term is not very realistic if you ask me. (T 11)

The participating teachers highlighted social norms and values shaping gender roles and causing negative attitudes towards girls' education in especially eastern and south eastern provinces. T 11 related negative attitudes towards girls' education to lower levels of education in those regions. She/he referred to the role of education in challenging gender roles in the background information:

*Yani hani kırsal kesimleri şu anda gözardı ettiğinizde kentli nüfusta zaten çok ciddi bir şey var yani kızların okumasına yönelik çok ciddi bir motivasyon var hani kırsal kesimdeki motivasyonsuzluk da şeyden kaynaklanıyor eğitim seviyesinin düşüklüğünden kaynaklanıyor. (T 11)*

Well, you cannot disregard the fact that there is already a very high motivation in urban population to have their girls study. The low of motivation in rural areas stems from illiteracy, low level of education. (T 11)

T 6 and T 10 referred to traditional and cultural practices that privilege boys and treat female child inferior to male. Narrative structure of T 6's answer unearths the traces of patriarchal social structure in Turkish society. Another noteworthy point was related with the meaning of the selected words "state culture" (Tr. Devlet geleneği) and "power" (Tr. Güç):

*... özellikle doğu bölgelerindeki çocuklara maddi anlamda kız çocuklarının okuldan çekilme nedeni, bir kısmı dediğim gibi dini şeyler, bir kısmı da maddiyat yok. İki çocuğundan birini okutacak, tabii ki erkek çocuk devletin geleneğinde her zaman güç şeydir neslin devamını sağladığı için daha ön plandadır. Kız çocuk dışarıya gidecektir falan filan bundan dolayı kızını eve çekiyor. (T 6)*

...especially for children in eastern regions, part of the reason why they are taken away from education is religious, and part of it is lack of financial resources. They will allow one of their two kids to study, of course boys are always equated with power in state culture, and they are in the forefront since they ensure continuation of generations. The girl will be married to an outsider, and this and that, so they draw their girls back home, and let their boys study. (T 6)

*Hani Doğu'da, Güneydoğu'da veya İç Anadolu Bölgesi, Akdeniz Bölgesi de olur onların böyle kırsal şehirlerinde görev yaptığım sırada, ilkokuldan sonra çocukların okumaya yani daha ileri şekilde götürülmesinde genelde kız çocukları daha azdır, erkek çocukları daha fazla yönlendirilir. Hatta bunların çalıştığım yerlerde mücadelesini de verdim bazı köylerde kız çocuklarını hani ben ilkokuldan sonra sınava gönderelim, sınava gitsinler dediğim zaman ailelerin hayır kıza gerek yoktur oğlanı gönderelim dediği olduğu, bunların mücadelesini verdik yer yer... Burdan baktığım sırada belki devlet olarak kız ve erkeklere eşit olarak eğitim alsın diyorlar ama toplumda bu tam olarak yerleşmemiş diye düşünüyorum. (T 10)*

Whether it be Eastern, Southeastern parts of the country, or Central Anatolia and Mediterranean regions of Turkey, when I worked in rural areas, I witnessed that families are less inclined for their girls to study after elementary school, and there is a stronger tendency to get their boys to study. I even fought against this in the areas I worked in. When I told families to send their daughters to central exams for further education after elementary schools, the families said it was not necessary for their daughters and they let their boys take those exams. We fought against these from time to time. When I look at it from here, maybe the state says we should educate our boys and girls equally, but this is not fully established within society. (T 10)



### 4.3.3. Socio-economic and Socio Cultural Factors

In international and national policy documents examined in this study, the roots of gender inequalities in education were defined with an emphasis on social variables. The documents analyzed in this study highlighted *patriarchal and conservative* codes of living as a driving force of gender inequalities in the society. In AÇEV's report published in 2007, cultural and chauvinist values and perception of religion in the society were stressed. In Eğitim-Sen's report on Sexism in Education published in 2014, the patriarchal policies of the governing party were foregrounded within the discourse of gender inequalities in education. The report linked the policies of the government to declining ranking of Turkey on the world gender inequality index:

*Mehmet Emin Yücekaya: "Cinsiyet eşitsizliği, kahramanlık fenomeninden, milliyetçilikten, din algısından, kutsanan ve değişimi felaket olarak görülen kültürden beslenir ve tüm bunlar bu toplumun bütünleştirici harcı olarak benimsenip yıllarca kullanılmıştır." (AÇEV, ERG, KA-DER, 2008)*

Mehmet Emin Yücekaya said: "Gender inequality is fed by the culture of heroism, nationalism, perception of religion, a culture that is seen sacred, and a culture that sees change as disaster. All of these have been adopted and used for many years as integrative elements of this society. (AÇEV, ERG, KA-DER, 2008)

*Türkiye'nin içinde bulunduğu cinsiyet eşitsizliği tablosu AKP hükümetinin sürdürücüsü olduğu erkek egemen politikaların hem nedeni hem sonucudur.....Her yıl hükümetlerin verdiği verilere göre hazırlanan Dünya Cinsiyet Eşitsizliği raporunda geçen yıl 120. sırada bulunan Türkiye, 5 sıra gerileyerek 124. sıraya geldi. ....Kız çocuklarının %93'ü, erkek çocukların ise %95'i ilkokula gidiyor..... Okullaşma oranlarında en büyük fark üniversite eğitiminde. Erkeklerin üniversiteye gitme oranları kadınlarınkine göre %11 daha fazla. (Eğitim Sen, 2014b)*

The current situation of gender inequality in Turkey is both the cause and the consequence of male-dominant policies that the AKP government maintain. Turkey, which ranked 120<sup>th</sup> in the World Gender Inequality report last year, which is prepared based on the data given by the governments each year, dropped down to 124<sup>th</sup> ranking this year. .... 93% of girls and 95% of boys go to elementary school ... .. The biggest difference in schooling rates is in university education. Men's college attendance is 11% higher than that of women. (Eğitim Sen, 2014b)

There were references to socio- economic and socio-cultural barriers that prevent enrolment of children, notably girls in ERG's report published in 2015 and UNGEI's report published in 2014. The documents referred to persistent

inequalities within the society and cultural values and norms shaping parental perception of girls' education:

*Okula devamın temel belirleyicilerinden biri ailenin ekonomik durumudur. Araştırmada e-Okul verileri üzerinden yapılan inceleme, ilkokul düzeyinde düşük gelir grubundaki ailelerin çocuklarının, orta ve yüksek gelir gruplarına kıyasla daha fazla devamsızlık yaptığına işaret etmiştir. Ortaokul düzeyinde hem düşük hem de orta gelir grubunda devamsızlık ilkokula göre daha fazladır. Ek olarak, düşük gelir grubundaki kız öğrencilerin devamsızlık riski oğlanlara göre daha fazladır. (ERG, 2015)*

One of the main determinants of school attendance is the financial conditions of the family. The analysis conducted on the e-School data indicated that the children of low-income families at primary school level were more absent than the middle and high income groups. At both middle and low income levels, absenteeism is greater in middle schools than in primary schools. In addition, girls in the low income group have a higher risk of absenteeism than boys. (ERG, 2015)

*An amendment to the Education Law introduced in April 2012 that extended compulsory education from 8 to 12 years might help further close the gap at the upper secondary level. But there is no room for complacency. The continuing very low participation of women in the labour force and their marginalization in the labour market could deter young girls from completing secondary school. More generally, traditional perceptions of gender roles that permeate society filter down to schools. These are issues that neighbouring countries aspiring to gender equality in education need to contend with. (UNGEI, 2014b)*

The report posted on 11<sup>th</sup> April 2013 by Bugün highlighted the importance of raising the awareness of families to enhance girls' education. The report quoted the Mayor of a city from south eastern part of Turkey which reflected socio-economic and socio-cultural structure of the province. The statements of the Mayor referred to conservative and religious perspectives limiting girls' education in the background information. The meaning of the selected phrase "toplumsal yara" is noteworthy in reflecting girls' education as a social problem. Another significant point is related with contextualization of girls' education within a discourse of religious beliefs:

*Projeyi candan ve gönülden desteklediklerini belirten Mardin Belediye Başkanı Mehmet Beşir Ayanoğlu, Özellikle dezavantajlı mahallelerde kız çocuklarının eğitim engtre edilmesinin çok önemli olduğunu ifade etti. Ayanoğlu, " Oradaki anne ve babaların bilinçlendirilmesi gerekiyor. Bu toplumsal bir yaradır. Bu toplumda kadınların bakış açısı uzun yıllar ihmal edilmiş. Hep eril bir dil kullanmışız. Zararın neresinden dönersek kardır. Bu saatten sonra bile olsa kız çocuklarımızın okullaşması durumunda bu bütün gelişmişlik konularına yansiyacaktır." Coşkun," Kuran'ı Kerim kadın erkek ayrımı yapmadan insandan bahseder. Ama pozitif ayrımcılığı görebiliriz. Yüce kitabımızın ilk ayeti okudur. Oku emrine ilk evet diyen de Hz. Hatice annemizdir. Bütün semavi dinler ve İslam dini aslında kadınlara*

*çok farklı özellik tanımış. Bu yönde hareket etmemiz gerekir. Kız çocuklarımızın okullaşma oranı gerçekten çok düşük. Bu yüzden buna çok dikkat etmemiz gerekir." (11.04.2013, Bugün)*

Mardin Mayor Mehmet Beşir Ayanoğlu, who has given his sincere and heartfelt support to the project, stated that they are very supportive of the education of girls in the disadvantaged neighborhoods. Ayanoğlu said: "Mothers and fathers there need to become conscious. This is a social wound. Women's perspective has been neglected for many years in this society. We have always used a masculine language. A fault confessed is half redressed. From now on, the case of schooling of our girls will be reflected in all developmental issues". Coşkun said: "The Qur'an speaks of humans without making a distinction between men and women, but we can see positive discrimination there. The first verse of our great book is "read/study". And it is our Mother Hatice (Her Holiness) who said yes and agreed with the first commandment. All the monotheistic religions and Islam have actually attributed very special characteristics to women, and we need to move in this direction. The rate of girls' schooling is really low. Therefore, we need to pay special attention to this. (11.04.2013, Bugün)

The participating teachers also referred to socio-economic and socio-cultural factors leading to gender inequalities in the society. In the responses of T 6 and T 5, there was a direct reference to socio cultural factors such as patriarchal social structure, religious beliefs and gender perception positioning girls in an equal status in the education system:

*Toplumsal cinsiyet hani cinsiyetten farklı bir durumdur. Cinsiyet dediğimiz şey hepimizde belli bir cinsel kimlik ile dünyaya geliriz ama daha sonra kadın ve erkek yani kız ve oğlan olarak dünyaya geliriz. Daha sonra kadın ve erkek olmayı öğreniyoruz. O öğrenme biçimi de toplumun yaşadığı ekonomik koşullara bağlı oluyor, kültürel öğelere bağlı oluyor, dini kurallara bağlı oluyor, bu yüzden de her toplumda toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliği ya da eşitsizliği olmak ile birlikte her toplumdan topluma göre de değişiklik gösteriyor. Yani buradaki eşitsizlik ile atıyorum, Avrupa ülkesindeki eşitsizlik aynı olmuyor. Eşitsizlik oluyor ama bazen bunu dini kurallar belirliyor bazen egemenlik ilişkileri, güç, para hani bunlarda belirlediği için bu kavramı, eşitsizlik var ama bu dediğim gibi toplumdan topluma değişir. Bu yüzden de toplumsal cinsiyet yani her topluma özgü bir cinsiyet eşitsizliği var maalesef günümüzde. (T 6)*

Gender and sexuality are different entities. What we call sexuality is all of us are born into this world with a sexual identity, we come to this world as females and males; that is, as girls and boys. Then, we learn to be women and men. That way of learning is linked to society's economic conditions, cultural elements, and religious rules. Therefore, although there are gender equalities and inequalities in every society, the degree of it changes from one society to another. I mean, the level inequality here and the one, say, in Europe are not the same. Therefore, unfortunately, we are experiencing gender inequality peculiar to each society in today's world. (T 6)

*... sistemde bazı delikler var. Bunlar da bazı geleneklerin ya da bazı görüşlerin içeriye sızmasına ya da eşitsizlik yaratmasına sebebiyet verebilir. Yani eşitsizliğe sebebiyet veren bir eğitim sistemimiz var. Soruyu doğru algıladıysam, kız ve erkekler açısından yani kız çocukları biliyorsun erken yaşta evlendirilebiliyor ya da ev işlerine baktırılabilir. Fazla okutulmayabilir yani kız*

*çocuğu okutulmasa da olur denilebiliyor bazı kesimlerde. Eğitim sistemi de işte bazı boşluklar bırakarak bunlara izin veriyor .(T 5)*

... there are some gaps in the system. And these gaps might allow some traditions and opinions to infiltrate into the system and create inequality. That is to say, we have an education system that allow for inequalities. If I understand the question correctly, in terms of boys and girls, I mean girls can be made to marry at an early age, or to do the housework at home. They are not allowed to study further, or people in some regions might just say it would be ok not to let girls study. Educational system allows these to happen by leaving some gaps there. (T 5)

#### **4.3.3.1. Religious Beliefs**

The analysis suggested that a significant part of the socio-cultural barriers to girls' education was religious beliefs. Religious beliefs and resistance to co-education were highlighted as other barriers to girls' education in ERG's Monitoring Report published in 2014 and the field report of a European Union project for girls' education published in 2012. There were references to patriarchal social structure and traditional norms and practices limiting girls' education in Türk Eğitim Sen's report on 18<sup>th</sup> National Education Council:

*Dini, ekonomik, bölgesel ve diğer sosyo-kültürel faktörlerle ilgili yerel gelenek ve görenekler kimi bölgelerde genellikle kadınların değil, erkeklerin gelişimine öncelik verilmesine yol açabilmektedir. Kadınlar geleneksel yapıları korumak için eğitimden uzak tutulabilmektedir. (Türk Eğitim Sen, 2010)*

Local traditions and customs related to religious, economic, regional and other socio-cultural factors can lead to prioritizing the development of men, not women, in some areas. Women can be kept away from education to preserve traditional structures. (Türk Eğitim Sen, 2010)

*Sosyo-kültürel faktörler başlığı altında gruplanan nedenler incelendiğinde, içinde özellikle geleneksel yapı ve toplumsal cinsiyet algısı ile sosyal çevrenin etkisi, namus kavramı nedeni ile karma eğitime karşı olma, mahalle baskısı, eğitimden ve özellikle kızların eğitiminden fazla bir şey beklememe gibi nedenlerin öne çıktığı görülmektedir. (MEB, 2012a)*

When the causes grouped under the heading of socio-cultural factors are examined, it is seen that especially the reasons such as traditional structure and gender perception, the effect of social circle, opposition to mixed education due to the concept of pudicity, neighborhood/social pressure, and low expectations from education, particularly from girls' education come to the forefront. (MONE, 2012a)

*Yapılan görüşmelerde, "karma eğitime karşı olma, mahalle baskısı, (...) kızların eğitiminden fazla bir şey beklememe" gibi nedenlerle kız çocukların okula gönderilmediği de belirtilmiştir. (ERG, 2014b)*

In the interviews, it was reported that the girls were not sent to schools due to such reasons as “being against coeducation, social pressure, (...) not expecting much from girls’ education”. (ERG, 2014b)

The most common issue discussed under the title of religious beliefs was headscarf restriction at schools. With respect to headscarf issue, there were two opposing views in the policy documents. In some of the documents, headscarf restriction was reflected as a barrier to girls’ education by using religious and conservative references to justify their views. The document published in 2012 by SETA considered headscarf restriction as a factor decreasing girls’ enrollment rates. The report promoted wearing headscarf at school by referring to human rights and social requests. In a deeper interpretation, centralizing the arguments of headscarf issue on alleged social requests served to create a perception that there was a social need for Islamizing the education system. In a similar vein, wearing headscarf at schools was promoted in Türk Eğitim Sen’s report published in 2012. The report implied that headscarf restriction limited the rights and life prospects of religious veiled women. On the other hand, in some of the documents wearing the Islamic headscarf at school was reflected as a barrier to girls’ education by focusing on its negative effects on child psychology and development. One example can be found in Eğitim Sen’s press release on dress code published in 2012:

*Kız çocuklarının özellikle ortaöğretim düzeyinde okullaşma oranlarının arzu edilen düzeyde olmadığı Türkiye’de, kendi tercihiyle başını örten bir öğrenciye sadece İmam Hatip Okullarının kapısının açık olması, insan hakları bağlamında değerlendirilip yeniden gözden geçirilmesi gereken bir konudur. Zaten yönetmelik sonrası yapılan tartışmalarda öne çıkan en önemli hususlardan biri, başörtüsü serbestliğinin bütün okullara getirilmemiş olmasıdır. Toplumun taleplerinin eğitim sistemine yansıtılabilmesi ve böylece eğitim sisteminin demokratikleşmesi ve normalleşmesi için, bu konuda yeni bir düzenleme ihtiyacı bulunmaktadır. (SETA, 2012)*

In Turkey, where girls’ schooling rates are not at the desired level, especially at secondary school level, the fact that only the doors of Imam Hatip Schools are open for a student who covers her head by her own will is a subject that needs to be evaluated and re-examined in the context of human rights. One of the most important issues that have already come to the fore in the debates after the regulation is that the headscarf freedom is not brought to all schools. In order for the demands of society to be reflected in the education system and thus for democratization and normalization of the education system, there is a need for a new regulation in this respect. (SETA, 2012)

*Genel Başkan Koncuk “Türk Eğitim-Sen olarak, Kuran-ı Kerim derslerinin seçmeli olmasını ve İmam Hatip Okullarının orta kısımlarının açılmasını destekledik. Kuran-ı Kerim*

*derslerinde ve İmam Hatip Okullarında alınan başörtüsü kararını doğru bulduk. Hatta kamusal alanda başörtüsünün serbest olması gerekmektedir. Biz hiçbir dönemde yüce dinimizi, değerlerimizi istismar etmedik, etmeyeceğiz ama söylemlerimizde bu taleplerimizi dile getireceğiz. Gerçekten kadınların çalışma hayatında daha fazla yer alması lazım. Yüce dinimizin emirlerini yerine getirmek isteyen insanlarımıza da imkân tanınmalıdır. Bu konuda geç kalınmıştır. Başörtüsü, artık bu ülkede siyasi istismar konusu olmaktan çıkarılmalıdır. Bu istismar alanları olduğu sürece beceriksiz, liyakatsiz siyasi partilerin iktidarına bu ülke ve aziz milletimiz mahkûm olacaktır” demiştir. (Türk Eğitim Sen, 2012b)*

General Chairman Koncuk said: "As the Türk Eğitim-Sen, we supported the introduction of elective courses of Qur'an in education and the opening of middle sections of Imam Hatip Schools. We found the headscarf decision, which gave freedom to wear headscarves in Qur'an lessons and Imam Hatip Schools, to be correct. Even in the public arena, wearing headscarves must be allowed. We have never abused, and will never abuse, our supreme religion and our values, but in our statements, we will express these wishes. Indeed, women need to find more space in professional life. The demands of people who want to fulfill the orders of our supreme religion must also be recognized. We are already running behind in this issue. The headscarf debate should now be removed from political agenda, and should not be used as a means of political abuse in this country. As long as these areas of abuse exist, this country and our glorious nation will be doomed to the power of ineffective and unqualified political parties". (Türk Eğitim Sen, 2012b)

*Yönetmelikte siyasi sembol içeren simge, şekil ve yazıların yer aldığı fular, bere, şapka, çanta ve benzeri materyallerin kullanılmayacağı, kısa kollu gömlek ve tişört giymenin yasak olduğu, etek boyunun diz altında olması gerektiği belirtilirken, dini simgeleyen kıyafetlerin okullarda giyilecek olması büyük bir çelişkidir. Kılık kıyafet yönetmeliğinde yapılan değişiklikler, eğitim sisteminde yaşanan yoğun dinselleştirme uygulamalarının geldiği noktayı görmemiz açısından önemlidir. Hangi ad altında olursa olsun, okullarda dini yaşam tarzını yaygınlaştıran, gelişme çağındaki çocukların psikolojisini olumsuz etkileyecek dinsel simgeler kesinlikle kullanılmamalıdır. (Eğitim Sen, 2012g)*

It is a great contradiction that while it is forbidden to wear short-sleeved shirts and t-shirts, short skirts, the scarfs, hats, bags, and similar items containing political symbols, it is allowed to wear clothes symbolizing religion in schools. The changes in the dress code displayed the point that the intense religious practices in the education system reached, Religious symbols that will adversely affect the psychology of the children in the age of development should absolutely not be used under any name. (Eğitim Sen, 2012g)

The newspaper coverage of headscarf issue also reflected the opposing views presented in the policy documents. Star foregrounded headscarf restriction as a barrier to girls' education in different news reports. The report of 27<sup>th</sup> September 2014 highlighted headscarf as a significant part of barriers in front of girls' education in Eastern part of Turkey with references to social structure of the region. In the background information, the report referred to conservative structure of eastern Turkey which necessitated girls to veil once they reach puberty. In a similar way, another report of 27<sup>th</sup> September 2014 Star foregrounded girls who

left the school because of headscarf restriction and attended “alternative” education institution. The connotation of the selected word “alternative” (Tr. Alternatif) was noteworthy in reflecting the conservative and religious codes of living orienting girls to wear headscarf. Lastly, the report of 24<sup>th</sup> September 2014 quoted a mother whose 11 years old daughter was allowed to cover her head at school. Narrative structure used in the report and repeated emphasis on contentedness served to create a positive perception of wearing headscarf at early ages. Quoting the positive perceptions and attitudes from a mother revealed the role of parents in girls’ decision to wear headscarf:

### ***Okullarda başörtüsü ve pedagojik yalanlar***

*Okullarda başörtüsünün pedagojiye uygun olmadığını ifade edenler, yasaklar nedeniyle okul kapısında her gün başını açan öğrencilerin yaşadığı travmayı hangi pedagojik teori ile açıklıyorlar? Türkiye’de hala özellikle ortaöğretim düzeyinde kız çocuklarının okullaşmasının yüzde 50’nin altında kaldığı Muş, Van, Ağrı ve Bitlis gibi illerde, benim de katılmış olduğum saha çalışmaları göstermiştir ki, pek çok ailenin kız çocuklarını okula göndermeme nedenlerinden biri okullarda uygulanan başörtüsü yasaklarıdır. Bu açıdan verilen kararı eğitim sistemimizin iyileşmesi adına bir fırsat olarak değerlendirmek gerekir. Türkiye sosyolojisinden bihaber pek çok akademisyen ve aydının öğrencilerin başörtülü olarak okula girme isteğini cinsellik üzerinden tartışmaya kalkışmaları ise üzerinde durulmayacak boyutta bir ciddiyetsizlik örneğidir. (27.09.2014, Star)*

### **Headscarf in schools and pedagogical lies**

What pedagogical theory would explain the trauma experienced by students who open their heads every day at the school gate because of prohibitions? In cities like Muş, Van, Ağrı and Bitlis, where the girls’ schooling is still below 50 percent, one of the reasons why many families did not send their daughters to school was the headscarf bans applied in schools, as was shown in field studies that I personally participated in as well. In this respect, we need to consider the decision as an opportunity for the improvement of our education system. The fact that many academicians and intellectuals who are unaware of the Turkish sociology attempt to discuss the demands of covered girls to enter the school with a headscarf over the issue of sexuality is an example of frivolity. (27.09.2014, Star)

### ***Başörtülü okumak için her yolu denedi ama...***

*Ortaokul ve liselerde başörtüsü yasağı Bakanlar Kurulu Kararı ile kaldırıldı. Başörtüsü yasağı nedeniyle okula gidemeyen geçmişte bu nedenle okulu bırakmak zorunda kalan kız öğrenciler ve aileleri alternatif eğitim aramak yerine özgürce okula devam edeceği için memnun. (27.09.2014, Star)*

### **She tried every alternative to study in a headscarf, but...**

In secondary schools and high schools, the headscarf ban was abolished by the decision of the Council of Ministers. Girls who could not go to school because of the headscarf ban, and, thus, had to leave the school for this reason in the past have been pleased that the students and their families will now continue to study freely instead of seeking alternative ways of education. (27.09.2014, Star)

### ***Öğrenciler başörtüleriyle derse girdi***

*İlkokul 5. sınıftan itibaren başörtüsü serbestisi getirilmesinin ardından öğrenciler başörtülü olarak derslere girmeye başladı. Bir anne, "Benim üç kızım var. Üçü de başörtüyle gidiyor okula. Çok memnunum. Daha önce izin verilmiyordu" dedi. Bir veli, uygulamadan memnun olduklarını dile getirirken, şunları söyledi: "Çok seviniyoruz. Benim 3 kızım var. Üçü de başörtüyle gidiyor okula. Çok memnunum. Daha önce izin verilmiyordu. Benim küçük kızım takmak istiyordu. Kulağında da işitme cihazı vardı. Belki de ondan dolayı ama okulda izin vermemişler. Ama artık başörtüsü takabilecek ve memnunuz." Yanındaki işitme cihazı kullanan kızına da el hareketleri ile "Başörtüsü taktığına memnun musun?" diye soran anne, kızından memnun olduğu cevabını aldı. (27.09.2014, Star)*

### **Students entered classes with their headscarves on**

After the headscarf was liberated starting from the 5<sup>th</sup> grade in primary school, the students began to enter the classes in headscarves. Expressing satisfaction with the practice, one parent said: "We are very pleased. I have three daughters. All three of them go to the school in headscarves. I am very pleased. It was not allowed before. My little daughter wanted to wear it, and there was a hearing aid in her ear. Maybe because of it, but they did not allow the headscarf at school, but now she will be able to wear the headscarf, and we are happy. The mother asked the girl who was using the hearing aid with her hand gestures "Are you glad to wear the headscarf?", and she responded that she was really glad about it. (27.09.2014, Star)

When they were asked to interpret the news reports, the participating teachers expressed different views. Some of the teachers' attributed the lower schooling rates in Eastern Part to traditional social structure while some of them emphasized the religious belief as a determinant of girls' education. T 6 highlighted sharp gender roles in eastern provinces and co-education as barriers in front of girls' education. The teacher invalidated the role of headscarf restriction. Besides, T 8 centralized his/her arguments on social realities and traditional social structure which disadvantage girls. The teacher implied that allowing headscarf at school would not improve girls' education without interfering with patriarchal values. In a deeper analysis, the teacher considered wearing headscarf as a barrier in front of girls' education as it reproduced gender discrimination and oppression at schools. On the other hand, T 4 argued that a great number of people in eastern part of the



country did not send their daughters to school because of headscarf restriction. Discursive details in teacher's response reflected that wearing headscarf at early ages is not girls' own free will. The meaning of the phrase "as girls were forced to uncover their heads" (Tr. Çocuğunun başı zorla açılıyor diye) was noteworthy in this context:

*Kız öğrencilerinin okuma sayısı doğuda düşük. Biraz doğu toplumunu incelemek lazım burada, doğu toplumu sadece muhafazakâr bir toplum değil, son derece kadın ve erkek rollerinin keskin çizgiler ile ayrıldığı yerlerdir. O cinsiyetçi rollerin çok ayrıldığı yerler doğu toplumları, kadınlar ve erkeklerin rollerinin kesin kez ayrıldığı. Bu anlamda yani oralarda sadece okula gitmeme nedenlerinin türban olduğunu düşünmüyorum. Türban başka bir şey, orada hani kız ve erkeklerin aynı okulda olması onlar için istenmeyen bir şeydir. (T 6)*

The rate of girls' schooling is really low in the east. Here, we need to analyze the society there to understand this. Eastern society is not just a conservative society, but it is also the case that gender roles are strictly separate there. Gender roles are very clear-cut there. In this respect, the reason why the girls are not going to school there is not the turban. Turban is something else, but the fact that girls and boys are in the same school is something really undesirable there. (T 6)

*Yani şimdi evet az önceki konuştuğumuz şeye benziyor da şimdi Doğu'da, Güneydoğu'da evet böyle bir şey var bir realite var ama. Dediğim gibi o realiteyi yaratan koşulları siz ortadan kaldırmamız gerekir, siz o realiteyi ortadan kaldırmak için şimdi burada başörtüsüyle okula git diyorsunuz aynı şey eğitimde sürüyor yani toplumsal baskının kendisi okulda devam ediyor başörtüsüyle birlikte. (T 8)*

Yes, I mean this is something similar to what we have just discussed. Now, in the East and Southeast, there is such a reality. Like I said, you need to eliminate the conditions that give rise to this reality, now in order to eliminate the reality there, you are telling them to go to school covered. The same reality continues in school; that is, societal pressure itself is continued inside the school through headscarf. (T 8)

*Zamanında üniversitelerde dahi yasak olan ve çok ilkel bir yasak olan başörtüsü yasağının serbest bırakılması bence kız çocuklarının okullaşma oranlarına katkıda bulundu diye düşünüyorum, ki sırf çocuğunun başı zorla açılıyor diye çocuğunu okula göndermeyen velilerin çoğunlukta, bazı bölgelerde özellikle Doğu ve Güneydoğu Anadolu'da sırf bu nedenle kız çocuğunu okula göndermeyen velilerin çoğunlukta olduğu durumlar söz konusu. Bu nedenle olumlu bir gelişme olarak görüyorum. (T 4)*

I believe that allowing headscarves, which was once banned even in universities, and which was a very primitive ban, has contributed positively to the schooling of girls. We know that there were families, especially in Eastern and Southeastern parts of the country, who did not send their daughters to school simply because of this ban. Therefore, I see this as an improvement. (T 4)

On the other hand, in different news reports negative effects of wearing headscarf at early ages were highlighted. One example can be found in the news report of 25<sup>th</sup> September 2014 published in the Hürriyet which quoted a number of experts to justify its arguments. The report reflected wearing headscarf at early ages as a barrier to girls' education due to its negative impacts on child development and psychology. Besides, headline of the report posted on 7<sup>th</sup> February 2008 in the Radikal, invalidated headscarf restriction as a significant determinant of girls' education. In the lead part of the report, there were references to patriarchal social structure defining women's social status and causing female oppression. In a deeper analysis, the report declared patriarchal codes of living as significant barriers in front of girls' education. Presenting statistical data and quoting the arguments from experts served to make the news more credible and convincing:

#### ***10 yaşa türban tartışmasında eğitimciler ne diyor***

- *FELAKET OLARAK DEĞERLENDİRİYORUM - Prof. Dr. Çiğdem Kağıtçıbaşı (Koç Üniversitesi Psikoloji Bölümü Öğretim Üyesi): 5'inci sınıf öğrencilerinin başörtüsü takmasını felaket olarak değerlendiriyorum. Bu hem ayıptır, hem de ilkeliktir. Çünkü o yaşlardaki çocuk, çocuktur. Ergenlik dönemine bile ermemiştir. Erse de fark etmez aslında.*
- *SİMGELER EĞİTİMDE OLMAMALI - Prof. Dr. Üstün Ergüder (Eski Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Rektörü)*
- *GÜNDEME GELMESİ YANLIŞ - Prof. Dr. Ayşe Çakır İlhan (Ankara Üniversitesi Eğitim Fakültesi Dekanı)*
- *PEDAGOJİK ETKİSİ ÇOK YÖNLÜ OLUR Prof. Dr. Ayla Oktay (Eğitim Bilimci-Öğretim Üyesi): 10 yaşındaki bir çocuğun kendi iradesiyle karar verip, "Ben örtünmek istiyorum" demesi pek mümkün görünmüyor. Pedagojik açıdan çok yönlü etkisi olur. Burada kimsenin inançlara itiraz etmesi söz konusu olamaz. Herkes istediği şekilde inanır ama 10 yaşındaki çocuk kendi iradesiyle karar verecek durumda değil.*
- *ART NİYET OLMAZSA SORUN ÇIKMAZ - Abdullah Karakuş (Tüm Eğitim Müfettişleri Derneği Yönetim Kurulu Başkanı): Ancak düzenlemeler, paydaşların görüşleri alınarak yapılmalı, paydaşlar bu konuda ikna edilmeli. Fakat başörtüsünün bir simge olarak algılanmaması gerekiyor. (25.09.2014, Hürriyet)*

#### **What educationalists say about turban at the age of 10**

- **I SEE IT AS A DISASTER** - Prof. Çiğdem Kağıtçıbaşı (Koç University Psychology Department Instructor): I see it as a disaster for children to wear headscarves in the 5<sup>th</sup> grade. This is a shame, and it is primitive, because a child at that age is simply a child. She is not even in puberty yet. Well, it would still not make a difference even if she were, actually.
- **SYMBOLS SHOULD NOT BE USED IN EDUCATION** – Prof. Ustun Erguder (Bogazici University Former Rector)

- IT IS WRONG TO BRING IT INTO THE AGENDA – Prof. Ayşe Cakir İlhan (Ankara University Faculty of Education Dean)
- IT WILL HAVE MULTIFACETED PEDAGOGICAL EFFECTS – Prof. Ayla Oktay (Educationalist - Lecturer): It doesn't look very likely that a 10-year-old will decide on her own by her own will to cover herself. It will have multifaceted pedagogical effects. Now, here, no one should be objecting to beliefs. Everyone has the right to believe however they wish, but a 10-year-old is not in a position to decide on her own.
- THERE WILL BE NO PROBLEMS IF NO ONE IS MALEVOLENT – Abdullah Karakus (Board Chairman, Tüm Eğitim Müfettişleri Derneği – All Educational Inspectors Association) However, regulations need to be done by taking the opinions of every shareholder, and they need to be convinced. However, headscarves should not be presented as a symbol. (25.09.2014, Hürriyet)

#### ***Amaç kızların eğitimiye türban sahiden teferruat***

*Prof. Dr. Binnaz Toprak ve Prof. Dr. Ersin Kalaycıoğlu'nun yaptığı 'İş Yaşamı, Üst Yönetim ve Siyasette Kadın' araştırması, kızların türban nedeniyle okulu bırakma oranının devede kulak bile olmadığı sonucunu veriyor. Araştırmaya göre, kızların yüzde 49'u sadece 'ailesi istemedi' diye liseyi bile göremiyor. TESEV için yapılan araştırmada 1557 kadının yüzde 1'i türban yüzünden üniversite okumadığını söylüyor. Yani, türban 'okul bırakma' gerekçeleri sıralamasında sekizinci. Kalaycıoğlu: "Kadının statüsünü belirleyen iki temel unsur, yoksulluk ve aşırı muhafazakârlık. Erkeklerin kızlar üstünde acayip taassubu var." (07.02.2008, Radikal)*

#### **If the aim is girls' education, then, turban is only a detail really!**

Findings of the research study titled Business Life, Senior Management and Women in Politics, conducted by Prof. Dr. Binnaz Toprak and Prof. Dr. Ersin Kalaycıoğlu, revealed that the number of girls who could not study because of turban ban is just a drop in the bucket. According to the study, which was conducted for TESEV, 49% of the girls cannot even attend high school simply because “their family did not want them to”. Among 1557 female participants, only 1% of them asserted that they could not go to university because of the turban ban. That is, among the reasons for dropping out of school, turban is the 8<sup>th</sup> reason. Prof. Kalaycıoğlu stated that there are two basic elements that determine the status of women: poverty and excessive conservatism. Men have a strong dominance over women. (07.02.2008, Radikal)

The participating teachers interpreted the news reports in different ways. Most of the teachers agreed that imposing headscarf on girls at early ages created discrimination and male dominance over females. According to the teachers, headscarf restriction did not create a serious barrier to in front of girls' education. T 10 referred to patriarchal social structure and gender discrimination in the labor force as factors creating gender inequalities in education. T 3 invalidated the role of headscarf restriction in girls' education by pointing out that fathers hindered girls education which was a reflection of patriarchal social structure. In this

context, the teacher underlined the importance of continuous compulsory education in ensuring gender equality in education. Lastly, T 9 expressed the role of media in shaping public perception of educational policies. According to the teacher, contextualizing the headscarf restriction within the discourses of barriers to girls' education served to justify wearing headscarf at basic education level and created a male dominant society:

*Biraz daha şey bir açıklamaymış gibi geldi açıkçası, daha ılımlı. Yani konuşmanın başından beri aslında anlatmak istediğim şey, kızlar okula gidiyor mu, gidemiyor mu değil de, çocuklar okula nasıl gidiyor, çocuklar okula neden gidemiyor diye bakmak gerekiyor. Burada da ya da başörtüsü yüzünden değil de, sırf babası istemediği için mesela gitmeme oranının çok daha yüksek olduğunu görüyoruz burada. Daha mantıklı bir açıklama ve kendi gözlemlerime yakın bir istatistikmiş gibi geldi... Okulda da başörtüsü yasak diye çocuk okula gidemeyecekse bu açıdan baktığımızda bir fırsat eşitliği yaratıyormuş gibi görünür. Ama siz zaten ortaokulu zorunlu kıldığımız zaman ve aile mecburen çocuğunu gönderecek. O yaştaki bir çocuğun kendi isteğiyle başını kapatacağını çok düşünmüyorum.(T 3)*

This looks like a more moderate explanation to me. I mean what I want to tell you since the beginning is that rather than discussing whether the girls are going to school or not, we should be discussing **why** some of the children can and **why** some cannot go to school. And here we see that it is not just because of headscarf ban, the ones that cannot go cannot go simply because their fathers do not want them to be a lot more than others in number. It looks like a more rational explanation, and these statistics felt closer to what I have personally observed... It seems like you are creating equality of opportunities, if the child will not be able to go to school because of headscarf ban. However, when you make secondary school mandatory, the family will be obliged to send their children, anyway. I do not really think that a child at that age will cover her head by her own will. (T 3)

*Yani üniversiteye bir kız kardeşimiz veya çocuğumuz başını bağlayarak gitmek istiyorsa gitsin, niye gitmesin ki. Ama bana göre örneğin bunu İmam Hatip ortaokullarına indirmenin de sakıncalı olduğunu görüyorum. Daha o çocuğa siz ortaokul yaşı 11-12 yaşında daha cinsiyet ayrımcılığını öğretmeye çalışıyorsunuz diye düşünüyorum... Kızlarımızın okulu bırakmasının sebepleri sadece türban olarak algılasak yanlış olur. Bunun sebebinde toplumumuzun erkek egemenliğini kapsayan bir yapısının çok yoğun olması. Ondan sonra, okulu bitirdikten sonra özellikle kız öğrencilerinin fazla işe girmeyip de bayanların hani iş dışında fazla kalmasının. Yoksulluk sınırının fazla olması bunların hepsi etkindir.(T 10)*

I mean, if our sisters or daughters want to go to university covering her head, they should be able to do that, why not? However, I see it to be objectionable to put this into practice down at Imam Hatip School level. It seems that you are trying to teach this child gender discrimination at the age of as early as 11-12... It will be wrong to assume that the only reason why our girls drop out of school is the turban ban. The reason is our heavily male-dominant societal culture. The other reason is that our girls are usually left unemployed after graduation. The fact that poverty is widespread is also a factor, these are all factors in it. (T 10)

*Velilerin çocuklarını okula göndermeme sebebini türban yasağı olarak gösterip daha sonra*

*da kılık-kıyafet serbestliği getirilip çocukları 5. sınıftan itibaren başörtü takması... Yani bunların hepsi erkek egemenliğinde bir toplum yaratma çabası bence. (T 9)*

Inferring that the reason why parents do not send their daughters to school is the turban ban, and then allowing 5<sup>th</sup> grades to wear headscarves... I mean all these are efforts to create a male-dominant culture, if you ask me. (T 9)

#### **4.3.3.2. Early Marriages**

Formal marriage or informal union before age 18 is defined as child marriage. In Turkey, girls are negatively influenced by early marriage primarily because of traditional gender perceptions and cultural practices. Poverty, lack of education, religious belief, gender perception, insufficient laws or belief that a girl is safer once married are stated as the main reasons for child marriages (Akyol, 2014). The analysis of the present study revealed that early marriage was an important factor preventing girls' schooling. ERGs report on the new 4+4+4 education system provided reasonable emphasis on worries that the number of child marriages and child labor would increase. The report underlined the importance of continuous compulsory education in providing an equal educational opportunity for all. In the background information the document referred to open education option after the first four years enabling conservative parents to pull their daughters from school and paving the way for early marriages. Besides, Eğitim Sen's report on 4+4+4 highlighted the increases in the instances of child marriages:

*Uygulamaya girdiği günden bu yana eğitimin yeterince ağır olan sorunlarını derinleştirmekten başka bir işlevi olmayan 4+4+4 eğitim sistemi ile örgün eğitime devam eden kız çocuklarının sayısında ciddi düşüşler yaşanmıştır. Çocuk yaşta evlendirmeyi teşvik eden düzenlemeler bu sene binlerce kız çocuğunu eğitim sisteminin dışına itmiştir. 2014 yılında ortaokuldan mezun olan 36.401 kız çocuğu bu eğitim-öğretim döneminde açık liselerde dâhil olmak üzere hiçbir ortaöğretim kurumuna kayıt yaptırmamıştır. (Eğitim Sen, 2014a)*

With the introduction of 4 +4 +4 education system, which has served only to deepen the already-heavy problems of education, there has been a significant decline in the number of girls who continue formal training. Regulations that encourage childhood marriage have pushed thousands of girls out of the education system this year. 36.401 girls who graduated from secondary school in 2014 did not enroll in any high school level educational institutions, including open high schools, during this education period. (Eğitim Sen, 2014a)

*Sekiz yıllık kesintisiz zorunlu ilköğretim, “çocuk gelin” olgusu ve “çocuk işçiliği”nin azaltılmasında önemli rol oynadı. Kız çocukları daha uzun süre okula gittikleri için daha geç evlendiler ve daha geç evlendikleri için daha geç çocuk sahibi oldular. Bu reform sayesinde kadınların 16 yaşında evlenme olasılığı % 44 azaldı. 17 yaşında doğum yapma ihtimali % 36 azaldı.5 Bu bulgular, aynen ortaöğretime devamın artmasında gördüğümüz gibi, zorunlu kesintisiz eğitim uygulamasının hedeflenen kazanımlarının ötesinde getirilerinin de olduğunu gösteriyor. Beşeri sermaye birikimi sosyal göstergelerin tamamını olumlu yönde etkiliyor. Zorunlu kesintisiz eğitim ile elde edilen en önemli getirilerden biri çocuk emeğindeki azalma oldu. 1997 öncesini ve sonrasını değerlendiren ve çocuk emeğinin nedenlerini inceleyen çalışmalar çocuk emeğinde gözlemlenen azalmayı zorunlu kesintisiz eğitim uygulaması ile ilişkilendiriyorlar. (ERG, 2012b)*

Eight years of uninterrupted compulsory primary education has played an important role in reducing the "child bride" phenomenon and "child labor". Girls are married later because they study longer, and have children later because of this. Thanks to this reform, the likelihood of women getting married at the age of 16 was reduced by 44%. The likelihood of giving birth at the age of 17 has decreased by 36%. These findings show that, as we have seen in the increase in continuing secondary education, uninterrupted compulsory education has far-fetching benefits beyond the targeted achievements. The accumulation of human capital affects all of the social indicators positively. One of the most important gains from compulsory uninterrupted education was the reduction in child labor. Studies that investigated the causes of child labor during the years before and after 1997 correlate the reduction observed in child labor with mandatory uninterrupted education. (ERG, 2012b)

On the other hand, some of the policy documents supported the new education system and invalidated the main concerns about the possible increases in child marriages rates discursively. MONE’s report on the new system foregrounded the legislative framework of formal marriage limiting the marriage age and making enrollment tracking obligatory. However, the arguments in the document did not conceal the problem of child brides in Turkey. The report excluded information on informal union before age 18 which is a common tradition thanks to imam marriage in Turkey. Another noteworthy point was related with the use of phrase “intentional debates” (Tr. Maksatlı çıkarılan tartışma). It revealed the political and ideological dimension of the legislative. Besides, Eğitim Bir Sen’s report on 4+4+4 education system foregrounded civil rights and responsibilities in the heading. In the lead part of the report, open education was reflected as an opportunity to enjoy legal rights of marriage. In the background information, the report promoted early marriages:

*Bu sistemin böyle bir uygulamaya imkân vereceği yönündeki tartışmalar tamamen maksatlı olarak çıkarılan tartışmalardır. Bu sistemin böyle bir uygulamaya imkân vermesi asla söz konusu değildir. Bilindiği üzere Medeni Kanununun 124 üncü maddesine göre erkek ve*

*kadınlar 17 yaşını doldurmadıkları sürece evlenemezler. Ancak, hâkim olağanüstü durumlarda ve çok önemli bir sebeple 16 yaşını doldurmuş olan erkek veya kadının evlenmesine izin verebilir. Dolayısıyla 12 yıllık zorunlu eğitim sürecini bitirmeyen hiçbir öğrencimizin eğitim sistemi dışına çıkıp, erken yaşta evlenmeleri mümkün değildir.... Ayrıca, eğitim süresince zorunlu eğitime devamın sağlanması öncelikle velilerde ve okul yöneticisi ile mülki idare amirinin kanuni sorumluluğu altındadır. (MEB, 2012b)*

The assertions that this system will allow for such a practice are completely intentional debates. It is never the case that this system allows for such a practice. As it is known, according to the Article 124 of the Civil Code, men and women cannot marry unless they are 17 years old. However, the judge may allow the marriage of a man or woman who has completed the age of 16 in exceptional circumstances and for a very important reason. Therefore, it is not possible for any of our students who have not completed the 12-year compulsory education process to go out of the education system and get married at an early age.... In addition, ensuring continuity and attendance of students during compulsory education period is primarily under the responsibility of the parents, then the school administrator, and the local authorities. (MEB, 2012b)

***Zorunlu Ortaöğretim Uygulamasının Medeni Haklar ve Vatandaşlık Ödevi Gibi Sorumluluklar Açısından Olumsuzluk Oluşturmaması İçin Alınması Gereken Tedbirler:*** *Zorunlu eğitimin 12 yıla çıkarılması nedeniyle ortaöğretimde, ilköğretimde olduğu gibi yasayla bir üst yaş sınırı konulmamıştır. Bu nedenle liselerin 4 yılda bitirilememesi halinde uzayan eğitim süresinin evlilik veya bir mesleğe başlama gibi medeni hakların kullanılmasına engel teşkil etme ihtimali mevcuttur. Söz konusu medeni haklar, kaynağını Anayasa'dan almaktadır. Bu hakların kullanılmasına sınırlama getirilemeyeceğinden, liselerin 4 yılda bitirilememesi durumunda açık öğretim yoluyla eğitimin tamamlanmasına imkân sağlanmalıdır. (Eğitim Bir Sen, 2012d)*

**Measures to be taken in order not to create a disadvantage through compulsory secondary education in terms of duties and responsibilities in the areas of Civil Rights and Civic Responsibilities:** Due to the fact that compulsory education has been increased to 12 years, no upper age limit to complete secondary education has been determined, contrary to the case in primary education. For this reason, if the high school cannot be completed within 4 years, there is a possibility that the extended education period will prevent the use of civil rights such as marriage or starting a profession. These mentioned civil rights are derived from the Constitution. Since the use of these rights cannot be restricted, it should be made possible to complete the high school education period through open education, in the cases when the high school could not be completed within 4 years. (Eğitim Bir Sen, 2012d)

In different news reports 4+4+4 system was criticized for limiting girls in domestic sphere and orienting them to get married in early ages. One example can be found in the report of 23<sup>th</sup> October 2012 published by Milliyet. The report centralized 4+4+4 arguments on concerns that the number of child marriages would increase in the heading. The use of the word “worries” (Tr. Endişe) formed a sense of threat and served to create a critical perspective of the new legislation. There were also references to inferior status of women and control mechanisms limiting female

freedom in the society. In a deeper analysis, the document denounced early marriages as a tool to create male dominance over women. In a similar vein, the report of 21<sup>st</sup> April 2014 published in Sözcü highlighted female oppression as a result of early marriages in the headline while the report of 22<sup>nd</sup> April 2014 criticized early marriages for limiting girls' educational opportunities:

**Çocuk gelin sayısı artarsa' endişesi:** 4+4+4 eğitim sisteminde, çocukların örgün eğitimden çıkabilecekleri yaşın belirlenmesinde ortalama ilk adet görme yaşının dikkate alındığı anlaşılıyor. Burada temel kaygı, ergenlik çağına ulaşan kız çocukların okullardan uzaklaştırılarak eve kapatılması. Toplumsal algı kız çocukların üreme yeteneğini kazanmasıyla artık çocukluktan çıktığı yönünde. Bu da kadınlara uygulanan kontrol mekanizmalarına konu olmaları demek oluyor. (23.10.2012, Milliyet)

### **Worries about a possible increase in the number of child brides**

It is observed that while deciding on the age when children can first drop out of the formal education in 4+4+4 education system, the age of first menstruation was taken into consideration. The prior concern here is to keep girls away from school and to seclude them. In societal perception, girls' childhood finishes when they enter the puberty. It means that they become the subjects of control mechanisms targeted towards women. (23.10.2012, Milliyet)

### **'Çocuk gelinler ömür boyu istismar mağduru'**

Prof. Dr. Remzi Oto, çocuk gelinler ile ilgili "Bu çocuklar, gelin gittikleri evde mevsimlik işçi olarak çalıştırılan, cinsel, ekonomik anlamda hizmet eden bireyler haline dönüşüyor" dedi. (21.04.2014, Sözcü)

### **Child brides are life-long victims of exploitation**

About child brides, Professor Remzi Oto said: "These children are turning into individuals who work as seasonal workers and give sexual and economic services at homes where they are married to". (21.04.2014, Sözcü)

### **"Evlenmek değil okumak istiyoruz"**

Van'da erken yaşta evlendirilen kızlar durumu ihbar etti İl Milli Eğitim Müdürlüğü harekete geçti. Van'ın İpekyolu İlçesi'ne bağlı Erçek Mahallesi'nde okuyan kız öğrencilerin 'Bizi erken yaşta evlendiriyorlar' ihbarını değerlendiren okul müdürü ve öğretmenler harekete geçti.

Mahallenin taziye evinde aralarında muhtar, avukat, doktor, islam hukukçusu ve köy imamında bulunduğu toplantıda Erçek halkına çocuk gelinlerle ilgili seminer verildi. Seminere katılan kız öğrenciler başlarına taktıkları beyaz eşarpla çocuk yaşta evlilikleri protesto ederken, erkek öğrenciler de ellerindeki pankartlarla kız arkadaşlarına destek verdi. (22.04.2014, Sözcü)



**“We do not want to get married, we want to study”**

In Van, girls who were made to marry at an early age reported the situation to the authorities, and the Provincial Directorate of National Education took action. The school principal and the teachers who evaluated the denunciation of the girls who studied in Erçek Quarter of Van's Ipekyolu District decided to take action.

A seminar was given to people of Erçek in the condolence house of the neighborhood in presence of mukhtars (local headmen), lawyers, doctors, Islamic legal experts and the village imam. The girls who participated in the seminar protested the child marriages with the white scarves they had put on their heads, while the male students also supported their friends with the banners on their hands. (22.04.2014, Sözcü)

Most of the participating teachers criticized the new education system for allowing early marriages by highlighting traditional practices and gender perception in the society. T 2 provided examples of child brides by referring to his/her experiences while T 10 emphasized the ways open education reinforced traditional practices hindering girls' education. T 6 and T 8 foregrounded possible increases in the number of child marriages and instances of child labor along due to new legislation. The teacher denounced the new education system for orienting girls to get married in early ages. The meaning of the selected words “being condemned” (Tr. Mahkum ediliyor) and the use of agentless passive revealed the teacher's critical perspective of the new education system regarding gender equality. The statements served to indicate the new legislation denied girls' rights of education and promoted early marriages:

*Mesela şeyi biliyorum, şimdi düşündükçe aklıma geliyor. Kız öğrencilerinden çok küçük yaşta okulu bırakıp evlenenler oldu. Bu 10 yıllık süreç içerisinde hata şu an çocuğu olan bile var. Onun herhangi bir takibi yapıldığını zannetmiyorum. (T 2)*

I know, for instance, this.. it all comes to me when I think about it. I have had female students who left school and got married within this period of 10 years of my teaching. I even have one student with a kid. I do not think she was followed up on. (T 2)

*Hıhı açıköğretimde o bunu konulduğu sırada adamın hem yuvasını kursun, hem işini yapsın sonra da açıköğretime okusun, ama bu şekilde sadece okulu bitirme oluyor. Ama iş hayatına ve devlete verimlilik açısından baktığın sırada oradan uzaklaşıyor.(T 10)*

Yes, in open schools, when you have this regulation here, you think she will both have a family, do the work, and study in open schools. However, this way, it is merely finishing school, but when you consider efficiency in terms of work life and benefits to the state, she is drifting away from these. (T 10)

*Çocuk gelini mevzusu var birde tabii ki bu 4 artı 4 ile birlikte. Kız çocuklarını çocuk yaşta evlendirmek. Çocuk gelin kavramını bir kere kullanmıyoruz. Hani bu doğru değil, çocuk ve gelin asla bir araya gelemez. Bu çocuk istismarıdır hani çocuk yaşta evlilik diyoruz. Çocuk gelin diye kullanmıyoruz artık... Kızlar çocuk yaşta evliliğe mahkûm ediliyor. İşte bu çocuğun okuldan koparılması da çocuk yaşta evliliğin önünü açan bir şey oluyor. Şimdi kız çocuklarının üzerinden konuşuyoruz ama erkekler için de çocuk işçi sorunu var Erkeklerde çocuk yaşta işçi yapılmak isteniyor diye 4 artı 4'ün amacı böyle tarif edilmişti... (T 6)*

There is the issue of child brides, of course, with this 4+4+4 system. Getting girls married at an early age. Firstly, we are not using the term “child brides”. I mean this is not correct because the terms “child” and “bride” can never come together. This is child abuse, so we are saying “getting married at the age of a child”.. we are not using it that way anymore. The girls are condemned to marriages at that age. Pulling girls away from schools at this age paves the way for marriages at an early age. Now, we are talking about girls, but for boys, we have the problem of child labor. The boys are intended to be made child workers. This was how the aim of 4+4 system was described... (T 6)

*Zaten burda sınıfsal bir yanı var demiştim ya az önce. Yani ne oluyor, liselerde çocuğun hem ailenin sosyo-ekonomik durumundan kaynaklı zorunlulukları varsa hem de zaten: “ kız çocuğu okumasın başımıza yük olmasın, yarın bir gün üniversiteye gitmesin bir de onun masrafı var”, bu düşünüldüğünde öncelikle iş kız öğrencilerin üstüne kalıyor. Yani ilk fatura ona çıkıyor, ilk acıyı o çekiyor bu anlamda. Dolayısıyla çocuklara devam zorunluluğu yoksa ya da açık lise uygulaması olduğunda ne yapıyor, onlara gönderiliyor ve örgün eğitime gitmiyor ve bir taraftan da işte aile ekonomisine katkıda bulunsun ya da işte evlensin başımızdan gitsin, bir eşi olsun işte evlendirelim de bundan kurtulalım moduyla davranılıyor. (T 8)*

Like I said earlier, this is related to the class they belong to. I mean what happens is, if the family already has requirements stemming from their socio-economic status when the children are at high school, and if the family holds the opinion that “why let the girl study, and make her a burden on us, why let her go to university and pay for the costs”, then it is firstly the girls that are sacrificed. I mean they are the ones to pay the bill, and do the suffering. Therefore, when attendance is not mandatory, or when the practice of open schooling is made possible, what do they do? They are directed to these channels, and she does not continue formal education. And, on the other hand, the families are either making her to contribute to family budget, or treat her in a way to get rid of her by getting her married. (T 8)

On the other hand, some of the teachers believed 4+4+4 education system did not influence the number of child brides arguing that increasing the length of compulsory education would promote girls’ education. One example can be found in T 1’s response. The teacher referred to his/her observations and experiences in relation to increases girls’ enrolment rates with the new education system. It was also noteworthy that in order to support his/her opinion the teacher drew the attention to editorialization of news regarding girls’ enrollment rates:

*Ben hani bunun kademeli olmasının çocuk gelin sayısının artıracığına inanmıyorum. Tam tersine daha çok kız çocuğunun okula devam ettiğini düşünüyorum. Ama tabii hani belki bu benim gördüğüm belli yerlerde işte çocuk dışardan okusun ondan sonra okula gitmesin diyen yerler olabilir ama benim gördüğüm kadarıyla bu daha da artırdı. 4+4+4'ün olması, kız çocuklarının okula gitmesini artırdı, gazeteden gazeteye tabii ki yorum farklılığı olmuş burada. (T 1)*

I don't think that the fact that this system is organized in stages will increase the number of child brides. Quite on the contrary, I believe more children are enrolled in education. But this is obviously what I observe, in certain places, there might be people who might prefer their daughters to study from outside and not to go to school. However, the way I see it, it increased the number of female students. Here, of course, there are differences in interpretation between different newspapers. (T 1)

#### **4.3.3.3.Co-education**

Co-education was a widely discussed part of socio-cultural barrier in front of girls education in the policy documents analyzed in this study. MONE's circular on increasing girls' enrollment rates at secondary education level published in 2010 supported single sex vocational education to promote girls' education. The document emphasized high demands for girls' vocational high schools which served to create a perception that there was need for single sex education to better girls' education. The reports of TAP, ULUED and Eğitim Bir Sen also supported single sex education as a way to support girls' education. ULUED's report published in 2012 reflected co-education as a factor decreasing girls' enrollment rates. Another noteworthy point was related with the use of phrase "worrying even for most of the boys" (Tr. Birçok erkek çocuğu için bile endişe verici). The language used in the document assembled hierarchical power relations between males and females which subordinated girls to men. TAP's reflected co-education as barrier in front of girls' education by referring to lower enrollment rates. The document denounced co-education for early marriages, sexual abuse and male dominance. It was important that negative impacts of co-education on girls were not supported by scientific proofs. In the background information, the document referred to illegal sexual connections in mixed gender education which is against the preaching of Islam and patriarchal norms of society:

*Hiçbir kız çocuğunun eğitimin dışında kalmaması amacıyla:*

*3. Kız çocuklarının yoğun talebi doğrultusunda fiziki olarak yetersiz kalan kız teknik ve meslek liselerinin kapasitelerinin artırılması, yeni kız teknik ve meslek liselerinin yapımı için sektör temsilcileri, hayırsever iş adamları, yerel yönetimler vb ile gerekli görüşmelerinin yapılarak bir eğitim seferberliği başlatılması*

*5. Kırsal alanda ve ekonomik imkânları kısıtlı olan ailelerin kız çocuklarının ortaöğretime devamlarının sağlanması için YİBO statüsü örnek alınarak yatılı kız meslek liselerinin açılması. (MEB Kız Teknik Öğretim Genel Müdürlüğü, 2010)*

In order not to leave any girls out of education, ...

3. It has been decided to increase the capacities of girls technical and vocational high schools, which are thought to be physically inadequate because of intensive demand from girls, and to launch an educational mobilization campaign by making necessary negotiations with the sector representatives, philanthropic businessmen, local governments, and so on in order to build new girls technical and vocational high schools.

5. In order to ensure continuity of girls' education in secondary education in rural areas and in families with limited financial resources, YİBO status has been taken as an example, and it has been decided to open residential girl vocational high schools. (MONE General Directorate of Girls' Technical Education , 2010)

*Kız çocuklarının okullaşma oranının artması isteniyor ama bu konudaki endişeler (başörtüsü, açık öğretim, karma eğitim gibi...) giderilmiş değildir. Özellikle toplumun içinde bulunduğu ahlaki vaziyet birçok erkek çocuğu için bile endişe verici gözükmektedir. (ULUED, 2012)*

There are efforts to increase girls' enrollment rate, but concerns about it (such as headscarves, open education, and coeducation...) have not been addressed yet. The moral situation in the society, in particular, seems to be worrying even for many boys. (ULUED, 2012)

*Rapor'a göre Türkiye'de 2009 yılında ilköğrenimden sonra okumayı bırakan erkek çocukların oranı % 37,9 iken kızların oranı % 50,2. Türkiye'deki kız öğrencilerin yarısı, çeşitli sebeplerle eğitim yaşamundan vakitsiz biçimde kopuyor ve liseye gidemiyor. Bu bakımdan AB'nin kız öğrenciler için geçerli % 12,5'lik oranı ile Türkiye'nin % 50,2 oranı arasında uçurum bulunuyor. Türkiye bu uçurumu ancak Kız okullarının açılması ile aşabilir. Karma eğitimin kaldırılması ile bu açık giderilebilir... Özellikle kız öğrencilerin ergenlik sonrası karşı cinsle birlikte eğitim alması eğitim hedefinden sapmalara neden olmaktadır. Aileler, orta öğretim düzeyinde kız çocuklarının okulu terk edip evlilik düşüncesi ile karşularına çıkmaları ile tedirgindirler. Cinsel taciz, erkek öğrenci hegemonyası, erkek- kız öğrencinin yarışmacı vahşi rekabeti kız öğrencinin eğitim sürecini yaralamaktadır. Karma Eğitim esas olmaktan çıkarılmalıdır. Gerek orta öğretim ve gerekse üniversite düzeyinde "kız ve erkek okulları" açılmalıdır... Karma eğitimin sosyal barış, inanç, düşünce, kültür, sosyal psikoloji, ergenlik psikolojisi gibi başlıklarda halkın talep ve beklentilerinden uzak olduğu ve sorunlara neden olduğu ortaya çıkmıştır. Veli ve okul ilişkileri gereği gibi sağlanamamakta; halk, değerleri ile çatışan bir eğitim sürecine katkı vermemektedir. Halkın alternatif eğitim kurumları arayışı devam etmekte ve bu toplumsal*

*barışı sarsmakta eğitimi idare edenlerle velisi olduğu çocuk ve gence eğitim aldırarak isteyen ebeveyn arasında gereksiz ve toplumsal faydayı sağlamayan çekişme yaşanmaktadır. (TAP, 2013b)*

According to the report, the proportion of boys who stopped studying after primary education in 2009 in Turkey was 37.9%, while the proportion of girls was 50.2%. Half of the girls in Turkey are inextricably being torn apart from their educational life for various reasons and they cannot go to high school. In this respect, there is a huge gap between the EU proportion of 12.5% for dropout girls and 50.2% for Turkey. Turkey can overcome this abyss only with the opening of girls' schools. This problem can be overcome with the elimination of mixed education... Especially when girls are educated with the opposite sex after puberty, it causes deviations from the educational objective. Parents are disturbed by the fact that, at the secondary level, girls leave their schools and approach them with the request to get married. Sexual harassment, male student hegemony, and brutal male-female student competitiveness are damaging the education process of female students. Mixed education should not be the basis of education anymore. "Girls' and boys' schools" should be opened both in secondary education and at university level... It has become evident that mixed education is far from meeting the demands and expectations of the people and causes problems in areas like social peace, belief, thought, culture, social psychology, and adolescence psychology. Relations between parents and schools cannot be established at the desired level, and the public does not contribute to an educational process that conflicts with its values. The public continues to search for alternative education institutions, and there is a struggle between those who manage education, who shake this social peace, and the parents, which is all unnecessary and socially inefficacious. (TAP, 2013b)

Teachers unions contextualized co-education by presenting different arguments. Eğitim Bir Sen's referred to differences between two genders and different gender roles assigned to girls and boys in its report while presenting the disadvantages of co-education for girls. The language used in the document was associated with conservative and Islamic understanding of mixed gender education. Lastly, the ways co-education eliminated girls' educational opportunities were not supported by scientific evidence which decreased the credibility of the arguments in the document. On the other hand, Eğitim Bir Sen's report on co-education foregrounded ideological and political dimensions of supporting single sex education and invalidated arguments on disadvantages of co-education. The report referred to the preaching of Islam and conservative codes of living as the driving force of those reforms. Single sex education was reflected as a part of reforms designed to Islamize the education system which created another barrier for girls' education:

### ***Karma Eğitimin Mahzurları***

*Bu iktibaslardan sonra karma eğitimde karşılaştığımız mahzurları şöyle sıralayabiliriz:*

- *Karma eğitim kız ve erkekteki farklılıkları göz önüne almamaktadır. Fizik, kimya, matematik bilgisayar, spor ve el işi derslerinde erkekler hep öndedir. Dil eğitimi, edebiyat, coğrafya, pedagoji ve psikolojide ise kızlar daha başarılıdır. Karma eğitimde kızların yeteneklerini geliştiremedikleri tespit edilmiştir. Birçok alanda ki rekabet, kızları başarısızlığa mahkûm etmektedir.*
- *Karma eğitimde kızlar erkeklerin bulunduğu sınıflarda çekingenleşmekte, söz almak ve sınıfta faal olmak istememekte, alay edilme korkusuyla içe kapanmakta ve bu şekilde zarar görmektedir. Kısacası kızların kişilikleri baskılanmaktadır. (Eğitim Bir Sen, 2012c)*

### ***The disadvantages of coeducation***

*After these citations, we can list the disadvantages we have encountered in mixed education as follows:*

- *Mixed education does not take into account the differences between girls and boys. In physics, chemistry, mathematics, computers, sports and handicrafts, men are always ahead. On the other hand, girls are more successful in language education, literature, geography, pedagogy, and psychology. It has been found that girls cannot develop their abilities in mixed education. Competition in many areas is condemning girls to failure.*
- *In mixed education, girls are hesitant in classrooms where men are present, and do not want to participate and be active in class, and they are closing in and are suffering from fear of being mocked. In short, girls' personalities are suppressed. (Eğitim Bir Sen, 2012c)*

*Eğitimde dini muhafazakarlığı arttırmayı hedefleyen, inanç istismarını gelenek haline getirmiş ve cinsiyetçi bakış açısına sahip olanların attıkları her adımda iktidarın sözcülüğünü yapanların karma eğitime savaş açmış olması şaşırtıcı değildir. Eğitimin dini kurallara göre ya da iktidarın siyasal ideolojik hedeflerine uygun bir içerikte düzenlenmesini isteyenlerin asıl derdi öğrenci başarısı değildir. Kız ve erkek öğrencilerin önce ayrı sınıflarda, daha sonra ayrı ayrı okullarda öğrenim görmesinin arkasında yatan asıl unsur güçlü olan karşısında itaat edecek, iktidara her koşulda biat edecek “dindar nesiller” yetiştirmektir... Osmanlı’dan başlayarak, günümüze kadar hemen her dönem kız ve erkek öğrencileri haremlik-selamlık uygulamasına tabi tutma, ayrı ayrı kız ve erkek okulları açılması düşüncesi gündeme getirilmiş, özellikle ergenlik döneminde bulunan öğretim kademeleri için (ortaokul ve liseler) böylesi bir ayrımın yapılması istenmiştir. Bütün bu girişimlerin temelinde eğitimden çok dini kuralların ve muhafazakâr yaşam tarzının olduğu bilinmektedir. (Eğitim Sen, 2014c)*

It is not surprising that those who aim to increase religious conservatism in education, who have turned belief abuse into a tradition, and those who have a gendered perspective, and those who spoke in favor of the ones in power all the time have waged a war against mixed education. The real concern of those who want to organize education in accordance with religious rules or in accordance with the political ideological goals of the government is not the students’ success. The main motivation behind the education of girls and boys in separate classes first and then in separate schools is to train "religious generations" that will

obey the powerful and will submit to them in every possible condition ... Starting from the Ottoman Empire, the practice of haremlık-selamlık (sitting separately for boys and girls) and the opening of separate girls and boys schools have been brought to the agenda, and it was desired to make such a distinction for the education levels (middle school and high school) especially during adolescence period. It is known that all of these initiatives are based on religious rules and a conservative lifestyle rather than education. (Eğitim Sen, 2014c)

In some of the news reports, co-education was reflected as a barrier in front of girls' education by highlighting its disadvantages. In the news report of 28<sup>th</sup> September 2014 published in Akit, co-education was condemned for increasing and triggering sexual abuse. Besides, co-education was denounced as a factor influencing girls' education negatively because of sexual abuse and harassment occurred in co-educational institutions in the report of 10<sup>th</sup> May 2010 published in Yeni Şafak. The report justified its own arguments and truths regarding single sex education by negating the changes in education system after 28<sup>th</sup> February. Another element to consider was the meaning of selected word "collapse" (Tr. Çökmek) which served to create a sense of deterioration regarding co-education system. Therefore, contextualization of co-education and argumentation structure used in the report reflected the ideological and political aspect of the co-education issue in Turkish context:

#### ***Karma eğitim tacizi tetikliyor***

*Yapılan araştırmalar 'Karma eğitim modeli'nin öğrencilerin pedagojik eğitimi üzerinde artı bir etki oluşturmadığı tam aksine taciz olaylarını artırdığını ve tetiklediğini ortaya koyuyor. (28.09.2014, Akit)*

#### **Coeducation triggers sexual abuse**

Research findings reveal that coeducation does not have a positive impact on students; on the contrary, it triggers and increases abuses at schools. (28.09.2014, Akit)

*Mazlumder Gaziantep Şubesi'nde yapılan basın açıklamasında Siirt'teki cinsel istismar ve tehdit vakasının 28 Şubat uygulamalarını akıllara getirdiği, Türkiye'de 28 Şubat'ın uygulaması olan Karma Eğitim Sistemi'nin çöktüğü ifade edildi. Ortak yapılan açıklamada dernekler bu sistemin kaldırılmasını istediler. Karma eğitim konusunun Avrupa ve Amerika'da 90'lı yıllardan beri tartışıldığı hatırlatıldığı açıklama şöyle devam ediyor: "YİBO'ların 28 Şubat sürecinde sayılarının artırılmasının asıl nedeni ise 'Dindar yoksul insanların çocuklarını dinden ve değerlerinden uzaklaştırmak' ve 'Darbeci mantıkla tek tipçi model meydana getirme' gayretiydi. İşte bu anlayış YİBO'ları bugün bu hale getirdi. YİBO'lar eğitim ile değil skandallar ile anılır iken kimse YİBO'lar ile kız öğrencilerin eğitime kazandırıldığını iddia etmesin. Bugün herkes YİBO'lardan aksine kaçır hale geldi. (10.052010, Yeni Şafak)*

In the press statement made by Mazlumder Gaziantep branch, it was stated that the case of sexual abuse and threats in Siirt brought to mind the implementations of February 28<sup>th</sup> system and that the practice of coeducation, which is also a practice of February 28<sup>th</sup>, has now collapsed. In the joint statement, the associations expressed their desire to remove this system. Remarking that the topic of mixed education has been discussed in Europe and America since the 90's, the explanation continues: "The main reason for increasing the number of the YİBOs (Regional Primary Boarding Schools) during February 28<sup>th</sup> period was "to remove the children of religious poor people from their religious values" and "to create a uniform single-type student model under coup mentality". This understanding has put YİBOs into what they are today. At a time when YİBOs are associated with scandals rather than education today, no one can claim that YİBOs bring girl students into the education system. Quite oppositely, now everyone has started fleeing from YİBOs. (10.052010, Yeni Şafak)

Similarly, in some of the news reports analyzed in this study co-education was shown as barrier in front of girls' education in Eastern and Southeastern parts of Turkey. There were references to traditional structure and family values shaping people's perception of co-education. In the report of 13<sup>th</sup> May 2009, Yeni Şafak confuted the argument that secularists did not support single sex education by providing examples of girls graduated from girls' schools in the time of Atatürk and famous secular women who were graduates of single sex schools. Besides, there was an emphasis on demands of parents for single sex schools in the news report of Bugün posted on 30<sup>th</sup> December 2012. The newspaper declared its supporting attitudes towards the recent changes in the field of education in the headline of the report. In the lead part, religious beliefs shaping parents' perceptions regarding co-education were highlighted and low enrollment rates were linked to co-education system:

#### ***Harem selamlık eğitim önerisi***

*Eğitim-Bir-Sen Genel Başkanı Ahmet Gündoğdu, karma eğitimde Doğu'daki kız çocuklarının 'toplumsallaşamadığını', bu nedenle harem selamlık eğitime geçilmesi gerektiğini söyledi. (07.03.2004, Hürriyet)*

#### **A suggestion for "haremlık-selamlık" (single-sex) education**

Eğitim-Bir-Sen Chairman, Ahmet Gündoğdu, stated that girls in the Eastern regions cannot "become socialized" through coeducation, and therefore we need to start implementing "haremlık-selamlık" education. (07.03.2004, Hürriyet)



### ***Karma eğitim" tartışılmaz mı?***

*"Bilge Köyü"ndeki katliamla Mardin'in ve dolayısıyla Güneydoğu'nun sosyal ve kültürel yapısı tartışmaya açılmıştı. Mardin Valisi Hasan Duruer de, bölgedeki aşiret ve insan yapısının iyi analiz edilmesi gerektiğini belirtmiş, bu minvalde kız çocuklarının ayrı okullarda okutulmasının faydalı olabileceğini dile getirmişti. Çünkü pek çok aile, kız çocuklarını karma okullara göndermek istemiyordu. Vali Duruer, " Bu çocukları eve mahkum etmemek için, çok sayıda kız okullarına, yurtlarına ihtiyacımız olacaktır" demişti. Böyle hassas bir konu özünden saptırılarak laiklik tartışmasına döndürüldü. CHP'li bir milletvekili de hemencecik Meclis'e taşımış olayı. Oysa Atatürk ve İsmet Paşa döneminde kız liseleri çatır çatır mezun vermiş. Sayıları azalsa da, hâlâ böyle okullar var. Tansu Çiller, Nazlı Ilıcak, Türkan Saylan ve daha pek çok ünlü kadın bu tür liselerden mezun olmuşlar. Madem bir yaraya melhem olacak, Güneydoğu'da neden benzer modeller tartışılamasın ki! (13.05.2009, Yeni Şafak)*

### **Is coeducation incontestable?**

The social and cultural structure of Mardin, and hence the Southeast, was opened to debate with the massacre in "Bilge Village". Mardin Governor Hasan Duruer also stated that the tribal/clan structure and social structure of the region should be well analyzed and that it might be useful to have girls attend separate schools. It is because many families do not want to send their girls to mixed schools. Governor Duruer said, "We will need many girls' schools and dormitories to convince these children to go to school." Such a delicate matter was diverted from its essence and turned into a discussion of secularism. A CHP deputy also immediately moved the issue to the Assembly. However, during the times of Atatürk and Ismet Pasha, such girls' schools graduated many students. There are still schools like this, even if their numbers have dropped. Tansu Ciller, Nazlı Ilıcak, Turkan Saylan and many other famous women graduated from such high schools. Seeing that it will solve problems, why not discuss similar models for the Southeast? (13.05.2009, Yeni Şafak)

### ***DES: Eğitimde gelinen nokta özenle korunmalı***

*Demokrat Eğitimciler Sendikası (DES) Genel Başkanı Gürkan Avcı: ...Çeşitli mülahazalar ve dini çekinceler nedeniyle çocuğunu yalnız hemcinslerinin devam ettiği okullara göndermek isteyen velilere de uygun eğitim kurumlarının açılması gerektiğini aktaran Avcı, "Devletin, bütün vatandaşlarına eğitim hakkını sağlamak ve taleplerine göre eğitim hizmetlerini kolaylaştırmak gibi bir sorumluluğu vardır. Bu nedenle karma eğitim kurumları yanı sıra yalnızca kızların yahut erkeklerin devam ettiği okullar maharetiyle tüm çocuklarımızın okullaşması sağlanmalıdır." dedi. (30.12.2012, Bugün)*

### **DES: The point we have reached in education needs to be protected meticulously**

... Having said that appropriate educational institutions should be opened for the parents who want to send their children to single-sex schools because of various thoughts and religious considerations, Gürkan Avcı, the President of the Democratic Educators' Union (DES) argued: "The state should provide education to all its citizens and facilitate education services in accordance with their demands. This is why all our children should be enrolled in school, not only in co-educational institutions but also in schools where only girls or boys attend". (30.12.2012, Bugün)

On the other hand, in some of the news report contextualization of co-education within the discourses of barriers to girls' education was criticized. Yurt condemned Eğitim Bir Sen's proposal to discuss co-education under the title of school security in the report of 4<sup>th</sup> December 2014. The news report invalidated the concerns of parents regarding co-education drawing the attention to girls' secondary school as an alternative for them. In a deeper analysis, the report indicated that school security and alleged disadvantages of co-education masked the intentions to generate single sex education at primary level. The newspaper questioned the underlying reasons for the co-education discussions in another report posted on 2<sup>nd</sup> March 2015. The headline of the news report was noteworthy in both reflecting the concerns regarding abolishing co-education and drawing the attention to Islamic perspective on co-education. Lastly, in the news report published on 4<sup>th</sup> of May 2014 Sözcü criticized MONE's circular on increasing girls' enrollment rates at secondary education level published in 2010. The headline of the report indicated that the circular served to abolish co-education at secondary level rather than promoting girls' education:

*2-6 Aralık 2014 tarihleri arasında Antalya'da toplanan ve 5 gün sürecek olan 19'uncu Milli Eğitim Şurası'nda, eğitim sistemini yakından ilgilendirecek kritik kararların alınması bekleniyor. Eğitim Bir Sen tarafından karma eğitimi gündeme getirilip tartışmaya açılmak isteniyor. Karma eğitimin, öğrencilerin başarısını olumsuz yönde etkilediği, şiddeti körüklediği ve bazı ailelerin erkeklerle aynı ortamda okumasını istemediği kız çocuklarını okula göndermediği iddiasıyla "Okul Güvenliği" başlığı altında tartışmaya açılması bekleniyor. Bazı aileler kız çocuklarını, erkekler olduğu için okula göndermiyorlarsa bu da pek inandırıcı değil. Neden mi? Çünkü Türkiye'de, Kız Anadolu Lisesi, Kız İmam Hatip Lisesi, Anadolu Kız Meslek Lisesi gibi birçok kız okulu var. Bu okullarda dileyen eğitim-öğretim görebilir. Ama ilkokul ve ortaokul düzeyinde kız ve erkek ayrı okullar düşünülmüyorsa buna da diyecek bir şey bulamıyorum. (4.122014, Yurt)*

Critical decisions that will closely concern the education system are expected to be taken during the 19<sup>th</sup> National Education Council, which will be held in Antalya between 2-6 December, 2014. Eğitim-Bir-Sen wants to bring the issue of mixed education to the agenda and open it to discussion. It is expected that mixed education will be debated under the main title of "School Security", claiming that it negatively affects the success of the students, it fosters violence, and that some families do not want their daughters to study in the same environment with boys. If some families do not send their girls to the school because there are boys, this is not very convincing, right? Do you know why? Because we know that, in Turkey, there are many girls' schools like Girls' Anatolian High Schools, Girls' Imam Hatip High Schools, and Girls' Anatolian Vocational High Schools. Anyone can attend these schools as they wish. But if separate schools are considered for primary and middle school girls, well, I cannot find anything to say. (4.122014, Yurt)

### ***Karma eğitimin ruhuna el fatiha mı?***

*Eğitim Bir-Sen'in dergisi Eğitime Bakış'taki iddiaya göre Türkiye'de birçok İslami ebeveyn karma eğitimden dolayı kızlarını okula göndermiyormuş. Cinsiyete dayalı eğitime geçilirse anne-babalar kızlarını okula gönderirlermiş. Bir de, karma eğitim kız-erkek cinsiyet eşitliğini sağlayamamış! (2.3.2015, Yurt)*

### **Shall we say “Rest in Peace” to coeducation?**

According to the claims in Eğitim-Bir-Sen's magazine Eğitime Bakış (the Educational Overview), many Islamic parents in Turkey cannot send their daughters to the school because of mixed education. If single-sex education is allowed, parents will send their daughters to the school. Also, mixed education has not achieved gender equality between boys and girls! (2.3.2015, Yurt)

### ***Liselerde karma eğitimi kaldırma genelgesi!***

*Mevcut mesleki ve teknik liselerin valiliklerce karma ya da yalnızca kız öğrencilerin öğrenim görebileceği okullar şeklinde yeniden belirlenmesinin talep edildiği MEB genelgesi tepki çekti. Milli eğitim Bakanlığı'nın (MEB), 81 ilin valiliklerine gönderdiği, “mesleki ve teknik ortaöğretimde okul çeşitliliğinin azaltılması” konulu genelge tartışma yarattı. Genelge, “kızların okullaşma oranının artırılması amacıyla mevcut mesleki ve teknik liselerin valiliklerce karma ya da yalnızca kız öğrencilerin öğrenim görebileceği okullar şeklinde yeniden belirlenmesine” yönelik bir düzenleme olarak yorumlandı. (4.05. 2014, Sözcü)*

### **The circular to abolish coeducation in high schools**

The MoNE Circular, in which the current vocational and technical high schools were asked to be re-identified by the governorships as “mixed-sex schools” and “females-only schools, stirred reaction. The circular sent to the governorships of 81 cities by the Ministry of National Education (MoNE) issued as the "reduction of school variety in vocational and technical secondary education" sparked a debate. The circular was interpreted as an arrangement giving authority to governorships in order to "re-specify existing vocational and technical high schools in the forms of mixed-sex schools and females-only schools in order to increase the girls' enrollment rate". (4.05. 2014, Sözcü)

When they were asked to interpret the news reports, the teachers offered different views on co-education. Some of the teachers believed co-education was not a significant barrier in front of girls' education and interpreted the news reports accordingly and they presented their own observations and experiences to support this argument. While interpreting the report of Yurt posted on 4<sup>th</sup> December 2014, T 2 expressed that school security was used as an excuse to ensure gender segregation in education arguing that school security could also be a problem in

single sex education. The teacher drew the attention to the sexual harassment events that occurred in single sex Quran courses in the background information:

*Mesela gazete G'de okuduğum habere göre kız çocuklarının karma eğitim aldıkları zaman okul işte güvenliklerinin sağlanmadığından bahsediyor, bu bir tamamen bahane olarak bence sunuluyor. Okul güvenliği kalmaması ne demek, kızla-erkek aynı ortamda olduğunda okul güvenliği kalmıyor ama çok yakın bir zamanda kuran kurslarında gördük ki sadece erkeklerin olduğu kursta, erkeklerin güvenliği sağlanmamış ki bu tamamen bahane. (T 2)*

For instance, according to the piece of news that I have read in Yurt, it is talking about girls not being provided with enough security when they study in mixed-sex schools. In my opinion, this is presented merely as an excuse. What it means by lack of security is that it is not secure when boys and girls study together, but we have recently witnessed in Qur'an courses that, even in boys' courses, security of boys was not ensured, which shows this is just an excuse. (T 2)

*Kızların okullaşma oranını artırmak için niye sadece kız meslek liseleri açılsın ki yani hep beraber insanların bir arada okuduğu cinsiyetçi olmayan sadece kızlara, sadece erkeklere okulların varlığı neden rahatsız ediyor anlamıyorum. Yani orda çünkü başka bir şey var orda başka bir hayal var çünkü, yani burda siz cinsiyetçi işbirliğini yeniden üretiyorsunuz böyle bir şey yaparak. Sadece kız liseleri sadece erkek liseleri açarak. (T 8)*

Why should we open girls' vocational schools in order to increase girls' schooling? I mean I do not understand why the existence of mixed-sex schools disturbs them so much. I mean there is something else there, there is another agenda, that is, you are trying to reproduce a sexist approach by opening girls-only and boys-only schools. (T 8)

Most of the teachers criticized the ways co-education was reflected as a barrier in front of girls' education in the news reports. Some of the teachers opposed to the news reports highlighting the disadvantages of co-education and they referred to their own experiences in single sex education institutions to support their arguments. Both T 1 and T 3 mentioned the difficulties graduates of single sex school had while communicating with the opposite sex. In the background information, teachers referred to the negative impacts of single sex education on children's social development. Besides, according to T 9, newspapers shaped people's perceptions and imposed single sex education by highlighting disadvantages of co-education, particularly sexual abuse. The teacher believed the arguments regarding disadvantages of co-education presented in the news reports served to abolish co-education:

*Böyle eğitim tacizi tetikliyor, buna da katılmıyorum yani bence öğrenciler karmada da, yani sonra ben kendim de hep kız okullarında okudum. Üniversitede o zaman şaşırıp kalıyorsun yani bence karma eğitim olmalı, ama hani isteyen yollar istemeyen yollamaz.(T 1)*

I do not agree that this kind of education triggers abuse. I mean the students also in mixed-education, I mean I also studied in girls' schools. If you study that way, then, you feel thunderstruck when you start university; that is, I believe the education should be mixed, but everyone can choose to send or not to send their children to school. (T 1)

*Çünkü ben ortaokulu ve liseyi farklı kız okullarında okudum. Ne zamana kadar ayrı cinslerle, yani hemcinslerinle beraber olacaksınız, eninde sonunda topluma karışacaksınız. Ortaokuldan ya da liseden sonra çocuklar eninde sonunda karşı cinsle bir araya geliyorlar ve ilişkilerini ayarlayamıyorlar. O zaman üniversitelerin de haremlik-selamlık olması gerekiyor ki siz bu silsileyi bu şekilde devam ettirebilesiniz ya da sadece okuldan ibaret değil, yani insanların, özellikle ergenlerin bazı şeylerle baş etmeyi öğrenmesi gerekiyor.(T 3)*

Because I studied secondary school and high school in different girls' schools. Until when can you keep yourself away from the opposite sex, until when can you stay with the same-sex individuals? At some point, you will be mixed in society. When they mix with the opposite sex after secondary or high school, they cannot adjust their relations with them. Or else, the universities also need to be single-sex schools if you want to maintain this chain (of single-sex education). Actually, it is not just about schools; that is, people, especially the adolescents, need to learn to tackle such issues in life. (T 3)

*Evet, bu şöyle bir şey, karma eğitimi ortadan kaldırmak için onu karalayıcı bir haber olarak görüyorum ben. Hani bir şekilde onu karalamaları gerekiyor ki onu toplumun gözünde aşağı çekmeleri gerekiyor ki belli olaylar ile halk desin ki karma eğitim iyi değil, ayrı olsunlar. O zaman bunlar ahlaki olarak daha iyi olacak diye halkta bir algı yaratmaya çalışılıyor.(T 9)*

Yes, it is something like this: I see this as a piece of defamatory news laying the groundwork to abolish coeducation. I mean in some way they need to defame coeducation and make it lose prestige within the society so that the society will agree that coeducation is not something good. They are trying to create an image in society that the children will be morally better when they continue single-sex schools. (T 9)

When the teacher views regarding co-education were examined it was revealed that some of the teachers considered co-education among the significant barriers in front of girls' education especially in Eastern and Southeastern parts of Turkey and single sex education would be an opportunity for girls in those regions. A deeper analysis of the teachers' responses revealed that co-education did not constitute a barrier to girls' education in every segment of the society. T 4 marked patriarchal social structure, religious beliefs and ideological perspectives as the main determinants of girls' education in eastern Turkey. In this context T 5 referred to

his/her experiences in eastern provinces and mentioned that the families chose to homeschool their daughters as they were opposed to co-education. The teacher also stated that the latest education system was designed to meet the demands of conservative religious families:

*Örneğin daha önce de ifade ettiğim gibi Doğu ve Güneydoğu Anadolu illerinde kız çocuğun bir erkekle aynı sınıfta bulunmaması gerektiğine inanan çok sayıda insan var. Bu kültürel bir meseledir. Yani o bölgelerin biraz daha ataerkil toplum yapısında olması, muhafazakârlıklarının daha fazla olması belki de ve dünya görüşleri, ideolojileri, inanışları her ne dersiniz deyin kız çocuklarını okula göndermelerinin önünde bir engel teşkil edebiliyor bunlar. Dolayısıyla eğitim tamamen birbirinden ayrılmalı diyen görüş ne kadar sağlıklı değilse, tamamen karma olmalı, bütün okullarda zorunlu olarak karma olmalı diyen görüş de o kadar sağlıklı değil. Yani isteyen özel okulların ki örnekleri var, geçmişte de var, kız lisesi, erkek lisesi şeklinde bu bölgelerde, ihtiyaç duyulan bölgelerde bu şekilde bir düzenlemeye izin verilmesi gerekir diye düşünüyorum. (T 4)*

For instance, like I said before, there are so many people in Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia who believe that girls should not be in the same class with boys. This is a cultural issue. That is, their male-dominant societal structure there, over-conservatism, world views, ideologies, beliefs, or whatever you call it constitute an impediment to girls' schooling. Therefore, just as the opinion which suggests complete gender segregation in education is flawed, it is equally flawed to think that it should be mandatory to provide education only in mixed-sex schools. That is, a private school that wants to give education that way, which is something we see examples of, should be allowed to do so in places where it is needed. (T 4)

*Karma eğitim sanki kızların okula gitmesini engelliyor gibi gazetelerde böyle haberler var dikkatimi çeken. İşte bazı kesimlerin kızlarını göndermek istememesi bundan dolayı ondan sonra bizim benim yaşadığım okulda böyle bir durum olmuştu, kadın karma eğitim diye göndermedi yani. Doğru, toplumun bazı kesimlerinde böyle bir istek var. Toplumda bu şekilde düşünen bir grup insan var yani sırf eğitim karma diye çocuğunu hiç devletin okuluna göndermeyip, tamamen evde ders aldırıyorlar vardı. Ben bunlara şahit oldum. O denklik belgesini nasıl alıyorlar bilmiyorum ama bu belli cemaatlerin okulları oluyor. Onlara da gönderiyorlar. Sanki bu kesimin ihtiyaçları daha ön plana alınmış bu eğitim sisteminde bunu gördüm. (T 5)*

We can witness news in the newspapers suggesting that coeducation prevents girls from going to school, and that some families are not very willing to send their daughters to school because of this. A similar event had occurred in one of the places I worked for. A woman did not send her daughter to school because of coeducation. So, that is true, there is such a demand in some parts of the society. There is a group of people who think this way. That is, there are families who get their daughters to receive education at home, rather than sending her to school simply for this reason. I have witnessed these. I do not know how they get the certificate of equivalence, but there are certain (religious) community schools that they send their children to. I see that the needs of this fraction of people have been prioritized within this education system. (T 5)

On the other hand, some of the teachers perceived gender segregation in education as a barrier in front of girls' education for limiting female freedom and creating an inferior status for women in the society. T 6 asserted that co-education was not a significant determinant of girls' education for conservatives. To support this argument, the teacher referred to decreasing enrollment rates of girls despite the extension of imam hatip schools as a single sex education opportunity. The teacher further argued that single sex education created gender inequalities for limiting girls' freedom in educational environment. The teacher referred to the ways gender differentiation in imam hatip schools created inequalities in the background information:

*İmam hatipte karma eğitim yok, oralara gidebilirler ama bunun ile ilgili bir durum değilmiş, sayılar bize onu gösteriyor. Kız çocukları eğitim sürecinden yine eskiye oran ile daha fazla geri kalmış durumda görünüyor. Çıkmışlar sistemden, evde eğitim alıyor yani ama imam hatip ortaokuluna gidebilir orada sadece kızlar için, o da mı yetmiyor acaba aynı okulda olması ama ayrı sınıftalar bak ayrı sınıftalar. Birbirlerini görmüyorlar. Merdiven girişleri ayrı, teneffüsleri ayrı, aynı anda bahçede değiller. Erkeklerin teneffüsü ile kızların teneffüsü ayrı, buna kadar düzenlemeler yapıldı. Bu gerekçe değil, onlar için demek ki tek neden bu değil... Şu da bir gerçek, bir farkı da yok aslında imam hatipler ile normal okulların. Sadece karma düzeyde bir farkı var dediğim gibi. Hala kız ve erkeğin aynı sınıfta okuma farkı var. Hani normal karma okulda, daha fazla din dersi var. Yani tek fark, karma eğitim. Tek fark, kız çocukları, bir anlamda bu kız çocuklarına eğitim hakkı verirken, eğitim özgürlüğünün engellenmesi. Hak ve özgürlük farklı şeylerdir. Hakkını verirsın ama özgürlüğünü elinden alırsın. Tamamen kız çocuklarımızın da şu anki durumu bu. Eğitim hakkını bir şekilde veriyor, dışarıdan da veriyor ama özgürlüğünü elinden alıyor. (T 6)*

There is no coeducation in Imam Hatip schools, they can send them there, but it is not something about this. This is what the figures tell us. It seems that the girls are lagging behind in educational processes even more compared to the past. They are out of the system now, they receive education at home. They can go to imam hatip, but they choose not to. I wonder is it not enough for them to be educated in separate classes, and is it that they want separate schools? They do not see each other. Their stairways are separate, their break times are separate, they are not in the garden at the same time. They have made even such arrangements for schools. This is not the reason, for them, it seems this is not the only reason... It is also true that there is not much difference between these schools and normal schools. The only way it differs is gender segregation. I mean, in a normal school you can see more courses on religion. That is, the only difference is mixed-sex, they have mixed-sex education in other schools. The only difference is, in single-sex schools, when you are giving girls the right to receive education, you are taking away their educational freedom. Rights and liberties are different entities. You give someone their rights, but you take away their freedom. This is exactly the case with girls here. Somehow, they are giving their educational rights, from outside sources as well, but they are taking away their freedom. (T 6)

In a similar way, T 12 and T 8 disclosed gender segregation in education reproduced inferior status of women in the society. T 12 asserted that single sex education would be an opportunity for girls whose parent did not welcome co-education once democracy and freedom was ensured. A deeper analysis of the teacher's response revealed his/her concerns regarding reproduction of gender inequalities in the society through single sex education. Besides, T 8 drew the attention to ideological dimension of single sex education. The teacher criticized that female oppression and inferiority was legitimized through gender segregation in education. In a deeper analysis, the teacher highlighted the ways education policies violated girls' freedom and created a hegemonic possession in which government and parents had the authority to regulate and determine girls' life prospects:

*Karma eğitimden dolayı çocuğunu okula göndermeyen ya da imam hatibe gönderenler varsa onlar için alternatif olabilir. Bu açıdan toplumsal bir ihtiyaca cevap verebilir. Şahsi düşüncem karma okullarda olsun kız erkek ayrı okullar da olsun, isteyen istediği yere göndersin çocuğunu ama Türkiye bunun için hiç hazır değil. Böyle bir şey olduğunda, kadınlar ikinci sınıf vatandaş yerine konulabilir, hatta zamanla karma eğitim yasaklanabilir, uç noktalara kayma ihtimalimiz o kadar yüksek. Bu yüzden demokratik bir toplum oluncaya kadar, özgür basın, ifade özgürlüğü gelinceye kadar, kendi hukuki ve eğitim hakkını savunan kadınlar oluncaya kadar, ekonomik özgürlüğe sahip kadınlar oluncaya kadar, doğru düzgün bir ülke oluncaya kadar karma eğitim diyorum. (T 12)*

If there are families who cannot send their children to school because of coeducation or those who send them to imam hatips, this can be an alternative to them. It might meet a societal need in this respect. My personal view is that we should have both single-sex and mixed-sex schools so that anyone can send their children wherever they wish, but Turkey is not ready for this yet. When something like this happens, women might be seen as secondary class citizens, and in time coeducation might even be abolished, the possibility to go further is really high. Therefore, until we become a democratic society, until we have free press and freedom of thought, until we have women who can protect their own legal and educational rights, until we have women with financial freedom, until we become a proper country, I will support coeducation. (T 12)

*Şimdi okullaşmasını derken işte aileler karma okula gönderelim değil de İmam Hatipe gönderelim diyor muhafazakâr bir toplum yapısından dolayı. Bunlar genelde çocukların istediği şekilde olmuyor, ailelerinin baskısıyla oluyor... Yani çocukların burda kendilerini özgür hissetmeleri mümkün değil ki ve hükümet politikaları insanları özgürleştirmek üzere olmalıdır... Yani kız çocukları evet İmam Hatipe gönderiliyor ama İmam Hatip de belli bir ideolojik kafayla bir şeyleri içselleştirmeleri bekleniyor... Kız çocuklarını siz ikincilleştiriyorsunuz imam olamayacağı halde onu orda okutuyorsunuz bu da bir ideolojidir. (T 8)*



Now, when you are talking about schooling, the families are choosing to send them to imam hatips, rather than schools with coeducation because of a conservative societal structure. This usually happens against the children's will, it happens through family pressure... I mean it is not probable that the children will feel free in these places, but actually government policies need to be framed in a way to liberate people... That is, yes, you are sending your girls to imam hatip schools, but they are expected to internalize certain things in an ideological mind... You are putting the girls in a secondary position in imam hatip schools by making them study there although they will not become imams, and this is an ideology. (T 8)

#### 4.3.4. School Related Factors

International and national policy documents analyzed in this study foregrounded school related factors such as infrastructure, school security, teacher quality, and quality of guidance and counseling services as significant barriers in front of girls' education. EFA Global Monitoring Report published in 2014 stressed the importance of improving the quality of the school and the school environment along with educational materials and practices to ensure gender equality in education. Besides, the reports published by AÇEV, ERG and KA-Der in 2008 and ERG's report published in 2014 marked school related factor as an important determinant of girls' enrollment and drop out levels:

*Gender parity – equal enrolment ratios for girls and boys – is just the first step towards the fifth EFA goal of full gender equality in education: a schooling environment that is free of discrimination and provides equal opportunities for boys and girls to realize their potential. Other starting points towards gender equality include making sure the school environment is safe, improving facilities to provide, for example, separate latrines for girls and boys, training teachers in gender sensitivity, achieving gender balance among teachers and rewriting curricula and textbooks to remove gender stereotypes. (UNGEI, 2014b)*

*Kız çocukların okula erişimlerini engelleyen tek neden ailelerin direnci değildi. Çocuğunu göndermek isteyen ama bunun yolunu, yöntemini bilmeyen, gerekli maddi desteğe sahip olmayan aileler de vardı. Yaşadıkları yerlerde okul yoktu, derslik yoktu. (AÇEV, ERG, KA-DER, 2008)*

The only reason why girls were prevented from accessing the school was not the resistance of families. There were also families who wanted to send their child but did not have the necessary financial support. There were no schools in the places where they lived, there were no classrooms. (AÇEV, ERG, KA-DER, 2008)

*Araştırmaya göre, “okul ve sosyal çevre güvenliğinin olmaması, okul ortamından ve yönetici ve öğretmenlerin tutumlarından kaynaklı okula ve öğretmene olan güvensizlik, okullarda şiddet uygulanması, öğretmen sirkülasyonunun fazla olması, (...) öğretmenlerin stajyer ve deneyimsiz olması, rehberlik hizmetleri ve ev ziyaretlerindeki yetersizlikler” kız*

*öğrencilerin okula gitmemesinde, devamsızlık yapmasında veya okulu terk etmesinde belirleyicidir. (ERG, 2014b)*

According to the survey, "lack of security in school and social environment, mistrust towards the school environment and the teachers due to the attitudes of the teachers and administrators, high teacher mobility, violence in schools, the teachers' being trainees and inexperienced, inadequacies in counselling services and home-visits" are determinants of female students' absenteeism, or school dropouts. (ERG, 2014b)

ETCEP's report published in 2016 focused on the impact of school related factors, structure of the curriculum, sexist practices and gender discrimination in creating gender inequalities. In this sense, the role of hidden curriculum in reproducing gender inequalities was underlined in the document.

*Okullardaki dersliklerin, tuvaletlerin, oyun alanlarının mekânsal düzeni, kız ve erkek öğrencilerin hareket alanlarının farklılığı, sınıflardaki oturma düzeni, öğrencilere atfedilen görev ve sorumlulukların cinsiyete göre şekillenmesi, eğitim programları, malzemeleri ve ders kitaplarının toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliğine aykırı unsurlar içermesi, bireylerin cinsiyetlerine göre çeşitli mesleklere yönlendirilmesi, toplumsal cinsiyet eşitsizliğinin okullarda örtük program yoluyla yeniden üretilmesine örnek olarak verilebilir. (ETCEP, 2016)*

The spatial layout of the schoolrooms, the restrooms, and the play areas of the school, the differences in the movement areas of the male and female students, the seating arrangements in the classrooms, gender-oriented tasks and responsibilities assigned to the students, and the educational programs, the materials and textbooks being contrary to principles of gender equality can be given as examples of hidden curriculum in recreating gender inequality in schools. (ETCEP, 2016)

In different policy documents analyzed in this study, there was an emphasis on school related factors within the context of 4+4+4 education system. Eğitim Bir Sen's report on 4+4+4 highlighted that the changes were executed without considering differences between schools in terms of physical and social facilities, qualifications of teachers and infrastructure which created inequalities of educational opportunity. Similarly, ERG's report emphasized the ways the changes in the education system constituted problems by referring to school related factors. The document also indicated that lessons started early and school period became long due to the changes in the school system. Even if the documents did not express it openly, the school related factors appeared as one of the important barrier in front of girls' education. In the background information,

4+4+4 education system was accused to create inequalities of educational opportunity and gender inequalities in particular:

*Özellikle göç alan, yoksul arka mahalle okullarında, fiziki altyapı ciddi anlamda yetersiz olduğundan ilk ve ortaokulların ayrışmasında güçlük yaşanmıştır. Örneğin, 4000'den fazla öğrencisi olan Adana'daki bir okul, yakın çevresinde başka bir okul bulunmadığı için ayrışmaya gidememiştir. Bahsedilen bu sorun, yasal düzenleme ile birlikte ortaya çıkan bir problem olmaktan ziyade, eğitim sisteminde, özellikle büyükşehirlerin göç alan gecekondü mahallerinde öteden beri var olan bir sorundur. Dolayısıyla bu bölgeler, daha kaliteli ve eşit eğitim için daha fazla yatırım yapılmasına; yeni okul ve derslik inşa edilmesine ihtiyaç duymaktadır. Çalışma kapsamında da okullar arası fiziki altyapı, öğretmen niteliği ve öğrenci sayısı açısından illere hatta aynı il içinde okullara göre farklılaşma olduğu görülmüştür. Aileler doğal olarak çocuklarının daha kaliteli eğitim alması için, onları fiziki ve beşeri imkânları daha geniş okullara göndermek istemekte; fiziki ve beşeri imkânları zayıf olan okullara ise çocuklarını göndermek istememektedirler. Buna ilaveten, öğretmenlerde fiziki imkânları uygun olan, sosyoekonomik ve kültürel açıdan daha gelişmiş bölgelerdeki okullarda çalışmak istemektedirler. Dahası öğretmenlerin, okula ve çocuklarına yeterli ilgiyi göstermeyen velilerin çocuklarıyla çalışmayı tercih etmekte isteksiz davrandıkları gözlenmiştir. (Eğitim-Bir Sen, 2013a)*

Since the physical infrastructure was seriously inadequate in poor suburban schools with children coming mostly from immigrant families, there were difficulties in separating elementary schools and secondary schools. For example, a school in Adana with more than 4,000 students could not be separated between levels because there were no other schools in the immediate vicinity. This is a problem that has existed in the education system for a long time, especially in the shanty towns where there are immigrants from big cities, rather than a problem arising with legal regulation. Therefore, these regions need more investment, new schools, and classrooms for better quality and equal education. Within the scope of the study, it was also seen that the physical infrastructure among the schools, the qualifications of the teachers, and the number of the students showed differences between cities and even between schools within the same city. Families naturally want to send their children to schools with better physical and social facilities so that their children can receive better quality education, and they do not want to send their children to schools where physical and social facilities are inadequate. In addition, teachers want to work in schools with better physical facilities, and in environments that are socioeconomically and culturally more sophisticated. Moreover, it has been observed that teachers are reluctant to work with children of parents who do not show enough interest in school and their children. (Eğitim-Bir Sen, 2013a)

*Temel eğitimin kademelendirilmesi daha fazla şubenin ve okulun açılmasını gerektirmiştir; çünkü yasal düzenleme ilkokul ve ortaokulların birbirinden ayrı kurumlar olarak düzenlenmesini öngörmüştür. Ortaya çıkan derslik gereksiniminin karşılanabilmesi için 2011-12 eğitim-öğretim yılında, tam gün öğretim veren ilköğretim okullarının bir bölümü 2012-13'te ikili öğretime geçmiş, okul binalarının bir bölümü yarım gün ilkokul ve yarım gün ortaokul olarak kullanılmaya başlanmıştır. 2012-13 eğitim-öğretim yılında okul dönüşümlerine ilişkin olarak, derslik gereksiniminin karşılanması için okullardaki fiziksel olanakların zorlandığı ve seçmeli derslerin işlenebilmesi için önceden derslik olarak kullanılmayan yerlerin (koridor, kantin, depo, müdür ve müdür yardımcısı odası vb.) dersliğe çevrildiği bulgulanmıştır. Ders saatlerinin uzamış olması öğrencilerin ders işlerken*

*sıkılması ve dikkatinin dağılması ile yakından ilişkili görünmektedir. Ayrıca, ders saatlerinin uzamış olmasının sabahçıların çok erken saatlerde okula gitmesine ve öğrencilerin çok geç saatlerde okuldan ayrılmasına neden olduğu bulgulanmaktadır. (ERG, 2014d)*

The gradualization of basic education required the opening of more classes and schools because the legislation necessitated the establishment of primary and secondary schools as separate institutions. In order to meet the needs of the emerging classrooms, some of the primary schools which provided full-time education in the 2011-12 academic year became double-shift schools in 2012-13, and different parts of the school buildings were used as half-day primary school and half-day secondary school. Regarding the school transformations in the school year 2012-13, it has been found that the physical possibilities of schools were pushed in the schools to meet the classroom requirements, and the places that were not used as classrooms previously, e.g. corridors, canteens, storerooms, principal and vice-principal's rooms, etc., were turned into classrooms to give elective courses there. The lengthening of the class hours seemed to be closely related to the students being bored and distracted in the classroom. In addition, the prolonged lesson hours were found to cause morning students to come to school too early, and afternoon students to leave the school too late. (ERG, 2014d)

Moreover, the analysis of the policy documents revealed that there was an emphasis on strategies for betterments in school related factors in an attempt to ensure gender equality in education. ERG's report published in 2015 stressed the role of a deep analysis of teacher education programs, course books and curricula through gender sensitive lenses in developing a holistic policy for improving the quality of education. Moreover, in ERG's report published in 2015 and EFA Global monitoring report published in 2014, impact of teacher education on teachers' gender attitudes and awareness was stressed.

*Teachers also need training in how attitudes to gender can affect learning outcomes. In Turkey, a one-term pre-service course on gender equity had a significant impact on female teachers' gender attitudes and awareness. Teachers also need adequate preparation to understand and address gendered dimensions of school and classroom interactions that can negatively affect girls' and boys' learning experiences and outcomes. Teachers, both female and male, need training to understand and recognize their own attitudes, perceptions and expectations, and how these affect their interactions with pupils. In Turkey, a one-term pre-service teacher education course on gender equity had a significant impact on female teachers' gender attitudes and awareness. (UNGEI, 2014)*

*Özetle, Eğitimde Toplumsal Cinsiyet Eşitliğinin Geliştirilmesi Projesi (ETCEP) ile .....öğretmen eğitimlerinin, ders kitaplarının ve öğretim programlarının toplumsal cinsiyet bakış açısıyla incelenmesi gibi eğitimin içeriği ve niteliğine ilişkin öğrenme süreçlerinde etkili olan politika ve uygulamalarda bütüncül adımların atılacağı ön görülmektedir. Bu anlamda, özellikle ders kitaplarının toplumsal cinsiyet temelli ayrımcılığı pekiştirdiğiyle ilgili geçmiş yıllarda yapılan inceleme çalışmalarının MEB tarafından dikkate alındığı*

*söylenbilir.... Ayrıca öğretmenlere verilen toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliği eğitimleriyle konunun öğretmenler tarafından içselleştirilmesi desteklenecektir. Böylece öğrencilerin tutum ve davranışlarında dönüştürücü rollerin güçlendirilmesi sağlanacaktır. Son olarak, toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliğini temel alan projenin Ortaöğretim Genel Müdürlüğü tarafından yürütülmesi, konuya ilişkin duyarlılığın ve verilen önemin arttığını göstermektedir. Dolayısıyla bu alanda yapılan çalışmalar, eğitimde toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliğine yönelik mevcut yapının iyileştirilmesine katkı sağlamaktadır. (ERG, 2015)*

In summary, with the Project for the Promotion of Gender Equality in Education (ETCEP), it is anticipated that holistic steps, such as examining teacher education, textbooks and curricula from a gender perspective, will be taken in policies and practices that will be effective in the learning process related to the content and nature of education. In this sense, it can be said that the Ministry of National Education has taken into account the studies carried out in the past years, especially regarding the fact that textbooks strengthen gender based discrimination .... In addition, the teachers will be helped to internalize the issue through gender equality trainings given to them. This will reinforce transformative roles in students' attitudes and behaviors. Finally, the fact that the project based on gender equality is implemented by the General Directorate of Secondary Education shows that sensitivity towards the issue and the importance given to it is increasing. Thus, work done in this area contributes to the improvement of the current structure of gender equality in education. (ERG, 2015)

When the news reports were analyzed it was revealed that some of the newspapers foregrounded school related factors as a significant barrier in front of children's education. The news report of 8<sup>th</sup> August 2014 published in Milliyet foregrounded the problems affecting students, parents and teachers in the new education system. The wording of the headline was noteworthy in reflecting the seriousness of issues discussed in the lead part of the report. In the news report of 23<sup>rd</sup> September 2014 published by Hurriyet, there was a specific emphasis on lack of school administrators and teachers. The meaning and connotation of the selected words "reckless" (Tr. Ayakta) and "worried" (Tr. Tedirgin) used in the headline was important in drawing the attention to worries of students and parents:

#### ***Eğitimde Sancılı Dönem***

*Milyonlarca öğrenci ve veli ayakta. Kimi yeni bir okul arayışında, kimi de burs ve yurt peşinde. Öğretmenler için de durum farklı değil. Yüz binlerce öğretmen atama bekliyor. On binlerce okul müdürünün yeri değişecek... (08.08.2014, Milliyet)*

#### **A Rough Period in Education**

Millions of students and parents are reckless. Some are in search of a new school, others are in search of scholarships and dormitories. The situation is not different for teachers. Hundreds of thousands of teachers are waiting to be appointed. Tens of thousands of principals will be relocated ... (08.08.2014, Milliyet)

### ***Milyonlarca öğrenci ve veli tedirgin***

- OKULLARDA MÜDÜR YOK
- ÖĞRETMENE ROTASYON
- 15 GÜN SINIRI
- ÜCRETLİ ÖĞRETMENE DEVAM
- MESLEKTE 10'UNCU SINIF KRİTERİ
- ÖZEL EĞİTİM KALDIRILIYOR
- ORTAOKULDA İMAM HATİP
- MEVCUT 60'I BULUYOR. (23.09.2014, Hürriyet)

### **Millions of students and parents worried**

- NO PRINCIPALS IN SCHOOLS
- JOB ROTATION TO TEACHERS
- 15-DAY ABSENTEEISM LIMIT
- PAID TEACHERS
- 10<sup>TH</sup> GRADE CRITERIA FOR JOBS
- PRIVATE COURSES BEING ABOLISHED
- IMAM HATİPs AT SECONDARY SCHOOL LEVEL
- CLASSES AS CROWDED AS 60 STUDENTS (23.09.2014, Hürriyet)

The documents analyzed in this study highlighted the importance of school security for girls' education. In a report published by AÇEV, ERG and KA-Der in 2008, it was emphasized that security concerns of families was a determinant only for girls' education. The document underlined the fact that families kept girls out of school when there are security problems. The choice of parents revealed the traces of cultural values and dominant patriarchal system in the society which limit women's freedom and life opportunities under the name of "protection".

*Güneydoğu'da özellikle genel güvenlik sorunları ailelerin çocuklarını evlerinden uzak bölgelerde okula göndermelerini engellemektedir. Bölgedeki güvensizlik ve şiddet ortamı özellikle kız çocukların okula devamını etkilemektedir.....Okuldaki güvenlik ortamı ise sadece kızların okula devamında etkili olmaktadır. Eğitimlerini yarıda bırakmış kızlar okurken okulda daha çok şiddet ortamı olduğunu belirtmişlerdir. Derinlemesine mülakatlarda da aynı şekilde, okulun güvenlik ortamının yeterli olmadığı durumlarda ailelerin özellikle kız çocuklarını okula göndermedikleri ortaya çıkmıştır. (AÇEV, ERG, KA-DER, 2008)*

Particularly in the Southeast, general security problems prevent families from sending their children to the schools far from their homes. The atmosphere of insecurity and violence in the region is affecting especially girls' school attendance. The level of security in school is influential in only the girls' attendance. Girls who had left their education at school reported more cases of violence at school. In-depth interviews also revealed that families did not send especially their daughters to school when the school was not safe enough. (AÇEV, ERG, KA-DER, 2008)

In Eğitim Sen's report on gender and education published in 2014, there was a linkage between security of female students and patriarchal social structure. The report draws the attention to patriarchal social structure limiting girls' rights and participation in social life. The report also presented an example from a dormitory administrator's talk legitimizing gender based violence discursively:

*Erkek egemen sistem şiddet, taciz ve tecavüz sarmalında kadınları boğmakta; ama suçlu olarak yine kadınlar gösterilmektedir. Sistem, kurnazca tacize uğrayan kadınları ikinci kez mağdur etmektedir. 2014 yılında daha önce örneğini sıkça gördüğümüz bu yaklaşım tekrarlanmıştır. İstanbul'da Diyanet Vakfı'na ait 29 Mayıs Üniversitesi'nin Ümraniye'de bulunan kız yurdunda kalan öğrenciler, yurt binasının bulunduğu bölgenin çok sorunlu olduğu ve sürekli taciz olayları yaşadıkları için yaşadıkları sıkıntıları yurt yönetimine bildirdiler. Ancak aldıkları cevap, "Geç saatte dışarıda gezerseniz olacağı bu" şeklinde oldu. Basına da yansıyan bu söylemler sonucunda hiçbir idari ve adli soruşturma açılmadı. (Eğitim Sen, 2014b)*

The male dominated system is strangling women in the spiral of violence, harassment, and rape; yet, it is again women themselves that are blamed for these crimes. The system victimizes the women, who were cunningly harassed in the first place, for the second time. This approach, examples of which we have seen many times before, was repeated in 2014. The students who stayed in Ümraniye girls' residence of the 29 Mayıs University, which belongs to Diyanet Foundation, told the dormitory management that the area where the dormitory was located was very problematic, and that they had experienced constant harassment incidents. The answer, however, was, "This is what happens if you wander around late at night." No administrative and judicial investigations were opened in consequence of these statements, which also appeared in the press. (Eğitim Sen, 2014b)

In the report of 18<sup>th</sup> August 2014 published by Cumhuriyet, it was implied that because of patriarchal codes in the society limiting girls' education, mobile education was not a good opportunity for girls in remote areas. The report presented different perceptions of officials and parents regarding girls' security who were involved in mobile and boarding education:

*Köy Muhtarı Ziyattin Polat, köylerinde ortaokul olmamasının büyük sorun olduğunu, kızların ilkokuldan sonra okula gidemediklerini belirterek, şöyle dedi: "Taşımali eğitim olabilmesi için merkeze uzaklığı 30 kilometrenin altında olması gerekiyor. Aileler erkek çocuklarını rahatlıkla yatılı okullara gönderiyor ama kızları göndermiyor. Köye okul yapılırsa kız çocuklarının tamamı okuma şansını yakalar." Öte yandan Milli Eğitim Müdürlüğü yetkilileri de taşımali eğitimin olabilmesi için köyle okul arasının 30 kilometreden fazla olmaması gerektiğini bildirdi. Yetkililer, bölgede yatılı bölge okulları bulunduğunu belirterek her ailenin kızlarını rahatlıkla bu okullara gönderebileceğini bildirdi. (18.08.2014, Cumhuriyet)*

Ziyattin Polat, the village headman, said that the lack of secondary school in their village is a big problem and that girls cannot attend school after primary education. He noted: "In

order to receive mobile education services, the distance between village and the city center should be below 30 kms. Families do not hesitate to send their boys to the boarding schools, but it is not the same for girls.” MONE authorities also indicated that the distance between the village and the city center should be below 30 kms for mobile education. They also said that the families should feel comfortable to send their daughters to the boarding schools in the region. (18.08.2014, Cumhuriyet)

The participating teachers highlighted that school security was used as an excuse to keep girls at home. T 3 implied that parents tended to keep their daughters at home because of gender norms and patriarchal codes of living:

*Bu bir bahane... Belirli bir düşünce yapısına göre kızın zaten kapıdan dışarı çıktığı andan itibaren bir sürü tehlikeler var. Kapıdan dışarı çıkmasın, zaten istenilen şey o ev içerisinde olması. (T 3)*

This is just an excuse. According to this mindset, there are many dangers once the girl takes a step outside the house, anyway. She shall not leave the house; it is already what they want: to keep her at home. (T 3)

Limited number of female teachers in disadvantaged regions was another school-related factor underlined in the analyzed documents. It was stressed that lack of female role models affected girls' education negatively:

*Mevcut ilköğretim öğretmenlerinin üçte biri kadındır. Ancak kadın öğretmenlerin büyük bölümü kentler ve kasabalarda görev yapmaktadır. Köylerde rol model olabilecek kadın öğretmenlerin olmayışı, kız çocuklarını okula gitmeye özendirerek daha az unsurun olması anlamına gelmektedir. (KSGM, 2008a)*

One third of the current elementary school teachers are females. However, most of the female teachers are working in cities and towns. The absence of female teachers who could be role models for the villagers means that there are fewer elements to encourage girls to go to school. (KSGM, 2008a)

*Ailelerin ve çocukların eğitime bakışını biçimlendiren bir başka önemli nokta yerel düzeyde olumlu rol modellerinin azlığıdır. Kız çocuklar açısından değerlendirildiğinde, en güçlü rol modeli anneler ve kadın öğretmenlerdir. Nitekim okula gitmiş ya da okuryazarlık eğitimi almış annelerin kızları okula daha yüksek oranda devam etmektedirler. Aynı nedenle okullarda kadın öğretmenlerin varlığı büyük önem taşımaktadır. Ancak özellikle bölge dışından gelen kadın öğretmenler kalıcı olmamakta, tutarlı rol modelleri oluşturamamaktadırlar. (AÇEV, ERG, KA-DER, 2008)*

Another important aspect that shapes the educational attitude of families and children is the lack of positive role models at the local level. When assessed in terms of girls, the most powerful role models are the mother and female teachers. As a matter of fact, the daughters of mothers who have gone to school or who have studied literacy continue to study at a higher rate. For the same reason, the presence of female teachers is of great importance in



schools. However, female teachers, especially from outside the region, are not permanent and cannot form consistent role models. (AÇEV, ERG, KA-DER, 2008)

On the other hand, in some of the policy documents discussions on lack of female teachers in schools highlighted the tendency towards gender segregation in social realm. Türk Eğitim Sen's Report on 18<sup>th</sup> National Education Council reflected lack of same gender teachers for females and males as an obstacle to carry out guidance and counseling services at schools. Likewise, 18<sup>th</sup> National Education Council report emphasized the importance of increasing the number of female counselors in schools with a high population of female students to enhance the quality of guidance and counseling services.

*Kız ve erkek öğrencilerin PDR hizmetlerinde aynı cinsten öğretmen bulamamaları, danışmanlık hizmetlerini sektöre uęratabilmektedir. (Türk Eğitim Sen, 2010)*

The fact that the students cannot find counsellors of the same gender as theirs disrupts provision of psychological counselling and guidance services. (Türk Eğitim Sen, 2010)

**29. MADDE:** *Okul öncesinden başlayarak bütün öğretim kurumlarında rehber öğretmen/psikolojik danışman istihdam edilecek şekilde norm kadro tahsis edilmeli, özellikle kız öğrencilerin çoęunlukta olduęu okullarda, rehberlik hizmetlerinin daha etkin ve verimli sürdürülebilmesi için atamalarda bayan rehber öğretmen/psikolojik danışmanlara öncelik verilmeli, yatılı ve pansiyonlu okullara rehber öğretmen/psikolojik danışman atamasına öncelik verilmeli, yatılı ve pansiyonlu okullarda ikinci rehber öğretmen/psikolojik danışman kadrosu sağlanmalıdır. (18. MEB Şurası Kararları)*

**ARTICLE 29:** Starting from the pre-school level, a permanent staff member should be provided to schools so that guidance teachers/psychological consultants can be employed in all educational institutions. Priority should be given to female counselors/psychological counselors in appointments in order to ensure that guidance services are maintained more effectively and efficiently, especially in schools where the majority of the students are girls. Priority should be given to the appointment of counselors/psychological counselors to boarding schools. A second counselor/psychological counselor should be provided in boarding schools. (18<sup>th</sup> National Education Council)

#### **4.3.4.1. Gender Discrimination and Sexist Practices**

The analysis revealed that gender biased educational policies and their implications practice disadvantaged girls' in the education system. To start with, policy documents included statements which might result in sexist practices at schools. One example can be found in pre-school and primary school regulations of MONE. The discourse on administrative sanction regarding misbehaviors

revealed sexist statements. Gender was suggested to be considered while defining administrative sanction which invalidated condemnation of gender discrimination in the previous part of the document. The statement could cause sexist practice on legitimate basis as there was no clear explanations on how to take gender into consideration for disciplinary action:

*Öğrencilerin olumsuz davranışları ve uygulanacak yaptırımlar*

*c) Okul Değiştirme yaptırımını gerektiren davranışlar:*

*8) Kişi veya grupları dil, ırk, cinsiyet, siyasi düşünce ve inançlarına göre ayırmak, kınamak, kötülemek ve bu tür eylemlere katılmak,*

*Yaptırım takdirinde dikkat edilecek hususlar*

*MADDE 56 – (1) Yaptırım takdir edilmesinde öğrencinin;*

- a) Davranışın niteliği, önemi ve ne gibi şartlarda gerçekleştiği, o andaki psikolojik durumu ve kişisel özellikleri,*
- b) Okul içinde ve dışındaki genel durumu,*
- c) Yaş ve cinsiyeti,*
- d) Derslerdeki ilgi ve başarısı,*
- e) Okuldaki sosyal ve kültürel faaliyetlere katılım ve başarı durumu,*
- f) Aynı eğitim ve öğretim yılı içinde daha önce yaptırım uygulanıp uygulanmadığına dikkat edilir. (Millî Eğitim Bakanlığı Okul Öncesi Eğitim Ve İlköğretim Kurumları Yönetmeliği, 2014)*

Negative behaviors and possible disciplinary courses of action:

c) types of behavior that require a School Change

8) to discriminate against, condemn, or defame people on the basis of their language, ethnicity, gender, political thoughts and beliefs, and to participate in such actions.

Criteria to consider while deciding on a punishment

ARTICLE 56 – In considering a possible punishment, attention should be paid on the following points:

- a) The type and the significance of the behavior, and under what conditions it has taken place, and the psychological status of the student at the time and their personality.
- b) General status of the students in and out of school.
- c) Student's age and gender
- d) Student's interest and success in lessons
- e) Student's participation level in social events in school
- f) Whether the student has received a similar punishment during the same academic year or not. (MONE, Pre-school and Primary School Regulations, 2014)

In this context, T 14 provided an example on disciplinary action of schools illustrating how gender discrimination could be reproduced through the acts of

school administration. The narrative structure of the answer included elements of gender stereotypes. Similarly, T 5 mentioned differential treatment of girls and boys when they break dress code rules. It reflected how male control over female was reproduced through sexist practices at schools:

*Yine aynı şekilde okullarda mesela öğretmenlerin ya da idarenin bir disiplin suçu noktasında ama sen kız öğrencisin, böyle yapman daha doğru olur, bir kıza yakışmaz şeklinde yaklaşır; ama bunu erkek yaptığında ya erkektir, olabilir geçiştirelim derse bu eşitsizlik anlamına gelir. (T 14)*

Again, in the case of a disciplinary problem, if the teacher or an administration approaches a girl and says “but you are a girl, you should be doing this and that, otherwise it will not pertain to a girl”, but approaches a boy saying “that’s a boy, that can be expected of him, let’s just forget about it”, this will clearly be inequality. (T 14)

*...Kız çocuklarının kıyafetlerine daha çok karışılır. İşte sen dar giyiyorsun işte sen şöyle yapıyorsun diye daha çok uyarı alıyor kız çocukları diyebilirim... (T 5)*

... They are usually interfering with the way girls are dressed. I mean, you are wearing tight clothes, you are doing this and that, I can say girls receive more warnings in this respect... (T 5)

Participating teachers emphasized the role of teachers in perpetuating gender roles and stereotypes. T 6 referred to gender socialization through the differential treatment of teachers at pre-school level:

*...direk hatırlayamadım ama böyle bazen kendimiz bile yapıyoruz sınıfta hani, bunu kızlar yapar, bunu erkekler yapar... (T 1)*

...I cannot remember explicitly, but even we are doing this as teachers in the class, I mean we say girls do this, and boys do that... (T 1)

*Öğretmenlerin okullarda kızlara sürekli prensesim, canım benim falan ama erkeklere aslanım falan gibi diller ile sürekli meşrulaştıran ve sürekli hani erkekler içinde çok zor hani kızlar için kötü olan ifade hani kız gibi olmak ama erkekler içinde onlara çok öğretmenler üzerinden de farkında olmadan hani aile, öğretmen, okul dedik toplumsal dünyada onlara da çok ciddi yük yükleniyor. Her zaman güçlü olması, ağlamaması hani 21.yy 'da hala böyle hala değişen bir şey yok, eğitim bu yönde gidiyor. Okullardaki uygulamalarda yine dediğim gibi gösteriler bunun üzerinden düzenleniyor. (T 6)*

The teachers are using language that constantly justifies discrimination, saying “my princess”, “my darling” to girls and “my lad!” and “my lion” to boys. I mean this is difficult both for boys and girls. I mean the idea of being girly is imposed to girls, but at the same time a really heavy burden is also loaded on boys as well in societal life by teachers, by their family or by the school. Boys are expected to be strong at all times, and not to cry. I mean it

is still the same even in 21<sup>st</sup> century. The education is still heading in this direction. Like I said, other school practices, or the shows that we organize in schools are based on this. (T 6)

*Okullarda kız çocuklarının üzerinde daha çok bir baskı var. Topluma paralel olarak, mesela kadın ya da erkek öğretmenler farkında olarak ya da olmayarak şey üretiliyorlar: kadınların aslında biraz daha geride durmaları gerektiğini, toplumsal cinsiyet kalıbına uygun olarak işte erkeklerin de yanlış yaptığını ama kadınların biraz daha geride durması gerektiğini filan anlatıyorlar. Yani sanki erkekler için normalmiş kadınlar için anormalmiş aynı davranış gösterildiğinde böyle bir durum oluyor (T 7)*

There is more pressure on girls in schools. Parallel to the society, male or female teachers, regardless, display this kind of attitude: girls need to stay a little behind and behave in accordance with their gender roles, I mean they admit boys are also doing wrong, but still girls should be standing behind. What is treated as normal for boys becomes abnormal for girls. (T 7)

The teachers provided further examples of sexist practices at schools in their answers. The expressions they used and the narrative structure of their answers revealed that those sexist practices were rooted in gender norms and roles and dominant patriarchal culture and conservative codes of living in general:

*Genelde toplumumuzda yerleşen yargı vardır işte kız çocukları şunu yapar bunu yapar, erkek çocukları şunları daha iyi yapar şeklinde bazı şeyler vardır, ki okullarda da benzeri şeyler oluyor. Yani örneğin biraz önce de konuştuğumuzda, erkek çocuklarının işte okulda işler yapıldığı sırada erkek çocuklarının ağır işse hemen erkek çocuklarına seslenmesi veya temizlik işleri olduğu sırada kız çocuklarının çağırılması gibi, bunun farkında olmadan belki de eğitimcilerin kendisi de bunu yapıyor. (T 10)*

There is a deep-seated judgment in our society, like girls do this and that, and boys do this and that better; it happens the same in school. As we talked about earlier, say, when something, some work is done in school, if it is a strenuous work, the boys are called on. But if there is some cleaning in school, then the girls are called on. Without even realizing it, the educators are doing the same thing. (T 10)

*...hani sağlık kulübü, kütüphane kulübüne daha çok kız öğrencileri seçersin. Ama izcilik kulübü olduğu zaman mesela erkek öğrenciye yönelirsin, çünkü daha fiziksel kuvvet gerektiren işlerde erkeği seçiyorsun ama daha sakin, oturaklı olması gereken yerlerde kız öğrenciye görev veriyorsun. Yaptığımız belki bu olabilir ayrımcılık olarak ya da cinsiyet görevi olarak. (T 2)*

...I mean, for instance, you usually pick girls for the health club, or the library club. But you pick the boys for scouting club because you are inclined to go for boys for activities that require physical strength, but you assign the duties that need to be done quietly and calmly to the girls. There is a possibility we do these, in terms of discrimination, or assigning gender roles. (T 2)

*Okullarda özellikle beden eğitim öğretmenlerince eşit fırsat sunulmuyor. Her okulun erkek futbol takımı olur, onlar çalıştırılır. Ya kızlar? Onlar yakar top oynasın. Böyle bir şey*

*olabilir mi? Buda kız ve erkek arasında ayrımcılığı göstermiyor mu? Kızlardan da takım oluşturulabilir? Neden eşit fırsat sunulmuyor? (T 13)*

Equal opportunity is not provided especially by physical education teachers in schools. Every school has a boys' football/soccer team, and the teacher trains them. What about girls? Let them play dodgeball themselves. Now, what is this? Doesn't it show a discrimination between girls and boys? You can also form a team from girls, right? Why is equal opportunity not provided? (T 13)

The analysis revealed different aspects of gender discrimination in single sex schools. ERG and Çelikel Education Foundation's report on gender equality in vocational high schools published in 2015 indicated the ways *male domination* and *perceived superiority* created inequalities in those schools. In Woman and Education Policy Document published in 2008 and ERG's Monitoring Report published in 2015, the role of vocational schools in maintaining gender equality was highlighted. The documents referred to women's participation in the labor force which is a strong indicator of gender equality in the society:

*Erkeklerin, okul ortamında kadınlara oranla nüfus olarak fazla olması, kadınların ifadesiyle erkeklerin "kendilerini üstün olarak görmelerine" neden olmaktadır. Bu da okul sınırları içerisinde "erkek iktidarının" kurulmasına zemin hazırlamaktadır. Dolayısıyla bu durumu kabul eden birtakım öğretmenlerin, mevcut yapıdaki davranış ve tutumlar üzerine alternatif söylemler geliştirmemeleri, genç kadınların mesleki eğitim ve beceri geliştirme anlamında okuldan tam olarak beslenememelerine yol açmaktadır. (ERG& Çelikel Eğitim Vakfı, 2015)*

The fact that males are overpopulated in the school environment as compared to females causes males to "see themselves as superior", as was expressed by women. This is laying the foundation for the establishment of "male dominance" within school boundaries. Therefore, the fact that some of the teachers who accept this situation do not develop alternative discourses on behaviors and attitudes in the current structure lead young women not to be able to benefit from school in terms of vocational education and skills development. (ERG & Çelikel Education Foundation, 2015)

*İşgücü piyasasına ara eleman yetiştiren Mesleki ve teknik liselerdeki öğrencilerin %41,1'ini kız çocukları oluşturmaktadır. Diğer liseler ile karşılaştırıldığında mesleki-teknik lise mezunlarının istihdama katılım oranı daha yüksek ve işsizlik oranı daha düşüktür. Bu açıdan mesleki-teknik eğitime kadın katılım oranının düşük olmasının, kadınların gelir elde etmesi önünde engel teşkil ettiği söylenebilir. (KSGM, 2008a)*

Girls constitute 41.1% of the students in vocational and technical high schools, which provide the labor market with intermediate staff. Compared with other high schools, vocational-technical high school graduates have higher employment rate and lower unemployment rate. In this respect, it can be said that girls' low enrollment in vocational-technical education constitutes an obstacle for women to earn income. (KSGM, 2008a)

*Kadınların nitelikli bir eğitime ve çalışma yaşamına erişmelerinde toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliğinin geliştirilmesi açısından mesleki ve teknik liselerin konumu tartışmalıdır. Araştırmanın bulguları toplumsal cinsiyet temelli ayrımcılığın meslek liselerinin önemli bir sorunu olduğunu göstermektedir. Bu kapsamda, eşitlikçi ve içermeci bir eğitim sistemi için eğitimin tüm kademelerinde toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliğinin içselleştirilmesi gereklidir. (ERG, 2015)*

The role of vocational and technical high schools should be discussed in terms of developing gender equality in women's access to a quality education and work life. The findings of the study show that gender-based discrimination is a major problem for vocational high schools. In this context, for an egalitarian and inclusive education system, it is necessary to internalize gender equality in all levels of education. (ERG, 2015)

On the other hand, Eğitim Sen's reports on sexism in education and co-education highlighted the role of hierarchal power relations between males and females in educational gender segregation which resulted in gender discrimination. The reports emphasized political and ideological aspects of the single sex education. The meaning and negative connotation of the selected phrase “ (for men and women) sit separately” (Tr. Haremlik selamlık) was important in this sense. The reports drew the attention to social reproduction role of education reinforcing inferior status of woman in the society:

*2014 yılında eğitim alanında yaşanan gelişmeler doğrultusunda geçen yıldan farklı olarak gündemimize daha fazla giren “karma eğitim tartışmaları” bizim için yeni bir toplum inşasının merkezinde durmaktadır. Sıralardan başlayarak ayrılmak istenen toplumsal alanlarımız; mevcut hiyerarşik yapılanmanın sürdürülmesi isteğinden başka bir şey olarak ele alınamaz. Kadınların ekonomik, politik, sosyal ve toplumsal olarak ikincil konumlarının eğitim alanında da perçinlenmesi girişimi “kız okulları” ve “erkek okulları” söylemini yaygınlaştırmaya çalışmaktadır. (Eğitim Sen, 2014b)*

In terms of the developments experienced in the field of education in 2014, different from last year, "mixed education debates", which has entered more into our agenda, are at the center of forming a new societal structure for us. The efforts to change our social environment, which is aimed to be separated starting from the desks of students, cannot be regarded as anything but an effort to maintain the existing hierarchical structure. The initiative to intensify the current secondary positions of women in economic, political, and social fields in the field of education as well as trying to expand the rhetoric of "girls' schools" and "boys' schools". (Eğitim Sen, 2014b)

*Kızlar için ayrı, erkekler için ayrı okul önerisi sağlıklı, sorun çözmek bir yana yeni sorunlar üretmesi kaçınılmaz olan bir durumdur. Karma eğitim karşıtlarının asıl hedefi, iktidar tarafından yaygınlaştırmaya çalışılan “haremlik selamlık” uygulaması ile toplumsal cinsiyet ayrımcılığını okullar üzerinden tekrar tekrar üretmektedir. (Eğitim Sen, 2014c)*

Separate schools for boys and girls are unhealthy, and it is inevitable that they will create new problems, rather than solving problems. The main goal of coeducation opponents is to reproduce gender discrimination over schools through the practice of "haremlik selamlık", which is tried to be expanded by the government. (Eğitim Sen, 2014c)

Media coverage of co-education policies highlighted the role of single sex education in creating gender discrimination. In the news report of 12<sup>th</sup> June 2005, Hürriyet drew the attention to contradiction between supporting gender segregation in education and opposing gender discrimination. In the deeper interpretation, the report aimed to indicate that single sex education created gender discrimination:

*GAZETECİLER ve Yazarlar Vakfı'nın güdümündeki Abant Platformu, eğitimdeki sorunları tartışmak amacıyla Erzurum'da toplanmış. Konu: 'Yeni bir çağın eşiğinde; eğitimde yeni arayışlar.'*

*Madde 6. İslam eğitim geleneğinden ve eğitim alanını tam bir sivil ruhla düzenleyen Osmanlı tecrübesinden istifade edilmelidir.*

*Madde 7. Gerektiğinde eğitim, kız-erkek karma veya müstakil olarak gerçekleştirilmelidir.*

*Madde 16. Toplumdaki cinsiyet ayrımcılığı, her alanda kurum ve bireylerin eğitim vasıtalarıyla tamamen ortadan kaldırılmalıdır.*

*Eleştiri: Kız ve erkek okullarını, sınıf ve sıralarını ayırmak için tuzak kuracaksınız, sonra da cinsiyet ayırımına karşı çıkacaksınız. Ayıptır, insanları bu kadar budala yerine koymayın! (12.07.2005, Hürriyet)*

The Abant Platform, led by the Journalists and Writers Foundation, gathered in Erzurum to discuss educational issues. Subject: 'On the verge of a new age; new quests in education. '

Article 6. Islamic educational tradition and the Ottoman experience of organizing the field of education with an entirely civilian spirit should be utilized.

Article 7. Education should be carried out in the form of mixed-sex or single-sex education, if necessary.

Article 16. Gender discrimination in the community must be removed altogether by means of education/training of institutions and individuals in each area.

Criticism: You will set traps to separate boys' and girls' schools and classes, and then you will be opposed to sexism. It is a shame, stop making a fool of people! (12.07.2005, Hürriyet)

In the report of 5<sup>th</sup> December 2014, Sözcü adopted a critical perspective regarding single sex education considering the headline and the details presented in the lead

of the report. The report emphasized how single sex education reinforced gender discrimination in the society. Quoting the negative aspects of single sex education from a well-known deputy of the opposing party served to make the report more credible and convincing:

***İnce'den karma eğitim yorumu: "Cinsel kimlikler üzerinden ayırtırmayı kabul edemeyiz."***

*CHP Yalova Milletvekili Muharrem İnce, "Biz çocuklarımıza onların cinsiyetleri üzerinden bir eğitim hizmeti sunmayı, onları cinsel kimlikleri üzerinden ayırtırmayı kabul edemeyiz" dedi. İnce, 19. Milli Eğitim Şurasına ilişkin yaptığı açıklamada, "Kendi eğitimcilerine 'karma eğitimi' tartıştıran bir kurum Türkiye Cumhuriyetinin milli eğitim kurumu olamaz" diyerek şöyle devam etti: "Biz çocuklarımıza onların cinsiyetleri üzerinden bir eğitim hizmeti sunmayı, onları cinsel kimlikleri üzerinden ayırtırmayı kabul edemeyiz. Çağdaş dünyanın bir parçası olmak için yıllardır ortadan kaldırmak istediğimiz toplumumuzdaki cinsiyet ayrımcılığını okullarımıza taşıma arzusu içinde olanlara karşı sessiz kalan bir Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, kabul edilemez." (5.12.2014, Sözcü)*

**İnce comments about coeducation: "We cannot accept discrimination over genders"**

CHP Yalova deputy Muharrem İnce said, "We cannot accept suggestions of offering educational services to students based on their genders and to divide them over their sexual identities." İnce said: "The institution that discusses 'mixed education' only with its own educators cannot be the national education institution of the Republic of Turkey" in the statement made about the 19<sup>th</sup> National Education Council. İnce continued, " We cannot accept suggestions of offering educational services to students based on their genders and to divide them over their sexual identities. We have been striving to remove gender discrimination for decades to become part of the modern world, and it is unacceptable for the Ministry of National Education to remain silent against those who want to bring it into our schools. (5.12.2014, Sözcü)

Participating teachers also commented on the role of single sex schools in creating gender discrimination. They expressed that discriminatory and sexist practice in single sex schools, imam hatip schools in specific reinforced traditional gender roles. T 5 and T 6 provided examples of inferior position of girls in imam hatip schools. Teachers referred to religious norms and beliefs causing gender discriminatory practices in the background information:

*İmam hatip ortaokulundayım ben. Orada mesela erkekler ön plana çıkar. Yani bir koro oluşturulacaksa kızların sesi haram olduğu için işte erkeklerden koro oluşturulur. Kız çocuklarının kıyafetlerine daha çok karışılır. İşte sen dar giyiyorsun işte sen şöyle yapıyorsun diye daha çok uyarı alıyor kız çocukları diyebilirim Lise kısmını da gözlemleyebiliyorum. Daha çok kız öğrencileri biraz geride tutma var yani erkek öğrenciyi ön plana çıkartmak. Lisede kız çocukları daha arkada kalabiliyor erkek çocuklar ile. Bizde*



*bir program yapıldı, o programda hiçbir kız öğrenci yoktu liseden. Lise ve ortaokul birlikte program yaptık ve liseden kız çocuklarının hiç biri görev almamıştı ama ortaokul kız çocukları daha ergen sayılmadığı için dini taassupta günah sayılmadığı için görev almıştı bu etkinliklerde. Lisede erkekler daha ön planda, kızlar yoktu neredeyse hiç. (T 5)*

When you look at my school, for instance, I am in imam hatip middle school, by the way, you see that boys are always in the forefront. That is, if you are going to form a choir, it is formed by males only since girls' voice is considered illicit in Islam. They are usually interfering with the way girls are dressed. I mean, you are wearing tight clothes, you are doing this and that, I can say girls receive more warnings in this respect. I can also observe high school section. In high school, there is a tendency to keep the girls in the background and to bring boys to the forefront. Girls can be left behind in high school. We held a performance in school, there were no girls from high school in that show. We had a performance together with the middle school, and there were no girls from high school there. However, since they consider girls rather junior in middle school, and since they are not considered adolescents yet, there were girls from middle school. Boys are prioritized in high school, it was as if girls were not there. (T 5)

*Okul bahçemde iki bina vardı, biri imam hatip oldu. Yan yanayız, okulumuz ortadan ikiye bölündü. Yani erkekler önden gidiyor, kızlar arkadan gidiyor. Bunları görüyoruz. Ayrı teneffüse çıkmıyorlar ama onların yerlere kadar etekleri koşmalarını engelliyor. Bunlar özgürlük müdür yoksa çocuğunda hakkı mıdır bazı şeyler?... Şuna düşmemek lazım, biz çocuklarımızın eğitimini öbür tarafta kız erkek diye ayırılım derken, biz karma eğitimi savunurken şunu diyoruz, bunlar çocuktur diyoruz. Bunun sonu nereye gider, onun beden dersini almasına gider, resim dersini almasını engellemesine gider. Yani eğitiminin engellenmesine gider bu iş. (T 6)*

There were two school buildings in my schoolyard, one of them was turned into imam hatip school. We saw students there, boys walking in the front, and girls walking in the back. They take their breaks separately, but those long skirts of the girls prevent them from running. Now, is this freedom, or are some of these things rights of children? ... We should not be falling into this trap: when the others are saying we should separate girls and boys in education, we are saying, when we are advocating coeducation, we are saying they are merely children. Where does it all end up? It ends up letting those to take physical education classes, and preventing others from taking painting lessons. I mean you end up preventing education. (T 6)

#### **4.3.4.2. 4+4+4 Education System**

Another important dimension of barriers to girls' education discussions was the changes in the formal schooling system. There were different arguments in relation to new 4+4+4 system the policy documents analyzed in this study. World Bank report published in 2014 reflected the new system as a part of policy initiatives to increase girls' enrollment rates with a specific emphasis on positive improvements. On the other hand, in some policy documents, the new system was criticized for its possible negative impacts on girls' education. Examples of criticisms can be found

in ERG's reports and published views of universities regarding the new system. ERG's report on 4+4+4 justification note stressed the importance of continuous basic education to eliminate traditional practices affecting girls' education negatively. In the note published by Ankara University, there was a strong emphasis on gender equality and children's right to access to education. The new system was denounced for denying equal educational opportunity for all:

*Turkey has made significant progress in increasing access to schools. Turkey has achieved almost universal primary school enrollment (99 percent in the first four years and 93 percent in the second four years in 2012–13), and secondary enrollment was at 70 percent as of 2012–13. The Government is actively seeking to expand secondary school enrollment to comply with the new “4+4+4” law on education, which mandates compulsory education up to grade 12. The gender access gap has disappeared in primary education and narrowed significantly in secondary education. Some variation by location remains, however. Preprimary education (three- to five-year-olds) and higher education enrollment rates are rapidly increasing but remain well below the OECD average. (World Bank, 2014)*

#### ***Kesintili ilköğretimle birlikte birçok çocuk için okul yolu kapanacak***

*Kanun teklifi ile kız çocukların 4. sınıfın sonunda okulla bağlarının kopması ve toplumsal yaşamdan dışlanmalarının önü açılıyor. Bu şekilde zorunlu kesintisiz eğitim ve kız çocukların okullulaşması için devreye sokulan pek çok kamu ve sivil toplum girişimi baltalanmış oluyor. Ayrıca kız çocukların erkenden evlenmeleri ve çok genç yaşta çocuk sahibi olmaları gibi tehlikeler daha da artabilir. (ERG, 2012b)*

#### **With intermittent primary education, the road to school will be closed for many children**

The proposal of the new law opens the way for the girls finishing 4<sup>th</sup> grade to lose their ties with the school and for their social exclusion. In this way, mandatory uninterrupted education and many public and non-governmental initiatives introduced for the benefit of girls' schooling are being undermined. It can also increase the risk of girls getting married early and having children at a very young age. (ERG, 2012b)

*Önerilen 4+4+4 modeli eğitim hakkına erişimi engellemektedir. 1739 sayılı Milli Eğitim Temel Kanunu'na göre temel eğitim, her Türk vatandaşının yasal hakkıdır ve devlet eliyle parasız verilir. Bu eğitim, Milli Eğitim Temel Kanunu'nun 4., 5., 6., 7., 8., 9. ve 12. Maddelerinde ifade edilen “genellik ve eşitlik”, “ferdin ve toplumun ihtiyaçları”, “yönelme”, “eğitim hakkı”, “fırsat ve imkan eşitliği”, “laiklik” ve “süreklilik” ilkelerine uygun olmalıdır. Oysa kanun teklifi ile farklı toplumsal gruplar ve tabakalardan çocukların eğitim hakkı engellenmekte, eğitimde eşitlik ilkesi zedelenmektedir. Kanun teklifi, 8 yıllık temel eğitimi fiilen 4 yıla indirerek kız çocuklarının, yoksul çocukların, köy çocuklarının ve engelli çocukların üst öğrenime devam etme olanaklarını ortadan kaldırmaktadır. Tasarı, çocuk işçiliğini, toplumsal cinsiyet eşitsizliği ve ayrımcılığı, sınıfsal ayrışmayı, köy-kent kutuplaşmasını teşvik etmekte, çocukların toplumsallaşarak bütünsel ve çok yönlü gelişiminin önünü kapatmaktadır. (Ankara Üniversitesi, 2012)*

The proposed 4 + 4 + 4 model prevents access to the right to education. According to the Fundamental Law of National Education Nr. 1739, basic education is the legal right of every Turkish citizen and is granted by the state free of charge. This education is based on the principles of "generality and equity", "needs of the individual and society", "orientation", "the right to education", "equality of opportunity", "secularism", and "continuity", as expressed in National Education Fundamental Law, Articles 4., 5., 6., 7., 8., 9. and 12. However, with the introduction of this law, the right to education of children from different social groups and strata is obstructed and the principle of equality in education is damaged. The law proposal virtually eliminates the possibility of continuing higher education for girls, poor children, village children and children with disabilities by reducing 8 years of basic education to 4 years. The bill promotes child labor, gender inequality and discrimination, class divergence, village-city polarization, and prevents development of children in a holistic and multifaceted way by hampering their socialization. (Ankara University, 2012)

The report of teachers' unions specifically highlighted the negative impacts of the new legislation on girls' education. Eğitim İş and Eğitim Sen adopted a critical perspective of gender policy in education and stressed decreasing enrollment rates by providing statistical data. The use of statistical data served to make the reports more credible and convincing for the target audience. Another noteworthy point was related with the narrative structure used in the documents. The use of phrases such "confirmed our worries" (Tr. Endişelerimizi doğruladı) and "big lie" (Koca bir yalan) created a sense of a threatening situation:

*AKP hükümeti tarafından 4+4+4 düzenlemesi "zorunlu eğitimin 12 yıla çıkarılması" girişimi olarak sunuldu. Oysa MEB'in 2012-2013 istatistikleri özellikle kız çocuklarının okuldan koparılacağı endişelerimizi ne yazık ki doğruladı. 8. sınıftan mezun olan ancak açık lise de dahil olmak üzere hiçbir ortaöğretim kurumuna kayıt olmayan öğrenci sayısı 49 bin 449 olarak belirlendi. Bu öğrencilerden 12 bin 172'si erkek, 37 bin 277'si ise kız öğrencidir. 4+4+4 sistemi uygulamaya geçmeden önce ortaöğretime gitmeyen kız öğrenci sayısının 16 bin 137 olması AKP'nin dayattığı sistemin eğitime ve özellikle kız çocuklarına vurduğu darbeyi açıkça gösteriyor. (Eğitim İş, 2013)*

The 4 + 4 + 4 regulation was presented as an attempt to "increase the compulsory education to 12 years" by the AKP government. However, the MoNE 2012-2013 statistics unfortunately confirmed our worries that especially the girls would be taken away from the school. The number of students who finished the 8<sup>th</sup> grade but did not enroll in any secondary education institutions, including open high schools, was determined as 49,444. Of these students, 12,172 were male, and 37,277 were female students. The number of female students who did not attend secondary school before moving on to the 4 + 4 + 4 system was 16,137, which clearly shows that the AKP's oppressive system of education hits particularly girls. (Eğitim İş, 2013)

*İlköğretim çağında olup da okula gitmeyen kız çocuklarının sayısının aynı durumdaki erkek çocuk sayısından ortalama olarak 600.000 daha fazla olduğu belirtilirken, "MEB'in resmi verileri 4+4+4 ile örgün eğitimin 12 yıla çıktığı tezinin koca bir yalan olduğunu*

*göstermektedir. 2014-2015 eğitim öğretim yılının başladığı bugünlerde MEB'in örgün eğitime kayıt yaptıran kız öğrenci sayısını açıklamaması ise kaygılarımızı daha da artırmaktadır" dedi. (Eğitim Sen, 2014a)*

It is stated that the number of girls who are not in school during the period of primary education is on average 600,000 more than the number of boys in the same situation. Official figures from MoNE show very clearly that the argument that formal education has been extended to 12 years through 4+4+4 is nothing but a big lie. In the beginning of 2014-2015 academic year, the fact that MEB does not disclose the number of female students enrolled in formal education increases our concerns even more. (Eğitim Sen, 2014a)

The analysis revealed that decreasing enrollment rates as a result of new school system was contextualized within political and religious discourses. In ERG's monitoring report published in 2012, there was an emphasis on different world views between secularists and religious conservatives which shaped their perspectives of education. When the reports of different teachers unions were analyzed, it was clearly seen that education was a political and ideological battleground between the stakeholders with differing world views. Teachers unions such as Eğitim Sen and Eğitim İş reflected the new legislation as a part of government policies aiming at Islamizing the education system. On the other hand, while presenting the negative effects of continuous basic education system, Eğitim Bir Sen referred to 28<sup>th</sup> February Coup Laws which were against any Islamist movement or any system that could foster it. The report condemned 28<sup>th</sup> February, "post-modern coup", as the starting point of the previous education system. It was noteworthy that Eğitim Bir Sen excluded the information on preparation process of continuous basic education system, which was stressed in ERG's report. Contextualization of the legislation within political arguments rather than pedagogical ones was a circumstantial evidence that the new legislation was politically and religiously motivated:

*...Son yıllarda kızların eğitim sistemi içindeki yeri giderek daraltılıyor. 4+4+4'in amacı kız çocuklarının eğitim oranının güçlendirilmesi olarak gösterilse de asıl amaç kızların Kur'an kurslarına ve imam hatip okullarına yönlendirilmesidir. (Eğitim İş, 2013)*

In recent years, the place of girls in the education system has gradually become limited. Although 4 + 4 + 4 is represented as if it aims to increase the rate of girls' schooling, the main purpose is to channel the girls into the Qur'an courses and the imam hatip schools. (Eğitim İş, 2013)

...Eğitim Sen Genel Başkanı Ünsal Yıldız ve beraberindeki heyetin kanun teklifinin görüşüldüğü Plan ve Bütçe Komisyonu'nda kanuna dair görüşlerini dile getirdiğini dile getiren Bozgeyik hükümetin bu kanunla hedefini "Türkiye'de zorunlu eğitimin 12 yıla çıkarılması değil, Başbakanın bir süredir dile getirdiği "Dindar nesil yetiştirmek istiyoruz" ifadesine uygun bir eğitim sistemi oluşturmaktır. Zorunlu eğitimin 12 yıla çıkarılmasının bu amacı gerçekleştirmek için bir "kılıf" olarak kullanılması, iktidar partisinin pek çok konuda olduğu gibi bu konuda da samimi olmadığını göstermektedir" olarak niteledi. (Eğitim Sen, 2012e)

Bozgeyik said that Eğitim-Sen Chairman Unsal Yıldız and accompanying delegation expressed their opinions about the law in the Plan and Budget Commission, which discussed the law proposal. According to Bozgeyik, the government's goal with this law is to create an education system that is compatible with the Prime Minister's expression that they "want to raise a religious generation", rather than extending the compulsory education to 12 years in Turkey. The fact that the introduction of 12 years of compulsory education is used as merely a justification indicates that the ruling party is not sincere in this matter, just as in many other matters. (Eğitim Sen, 2012e)

### **Sekiz Yıllık Kesintisiz Zorunlu Eğitim Uygulaması Ne Tür Zararlar Doğurmuştur?**

MGK'nın 28 Şubat 1997 tarihli bildirisinde yer verilen hüküm üzerinden 222 sayılı Kanun'da yapılan değişiklikle başlayan sekiz yıllık zorunlu eğitimin "kesintisiz" uygulanması modeli, temel eğitime dair pedagojik verileri A'dan Z'ye değiştirdi. İlköğretim sürecinde bütün bireylerin sekiz yıl süreyle tek bir program üzerinden eğitim görmesi ve bu süreç boyunca alternatif nitelikteki eğitim programlarına devam etme yasağı üzerinden tek tip vatandaş yetiştirmeye odaklı bir eğitim sistemi oluşturuldu. (Eğitim Bir Sen, 2012d)

### **What are the damages inflicted by 8-year uninterrupted compulsory education?**

The "uninterrupted" implementation of the eight-year compulsory education, which started with the amendment to the Law No. 222 through the provision of the NSC dated February 28, 1997, changed pedagogical data on basic education from A to Z. During the primary education period, an education system which focused on the development of a single type of citizen was formed by giving education to all individuals over a single program for eight years and through the prohibition to continue alternative education programs. (Eğitim Bir Sen, 2012d)

Bu süreçte, yasa teklifini savunanlar ile yasa teklifine karşı olanlar arasında "kesintisiz" eğitimin anlamı üzerine kamusal alanda sürdürülen bir tartışma ve kavram karmaşası ortaya çıktı. Yasa teklifini savunanlar, sekiz yıllık zorunlu ve kesintisiz eğitimin 28 Şubat süreci sırasında dayatılmış bir uygulama olduğunu ve dünyanın başka hiçbir ülkesinde sekiz yıllık eğitimin kesintisiz olarak sunulmadığını iddia etti. Yasa teklifine karşı olanlar ise, 1997'de gerçekleşen yeniden düzenlemenin ardından (özellikle kız çocuklarının) okullulaşma oranlarının ve ortalama eğitim süresinin hızla arttığını, çocuk gelin ve çocuk işçi sayısının düştüğünü belirterek sekiz yıllık zorunlu ve kesintisiz eğitimden geri adım atılmaması yönünde görüş bildirdi. Ayrıca, zorunlu eğitimin sekiz yıla çıkarılmasının 1997'de apar topar alınmış bir karar olmadığı, bu düşüncenin 1946'da düzenlenen 3. Milli Eğitim Şurası'na kadar uzandığı belirtildi. (ERG, 2013)

In this process, there has been a continuing debate and conceptual confusion in the public domain on the meaning of "uninterrupted" education between those who advocate the law and those who oppose the law. Advocates of the law proposal argued that eight years of compulsory and uninterrupted education was an imposition during the February 28<sup>th</sup> period and that no other country in the world was offering eight years of uninterrupted education. Those opposed to the legislation expressed the view that the enrollment rates and the average education period rapidly increased after the 1997 regulation (especially for girls), that the number of child brides and child workers decreased, and that the eight-year compulsory and uninterrupted education should not be abolished. It was also stated that the regulation on eight years of compulsory education was not decision taken hastily in 1997, and rather this idea can be traced back to the 3<sup>rd</sup> National Education Council held in 1946. (ERG, 2013)

Another important issue which was discussed in relation to gender parity was open education option executed with the new legislation. The new legislation made it possible to attend Open Lower Secondary School for 14 years students who completed primary education but did not attend lower secondary education because of any reasons. Moreover, it was Cabinet's authority to define the scope of the open education programs. Legislative proposal published by MONE presented open education option as an improvement enhancing equality of educational opportunity. It was noteworthy that proposal did not include any specific information about circumstances requiring student to enroll in open education. Besides, it was also contradictory that the new legislation proposal offering open education system emphasized the importance of school environment for social and psychological development of students. It could be regarded as a circumstantial evidence that open education system created inequalities of educational opportunity as children were deprived of social benefits of education:

*MADDE 12- 1739 sayılı Kanuna aşağıdaki Ek 2 inci madde eklenmiştir. EK MADDE 2 -*

*Bu kanunda belirtilen ilköğretim birinci kademe sonrasında hangi programların açık öğretimle ilişkilendirileceği ve zorunlu eğitim kapsamına alınacağı Bakanlar Kurulu tarafından belirlenir.*

*Gerekçe: MADDE 12- Eğitim öğretimin kapsamının genişletilmesi ve bireylerin zorunlu eğitimi tamamlamalarına fırsat ve imkan vermek. (İlköğretim Ve Eğitim Kanunu İle Bazı Kanunlarda Değişiklik Yapılmasına Dair Kanun Teklifi)*

ARTICLE 12- The following Annex 2 is added to the Law No. 1739. ANNEX ARTICLE 2

The Council of Ministers determines which educational programs will be linked to open education and will be considered as part of compulsory education after primary education in this law.

Rationale: ARTICLE 12 - Expanding the scope of education and providing opportunities for individuals to complete compulsory education. (Law Proposal for the Amendment on Primary Education)

*16/8/1997 tarihli ve 4306 sayılı Kanunla Millî Eğitim Temel Kanununa getirilen değişiklikler sonucunda zorunlu eğitim süresinin 8 yıla çıkarılması, ülkemizde eğitim düzeyinin yükseltilmesi adına önemli bir atılım olmakla birlikte, aynı değişiklikler çerçevesinde söz konusu zorunlu eğitimin "kesintisiz" gerçekleştirilmesi sağlıklı ve verimli bir eğitim ortamının oluşturulması adına ciddi sorunlara neden olmuş ve olmaktadır. Başarılı ve verimli bir okul hayatı için öğrencinin öncelikle sağlıklı ve huzurlu bir okul ortamına ihtiyaç duyacağı şüphesizdir. Öğrencinin eğitim gördüğü okul, teknolojik imkânları gerektiği gibi öğrencisinin hizmetine sunabilen, dersliklerin aşırı kalabalık olmadığı, ulaşımı kolay, öğrencinin sosyal ve kültürel ihtiyaçlarını karşılayabilecek uygun altyapıya sahip bir fiziki nitelik taşımaktadır. Bunun da ötesinde öğrencinin gününün büyük bölümünü geçirdiği okul ortamı, sosyal ilişkilerin sağlıklı biçimde kurulup geliştirilebildiği, kişilik gelişimini olumsuz etkileyebilecek etmenlerin sıfırlandığı, güvenlik endişelerinin akla dahi gelmediği, sağlanan arkadaşlık ve dayanışma kültürü içinde öğrencinin hem fizikî hem de ruhî olgunluk aşamalarını huzur içinde geçebildiği bir özelliğe sahip olmalıdır. (İlköğretim Ve Eğitim Kanunu İle Bazı Kanunlarda Değişiklik Yapılmasına Dair Kanun Teklifi)*

As a result of amendments to the Basic Law on National Education with Law No. 4306 dated 16/8/1997, 8-years of compulsory education was an important step in raising the level of education in our country. However, the "uninterrupted" way of such compulsory education has caused and is causing serious problems in establishing a healthy and productive educational environment. For a successful and productive school life, there is no doubt that the student will need a healthy and peaceful school environment first. The school where the pupil receives education should have a physical quality that can provide the technological facilities to the student's service as required, in which the classrooms are not overcrowded, the transportation is easy, and the infrastructure is suitable to meet the social and cultural needs of the student. Moreover, the school environment in which students spend most of their day should be formed in such a way that the social relations can be established and developed in a healthy manner, the factors that can negatively affect personality development are inexistent, the security concerns are minimized, and that the student can experience both physical and spiritual stages of maturity in a culture of friendship and solidarity. (Law Proposal for the Amendment on Primary Education)

It was revealed that there were different arguments on open education in the policy documents analyzed in this study. Some of the policy document, such as Eğitim Bir Sen's and ULUED's reports on 4+4+4 education system, supported the idea of open education without any specific emphasis on girls' education ULUED's report

presented open education as “an alternative education” system and supported open education starting from 4<sup>th</sup> grade. The connotation of the selected word was noteworthy as “alternative” (Tr. Alternative) was typically associated with conservative and religious life style in Turkish context. Therefore, in the background information the report revealed that open education was supported in order to orient children to religious education in early ages:

### ***SİSTEMİN EKSİLERİ***

*8. sınıftan sonra uygulanacak olan açık öğretim seçeneği 4. sınıftan itibaren öğrencilere ve velilere sunulmalıdır. Homeschooling, sanal eğitim gibi alternatif eğitim sistemlerinin yok sayılması ciddi bir noksanlıktır. Evdeki eğitimin evde oturmak şeklinde yorumlanması Avustralya, Yeni Zelanda, Amerika, Kanada gibi bu yöntemi uygulayan ülkelere haksızlık olur. (ULUED, 2012)*

### **THE DRAWBACKS OF THE SYSTEM**

The distant schooling option, which will be implemented after the 8<sup>th</sup> grade, should be made possible to the students and parents starting from the 4<sup>th</sup> grade. Ignoring alternative education systems such as homeschooling and virtual education is a serious shortcoming. Equating home education with simply sitting at home would be unfair to the countries, such as Australia, New Zealand, the United States, Canada and others, that implement this method successfully. (ULUED, 2012)

### ***Öneriler***

#### ***Ortaöğretim Kurumlarında Açıköğretim ve Uzaktan Öğretim Uygulamaları:***

*Bireylere, lise düzeyinde açıköğretim, uzaktan eğitim ve yaygın öğretim kapsamında öğrenim görebilecekleri okullarda öğrenim görme imkânı sağlanmalıdır. Açık lise uygulamaları, uzaktan eğitim altyapısıyla desteklenerek yaygınlaştırılmalıdır. (Eğitim Bir Sen, 2012d)*

### **Suggestions**

#### **Practices of Open Schooling and Distant Learning in Secondary Education Institutions**

Individuals should be provided with the opportunity to study in schools where they can learn under open schooling, distance education, and non-formal education at high school level. Open high school practices should be disseminated by supporting them with already existing distance education infrastructure. (Eğitim Bir Sen, 2012d)

On the other hand, in some of the policy document negative impacts of open education on girls' education were emphasized. World Bank report published in



2012 and the report published by Boğaziçi University foregrounded the possible impact of home schooling option on girls' enrollment and attendance rates:

*In 2012 a new education law was passed that extends compulsory education to 12 years, with three four-year phases. The law includes the option of home schooling in the final phase (from grade 9) subject to specific criteria – the impact on girls' attendance and the quality of the education that they receive at senior school level will need to be closely monitored. (World Bank, 2012)*

*Yeni taslakta ilköğretim ikinci kademedен sonra, öğrencilerin açık öğretim ve evde eğitim gibi olanaklarla da öğretim görebilme önerisi, özellikle alt sosyo-ekonomik düzeyden gelen kız ve erkek çocuklarını okullaşma süreci dışına çıkaracak ve şu anda kız erkek farklarının belirlediği tek eğitim aşaması olarak çağ nüfusunun % 69.33'ünü, erkek çağ nüfusunun % 72.35'i ile kız çağ nüfusunun % 66.14'ünü kapsayan ortaöğretim içinde bulunma oranını, bu gruplar aleyhine düşürecektir. (Boğaziçi Üniversitesi, 2012)*

In the new draft, the proposal for students to be taught by structures like open education and home education after the second stage of primary education will draw girls and boys, especially from the lower socio-economic level, out of schooling. At present, current schooling figures which already makes evident the differences between girls' schooling and boys' schooling, with 66.14% girls' schooling and 72.35% boys' schooling of the overall 69.33% schooling rate, will change to the disadvantage of both groups. (Bogazici University, 2012)

Cumhuriyet and Zaman highlighted Turkey's high drop-out levels of girls compared to other European countries. The news reports provided two pieces of background information. On the one hand, there were references to the failures of girls' education initiatives taken during the European Union accession period. On the other hand, the new legislation was denounced to affect girls' education adversely. The wording in the headline of the report posted on 23<sup>rd</sup> of March 2015 in Cumhuriyet served to criticize the new education system implicitly:

***Sistem kızları eve kapattı:*** *Avrupa Komisyonu raporuna göre, Türkiye eğitimi erken terk etmede açık ara Avrupa birincisi. Türkiye'de her 100 kız öğrenciden 40'ı lise aşamasına geçmeden eğitim sürecini terk ediyor. (23.03.2015, Cumhuriyet)*

**The system secluded girls:** According to the report of the European Commission, Turkey is the European leader in early education dropouts. Every 40 girls out of 100 leave educational processes before they start high school. (23.03.2015, Cumhuriyet)

*Türkiye, okul bırakmada açık ara Avrupa şampiyonu: Kız öğrencilere göre daha avantajlı olsalar da erkek öğrencilerde de mevcut durum korkutucu. Erkek öğrenciler de yüzde 35 olan terk oranıyla Türkiye açık ara Avrupa birincisi olarak öne çıkıyor. Eğitimi erken terk etme oranında Türkiye'nin ardından ikinci olan İspanya'da bile kız çocukların eğitimi erken terk oranı, Türkiye'nin oranına kıyasla 20 puan daha düşük. AB-28 ortalaması ise yüzde*

10.2 ile Türkiye'nin dörtte biri düzeyinde. Kız öğrencilerin eğitimi erken terk oranı yüzde 2.6 ile en düşük Slovenya'da kaydedildi. (23.03.2015, Zaman)

**Turkey is the way-ahead European champion in dropout rates:** Although they are advantaged compared to girls, the current situation is also terrifying for boys. Male students also stand out as Europe's number one with a dropout rate of 35%. Even in Spain, which is second after Turkey in terms of early abandonment of education, early drop-out rate of girls is 20% lower than that of Turkey. The EU-28 average, which is 10.2%, is only one-quarter of the average in Turkey. The lowest early drop-out rates for girls' education were recorded in Slovenia, with 2.6%. (23.03.2015, Zaman)

**“AKP’NİN HEDEFİ KIZ ÇOCUKLARINI EVE KAPATMAKTIR”:** Hamzaçebi, TBMM’de düzenlediği basın toplantısında gündemdeki konuları değerlendirdi. Avrupa Komisyonu’nun Avrupa ülkelerine yönelik olarak Türkiye’yi de kapsamına alan “okulu erken terk eden çocukların” durumuna ilişkin bir raporu yayınlandığını belirten Hamzaçebi, “Yayınlanan rakamlara, bilgilere göre 4+4+4 sistemi çökmüştür. Kız çocukları artık Türkiye’de okula gitmiyor. AKP’nin hedefi kız çocuklarını eve kapatmaktır” dedi. (23.03.2015, Sözcü)

**“THE AIM OF AKP IS TO LOCK GIRLS HOME”:**Hamzaçebi commented on the issues on the agenda at a press conference held in the Turkish Grand National Assembly. Hamzaçebi stated that the European Commission has published a report on the situation of "children leaving school early", which also covers Turkey along with other European countries. "According to the figures and the data published, the 4 + 4 + 4 system has collapsed. Girls are no longer going to school in Turkey. The AKP's goal is to lock the girls home." (23.03.2015, Sözcü)

**AKP’nin istediği oldu MEB, 4+4+4’ün istatistiklerini yayınladı, 37 bin kız okuldan koparıldı.** MEB, 4+4+4 eğitim sisteminin uygulamaya geçtiği ilk yılın resmi istatistiklerini yayınladı. Buna göre 8. sınıftan mezun olan ancak açık lise de dahil olmak üzere hiçbir ortaöğretim kurumuna kayıt olmayan öğrenci sayısı 49 bin 449. Bunlardan 12 bin 172’si erkek, 37 bin 277’si kız öğrenci. 4+4+4 sistemi uygulamaya geçmeden önce ortaöğretime gitmeyen kız öğrenci sayısı 16 bin 137 olarak kayıtlara geçmişti. (30.03.2013, Sözcü)

**What the AKP strived for has happened; the statistics on 4+4+4 has been published, 37.000 girls were drawn out of school system.** MoNE has published the official statistics of the first year in which the 4 +4 +4 education system was put into effect. According to this, the number of students who graduated from the 8<sup>th</sup> grade but not enrolled in any secondary education institution, including open high schools, is 49.449. Among these, 12.172 are males and 37.277 are female students. Before the 4 + 4 + 4 system, the number of female students who did not attend secondary education was 16.137. (30.03.2013, Sözcü)

When they were asked to interpret the news report, the teachers emphasized the ways non-continuous education system denied girls right to attend school. They referred to traditional practices and gender roles affecting girls’ enrollment rates negatively. T 13 pointed out the contradiction between increasing the length of compulsory education and forming the basis of gender inequalities. T 12 indicated

that recent decreases in the enrollment rates were not surprising by referring to the problems the new system brought about in the background information:

*Bu verilen istatistik rakamlarına bakınca hani devam etmeyen öğrenci sayısının artması insanları çok endişelendirir. Yani normalde çünkü böyle olmaması gerekirken mesela hani ilkökul sonrası olması çocuk gelin sayısını etkilediği çünkü çocuk evlenebilir hani okuluna devam edebilir ya da çocuk evde çalışabilir ya da çocuk işçi olarak başka yerde çalışabilir ama okula devam edebilir. Aslında bir taraftan okullaşma oranını arttırıyoruz derken işin diğer yönünde aslında birçok kişinin daha fazla okula gitmediği gözlemlenmekte hani bu kafa karışıklığı yaratır. (T 13)*

When we look at these statistics, the fact that the number of dropout students has increased is worrisome. I mean, normally, it should not be like this. But this shows that the children can become child brides, or work at home, or work outside, and study at the same time. I mean when you are saying you are increasing the level of schooling, but on the other hand there is an increase in the number of students who do not attend school. This will surely be confusing for people. (T 13)

*Beklenenin malumu. Bundan sonraki haberlerde benzer kızların okullaşmasının azalması üzerine, Zaten toplumda şöyle bir yargı vardır kızlar için “okumazsa evlenir çocuğuna bakar ama erkek muhakkak okumalı” okumayan kızlar erken yaşta evlendi işte. (T 12)*

Stating the obvious. I mean the other pieces of news are also similar, on the decrease in girls' schooling. I mean there is already a judgment in society, that if girls do not study, she might as well get married and take care of her children, but the boys must definitely study. Then, those who do not study are getting married early obviously. (T 12)

Some of the participating teachers questioned the role of girls' education projects considering the decreasing levels of enrollment rates. T 6 denounced the new education system for creating inequalities by referring to recent studies. Besides, T 9 criticized the policy makers for denying girls' rights of attending secondary education.

*Bundan 10-15 yıl öncesine kadar Baba hadi beni okula gönder gibi kız çocuklarının çok kampanyalar yapılıyordu ve devlet destekliydi bunlar. Bunların sorun ve eşitsizlik olduğunun bilincindeydi fakat son dönemdeki 4 artı 4 artı 4'ten sonra yapılan araştırma sonuçlarına baktığımızda bu eşitsizliği gidermek için atılan adımların gerilediğini, bu eğitim modelinin zaten direkt eşitsizliğe neden olduğunu gösteren somut çalışmalar var. (T 6)*

10-15 years ago, there were state-funded campaigns like “Let's go to school, girls!”. They were aware that this was a problem and that there was gender inequality. But when we look at research results after 4+4+4, these steps to eliminate this inequality are falling. There are studies that explicitly reveal that this system itself directly causes inequality. (T 6)

*Yani sürekli eğitimde bir değişiklikler, sürekli sistemde bir değişiklikler ve bu sistemin getirdiği sonuçlarda hani böyle bir verinin olması... bu kampanyalar belki de göstermelik kampanyalar 'Haydi Kızlar Okula'...bu kadar kız çocuğu liseden neden madem mahrum bıraktınız. Neden o zaman bu 'Haydi Kızlar Okula' kampanyası hiçbir işe yaramadı. (T 9)*

I mean there are constant changes in education, there are constant changes in the system, and then we see these figures on this new system. Maybe these campaigns are only for show. "Let's go to school, girls!" Then, why did you leave so many girls out of high school! Then, why didn't these campaigns work at all? (T 9)

There were opposite opinions among the participating teachers regarding the impact of the new system on girls' education. T 11 and T 13 expressed that increasing the length of compulsory education would positively influence the enrollment rates. On the other hand, the teachers questioned the difference between gender parity and gender equality in their responses. According to the teachers, increasing the schooling levels of girls was not sufficient to ensure gender equality without increasing the quality of education:

*Rakamları olumlu yönde mutlaka etkilemiştir, yani kız çocuklarının okullaşmasını artırdığını düşünüyorum elimde bir istatistik yok, böyle bir şeyi de incelemedim ama demin söylediğim gibi yani üstten gelmece bir yaklaşım ne kadar bu işe çözüm olabilir veya hadi okullaştırdık, okullarımızın eğitim kalitesi yükselmedikten sonra ne işe yarar. (T 11)*

I am sure it has affected the figures positively, I mean I believe it has increased girls' schooling. I don't have any statistics, and I have not analyzed anything in this respect, but like I said before a top-down approach such as this find cannot solve anything. Let's say you have improved girls' schooling. What good will it do unless you improve the quality of education? (T 11)

*Yani devam etme zorunluluğu olmasını ben çok olumlu görüyorum, özellikle kırsal bölgeler için belki şehirler için etkili olmayabilir ama yani çünkü ailelerin çoğu acaba böyle bir zorunluluk olmasaydı aynı fırsatı kız çocuklarına da sağlar mıydı, sanmıyorum. Mesela erkek çocuklarına şey imkânı sağladıklarını biliyorum, daha iyi eğitim alabilsinler diye mesela şehir merkezine gönderdiklerini, destek aldıklarını biliyorum ama aynı imkânı kız çocuklarına veriyorlar mıydı, hayır. Yani bu açıdan hani yine de bu eşitsizliği kaldırmak için yeterli mi emin değilim ama en azından çocukların okulda bulunma hakkına sahip olması bile büyük bir şey, olumlu görüyorum. (T 13)*

I see mandatory attendance as a positive issue, especially for rural areas, but it might not be very influential in cities. Unless it was made obligatory, I do not think many families would provide their girls with this opportunity. For instance, I know that boys are provided with the opportunity to go to city centers to receive better education, and they get support to do it. But were they giving this chance to girls, no. I mean, from this angle, it might be helpful, but I am not sure if this is enough to eliminate inequality, but even the mere right of children to be present in school is a big, positive thing. (T 13)

In a similar vein, some of the teachers considered open education system as an opportunity to overcome barriers to girls' education. While supporting open education, teachers presented their arguments by referring to religious and conservative norms limiting girls' education. T 1 emphasized open education was a good opportunity for the girls attending hafiz courses. In the background information, the teacher provided circumstantial evidence that open education was executed to promote religious education. Besides, T 2 provided examples of families supporting single sex education arguing that open education was a good chance for them. On a deeper interpretation, the teachers referred to the impact Muslim culture shaping parental choices:

*Aslında bence şans sunuyor, yani diğer türlü zaten aile kararludur göndermeyecektir. Yani eğer böyle bir şans vermezse okuyamayacak, elinde mezuniyeti bile olmayacak ya da birçok kişi için mesela Hafızlık yapanlar için, onlar galiba göndermiyorlar ya da Açık öğretimde okutuyorlar, en azından mezuniyeti olması için ya da bir şekilde diploması oluyor. Ben şans olarak görüyorum, diğer türlü göndermek isteyen zaten gönderiyor. (T 1)*

Indeed, if you ask me, they are providing an opportunity because otherwise the family is already determined, they will not send her to school. That is, if she does not have this chance, she will not study and will not be a graduate. Take 'hafiz's, for instance, they are not sending them to school I guess, or they study in open schools. I mean this way, they will at least have a diploma. I see it as a chance. The ones that already want to send them send them, anyway. (T 1)

*Alternatif olarak kızların belki okula göndermek istemeyen velilerin açık öğretime yönlendirmesine sebep olarak okullaşma oranlarını artırmış olabilir. Veli çocuğunu okula göndermek istemiyorsa ve bir şekilde ikna edilemiyorsa çocuğun hiç okula gitmemesinden açık öğretime devam etmesi daha iyidir. Dediğim gibi mesela karma eğitimi istemeyen, veliler Doğu ve Güneydoğu Anadolu bölgelerinde, karma bir okula göndermek istemeyen kız çocuğunu özellikle, veli açık öğretime kaydeder. (T 4)*

It might have increased schooling rates by channeling into distant education the parents who would otherwise not send their daughters to school. If the parent does not want to send their child to school, and cannot be persuaded in any way, it is better for the child to at least continue distant education, rather than not going to school at all. Like I said families that do not want to send their children, especially their daughters, to mixed education schools can enroll them into distant education institutions. (T 4)

## SUMMARY OF THE FINDINGS

### *Gender Identities*

- Complete analysis of data provided insights on creating a new social reality on the roles of women in Turkish society through policy texts and news reports particularly in the last decade.
- The preferred discourse of policy documents on gender identities changed in line with the ideologies embedded in documents.
- Media coverage of this policy discourse reinforced the ways patriarchy and policy collides in Turkish context.
- The portrayal of women in the discourses of policy documents and printed media revealed the traces of dominant patriarchal ideology in the society.
- The preferred discourse on the uncontested status for women in the private realm attached sentimental value to the family and encouraged women to perform traditional and motherhood roles.
- Dress code policies were designed in line with the gender stereotypes and rigid codes of dressing outlined for women in Turkish society.
- Dress code outlined for girls, imposing headscarf in particular, reinforced female submissiveness and male supremacy in line with patriarchal norms.
- The dominant discourse promoted single sex education by pointing out stereotypic differences between two genders and through preconceived assumptions about womanhood and female sexuality.
- An inferior, submissive and powerless female identity was reinforced by both discursive framing of policies and educational practices shaping social identities and relationships.
- An Islamist conservative female identity was reinforced through recent educational policies.
- İmam hatip schools and headscarf imposition served to incline religious youth and to promote a conservative female identity

## *Gender Equality*

- The complete analysis of data revealed gendered aspect of educational policy making in its different dimensions. There were indicators of gender inequalities at each stage of policy making, from policy formulation to implementation.
- While official statements seemed to be in line with equality perspective, inconsistencies underlying most educational policies created a political reality causing gender inequalities in Turkish context.
- The complete analysis unveiled the roots of gender inequalities in education with various manifestations of gender discrimination in social realm. More specifically, gender discrimination in the society and cultural factors leading to inferior status of women were revealed as factors causing gender inequalities in education.
- The present study revealed gender biases embedded in policy texts at different levels of discourse analysis. As an instance, the reports promoting gender segregation in education included a sexist language creating gender discrimination discursively.
- Even if legislative discourse of MONE supported gender equality in education in general, gender biased educational policies and their implications in practice created gender inequalities.
- As discourse data of the present study revealed, ensuring gender equality was a challenge in the Turkish education system because of ideological mechanisms reinforcing gender roles and traditional practices in educational settings.
- The system disadvantaged females through sexist discourse of the government officials as well as content and the delivery of the curriculum.
- Headscarf issue was another important dimension of gender equality discussions. One of the prominent findings was the changes in the preferred discourses and in the meaning of female freedom in line with the ideologies embedded in documents.

### ***Barriers to Girls' Education***

- Discourse data of the present study revealed family related factors as significant barriers in front of girls' education.
- The role of socio-economic and socio-cultural factors shaping parental perception of girls' education was emphasized by referring to lower enrollment rates of girls in eastern provinces.
- Arguments on barriers to girls' education revealed other remarkable points showing the negative impacts of patriarchy and conservative perspectives on female education.
- Lower enrollment rates of girls in eastern provinces highlighted that traditional social structure, religious beliefs and patriarchal values positioned girls in an inferior position and affected their education negatively
- Headscarf issue was a widely discussed part of barriers to girls' education discourse.
- While some of the documents foregrounded negative effects of wearing the Islamic headscarf at school, dominant discourse reflected headscarf restriction as a significant barrier in front of girls' education.
- More specifically, demands of conservative families were underlined by groups and nongovernmental organizations in conservative camp arguing that headscarf ban at schools was an undemocratic practice hindering girls' schooling.
- Resistance to co-education was another dimension of barriers in front of girls' education.
- Apart from being socio-cultural barriers to girls' education, co- education dispute is an ideological issue in Turkish context. Some of the documents positioned in being critical of gender segregation in education by emphasizing political and ideological aspects of the single sex education.
- The present study revealed that school related factors such as infrastructure, school security, teacher quality, and quality of guidance and counseling services, sexist practices at schools had an impact on girls' education.



- It was also indicated that structure of the curriculum, sexist practices and gender discrimination at schools created gender inequalities in education
- Teachers provided examples of sexist practices at schools stemming from gender norms and dominant patriarchal culture.
- Open education system was widely criticized for limiting girls' education and for promoting religious education
- Besides, some of the documents stressed possible increases in the number of child marriages, which often meant the end of education for girls, and instances of child labor as allowing open education after the first four years would limit girls in domestic sphere and orient them to get married in early ages.
- Conversely, some of the documents presented open education system as an opportunity for girls coming from conservative families and excluded information about negative impacts of the system on girls' education.
- As a part of school related factors, 4+4+4 education system was widely discussed within the discourses of barriers to girls' education. The changes in the system made differences between the qualities of schools more apparent and strengthened educational inequalities consequently.
- Political and ideological aspects of recent education policies in Turkey manifested itself in discursive framing of 4+4+4 education system.
- In some of the documents the new legislation was reflected as a part of government policies aiming at Islamizing the education system.
- On the other hand, some of the documents presented negative effects of continuous basic education system by referring to 28<sup>th</sup> February Coup Laws which were against any Islamist movement or any system that could foster it.

## CHAPTER 5

### DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

This chapter includes the discussion of the findings and implications of the study. Firstly, results of the study are summarized and related conclusions are discussed. Next, implications for policy makers and implications for school practices are presented and recommendations are suggested. In the last part, implications for further research are presented.

#### 5.1. Gender Identities

The complete analysis of data provided insights on creating a new social reality on the roles of women in Turkish society through policy texts and the news reports particularly in the last decade. One of the prominent findings was the changes in the preferred discourse of policy documents and the news reports on gender identities in line with the ideologies embedded in documents. In some of the documents, women were defined as the cultural essence and it attached all cultural differences, moral values and religion sentiments to the women, parallel with the dominant ideology. On the other hand, some of the documents positioned in being critical of the conservative gender roles and supported equal participation of women in political and public life in most domains of public sphere. This finding of the study matches with previous research. In this context, studies examining gender discourses of political parties would provide insights as reflected gender perceptions of different groups of people in Turkish context. Research studies revealed that portrayal of women and conceptualizations of gender issues differ according to political and ideological standpoints of individuals in Turkey. The parties in the conservative camp conceptualized womanhood in the frame of cultural and moral values and emphasized women's prior role in the maintenance

of Turkish family. However, the parties with leftist ideology hold a more egalitarian approach to gender issues respectively and challenged the patriarchal norms limiting female freedom through the arguments of democracy and modernity. They respected the freedom and the rights of women as independent individuals. The role of women in protecting the values of secularism and democracy as opposed to religious and traditional norms was emphasized (Gazioğlu-Terzi, 2015; Haspolat, 2015; Terkan, 2010; Terkan, 2016).

The portrayal of women in the discourses of policy documents and printed media revealed the traces of dominant patriarchal ideology in the society. The dominant discourse in educational policy texts and news reports defined the familial sphere as the natural locus of women and supported education of women in order that they fulfill their domestic responsibilities appropriately. The preferred discourse on the uncontested status for women in the private realm attached sentimental value to the family and encouraged women to perform traditional and motherhood roles. In this respect, female education was perceived as a useful tool to better fulfill motherhood roles. This corresponds with previous research. According to Terkan (2010) government policies limited women within domestic sphere as AKP had a conservative approach to women and foregrounded motherhood roles in its political discourse. Haspolat (2015) also argued that AKP's policies were in line with male-dominated ideology and patriarchal codes which prioritized women's roles as "spouses, mothers and housewives". As the party attached a weak and inferior identity to women, government policies strengthened female oppression and male supremacy. In this context, Tan (2007) argued women were educated to be sacrificing mothers and good spouses in accordance with traditional values and patriarchal codes of the society in Turkey. It was also important that education has not transformed the mentality of women from religious and conservative groups. Even the well-educated women from conservative circles supported traditional gender roles and defined womanhood within familial sphere (Tan, 2007). Based on these findings, it can be concluded that education has not challenged the traditional gender roles, perceptions and attitudes defining women in familial sphere in Turkey.

The present study revealed different aspects of identity formation and gender socialization through school dress code. First of all, it was found that dress code policies were designed in line with the gender stereotypes and rigid codes of dressing outlined for women in Turkish society. To be more precise, gender differentiated dress code reinforced gender stereotypes and created discriminatory practices at schools on legitimate basis. Through employing control mechanisms over females, policies sexualized girls and created a sense of shame for having feminine body. Moreover, making more restrictions on girls' clothing reinforced gender discrimination and taught young children that objectifying female was acceptable. The role of dressing in gender socialization is also underlined by Arvanitidou and Gasouka (2013) asserting that dressing is one of the cultural agents constructing gender identities. Harbach (2016) also argued that dress code is a part of larger process of identity process and sexualization of girls rather than as a type of every day school policy. This study also indicated that sex-differentiated dress codes reproduced gender stereotypes and caused gender discrimination at public schools. In this context, Bahl's study (2005) revealed that women's dressing was used as a social control mechanism and as an agent of social change in different cultures. The analysis of the political and social uses of women's dressing and the context of creating particular dress code and styles are important in showing the ways dressing shape certain gender identities (Bahl, 2005). Based on this argument, it might be speculated that dress code legislation was in line with the recent trend teaching young girls to adopt modest styles of dressing as a symbol of honor. In this sense, headscarf regulation was noteworthy. Discourse data indicated the ways headscarf served to reinforce traditional gender roles, female oppression and sexual objectification of girls. Nevertheless, wearing headscarf was associated with female honor and protection in some of the documents, validating male dominance over females. This finding matches with previous research. According to Sancar (2015) wearing Islamic headscarf indicates modesty, decency and feminine good manners as inclined by patriarchal norms. Similarly, Yıldırım (2007) argued that wearing headscarf strengthened the traditional roles of women in Turkey. In this sense, veiling is a symbol of women's subordination to men and male control over female bodies (Sancar, 2015). Thus, it

can be concluded that dress code outlined for girls, imposing headscarf in particular, reinforced female submissiveness and male supremacy in line with patriarchal norms.

Besides, the findings indicated the ways policy and media discourses constructed particular gender identities and relationships that work to privilege men over women. It can be argued that representations of females in the documents with a specific emphasis on female weakness and powerlessness legitimized hierarchical power relations between men and women. The dominant discourse promoted single sex education by pointing out stereotypic differences between two genders and through preconceived assumptions about womanhood and female sexuality. For example, with the help of discussions on sexual abuse in co-education settings, females were attached weak and dependent personalities. The arguments on disadvantages of co-education aimed to impose single sex education on the surface interpretation. In deeper interpretation, they created a hegemonic possession in which government and parents had the authority to control girls' behavior in the name of protection. Thus, it can be argued that policy discourse legitimized social oppression of women by defining femininity by weakness, powerlessness, and submissiveness. This finding is compatible with literature suggesting that the root of women's oppression lies in dominant ideological perceptions of gender identities emphasizing differences between two genders. As verified by the findings of the present study, government policies strengthen female oppression and male supremacy by attaching a weak and inferior identity to women (Haspolat, 2015). The perception that women have weak identities and need to be protected by men hinder women become independent individuals and to make decisions about their own life (Yıldırım ,2007). Subordinate position of women in the society is linked to biological differences which legitimize inferiority of female body according to male standards. In other words, society positions males in a more favorable position by emphasizing physical strength of men and weakness of women so female oppression is of a creation of culture (McNay, 1992; al-Hibri, 2001). In this context, participating teachers drew the attention to inferior position and oppression of girls in single sex schools, imam hatip schools in particular. In a

parallel way, Acar and Ayata's study (2002) revealed differential treatment of boys and girls in İmam Hatip schools. Teachers conceptualized male and female identities in the frame of biological differences between two genders and legitimized the patriarchal culture in imam hatip schools. A submissive and obedient female identity was reinforced in those schools and girls were taught religious rules, cultural values and traditions that orient them into the domestic sphere. Thus, it can be concluded that an inferior, submissive and powerless female identity was reinforced by both discursive framing of policies and educational practices shaping social identities and relationships.

Findings of the present study indicated that education has been used as a tool to construct a gender identity through discourses of policy documents as well as print media controlled by the government. To be more precise, an Islamist conservative female identity was reinforced through gender policy in education. Dress code policies and gender segregation in education limited girls' choices and freedom within the borders of patriarchal and conservative value system in the society. More specifically, imam hatip schools and headscarf imposition served to incline religious youth and to promote a conservative female identity. This finding is compatible with literature. Several studies indicated that as result of neo-liberal reforms and policy changes, gender problems in education gained new dimensions in recent years. The governing party's neo-liberal conservative approach to women's issues impacted educational policies to a great extent. Educational policies and policy discourses promoted orthodox understanding of women's status and limited women's choices and engagement in the public world. Religious world views and certain Islamist discourses pose for women reinforced restrictive gender roles and disadvantaged women in terms of their access to resources, economic opportunities and participation in democratic process (Annin, 2009; Arat, 2010; Coşar and Yeğenoğlu, 2011; Göle, 2003 ). According to Üşür (1992), recent Islamist conservative ideology promoted a new form of female identity with a specific focus on veiled and religious woman rather than females' roles as *wives and mothers*. In this ideology, female education was approved as long as it did not interfere with domestic responsibilities and roles of woman. Thus, it can be

argued there has been an emphasis on women's education in order to create a new generation of women with conservative Islamist values and morality.

All in all, the study validated the role of educational policy discourse in transmitting and reproducing the gender roles in the society. At this point reminding of Foucault's (1978) theory of discourse and power relations and Butler's (1993) theory of performativity would provide a better portrait. In the theory of performativity, people construct their gender identities by behaving in line with the cultural norms defining masculinity and femininity. In this framework, Foucault (1978) took the attention to the role of discourse in constructing gender identity. It was argued that people construct their gender identity by adapting their existence to gender discourses shaped by language and the cultural system within which it operates (Alsop et al., 2002). The present study showed that policy discourse regulated gender perceptions of individuals and imposed girls' their predetermined roles by promoting a female identity in line with patriarchal and conservative norms limiting female freedom and rights. It was also revealed that media coverage of this policy discourse reinforced the ways patriarchy and policy collides in Turkish context. Considering that media is one of the agents transmitting patriarchal norms and values, representation of females in the printed media unveiled the ideological roots of gender identity formation. This finding matched with previous research. Several studies indicated that media is one of the powerful tools of government which imposes patriarchal norms and certain gender identities. Namely, gender roles and stereotypes in the society are reproduced and legitimized through media channels in Turkey (Bal, 2014; Bordo, 1993; Çelik and Uysal, 2012; Güzel; 2014; Kaya, 2013).

## **5.2. Gender Equality**

The complete analysis of data revealed gendered aspect of educational policy making in its different dimensions. There were indicators of gender inequalities at each stage of policy making, from policy formulation to implementation. While official statements seemed to be in line with gender equality perspective, inconsistencies underlying most educational policies created a political reality

causing gender inequalities in Turkish context. To start with, educational policy texts defined females as a part of population deserving equal rights and education opportunities and underlined the ways educational policies and practices could challenge gender discrimination. In this sense, the role of education to improve social status of women and to challenge values and dynamics causing inferior status of women in the society was stressed. In a critical perspective, there were two dimensions of policy efforts and discursive framing of educational policies. Firstly, discourse data revealed that Turkey's progress in narrowing the gender gap in enrollment rates was insufficient to reach gender equality in education. Evidences on low quality of education in eastern and remote parts of the country and girls' low enrollment and high drop-out levels unveiled the failure of the latest reforms in education in meeting local needs and in ensuring gender equality in education. This finding matched with the previous research. Literature on girls' education emphasized that despite all policy changes and new initiatives in the last decade, gender inequalities are still prominent in the Eastern provinces, in rural areas and for poorer and larger households (Aydagül, 2013; Engin-Demir, 2012; Ferreira and Gignoux, 2010; Sarier, 2010). Secondly, gender parity arguments dominated the policy discourse so gender inequality as a social problem was oversimplified. In other words, policy discourse reflected gender inequality in education as a quantitative problem of lower female enrollment rates although it has long been acknowledged that gender equality is a wider concept requiring a quality education for all. This finding is parallel with Monkman and Hoffman's (2013) study showing that policy discourse framed girls' education within easily measurable indicators and neglected gender as a social process. Discursive framing of educational policies is the reflection of the efforts to increase female enrollment rates which is only one dimension of gender equality in education. Developing an education system with gender equality perspective requires a holistic approach that promotes female empowerment through education (Mokmann and Hoffman, 2013; SADEV, 2010).

The analysis unveiled the roots of gender inequalities in education and manifestations of gender discrimination in social realm. It was revealed that



gender inequalities in education were reinforced by socio-economic and socio-cultural factors. Social norms, traditional gender perception and poverty were the roots of gender inequalities in education particularly in eastern Turkey. Girls coming from lower socio-economic and socio-cultural background were the most disadvantaged group as they had greater risk of dropping out of school, especially at higher grades. Besides, gender discrimination in the society and cultural factors leading to inferior status of women were among the important factors causing gender inequalities in education. This complies with previous research. Research studies on girls education revealed that socio-economic and socio-cultural factors significantly influenced girls' education in terms of both enrollment and the quality of education provided to students (Alat and Alat, 2011; Ayhan and Bakır, 2002; Dilli,2006; Gönenç, ERG, 2104). As verified by the findings of this study, there are interconnections between educational inequalities and social injustices in Turkey (Aydagül, 2006; Ferreira and Gignoux, 2010; Smits and Hoşgör 2006; World Bank 2005). In this context, Shor (1992) argued that educational inequalities are rooted in the system at the macro level as the gap between different groups of people in the society brings complex challenges and disadvantages on the part of subordinate groups. Thus, it can be speculated as gender inequality in education is a part of a bigger social problem in Turkish which requires a more holistic and integrated approach analyzing complex relationships that exist between economic, political, socio-cultural and affective systems in society (Lynch and Baker, 2005).

The study revealed a number of related factors causing and reproducing gender inequalities in education. Namely, even if legislative discourse of MONE supported gender equality in education in general, gender biased educational policies and their implications in practice created gender inequalities. As the participating teachers indicated ensuring gender equality was a challenge in the Turkish education system because of ideological mechanisms reinforcing gender roles and traditional practices in educational settings. The system disadvantaged females through sexist discourse of the government officials as well as content and the delivery of the curriculum. This finding is compatible with literature. Many

researchers in the field of educational sociology indicated the role of schools in reproducing different aspects of inequalities in society; gender inequalities in particular (Andersen and Taylor, 2007; Feinberg and Soltis, 2004). Similarly, in socialist feminist perspective, schools are organized and run in ways that reproduce social classes and gender relations which are the roots of inequalities in the society (Barrett, 1980; Bowles and Gintis, 1976). According to Stromquist (1988), patriarchal system of the society is reinforced by discriminatory and oppressive practices in the education system and male dominant educational policies. As regards the issue, Bacchi (2004) asserted that even the policies targeted to foster gender equality could have unintended consequences as patriarchal power was reproduced through deeper cultural and institutional dynamics. Besides, the vital role of teachers in lessening and/or reinforcing gender inequalities in education was widely discussed by the participants. As verified by the findings of the present study, even if the nature of teaching learning is directly influenced by educational policies, the quality of teaching and level of teacher qualifications shape gender sensitive pedagogy (SADEV, 2010; Engin-Demir, 2012; Naidu, 2011). The role of teachers in the implementation of educational policies was underlined by other researchers. Heimans (2011) argued that teachers are not passive recipients of educational policies as the meaning of policy is established both in the production and in context of the policy enactment. Similarly, according to Naidu (2011) policy is constantly reproduced at different educational sites as teachers interpret policies in line with their personal, political and professional standpoints (Heimans, 2011; Naidu, 2011).

Teachers' gender perspectives influence their behaviors and classroom interaction which consequently shape children's gender perspectives (Delamont, 1990; Jungwirth, 1991). In this sense, differences in gender perspectives of the teachers were also prominent. There were different perspectives on gender equality among participating teachers in line with their political and ideological standpoints. Some of the teachers held a gender perspective in line with Islamic-conservative understanding proposing that men and women enjoy different privileges. They contextualized equality arguments in a mild discourse of a gender stereotyping and

naturalized traditional gender roles in the society. On the other hand, some of the teachers supported an equal treatment of both genders by pointing out the role of government policies in ensuring equal rights and opportunities for all. Previous research indicated that teachers can either challenge traditional gender perspectives or perpetuate stereotypes based on their gender perspectives. Thus, teachers have overwhelming influence on promoting gender equality in education (Colclough et al., 2003; Colclough, 2004; Erden, 2009; Mahlase, 1997). Based on the related literature and the findings of the present study, it can be concluded that increasing teachers' level of gender awareness is an issue of great importance for the effective implementation of gender equality policies.

For the feminist scholars, one of the biggest problems of public policies is the existence of gender biases in policy discourse. Negative consequences of gendered policymaking and the challenges in construction of gender equality in policy discourse systematically disadvantage women (Lombardo et al., 2012). The present study revealed gender biases embedded in policy texts at different levels of discourse analysis. As an instance, the reports promoting gender segregation in education included a sexist language creating gender discrimination discursively. More specifically, gender segregation in education was promoted by foregrounding the stereotypic differences between two genders. Besides, the documents presented single sex education as a pedagogical remedy for gender inequalities in education. However; it was contradictory to discuss the differences between two genders with a specific focus on physical weaknesses of females while supporting equality. This finding was parallel with previous research suggesting that arguments on the differences between two genders served to justify gender segregation and legitimizes female oppression consequently (Acar and Ayata, 2012; Güralp, 2015; Sayılan, 2012 ). Similarly, gender biased articles of dress code reinforced female oppression and legitimized men's control over female body in Turkish context. It can be argued that girls would be adversely affected by gender biased articles of dress code limiting female freedom and rights. This corresponds with previous study conducted by Harbach (2016). This study showed that girls were negatively affected by sex-differentiated dress codes

and they had a sense of injustice. Based on these findings, it can be concluded that MONE's dress code regulation limited female freedom and created inequalities as legislative discourse included differential freedom standards for boys and girls.

Headscarf issue was another important dimension of gender equality discussions. One of the prominent findings was the changes in the preferred discourses and in the meaning of female freedom in line with the ideologies embedded in documents. The documents promoting Islamic dress code legitimized allowing headscarf at schools through normative claims of female freedom and democracy. As regards the issue, Azak (2008) asserted that unless accompanied by having equal right and freedom with men, allowing headscarf cannot be regarded as form of female freedom. Besides, a survey conducted by Çarkoğlu and Toprak (2006) revealed that conservatives supporting the freedom of women who wear headscarf were the least sensitive people to the rights and freedom of other religious and ethnic groups. Thus, it could be argued that reflecting headscarf ban as a form of female discrimination was a preferential perception as the discourse excluded other aspects of female freedom and rights of women from different backgrounds. It was also noteworthy that democracy and normalization arguments unveiled political and ideological aspect of headscarf issue in Turkey. Taneri, Ulutaş and Akgündüz's study (2015) revealed that headscarf regulation was considered political by students and teachers even if policy makers reflected it as freedom and liberation. Regarding the issue, Aydemir (2008) asserted that headscarf dispute was a highly controversial issue between conservative Islamist groups and the secularists in Turkey rather than just a personal choice stemming from religious beliefs. According to Göle (1996), wearing headscarf at universities was not welcome after 1980's as it was considered as a religious and political symbol. Similarly, in Mabokela and Seggie's study (2006) a group of students considered headscarf ban necessary as wearing headscarf in educational settings was against the principle of secularism and as headscarf dispute was a highly politicized issue in Turkish context.

Some of the documents criticized headscarf regulation for limiting female freedom and for reinforcing patriarchal codes limiting women's behaviors and sexuality through legislative measures. From the teacher perspective, changes in the dress code on the basis of conservative norms created a form of gender biased freedom as dressing like a grown up deprived little girls of their childhood and violated child rights and freedom. Similarly, it was argued that as headscarf is a symbol of patriarchal values, inferiority of female in the society, it imposes male domination to little girls. Thus, it can be argued that dress code policies, allowing headscarf at schools in particular; reinforced gender discrimination in the society. Dominant discourse promoted conservative and Islamic understanding inviting females to veil once they reach the puberty and encouraged parental control over girls' dressing. It was also revealed that veiling was not girls' personal and free choice but an imposition on little girls by their parents. Thus, wearing headscarf was an absolute *obedience* from the *little girls* without any questioning. Regarding the issue, Barnard (2002) argued that clothing is an ideological part of the process to create social groups, and to regulate the relations of obedience in a smooth, proper and legitimate manner. Based on Barnard's arguments (2002) and the findings of the study it can be argued that wearing headscarf created a hegemonic possession in which government and parents had the authority to regulate girls' dressing and freedom.

### **5.3. Barriers to Girls' Education**

Discourse data of the present study revealed family related factors as significant barriers in front of girls' education. As verified by the findings of this study, education level of parents is an important factor influencing girls' enrollment rates positively. Regarding this issue, Tomul's study (2008) indicated that fathers' level of education was the most influential factor shaping girls' education. Some other researchers like Ranking and Aytac (2007) and Tansel (2002) indicated that education raises an awareness of female education and changes preconceived notions of gender roles. Thus, it may be argued that educated fathers become more supportive of girls' education modernizing influence of education. Besides,

mother's education was revealed as a significant determinant of girls' education. This finding is parallel with previous research suggesting that educated women were more likely send their daughters to school (Pal, 2004; UNGEI, 2013; World Bank, 2009). Positive impact of mother's education on girls' schooling indicated the importance of female education at familial level. Several studies indicated that female education is the greatest investments at individual, familial and social level. Educated women play a more active role in the society and they raise healthy and more educated generations (Dilli, 2010; Fuke, 2007; Subrahmanian, 2007; UNGEI, 2013; World Bank, 2009). Based on the results of the present study and related literature, it may be claimed that it is prominent to educate parents to promote female education and to challenge patriarchal perspectives limiting girls' education.

The role of socio-economic and socio-cultural factors shaping parental perception of girls' education was emphasized by referring to lower enrollment rates of girls in eastern provinces. This complies with previous research. Literature on barriers to girls' education suggested that as socio-economic structure of the society change across the country, gender inequalities in education become more striking in the eastern part of Turkey. In addition to cultural factors and patriarchal codes of living, economic structure of the region impacts the enrollment rates, especially for girls (Hoşgör and Smits, 2006; ERG, 2009; ERG, 2014). Family related factors shaping girls' education provided evidences on inferior status of women in Turkish society. As an instance, family income was revealed as a significant determinant of girls' education indicating the role of social injustices in creating inequalities of educational opportunity. However, it was noteworthy that while fathers decided girls to drop out of school, boys in the same family were not negatively influenced by the economic difficulties. Differential treatment of girls by families could be regarded as a trace of male privilege in the families and an evidence of gender discrimination in the society. This finding matches with several studies suggesting son preference in families which resulted in girls' lower enrollment rates compared to their male counterparts (Alat and Alat, 2010; Dilli, 2006; Sabharwal; 2013).

Arguments on barriers to girls' education revealed other remarkable points showing the negative impacts of patriarchy and conservative perspectives on female education. Lower enrollment rates of girls in eastern provinces highlighted that traditional social structure, religious beliefs and patriarchal values positioned girls in an inferior position and affected their education negatively. This finding is compatible with literature suggesting that cultural factors, patriarchy and religious beliefs were among the barriers in front of girls' education (Gönenç, Ayhan and Bakır, 2002; Engin-Demir, 2012; Rankin and Aytac, 2008). Moreover, implicit and explicit messages embedded in the discourses on barriers to girls' education shaped the public perception of educational policies in multiple ways. As Hernandez (2013) notes public perceptions are discursively constructed by legitimizing certain values and excluding certain truths in policy language. Present study revealed that as a part of socio-cultural barriers to girls' education; religious beliefs, notably headscarf restriction and resistance to co-education in patriarchal and conservative regions were repeatedly emphasized. On the one hand, those arguments served to create a perception that educational policies were developed in accordance with social needs. On the other hand, policy discourse legitimized conservative ideology positioning women in an inferior status in the name of removing the barriers in front of girls' education.

Headscarf issue was a widely discussed part of barriers to girls' education discourse. It was found that preferred discourse of headscarf issue changed according to ideologies embedded in documents. This finding of the study matches with several studies indicating the role of personal beliefs and ideological standpoints in shaping perceptions of headscarf issue (Aydemir, 2008; Göle, 1996; Mabokela and Seggie, 2008). While some of the documents foregrounded negative effects of wearing the Islamic headscarf at school, dominant discourse reflected headscarf restriction as a significant barrier in front of girls' education. More specifically, demands of conservative families were underlined by groups and nongovernmental organizations in conservative camp arguing that headscarf ban at schools was an undemocratic practice hindering girls' schooling. It can be argued that repeated emphasis on social requests, contentedness of parents and rights of

veiled women served to legitimize wearing headscarf at early ages. However, it was revealed that most of the teachers were against wearing headscarf at early ages while they respected adult women who veil on their own free will. This corresponds with previous research. Toruk's study (2011) revealed a high level consensus among participants on civil servants' and students' right for wearing headscarf at tertiary education level. However, there were opposing views on allowing elementary and middle school students to wear headscarf. In other studies conducted by Mutlu (1996) based on data from a 1991 survey, and Aydemir (2009) most of the participants agreed that university students should be allowed to wear headscarf. Thus, it could be inferred that the society respect the freedom of adults to wear headscarf while it was questioned to allow infants to wear headscarf at school. From the teachers' perspective, imposing headscarf on little girls affected their education negatively as it created gender discrimination and legitimized male dominance over females starting from early ages. This finding of the study corresponds with previous study conducted by Marshall (2005) suggesting that wearing headscarf is a reflection of women's sexual objectification and men's suppression on women. Based on this feminist perspective and the results of the present study, it can be concluded that allowing headscarf at basic education level disadvantaged girls in education system and reinforce gender discrimination through legislative measures.

Resistance to co-education was another dimension of barriers in front of girls' education. Literature on girls' education suggested that conservative families did not approve girls to be educated in the same environment with boys because of patriarchal beliefs regarding women's weakness and family honor (Engin-Demir, 2012; Smits and Gunduz-Hosgor, 2003; Kirdar, 2009). Even if the studies marked co-education one of the socio-cultural barriers in front of girls' education, the negative impact of co-education on girls' schooling ratio has not been investigated in Turkey. However, some of the documents highlighted negative impacts of single sex education on children's social development. It was argued that gender segregation in education adversely affected girls' education as it limited female freedom and created an inferior status for women in the society. As



regards the issue, Tan (2007) pointed out the importance of co-education for girls' social development arguing that schools are the most feasible and accessible social environments where two genders can socialize in public life. According to Halstead (1991), co-education provides a natural and enriching environment providing healthier relations between two genders and positive attitude towards the opposite sex. Apart from being socio-cultural barriers to girls' education, co-education dispute is an ideological issue in Turkish context. Some of the documents positioned in being critical of gender segregation in education by emphasizing political and ideological aspects of the single sex education. According to Sayılan (2012) Islamic conservative political atmosphere, which is one of the remarkable dynamics shaping the education policies and practices in the country, keeps the discussions regarding coeducation alive. Disadvantages of co-education were foregrounded by referring sexual abuse and illegal sexual connections in mixed gender education which is against the preaching of Islam and patriarchal norms of the Turkish society. From the teachers' perspective, repeated emphasis on disadvantages of co-education served to promote single sex education. Considering the ideological dimension of single sex education and headscarf issue in Turkish context, it could be speculated that recent education policies served to ensure a social change through legislative measures.

The present study revealed that school related factors such as infrastructure, school security, teacher quality, and quality of guidance and counseling services, sexist practices at schools had an impact on girls' education. This finding matches with previous research on barriers to girls' education (Alat and Alat, 2011; Engin-Demir, 2012; Dilli; 2006; Gönenç, Ayhan and Bakır, 2002). To start with, school security was reflected as a significant barrier in front of girls' education. It was found that families kept girls out of school when there are security problems while boys in the same family went on their education. This corresponds with previous study conducted by Pal (2004). Pal' study (2004) showed school security was a barrier in front of only girls' education. Preferences of the families revealed the traces of cultural values and norms limiting female freedom and participation in social life under the name of "protection". It can be argued that parents tended to

keep their daughters at home because of gender norms and patriarchal codes of living.

Limited number of female teachers in disadvantaged regions was another school-related factor affecting girls' education negatively. As regard the issue research studies suggested that presence of female teachers promoted girls' education especially in developing countries (UNESCO, 2003; Haugen et. al, 2014; UNGEI, 2011). UNESCO's (2003) report indicated that presence of female teachers is an important determinant as some conservative families did not approve their daughters to be taught by a male teacher. Other research studies revealed that families are more likely to send their daughters to school when there is a female teacher. Female teachers enhanced girls education as they provide positive role models for girls act as advocates for girls and promote girl-friendly learning environment at schools (Engin Demir, 2012; Colclough et al., 2003; Herz and Sperling,2004; Rihani, 2006). However, some of the documents analyzed in this study introduced lack of same gender teachers as an obstacle to carry out educational activities effectively. This argument indicated the tendency towards gender segregation in education. Based on the results of the present study and the related literature it can be argued that presence of female teachers is necessary especially in eastern Turkey to promote girls' education. Nevertheless, it should be noted that increasing the number of female teachers in conservative regions can result in negative consequences as it will reinforce gender segregation in social realm.

It was also indicated that structure of the curriculum, sexist practices and gender discrimination at schools created gender inequalities in education. Teachers provided examples of sexist practices at schools stemming from gender norms and dominant patriarchal culture. Another noteworthy point was related with the manifestations of sexist statements in the policy documents in practice. It was found that when the policy documents included gender biases, the implementation of the policy resulted in gender discrimination as verified by participating teachers' examples from practice. It is parallel with previous research suggesting

that school organization, standardized educational practices and informal instruction methods all disadvantage females in the education system. Tan (2007) indicated that the content of educational materials and practices transmits the gender stereotypes in society to students through explicit and hidden messages. Similarly, Marchbank and Letherby (2007) also argued that organization of school, official and hidden curricula, and gender and social relations in the classroom tailor students to fit into their traditional gender roles and created gender discrimination.

The study revealed different aspects of gender discrimination in single sex schools by highlighting male domination and perceived male superiority and hierarchal power relations between males and females in those schools. The cultural milieu in single sex schools, imam hatip schools in specific, based on religious norms and beliefs positioned girls in an inferior status and reinforced traditional gender roles. Although co-education was marked as one of the socio-cultural barriers to girls' education, some of the documents supported co-education by referring to different forms of gender inequalities in single sex schools. It was argued that gender segregation in education adversely affected girls' education as it limited female freedom and created an inferior status for women in the society. This corresponds with literature on school culture at single sex schools suggesting that organization of school, official and hidden curricula reinforced traditional gender roles and created discrimination in those institutions (Acar and Ayata, 2002; Sayılan 2012).

Open education system was widely criticized for limiting girls' education and for promoting religious education. It was argued that the new system made it possible to pull the children from school after the first four years and sent them to Quran courses. This finding matches with Alat and Alat's study (2011) showing that attending to Quran courses inhibited girls to attend school in rural areas in Turkey. From the human rights perspective, new legislation violated rights of children, particularly their rights of education considering that they were deprived of social benefits of education. Besides, some of the documents stressed possible increases in the number of child marriages, which often meant the end of education for girls,

and instances of child labor as allowing open education after the first four years would limit girls in domestic sphere and orient them to get married in early ages. In this respect, importance of continuous compulsory education in avoiding early marriage was pointed out. This complies with previous research. The reports on early marriages published by UNICEF (2001) and UNGEI (2014) indicated that girls were excluded from education once they get married, particularly in patriarchal societies encouraging gender roles and stereotypes. Research studies conducted in Turkey also indicated that early marriages were among the barriers in front of girls' education (Alat and Alat, 2012; Engin-Demir 2012; UNICEF, 2005). Conversely, some of the documents presented open education system as an opportunity for girls coming from conservative families and excluded information about negative impacts of the system on girls' education. Moreover, policy discourse concealed the problem of early marriages through the arguments on legislative framework of formal marriage and enrollment tracking system. It was also noteworthy that the document did not provide any information about informal union before age 18 which is a common tradition thanks to imam marriage in Turkey.

As a part of school related factors, 4+4+4 education system was widely discussed within the discourses of barriers to girls' education. Several studies revealed outstanding differences between schools in terms of physical and social facilities, qualifications of teachers and school culture which created inequalities of educational opportunity in Turkey (ERG, 2014; Sayılan, 2012; Tanman, 2008; World Bank, 2011). The present study indicated that the changes in the system made differences between the qualities of schools more apparent and strengthened educational inequalities consequently. In this context, it can be argued that 4+4+4 education system would reinforce gender inequalities in education as school related factors are influential particularly on girls' education (Engin-Demir and Çobanoğlu, 2012). When the information presented in the policy discourse is interpreted in the light of political situation and Islamic tendencies (Göle, 2003), ideological forces shaping educational policies in the country becomes more apparent. At this point, it is essential to keep in mind education policies and

reforms are basically shaped in the context of social changes and policy discourse transmit ideologies and values of the ruling class (Wang, 2013; Levinson, 2009). As regards the issue some critics (Gür, 2016; Gürsel, 2014) asserted that changes in the Turkish education system are closely related with the transformation in the country in the last twenty years. Political and ideological aspects of recent education policies in Turkey manifested itself in discursive framing of 4+4+4 education system. In some of the documents the new legislation was reflected as a part of government policies aiming at Islamizing the education system. On the other hand, some of the documents presented negative effects of continuous basic education system by referring to 28<sup>th</sup> February Coup Laws which were against any Islamist movement or any system that could foster it. The documents excluded the information on preparation process of continuous basic education system and condemned 28<sup>th</sup> February, “post-modern coup”, as the starting point of the previous education system. Contextualization of the legislation within political arguments rather than pedagogical ones was a circumstantial evidence that the new legislation was politically and religiously motivated. Based on the related literature and the findings of the present study, it can be concluded that education is an ideological battleground between the stakeholders with different world views in Turkey.

#### **5.4. Implications for Practice and Further Research**

##### **5.4.1. Implication for policy makers**

The present study presented a detailed investigation of preferred policy and media discourses pertaining to gender equality and/or inequalities in education. The findings unearthed explicit and implicit indicators of gender inequalities in education in a broad sense and reflections of social and political dynamics in the society on educational policies and practices. Due to its broader scope of the analysis, the present study has many policy implications. To be more precise, traditional gender roles, perceptions and attitudes defining women in familial sphere and reinforcing a conservative and submissive female identity were

legitimized through educational policies and newspaper coverage of policies. Therefore, any policy attempt to ensure gender equality in education should start with changing gender perceptions and attitudes defining the roles and social status of women. As policy brings possibilities of change both through production and enactment stages (Heimans, 2011), it is necessary to develop educational policies by mainstreaming gender equality perspective. Discursive structure of educational policy documents, as public faces of policies, influence the way female education is shaped and constrained. Therefore, policy document should identify gender inequality as a wider concept requiring a quality education for all rather than a quantitative problem of lower female enrollment rates. A significant step to reach gender equality in education is to eliminate traces of patriarchal and conservative ideology in policy discourse which define women in domestic sphere and disadvantage girls in the education system. In a similar way, strategies should be developed to remove gender-stereotyped expressions from policy documents, educational texts and curricula. Promoting gender equality in education by ensuring a democratic and a quality education for all should be a policy priority. Therefore, educational materials and curricula should emphasize the concepts of democracy, gender equality and female freedom. Within this framework, increasing the number of females at all levels of policy making and school administration will also promote female education by challenging gender stereotypical assumptions and by providing role models for girls. In this context, Dedeoğlu (2012) drew the attention to employment policies aiming at increasing women's labor market participation as it is a strong indicator of gender equality in the society. Patriarchal values and familial responsibilities limit girls' education and women's participation in the labor force. Thus, it is necessary to develop social policies for public child care facilities and parental leave schemes in order to ensure equal participation of two genders in the labor market.

The present study unveiled the roots of gender inequalities in education with various manifestations of gender discrimination in social realm so the betterments in female education necessitate long-term commitment and planned endeavor. Findings of the present study indicated the failure of the latest reforms in education

in meeting local needs and in ensuring gender equality in education considering the low quality of education and girls' lower enrollment in eastern parts of the country. Therefore, it is necessary to develop provincial and district level policies to remove socio-economic and socio-cultural barriers in front of girls' education and to increase the quality of education particularly in eastern Turkey. It was found that traditional practices, norms and perceptions in disadvantaged regions of the country negatively influence girls' education. As a part of gender equality policies, it is highly prominent to execute monitoring and public awareness programs addressing the issues of gender discrimination and gender-stereotypical attitudes towards girls' education. More specifically, it is important to raise the public awareness that child labor and early marriages would adversely affect girls' education and hinder intellectual development of children for better implementation of compulsory education laws. The presence of female teachers is also important to change parental attitudes towards girls' education especially in conservative regions.

As a remedy for socio-economic barriers in front of girls' education, government policies should be targeted to prevent poverty, migration and unemployment in the long term. The cost of education is a hindering factor for the families with financial difficulties. Therefore, government should provide school stationery, uniform and free lunch to the girls from low income families. Similarly, in order to increase female enrolment rates at higher levels of education, scholarship and free dormitory opportunities should be granted to the girls coming from rural areas. Security concerns of the families create negative attitudes towards girls' education. For the benefits of girls from rural areas, problems in mobile education system concerning transportation and accommodation should be removed. Besides, terrorism and security related problems cause teacher circulation in eastern and south-eastern provinces as well as making girls out of school. Therefore, it should also be noted that schools in those provinces will not be center of attraction for qualified teachers without ensuring the security of the region.

Education plays a vital role in strengthening democracy and empowering women in particular to acquire equal rights and overcome discrimination (UNGEI, 2009; UNGEI 2013a). In order to maintain an equal education for all, policies should be targeted to enhance girls' education and to empower women. This will not be possible without addressing politically and ideologically motivated policies limiting female freedom. As a starting point, gender biased educational policies and legislations which provide differential freedom standards for boys and girls and should be changed. Within this context, the elements in the new legislations such as regulations in dress code and headscarf restriction and single sex education should be examined through gender sensitive lenses as they limited female freedom and legitimized gender discrimination. Because of the deteriorations in girls' education, 4+4+4 education system should be reconsidered ensuring a continuous basic education for all. Democratic, high quality and egalitarian education system can only be maintained by integrating all the stakeholders in the decision making process. To this end, changes in the legislation and curricula should be made in a planned way with adequate preparation and piloting considering the opinions and needs of all the stakeholders. As a part of curriculum policies, curricula should be developed by considering local level needs and characteristics. It should also be noted that effective implementation of the curricula necessitates school-parent cooperation and teachers training on curricula.

#### **5.4.2. Implications for school practices**

Despite all the progresses in terms of increasing access and learning outcomes, improving the quality and equality stands to be challenging in Turkey (Aydagül, 2013). In this sense, promoting gender equality in education requires some important strategies in terms of improvements in the quality of education. The findings of the present study suggested that education institutions and school practices reproduced gender inequalities through structure of the curriculum, sexist practices and gender discrimination at schools. Some major educational actions are to be taken to change gender biased classroom practices and unequal learning environment at schools. Transformations in school practices to make schools



egalitarian institutions cannot be achieved without changing gender perceptions and beliefs of teachers as they are the crucial agents of change and implementer of the curricula. It is prominent to raise teachers' gender awareness for effective implementation of gender equality policies. To this end, teacher education programs and in-service courses should address gender issues in education so that teachers create a democratic and equal learning environment for all students.

Creating a safe and enriched educational environment for both genders necessitates betterments in the school facilities and social environment. As a starting point, policies should target at deficiencies in the school infrastructure, and the problems concerning lack of school safety and transportation. In order to make classrooms a better learning environment for boys and girls, it is prominent create a less threatening environment for students by considering gender dynamics among students. In this respect, equal participation of all the students should be encouraged by giving equal attention and feedback to both genders. Traditional gender roles in the society are also reinforced through hidden curricula at schools. More specifically, the messages embedded in coursebooks and educational materials and social relations created through classroom interactions tailor students into their gender roles and create gender discrimination at formal education institutions. For this reason, gender equality perspective should also hold in the selection of educational materials and arrangement of physical environment. Implementation of gender-neutral materials improves gender equality perspectives at schools so course book writers should be trained in order not to include sexist elements in their books. Similarly, teachers' commitment is necessary to apply necessary changes and adaptations in course books and educational materials to make them gender-neutral, if needed. Besides, gender segregation in career choices is reinforced when females are not oriented to male dominant subjects at schools. Encouraging girls to study science and technology and orienting them to vocational and technical training will increase their career aspirations and employment. Such an approach will clearly result in social and economic empowerment of women in the society in the long term.

Organization of teaching and learning activities and the pattern of interaction between students and the teacher reinforce gender inequalities in education. More specifically, male superiority and hierarchal relations between males and females at schools disadvantage girls and hinder their social development. To challenge hierarchal relation between two genders, school organization and social relation in the educational settings should be arranged in line with gender equality perspective. In this context, teachers should encourage mixed-gender activities and seating arrangements in their classes. Avoiding gender stereotypes while assigning the duties to the students is another important strategy to promote gender equality in education. Facilitating academic learning and improving basic life skills are equally important for empowering girls through education. Ensuring equal participation of boys and girls in social events, sports and extracurricular activities will also challenge male superiority at schools. In this way, girls will have a chance to improve their life skills and competencies and they will have higher self-esteem and confidence.

#### **5.4.3. Implications for Further Research**

The present study investigated discursive implications of gender equality/inequality in education embedded in language and information of educational policy documents and print media. Further research could be conducted to explore other dimensions of gender inequalities in education. To start with, findings were based on discursive data obtained from textual analysis of educational policy documents and educational news reports published in the last decade. In an attempt to study gender inequalities in education in a more detailed way, this study can be repeated by including other textual materials such as curricula, course books and teacher's guides. A detailed discursive analysis of these materials will make the findings more consistent as they shape classroom practices and influence gender perceptions of the stakeholders

The present study examined teachers' views on recent education policies informing gender inequalities in education. In order to provide a better picture of the gender issues in education, further research could investigate perspectives of

policy makers, administrators and parents. Insights and opinions of other stakeholders will deepen the discussions on gendered aspect of policy making at its different levels. Findings could also be validated by including perspectives and insights of girls who were disadvantaged in the education system. An analysis of girls' opinions and their experiences in real school settings will help the researchers to interpret the data obtained from this study in a more realistic way. During the teacher interviews, teachers presented their experiences and opinions regarding classroom practices shaping gender inequalities in education. Even if they enriched interpretations of data discursive data, related findings were limited to self-reported data obtained from the participating teachers. It would be beneficial to gather more comprehensive data by interviewing higher number of teachers and students. In addition, to make a judgment about the role of school practices, classroom dynamics and interaction in creating gender inequalities, further research can be conducted by carrying out classroom observations and video recordings.

The present study provided insights on social foundations of education by indicating the relationship between social and political dynamics in the country and recent changes in the education system. More specifically, the complete analysis of data revealed the role education policies in reproducing gender inequalities and creating a new social reality on the roles of women in Turkish society. Further research could focus on the long term impact of recent policy changes on shaping gender norms in the society. In this context, a comparative study examining gender perceptions of students graduated from single sex and mixed gender educational institutions will reveal the role of education in transmitting traditional gender roles and creating particular gender identities

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## APPENDICES

### APPENDIX A

#### LIST OF POLICY DOCUMENTS

1. AÇEV & ERG (2013) Erken Çocukluk Eğitimi Ve “4+4+4” Düzenlemesi
2. AÇEV (2012) “222 Sayılı İlköğretim ve Eğitim Kanunu ile Bazı Kanunlarda Değişiklik Yapılmasına Dair Kanun Teklifi” ile ilgili Görüş ve Öneriler
3. AÇEV, ERG, KA-DER (2005) Bin Yıl Hedefleri Ve Toplumsal Cinsiyet Eşitliği 1.Ulusal Konferans
4. AÇEV, ERG, KA-DER (2006) Türkiye’de İlköğretim Okullarında Okulu Terk ve İzlenmesi ile Önlenmesine Yönelik Politikalar
5. AÇEV, ERG, KA-DER (2008a) Kız Çocuklarının İlköğretime Erişiminde Dünyadan Örnekler
6. AÇEV, ERG, KA-DER (2008b) Kız Çocuklarının İlköğretime Erişiminde Türkiye’den Örnekler7
7. AED Center for Gender Equity (2006) Keeping the Promise: Five Benefits of Girls’ Secondary Education
8. Ankara Üniversitesi Eğitim Bilimleri Fakültesi (2012) 222 sayılı İlköğretim ve Eğitim Kanunu ile Bazı Kanunlarda Değişiklik Yapılmasına Dair Kanun Teklifi’ne İlişkin Görüş
9. Başbakanlık Kadının Statüsü Genel Müdürlüğü (2008a) Politika Dokümanı Kadın Ve Eğitim
10. Başbakanlık Kadının Statüsü Genel Müdürlüğü (2008b) Toplumsal Cinsiyet Eşitliği Ulusal Eğitim Planı, 2008-2013.
11. Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Eğitim Fakültesi (2012) 222 sayılı İlköğretim ve Eğitim Kanunu ile Bazı Kanunlarda Değişiklik Yapılmasına Dair Kanun Teklifi Hakkında Güncellenen Görüş

12. Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Eğitim Politikaları Uygulama ve Araştırma Merkezi (BEPAM) (2015) 19. Milli Eğitim Şurası Tavsiye Kararlarına İlişkin Politika Notu
13. Center for Global Development (2007) Inexcusable Absence: Why 60 Million Girls Still Aren't In School and What to do About It?
14. Center for Global Development (2006) Overview: Who are the out-of-school girls—and what can be done to get them in school?
15. Eğitim-Bir-Sen (2010) Gelecek İçin Eğitim Raporu
16. Eğitim-Bir-Sen (2012a) Eğitim Bir-Sen'den Yeni Açılacak İmam Hatip Ortaokulları Açıklaması
17. Eğitim-Bir-Sen (2012b) Eğitime Bakış Dergisi, Sayı 22, Karma Eğitim Sayısı
18. Eğitim-Bir-Sen (2012c) Karma Eğitimin Eleştirisi
19. Eğitim-Bir-Sen (2012d) Soru ve Cevaplarla 4+4+4 Yeni Eğitim Sistemi
20. Eğitim-Bir-Sen (2013a) 4+4+4 Eğitim Reformunu İzleme Raporu
21. Eğitim-Bir-Sen (2013b) Birinci Yılıını Dolduran 4+4+4 Eğitim Sistemine İlişkin En Kapsamlı İzleme ve Değerlendirme Çalışması
22. Eğitim-Bir-Sen (2013c) Darbe Ürünü Yönetmeliği Protesto Ederek İşyerlerine Serbest Kıyafetle Gittik
23. Eğitim-Bir-Sen (2014) 19. Milli Eğitim Şûrası Gündem Maddelerine İlişkin Görüş ve Öneriler
24. Eğitim-Bir-Sen (2015) Karma Eğitimin Rejim Meselesi Olarak Algılanmasından Vazgeçilmelidir
25. Eğitim-İş (2015) Eğitim sistemi çöktü; 4+4+4 bir yıkım yarattı
26. Eğitim-İş (2012) 2012 - 2013 Eğitim- Öğretim Yılı 4+4+4 Zorunlu Eğitim Yasasıyla Başlıyor
27. Eğitim-İş (2013) 2012-2013 Eğitim-Öğretim Yılı Cumhuriyetle Hesaplaşma Yılı
28. Eğitim-Sen (2012a) 12 Yıllık Kesintili Eğitim Pedagojik Değil, İdeolojik Amaçlarla Gündeme Getirilmiştir!
29. Eğitim-Sen (2012b) Artvin Eğitim-Sen'den 4+4+4'e Sert Tepki
30. Eğitim-Sen (2012c) Eğitim Sen Genel Başkanı Ünsal Yıldız'ın "MEB'in 4+4+4 Genelgesi Eleştirilerimizi Haklı Çıkardı!" başlıklı açıklama metni

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32. Eğitim-Sen (2012e) Haydi kızlar, herkes evine!
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34. Eğitim-Sen (2012g) Kılık Kıyafet Yönetmeliği Basın Açıklaması
35. Eğitim-Sen (2013) 5. Demokratik Eğitim Kurultayı – “Özgürleşme Yolunda Eğitim”.
36. Eğitim-Sen (2014a) Eğitim Sen: Kız Çocukları Eğitim Sisteminin neresinde
37. Eğitim-Sen (2014b) Eğitimde Cinsiyetçilik Raporu
38. Eğitim-Sen (2014c) Karma Eğitimde Çarpıtmalar ve Gerçekler Broşürü
39. Eğitim-Sen (2015a) 19. Milli Eğitim Şurasında Neler Oldu?
40. Eğitim-Sen (2015b) Eğitim Sen Laik Eğitim Raporu
41. Eğitim-Sen (2015c) Eğitimde Toplumsal Cinsiyet Temelli Şiddet Araştırması Sonuçları
42. Eğitim-Sen (2015d) Eğitimde Yaşanan Dönüşümün Boyutları
43. Eğitim-Sen (2015e) Eğitimin Dinselleştirilmesi ve Şura Kararları
44. Eğitim-Sen (2016) 2015-2016 Eğitim-Öğretim İstatistikleri: Eğitimde Ticarileşme Ve Dinselleşmenin Temel Göstergeleri
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48. ERG (2009c) Türkiye’de Eğitime Erişimin Belirleyicileri
49. ERG (2009d) Türkiye’de Öğrenci Başarısında Eşitsizliğin Belirleyicileri
50. ERG (2010) 18. Milli Eğitim Şurası Özet Değerlendirme
51. ERG (2011) Türkiye’de Din ve Eğitim: Son Dönemdeki Gelişmeler ve Değişim Süreci
52. ERG (2012a) 18 Soruda “4+4+4 Yasa Teklifi
53. ERG (2012b) 4+4<8 “İlköğretim Ve Eğitim Kanunu İle Bazı Kanunlarda Değişiklik Yapılmasına Dair Kanun Teklifi”Ne İlişkin İnsan Hakları İlkeleri Ve Bilimsel Bulgular Işığında Bir Değerlendirme”
54. ERG (2012c) Bilgi Notu: Kesintisiz TEMEL Eğitim Nedir?

55. ERG (2012d) Seçmeli değil “isteğe bağlı” din eğitimi!
56. ERG (2013) Eğitim İzleme Raporu 2012
57. ERG (2014a) 19. Milli Eğitim Şurasına İlişkin Değerlendirme
58. ERG (2014b) Eğitim İzleme Raporu 2013
59. ERG (2014c) Eğitim İzleme Raporu 2013 Basın Dosyası
60. ERG (2014d) Temel Eğitimin Kademelendirilmesi Sürecine İlişkin
61. ERG (2014e) Türkiye Eğitim Sisteminde Eşitlik Ve Akademik Başarı Araştırma Raporu Ve Analiz
62. ERG(2012f) 4+4+4’e Geçiş, Eylül 2012 Bilgi ve Politika Notları
63. ERG (2015a) Eğitim İzleme Raporu 2014-15
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69. İstanbul Gönüllü Eğitimciler Derneği (İGEDER) (2011) İGEDER Eğitim Raporları 1 - 18. Milli Eğitim Şurası’na Hazırlık Çalışmaları Sonuç Raporu
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72. Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı (2014) 19. Millî Eğitim Şûrası Kararları
73. Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı (2012a) Kızların Okullulaşmasının Önündeki Engeller Ve Çözüm Önerileri Alan Araştırması Raporu

74. Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı (2012b) 12 Yıl Zorunlu Eğitim Sorular – Cevaplar
75. Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı (2010) 18. Millî Eğitim Şûrası Kararları
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77. Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Özel Kalem Müdürlüğü (2012) 12 Yıllık Zorunlu Eğitime Yönelik Uygulamalar
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79. Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Özel Kalem Müdürlüğü (2013) Öğrenci Kılık Kıyafetleri Genelgesi
80. Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Ortaöğretim Genel Müdürlüğü (2008) Yaz Dönemi Öğrenci Kılık Kıyafetleri Genelgesi
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87. Resmi Gazete (2015) Millî Eğitim Bakanlığı Ortaöğretim Kurumları Yönetmeliği
88. Resmi Gazete (2014a) Milli Eğitim Temel Kanunu
89. Resmi Gazete (2014b) Millî Eğitim Bakanlığı Okul Öncesi Eğitim Ve İlköğretim Kurumları Yönetmeliği
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91. Resmi Gazete (2012a) İlköğretim Ve Eğitim Kanunu İle Bazı Kanunlarda Değişiklik Yapılmasına Dair Kanun Teklifi

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99. Türk Eğitim Sen (2012a) 4+4+4 Şeklinde Uygulanması Planlanan 12 Yıllık Zorunlu Eğitim İle İlgili Değerlendirme Raporu
100. Türk Eğitim Sen (2012b) Aralık Ayı Aylık Haber Bülteni (İsmail Koncuk Açıklama: Başörtüsü İstismar Alanı Olmaktan Çıkarılmalıdır)
101. Türk Eğitim Sen (2010) 18. Millî Eğitim Şûrası Çalışma Raporu
102. Türkiye Akademisyenler Platformu (TAP) & Uluslararası Eğitim Gönüllüleri Derneği (2013a) Eğitim Sistemi Raporu – Eğitim Sisteminin Kabiliyet ve Beceri Odaklı Olarak Yeniden Düzenlenmesi
103. Türkiye Akademisyenler Platformu (TAP) (2013b) Karma Eğitimde Problemler ve Çözüm Yolları Sonuç Bildirgesi
104. Uluslararası Eğitim Gönüllüleri Derneği (ULEGDER) (2013) Eğitim Sisteminin Nitelikli Bir Yapıya Kavuşturulması
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- 122.**World Bank (2011) Improving The Quality And Equity Of Basic Education In Turkey Challenges And Options
- 123.**World Bank (2009) The World Bank 2009 Annual Report
- 124.**World Bank (2008) Girls’ Education in the 21st Century: Gender Equality, Empowerment, and Economic Growth



## **APPENDIX B**

### **LIST OF NEWSPAPERS**

- 1- Hurriyet**
- 2- Milliyet**
- 3- Radikal**
- 4- Cumhuriyet**
- 5- Yurt**
- 6- Taraf**
- 7- Akit**
- 8- Birgün**
- 9- Sözcü**
- 10- Yeni Şafak**
- 11- Star**
- 12- Zaman**
- 13- Bugün**
- 14- Sabah**

## APPENDIX C

### ARAŞTIRMAYA GÖNÜLLÜ KATILIM FORMU

Bu araştırma, ODTÜ Eğitim Bilimleri Bölümü Doktora Öğrencisi Pınar Mercan Küçükakın tarafından Prof. Dr. Cennet Engin Demir danışmanlığındaki doktora tezi kapsamında yürütülmektedir. Bu form sizi araştırma koşulları hakkında bilgilendirmek için hazırlanmıştır.

#### **Çalışmanın Amacı Nedir?**

Araştırmanın amacı, Milli Eğitim Bakanlığının Eğitimde Cinsiyete Dayalı Fırsat Eşitliğine yönelik son on yılda geliştirdiği eğitim politikalarını eleştirel söylem analizi yöntemiyle incelemek, bu politikaların yazılı medyaya nasıl yansıdığını değerlendirmektir. Benzer şekilde, son on yılda geliştirilen eğitim politikalarının ve bu politikalara ilişkin yazılı medyaya yansıyan haberlerin öğretmenler tarafından nasıl yorumlandığını ve bu haberlerin öğretmenlerde nasıl bir algı oluşturduğunu ortaya çıkarmak hedeflenmektedir.

#### **Bize Nasıl Yardımcı Olmanızı İsteyeceğiz?**

Araştırmaya katılmayı kabul ederseniz, size Milli Eğitim Bakanlığının son on yıldaki eğitim politikalarına ve son on yılda değişik gazetelerde yayınlanmış eğitim haberlerine yönelik sorular yönelteceğim. Yaklaşık olarak bir saat sürmesi beklenen bu görüşmede sizlere değişik gazetelerden alınmış haber örnekleri verilecek ve bu haberleri yorumlamanız istenecektir. Daha sonra eleştirel söylem analizi ile değerlendirilmek üzere yapılacak görüşmenin ses kaydı alınacaktır.

#### **Sizden Topladığımız Bilgileri Nasıl Kullanacağız?**

Araştırmaya katılımınız tamamen gönüllülük temelinde olmalıdır. Çalışmada sizden kimlik veya kurum belirleyici hiçbir bilgi istenmemektedir. Cevaplarınız tamamıyla gizli tutulacak ve sadece araştırmacılar tarafından değerlendirilecektir. Katılımcılardan elde edilecek bilgiler toplu halde değerlendirilecek ve bilimsel yayımlarda kullanılacaktır.

#### **Katılımınızla ilgili bilmeniz gerekenler:**

Görüşme, genel olarak kişisel rahatsızlık verecek sorular veya uygulamalar içermemektedir. Ancak, katılım sırasında sorulardan ya da herhangi başka bir nedenden ötürü kendinizi rahatsız hissederseniz çalışmayı yarıda bırakıp çıkmakta

serbestsiniz. Böyle bir durumda görüşmeyi uygulayan kişiye çalışmadan çıkmak istediğinizi söylemek yeterli olacaktır.

**Araştırmayla ilgili daha fazla bilgi almak isterseniz:**

Görüşme sonunda, bu çalışmayla ilgili sorularınız cevaplanacaktır. Bu çalışmaya katıldığınız için şimdiden teşekkür ederiz. Çalışma hakkında daha fazla bilgi almak için Eğitim Bilimleri Bölümü öğretim üyelerinden Prof. Dr. Cennet Engin Demir (E-posta: [cennet@metu.edu.tr](mailto:cennet@metu.edu.tr)) ya da doktora öğrencisi Pınar Mercan Küçükakın (E-posta: [mercan.pinar@metu.edu.tr](mailto:mercan.pinar@metu.edu.tr)) ile iletişim kurabilirsiniz.

***Yukarıdaki bilgileri okudum ve bu çalışmaya tamamen gönüllü olarak katılıyorum.***

(Formu doldurup imzaladıktan sonra uygulayıcıya geri veriniz).

İsim Soyad

Tarih

İmza

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## APPENDIX D

### Öğretmen Görüşme Formu

Değerli Meslektaşım:

Ben Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesinde Eğitim Programları ve Öğretim alanında doktora öğrencisiyim. Doktora tezim kapsamında son on yılda Milli Eğitim Bakanlığının Eğitimde Cinsiyete Dayalı Fırsat Eşitliğine yönelik eğitim politikalarını incelemeyi ve bu politikaların yazılı medyaya nasıl yansıdığını değerlendirmeyi amaçlıyorum. Benzer şekilde, son on yılda geliştirilen eğitim politikalarının ve bu politikalara ilişkin yazılı medyaya yansıyan haberlerin öğretmenler tarafından nasıl yorumlandığını ortaya çıkarmayı hedefliyorum. Milli Eğitim Bakanlığına bağlı okullarda görev yapan bir öğretmen olarak bu konudaki görüşleriniz konunun daha net bir şekilde anlaşılması ve çözüm önerileri getirilmesi açısından önemli olduğunu düşünüyorum. Bu çerçevede size Milli Eğitim Bakanlığının son on yıldaki eğitim politikalarına ve son on yılda değişik gazetelerde yayınlanmış eğitim haberlerine yönelik sorular yönelteceğim. İzin verirseniz görüşmeyi ses kayıt cihazı ile kaydetmek istiyorum. Görüşme kayıtları sadece araştırma amacıyla kullanılacaktır. Kişisel bilgileriniz ve konuyla ilgili görüşleriniz gizli tutulacaktır. Katılımınız için teşekkür ederim.

Pınar Mercan Küçükakın

ODTÜ, Eğitim Bilimleri Bölümü

Doktora Öğrencisi

#### **Bölüm I Kişisel Bilgiler:**

İl/ İlçe adı: \_\_\_\_\_

Okul türü: \_\_\_\_\_

Hizmet yılı: \_\_\_\_\_

Eğitim durumu: \_\_\_\_\_

Son on yılda görev yapılan eğitim kurumları: \_\_\_\_\_

Branş: \_\_\_\_\_

Ne sıklıkla gazete okursunuz? \_\_\_\_\_

En çok ne tür haberler okursunuz? \_\_\_\_\_

Sürekli takip ettiğiniz bir gazete var mı? \_\_\_\_\_

### **Bölüm II Milli Eğitim Bakanlığının Eğitim Politikalarına Yönelik Görüşler:**

1. “Toplumsal cinsiyet” kavramını nasıl tanımlıyorsunuz?
2. “Toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliği” nedir? Kısaca açıkla mısınız?
3. Sizce Milli Eğitim Bakanlığına bağlı eğitim kurumlarında kız ve erkek çocuklarına eşit şartlarda eğitim alma fırsatı sunuluyor mu? Bu konuya ilişkin kişisel deneyimlerinizden, eğitim uygulamalarından örnekler verir misiniz?
4. Son on yılda eğitim alanında yapılan değişiklik, yenilik ve reformlar hakkında görüşleriniz nelerdir? Eğitim alanındaki bu değişiklik ve gelişmeleri eğitimde cinsiyete dayalı fırsat eşitliği açısından nasıl değerlendiriyorsunuz?
5. Milli Eğitim Bakanlığının son on yıldaki kız çocuklarının eğitimine yönelik politikalarını nasıl buluyorsunuz? Kızların eğitimine yönelik Haydi Kızlar Okula, Özellikle Kız Çocuklarının Okula Devam Oranlarının artırılması gibi birçok proje yürütmüştür. Bu projelerin eğitimde cinsiyete dayalı fırsat eşitliği sağlanmasına katkısı nedir?
6. Aşağıda farklı gazetelerde değişik tarihlerde kız çocuklarının eğitimine ilişkin yayınlanmış haberlerden örnekler verilmiştir. Bu haberleri siz nasıl yorumluyorsunuz? Siz bu haberlerden ne anlıyorsunuz?/ Sizce bu haberler topluma bu konu ile ilgili nasıl bir mesaj veriyor olabilir? Bu gazetelerin konuyu yansıtmada biçiminde farklılık gözlüyor musunuz? Ne tür farklılıklar gözlüyorsunuz?

7. Bu deęişiklik ve reformları ayrı ayrı ele alacak olursak, zorunlu eęitimin 12 yıla ıkarılması (4+4+4 eęitim sistemi) kız ocuklarının eęitimini (okullařma oranları, okulun terk ve devamsızlıklar vb. aısından) hangi ynde etkilemiřtir?
8. Ařaęıda farklı gazetelerde deęişik tarihlerde zorunlu eęitimin 12 yıla ıkarılmasına iliřkin yayınlanmış haberlerden rnekler verilmiřtir. Bu haberleri siz nasıl yorumluyorsunuz? Siz bu haberlerden ne anlıyorsunuz?/ Sizce bu haberler topluma bu konu ile ilgili nasıl bir mesaj veriyor olabilir? Bu gazetelerin konuyu yansıtmadaki biçiminde farklılık gözlüyor musunuz? Ne tür farklılıklar gözlüyorsunuz?
9. Milli Eęitim Bakanlığı özel eęitim kurumları yönetmelięinin 5. Maddesine göre özel ęretim kurumlarında karma eęitim yapılır. Ancak ęretim programında zorunluluk bulunması hâlinde yalnızca kız veya erkek ęrenciler için aılacak özel ęretim kurumlarına, kurum ama izni verilebilir. Aynı řekilde 6 řubat 2010 tarihinde resmi gazetede yayınlanan Milli Eęitim Bakanlığı özel kurslar yönetmelięinin 32. Maddesine göre kurslarda karma eęitim yapılır fakat ęretim programının zellięi gereęi, yalnızca kız veya erkek ęrenciler için kurs aılabilir. Bu yönetmelikleri eęitimde cinsiyete dayalı fırsat eřitlięi aısından nasıl deęerlendiriyorsunuz?
10. Ařaęıda farklı gazetelerde deęişik tarihlerde karma eęitim ile ilgili yayınlanmış haberlerden rnekler verilmiřtir. Bu haberleri siz nasıl yorumluyorsunuz? Siz bu haberlerden ne anlıyorsunuz?/ Sizce bu haberler topluma bu konu ile ilgili nasıl bir mesaj veriyor olabilir? Bu gazetelerin konuyu yansıtmadaki biçiminde farklılık gözlüyor musunuz? Ne tür farklılıklar gözlüyorsunuz?
11. Zorunlu eęitimin 12 yıla ıkarılması ve 4+4+4 eęitim sistemine geilmesiyle birlikte İmam Hatip Ortaokulları aılmıştır. Sizce bu geleiřme kız ocuklarının eęitimini nasıl etkilemiřtir? Neden?
12. Ařaęıda farklı gazetelerde deęişik tarihlerde imam hatip ortaokullarına iliřkin yayınlanmış haberlerden rnekler verilmiřtir. Bu haberleri siz nasıl yorumluyorsunuz? Siz bu haberlerden ne anlıyorsunuz?/ Sizce bu haberler topluma bu konu ile ilgili nasıl bir mesaj veriyor olabilir? Bu gazetelerin konuyu yansıtmadaki biçiminde farklılık gözlüyor musunuz? Ne tür farklılıklar gözlüyorsunuz?

**13.** Milli Eğitim bakanlığına bağlı okul öğrencilerinin kılık ve kıyafet yönetmeliğinde 2012 yılında değişiklik yapılmıştır. Kız öğrencilerin ilkokullarda, ortaokullarda ve lise ve dengi okullarda okul içinde başı açık bulunmalarını gerektiren 22/7/1981 tarihli Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı ile Diğer Bakanlıklara Bağlı Okullardaki Görevlilerle Öğrencilerin Kılık Kıyafetlerine İlişkin Yönetmelik yürürlükten kaldırılmıştır. Yeni kılık kıyafet yönetmeliğinin 5. Maddesine göre okul öncesi eğitim kurumlarında ve ilkokullarda okul içinde baş açık bulunur. Orta okullarda başörtüsünün serbet olması anlamına gelen bu değişikliği eğitimde cinsiyete dayalı eşitlik ilkesi açısından nasıl değerlendiriyorsunuz?

**14.** Aşağıda farklı gazetelerde değişik tarihlerde kılık kıyafet yönetmeliğindeki değişikliğe ilişkin yayınlanmış haberlerden örnekler verilmiştir. Bu haberleri siz nasıl yorumluyorsunuz? Siz bu haberlerden ne anlıyorsunuz?/ Sizce bu haberler topluma bu konu ile ilgili nasıl bir mesaj veriyor olabilir? Bu gazetelerin konuyu yansıtmada biçiminde farklılık gözlüyor musunuz? Ne tür farklılıklar gözlüyorsunuz?

Bu konuyla ilgili söylemek istediğiniz başka bir şey var mı? Varsa nelerdir?

## APPENDIX E

### Öğretmen Görüşme Formu Ekleri

#### Ek-1 Soru-4

#### 19 Mayıs 2005 (Gazete A)

Milli Eğitim Bakanı Hüseyin Çelik, Türkiye'nin 2015 yılından çok önce kız çocuklarının temel eğitim sorununu çözeceğini belirterek, kat edilen mesafenin bunun göstergesi olduğunu söyledi.

Bakan Çelik, kız çocuklarının okula gönderilmeme nedenlerine de değinerek, en önemli nedenin ekonomik olduğunu, 7-8 çocuğu olan bir ailenin bu çocukları okutmasının büyük bir maddi yük oluşturduğunu söyledi.

"İlköğretimde, dini taassuptan dolayı kız çocukları okula gönderilmemezlik edilmiyor" diyen Çelik, "küçük yaşta kız çocuklarının evlendirilmesi geleneği" nedeniyle okutulmadıklarını, aileleri ikna ederek bundan vazgeçirmeye çalıştıklarını anlattı. Çelik, "İnsanların cehalet gibi mazereti varsa, biz onların aklına, gönlüne hitap etmek zorundayız" dedi.

Hüseyin Çelik, kızların okutulmamasının bir nedeninin de ailelerin erkek çocuklarını ileride kendileri için güvence olarak görmelerinden kaynaklandığını, "kız, nasıl olsa evlenip gidecek" gözüyle bakıldığını, bu nedenle okula gönderirken de erkek çocukların tercih edildiğini ifade etti.

"Eğitime Yüzde Yüz Destek" ve "Haydi Kızlar Okula" kampanyalarında büyük ilerlemeler sağlandığını vurgulayan Çelik, "Türkiye büyük vitesle tam yol yoluna devam ediyor" dedi.

Türk Hükümeti'nin 2 yıl önce başlattığı "Haydi Kızlar Okula" kampanyasıyla bu konu üzerinde titiz bir çalışma gerçekleştirdiğini ifade eden Calivis, "Türkiye bulunduğu bölgede çok kısa sürede inanılmayacak kadar büyük bir başarı elde etmiştir. 2 yılda 113 binden fazla kız öğrencinin okullaşması sağlanmıştır" dedi. Kız çocuklarının okullaşması için harcanan her çabanın büyük önem taşıdığını da vurgulayan Calivis, "kız çocuklarının eğitiminin en iyi getiri sağlayan yatırım" olduğunu kaydetti.



Calivis, Türkiye'de kız çocuklarının okullaşması için yürütülen kampanyanın sürdürülebilir olmasının da büyük önem taşıdığını bildirdi.

### **23 Mart 2015 (Gazete A)**

Türkiye, okul bırakmada açık ara Avrupa şampiyonu

Kız öğrencilere göre daha avantajlı olsalar da erkek öğrencilerde de mevcut durum korkutucu. Erkek öğrenciler de yüzde 35 olan terk oranıyla Türkiye açık ara Avrupa birincisi olarak öne çıkıyor. Eğitimi erken terk etme oranında Türkiye'nin ardından ikinci olan İspanya'da bile kız çocukların eğitimi erken terk oranı, Türkiye'nin oranına kıyasla 20 puan daha düşük. AB-28 ortalaması ise yüzde 10.2 ile Türkiye'nin dörtte biri düzeyinde. Kız öğrencilerin eğitimi erken terk oranı yüzde 2.6 ile en düşük Slovenya'da kaydedildi.

### **21.08.2013 (Gazete C)**

CHP'den eğitime 'özgür kız' baskısı

Tek parti döneminde toplumsal ahlakın ortadan kaldırılması için yoğun çaba harcayan, dini kişi, kurumları hedef alan CHP, şimdi de ailelerin kız çocuklarına sahip çıkmasına karşı çıkıyor. Kız çocuklarının aileleri tarafından takip edilmesinin ülke geleceği açısından büyük yıkımlar meydana getireceğini öne süren CHP'li Bihlun Tamaylıgil, kız ve erkek öğrencilerin ayrı ayrı okullarda okutulmasına da itiraz etti.

### **KIZLAR TOPLUMSAL BASKI ALTINDAYMIŞ**

Kız çocuklarının toplumsal baskı altında bulunduğunu savunan Tamaylıgil, mesajın kız çocuklarına daha fazla psikolojik şiddet öngördüğünü ileri sürdü. Uzman psikologlar ve rehberler eşliğinde hazırlanan mesajın çağdaş eğitim sistemi ve bilimle alakası olmadığını öne süren Tamaylıgil, mesajla erkek egemen ve baskıcı zihniyetin velilere empoze edildiğini öne sürdü.

### **23 Mart 2015 (Gazete J)**

Sistem kızları eve kapattı

Avrupa Komisyonu raporuna göre, Türkiye eğitimi erken terk etmede açık ara Avrupa birincisi. Türkiye'de her 100 kız öğrenciden 40'ı lise aşamasına geçmeden eğitim sürecini terk ediyor.

**2 sene önce | (Gazete K)**

### **MEB'den skandal cinsiyet ayrımcılığı**

Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı'ndan ailelere uyarı mesajı: "Kız çocuklarınızı kontrol altına alın, erkeği rahat bırakın."

Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı bugün öğrenci velilerine attığı mesajla kız çocuklarının kontrol altına alınmasının ve izlenmesinin uzun vadede problemlerli davranışları çözeceğini belirtirken, erkek çocuklarda ise soruna yol açtığını bildirdi.

**“KIZ ÇOCUKLARI KONTROL ALTINA ALIN”**

MEB Mobil Bilgi Servisi olan ve velilere e-okul sisteminde üretilen devamsızlık, sınav tarihi, not sistemi gibi bilgilerin yanısıra ‘yararlı bilgilerin’ de paylaşıldığı 8383 numarasından bugün ailelere ilginç bir mesaj gönderildi. Genelde öğrencilerin durumuyla ve velilerin tutumlarıyla ilgili tavsiyelerin paylaşıldığı adresten velilere giden mesaj, ailelerin de tepkisine yol açtı.

### **REHBER ÖĞRETMENLER HAZIRLADI**

Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, “Anne-babanın izleme ve kontrol çabalarını artırması, erkek çocukların uzun vadede daha fazla problemlerli davranış göstermelerine neden olurken, kız çocukların problemlerli davranışlarının azalmasını sağlamaktadır.

Çocuğunuza vereceğiniz tepki onun cinsiyetine göre farklı sonuçlara yol açabilir.” şeklinde gönderdikleri mesajın uzman psikologlar ve rehber öğretmenler tarafından hazırlandığını söyledi.

### **21.11.2014 (Gazete L)**

Özellikle kız çocuklarının okullaşması ve ilköğretimden ortaöğretime geçiş oranlarının artırılması amacıyla, kız çocuklarına ve ortaöğretime devam eden öğrencilere verilen yardım miktarlarının daha yüksek tutulduğunu belirten Avcı, ilköğretime devam eden kız çocuklarına 35 TL, erkek çocuklarına 30 TL, ortaöğretime devam eden kız çocuklarına 55 TL, erkek çocuklarına ise 45 TL aylık ödendiğini belirtti. Bakan Avcı, tüm eğitim ve öğretim kademelerinin okullaşma oranlarında önemli iyileşmeler sağlandığını vurguladı. Kız çocuklarının okullaşmasında uluslararası diğer bir göstergesi olan cinsiyet oranlarının da kız çocukları lehine artışlar gösterdiğini vurgulayan Avcı, "Bu çerçevede, ilköğretimde 2002-2003 eğitim ve öğretim yılında her 100 erkek öğrenciye karşılık 91,10 kız öğrenci okullaşırken bu oran 2013-2014 eğitim ve öğretim yılında ise her 100 erkek öğrenciye karşılık 102,25 kız öğrenci şeklinde gerçekleşmiştir" dedi.

## **Ek-2 Soru 6**

### **16.6.2014 (Gazete C)**

4+4+4 Eğitim Sistemi başarı testini geçmiştir

2013-2014 eğitim-öğretim yılı, 17 milyonu aşkın öğrencinin karne heyecanı ile bitiyor. 28 Şubat bakiyesi 8 yıllık kesintisiz zorunlu eğitimin sonlandırılması ve eğitimin kesintili hale getirilerek kademelendirilmesi amacıyla hayata geçirilen, bazı çevrelerin 28 Şubat ruhunun yok edilmesi dolayısıyla tepki gösterdiği 4+4+4 yeni eğitim sistemi, eğitim çalışanlarını ilgilendiren mevzuat çalışmalarında gecikmelerden etkilenmemiş, felaket tellallarına rağmen ikinci yılında başarı testini geçmiştir.

### **24.11.2014 (Gazete C)**

Milli ve manevi değerleri güçlü nesil yetiştirelim

Eğitim alanında faaliyet yürüten STK'ların temsilcileri, "Eğitim sistemimiz; ülkemizi, milletimizi, vatanımızı gençlerimize sevdirecek; onları bizim ahlaki, milli ve manevi değerlerimiz ile donatacak bir yapıda olmalıdır" görüşünü dile getirdiler. Demokratik Eğitimciler Sendikası (DES) Başkanı Gürkan Avcı, "Bizim eğitim sistemimiz maalesef akademik eğitimi önceleyen bir sistem. Sistemimiz maalesef milletin değerleri ile barışık, değerlerini sindiren, bu değerleri içselleştiren, davranışa dönüştürebilen bir eğitim sistemi değil. Halbuki çocuklarımızın akademik gelişiminin yanında ahlaki eğitimi de alması gerekmektedir. Eğitim sistemimiz; ülkemizi, milletimizi, vatanımızı gençlerimize sevdirecek; onları bizim ahlaki, milli ve manevi değerlerimiz ile donatacak bir yapıda olmalıdır" ifadelerini kullandı.

### **29.03.2012 (Gazete D)**

#### **SP'li Çalık'tan 4+4+4 yorumu: Müfredat ve okutulacak dersler önemli**

Mesele, eğitim sistemini uzatmak değil, asıl mesele eğitimin kalitesi ve faydalı olmasıdır. İbn-i Sina'lar, Ali Kuşçu'lar, Piri Reis'ler ve zamanımızda yetişen büyük bilginler nasıl yetişti? Asıl konu budur." dedi. "Eğitim sistemi tartışmalarını ideolojik zemine taşımak ve imam-hatip paranoyası ile eğitimin kalitesini hiç dikkate almamak büyük bir gaflettir. Eğer alkol ve uyuşturucu alışkanlığının ilkokullara kadar indiğinden şikayetiniz varsa, eğer caddelere fuhuş kartvizitleri atılıyorsa, o zaman eğitimin her aşamasına ahlaki ve manevi eğitimi yerleştirmek mecburiyetindedir." diye konuştu.

### **28.03.2013 (Gazete D)**

#### **4+4+4 Eğitim Sistemi Protesto Edildi**

HALKEVLERİ Eğitim Hakkı Meclisi adı altında toplanan bir grup, geçen yıl uygulamaya geçen 4+4+4 eğitim sistemini İl Milli Eğitim Müdürlüğü önünde protesto etti. Grup, 'Eğitim Haktır. AKP Karanlıktır, Eğitim Hakkı Engellenemez, Okuluma Dokunma' şeklinde slogan attı. Basın açıklaması okuyan bir öğrenci velisi Gökçe Atınç, yeni yapılan okulların imam hatip lisesi açıldığını, okul müdürlerinin toplantıları camilerde yaptığını, çizgi film kahramanlarının din kültür öğretmenleri tarafından namaza durdurulduğu ve kız öğrencilere türban dağıtıldığını önu sürdü. İl Milli Eğitim Müdürlüğü'nün giriş kapısına dövizler bırakan grup, okulların sorunlarıyla ilgili hazırladıkları raporu görevlilere verdi. Ardından grup, sessiz bir şekilde dağıldı.

### **2.3.2015 (Gazete G)**

Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı'nın 2012-2013 İstatistikleri'ne göre, eğitimde 4+4+4'lük modele geçilmesinin ardından kademeler arasındaki geçişlerde önceki yıllara göre okullaşma oranları bakımından düşüşler oldu. Okulöncesi eğitime gitmesi gereken 60-71 ay grubundaki çocukların, ilkokula otomatik kayıtlarının yapılması nedeniyle okulöncesi eğitimde okullaşma oranları ülke genelinde ortalama yüzde 10 düştü. Kız çocuklarında bu oran yüzde 12'ye çıkıyor.

### **Mart 30, 2013 (Gazete K)**

#### **AKP'nin istediği oldu MEB, 4+4+4'ün istatistiklerini yayınladı, 37 bin kız okuldan koparıldı.**

MEB, 4+4+4 eğitim sisteminin uygulamaya geçtiği ilk yılın resmi istatistiklerini yayınladı. Buna göre 8. sınıftan mezun olan ancak açık lise de dahil olmak üzere hiçbir ortaöğretim kurumuna kayıt olmayan öğrenci sayısı 49 bin 449. Bunlardan 12 bin 172'si erkek, 37 bin 277'si kız öğrenci. 4+4+4 sistemi uygulamaya geçmeden önce ortaöğretime gitmeyen kız öğrenci sayısı 16 bin 137 olarak kayıtlara geçmişti. İşte MEB'in 4+4+4 rakamları:

66 bin kız lise kaçağı: 2011-2012'de 8. sınıfı bitirenlerin 653 bin 22'sinin erkek, 599 bin 124'inin ise kız öğrenci olduğu belirlendi. Erkek öğrencilerden 595 bin 499'u liseye kaydoldu. Kız öğrencilerden ise 533 bin 58 öğrenci temel ortaöğretim birimlerinde devam etti. Bu durumda 57 bin 523 erkek ve 66 bin 67 kız öğrenci liselerden birine kayıt olmadı.

28 bin kız açık liseye: 2012-2013 eğitim öğretim yılında açık öğretim lisesinde okuyan 1 milyon 14 bin 409 öğrenciden 552 bin 514'ünün erkek, 461 bin 895'inin ise kız olduğu belirlendi. 2011-2012 eğitim yılında açık öğretim lisesinde okuyan toplam 940 bin 268 öğrencinin ise 507 bin 163'ünün erkek, 433 bin 105'inin kız

öğrenci olduğu açıklanmıştı. Bu durumda bu yıl açık liseye 45 bin 351 erkek, 28 bin 790 kız öğrenci kayıt oldu.

37 bin kız okul yerine evde: Lise kaçaklarından açık lise yeni kayıt sayıları çıkarıldığında 4+4+4'ün kız öğrenciler açısından yarattığı sonuç ortaya çıktı. 12 bin 172 erkek öğrenci, 37 bin 277 kız olmak üzere 49 bin 449 öğrenci açık lise veya temel ortaöğretim kurumlarından hiçbirine kayıt olmadı. Önceki yıl 9 bin 316 erkek, 16 bin 137 kız olmak üzere 25 bin 453 öğrenci hiçbir ortaöğretim kurumuna kaydolmamıştı.

İHL de arttı, öğrencisi de: Bu yıl imam hatip ve Anadolu imam hatip lisesi sayısı 537'den 708'e çıktı. Buna göre, İHL öğrenci sayısı ise 286 bin 245'ten 380 bin 771'e çıktı.

## **2 Kasım 2010 (Gazete L)**

Zorunlu eğitim kademeli olsun önerisi

18.Milli Eğitim Şurası'nda, 8 yıllık eğitimle ilgili tartışmalar yaşandı. “İlköğretim ve Ortaöğretimin Güçlendirilmesi, Ortaöğretime Erişimin Sağlanması” konulu komisyonda, “İlköğretim okullarında zorunlu eğitimin kademeli olması ve öğrencilerin fiziksel gelişim ve yaş farkı dikkate alınarak ayrı binalarda eğitim görmesi” önerisi kabul edildi.

MEB Kız Teknik Eğitimi Genel Müdürü Emine Kırış, “Hepimiz kız çocuklarının okullaşması, ekonomik özgürlüğünü alması ve daha iyi anne olarak yetişmesi için uğraş veriyoruz. Biz ortaöğretime bu çocukları geçirelim, erken evlilikten kurtaralım derken böyle bir kararın alınması ülkemiz adına zuldür, günahdır. O nedenle bu madde değiştirilmeli” diye konuştu.

## **‘Çocuk gelin sayısı artarsa’ endişesi, Burcu Karakaş, 23.10.2012 (Gazete N)**

Yrd. Doç. Dr. Özarslan, 4+4+4 eğitim sisteminin ‘çocuk gelin’ vakalarında artışa neden olacağını belirterek, “Yeni sistem kadının toplumsal statüsünde kayıplara neden olacak” dedi

4+4+4 eğitim sisteminde, çocukların örgün eğitimden çıkabilecekleri yaşın belirlenmesinde ortalama ilk adet görme yaşının dikkate alındığı anlaşılıyor. Burada temel kaygı, ergenlik çağına ulaşan kız çocukların okullardan uzaklaştırılarak eve kapatılması. Toplumsal algı kız çocukların üreme yeteneğini kazanmasıyla artık çocukluktan çıktığı yönünde. Bu da kadınlara uygulanan kontrol mekanizmalarına konu olmaları demek oluyor.

Başbakanlık Aile ve Sosyal Araştırmalar Genel Müdürlüğü'nün Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu işbirliğiyle gerçekleştirdiği Aile Yapısı Araştırması 2006 raporuna göre her 5 evlilikten 1'i, 18 yaşın altında gerçekleşiyor.

Bunlara ek olarak erken evliliklerde kadın sıklıkla şiddete maruz kalmakta. Sonuç olarak, 4+4+4 eğitim sistemi, özellikle kız çocuklarının durumunu zorlayacak ve kadının toplumsal statüsü açısından ciddi kayıplara neden olacak gibi görünmektedir.”

### **Ek-3 Soru 8**

**30.03.2013 (Gazete C)**

Karma eğitimden dönülsün

İHL öğrencisi 2 kız öğrencinin TÜBİTAK için hazırladıkları proje, antidemokratik karma eğitim sisteminin başarısızlığını ortaya koydu. Van'da TÜBİTAK tarafından gerçekleştirilen "44. Ortaöğretim Öğrencileri Araştırma Projeleri Yarışması" için İmam Hatip lisesi öğrencilerinin sunduğu "Karma Eğitim Sisteminin Öğrenci Psikolojisi Üzerindeki Etkileri" adlı proje halk tarafından büyük bir ilgi gördü. karma eğitimin öğrencilerde dikkat dağınıklığına sebep olduğunu vurguladılar. Karma eğitim, özellikle muhafazakâr ailelerin kızlarını okula göndermemesine neden oluyor. Halkımız karma eğitim veren okullarla beraber, kızlara ve erkeklere ayrı eğitim veren okulların da açılmasını istiyor. İmkânlar varsa ayrı okullar açılmalı, eğer yoksa sınıflar düzeyinde açılmalıdır" ifadelerini kullandılar. Demokrat Eğitimciler Sendikası Başkanı Gürkan Avcı "Karma eğitimin öğrenciler üzerinde olumsuz etki yaptığını çocuklar bile gördü. Yetkililerin görmesi için ne yapılabilir artık anlamıyorum. 'Haydi, kızlar okula' kampanyası yapılırken öte yandan kızların okullara gitmesini engelleyen karma eğitim ile kendisiyle ters düşen işler yapılıyor. Yetkililer neden görmüyor? Sayın Milli Eğitim Bakanı Nabi Avcı, halkın bu isteğine kulak tıkamamalıdır. Bu çağrımız demokratik eğitim sisteminin olmazsa olmazları arasındadır"

**28.09.2014 (Gazete C)**

Karma eğitim tacizi tetikliyor

Yapılan araştırmalar 'Karma eğitim modeli'nin öğrencilerin pedagojik eğitimi üzerinde artı bir etki oluşturmadığı tam aksine taciz olaylarını artırdığını ve tetiklediğini ortaya koyuyor.

**16.11.2014 (Gazete C)**

Laikçi Kemalist eğitim sistemi çöktü: Tecavüz ilkokulda!

Ankara'daki bir ilköğretim okulunda 4 erkek öğrencinin bir erkek öğrenciye tecavüz etmesinin ortaya çıkması laikçi eğitim sisteminin meydana getirdiği ahlâk erozyonunu bir kez daha gözler önüne serdi.

**05.12.2014 (Gazete D)**

### **Karma eğitim tartışmaları**

Memur-Sen ve Eğitim-Bir-Sen Genel Başkanı Ahmet Gündoğdu, karma eğitim zorunluluğunun kaldırılmasına ilişkin 19. Milli Eğitim Şurası Genel Kuruluna da önerge vereceklerini bildirdi. “Altını çizerek söylüyorum. 70 yıl var olan seçenek karma eğitim, kız liseleri ve erkek liseleri... Bu seçeneklerin yeniden halkın önüne konulması, siz seçeneği koyun, siz yasağı kaldırın halk ya da çocuklar isterse tercih etmesin, tercih edilmediği için açmayın. Dayatmalara, keyfi uygulamalara karşıyız.”

**Mayıs, 2014 (Gazete K)**

### **Milli Eğitim’de bir skandal daha...**

Okulun kantininde erkek ve kızların alışveriş yapacakları yerler ayrıldı.

Türkiye, bir yandan Milli Eğitim sistemindeki değişiklikleri tartışırken diğer taraftan okullardaki ilginç yasaklarla milli eğitimin sistemi gündeme gelmeye devam ediyor. Bir okulda “kızlarla erkekler arasında en az 1 metre mesafe olmalı diyen” yöneticiler, diğer yanda lisede etek giyilmesinin yasaklanması... Son olay da Kağıthane İstanbul Ticaret Odası (İTO) Meslek Lisesi’nde meydana geldi. Lise’de kızlar taciz ediliyor iddiasıyla kantinde erkek ve kızların alışveriş yapacakları yerler ayrıldı. Okulda listeler hazırlandı ve kız-erkek öğrencilerin hangi zamanlarda alışveriş yapacakları asıldı.

**Mayıs 4, 2014 (Gazete K)**

### **Liselerde karma eğitimi kaldırma genelgesi!**

Mevcut mesleki ve teknik liselerin valiliklerce karma ya da yalnızca kız öğrencilerin öğrenim görebileceği okullar şeklinde yeniden belirlenmesinin talep edildiği MEB genelgesi tepki çekti. Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı’nın (MEB), 81 ilin valiliklerine gönderdiği, “mesleki ve teknik ortaöğretimde okul çeşitliliğinin azaltılması” konulu genelge tartışma yarattı. Genelge, “kızların okullaşma oranının artırılması amacıyla mevcut mesleki ve teknik liselerin valiliklerce karma ya da yalnızca kız öğrencilerin öğrenim görebileceği okullar şeklinde yeniden belirlenmesine” yönelik bir düzenleme olarak yorumlandı. Milli Eğitim Bakanı Nabi Avcı imzasıyla 1 Mayıs’ta tüm illerin valiliklerine gönderilen genelgede tartışma yaratacak düzenlemeler yer aldı. Kızların okullaşma oranlarını artırmak amacıyla mesleki ve teknik ortaöğretim kurumları valiliklerce karma ya da yalnızca kız öğrencilerin öğrenim görebileceği okullar şeklinde yeniden



belirlenecek. Valiliklerce yapılan okul tekliflerini deęerlendirecek MEB, karma veya yalnızca kız öğrencilerin öğrenim görebileceęi okullara karar verecek. Ancak yeni okul tabelalarında “kız” ya da “karma” ibareleri bulunmayacak. Valiliklerin okul dönüşümü tekliflerini 9 Mayıs’a kadar bakanlığa bildirmeleri gerekiyor.

**Aralık 5, 2014 (Gazete K)**

**İnce’den karma eğitim yorumu : "Cinsel kimlikler üzerinden ayrıştırmayı kabul edemeyiz."**

CHP Yalova Milletvekili Muharrem İnce, “Biz çocuklarımıza onların cinsiyetleri üzerinden bir eğitim hizmeti sunmayı, onları cinsel kimlikleri üzerinden ayrıştırmayı kabul edemeyiz” dedi. İnce, 19. Milli Eğitim Şurasına ilişkin yaptığı açıklamada, “Kendi eğitimcilerine ‘karma eğitimi’ tartıştıran bir kurum Türkiye Cumhuriyetinin milli eğitim kurumu olamaz” diyerek şöyle devam etti: “Biz çocuklarımıza onların cinsiyetleri üzerinden bir eğitim hizmeti sunmayı, onları cinsel kimlikleri üzerinden ayrıştırmayı kabul edemeyiz. Çağdaş dünyanın bir parçası olmak için yıllardır ortadan kaldırmak istediğimiz toplumumuzdaki cinsiyet ayrımcılığını okullarımıza taşıma arzusu içinde olanlara karşı sessiz kalan bir Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, kabul edilemez.”

**19.03.2015 (Gazete F)**

**Okul müdür yardımcısı kızlı-erkekli oturmayı yasakladı ve sordu: Hayat kadını mı olacaksınız?**

Antalya’da bir okul müdür yardımcısının minietek giyen öğrencilerini “teciz timi” kurmakla tehdit etmesinin ardından bu kez de Bursa’da bir müdür yardımcısı kızlı-erkekli oturmayı yasaklarken öğrencilerine yüklendi.

Cumhuriyet gazetesinden Sinan Tartanoęlu’nun haberine göre, Bursa İnönü Ortaokulu’nda meydana gelen olayda Müdür Yardımcısı Murat Esenboęa, teneffüste erkek arkadaşlarıyla aynı sıraya oturan kız öğrencilere, “Siz kâfir misiniz? Kendinizi New York sokaklarında mı sandınız? Hayat kadını mı olacaksınız” diyerek çıkıştı.

Cumhuriyet’e konuşan Eğitim-İş Bursa Şube Başkanı Özkan Rona, 8. Sınıf öğrencilerinin sınıflarda kızlı ve erkekleri ayrı sıra gruplarına oturttuęu bilgisini verdi.

**İlhan Sevin, (Gazete G)**

2-6 Aralık 2014 tarihleri arasında Antalya’da toplanan ve 5 gün sürecek olan 19’uncu Milli Eğitim Şurası’nda, eğitim sistemini yakından ilgilendirecek kritik

kararların alınması bekleniyor. Eğitim Bir Sen tarafından karma eğitimi gündeme getirilip tartışmaya açılmak isteniyor. Karma eğitimin, öğrencilerin başarısını olumsuz yönde etkilediği, şiddeti körüklediği ve bazı ailelerin erkeklerle aynı ortamda okumasını istemediği kız çocuklarını okula göndermediği iddiasıyla “Okul Güvenliği” başlığı altında tartışmaya açılması bekleniyor.

Bazı aileler kız çocuklarını, erkekler olduğu için okula göndermiyorlarsa bu da pek inandırıcı değil. Neden mi? Çünkü Türkiye’de, Kız Anadolu Lisesi, Kız İmam Hatip Lisesi, Anadolu Kız Meslek Lisesi gibi birçok kız okulu var. Bu okullarda dileyen eğitim-öğretim görebilir. Ama ilkökul ve ortaokul düzeyinde kız ve erkek ayrı okullar düşünülüyorsa buna da diyecek bir şey bulamıyorum.

**06.04.2014 (Gazete F)**

### **Kızlı erkekli oturttu Başbakan'a muhalif oldu**

Kırıkhan'da bir okulda öğrencilerini kızlı erkekli oturtan öğretmen hakkında soruşturma açıldı. Okul müdürü yazı yazarak, öğretmenlerin kızlı erkekli oturma planına son vermesini istedi. Konu Kırıkhan İlçe Milli Eğitim Müdürlüğü'ne taşındı. Müdürün öğretmene yanıtı: Sen Başbakana muhalif misin?

Eylem Bab, müdürün yazısı doğrultusunda sınıfın yerleşim planını kız erkek ayrı olacak şekilde değiştirdi. Değişikliği okul idaresine bildirdi. Ancak Bab hakkında okulda öğrencileri kızlı erkekli oturtup oturmayanları da notla tehdit ettiği gerekçesiyle soruşturma başlatıldı. Soruşturma devam ederken öğretmen Eylem Bab'ın, kızlı erkekli oturttuğu ve sene başından beri ders verdiği 2. sınıf ise elinden alındı. Konu Kırıkhan İlçe Milli Eğitim Müdürlüğü'ne taşındı.

**26.11.2014 (Gazete F)**

### **Eğitimde harem selamlık uygulama servise de sıçrayacak**

Antalya İl Milli Eğitim Müdürü, "Kız öğrenciler arka koltuğa, erkek öğrenciler ön koltuğa otursun" dedi

Hükümetin ve Tayyip Erdoğan'ın oğlu Bilal Erdoğan'ın eğitimde kadın erkek ayrımcılığına bir destek de Antalya İl Milli Eğitim'den geldi. Servisçiler Odası toplantısında konuşan Antalya İl Milli Eğitim Müdürü Osman Nuri Gülay, "Kız çocuklarımız servisin ön koltuğuna değil arka koltuğuna binecek. Ön koltuğa oturacak öğrencinin mutlaka erkek olması gerekiyor" ifadelerini kullandı. Gülay bunun gerekçesini 'can güvenliği' olarak açıkladı.

**08.12.2014 (Gazete N)**

Milli Eğitim Şurası'na yönelik tartışmaları da değerlendiren Avcı "Karma eğitim, bütün kurumlarda zorunlu bir eğitim türü değil. Bugün de bizim pek çok okulumuzda kız öğrencilerimiz için ayrı okullarımız var zaten. Kız meslek liselerimiz , kız anadolu imam hatip liselerimiz var, kız anadolu liselerimiz var" şeklinde konuştu.

**07.03.2004 (Gazete L)**

Harem selamlık eğitim önerisi

Eğitim-Bir-Sen Genel Başkanı Ahmet Gündoğdu, karma eğitimde Doğu'daki kız çocuklarının 'toplumsallaşmadığını', bu nedenle harem selamlık eğitime geçilmesi gerektiğini söyledi.

**12.07.2005 (Gazete L)**

GAZETECİLER ve Yazarlar Vakfı'nın güdümündeki Abant Platformu, eğitimdeki sorunları tartışmak amacıyla Erzurum'da toplanmış. Konu: 'Yeni bir çağın eşliğinde; eğitimde yeni arayışlar.'

Madde 6. İslam eğitim geleneğinden ve eğitim alanını tam bir sivil ruhla düzenleyen Osmanlı tecrübesinden istifade edilmelidir.

Madde 7. Gerektiğinde eğitim, kız-erkek karma veya müstakil olarak gerçekleştirilmelidir.

Madde 16. Toplumdaki cinsiyet ayrımcılığı, her alanda kurum ve bireylerin eğitim vasıtalarıyla tamamen ortadan kaldırılmalıdır.

Eleştiri: Kız ve erkek okullarını, sınıf ve sıralarını ayırmak için tuzak kuracaksınız, sonra da cinsiyet ayrımına karşı çıkacaksınız. Ayıptır, insanları bu kadar budala yerine koymayın!

## **Ek-4 Soru 10**

**06.01.2015 (Gazete C)**

İmam Hatip Nesli gümbür gümbür geliyor

4+4+4 sistemiyle birlikte yeniden yıldızı parlayan İmam Hatip Okulları başarıdan başarıya koşuyor. İmam Hatip Ortaokulu ve Liselerini bünyesinde barındırıp birçok faaliyete öncülük eden STK'ların çalışmaları ise göz dolduruyor

**31.05.2014 (Gazete D)**

Arınç: İmam hatipler ve diğer meslek okulları rağbet görmeye başladı

**16.4.2014 (Gazete C)**

**Mescid bile sınıf oldu**

4+4+4 eğitim modeliyle hayata geçirilen ve öğrenci velilerince büyük bir sevinçle karşılanan İmam Hatip Okullarının orta kısımları yoğun talep olmasına rağmen sorunlarının gözardı edildiği iddia edildi.

**19.01.2015 (Gazete F)**

**Milli Eğitim Bakanı'ndan 'imam hatip' itirafı**

Milli Eğitim Bakanı Nabi Avcı, öğrencileri imam hatiplere yönlendirmek için anket çalışması yapılması ile ilgili soruya yanıt verdi: Çocukları imam hatiplere yönlendirmek için çalışma yapıyoruz.

**24.01.2015 (Gazete J)**

**MEB'in 5 Yıllık Taslak Strateji Planı 2 kat artırılabacak**

İmam hatip ortaokullarına 118 bin 988'i erkek, 120 bin 749'ı kız olmak üzere 239 bin 749 öğrenci devam etmektedir. Tüm ortaokul çağındaki öğrencilerin içinde, imam hatip ortaokullarına devam eden öğrencilerin oranı yüzde 10.9. Bu oranın plan dönemi sonuna kadar en az yüzde 20 olması hedeflendi. En az yüzde 20'ye Din Öğretimi Genel Müdürlüğü'ne bağlı imam hatip liselerinde 247 bin 31 kız olmak üzere 474 bin 96 öğrenci öğretim görmektedir. Tüm lise çağındaki öğrencilerin içinde imam hatip liselerine devam eden öğrencilerin oranı yüzde 13.48. Bu oranın da en az yüzde 20 olması hedeflendi. Ülke genelinde sadece kız öğrencilere eğitim veren Anadolu imam hatip liselerinin sayısı 154. Özellikle Doğu ve Güneydoğu bölgelerinde kız Anadolu imam hatip liseleri ve kız

pansiyonlarının sayısının artmasıyla kız çocuklarının kaliteli eğitim alması sağlanacak.

### **2.3.2015 (Gazete G)**

#### **İmam Hatipler arttı, kızlar okulu bırakıyor**

2011-2012 eğitim öğretim yılında 537 olan İmam Hatip Lisesi sayısının, AKP hükümetinin bilinçli politikalarıyla bir yıl gibi kısa bir sürede 708'e çıktığına da dikkat çekti. Açıklamanın bir diğer dikkat çekici yanı ise kız çocuklarının mağdur edileceği eleştirilerinin haklı çıkması oldu. Açıklamada "4+4+4 sistemi uygulanmadan önce ortaöğretime gitmeyen kız öğrenci sayısı 16 bin 137 iken, bu yıl zorunlu olmasına rağmen ortaöğretime devam etmeyen kız öğrencilerinin sayısının iki kattan fazla artmış olması dikkat çekicidir" denildi.

### **Aralık 4, 2014 (Gazete K)**

#### **İmam hatibe ilgi 11 yılda 7 kat arttı**

2002-2003 eğitim- öğretim döneminde 71 bine kadar gerileyen imam hatip liselerindeki (İHL) öğrenci sayısı, bu yıl 474 bine yükseldi.

Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı'nın (MEB) Antalya'da devam eden 19'uncu Milli Eğitim Şurası'na katılan Eğitim Sen Genel Başkanı Kamuran Karaca, ülkede eğitim felsefesinden söz etmenin imkansız olduğunu söyledi. Kamuran Karaca, 12 yıllık Ak Parti iktidarı döneminde eğitimi dinselleştirme sürecinin devam ettiğini, 4+4+4 düzeniyle bu yaklaşımın yeni bir aşamaya taşındığını, 5'inci sınıf çocuklarına başörtüsü dayatıldığını, liselerde mescit açılışının zorlandığını, kız-erkek karma eğitimin ayrıştırılma çabalarının sürdüğünü kaydetti.

Eğitim Sen Genel Başkanı Karaca, 2012-2013 eğitim-öğretim yılında 730'u bağımsız, 369'u imam hatip lisesi bünyesinde toplam 1099 imam hatip ortaokulu varken, 2013-2014 eğitim-öğretim yılında 945'i bağımsız, 410'u imam hatip lisesi bünyesinde toplam 1355 imam hatip ortaokuluna yükseldiğini açıkladı. MEB'in, imam hatip okullarına beklenen talep olmamasına rağmen, imam hatip olmayan ortaokullar bünyesinde de imam hatip sınıfları açmaya başladığını dile getiren Karaca, 2012-2013 eğitim-öğretim yılında 94 bin 467 olan öğrenci sayısının 2013-2014 eğitim öğretim yılında 240 bine yükseldiğini kaydetti. AKP'nin yıllarca her açıdan istismar ettiği imam hatip liselerinin eğitimde 4+4+4 dayatması sonrasında önceki yıllarla kıyaslanamayacak kadar hızlı bir artış göstermiş olması dikkat çekici" dedi.

### **7 Mart 2008 (Gazete L)**

5 yılda yüzde 144

Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı istatistiklerine göre imam hatip liselerinin öğrenci artış oranı son 5 yılda yüzde 81'i geçti. Kızlardaki artış oranı yüzde 144'e ulaştı.

### **18 Kasım 2014 (Gazete L)**

Cumhurbaşkanı Tayyip Erdoğan toplu açılış töreninde konuştu

Cumhurbaşkanı Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, Ankara'da 155 eğitim tesisinin toplu açılış töreninde konuştu. Erdoğan " Başörtüsü yasağını kaldırdık. O zulüm de artık sona ermiş oldu. İmam Hatip okullarının kapılarındaki kilitleri tek tek söktük attık" dedi.

### **08.08.2014 (Gazete N)**

**Dayatma yok!** Milli Eğitim Bakanı Avcı açıklama yaptı: Öğrenciler imam hatiplere zorla yönlendirilmiyor.

Haklı. Tercih istemine baktığımızda eğer öğrenci istemezse, hiç kimse onu, ne imam hatibe ne de meslek liselerine zorla gönderemez. Ama eğer önünde başka seçenek yoksa ne yapacak?

## Ek 5 Soru 12

**01.10.2014 (Gazete D)**

### **Ortaöğretimde başörtüsünün serbest bırakılması**

Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi (CHP) İzmir İl Kadın Kolları “Türban Türkiye'nin sorunlarını örtemez”

Bugün 10 yaşında bir kız çocuğu başını örtmeye karar verecek, yarın da evlenmeyi mi karar verecek? Kadını eve kapatmak isteyen, eğitimsiz kadınların yetiştirdiği çocuklar üzerinden ülkenin geleceğini planlayanlara karşı ayağa kalkmak ve hayır demek bize düşüyor. Eğitime yapılan bir değişiklik meyvelerini 15-16 yıl sonra verir” diye konuştu.

**09.11.2013 (Gazete D)**

ÇYDD Genel Başkanı Çelikel, dini konularda Diyanet’e fetva sorulmasını eleştirdi.

Çağdaş Yaşamı Destekleme Derneği (ÇYDD) Genel Başkanı Prof. Dr. Aysel Çelikel, dini konularda Diyanet’e fetva sorulmasını eleştirdi. Çelikel, derneklerinin ilk kuruluş yıllarında Doğu ve Güneydoğu’da yaptıkları çalışmalarla da kız çocuklarını ‘başlarını örterek Kur’an kurslarına gitmekten kurtarmakla’ övündü. Ve kızlarımızı çocuk gelin olmaktan, 5 yaşlarında başlarını örterek Kur’an kurslarına gitmekten belki kısmen kurtardık. Ve çocuk gelin olarak taşıyamayacakları ağır yükler altında ezilmekten kurtardık. Onları eğitimi, meslek sahibi, ekonomik gücü olan, tek başına ayakta durabilen güçlü kadınlar olarak topluma kazandırdık. Onlar şimdi mesleklerini icra ediyorlar ve çağdaş kadınlar oldular. Toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliğine katkıda bulunuyorlar.” dedi.

**24.09.2014 (Gazete E)**

### **Öğrenciler başörtüleriyle derse girdi**

İlkokul 5. sınıftan itibaren başörtüsü serbestisi getirilmesinin ardından öğrenciler başörtülü olarak derslere girmeye başladı. Bir anne, “Benim üç kızım var. Üçü de başörtüyle gidiyor okula. Çok memnunum. Daha önce izin verilmiyordu” dedi.

Bir veli, uygulamadan memnun olduklarını dile getirirken, şunları söyledi:

“Çok seviniyoruz. Benim 3 kızım var. Üçü de başörtüyle gidiyor okula. Çok memnunum. Daha önce izin verilmiyordu. Benim küçük kızım takmak istiyordu. Kulağında da işitme cihazı vardı. Belki de ondan dolayı ama okulda izin vermemişler. Ama artık başörtüsü takabilecek ve memnunuz.” Yanındaki işitme

cihazı kullanan kızına da el hareketleri ile “Başörtüsü taktığına memnun musun?” diye soran anne, kızından memnun olduğu cevabını aldı.

Okul yöneticileri, öğrencilerin büyük kısmının başörtülü olmasının nedenini ise Kuran-Kerim dersleri olduğu için öğrencilerin başlarını kapatması olarak açıkladı ve kendilerinin de buna izin verdiğini söyledi.

**27.09.2014 (Gazete E)**

### **Okullarda başörtüsü ve pedagojik yalanlar**

Okullarda başörtüsünün pedagojiye uygun olmadığını ifade edenler, yasaklar nedeniyle okul kapısında her gün başını açan öğrencilerin yaşadığı travmayı hangi pedagojik teori ile açıklıyorlar? Türkiye’de hala özellikle ortaöğretim düzeyinde kız çocuklarının okullaşmasının yüzde 50’nin altında kaldığı Muş, Van, Ağrı ve Bitlis gibi illerde, benim de katılmış olduğum saha çalışmaları göstermiştir ki, pek çok ailenin kız çocuklarını okula göndermeme nedenlerinden biri okullarda uygulanan başörtüsü yasaklarıdır. Bu açıdan verilen kararı eğitim sistemimizin iyileşmesi adına bir fırsat olarak değerlendirmek gerekir. Türkiye sosyolojisinden bihaber pek çok akademisyen ve aydının öğrencilerin başörtülü olarak okula girme isteğini cinsellik üzerinden tartışmaya kalkışmaları ise üzerinde durulmayacak boyutta bir ciddiyetsizlik örneğidir.

**19.02.2015 (Gazete E)**

### **'Mini etek timi'ne soruşturma**

Müdür yardımcısının kısa etek giyen kız öğrenciler için taciz timi kurmayı planladığı iddiası üzerine, Milli Eğitim Bakanı Avcı, soruşturma başlatılması için talimat verdi. Antalya’da bir okul müdürü yardımcısının kız öğrencilerin kısa etek giymesini engellemek için erkek öğrencilerden tim kurmak istediği iddia edildi. Edinilen bilgiye göre, Antalya’da Varsak Lisesi’nden geçen hafta Kepez Atatürk Anadolu Lisesi’ne atanan müdür yardımcısı Filiz G., 9 Şubat Pazartesi günü okuldaki 31 sınıf başkanıyla toplantı yaptı. Sınıf başkanlarının öğretmenlerine anlattığına göre müdür yardımcısı G., "Bu okulda kızlar mini etek giyiyor, tayt giyiyor, okul kıyafeti giymiyor. Bu tacize açık bir durum. Böyle giyerlerse tacizi hak ediyorlar. Okulda erkek öğrencilerden bir tim kuracağım. Erkekler mini etek giyen kızları önce uyaracak. Eğer devam ederlerse taciz yapılacak. Taciz edilip rahatsız olacaklarından düzgün giyinmeye başlayacaklar" dedi.



## 27 Eylül 2014 (Gazete H)

Beşinci sınıflara türban serbestisi getiren Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı'na bağlı okullardaki öğrencilerin kılık ve kıyafetlerine dair yönetmelikte yapılan değişiklik, Resmi Gazete'de yayımlanarak yürürlüğe girdi. Buna göre, "Okullarda yüzü açık bulunur; siyasî sembol içeren simge, şekil ve yazıların yer aldığı fular, bere, şapka, çanta ve benzeri materyalleri kullanamaz; saç boyama, vücuda dövme ve makyaj yapamaz, pirsing takamaz, bıyık ve sakal bırakamaz. Okul öncesi eğitim kurumlarında ve ilkokullarda okul içinde baş açık bulunur."

## 2.3.2015 (Gazete G)

### **Müdür Yardımcısı: Mini etekli kızları taciz edin**

Kepez Atatürk Anadolu Lisesi müdür yardımcısı Filiz G., okuldaki 31 sınıf başkanını toplayarak, "Bu okulda kızlar mini etek giyiyor. Bu tacize açık bir durum. Böyle giyerlerse tacizi hak ediyorlar. Erkek öğrencilerden bir tim kuracağım. Erkekler mini etek giyen kızları önce uyaracak. Eğer devam ederlerse taciz yapılacaktır" dedi

## 2.3.2015 (Gazete G)

### **Laik eğitim ve yumuşak şeriat**

Türban hamlesi, AİHM'in zorunlu din dersi aleyhine aldığı karara karşı bir meydan okumadır. Ortaokul ve lisede türbanın serbest bırakılması, kız çocuklarını daha şimdiden erkek egemen değerler sistemi içinde sosyalleştirmeye itecektir.

## İlhan Sevin (Gazete G)

5'inci sınıftan itibaren başörtüsü Bir gün olmuyor ki eğitimle ilgili iyi bir haber duyalım. Son on iki yılda AKP ile beraber eğitim adeta can çekişiyor.

Hatırlarsanız, Başbakan Erdoğan, 2012 yılı Şubat ayında yaptığı açıklamada aynen şu ifadeleri kullanmıştı: 'Biz muhafazakâr, demokrat, tarihten gelen ilkelerine sahip çıkan bir nesil yetiştireceğiz. Bunun için varız. Beyler, önce başınızı öne eğin de hem çağdaş hem dindar bir nesil nasıl yetiştirilirmiş onu bir düşünün.' demişti.

Yine Bilal Erdoğan'ın 'büyük okullar yapılıyor şu anda... kısa sürede 1 milyon öğrenci olacak imam hatiplerde, yani şu anda bu kesin. Bu okulları ya kız ya erkek olarak planlayalım.' Demelerinin hemen ardından, eğitimi kullanarak toplumsal mühendislik yöntemiyle, muhafazakârlaşmanın ilk işaretleri de gelmeye başlamıştı

Daha ergenlik çağına bile adım atmamış, kendi kararlarını henüz alamayan 11 yaşındaki çocuklara başörtüsü taktırmanın hangi ‘özgürlük’ ve ‘demokratik’ anlayışla bağdaşır yanı olabilir lütfen söyler misiniz?

**Nisan 3, 2013 (Gazete K)**

**İşte AKP’nin serbest kıyafeti!**

İstanbul’da bir lisede öğrencilerin kara çarşafla derse girdiği ortaya çıktı.

İstanbul Arnavutköy Mehmet Akif Ersoy Lisesi’nde öğrencilerin kara çarşafla derse girdiği ortaya çıktı. Çarşafli öğrencinin Eğitim Bir Sen’li İlçe Milli Eğitim Müdürü tarafından kollandığı iddia edildi.

Eğitim Sen Genel Merkez Denetleme Kurulu Üyesi Mehmet Sarı ise, skandal fotoğrafla ilgili “Başbakan Tayyip Erdoğan’ın ‘Dindar bir nesil yetiştireceğiz’ sözü 4+4+4 eğitim sistemiyle gerçekleşmektedir. Gerçek Laikliğin olmadığı ülkemizde ‘şükürcü, kaderine razı olan’ muhafazakâr bir toplum yaratmayı hedefleyen iktidar, tüm okulları zorunlu ve seçmeli din dersleri adı altında İmam Hatip okullarına dönüştürmek istemektedir. Sendikamız Eğitim Sen, eğitimde gerek öğretmenlerin gerekse öğrenciler tarafından dinsel simgelerin kullanılmasına karşıdır. Ülkemizde gerçek laiklik için, demokratik, bilimsel, parasız, laik bir eğitim için, her türlü bedeli ödemeyi göze alarak mücadelesine devam edecektir” dedi.

**24.09.2014 (Gazete J)**

“Ortaöğretimde başörtüsü serbestisi”, kız ve erkek olmak üzere, iki cinsiyeti aynı anda anlatan bir sözcük olan “öğrenci”ye özgürlük değil, 10 yaşındaki kız çocuklarının babalarına “baş kapatma” hakkı vermektir.

Bu “serbesti”nin, yepyeni bir durum değil adım adım giden bir “eğitim seti”nin halkalarından biri olduğunu görüyoruz.

İki yıl önce değiştirilen (4+4+4) eğitim sisteminin ilk somut sonucu, düne kadar ilkökul öğrencisi sayılan çocukların, aniden ortaokul öğrencisine dönüşmesiydi.

Velhasılı, uzak olmayan bir gelecekte “karma eğitim”e son vermek istediğinizde, lütfen bunu da “serbesti” diye sunup zekâmızla alay etmeyiniz.

Cumhurbaşkanı Erdoğan’ın, niyeti açık eden “Dindar nesiller yetiştirmek istiyoruz” sözünden çok önce yani.

Bütçeden din hizmetlerine ayrılan payın, oransal olarak sık sık adalet ve sağlık hizmetlerindeki artışın üzerine çıktığı da bir vakadır; başta ayrılan ödeneğin, her seferinde (100 ile 500 milyon TL civarında) aşılmasına rağmen denetlenmediği de...

#### **07/02/2008 (Gazete M)**

Amaç kızların eğitimiye türban sahiden teferruat

Prof. Dr. Binnaz Toprak ve Prof. Dr. Ersin Kalaycıoğlu'nun yaptığı 'İş Yaşamı, Üst Yönetim ve Siyasette Kadın' araştırması kızların türban nedeniyle okulu bırakma oranının devede kulak bile olmadığı sonucunu veriyor. Araştırmaya göre, kızların yüzde 49'u sadece 'ailesi istemedi' diye liseyi bile göremiyor.

TESEV için yapılan araştırmada 1557 kadının yüzde 1'i türban yüzünden üniversite okumadığını söylüyor. Yani, türban 'okul bırakma' gerekçeleri sıralamasında sekizinci. Kalaycıoğlu: "Kadının statüsünü belirleyen iki temel unsur, yoksulluk ve aşırı muhafazakârlık. Erkeklerin kızlar üstünde acayip taassubu var."

Kız öğrencilerin büyük kesimi, kapandıktan sonra erkeklerin kendilerine artık taciz edici şekilde bakmadığını, 'bir bacı' muamelesi gördüklerini söylerlerdi. Özellikle İstanbul dışından gelen kızlar için kapanma, bir tür savunma aracıydı, bu 'bana dokunmayın' mesajı vermek gibi bir şeydi. Üstelik toplumda özellikle erkekler okumuş- yazmış kesimin kapanmasından çok memnundu. Çoğu satıcı ödüllendirir gibi en iyi malı çok ucuza satıyor 'aferin kızım' biçimi onları destekliyordu.

#### **10/12/2010 (Gazete M)**

Ve başörtüsü ilköğretime girdi

Mersin'de bir süredir Sakarya İlköğretim Okulu'na türbanı ile giren 13 yaşındaki M.G. sonunda sınıfa da türbanıyla girdi. Türkiye'de ilk kez bir ilköğretim öğrencisi derste türbanı ile görüntülendi.

#### **12/12/2012 (Gazete M)**

'Lisede kız öğrencilere türban dağıtıldı'

Malatya'nın Doğanşehir ilçesine bağlı Sürgü Beldesinde bulunan Çok Programlı Lisede okul müdürlüğünün kız öğrencilere ücretsiz türban dağıtarak, başı açık kız öğrencilere de türban takmaları konusunda baskı uyguladığı iddia edildi.

**24.09.2014 (Gazete N)**

### **TÜRBAN DOKUZ YAŞINA İNDİ...**

4+4+4 sistemine geçilirken söyledik.. İlkokulun dört yıla indirilmesinin de okula başlama yaşının beşe çekilmesinin de nedeni buydu.. Amaç, dokuz yaşına, on yaşına gelen kızın tesettüre bürünebilmesiydi. Gerisi teferruat..

**25 Eylül 2014 (Gazete L)**

### **10 yaşa türban tartışmasında eğitimciler ne diyor**

- Felaket olarak değerlendiriyorum - Prof. Dr. Çiğdem Kağıtçıbaşı (Koç Üniversitesi Psikoloji Bölümü Öğretim Üyesi): 5'inci sınıf öğrencilerinin başörtüsü takmasını felaket olarak değerlendiriyorum. Bu hep ayıptır, hem de ilkeliktir. Çünkü o yaşlardaki çocuk, çocuktur. Ergenlik dönemine bile ermemiştir. Erse de fark etmez aslında.
- SİMGELER EĞİTİMDE OLMAMALI - Prof. Dr. Üstün Ergüder (Eski Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Rektörü)
- GÜNDEME GELMESİ YANLIŞ - Prof. Dr. Ayşe Çakır İlhan (Ankara Üniversitesi Eğitim Fakültesi Dekanı)
- PEDAGOJİK ETKİSİ ÇOK YÖNLÜ OLUR Prof. Dr. Ayla Oktay (Eğitim Bilimci-Öğretim Üyesi): 10 yaşındaki bir çocuğun kendi iradesiyle karar verip, "Ben örtünmek istiyorum" demesi pek mümkün görünmüyor. Pedagojik açıdan çok yönlü etkisi olur. Burada kimsenin inançlara itiraz etmesi söz konusu olamaz. Herkes istediği şekilde inanır ama 10 yaşındaki çocuk kendi iradesiyle karar verecek durumda değil.

**ART NİYET OLMAZSA SORUN ÇIKMAZ** - Abdullah Karakuş (Tüm Eğitim Müfettişleri Derneği Yönetim Kurulu Başkanı): Ancak düzenlemeler, paydaşların görüşleri alınarak yapılmalı, paydaşlar bu konuda ikna edilmeli. Fakat başörtüsünün bir simge olarak algılanmaması gerekiyor.

## APPENDIX F

### HUMAN SUBJECTS ETHICS COMMITTEE APPROVAL

UYGULAMALI ETİK ARAŞTIRMA MERKEZİ  
APPLIED ETHICS RESEARCH CENTER

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 ORTA DOĞU TEKNİK ÜNİVERSİTESİ  
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

Sayı: 28620816 /104

07 MART 2016

Gönderilen: Prof.Dr. Cennet Engin DEMİR

Eğitim Fakültesi

Gönderen: Prof. Dr. Canan SÜMER

İnsan Araştırmaları Komisyonu Başkanı

İlgi: Etik Onayı

Sayın Prof.Dr. Cennet Engin DEMİR' in danışmanlığını yaptığı doktora öğrencisi Pınar Mercan KÜÇÜKAKIN'ın "Milli Eğitim Bakanlığının Eğitimde Cinsiyete Dayalı Fırsat Eşitliğine Yönelik Politikaları: Eleştirel Söylem Analizi" başlıklı araştırması İnsan Araştırmaları Komisyonu tarafından uygun görülerek gerekli onay **2016-EGT-030** protokol numarası ile **01.04.2016-31.07.2016** tarihleri arasında geçerli olmak üzere verilmiştir.

Bilgilerinize saygılarımla sunarım.

  
Prof. Dr. Canan SÜMER

Uygulamalı Etik Araştırma Merkezi  
İnsan Araştırmaları Komisyonu Başkanı



Prof. Dr. Meliha ALTUNIŞIK

İnsan Araştırmaları Komisyonu

Üyesi



Prof. Dr. Mehmet UTKU

İnsan Araştırmaları Komisyonu

Üyesi



Prof. Dr. Ayhan SOL

İnsan Araştırmaları Komisyonu

Üyesi



Yrd.Doç.Dr. Pınar KAYGAN

İnsan Araştırmaları Komisyonu

Üyesi

## APPENDIX G

### CURRICULUM VITAE

#### PINAR MERCAN KÜÇÜKAKIN

##### Personal Information:

Date of Birth: 11.08.1983

Place of Birth: Isparta

Marital Status: Married

##### Education:

**2011-2017** METU, PhD. in Curriculum and Instruction, Department of Educational Sciences, Faculty of Education  
(Cum. GPA: 4.00 /4.00)

**2007-2010** METU, MS in Curriculum and Instruction, Department of Educational Sciences, Faculty of Education  
(Cum. GPA: 3.80/4.00)

**2001-2005** METU, BA in Foreign Language Education, Department of Foreign Language Education, Faculty of Education  
(Cum. GPA: 3.12/4.00)

**1997-2001** Kahramanmaraş Anatolian Teacher Training High School  
(Cum. GPA: 4.89/5.00)

##### Experience:

**2011-(...)** Ankara Yıldırım Beyazıt University, School of Foreign Languages,

**2011-2012** Curriculum Unit- Coordinator of Elementary Level

**2014-2016** Testing Unit- Test Item Writer

**2011** Tuzluca Yır Anatolian High School, Mamak, Ankara

**2010-2011** Hurin Yavuzalp Primary School, Mamak, Ankara

**2009-2010** Yanalak Primary School, Sivas

**2005-2009** Çağatay Primary School, Kızılcahamam, Ankara

**2008-2009** Kızılcahamam Program Coordinator of Dyned

**2005** Dr. Binnaz & Rıdvan Ege Anatolian High School, Ankara  
(As an assistant of instructor in English courses)

- 2005** Mehmet Emin Resulzade Anatolian High School, Ankara  
(As an assistant of instructor in English courses)
- 2003-2005** METU Social Services Directorate, Ankara  
(As a teacher of English)

#### **Community Service**

- 2002- 2004** METU Graduates Association Voluntary Teaching Program  
(Tutoring students of poor socio-economic status)

#### **Foreign Languages :**

##### **English**

(Advanced Level)

##### **German**

(Intermediate Level)

#### **Publications**

##### **Conference Papers- International**

Mercan Küçükakın, P. & Engin Demir, C. (2017). Gender Discourses in Educational Policy Documents: A Critical Analysis. ECER 2017: The European Conference on Educational Research. 22-25 August 2017- Copenhagen V, Denmark.

Mercan Küçükakın, P., Engin Demir, C. & Küçükakın, Ü. (2015). Critical Issues and Trends in Girls' Education in Turkey: A Historical Perspective. ICGE 2015: International Conference on Gender and Education: Critical Issues, Policy and Practice. 28-30 May 2015 - Bloomington, IN, United States.

Engin Demir, C., Yıldırım, F. Ö. & Mercan Küçükakın, P. (2015). Gender Policy and Education in Turkish Context: A Critical Analysis of Policy Texts and Print Media. ICGE 2015: International Conference on Gender and Education: Critical Issues, Policy and Practice. 28-30 May 2015 - Bloomington, IN, United States

Mercan, P. & Engin Demir, C. (2011). Perceptions of Parents Regarding Girls' Education- Sivas Case. Cyprus International Conference on Educational Research. 08-10 February, 2012, METU Northern Cyprus Campus, North Cyprus.

Mercan, P. (2010). Needs Assessment Study of the 5th Grade English Language Curriculum. The Second International Congress of Educational Research, 29 April- 2 May 2010, Antalya, Turkey.

Mercan, P. & Cetinkaya, C. (2009). The Effects of Globalization on Family, Women's Status in Society and Women Education. International Congress on Intercultural Dialogue and Education: Human Beings, Society, Intercultural Dialogue and Education at the Beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century, 8- 11 October, 2009, Uludağ University, Bursa, Turkey.

### **Journal Papers (National)**

Mercan, P. & Engin Demir, C. (2017). Türkiye’de Kız Çocuklarının Eğitiminin Önündeki Engeller. MIMOZA- İTÜ Bilim, Mühendislik ve Teknolojide Kadın Araştırmaları ve Uygulama Merkezi Dergisi. 2017 (6)- s .39-43

### **MS Thesis**

Mercan, P. (2010). Perceptions of Parents Regarding Girls’ Education- Sivas Case. The Graduate School of Social Sciences, METU.

### **Phd Thesis**

Mercan Küçükakın, P. (2017). Critical Discourse Analysis of Gender Policy in Turkish Education: Evidence from Policy Documents and Print Media. The Graduate School of Social Sciences, METU.

### **Seminars and Workshops**

#### **2 Week Course for European Teachers of English at Primary Level**

26/10/2008-08/11/2008

International Study Programmes

United Kingdom/ Exeter

#### **Practical English Conversations Methods and Strategies**

10/09/2007-14/09/2007

Ministry of National Education- Ankara

#### **Oxford University Press ELT Seminar “Riding in a Ferrari or on the Belo”**

28/04/2007

Ankara Dedeman Hotel

#### **English Language Teaching Curriculum Methods and Strategies**

20/06/2011-24/06/2011

Ministry of National Education- Ankara

#### **Pearson Workshop “Practical Ideas and Trends in Teaching Fest”**

21/09/2016-22/09/2016

Ankara Yıldırım Beyazıt University



## APPENDIX H

### TÜRKÇE ÖZET

#### GİRİŞ

##### Eğitimde Fırsat Eşitliği

1950’li yıllara kadar fırsat eşitsizliği kavramı herkese dil, din, ırk ve cinsiyetin ne olursa olsun eğitim hakkı sağlamak şeklinde oldukça yüzeysel ve sınırlı bir biçimde kullanılmıştır. İkinci dünya savaşı döneminde yaşanan toplumsal gelişme ve düzenlemeler sonucunda fırsat eşitsizliği kavramına yeni anlamlar yüklendiği, temel eğitim olanaklarından yararlanmanın sayısal açıdan üst düzeye çıkarılması, özürlü bireyler gibi kavramları da kapsayacak şekilde daha geniş bir çerçevede algılandığı görülmüştür. Sonuç olarak, ikinci dünya savaşından bu yana eğitim ve sosyal eşitsizlikler arasındaki ilişki eğitim sosyolojisinin temel konuları arasına girmiştir (Güven,2000; Jencks et al, 1972& Wexler, 1976 as cited in Hallinan 1988).

Eğitim, toplumlarda demokratikleşme sürecine politik katılımın ve insan haklarının gerçekleştirilmesinin güçlü bir göstergesi olarak bilgi toplumunda milletlerin sosyal ve ekonomik gelişmeler açısından büyük önem taşımaktadır. Bu nedenle, eğitimin nicelik ve niteliğini geliştirmek yoluyla eğitimde fırsat eşitliği yaratmak ülkelerin politik gündemlerinde önemli bir yere sahiptir (Ferreira, 2011; Tomul, 2008). Eğitimde fırsat eşitliği her bireye, yaşadığı bölge ve cinsiyetinden bağımsız olarak kendi yetenek ve potansiyelini geliştirebilmesi için en üst basamağa kadar eğitim-öğretim sağlamak, aynı zamanda bireylerin niteliksel-niceliksel anlamda eğitim olanaklarından en üst düzeyde yararlanabilme imkânı sunmak ve bunların gerçekleşmesini yasalarla güvence altına almak şeklinde tanımlamaktadır (Güven, 2000; Tezcan, 1994). Bu açıdan, eğitimde fırsat eşitliğinin sağlanabilmesi için temel eğitim süresinin arttırılmasının yanında eğitim süreçlerinde, içeriğinde ve öğrenme ortamlarında karşılaşılan kalite farklılıklarının ortadan kaldırılması önem taşır (ERG, 2009).

Türkiye'de Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı ve sivil toplum kuruluşlarının yürüttüğü projeler sayesinde, temel eğitim seviyesindeki okullaşma oranları son yirmi yılda önemli ölçüde artmıştır. Tüm bu proje ve kayıt oranlarını artırma teşviklerine rağmen, zorunlu eğitim çağındaki kız ve erkeklerin% 6'sı okula kayıt yaptırmamaktadır (ERG, 2014). Bir diğer endişe verici nokta ise ortaöğretim düzeyinde okula devam etmeyen öğrencilerin oranının oldukça yüksek olmasıdır. Ayrıca, okula kayıtlı olmayan kız çocuklarının sayısı o seviyedeki erkek öğrencilere göre daha yüksektir. Özellikle ülkenin doğu bölgelerinde ortaöğretim düzeyinde kız çocukları erkeklerden yüzde 7-8 oranla daha dezavantajlı durumdadır (ERG, 2014). Son yıllarda Türk eğitim sisteminin her sahası önemli politika değişikliklerinden geçmiş ve yeni girişimlerde bulunulmuştur. Yasal düzlemde eğitimden yararlanabilme açısından olumsuz hiçbir düzenleme olmamasına rağmen eğitime erişim ve kalite açısından cinsiyete, yaşanan bölgeye ve sosyo-ekonomik statüye bağlı farklılıklar eğitimde sosyal bir eşitsizlik sorunu olduğunu ortaya koymaktadır (Aydagül, 2006; Smits and Hoşgör 2006; World Bank 2005; Aydagül, 2009). Türkiye'de doğu ve batı bölgeleri arasında istihdam ve eğitim açısından çarpıcı eşitsizlikler söz konusudur. Aynı şekilde, ortaöğretim giriş sınavları (OKS-SBS) ve PISA sınav sonuçlarına göre öğrencilerin başarı seviyeleri arasında cinsiyete, yaşanan bölgeye ve sosyo-ekonomik statüye göre dikkat çekici farklılıklar olduğu görülmüştür (Aydagül, 2006; Buyruk, 2008; Ferreira ve Gignoux, 2010; Sarier, 2010; Smits ve Hoşgör 2006; Tomul; 2008). Sistemdeki bu sorunlar göz önüne alındığında, özellikle ülkemizin dezavantajlı bölgelerinde eğitime erişimi artırma çabalarıyla birlikte, ulusal eğitimin kalitesinde iyileştirmeyi gerektiren bir eğitimde fırsat eşitsizliği problemi vardır (ERG, 2012)

### **Eğitimde Cinsiyet Eşitsizliği**

Eğitimin, yoksulluğun azaltılması, bireylerin iş bulma olanakları ve sağlık standartlarının genişletilmesi yoluyla yaşam kalitesinin yükseltilmesi ve demokrasinin güçlendirilmesi gibi insan hayatını olumlu etkileyen birçok getirisi vardır (UNGEI, 2009; UNGEI, 2013). Eğitim, kadınların eşit haklara sahip olması ve cinsiyet ayrımcılığının ortadan kaldırılması yoluyla özellikle kadınların güçlenmesine katkı sağlar. Kadın eğitiminin bireysel, ailevi ve sosyal düzeyde

yüksek getirileri vardır (UNGEI, 2013; World Bank, 2009a). Yani, kadın eğitimi kadınların potansiyellerini yerine getirmelerini ve çeşitli sosyal yaşam alanlarındaki gelişmelere katkıda bulunmalarını sağlaması bakımından kişisel ve ulusal kalkınmada son derece önemli bir rol oynamaktadır (Acar, 2003; ERI, 2010; Yazan, 2014). Kadın eğitiminin bireysel ve sosyal kalkınma alanlarıyla yüksek derecede ilişkili olduğu bilinmesine ve eğitimde cinsiyet eşitliğinin sağlanması uzun süredir birçok gelişmekte olan ülkenin eğitim gündeminde olsa da kadın eğitimi konusu uygun şekilde ele alınmamıştır ve birçok toplumda en az yatırım yapılan alan olmuştur (Bandyopadhyay and Subrahmanian, 2008; UNESCO, 2005).

Son on yılda Türk eğitim sisteminin her sahası önemli politika değişikliklerinden geçmiş ve yeni girişimlerde bulunulmuştur. Eğitim reformlarının bir parçası olarak, Türkiye kız çocuklarının eğitimini kritik bir öncelik olarak ele almış ve bunu öncelikli konuyu uygun bir biçimde ele almak amacıyla hükümet ve sivil toplum örgütleri yoğun çaba saf etmiştir (Aydagül, 2013). Eğitime katılım, kalite ve çıktıları açısından kaydedilen tüm ilerlemelere rağmen, eğitimde eşitlik ve kaliteyi artırma konusu Türkiye’de halen üstünde çalışılması ve geliştirilmesi gereken bir sorundur (Aydagül, 2013; Ferreira and Gignoux, 2010; Sarier, 2010; World Bank Group, 2014).

Bu politika girişimleri ve eğitim reformu çabaları sonucunda, Türkiye eğitimde cinsiyete dayalı fırsat eşitliği sağlamaya yönelik önemli ilerlemeler kaydetmiştir. UNICEF ve Dünya Bankası eğitimde raporlarına göre, hem erkek hem kız çocuklarının ilköğretim düzeyinde eğitime katılım oranları 2012-2013 eğitim öğretim yılında Avrupa ve Orta Asya bölgelerinin ortalamalarının üstündedir. Dört yıllık ortaöğretime net katılım oranları da cinsiyet eşitliği açısından ilerleme olduğunu göstermektedir (erkek çocukları için %70.8, kız çocukları için %69.3) (MEB, 2013; UNICEF, 2013; Dünya Bankası, 2014). Benzer şekilde, ülke çapında yapılan sınavların ve PISA sınavının sonuçları değerlendirildiğinde, Türkiye her iki cinsiyet için de eğitimin kalitesini yükseltmek açısından önemli ilerlemeler kaydetmiştir. (Ferreira ve Gignoux, 2010; Sarier, 2010; Dünya Bankası, 2014). Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı istatistiklerine göre Türkiye’de kız çocuklarının okullaşma

oranlarında son yıllarda artış olduğu görülmektedir. Buna rağmen, eğitimin tüm kademelerinde kızların okullaşması toplam okullaşma oranından ve erkek öğrencilerin okullaşma oranlarından düşüktür (MEB, 2013). Eğitime katılım, kalite ve çıktıları açısından kaydedilen tüm ilerlemelere rağmen, eğitimde eşitlik ve kaliteyi artırma konusu Türkiye’de halen üstünde çalışılması ve geliştirilmesi gereken bir sorundur (Aydagül, 2013; Ferreira and Gignoux, 2010; Sarier, 2010; Tomul, 2008). Eğitime erişimi olumsuz etkileyen faktörlerin özellikle kız çocuklarının eğitimi üzerinde daha belirleyici olduğu göz önünde bulundurulursa, eğitim alanındaki cinsiyet eşitsizliklerinin toplumsal alandaki eşitsizliklerin bir izdüşümü olduğu söylenebilir. Araştırmalar, kız çocuklarının toplumdaki farklı rollerin ve statülerin atfedilmesi, okullarda kız öğrencilere karşı farklı muamele gösterilmesi, kız çocuklarının özgüveninin düşmesine neden olan sınıf ve okul kültürü, programlarda ve ders kitaplarında yer alan toplumsal cinsiyet klişeleri, zeka ve yeteneklerin cinsiyete göre farklılık gösterdiği varsayımı ve okulların işleyişi gibi önemli etmenlerin eğitimde cinsiyete dayalı fırsat eşitsizliğine neden olduğunu ortaya çıkarmıştır (Colclough, 2004; Sayılan 2012). Eğitimde cinsiyete dayalı eşitliğin sağlanması sürecinde konuya ilişkin söylemlerin incelenmesi eğitimde fırsat eşitsizliği kavramını derinlemesine incelemek ve daha somut bir şekilde açıklayabilmek açısından önem taşır.

### **Araştırmanın Önemi**

Eğitim alanındaki cinsiyet eşitsizlikleri toplumsal alandaki eşitsizliklerin bir iz düşümüdür. Eğitimde cinsiyete dayalı fırsat eşitliği sağlanabilmesi için toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliği sağlamaya yönelik politikaların benimsenip uygulanması önem taşır. Diğer taraftan eğitim politikaları toplumsal alanda meydana gelen diğer değişiklik ve ilerlemeler doğrultusunda gelişir ve şekillenir (Wang, 2013). Bir toplumda gücün kimde olduğu toplumsal değerlerin anlaşılması açısından önemlidir çünkü ideolojileri, kültürel değerleri ve inanç sistemleri yönetici sınıf tarafından şekillendirilir. İdeolojiyi aktaran ve toplum içinde yayılmasını sağlayan eğitim sistemi, siyasal sistem, hukuk sistemi ve basın yayın kuruluşları gibi araçların kontrolü yönetici sınıfın elindedir. Bu araçlar yönetilen sınıfın ikincil konumunu sorgulamadan kabullenmesi ve “doğal” ve haklı görmesine aracılık

eder (Fiske, 1996; Terzioğlu, 2015; Lynch and Baker, 2005). Toplumsal cinsiyet iktidar ilişkileriyle bağlantılıdır. Söylemin gerçekliği yorumlayan ve yeniden kuran özelliği olduğu için (Allan, 2008) iktidarlar söylemleri kullanarak insanların toplumsal cinsiyet perspektiflerine ve davranış kalıplarına yön verirler. Devlet toplumsal cinsiyet rolleri yaratabildiği gibi, varolan ataerkil rollerin sürdürülmesi ve yeniden üretilmesine de aracılık edebilir. Bu açıdan söylemler devlet politika ve uygulamaları ile aynı işlevi görür Bu bağlamda, politika söylemlerindeki cinsiyetçi ve yanlı ifadeler kadınları eğitim sistemi içerisinde dezavantajlı konuma düşürebilir. (Allan, 2008; Lombardo et al., 2012; Gazioğlu Terzi, 2015).

Kitle iletişim araçları iktidarın kadınlara toplumsal normları kabul ettirme ve bu şekilde toplumsal cinsiyet eşitsizliğini pekiştirme araçlarından birisidir (Bordo, 1993). Kadına yönelik söylemlerin ne şekilde ve hangi yollarla iletilildiğinin incelenmesi cinsiyete dayalı ayrımcılığın nedenlerinin ortaya koyulması açısından önem taşır. Bu bağlamda, eğitim politikalarının yazılı medyaya ne şekilde yansıdığı incelenmesi ve bu metinlerin eleştirel bir yaklaşımla çözümlenmesi eğitimde cinsiyete dayalı fırsat eşitsizliği göstergeleri ortaya koymak ve bu eşitsizliklerin nedenlerini görebilmek açısından önemlidir (Güzel, 2014). Dil değişik kişilerin kullanım şekillerinde farklı anlamlar ve mesajlar barındırma özelliğine sahiptir. Bu nedenle eğitim politikalarının yazılı medyaya yansıma biçimlerinin incelenmesi medya söylemlerinde yer alan güç ilişkilerinin anlaşılmasını sağlar. Eğitim politikalarının yazılı medyaya yansıma biçimlerinin eleştirel söylem analizi yöntemiyle incelenmesi medyanın insanların bu politikalara yönelik algıları üzerindeki etkisinin ve aynı zamanda bu haberlerin sunumunda saklı olan politik konuların anlaşılmasına yardımcı olur (Cohen, 2010).

Benzer şekilde medyada verilen mesajların insanlar tarafından nasıl algılandığının incelenmesi önemlidir. Medya tek yönlü mesajlar vermez, medyada yer alan metinlere hedef kitle kendi özel yorumlarını katar ve değişik şekillerde yorumlar. Medyanın sadece bir bakış açısı yansıtmaması gibi, medya metinlerini ve medya kanallarında yer alan mesajları insanların algılamasının birçok yolu vardır (Stack and Kelly, 2006). Bu nedenle son on yılda medyada yer alan eğitim haberlerinin

öğretmenler tarafından nasıl yorumlandığının araştırılması, yazılı medya söylemlerinin öğretmenlerde eğitimde toplumsal cinsiyet politikaları açısından nasıl bir algı oluşturduğunun ortaya çıkarılması açısından önem taşır.

Söylemler olayların ve gerçeklerin insanlar tarafından algılanış biçimlerini şekillendirir (Mokman ve Hoffman, 2013). Politika dokümanlarında kullanılan dilde yapılan vurgular, imalar, doğrudan ve dolaylı anlatımlar cinsiyet eşitliği gibi karmaşık bir konunun nasıl anlaşıldığını ve ne şekilde yansıtıldığını ortaya koyar. Bu önemli konunun algılanış biçimi eğitim uygulamalarının ne doğrultuda ilerleyeceği açısından belirleyicidir. Sonuç olarak, eğitim politikalarında kullanılan söylemler eğitimde kalitenin artırılması yönünde yapılan tüm girişimlerin temelini oluşturur. Bu çerçevede, bu çalışma Türkiye’de son on yılda eğitimde toplumsal cinsiyet politikalarını değerlendirmeyi ve politika dokümanlarında ve medyada yansıtılış biçimi ile toplumsal cinsiyete yönelik söylemleri eleştirel söylem analizi yöntemiyle incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır.

Daha net bir ifade ile bu çalışmanın amacı üç yönlüdür: (1) Türkiye’de son on yılda eğitimde toplumsal cinsiyet politikalarına ilişkin politika söylemlerini incelemek, (2) Türkiye’de son on yılda eğitimde cinsiyet politikaları üzerine medya söylemlerini incelemek ve (3) öğretmenlerin son on yıldaki eğitimdeki cinsiyet politikalarına ilişkin görüşlerini incelemek.

Yukardaki amaçlar doğrultusunda bu çalışma aşağıdaki araştırma sorularına cevap bulmayı hedeflemiştir:

1. Eğitimde toplumsal cinsiyet politikaları son on yılda Türkiye’de yayınlanan eğitim politikası dokümanlarında nasıl yansıtılmaktadır?
  - 1.1. Toplumsal cinsiyet kimliği eğitim politikası dokümanlarında nasıl yansıtılmaktadır?
  - 1.2. Eğitim politikaları dokümanlarında eğitimde cinsiyet eşitsizliğini yansıtan herhangi bir söylemsel gösterge var mıdır?
2. Eğitimde toplumsal cinsiyet politikaları son on yılda yazılı medyada nasıl yansıtılmaktadır?

- 2.1. Yazılı medya söylemleri insanların son on yıldaki eğitimde toplumsal cinsiyet politikaları anlayışını ve algılarını nasıl şekillendirmektedir?
- 2.2. Toplumsal cinsiyet kimliği gazete haberlerinde nasıl yansıtılmaktadır?
- 2.3. Yazılı medyada yer alan eğitim haberlerinde eğitimde cinsiyet eşitsizliğini yansıtan herhangi bir söylemsel gösterge var mıdır?
3. Öğretmenlerin son on yılda eğitimde toplumsal cinsiyet politikalarına yönelik algıları nelerdir?

## LİTERATÜR TARAMASI ÖZETİ

Türkiye’de eğitimde fırsat eşitsizliğine ilişkin birçok çalışma ve proje yürütülmüştür. Bu çalışmaların sonuçları değerlendirildiğinde eğitime erişim açısından sosyal bir eşitsizlik sorunu olduğu görülmektedir. Yani, Türkiye’de cinsiyete, yaşanan bölgeye ve sosyo-ekonomik statüye bağlı eğitimde fırsat eşitsizliği sorunsalı ön plana çıkmaktadır (Aydagül, 2006; Smits and Hoşgör 2006; World Bank 2005; Wort 2007 as cited in Aydagül, 2009). Ortaöğretim giriş sınavları (OKS-SBS) ve PISA sınav sonuçları değerlendirildiğinde, öğrencilerin başarı seviyeleri arasında cinsiyete, yaşanan bölgeye ve sosyo-ekonomik statüye göre dikkat çekici farklılıklar olduğu görülmüştür (Ferreira and Gignoux, 2010; Sarier, 2010). Benzer şekilde Buyruk (2008) velilerin eğitim seviyesinin, entelektüel birikimin ve ailelerin sosyal sınıfının Türkiye’de eğitimde fırsat eşitsizliği sorunu üzerinde etkili olduğunu belirtmiştir

Yaşanılan bölgeye bağlı eğitimde fırsat eşitsizliğine ilişkin yürütülen çalışmalar da benzer sonuçlar ortaya koymuştur. Türkiye’de doğu ve batı bölgeleri arasında istihdam ve eğitim açısından çarpıcı eşitsizlikler söz konusudur (European Training Foundation, 2006). Akbey (2006) çalışmasında Güneydoğu Anadolu Bölgesindeki eğitimi fırsat eşitsizliği açısından değerlendirmiştir. Araştırmanın sonuçlarına göre diğer bölgelere kıyasla, Güney Doğu Anadolu Bölgesinde eğitimin tüm kademelerinde eğitime katılım oranı daha düşüktür. Kalabalık ve birleştirilmiş sınıflar ve öğretmen yetersizliği bu bölgede yaşanan eşitsizliklerin nedenleri arasında sayılabilir. Buna rağmen Ferreira and Gignoux’un (2010)

çalışması diğer değişken ve durumlar kontrol edildiğinde bölgesel farklılıkların eğitime katılım açısından belirleyici olmadığını ortaya koymuştur.

Kız çocuklarının toplumdaki sosyal rolleri ve statüleri eğitim ve eğitimde cinsiyet eşitsizliğine neden olan çeşitli unsurlar aracılığı ile şekillenmektedir. Araştırmalar, kız çocuklarına karşı farklı ilgi ve muamele gösterilmesi, kız çocuklarının özgüveninin düşmesine neden olan sınıf ve okul kültürü, programlarda ve ders kitaplarında yer alan toplumsal cinsiyet klişeleri, zeka ve yeteneklerin cinsiyete göre farklılık gösterdiği varsayımı ve okulların işleyişi gibi önemli etmenlerin eğitimde cinsiyete dayalı fırsat eşitsizliğine neden olduğunu ortaya çıkarmıştır (Colclough, 2004; Sayılan 2012).

Türkiye’de, kız çocukların eğitimini etkileyen unsurları araştıran birçok çalışma yapılmıştır. Kız çocuklarının eğitiminin gereksiz görülmesi, erken yaşta yapılan evlilikler, çocuğun iş gücüne duyulan ihtiyaç, ailenin ekonomik durumunun yetersizliği, yaşanılan çevre, okul güvenliği ile ilgili kaygılar, yatılı okul imkanlarının yetersizliği, anne-babanın özellikle babanın eğitim seviyesi, sosyo-kültürel ve dini değerler, aile içinde erkek çocukların eğitime daha çok önem verilmesi kız çocuklarının eğitimi önündeki engeller arasındadır. Kız çocuklarına erken yaşlarda yüklenen sosyal roller kızların okula gidememesinin en önemli nedenidir. Kültürel ve geleneksel uygulamalar kızların eğitime yönelik olumsuz tutum gelişmesine sebep olmuştur (Alat and Alat, 2011; Dilli, 2006; Gönenç, Ayhan ve Bakır, 2002; Mercan, 2010; Tomul, 2008).

## **ARASTIRMA YÖNTEMİ**

Bu çalışmanın amacı üç yönlüdür: (1) Türkiye’de son on yılda eğitimde toplumsal cinsiyet politikalarına ilişkin politika söylemlerini incelemek, (2) Türkiye’de son on yılda eğitimde cinsiyet politikaları üzerine medya söylemlerini incelemek ve (3) öğretmenlerin son on yıldaki eğitimdeki cinsiyet politikalarına ilişkin görüşlerini incelemek. Bu amaçla, 14 farklı gazetede son on yılda yayınlanan 252 adet eğitim haberi, Milli Bakanlığı ve eğitim alanında çalışmalar yapan çeşitli sivil toplum kuruluşları tarafından son on yılda yayınlanan 124 adet eğitim raporu ve politika dokümanı, Eleştirel Söylem Analizi yöntemiyle analiz edilmiştir. Benzer



şekilde, incelenen eğitim haberlerin ve eğitim politikalarının öğretmenler tarafından nasıl algılandığını belirlemek amacıyla Ankara ilinde, Milli Eğitim Bakanlığına bağlı değişik eğitim kademelerinde görev yapan 13 öğretmen ile yarı yapılandırılmış görüşmeler yapılmıştır.

### **Eleştirel Söylem Analizi:**

Söylem analizi çalışmaları dilin kullanıldığı bağlamdan ne şekilde etkilendiğinin incelendiği çalışmalardır. Rogers (2004) söylemlerde her zaman çeşitli sosyal, politik, etnik ve ekonomik yansımaların olduğunu ileri sürmüştür. Bu nedenle, söylem analizi kendisi bilimsel bir alan ya da bir yöntem olmaktan çok beşeri ve sosyal bilimlere yayılmış türdeş bir alan olarak değerlendirilmelidir (van Dijk, 2008).

Eleştirel söylem analizi yazılı metinlerde, konuşmalarda ve diğer iletişimsel bağlamlarda saklı olan farklı sosyal anlamları, norm, değer ve bakış açılarını ortaya koymayı ve yorumlamayı amaçlayan bir söylem analizi türüdür (Fairclough, 1995; Paltridge, 2013, van Dijk, 2008).

Rogers (2004) eleştirel söylem analizini toplum ve dil arasındaki ilişkiyi inceleyen araştırmacılar tarafından kullanılan bir teori ve aynı zamanda bir metot olarak ele almıştır. Bu analiz yöntemi dil ile dilin sosyal ve politik bağlamları arasındaki karşılıklı ilişkiyi inceler ve toplumsal cinsiyet, etnik köken, kültürel farklılıklar, ideoloji ve kimlik gibi konuların kullanıldıkları bağlamlarda nasıl şekillendiği ve ifade edildiğini ortaya çıkarmayı hedefler (Paltridge, 2013). Genel olarak eleştirel söylem analizi söylemlerin sosyal ve politik eşitsizlik yaratmadaki rolünü irdeler (Wooffitt, 2005). Diğer bir deyişle, eleştirel söylem analizi sözlü etkileşimin, iletişim uygulamalarının, metinlerin ve söylevlerin güç tacizi, sosyal eşitsizlik ve adaletsizlikleri yaratmadaki rolüyle ilgilenir (van Dijk, 2008).

Söylemler olayların ve gerçeklerin insanlar tarafından algılanış biçimlerini şekillendirir (Mokman ve Hoffman, 2013). Politika dokümanlarında kullanılan dilde yapılan vurgular, imalar, doğrudan ve dolaylı anlatımlar cinsiyet eşitliği gibi karmaşık bir konunun nasıl anlaşıldığını ve ne şekilde yansıtıldığını ortaya koyar.

Bu önemli konunun algılanış biçimi eğitim uygulamalarının ne doğrultuda ilerleyeceği açısından belirleyicidir. Sonuç olarak, eğitim politikalarında kullanılan söylemler eğitimde kalitenin artırılması yönünde yapılan tüm girişimlerin temelini oluşturur. Bu çerçevede, bu çalışma Milli Eğitim Bakanlığının cinsiyet eşitsizliğine yönelik eğitim politikalarını değerlendirmeyi ve politika dokümanlarında ve medyada yansıtılış biçimi ile eğitimde fırsat eşitsizliğine yönelik söylemleri eleştirel söylem analizi yöntemiyle incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır.

Bu çalışmada metodolojik bir çerçeve olarak Fairclough'un (1995) üç boyutlu modeli kullanılmış ve bu modelin araştırmaya uygulanması için çalışma üç aşamalı olarak tasarlanmıştır. Eleştirel söylem çalışmaları, araştırmının amaçlarına uygun olan ilgili herhangi bir yöntemi kullanabildiği için (van Dijk, 2008), bu çalışmada kullanılan yazılı materyallerin analizinde Bowen (2009) tarafından önerilen yinelemeli bir doküman analiz yöntemi kullanılmıştır. Araştırmının birinci aşamasında eğitimde cinsiyet politikası üzerine politika söylemlerini incelemek amacıyla eğitim politikası belgelerinin eleştirel bir analizi yapılmıştır. Bu amaçla, Türkiye'de son on yılda yayınlanan politika belgelerinin ilgili kısımları seçildi ve daha sonra bu kısımların analizi tematik bir analizle gerçekleştirildi. İkinci aşamada, eğitimde toplumsal cinsiyet politikaları üzerine medya söylemlerini incelemek amacıyla son on yılda Türkiye'de 14 ulusal gazetede yayınlanan haberlerin eleştirel söylem analizi yapıldı. Araştırmının birinci ve ikinci aşaması ampirik materyallerin doküman analizini içerdiği için Fairclough'un (1995) modelinin *Tanımlama* aşamasına karşılık gelmektedir. Yani, iki farklı kaynaktan gelen kapsamlı ve nitel veriler eleştirel bir bakış açısıyla birbiriyle ilişkilendirilerek tematik analiz yöntemiyle kodlanıp analiz edildi. Öğretmen görüşmelerinden elde edilen veriler, araştırmının belge analizi aşamasında kullanılan verileri desteklemek için kullanıldı. Politika dokümanları ve gazete haberlerinin ön analizinden elde edilen veriler mülakat sorularının hazırlanmasında kullanılmıştır. Benzer şekilde, öğretmen görüşmelerinin içerik analizi, doküman analizi aşamasında oluşturulan kod listesiyle gerçekleştirilmiştir. Bu nedenle üçüncü aşama, birinci ve ikinci aşama ile ilişkilendirilerek gerçekleştirilmiştir. Araştırmının üçüncü aşamasının amacı öğretmenlerin Türkiye'de son on yıldaki

eğitimde toplumsal politikalarına yönelik görüşlerini incelemektir. Ayrıca, öğretmen görüşmeleri yazılı medya söylemlerinin bireylerin son on yıldaki eğitimde toplumsal cinsiyet politikalarına yönelik algılarının şekillendirmesindeki rolünü tespit etmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Bu nedenle, bu araştırmanın üçüncü aşaması Fairclough'un (1995) üç boyutlu modelinin söylemsel materyallerden elde edilen anlamlarla ilgilenen *Yorumlama* aşamasına karşılık gelmektedir. Benzer şekilde, araştırmacının yorum ve algısı da yorumlama aşamasının bir parçasıdır. Veri analizi aşamasının sonunda, çalışmanın üç aşaması üç farklı veri kaynağından elde edilen veriler ilişkilendirilerek bir araya getirildi. Bu son aşamada, veri setinin daha odaklı ve derinlemesine incelenmesini ve elde edilen verilerin araştırma bağlamı çerçevesinde incelenmesini gerektirmiştir. Verilerin anlamlı bir şekilde yorumlanabilmesi için, araştırmacı, söylemsel materyallerin içerdiği bilgileri, eğitim politikaların bağlamsal özelliklerini ve politika geliştirme sürecinin sosyal koşullarını göz önünde bulundurarak değerlendirmiştir. Veri analizinin tamamlanmış hali eğitim politikası söylemi ile eğitim politikası oluşturmada etkili sosyal koşullar arasındaki etkileşimleri ortaya koyduğu için Fairclough'un (1995) modelinin *Açıklama* aşamasına karşılık gelmektedir.

### **Veri Kaynakları**

Bu çalışmada üç temel veri kaynağı bulunmaktadır. (1) Milli Bakanlığı ve eğitim alanında çalışmalar yapan çeşitli sivil toplum kuruluşları tarafından son on yılda yayınlanan 124 adet eğitim raporu ve politika dokümanı, (2) 14 farklı gazetede son on yılda yayınlanan 252 adet eğitim haberi, (3) Ankara ilinde, Milli Eğitim Bakanlığına bağlı eğitim kurumlarında değişik kademelerde görev yapan 13 öğretmen ile yapılan yarı yapılandırılmış görüşmeler.

### ***Eğitim Politikası Dokümanları***

Araştırmanın ilk aşamasında, son on yılda yayınlanan eğitim politikası dokümanları hakkında ayrıntılı bir araştırma gerçekleştirilmiş ve eğitimde toplumsal cinsiyet konusuna değinen toplam 124 adet belge belirlenmiştir. Bu belgeler üç temel kritere göre seçilmiştir. (1) 2005-2015 yılları arasında yayınlanan politika dokümanları belirlenmiştir.(2) Bu süre içerisinde Milli Bakanlığı ve eğitim

alanında çalışmalar yapan çeşitli sivil toplum kuruluşları tarafından yayınlanan dokümanlardan eğitimde toplumsal cinsiyet ve kızların eğitimine yönelik bilgi içeren dokümanlar seçilmiştir. Eğitim sendikalarının raporları ve üniversite görüşleri de eğitim politikalarının oluşturulmasında ve kamuoyunun bakış açısının şekillenmesinde etkili olduğu için bu kurumların raporları da veri setine dahil edilmiştir. (3) Geniş kitlelere ulaşan ve en yaygın dokümanlara ulaşmak amaçlandığı için kurumların internet sitelerinde yer alan belgeler veri setine dahil edilmiştir.

### ***Gazete Haberleri***

İlk aşamada, Türkiye'de farklı ideolojik görüş ve grupları destekleyen 14 ulusal gazete seçilmiştir. Bu gazetelerin internet arşivlerinin ayrıntılı bir incelemesinden sonra toplam 252 gazete haberi belirlenmiştir. Özellikle kadın eğitime ve eğitimde toplumsal cinsiyet konusuna değinen haberler çalışma kapsamına alınmıştır.

### ***Öğretmen Görüşmeleri***

Araştırmanın son aşamasında Ankara ilinde, Milli Eğitim Bakanlığına bağlı eğitim kurumlarında değişik kademelerde görev yapan 13 öğretmen ile yapılan yarı yapılandırılmış görüşmeler yapılmıştır. Bu görüşmelerin amacı, öğretmenlerin eğitimde toplumsal cinsiyet politikaları ile ilgili algı ve görüşlerini belirlemek ve medya söylemelerinin insanların algısını nasıl şekillendirdiği incelemektir. Daha net bir ifade ile araştırmanın bu aşaması iki boyutludur: (1) öğretmenlerin son on yıldaki eğitimde toplumsal cinsiyet politikalarına ilişkin görüşlerini belirlemek (2) öğretmenlerin son on yılda yazılı medyada yer alan eğitimde toplumsal cinsiyet politikasına ilişkin haberleri nasıl yorumladıklarını incelemek.

### ***Örneklem Seçimi***

Araştırmaya katılacak öğretmenlerin seçiminde amaçlı örnekleme yönteminden yararlanılmıştır. Örnekleme yöntemi temel olarak maksimum çeşitlilik örnekleme ve kartopu zincir örneklemesinin birleşiminden oluşmaktadır. Araştırmanın amaçları doğrultusunda katılımcılar üç temel kritere göre seçilmiştir. Öğretmenlerin (1) en az 10 yıl öğretmenlik deneyimi olmasına, (2) araştırma

konusuyla ilgili arařtırmaya katkıda bulunabilecek kadar bilgi sahibi olmasına ve (3) deęişik eęitim seviyelerinde görev yapıyor olmasına dikkat edilmiřtir.

Katılımcıların belirlenmesinin ilk ařamasında arařtırmacı daha önceden öęretmenlerin bir listesini yaparak bu üç kritere uygun olan gönüllü yedi öęretmen ile görüřme yapmıřtır. Görüřmelerin geri kalanı ise ilk ařamada mülakat yapılan öęretmenlerin arařtırmanın kriterlerine uygunu olduęu düşünerek arařtırmacıya önerdięi öęretmenler arasından gönüllü olan altı öęretmen ile yapılmıřtır.

### **Veri Analizi**

Bu çalıřmada kullanılan yazılı materyallerin analizinde Bowen (2009) tarafından önerilen yinelemeli bir doküman analiz yöntemi kullanılmıřtır. İlk ařamada veri setine dahil edilen tüm politika belgeleri ve gazete haberleri söylem kategorilerine göre gruplandırılırken, öęretmen görüřmeleri transkript edilip katılımcılara verilen takma isimlere göre dosyalanmıřtır. Nitel çalıřmalarda veri toplama ve analiz iřlemleri birbirinin tamamlayıcısı niteliğindedir (Merriam, 2009). Veri analizi sürecinde arařtırmacı bir yandan veri toplamaya devam ederken bir yandan da dokümanların ön analizlerini gerçekleřtirmiřtir. Ön analizler yapılırken aynı zamanda taslak kod listesi de oluřturulmuřtur.

Analizlerin ikinci ařamasında politika dokümanları, gazete haberleri ve öęretmen görüřmelerinin analizi ön analiz ařamasında oluřturulan taslak kod listesi kullanılarak yapılmıřtır. Söylem kategorileri ve taslak kod listesi üç ayrı kaynaktan toplanan verinin birleřtirilip anlamlı bir bütün haline getirilmesinde yardımcı olmuřtur. Bu üç veri kaynaęı birbirinin tamamlayıcısı niteliğinde olduęu için politika dokümanlarının analizinden elde edilen kod listesi sırasıyla gazete haberlerinin ve öęretmen görüřmelerinin analizinde kullanılmıřtır. Bu ařamada arařtırmacı ampirik materyalleri tekrar tekrar okuyup düzenlemiř ve ortaya çıkan yeni söylem kategori ve kodlarını mevcut olanlarla sürekli karřılařtırarak analizlere devam etmiřtir. Söylem kategorileri ve kodlar verinin en anlamlı řekilde yorumlanmasına imkan saęlayıncaya kadar birleřtirilip daraltılmıřtır (Cohen et al., 2007). Bu ařamada, arařtırmanın güvenilirliğini test etmek için her veri setinden bir kesit seçilerek eęitim alanında uzman bir bařka arařtırmacı tarafından da

kodlanmıştır. Araştırmacılar veri setlerini bireysel olarak kodladıktan sonra sonuçlar karşılaştırılmıştır. İki araştırmacının kodlaması %90 oranında tutarlı bulunmuştur.

Bütün veriler toplandıktan sonra tematik analiz aşamasına geçilmiştir (Bowen, 2009). Bu aşamada araştırmacı veri setleri arasındaki “benzerlik, farklılık ve ortak noktaları” tespit etmek için ortaya çıkan kategori ve kodları tekrar gözden geçirmiştir (Cohen et al., 2007, p. 461). Yani, veri setleri arasında tematik ilişki kurmak amacıyla kodlar ve kategoriler arasındaki tutarlılıklara bakılmış ve gerekli düzenlemeler yapılarak söylem kategorilerine son hali verilmiştir. Üç farklı kaynaktan elde edilen veriler söylem kategorilerinin ve kodların son hali dikkate alınarak birleştirilmiş ve araştırmanın sonuçları bu söylem kategorilerine uygun olarak sunulmuştur. Veri analizi sonuçlarına göre, veri setlerindeki söylemler eğitimde toplumsal cinsiyet politikalarıyla ilişkili üç ana kategoride şekillenmiştir: (1) *Toplumsal Cinsiyet Kimlikleri*, (2) *Cinsiyet Eşitliği*, (3) *Kız Çocuklarının Eğitimin Önündeki Engeller*.

## **BULGULAR**

Araştırmaların bulguları eğitim politikalarının cinsiyetçi yapısını değişik boyutlarıyla ortaya koymuştur. Eğitim politikalarının oluşturulmasından uygulamasına kadar her aşamasında cinsiyet eşitsizliği ve cinsiyet ayrımcılığı göstergeleri vardır. Başka bir deyişle, cinsiyetçi eğitim politikaları ve bu politikaların uygulama aşamasında ortaya koyduğu olumsuz sonuçlar, eğitimde cinsiyet eşitsizliği yaratmaktadır. Yasal söylem eşitlik anlayışı ile uyumlu görünse de, eğitim politikalarının altında yatan tutarsızlıklar Türk eğitim ortamından cinsiyet eşitsizliğine neden olan politik bir gerçeklik yaratmaktadır. Eğitime katılımın otomatik olarak toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliği sonucunu doğurmadığı uzun süredir biliniyor olmasına rağmen, politika dokümanlarındaki baskın söylem eğitimde cinsiyet eşitsizliği konusunu kız öğrencilerin okullaşma oranlarının düşüklüğü çerçevesinde sayısal bir sorun olarak yansıtmıştır. Politika dokümanlarında kayıt oranlarının fazla vurgulanıyor olması eğitimde cinsiyet eşitsizliğini sosyal bir sorun olarak basite indirgemektedir. Kızların eğitim

alanındaki gelişmelere ilişkin yanlış söylem eğitim sistemi içinde yeniden üretilen cinsiyetçi tutum ve davranışları gölgelemektedir. Aynı zamanda eğitim politikalarının çizdiği söylemsel çerçeve, eğitimde cinsiyet eşitliği politikalarının sadece okullulaşma oranlarının artırılmasını hedeflediğini göstermektedir. Araştırmaya katılan öğretmenler eğitim kurumlarında toplumsal cinsiyet rollerini ve cinsiyetçi geleneksel uygulamalarını güçlendiren ideolojik mekanizmalara değinmiştir. Daha net bir ifade ile eğitim sisteminin kadınları hükümet görevlilerinin cinsiyetçi söylemleri, müfredatın içeriği ve uygulanması yoluyla dezavantajlı konuma düşürdüğüne dikkat çekilmiştir.

Bu araştırmada yapılan analizler eğitimde cinsiyet eşitsizliğine sebep olan başlıca nedenleri ve toplumsal alandaki cinsiyet ayrımcılığının eğitim alanına yansımalarını ortaya koymuştur. Toplumdaki cinsiyet ayrımcılığı ve kadını ikincil konuma düşüren kültürel ve sosyal faktörler eğitimde cinsiyet eşitsizliği sorununa neden olan temel olgular arasındadır. Bunun yanında, söylem analizi sonuçlarına göre politika dokümanlarında cinsiyet yanlısı ifadeler yer almaktadır. Örneğin, tek cinsiyetli eğitimi savunan dokümanlarda kullanılan cinsiyetçi ifadeler söylemsel düzeyde cinsiyet ayrımcılığına neden olmaktadır. Öte yandan, bazı dokümanlar tek cinsiyetli eğitime karşı bu uygulamanın politik ve ideolojik boyutlarını vurgulayarak eleştirel bir yaklaşım sergilemektedir. Tek cinsiyetli okullarda eril tahakküm, üstün erillik ve iki cinsiyet arasındaki hiyerarşik güç ilişkileri cinsiyet ayrımcılığına neden olmaktadır. Özellikle imam hatip okullarında dini kaide ve inançlara dayanan okul kültürü kızları ikincil konuma düşürmekte ve geleneksel cinsiyet rollerini pekiştirmektedir.

Kılık kıyafet yönetmeliğinde kadının hak ve özgürlüklerini sınırlayan cinsiyetçi ifadeler yer almaktadır. Bu cinsiyet yanlısı yönetmelik kadınları baskı altına alarak erkeklerin kadın bedeni üzerindeki kontrolünü meşrulaştırmaktadır. Milli Eğitim Bakanlığının kılık kıyafet yönetmeliği kız ve erkek öğrenciler için farklı özgürlük standartları yarattığı için kızların bu yönetmelikten olumsuz etkilendiği söylenebilir. Başörtüsü meselesi cinsiyet eşitliği tartışmalarının bir diğer boyutudur. İslami kıyafet kurallarını teşvik eden dokümanlar, kadın özgürlüğü ve demokrasi söylemleri aracılığı ile okullarda başörtüsü serbestisini

normalleştirmiştir. Bazı dokümanlar ise kadın özgürlüğünü kısıtladığı ve cinsiyet ayrımcılığını yasal yollarla pekiştirdiği için başörtüsü düzenlemesini kız çocukları açısından olumsuz bir gelişme olarak yansıtmıştır. Okullarda başörtüsü serbestisi uygulaması çocuk hakları ve erken yaşta başörtüsü takmanın dezavantajlarına yapılan vurgularla eleştirilmiştir.

Politika dokümanlarında ve yazılı medyada kadın temsili toplumda egemen ataerkil ideolojinin kadın kimliğini nasıl şekillendirdiğini ortaya koymuştur. İncelenen belgelerdeki baskın söylem kadının toplumsal kimlik ve statüsünü geri plana atmış, aile kavramına kutsal anlamlar yükleyerek kadının geleneksel beklentileri ve annelik sorumluluklarını yerine getirmesini teşvik etmiştir. Araştırmaya katılan öğretmenler kültürel norm ve ataerkil değer yargılarından beslenen cinsiyetçi eğitim uygulamalarının örneklerini vermişlerdir. Okullardaki sosyal ilişkiler ve eğitim uygulamaları öğrencilerin belirli cinsiyet kimlikleri geliştirmelerini sağlar. Bu araştırma kapsamında yapılan doküman analizi ve öğretmen görüşmelerinin sonuçları eğitim politikası söylemleri ve özellikle tek cinsiyetli okullardaki eğitim uygulamaları yoluyla itaatkar, ikincil ve güçsüz bir kadın kimliğinin teşvik edildiğini ortaya koymuştur.

Toplumun cinsiyetçi ve ataerkil yapısı, kadınların eğitim sürecinden erkeklerle eşit düzeyde yararlanmasının önünde engel teşkil etmektedir. Kız çocuklarının eğitiminin önündeki engellere yönelik söylemler, ataerkillik ve muhafazakâr bakış açısının kadın eğitime olumsuz etkilerini gösteren kayda değer noktaları ortaya koymuştur. Araştırma kapsamında incelenen politika dokümanlarında sıklıkla vurgulanan ve katılımcı öğretmenlerin değindiği başlıca engeller arasında ailenin eğitim seviyesi ve sosyo-ekonomik ve sosyo-kültürel statüsü, okulların altyapı sorunları, okul güvenliği, öğretmen kalitesi, okullarda verilen rehberlik hizmetinin kalitesi ve okullardaki cinsiyet uygulamaları vardır. Kız çocuklarının eğitiminin önündeki engellere yönelik söylemler arasında öne çıkan bir diğer konu ise 2012 yılında yürürlüğe konan ve 4+4+4 olarak bilinen “Zorunlu Eğitimin 12 Yıla Çıkarılmasına İlişkin Kanun”dur. Söz konusu kanun ilkökulu bitiren öğrencilere isterlerse Açıköğretim Ortaokuluna, ortaokulu bitiren öğrencilere da Açıköğretim Lisesine kayıt yaptıрма olanağı da sağlamaktadır. Dolayısıyla Kanun 8 yıllık temel



eđitimi fiilen 4 yıla indirdiđi, çocuk iřçiliđinin ve çocuk yařta evliliklerin ve erken yařta din eđitiminin önünü açtıđı için eleřtirilmiřtir.

## **ÖNERİLER**

Eđitimde cinsiyet eřitliđine ulařmak için atılacak en önemli adımlardan biri politika söylemlerini kadını ev içi sorumlukları ve annelik kimliđi ile tanımlayan, kadının toplumdaki ikincil konumunu normalleřtiren, kız çocuklarını eđitim sistemi içinde dezavantajlı duruma düřüren ataerkil ve muhafazakâr ideolojinin izlerinden arındırmaktır. Herkes için demokratik ve kaliteli bir eđitim hizmeti sunularak eđitimde cinsiyet eřitliđi sađlamanın bir politika önceliđi haline gelmesi gerekmektedir. Bu amaçla, eđitim programlarında ve eđitim materyallerinde demokrasi, cinsiyet eřitliđi ve kadın özgürlüđü gibi kavramların vurgulanması önem tařır. Benzer řekilde, politika dokümanları, eđitim materyalleri ve müfredattan toplumsal cinsiyet kalıp yargıları açık ve örtülü řekilde teřvik eden unsurların çıkarılması gerekmektedir. Okullarda toplumsal cinsiyete eřitliđini teřvik eden eđitim materyallerinin kullanılması, öđretmenler ve öđrenciler arasında toplumsal cinsiyet eřitliđi anlayıřını olumlu yönde geliřtirecektir. Bu nedenle ders kitabı yazarlarının cinsiyetçi unsurları kitaplarına dahil etmemesi ve eřitlikçi bir bakıř açısı kazanmaları için eđitilmesi gerekir.

Cinsiyet eřitliđi politikalarının bir parçası olarak, toplumun kız çocuklarının eđitiminin önemi konusunda bilinçlendirilmesi gerekmektedir. Bu amaçla, toplumu cinsiyet ayrımcılıđı ve toplumsal cinsiyet konularında eđitmek amacıyla çalışmalar ve kampanyalar yapılmalıdır. Özellikle anne ve babaların kızların eđimini bir deđer olarak görmesi, çocuk iřçiliđi ve çocuk yařta evliliklerin olumsuz sonuçları hakkında bilgilendirilmesi için aile eđitimi çalışmaları yürütülmelidir. Öđretmenlerin okullarda eřitlikçi bir ortam sađlanması ve okullardaki cinsiyetçi ortam ve uygulamaları olumlu yönde deđiřtirmek konusunu önemli rolleri vardır. Fakat, toplumsal cinsiyet eřitliđi konusunda yeterli bilinç düzeyine eriřmemiř bir sosyal ortamda yetiřen öđretmenlerin, eřitliđi sorgulamaları ya da eđitim sistemi içeresinde öğrenilmiř cinsiyete dayalı kalıp yargılarla mücadele edebilmeleri pek mümkün olmamaktadır. Bu kapsamda,

öğretmenlerin toplumsal cinsiyete yönelik farkındalıklarını artırmaya yönelik çalışmalar yapılmalıdır. Öğretmen eğitimi programlarına ve hizmet içi eğitim uygulamalarına toplumsal cinsiyet ve eğitimde cinsiyet eşitliği konularının dahil edilmesi eğitimde cinsiyet eşitliği politikalarının daha etkili bir şekilde uygulanmasına, okullarda daha demokratik ve eşitlikçi bir ortam sağlanmasına katkıda bulunabilir.

Okullulaşma oranlarını artırma çalışmalarının yanında kız çocuklarının eğitimi olumsuz etkileyen ve eşitsizlik yaratan eğitim uygulamalarının incelenmesi önem taşır. Bu bağlamda, kılık kıyafet yönetmeliği, başörtüsü düzenlemesi, tek cinsiyetli eğitim uygulamaları gibi kadın özgürlüğünü kısıtlayan ve cinsiyet ayrımcılığını meşrulaştıran düzenlemelerin eşitlikçi bir bakış açısı ile yeniden ele alınması gerekmektedir. Kız çocuklarının eğitimi üzerindeki olumsuz etkileri nedeniyle 4+4+4 eğitim sisteminde kızlar için eşit ve nitelikli bir eğitimi güvence altına alacak şekilde düzenlemeler yapılması gerekmektedir. Demokratik, kaliteli ve eşitlikçi bir eğitim sistemi oluşturulması eğitim politikası geliştirme sürecinin karar aşamasına tüm paydaşların dahil edilmesi yoluyla gerçekleştirilebilir. Bu nedenle, eğitim programlarında ve eğitim sisteminde yapılacak değişiklikler tüm paydaşların görüş ve ihtiyaçları göz önünde bulundurularak yeterli hazırlık ve pilot uygulamalar sonrasında hayata geçirilmelidir.

Eğitim masrafları maddi sıkıntıları olan aileler için kızlarını okula göndermeme nedenleri arasındadır. Bu nedenle, okul malzemeleri ve kıyafetler devlet tarafından karşılanmalıdır ve gerekli durumlarda öğle yemeği ve burs imkanları sağlanmalıdır. Kırsal bölgelerden gelen kız öğrencilerin eğitimini desteklemek için ücretsiz yurt hizmeti sunulmalı ve taşınmalı eğitim sistemindeki olumsuzluklar ortadan kaldırılmalıdır. Okulların güvenlik sorunu olması ve fiziksel imkanların yetersiz olması kız çocuklarının eğitiminin önündeki engeller arasındadır. Her iki cinsiyet için güvenli ve zenginleştirilmiş bir eğitim ortamı oluşturmak, okul çevresi ve sosyal ortamında iyileştirmeler yapmayı gerekli kılmaktadır. Başlangıç noktası olarak, okulların altyapı sorunlarının, okul güvenliği ve ulaşım ile alakalı sorunların çözülmesi gerekmektedir.

Sınıfları erkek ve kızlar için daha iyi bir öğrenme ortamı haline getirmek için, öğrenciler arasında ve sınıf ortamında cinsiyet eşitliği anlayışını yerleştirecek uygulamalara ihtiyaç vardır. Her iki cinsiyetin derslere eşit katılımı desteklenmeli ve kız çocukları bilim ve teknoloji eğitimi almaya teşvik edilmelidir. Kız çocuklarının özgüven kazanması ve temel yaşam becerilerini geliştirmeleri için sosyal etkinliklerden, spor faaliyetlerinden ve müfredat dışı etkinliklerden erkeklerle eşit seviyede yararlanabilmeleri sağlanmalıdır. Benzer şekilde, okullarda erkek egemen ortamın değiştirilmesi ve cinsiyete dayalı kalıp yargıları ortadan kaldırılması için kadın öğretmenlerin idari görev alması da önemlidir. Kızların mesleki ve teknik eğitime yönlendirilmesi meslek seçiminde cinsiyet ayrımcılığını ve iş gücü piyasasındaki cinsiyet ayrımcı örüntüleri ortadan kaldırmak açısından büyük önem taşır. Eğitim ortamlarında cinsiyet eşitsizliklerinin pekiştirilmesi ve belirli kadın erkek kimliklerinin oluşturulmasında okullarda sunulan eğitim yapısı ve içeriği kadar gündelik etkileşimler ve okul ortamlarındaki cinsiyet hiyerarşi de etkilidir. Okuldaki iş bölümü, eğitim uygulamaları ve sosyal faaliyetler planlanırken cinsiyet, hiyerarşi ve toplumsal cinsiyete dayalı kalıp yargılar ortadan kaldırılmalıdır. Bu çerçevede temel olarak karma eğitimin sisteminin benimsenmesi; sınıf içi etkinlikler, sosyal faaliyetler ve oturma planları gibi sınıf düzeyindeki uygulamalarda ise öğrencilerin cinsiyetlerine göre ayrıştırılmaması önem taşır.

## APPENDIX M

### 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:

Adı:

Bölümü:

TEZİN ADI (İngilizce) :

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 bir (1) yıl süreyle fotokopi alınamaz.

TEZİN KÜTÜPHANEYE TESLİM TARİHİ: