

AN ETHNOGRAPHIC ACCOUNT OF IDENTITY FORMATION IN
SCHOOL: THE ROLE OF INSTITUTIONAL HABITUS

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AN ETHNOGRAPHIC ACCOUNT OF IDENTITY FORMATION IN SCHOOL:
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ABSTRACT

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This study explores the relationship between school institutional habitus and identity formation of students. The school institution engages in multi-dimensional interplay with the society. As being the product of many social structures, school also hold the power to reproduce these structures. Therefore, fieldwork departing from the interaction between school and identity formation of students progresses concerning the other structures in the region. In addition to these, the study discusses which identities are produced and reproduced through certain practices within the school institutional habitus. The study was conducted in a peripheral city of central Anatolia. The school is located in a neighborhood away from the city center and called by the local people as “village”. Fieldnotes taken during the field study, which lasted for six months, and semi-structured interviews with the students, teachers, families and school administrators constitutes the data of the study. As a result of the data analysis, 1) Institutional habitus and 2) Family habitus were emerged as two major themes. The results of this study indicated that development of the positive self-identity for the students depends on recognition of their class and

cultural backgrounds by teachers and school administration. However, school's institutional habitus collaborating with student's family habitus strengthens a "sense of constraint" and restricts students' positive identity formation. Besides, improvement of the school's conditions and elimination of the problems concerning the teachers' professional status are the problems which needs urgent action for an institutional habitus which fosters a "sense of entitlement" in both students and teachers.

Keywords: Ethnography, Institutional Habitus, Identity Formation, Recognition

ÖZ

OKULDA KİMLİK OLUŞUMU ÜZERİNE ETNOGRAFİK BİR ÇALIŞMA: KURUMSAL HABİTUSUN ROLÜ

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Yüksek Lisans, Eğitim Bilimleri Bölümü

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Bu araştırmada, okulun örgütsel habitusu ve öğrencinin kimlik oluşumu arasındaki ilişki etnografik araştırma metodlarına başvurularak incelenilmektedir. Okul kurumu toplumsal yaşamın çok boyutlu ilişkiselliği ile temas halindedir ve toplumsal bir çok yapının bir ürünü olmak ile beraber, bu yapıların yeniden üretiminde de etkin kurumsal donanımına sahip eylem alanlarıdır. Bu nedenle, saha çalışması okulun bireyin kimlik oluşumu ile etkileşimi üzerinden başlamakla beraber, sahada gözlemlenebilecek farklı yapıları göz önünde bulundurarakta şekillenme ve ilerleme potansiyeli taşımaktadır. Bunlara ek olarak, okul habitusu içerisinde hangi kimlik yapılarının inşa edildiğini ve ardından bu kimliklerin nasıl pratiklerle ile etkinleştirildiği gözlemlenmektedir. Bu kimliklerin tanınma (recognition), üretilme, yeniden-üretilme ve korunma süreçlerinin detayları da bu araştırmanın sorularından birisini teşkil etmektedir. Çalışma İç Anadolu bölgesinde bulunan Sevgi orta okulu öğrencilerini kapsamaktadır. Okul il merkezine uzak bir mahallede bulunmakla birlikte, mahallale bölgedeki insanlarca “köy” olarak ifade edilmektedir. Çalışmanın verilerini 6 aylık saha çalışması süresince alınan gözlem

notları ve öğrenci, öğretmen, veli ve idarecilerle yapılan yarı yapılandırılmış mülakatlar oluşturmaktadır. Veri analizi sonucunda 2 ana tema ortaya çıkmıştır: 1) Kurumsal Habitus, 2) Aile Habitusu. Çalışmadan elde edilen sonuçlara göre öğrencinin pozitif bir kimlik geliştirmesi, öğretmenleri ve okul idaresi tarafından kültürel ve sınıfsal arkaplanlarının tanınmasıyla yakından ilişkilidir. Fakat, okulun örgütsel habitusu ve öğrencilerin aile habitusları öğrencilerde “kısıtlılık hissi (sense of constraint)” güçlendirmekte ve pozitif bir kimlik geliştirmelerine engel olmaktadır. Bu duruma ek olarak, okulun fiziksel imkanlarının geliştirilmesi ve öğretmenlerin maruz kaldığı mesleki problemlerin giderilmesi okulda hem öğretmenler hem de öğrenciler için “hak hissinin (sense of entitlement)” güçlendirildiği bir kurumsal habitus adına çözümü aciliyet taşıyan problemlerdir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Etnografi, Kurumsal Habitus, Kimlik Oluşumu, Tanınma

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*To the person
whose patience and unconditional support I always feel...*

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background of the Study

This study is an ethnographic study aiming to understand the cultural aspects of identity formation within the school as an organizational domain and the impact of institutional habitus. This chapter provides the background of the study, the purpose and significance of the study.

Formation of identity is a long journey starting from the childhood. Beyond being a developmental issue, identity formation is also a political process. Öztan (2012) analyzes the political formation of childhood in the context of Turkey. Öztan (2012) argues that conceptualization of the child as a political object dates back to the end of 19th century and early 20th century in Europe. Political regulations after the 19th century in any facets of social life such as education, health, economics give rise to reconceptualization of the childhood and adulthood. Turkey also have a similar trajectory. Modernization struggles of Turkey influenced *the Turkish child* as well. Conceptualization of the ideal child has been shaped in line with the political atmosphere of the time. “Obedient and faithful child” of the Ottoman empire was replaced by “citizen child” in 2nd Constitution period. After the Turco-Italian war, “the citizen child” transformed into “a nationalist soldier child”. In the period of republican Turkey, children are also seen as the most ‘fertile land’ for the indoctrination of the new ideals. Since they had no ‘bridge’ with the Ottoman empire, they seem more ‘malleable’. In this sense, Republican Turkey strived for raising “the republican child” as the ideal child (Öztan, 2012). In the early 2000s, republican conception of the Western-inspired, secular generation is replaced by

Islamic youth project of the ruling party (AKP) which is called as “pious generation” (Lüküslü, 2016). According to Lüküslü (2016), ‘pious generation’ project of AKP aims at reforming the society and national identity parallel to the Islamic rules and neoliberal needs.

At this point, the question of what are the dynamics which enable the children to internalize such idealizations comes out. Since it engulfs a child in it at a very early age and covers the majority of his/her entire life, education is considered as the most penetrative and effective mean for this purpose. Being aware of this, states adapts their education system parallel to their ideological structure in any periods of time. For instance, while nationalization of the pedagogy is a common practice of nation-states in the 19th and early 20th centuries (Öztan, 2012), transformation of education in line with the market-based ideals of neoliberalism is the most prevalent political change of this century. Manipulation of the education to raise a generation parallel to the needs of the political system has been a widespread topic pondered on numerous theorists in the field of sociology and cultural studies.

Marxists sociologist Antonio Gramsci interprets this internalization and control system as *hegemony* and call education as one of the non-coercive means for the diffusion of the hegemony. Afterwards, another Marxist sociologist Luis Althusser (1970) follows a similar route and suggests that the dominant ideology is inculcated through either repressive or ideological state apparatus. Schools and other educational institutions used as *Ideological State Apparatuses (ISA)* to facilitate the internalization of the dominant ideology and maintaining the existing status quo. Furthermore, Bowles & Gintis (1976) argue that main function of education in capitalist societies is the economic reproduction. In this vain, Bowles & Gintis (1976) put forward *Correspondence Principle* which suggests that norms and values pupils learn in school correspond to the ones which make it easy for future capitalist employers to exploit them at work.

French philosopher Pierre Bourdieu perceives the education as a mean for the reproduction of the culture of the dominant classes. Consequently, educational institutions are considered as a space for production and reproduction of the cultural

inequalities (Bourdieu, P. & Passeron, 1979). In this sense, it is claimed that school is run by and for the benefit of ruling elite. Cultural capital and habitus concepts are central in the analysis of the cultural reproduction mechanism of Pierre Bourdieu. While cultural capital includes educational background of a person that provides an advantage in achieving a higher social status in the society, *Habitus* refers to embodied tendencies which are shaped by the cultural capital possessed by the person (Bourdieu, 1985). Possessing *the cultural capital* has an utmost importance in easily navigating within the education system. On the other hand, habitus both is structured by and structures the cultural capital possessed. For this reason, school institutions become places where dominant cultural capital is produced and legitimized.

In his ethnography "*Learning to Labour*", Paul Willis (1977) interprets the internalization of the system through the *anti-school culture*. Willis (1977) conducts a study on a group of students in 1970s who reject school including all its values and instead focus on leaving the school as early as could. For Willis, these lads consciously reject the school and its values because their cultural system-with Bourdieu's word, *Habitus*-contradicts with school's cultural system- (institutional habitus). Later in their lives, these lads also recognize that there are no equal opportunities under capitalism and no matter how hard they work their chances of success remain lower than those of the middle-class students. In this sense, Willis (1997) claims that the cultural form experienced by the lads "represents both a freedom, election and transcendence, and a precise insertion into a system of exploitation and oppression for the working-class people" (Willis, 1977, p.120).

Bourdieu and Passeron (1979) in "*Inheritors*" argues how education system, which is organized, so called, on a "fair" basis prevents middle class students from the failure while pushing the working-class students into it. At this point, it is claimed that working class and middle-class students convey unequal level of cultural and economic capitals to the school. Thereby, working class students is left behind in the education system where only the middle-class values are recognized and legitimized through the discourses and practices in the school.

In this study, considering this theoretical background, I strive for examining the recognition and misrecognition practices which lead to the production and reproduction and maintaining of certain identities within the school context. Additionally, I also aim at probing the type of identities produced in the school and how school's institutional habitus impacts on this production.

1.2. Statement of the Problem

In this study, identity formation process of the Sevgi Secondary School students in the peripheral city of Western Turkey is analyzed. In this analysis, the impact of institutional habitus on identity formation is scrutinized taking into consideration the identity formation which, as a long-term process, involves multiple practices and policies. In order to understand and examine constitutive elements of this process in detail, ethnographic research method is utilized. Building on Bourdieu's concept of *habitus* and based on more recent concept *institutional habitus* (Reay, 1998, 2004; McDonough, 1996; Thomas, 2002), identity formation and practices manifested during this formation is interpreted within the scope of the school as a complex social and historical institutional unit.

1.3. Purpose of the Study

This study explores the relationship between institutional habitus and the identity formation process observing their everyday life practices at one of the secondary schools in a peripheral rural city in Turkey. Through an ethnographic account, this study also reveals the role of family life and relations in a school setting. In understanding the role of family, the study also considers the emerging central recognition discourses and practices in the field to trace various forms of (in)formal pedagogical networks and how they are produced, reproduced and maintained in a school. Another aim of the study is to examine how these processes relate to the administrative processes within the school institution.

1.4. Significance of the Study

School institution is the determining component of the identity formation. In the frame of the multifarious relations it establishes, the school is encapsulated by the structures of families, students, teachers and the state. Interrogating how these multifarious relations take on predictive roles in the students' identity formation is considered as an important attempt. This study is an attempt for answering these questions resorting to ethnographic research method. Conducting this study through utilizing ethnographic method contributes to the literature of educational administration and planning considering its diversive nature.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter includes an examination of the literature on identity formation with a focus on identity, habitus and institutional habitus, recognition, and teacher identity and its practices.

2.1. Defining Identity: Identification? Recognition? or a Need?

Literature of identity involving different discussions and approaches can be considered as a multilayered domain. Therefore, in this section, the concept of identity will be discussed from several aspects and considering the current literature on identity politics, some scholarly works will be addressed. This literature review will be carried out taking into account and engaging in a dialogue with the other major concepts relating to identity concept.

In his work, Bhikhu Parekh (2009) separates identity into two interrelated but, at the same time different components: “personal” and “social identity” (Parekh, 2009, p. 267). To clarify, personal identity is formed by the self-definition of a person based on the beliefs and values that the person identifies himself/herself with. In a broader sense, personal identity is defined not as a possession which is once acquired and passively sustained. It requires constant legitimization through appropriate choices and actions (Parekh, 2009). Additionally, personal identity is called as “the source of action-guiding emotions as pride, shame, embarrassment and guilt, and is closely bound up with a sense of self-worth. Although it is open to revision, it needs to be consistent (Parekh, 2009, p.267). On the other hand, social identities are defined as “socially significant categories (which) identify and define individuals as certain kinds of persons and subject them to certain norms and expectations” (Parekh, 2009,

p. 272). Parekh claims that since in modern times consensus on social norms are fragile and individuals are encouraged to define their identities themselves, it leads to a great variation in social identities of individuals (Parekh, 2009). However, different from personal identity, having plural social identities provides an additional advantage that one can have different world views without overinvesting any one of them.

One of the founders of British cultural studies and cultural theorist, Stuart Hall's ideas on identity are also significant within this context. Hall in the article: "*Who needs identity?*" offers a critique of identity focusing primarily on two issues concerning *identity* which are a. deconstruction of the concept and b. multi-dimensional nature of it which are associated with deconstruction and identity politics. Hall argues that a new definition of identity needs to be analyzed as a way of eliminating the inadequacies of the theory of deconstruction and the instabilities of agency (Hall, 2009). Accordingly, Hall (2009) initially argues that in spite of the fact that deconstructionist approach perceives *identity* as an inadequate notion, that is, a term to "put it under erasure" (Hall, 2009, p.1) any better concept does not exist to be replaced by it. Thereby, Hall (2009) states that "identity is an idea which cannot be thought in the old way, but without which certain key questions cannot be thought at all" (Hall, 2009, p.1). For this reason, Hall focuses on the "irreducibility" of identity addressing to the centrality of the concept in agency and identity politics (Hall, 1996, p.2).

At this point, the author turns to the notion of identification to discuss identity. Hall (1996) defines identification as following:

In common sense language, identification is constructed on the back of a recognition of some common origin or shared characteristics with another person or group, or with an ideal, and with the natural closure of solidarity and allegiance established on this foundation (p.2).

Besides, emphasizing the unfinished nature of the notion, Hall(1996) states that: "identification is, then, a process of articulation, a suturing, an over-determination not a subsumption" (p.3). However, Hall (1996) suggests that psychoanalytic explanations of the identity, that is, identification does not suffice to frame the

notion of identity. Therefore, discursive formations and practices are included in the definition of identity as well. Taking into account these two points, *identity* is defined as a “meeting point” and “the point of suture” (Hall, 1996, p.6). Therefore, Hall (1996) characterizes identity as “not essentialist but, strategic and positional one” (p.3). Hall (1996) suggests that theorization of identity is only going to be fully acknowledged once the suturing takes place (p. 2).

In another study, Diana Fuss (1994) puts forward significant arguments about the politics of identification. Fuss (1994) puts forward two major arguments: a. identification has a history which is related to colonization and b. this colonial history is an obstacle for re-capturing identification politics. In this sense, Fuss (1994) states that although identification can be deployed based on its psychoanalytic meaning, there is a need for an analysis of the term which converge anti-imperialist politics with psychoanalytic theory. For this aim, Fuss resorts to a professional psychiatrist, philosopher and one of the most influential writers of the 20th century, Frantz Fanon. Thereby, Fuss attempts for presenting how psychoanalysis and politics collaborates on the basis of identification. In the analysis, Fuss argues that, in addition to delineating imperial practices, Fanon includes the problematization of these descriptions, especially the one which concerns sexual differences, in his analyses (Fuss, 1994). Moreover, it is argued that Fanon does not base his arguments on the psychoanalytic assumptions which argue that political one involves in the psyche as a transformative power. More strongly, Fanon suggests that “the psychological operates precisely as a political formation” (Fuss, 1994, p.39). In this sense, Fuss states that Fanon’s works draw our attention on political and historical conditions of identification. it reminds that the agent is not outside the politics and always within a historicity (Fuss, 1994).

As claimed in the literature, formation of identity is fully comprehended when it is analyzed taking the historicity and politics shaping the identity into account. Furthermore, analysis of the identity formation is possible only when the psychoanalysis and discursive formations are converged. This study attempts for examining identity formation of the students as a political issue and converging psychoanalysis with discursive formations and practices.

2.2. Recognition

Recognition involves both normative and psychological dimensions (Iser, 2013). Normative dimension of the recognition necessitates a certain treatment toward a person as an “autonomous agent” for having this feature. This means that “specific normative status of the person is recognized by the other” (Iser, 2013, par.1). However, normative dimension of recognition is not enough to develop a practical identity by itself. According to the most theories of recognition, people depends on the positive feedbacks of the other to develop an identity which perceive themselves and their works as worthy. On the other hand, misrecognition harms individuals’ positive relationship with themselves. As a famous psychiatrist and intellectual, Frantz Fanon (1952) best illustrates the effects of misrecognition in *Black Skin White Mask*. Fanon (1952) examines the complex ways of how the identity, particularly blackness is constructed and produced during the colonization. In this book, Fanon poignantly describes the feeling of dependency, inadequacy and, consequently the inferiority complex that black people experience as a result of misrecognition practices (Fanon, 1952). Thus, recognition constitutes a “vital human need” (Taylor, 1992, p. 26).

To start with, it is essential to define what it means to “recognize” and how it differs from similar concepts such as “identification” and “acknowledgment”. Paul Ricoeur (2005) has put forward more than 20 different usages of the concept “to recognize” (p. 5–16) grouping them under three main categories which are a. recognition as identification, b. recognizing oneself, and d. mutual recognition. Many authors have challenged Ricoeur's view by proposing a distinction between recognition (of oneself as well as of others) and identification. However, while recognition requires a positive evaluation, identification does not necessarily require an affirmation. The term “acknowledgment” which some authors use interchangeably with recognition (Appiah 1992 as cited in Iser, 2013, p.149) is also contested. Whereas some have argued that we acknowledge the validity of certain insights, values and norms (Ikäheimo and Laitinen, 2007, p. 34–37), others continue to use the term “acknowledgment” with regard to persons but intend it to denote something less ambitious than the complete affirmation of their specific identity (Markell, 2003).

However, it is the meaning of mutual recognition that lies at the heart of the contemporary discussion. Mutuality has always served as the core of the concept of recognition. Only by understanding that the other's actions are intentional, we can grasp our own actions and utterances as expressions of an intentional self. Discussions on the conceptualization of recognition emerge in Hegelian literature and this mutual, intersubjective understanding of recognition is most famously expressed by Hegel. Already in his early writings in the Jena Period, Hegel expands this idea. This expansion becomes especially clear in the *Phenomenology of Spirit* through *master and slave dialectic*: Through this analogy, it becomes clear that adequate recognition can only be achieved within an institutionalized order of rights that secures genuinely mutual recognition (Williams, 1997, p. 59–68). Hegel develops this latter thought based on mutual recognition and institutionalized order most systematically in his mature *Elements of Philosophy of Right*. In this book, the relationships and implicit norms of the three spheres of, “first, love within the family, second, contractual respect within civil society and, third, solidarity within the state” are presented as necessary spheres in order to reach an individual autonomy (Hegel, 1991, p. 160-229).

In contemporary Hegel readings and political philosophy, the first step of the revival of Hegelian concept of recognition is taken by Charles Taylor in *Hegel and Modern Society* (1979). Furthermore, John Rawls’ ideas in *A Theory of Justice* (1971) and *Political Liberalism* (1993) is regarded as the most influential works which trigger the return to Hegelian idea. Lately, studies of Axel Honneth have gained popularity in recognition studies. Axel Honneth is a well-known German philosopher with his works on relations of power, recognition, and respect. In extending Hegelian recognition, Axel Honneth put forwards “normative foundations of critical social theory” (Honneth, 2002, p. 9) in his book *The Struggle for Recognition* based on Hegel’s Jena period works. In the book, Honneth (2002) argues the pathologies of the individuals as a result of social exclusion and illuminates the significant role of the conflictual spirit, which is fed by these pathologies, in the expansion of mutual recognition and recognition space. Furthermore, Honneth focuses on the determinant role of the recognition in the self-realization and self-expression of

individual rather than focusing on the link between cultural differences and individual identities as in the multiculturalist and communitarian theories. Honneth (2002) discusses that subjects' appreciation of themselves depends on the positive relationship with the other selves. However, instead of uncovering the cultural foundations of the identities, Honneth aims for determining different forms of social spaces in modern democratic societies. Thereby, Honneth redesigns Hegel's three spheres of ethical life as the spheres of recognition and introduces three such forms under the headings of a) love, b) rights, and c) solidarity. The first is related to various intimate relations, the second to relations of right, and the third to relations of reciprocal appreciation (Honneth, 2002). In the latter case, what is appreciated is individual traits, capacities, achievements, and life forms or ways of life. The three forms of recognition are essentially conceived as necessary conditions for the development of a positive relation to the self. Therefore, Honneth (2002) bases the struggles for recognition, the development of mutual recognition in the society on the pathologies experienced in these three spheres. Honneth (2002) names the type of reactions to these pathologies as "psychic symptoms" (p. 161-170) and considers them as the factors triggering dynamics of the conflict which is interrogation of the existing order by means of legitimate needs of individuals and restructuring of it in line with these needs.

Honneth's recognition theory in *The Struggle for Recognition* has been a significant topic of discussion in political philosophy. Analyses of Nancy Fraser (1996) is the one that foreground in these discussions. Fraser criticizes Axel Honneth and Charles Taylor in terms of taking the recognition as a matter of self-realization and objects to overemphasizing the psychological dimension of the concept. Unlike these two theorists, Fraser (1996) treats the recognition as a matter of "justice" (p. 3). Fraser (1996) states that conception of justice instead of self-realisation is advantageous in terms of both justifying claims for "recognition normatively binding and conceiving misrecognition as a status injury whose locus is social relations, not individual psychology" (p.6). Fraser, initially challenging the politics of redistribution and, further, politics of recognition, states that neither one is alone sufficient to eliminate social injustice. Instead, Fraser proposes a two-pronged

approach which is *participatory parity*. *Participatory parity* encompasses both the politics of recognition and redistribution but not reducing one to another. Rather, Fraser (1996) proposes that participatory parity is only possible when the objective conditions of redistribution and the intersubjective conditions of reciprocal recognition is met.

In *Suffering from Indeterminacy*, Honneth (2000) accounting for the criticisms and reformulates his theory. This time, Honneth (2000), instead of Jena Period works, focuses on the recent works of Hegel, *The Philosophy of Right* in order to improve the previous theory of recognition. In the light of the criticisms, Honneth (2000) strives to revive the Hegelian concept of “social freedom” in this second work account. While doing this, Honneth (2000) deals with the recognition spaces which constitute Hegel’s spheres of moral life in terms of institutions and interrelations among these institutions rather than merely as the spheres of a successful relationship with others. Therefore, in this work, Honneth (2000) does not analyze the inadequate recognition from a psychological sense. Although Honneth (2000) uses the term pathology, it does not refer to psychological experiences of the subjects rather addresses to social processes. Pathologies are regarded as the disorders in social relation resulting from misinterpretation and misunderstanding of the institutional framework.

The study at hand strives for the analysis of the recognition policies and practices within the school context. In order to understand students’ identity formation, recognition practices are analyzed considering the interrelations among the institutions and social process the students pass through.

2.3. Defining Habitus

In understanding the identity formation process in school for students, this study questions the role of surrounding practices and dispositions, forms of acquired capital and strategies to develop an identity in a school culture. This part of the chapter will mainly examine the concept of habitus and its institutional forms.

Pierre Bourdieu is one of the contemporary sociologists who benefits from the field theory to bring an explanation to actions taking place in the social life. Bourdieu's field theory involves in two pivotal concepts from his theoretical luggage which are habitus and capital (Bourdieu, 1997; Kluttz and Fligstein, 2016). For Bourdieu, field is where the social life takes place and it involves struggle. In order to delineate the social actions taking place in this arena of struggle, Bourdieu coins the metaphor of game. In this game, "players occupy certain positions against one another and have shared frameworks of meanings or what is at stake in the field" (Kluttz and Fligstein, 2016, p.6). Endowment with the cultural, social and economic capitals provide the social actors with the power to determine the rules of this game. That is, actors' positions in this hierarchical structure is measured by the volume of the capital they possess. On the other hand, habitus is "strategy-generating principle" (Bourdieu, 1977 cited in Kluttz and Fligstein, 2016, p.10). By means of habitus, actors are able to navigate in the social life. It encompasses both a subjective cognitive system which makes up personal acclaims and judgements and structured dispositions. For Bourdieu, habitus is a product of history (Kluttz and Fligstein, 2016, p.10). However, it is also open to revision. It can be reshaped according to the experiences which the actor goes through. Since these structured dispositions guide the practices of the social actor, it has a real impact on the field structures. To analyze reproduction of the structures of dominance in the field, Bourdieu benefits from capital and habitus. Considering the literature on habitus, this study will particularly focus on the concept and in the following section how this concept is defined in the Bourdieu will be addressed.

The concept has been used as early as Aristotle, but contemporary usage was introduced by Marcel Mauss and later Maurice Merleau-Ponty. However, it was Bourdieu who turned it into a cornerstone of his sociology (Lizardo, 2012). According to Bourdieu (1990), the concept of habitus is defined as:

Systems of durable, transposable dispositions, *structured structures* predisposed to function as *structuring structures*, that is, as principles which generate and organize practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary in order to attain them (p.54).

With regard to the definition, habitus consists of mental systems of the structures which are embodied within the individual and can be activated unconsciously and without any deliberate calculations. In other words, it is the process of transforming structured structures to structuring structures through the embodied dispositions and practices that emerge from specific structural locations (Göktürk, 2018). It is also durable and can be expressed in durable ways “of standing, speaking, walking, and thereby of feeling and thinking” (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 70). For Bourdieu (1990), habitus is shaped by the structural position and generates action, therefore, agency (practice) reflects the capital (forms of capital are: economic, cultural and social) which is possessed by the agent and the field in which the agent operates. Therefore, although habitus provides people with agency, it predisposes people to act in a certain way. In this sense, it imposes demands on people. At this point, to explain how the agents accept such constraints, Bourdieu (1990) holds:

Habitus is a kind of transforming machine that leads us to ‘reproduce’ the social conditions of our own production, but in a relatively unpredictable way, in such a way that one cannot move simply and mechanically from knowledge of the conditions of production to knowledge of the products (p. 87).

Furthermore, Bourdieu suggests that individual and collective history of the individual and the class that the individual is a member of are constitutive of the habitus (Bourdieu, 1990). That is, habitus is historical and is the result of cumulative history. Therefore, while early childhood experiences are vital to understand one’s habitus, the concept is open to new life experiences, thereby, to restructuring. Internalization of new conditions adds new layers to those from earlier experiences. In particular, schooling plays an important role in restructuring of habitus through providing a general disposition:

The habitus acquired in the family is at the basis of the structuring of school experiences...; the habitus transformed by the action of the school itself diversified, is in turn at the basis of all subsequent experiences...and so on, from structuring to restructuring. (Bourdieu 1972 as cited in Reay, 2004, p. 434)

With respect to its openness to restructuring, habitus provides the individual a chance of transcending current social position. However, since habitus raises and lowers an individual’s expectations, it restricts the possibilities of a social trajectory

that enables living conditions that are different from the initial ones. Therefore, individuals do not expect beyond what is conceivable. Bourdieu (1990) regarding this embodied “correctness” as such:

...It (habitus) ensures the active presence of past experiences, which, deposited in each organism in the form of schemes of perception, thought, and action, tend to guarantee the ‘correctness’ of practices and their constancy over time, more reliably than all formal rules and explicit norms. (p.54)

Although Bourdieu has an undeniable deep influence on sociology, in particular, on examination of educational inequality, there seems to be a growing suspicion regarding Bourdieusian point of view about the way that captures the complexities and numerous nuances of concrete social life. For instance, Lahire (2003) argues that such notions as habitus and socialization are employed in the social studies without being empirically tested, however, these notions homogenize and overgeneralize the variety of dispositions which a social agent displays. Therefore, the author criticizes Bourdieu as tinkering with a form of sociology that shows an incompatible mixture of elements of sociological and of psychological origin (Lahire, 2003). Furthermore, criticizing homogenizing understanding of habitus, the article suggests a sociology at the level of the individual.

Additionally, Lahire (1998) objects to a characterization of habitus stating that the model assumes that dispositions are strong and does not allow to conceive that people can distance themselves from their roles. However, dispositions differ from each other in terms of stability and strength. They may be internalized and actualized only under pressure or obligation; on the other hand, they may manifest themselves as passion, or without the idea that one is under constraint to act in a specific way. Thereby, what is foregrounded is that formation and actualization of dispositions highly depend on the time at which they take place and the context which provide an opportunity to actualize.

Also, Lahire (2003) challenges the notion of transferability in the theory of habitus as well. He states that the major problem this notion creates are false or hasty generalizations. This is an obstacle to perceiving that there are schemes and dispositions whose application is strictly limited to particular social situations or

fields of practices. On the other hand, sociology at the level of individual is claimed to attempt for investigating plurality of dispositions and plurality of social contexts. According to Lahire (2003), in order to identify the internal plurality of individuals and the way it acts and distributes itself according to various contexts, there is a need for methods which enable to observe the contextual differences.

As a result, it is argued that discomfort and crises which a person experiences in the social world may be the product of the asymmetry between what social world put in the person during past socialization and what it objectively allows to express at given moment. Therefore, these troubles and discomfort is the object of the study at the level of the individual.

2.4. Institutional Habitus

This study is an attempt for an exploration of identity formation process of the students in a village school. For the analysis of the embedded identity structuring mechanisms in school, institutional habitus is considered as a substantive theoretical framework. How does institutional habitus help to analyze the presence of identity formation process in schools as a major institutional site? In order to sufficiently map and trace the path of identity formation in schools, in this section, it will be collaborated with the literature on the concept of institutional habitus in particular.

In the first place, there is an emphasis on the micro-institutional workings of the concept of institutional habitus which are also responsive to the micro-practices in school where conditions for their production are already in place. Such as, Diane Reay (2004) captures institutional habitus as a concept to expand the traditional use of habitus for including differences in relation to smaller research contexts. So that habitus can be used to uncover how class, race and gender are embodied and impact on not only on individual actions, but also on all bodily gestures (Reay, 1995 cited in Reay, 2004). The concept also brings new claims to the transformation of identities by highlighting the rootedness of class, gender and ethnic divisions (McNay, 1999, cited in Reay, 2004). In this respect, Diane Reay (1998) conducts a case study of ten students in Britain who are engaged in the higher education choice

making process and focused on the growing diversity of the client group and the increasing complexities of the system in her analysis.

In order to extend the conventional use of habitus while analyzing higher-education choice making process, Reay deploys institutional habitus. Reay's (1998) conception of institutional habitus relies on Patricia McDonough's (1996) habitus account and Reay (1998) defines the concept as "the impact of a cultural group or social class on an individual's behavior as it is mediated through an organization." (par.1.3). More clearly, Reay (1998) conceptualizes institutional habitus as a "complex mix of curriculum offer, teaching practices and what children bring with them to the classroom" (p.67). With this concept, Reay examines the impact of certain school attended not only on students' own habitus and choice but also on those of their parents too. Afterwards, Reay (1998) develops a complementary term to institutional habitus which is *family habitus*. *Family habitus* is defined as "deeply ingrained system of perspectives, experiences and predispositions family members share (p.527). Reay (1998) argues that institutional habitus has a very tight relationship with social connections and emotional factors such as self-confidence and a sense of entitlement during choice making which are produced by the idea of "people like us", namely, family habitus (p.433). Thereby, the influence of family habitus and how different forms of family habitus play a pivotal role in determining higher education choice making are also explored in Reay's study.

Diane Reay, Miriam David and Stephan Ball (2001) reuse the institutional and family habitus in a research on choice of higher education in order to develop and explore the dimensions of institutional habitus. Reay, David and Ball (2001) indicate that they strive for illustrating how institutional habitus or "school effect" influence the direct impact of family habitus. In this direction, institutional habitus is called as "intervening variable" which provides "semi-autonomous means" and lets the development of class, raced, gendered processes in the lives of students (par. 1.3). In this study, Reay, David and Ball (2001) consider the "expressive order" of the school while describing the influence of the institutional habitus both on higher education choice making and families views and expectations (par. 1.4.).

On institutional habitus, Liz Thomas (2002) conducts a similar case study of a modern university in England that has good performance indicators of both widening participation and student retention. Drawing on the work of Reay et al. (2001), the study explores the term institutional habitus and its impact on student retention. The study argues that the finance-based explanations of the retention of working-class students at university are lack of explanatory power. Therefore, Thomas utilizes institutional habitus to explain experiences of students and their reasons for retention. The study argues that since educational institutions have the power to determine the legitimation of values, language and knowledge, it can ascribe success and award qualifications on this basis. Therefore, institutional habitus is more than culture of the educational institution; it refers to “relational issues and priorities through deeply embedded, and sub-consciously informing practice” (Thomas, 2002, p. 431). The study suggests that only if institutional habitus enables students feel less like “a fish out of water”, they increase student retention. Therefore, internal structures of power and representation are at the heart of student achievement (Thomas, 2002, p. 431).

Most recent study on institutional habitus was done by Nicola Ingram. Ingram (2009) conducted a case study exploring the differing ways in which the institutional habitus of two schools in Belfast mediates the local habitus of working-class boys. It is argued that these schools have different enabling effects on the boys’ common habitus. The article draws together the strands of success, failure, working class boys and locality, and examines the ways in which identity is constructed and reconstructed in response to schooling. It is claimed that students who have experienced “failure” often internalize a culture of resistance to schooling as a means of maintaining their local identity, whereas the academically successful students often become ambivalent to or resist the local identity as a means of promoting success. Misrecognition of working-class culture to achieve success is the question lying at the heart of this ambivalence. The study aims to extend Mac an Ghaill’s (1992) insights into the ways that cultural differences between children and school can reproduce educational inequalities. Ingram also identifies resistance of the working-class boys as either the form of overt opposition, as seen in the

secondary school or an act of symbolic violence, as seen in the grammar school. In this resistance, school' institutional habitus play an important role. Ingram (2009) defines school habitus as such:

A school's habitus, like an individual habitus, is a 'system of lasting, transposable dispositions' (Bourdieu 1977, p.82), the product of historical, social and cultural actions and interactions. As a child's individual habitus is mediated through the institution, the institutional habitus restructures the child's habitus. In accordance with Bourdieu's theory, an individual's habitus also has a structuring force (Bourdieu, 1977) and therefore, within the school context, individuals' structure and restructure the institutional habitus. In this way we can understand that a school's history and experiences, as well as its pupils and staff (past and present), contribute to its evolving habitus and institute the dispositions it conveys to its current pupils and staff (p. 424).

In this sense, the study claims that the grammar school habitus conveys an academic disposition rooted in the middle-class values, whereas, the secondary school conveys a habitus that accommodates non-academic success based on traditional working-class values of education. Grammar school does not recognize and even sometimes misrecognizes working-class culture and so promotes the practices of assimilation and acculturation, the secondary school does not permit traditional academic success and so perpetuating educational and social inequalities. The final result, however, is the maintenance of class inequalities as one group rejects its class of origin in favor of upward mobility and the other secures its working-class position.

In another study, Will Atkinson (2011) challenges institutional habitus and argues that the extension of habitus to the collective level through the way adopted by Reay and the others have some shortcomings. According to Atkinson (2011), the first trouble of family and institutional habitus is their being lack of the founding ontology of habitus which is *relationalism*. In the article, it is argued that family habitus is treated as a "substantial property" and "fixed essence defined in and of itself" by ignoring the significance of the field that the families are situated (Atkinson, 2011, p.336). On the other hand, institutional habitus is also criticized for lacking to support the characterization of the school as a habitus. These conceptualizations of habitus are challenged in terms of treating practices of the school as aspects of it rather than products of it. By doing this, institutional habitus

is seemed to be disregarding relationalism between school practices and mistakenly foregrounding institutional habitus as an individual entity.

For Atkinson (2011), the second trouble of family and institutional habitus is “anthropomorphism” (p. 337). It is stated that the notion of habitus cannot be simply extended to the collective level since habitus rooted in “dense mesh of neural network” and can only be possessed by the individuals (Atkinson, 1996, p.337). Additionally, appealing to Bourdieu’s notion of class habitus is not an effective support either. Because, contrary to characterization of habitus as an independent agent, class habitus is not an agent but a tool which describes the family resemblance between individuals placed in a certain section of social space.

For Atkinson (2011), the third trouble concerning the notions of family and institutional habitus is “homogenization” (p.338). It is highlighted that familial and institutional habitus actually menace the analysis of “specificity, complexity and difference” by homogenizing all members of the family or school as one single unit (Atkinson, 2011, p. 338).

Furthermore, Atkinson (2011) suggests that family is a “sociological fiction” and there is no actual “ontological essence constituting family” (p.339). That is, family is composed of embodied perceptions within the habitus and impact on the actions and interactions of individuals by arousing inherited associations. As a result, individuals incline to behave in a certain manner toward the group called as “kin” (Atkinson, 2011, p.336). A certain form of doxa which makes maintaining the exclusiveness of the family possible is developed through narratives and celebrations. Briefly, *doxa*, in reference to Bourdieu, is the experience by which “the natural and social world appears as self-evident” (Bourdieu, 1972, p.164) For this reason, family-specific doxa act as the source of “mutual affection and interdependence”. Family as an agential unit functions as a *field*. It is advocated that rather than homogenizing notion of family habitus, family doxa provide an analytical ease (Atkinson, 2011, p.339).

In the same way, what is put forward in the article is that “contrary to what the notion of institutional habitus implies, there is not a supra-individual entity of the school. It is an association to make sense of the experiences in which certain buildings, people and practices come together in perception at varying levels of anonymity” (Atkinson, 2011, p. 337) However, this association has profound effects on actions. It also transcends the thoughts and demands of those engaged in pedagogic work. Therefore, it is treated as a bounded entity and people act toward and perpetuate the perceptual principles of it. This and similar perceptions and actions are products and producers of the position within the field of education. This characterization, in turn, engender school-specific doxa among those who consider themselves as part of it. It is finally transmitted through individual practices, policies and interactions (ibid).

On the otherside, Burke, Emmerich and Ingram (2012) respond to Atkinson’s (2011) ‘three fatal flaws’ of collective habitus. In the article, in spite of Atkinson’s (2011) criticism of homogenization, it is argued that the theorization of collective habitus enables grasping, not just structural, but practical differences within and between institutions and similar aspects of those institutions. Additionally, the concept of institutional habitus does not only work with the notions of individuals but also with the notion of homology that exist between individuals within institutions and between institutions in a large social space. Therefore, it makes understanding the habitus of individuals as members of an institution. Furthermore, Burke et al. (2012) also claims rather than criticizing collective notion of habitus as illegitimate and calling it as anthromorphic, they consider that collective habitus animates collectively committed practices through which institutions are constituted. Finally, against the criticism of substantialism, it is claimed that focusing merely on the individuals without discussing social groups restrict the conceptual depth of the concept of habitus. It delimits the social influences on the individual’s habitus. Recognizing that the development of habitus and practices habitus produces are interrelated is vital to understand the myriad nuances of social life. It is claimed that the only possible way is through relationism that acknowledge individual related to the other as well as to the field (Burke et al., 2012).

Taking into account the criticisms and the responses, this study at hand attempts for eliminating articulated drawbacks of institutional habitus by exploring topic considering the myriad nuances of interactions and practices taking place in the field. Additionally, the study also considers the broad array of dispositions displayed by social agents. Therefore, it attentively refrains from homogenization and overgeneralization of individuals and social practices.

2.4.1. Teacher Identity and Its Practices

Significant policy change in the field of teacher training impacted on every facets of education over the past fourty years. Governments' growing interest in the accountability resulted in, for instance, the introduction of quantitative standards for teachers in any levels of education. However, these changes have various types of impacts on each group of teachers. This section of the literature review concerns the major changes affecting identity of teacher and its practices.

Hunter, Elliott, Marland & Wormald (1985) reviews three official documents to offer a critical perspective on the teacher education system and position of teacher in the neoliberal age.

Hunter (1985) states that these documents are constrained within the monetarist policy restricting the public service spending and redefining the many aspects of welfare state. Although it is claimed that all these issues are handled in a manner that fosters the "professionalism" and "commitment" of teacher, governmental policies do not have the intention to fulfill those aims (Hunter, 1985, p.98). Another point that Hunter (1985) touches upon is the centralization of the control. It is stated that both in teacher-training and in other areas of education, teachers are expected to fulfill the "predefined" objectives. Government's power to define the objectives and appointment of the evaluation committee from the secretary of the state deeply influence the teacher's evaluation process. Consequently, it leads to growing bureaucratic culture in teacher training institutions. Although accountability is crucial in teacher training, the interpretation of the accountability in these documents limit the creativity and freedom of the teacher. Instead, they reinforce the

standardization, legitimize the present economic policies, increase the pressure on the profession. Hunter (1985) claims that in spite of the political changes, the quality of teacher training and still depends on “the quality of student/lecturer relationships, the creativity of the informal student culture and the level of personal reflexivity and maturity attained by students to adapt and grow as initial teachers” (p.101).

In another study, Elliot (1985) focuses on the global trends of the evaluation of teacher quality in these two official documents (p.102). Initially, Elliot (1985) challenges the managerial perspective in assessing the teacher quality. According to managerial perspective, teacher evaluation guides the decisions about the placement of teachers and aids the training needs to be determined. Elliot (1985) argues that the assessment form suggested by the managerial perspective lack of the consensus on what constitutes a competent teaching.

Further, Elliot (1985) distinguishes teaching perspectives as: 1) teaching which have “causal influence” on learning, 2) teaching which have “enabling influence” (p.102). In the former teaching type, main concern is to maximize calculable learning outcome. In the latter one, the major aim is to provide the students with the conditions that enables them to learn “in an educationally worthwhile manner” (Elliot, 1985, p.103). Assessing quality in these two environments is different. In the former one, quality is based on the logical consistency between classroom process and the aim. In the latter one, both the behaviors and aims are predetermined. In the teaching which have enabling influence, moral values are intrinsic to the process, however, in the one which has causal influence, moral values are extrinsic outcomes to produce. For this reason, Elliot (1985) claims that the former holds that teaching is a “moral activity”, the latter one assumes that it is a “technology” (p.104).

Based on this view, Elliot (1985) suggests that this type of a distinction has an effect on the status of teacher. When teachers are held as the practitioners of an ethic, they are called as “professionals”, however, when their activities are counted as technology, they are described as “technologists” or as “technicians” (Elliot, 1985, p.105). Teaching activity as a technology involves in standardization of the criteria to assess teaching competence and controlling the fulfilment of these criteria by

external monitors. Whereas, teaching as a moral activity facilitates sharing of professional knowledge and reflective practice of an ethic of teaching. In this sense, contrary to managerial perspective, self-evaluation of the teacher's his/her activities become the primary mechanism which assess the quality of teaching activities.

In another study, Woods & Jeffery (2002) explores the identity formation of primary school teachers in England after the reconstruction of education system. According to the article, reconstruction of the education system impacted on the self-identities of teachers which were previously shaped by the characteristics of the governmental policies and educational discourse of 1970s-80s, primarily of Plowden report (Central Advisory Council for Education in England, 1967). The self-identity of the teachers was based on two set of values which were "humanism and vocationalism" during this period (Woods & Jeffery, 2002, p. 92). A plowden teacher have high degree of commitment and sees the teaching as a "vocation" rather than attaching instrumental value to it (Woods & Jeffery, 2002, p.93). During this period, there is a great deal of consistency regarding the self-concept and social identity of the teacher. However, plowden self-identity has encountered certain challenges during the reconstruction of the education system. Assignment of new social identities lies at the heart of these challenges.

Furthermore, Skelton (2012) explores the impact of the "quality assurance and enhancement initiatives" in the formation of teacher identities in a research-led university (p.793). According to the literature suggested in the article, there are various views regarding the impact of Quality Movement (QM). According to the negative view, QM can be understood as a 'colonizing force' which give a way to the implementation of a technical- rational model of teaching in higher education. Rational model of QM has had negative impacts on the logic of teaching and teacher identity. Several of these negative impacts can be 1) application of the quantitative standard in the evaluation of teaching practice, 2) erosion in the teaching autonomy and control over teaching related issues, 3) foregrounding "calculation" in the characteristics of academic culture (Skelton, 2012, p.797). On the other hand, taking a more optimistic perspective, a three-strand literature can also be introduced. In the first strand, works suggest that QM has a limited impact on teacher identities in

higher education, the second strand of the literature claims that academy continues to work according to its own norms and values despite the pressure. The last strand of works suggests that QM produces new opportunities and subject positions.

In this study, Skelton (2012) claims that quality model has “colonized” the assumptions of the participants in several aspects (p.809). Firstly, participants accept that there is a need for external accountability, secondly, they also accept that there is a certain problem with the university teaching. Since the “educationalist” discourse enables the participants to find space to teach consistent with their own values (Skelton, 2012, p.809), languages of the participants are not affected by quality or neoliberal discourse and academics are still considered in an autonomous position. However, teaching as an emergent identity is still insecure considering its low status subject position within the research- led culture. In this sense, Skelton (2012) suggests that developing a teacher identity in a research-led university is possible when several drawbacks such as low status of teaching profession and limited support for the development of identity through reward and recognition are eliminated.

Woods & Jeffery (2002) explain the experiences of the teacher’s self in late modern times through Anthony Giddens’s (1991) four dilemmas: “(1) the degree to which the self is unified or becomes fragmented; (2) whether one appropriates the changes to one’s own concerns, or feels powerless before the scale and depth of the changes; (3) the question of authority versus uncertainty; and (4) personalized versus commodified experience.” (ibid, p.90). Giddens (1991) calls these challenges as “fateful moments” (Giddens, 1991 as cited in Woods & Jeffery, 2002, p.90). Teachers engage in “identity work” to cope with these fateful moments. In this study, “Self-positioning” and “Identity strategies” are the two major ways deployed to maintain a consistency between self-concept and social identity (Woods & Jeffery, p.100-102). While self-positioning involves in the refusal of the embracement of new social identity, identity strategies come to mean resolving the dilemmas by leaving the old self identity and substituting it for a more fragmented one.

According to Sachs & Smith (1988), *practicality ethic* proposed by Doyle & Ponder (1977) is one of those coping mechanisms which guides the teacher's statements and behavior in the school. Practicality ethic claims that preconditions of teaching determines teachers' way of teaching. Practicality ethic includes experiences of the teacher both in the classroom and in the school and the system. Moreover, it is influenced by the teacher's beliefs about the teaching, students and the community in which he/she live. For this reason, practicality ethic both "institutionally incorporated" and influenced by the cultural repertoire of the teacher (Sach & Smith, 1988, p. 433). On the other side, Sachs & Smith (1988) challenges the idea that "every teacher is different" (p.433). In this sense, the institutional structure of the school creates more or less a shared culture regardless of the personal background and maintain a uniformity in the teacher culture (Jackson & Boles, 1983 as cited in Sachs & Smith, 1988).

Literature on teacher identity is significant to understand the institutional barriers which harm the positive atmosphere and caring relationship between the student and the teachers. Consequently, teachers have difficulty in focusing on the subjective sides of the profession such as facilitating personal growth, human community or creating possibilities. Students coming from problematic backgrounds are exposed to a similar problematic environment in the school. Under these conditions, school does not fulfill its transformative role for the students.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

3.1. Study Design

The study at hand use a qualitative research approach through involving a public secondary school students' everyday lives in order to acquire a deeper understanding of how school's institutional habitus influences their identity formation process in an institutional context. In this regard, a qualitative approach taken for the current study enabled the researcher to "get a first-hand sense" (Eisner, 2001, p.137) of individuals' daily practices, structures embodied in these practices in school's institutional habitus and their possible influence on individuals' future trajectories. In another word, based on this kind of an approach, the study at hand sought to understand how individuals' their own, their families and school's expectations and perceptions and practices clashes or harmonies at some points and produce/reproduce certain identities inside the school with an in-depth analysis. In addition, pursuing a qualitative inquiry allows the researcher to explore underlying politics of recognition practices which enable the maintenance or ignorance of these identities in the field. The in-depth analysis of all these considerations can be grasped with the instruments of qualitative research.

According to Frankel, Wallen and Hyun (2012), qualitative research explores the quality of relationships, activities, situations, or materials. It is differentiated from the quantitative research with its greater emphasis on the holistic description. Considering these points, Biklen and Bogdan (1998) put forward five features to describe this type of research:

- 1) Naturalistic: The natural setting is the direct source of data, and the researcher is the key instrument in qualitative research,
- 2) Descriptive data: Qualitative data are collected in the form of words or pictures rather than numbers,
- 3) Concern with data: Qualitative researchers are concerned with process as well as product,
- 4) Inductive: Qualitative researchers tend to analyze their data inductively,
- 5) Meaning: How people make sense out of their lives is a major concern to qualitative researchers. (p.2)

In the literature on qualitative research, Creswell (1998) identifies that there are six core traditions in qualitative research: narrative research, phenomenology, grounded theory, case studies, ethnography, and historical research. In this study, ethnographic method is employed due to the particular nature of the research context, multiple domains of inquiry along the fieldwork and the distinctive character of close-knit cultural aspects located in the field. In the following section, a portrayal of ethnographic research will be outlined for a proper understanding of the reasons behind employing the ethnography as a core method in this study.

3.1.1. Ethnography

In order to be more familiar with ethnography, it is essential to know the historical roots of this inquiry. There is a diverse literature on the ethnographic method that, in multiple ways, aims to extend the centrality of hegemonic discourses and normalizing agenda of generalization in research modalities. At the center, it includes visits of micro-practices and plays a role in generating multiple coalitions between micro- and macro structures along the fieldwork. For instance, Creswell (2012) characterizes ethnography as “qualitative research procedures for describing, analyzing, and interpreting a culture-sharing group’s shared patterns of behavior, beliefs, and language that develop over time” (p.462). Frankel, Wallen & Hyun (2012) states that another aspect of ethnography is its attempt for conceptualizing the data in a larger perspective in order to uncover the underlying bases of ordinary daily experiences and taken for granted believes.

Famous anthropologist Bronislaw Malinowski defines ethnography in *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* with emphasizing the significance of the viewpoints of local people while delienating events as well as the observation of a social unit such as school, family or a work group in a factory (Malinowski, 1922 as cited in Erikson, 1973). Erikson (1973) states that this is what differentiates Malinowskian ethnography from travelers' writings. What travelers lack is not only local meanings of behaviors but comparative perspective as well. Thereby, Malinowskian ethnography offers "more accurate descriptions of the society, more systematic definition of social whole and less exocentric descriptions of strange customs (Erikson, 1973, p.2)." In terms of ethnographic studies conducted in a school setting, Erikson (1973) argues that although Malinowski's way of doing ethnography cannot be literally transferred to the study of schools, it can be "useful for us" (p.3).

For the ethnographers in a school setting, Erikson (1973) states that sorting the data into categories is essential. Anything happening inside the institution might be significant, but some things are more significant than the others. Concerning the impact of the ethnographer's viewpoint on the description, Erikson (1973) states that the desirable goal is not "disembodied objectivity" but intelligibility in communicating point of view as subject. For this purpose, "a disciplined subjectivity" is suggested (Erikson, 1973, p.10). Furthermore, taking ethnography as a mode of inquiry, focusing on taken for granted aspects of the institutions are emphasized because they turn out to be the most significant points in the final analysis (Erikson, 1973).

Creswell (2012) holds that ethnography as practiced in education has been shaped by cultural anthropology, with an emphasis on the issues of writing about culture, and by how ethnographic reports need to be read and understood today. These factors are central in understanding current practices in ethnography (Bogdan & Biklen, 1998; Denzin, 1997; Le Compte et al., 1993; Wolcott, 2008 cited in Creswell (2012). In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, anthropologists explored 'primitive' cultures by visiting other countries and becoming immersed in their societies for extensive periods of time. They refrained from being an insider and building close relations with the people they were studying in order to be more objective in their

writing. At times, these ethnographic works compared distant cultures on other continents with the American way of life (Creswell, 2012).

In 20th century, anthropological ethnography and fieldwork become one of the models for some researchs within Western sociology. One of these strands of researchers was the community study movement. This involved studies of villages and towns in the United States and Western Europe, often concerned with the impact of urbanization and industrialization. In a parallel period, many sociologists working at the University of Chicago developed an approach to studying human social life in a similar way to anthropological studies, though they often labelled it “case study” (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007, p.9). Studies conducted between 1917 and 1942 by the students of Robert E. Park and Ernest W. Burgess were the markers of the Chicago School of ethnography. These studies were concerned with documenting the range of different patterns of life to be found in the city, and how these were shaped by the developing urban ecology. Ethnographers centered on face-to-face interactions and everyday experience in urban locales, assuming the role of “other” to produce descriptive narratives portraying a “slice of life” (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007, p.9). Highlighting the lives of individuals living in the cities, they provided “insider” perspectives by reporting detailed accounts of individuals who are often marginalized in our society.

Along with the fieldwork, "writing up" process of ethnographic studies has been subjected to change through the time. According to Denzin (1997), publication of the book *Writing Culture* (Clifford & Marcus, 1986) is a milestone in this sense. In this book, James Clifford, and George E. Marcus raised two issues that have taken much attention in ethnography in general and within educational research. The first one is the “crisis of representation”. This crisis consists of a reassessment of how ethnographers interpret the groups they are studying. Denzin (1997) also argued that the researcher can be no longer accepted as an objective reporter who makes “wise” statements about the individuals being studied. Instead, the researcher is only one voice among the many who need to be heard. This has led to a second crisis: “legitimacy.” No longer do “canons” of validity, reliability, and objectivity of “normal science” represent the standards. Researchers need to consider an array of

flexible standards embedded within the participants' lives such as historical and cultural influences; and the interactive forces of race, gender, and class while writing up the field (Denzin,1997).

In the literature on ethnography, the types of ethnography are defined and compared with other qualitative works. For instance, Creswell (2012) explains three basic forms of ethnographic research based on the developments in the field. These forms are *the realist ethnography*, *the critical ethnography* and -although it differs from the traditional ethnographic research studies in several important ways- *case study*. Researchers in case studies may focus on a program, event, or activity involving individuals rather than a group per se (Stake, 1995). When case study writers research a group, description of the activities of the group supersedes the aim of identifying shared patterns of behavior exhibited by the group and in the cultural context. Besides, case study researchers are less likely to identify a cultural theme to examine at the beginning of a study; instead, they focus on an in-depth description of the real case (Yin, 2017). Briefly, a case study is an in-depth exploration of a bounded system based on extensive data collection (Creswell, 2007).

Anthropologist Max Gluckman and Jaap Van Velsen are among the researchers who uses case study as a method for their studies in the late 1950s and 1960s. They name the form of case study which they utilize as Extended Case Study (ECS). Gluckman separates extended cases from two more restricted uses of the case study which either 1) describes simple events or actions in such a way that presents some general normative principles or 2) more complex microsocial events to reveal structural characteristics at a macro level. In contrast, ECS aims at “analyzing the interrelation of structural (‘universal’) regularities, on the one hand, and the actual (‘unique’) behavior of individuals, on the other” (Van Velsen, 1967, p.148).

As the aim of this study is to provide a portrait of the structures in the school, practices which produce these structures and the analysis of their role in production and reproduction of identities, specifically identities of students, ECS (or ECM, Extended Case Method) is deemed an appropriate method of analysis. In the

following section, a brief overview of the ECS will be given for the readers to better understand the rationale behind adopting this approach for the current study.

3.1.2. Extended Case Method (ECM)

In this section, a short outline of Extended Case Method's (ECM) theoretical orientation will be provided. To explore in greater depth the role of institutional habitus in the formation of students' identity, to address the key themes and issues in teachers' and administrators' daily work life practices in connection with institutional habitus and, to portray students's everyday life practices with a concern of their identity formation process, as a researcher I used the extended case method in this ethnographic study.

Extended case method applies reflexive science to ethnography in order to “extract the general from the unique, to move from the ‘micro’ to the ‘macro’, and to connect the present to the past in anticipation of the future, all by building on preexisting theory” (Burawoy, 1998, p.5). Burawoy applying reflexive science to ethnographic method systematizes Extended Case Method, therefore dimensions of the reflexive science offer a guideline to better understand the extended case method. Extended case method values *intervention* of the researcher into the field. Strengthening the view that reactivity of the participants does not violate the quality of an ethnography, Burawoy highlights that “institutions reveal much about themselves when under stress or in crisis, when they face the unexpected as well as the routine” (Burawoy, 1998, p.40). Further, the method tracks *multiple knowledge* about the position of different actors within a social situation because both time and space are in a continuous flux. Therefore, ECM collects multiple readings of a single case (in different time periods or in different contexts) and reduce them into social processes (Burawoy, 1998). Additionally, Burawoy (1998) states that the external field has its own dynamics and cannot be held constant. Therefore, rather than delineating social forces through social processes, ECM takes *structuration* as a standpoint and view the external world as a place for dual interaction of the cases and social forces which surround these cases. Besides, ECM focuses more on restructuring and elaborating of the *existing theory* than representativeness of the data. Therefore, rather than

beginning with producing generality, it departs from folk theories of the participants to abstract law (Burawoy, 1998).

In a broader sense, ECM values the involvement of the observer in participants lives in order to analyze the interactions within social situations. Further, it aims at uncovering the micro processes in relation of mutual determination with macro forces. It also highlights that the theory does not have to emerge out of the dialogue between participant and observer, but intellectual debates and divisions also have the ability to structure a theory.

Since the main focus of extended case method is elaboration of the existing theory rather than construction of a new one, theory is a natural part of the methodology. Therefore, I will be giving an overview of the theoretical stance which this study is based on, that is the concept of *habitus*. In formulating the concept of habitus, Bourdieu uses metaphor of game to convey his sense of social life. However, by “game” he does not mean just a diversion or entertainment. He meant passionately involved in the play and struggle with others and with our own limits, over states to which we are deeply committed. Bourdieu suggests that the difference between a rugby play and social life is that the stakes are bigger in the latter one (Calhoun, 2007). As a former rugby player, he suggests that any game requires strategy. However, it is not a mere rule following. It requires the internalization of the rules and improvising in the game. These internalized strategies we developed for the game we play is called as habitus (Calhoun, 2007). According to Bourdieu (1990), habitus is composed of:

[s]ystems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles which generate and organize practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary in order to attain them (p. 53).

For Bourdieu, habitus refers to the deeply ingrained habits, skills, and dispositions that we possess due to our life experiences. It also refers to the physical embodiment of another conceptual tool in his conceptual luggage, cultural capital which is the collection of symbolic elements such as skills, tastes, posture, clothing, mannerisms,

material belongings, credentials, etc. that one acquires through being part of a particular social class (Bourdieu, 1990). Considering these ingrained habits and embodiment of cultural capital, our habitus allows us to successfully navigate social environments in the right situations.

3.2. Research Setting and Participants

The school setting in which the study is conducted is located in the peripheral city of central Anatolia region in Turkey. With its distance from the city center and scarcity of the social facilities, the school displays the characteristics of a ‘village school.’ Except for the school, there exist four more state institutions in the neighborhood, 3 of them are mosques and the other one is a health center.

The school consists of two levels under one directorate; the primary and secondary schools. In secondary school, which is the focus of the study, there have been 5 classes during the 2018/2019 academic year. The number of students per class ranges from 10 to 15. During the same year, 7 teachers, 2 administrators, and 3 school personnel work in this school. The general profile of the students presents a homogenous structure in terms of having a kinship relationship within the school circle and coming from similar socio-economic backgrounds. Furthermore, the divorce rate is surprisingly high in the region (according to the sayings of local community, it is about 50%). For this reason, many students live with their grandparents or single parents. This causes some problems both in terms of parents’ school involvement and students’ psychological well-being. Single parents are generally the only employed person in the family, therefore, when they are called in case of emergencies or to get involved in school activities, they may not be reached due to their busy working schedules. On the other hand, communicating with elderly people might be problematic at some instances, since they are not very familiar with the requirements and the needs of today’s schools and its actors. In the field, I also observed that there are some grandparents who really contribute to develop good communication with teachers and taking care of the students.

Furthermore, grandparents are active members in non-divorced families as well. Students generally come from extended families; that is, three generations live in one house together, or they live very close to their grandchildren's houses. Therefore, they are generally fully informed about what is going on students' houses. Additionally, since, both of the parents are employed either in the factories or in job opportunities provided by Turkish Employment Agency (TEA) in many non-divorced families, grandparents become the one who takes care of the grandchildren at home and at school in the absence of their parents.

Teachers at this school usually differ in terms of their employment types. 5 out of 7 teachers work as a civil servant teacher. Civil servant teachers are employed in line with "the 48th article of the Civil Servants Law numbered 657 with a full public servant status and security of tenure" (Büyükgöze, 2015, p.4; Eurydice, 2019, p. 1-2). The other two teachers work as a substitute and paid teacher. Since teacher turnover is relatively high at this school, the number of teachers change almost every year and it is not common to see experienced teachers within the school. For the substitute teachers, the school at hand is more like as a place to complete their compulsory teaching hours and to get additional teaching fee. For paid teachers, the school is a temporary job opportunity and can be replaced with a better one in any times. For the civil servant teachers, the school is one of the first places they work or a school which they come as a result of the spouse appointment. For this reason, teachers who get married or whose children get school age usually move to the city center. To put it simply, the school is a "deportation place" for any teachers in this school (Çelik, 2017, p.20).

School administrators are the oldest members of the school. They have been working at the school for more than 6 years. They are familiar with the people in the neighborhood. With their appointment to the school according to the primary school teachers who work at the school relatively more than secondary school teachers--the school administrators improved the educational facilities of the school to a great extent by providing, for instance, each class with a smart board and both schools with printing machines.

Transportation and accommodation are another two issues to mention in describing the school setting. Except for one, none of the teachers and administrators live in the neighborhood where the school is located. Means of transportation is school staff's own cars or the Dolmus which moves once an hour. Lastly, out of 7 teachers, 1 of them is from another city and the rest of the teachers are born and bred in this city.

3.3. Data Collection Procedures

Data collection process in the study includes the fieldwork through participant observation, which is conducted between April 2018 and December 2018, interviewing with the participants, observing the school site as well as the village and taking field notes along the study. In the first place, as a researcher, I applied to METU Human Subjects Ethics Committee (HSEC) to get approval of my fieldwork process. Later, I contacted the related Ministry of National Education unit to get approval of conducting my study as an ethnographic study in this specific school. Then, I contacted school administrators to explain the details of the research process and I received the necessary approvals to enter into the field.

As a participant observer, I was familiar with the school and its actors when this study was being conducted. Before engaging in the fieldwork, I had some of my observations about the field and kept a diary on the ongoing life at this school in order to determine where to focus and why to focus. After I got the necessary permissions, my field notes got more detailed. I become more specific about the students as well as the school culture and the environment that surrounds it. Along my taking field note process, I was keeping the field diary after school, on the other hand I was jotting simple notes at school not to miss the details of the field.

Other than keeping a field diary, I arranged family visits to students' houses with one of my colleagues. For the arrangement, I talked to the school administration and they welcomingly accepted. Even in some visits, they drove me to the students' houses. However, since these visits are paid during lunch break, we had to hurry up. When we were not picked up from the houses, we even had to run to be at the school on time (and not to say being chased by several dogs in the village). During these

visits, I paid special attention to get deeper information about students' family history, intra-familial relationships, and families' socioeconomic statuses. And also, I tried to learn about the family structuring and families' views about education.

Additionally, I benefited a lot from the small conversations with the teachers and administrators. These small conversations sometimes took one to one form and another time it became round table talks. They were covering either the general issues as problems in Turkish education system, the importance of the parents' involvement into the school, teachers' working conditions, recommendations for a better education and more specific issues such as problems they face at the school, issues specific to certain students, reactions for a duty assigned by the administration. Further, I also tried to build up a personal relationship with the school administrator. For example, our school principal drove me to the school for a year. During the time period we spent on our way to school, we had conversations about the people living in the village and local community's common opinion about/attitude towards the attendance (and rates) to higher education.

At the end of my lessons, I tried to get information from the students about the daily life practices in this village and their opinions and experiences about the place they live. In particular, I strived for figuring out their feelings and the way they introduce themselves. I especially asked questions about their 'heroes,' the major figures in their life. Interview process started just after I got the permission from provincial directorate of national education. Semi-structured interview questions were prepared based on the data gathered from the field. During the summer holiday, I got together with the students and performed the interview in an environment as natural as possible. When the 2018-2019 academic year has started, I tried to arrange interviews with the teachers and administrators in school. Since all the teachers have very tight schedules and intense workload, at some moments, I was unable to schedule and coordinate the interview process. During some of the interviews, I had to turn off the recorder and I could go back to the interview after a few hours. Moreover, some teachers were willing to complete the interview as early as possible considering their busy schedule. Even, some of the interview occasions are very

interesting to me, for instance I conducted an interview at one of the interviewee's car since the participant has no time otherwise.

Another participant group of the study were the students. Interview process with them were easier to arrange because they were very eager to participate in the study and were present at the school during the lunch break. At the beginning of each interview with the students, I tried to explain the context of the study using a simpler language. In order to complete the ethical requirements of the study, during the teacher-parents meeting, I distributed the consent forms of the study to the family members in order to get their consent for their children's participation. All of the interviews were conducted in Turkish, recorded with a mobile phone after getting permissions. The duration of the interviews varied from 15 minutes to 30 minutes.

3.4. Data Collections Methods

Along the ethnographic study, participant observation, fieldnotes and diary, and interviews are used to collect data for the study. This section includes the details of each data collection method used along the fieldwork.

3.4.1. Interviews

The notion of *reflexivity* proposed by Bourdieu has a pivotal place in qualitative research. Regarding this guiding principle, both the interviewer and the interviewees are provided with the chance to consider their actions (Hamel, 1998). The interviewees were asked to be reflexive during the interviews to express the workings of institutional habitus and identity formation in detail.

Creswell (1998) suggests that aim in the ethnographies is to develop an elaborate description of the culture of the group. On the other hand, Walcott (2008) remarks that it is not just the description of a culture but a study of the social behavior of a group of people. In both cases, a detailed ethnography requires a data collection which is supported by various sources. According to Fetterman (2010) ethnographies engaging in an extensive fieldwork collect data through certain

techniques as interviews, observations, symbols, artifacts and many different sources of data (Creswell, 1998). On the other hand, Fraenkel, Wallen, & Hyun (2011) asserts that interview and participant observation are two major means of data collection in ethnographic studies.

As Fraenkel, Wallen, & Hyun (2011) suggest, the purpose of interviewing people is to explore what they think and feel about something. Through interviews, the researcher is able to contextualize the experiences and feelings of the participants extensively. Further, interviewing is an important tool for the researcher to check the accuracy of the data acquired throughout the observation. However, it is worth noting that “any tendency to assume that interviews are the default method for the ethnographer must be challenged” (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007, p. 103).

In ethnographic interviewing, selecting the informants is a crucial issue. There are several ways of doing it, in some cases, informants select themselves or others for interview. In other cases, there might be gatekeepers in the field who facilitates the interviewee selection. However, these are not the decisions that have to be made once and for all. Particularly, in ethnographic studies, it is made over a lengthy period of time (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007).

In some cases, researcher has a disposition toward selecting some people for the interview, in other words, can be selective and purposeful. Dean (1967) provides a typology which illustrate the way of thinking that lie behind strategic selection of interviewees:

1. Informants who are especially sensitive to the area of concern.
 - a. *The outsider* who have improved empathy skills.
 - b. *The rookie*, who is surprised by the new events and can understand taken for granted issues.
 - c. *The nouveau* who have vivid experiences.
 - d. *The naturally reflective and objective person* in the field to whom you can be led by the others

2. The more-willing-to-reveal informants

- a. *The naïve informant*, who knows not whereof he speaks. He may be either naïve as to what the fieldworker represents or naïve about his own group.
- b. *The frustrated person*, who may be a rebel or malcontent, especially the one who is fully aware of the reason of his frustration.
- c. *The 'outs'*, who have lost power but are 'in-know'. Some of the 'ins' may be eager to reveal negative facts about their colleagues.
- d. *The habitué or 'old hand' or 'fixture'*, who is so secure that he/she has nothing to jeopardize any more.
- e. *The needy person*, who interact with the interviewer because it craves attention and support.
- f. *The subordinate*, who must adapt to superiors. He generally develops insights to stultify the impact of authority (Dean et al., 1967, p.285 cited in Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007, p.107).

In this study, primary concern was reaching multiple perspectives of the school members and discursive practices taking place in the field. For this aim, 7 teachers/administrators and 11 students were interviewed along the fieldwork. Teachers and administrators were selected on the basis of convenient sampling; however, parallel to the typology suggested by Dean (1967), students are selected according to a strategy.

Conducting an ethnographic study at the school and interviewing with the people already known by the researcher may seem to violate the reliability of the instruments because the line between the researcher and the participants are vaguer. However, Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) suggest that the impact of the participant observer on people observed is not simply a source of bias, so too with that of the interviewer. Since the aim of ethnography is not just to describe the given community, subjecting people to the “artificiality” of the interview give an opinion about how some participants behave in different circumstances (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007, p.97).

Another critical issue in conducting a quality interview is building a good rapport with the interviewee. When interviewing with whom one has already established a relationship through participant observation, it is easier to build rapport. In my case, since I have been working at the school for more than two years, it was easier to ask for contribution to my thesis. We have already had a good relationship with the students. For the interviews, I generally selected the interviewees from the students having divorced parents, living with their grandparents or presenting academically and socially low performance. When I asked for interviewing at the beginning of the study, the students felt proud to be 'chosen'. After a certain time, realizing that they are not selected based on their success, they felt confused. In order to eliminate this problem, I tried to form heterogeneous groups.

Self- presentation is also important in building a trustworthy relationship with the students. My study coincides with the time when I started to work at the school. Therefore, during this time period, I tried to build up/develop strong/close bonds with the students. I give them the opportunity of writing letters to me about their problems or privately talk with me about the things which bother them. At least, I give them the feeling that I am ready to help them. Thus, I did not encounter any problem during the process of interviewing with the students in terms of good rapport. They have already known that they can trust me.

One of the problems which I faced was the inability to find a convenient place for conducting interviews. I had three options; teachers' room during the times I have no class and classes when students are at lunch break and school personnel room. However, since I could not prevent people circulation, interviews were interrupted at some points. Thick schedules of the teachers and administrators at the school was also another obstacle for the arrangement of the interview times. At some interviews, interviewees asked for answering the rest of the questions later or abstained from giving more detailed explanations.

Considering the importance of the interviews for the current study, capturing recurring themes which form school institutional habitus and ensure the production and reproduction of certain identities is at the basis of the current study. Through

elaboration probes, the researcher led the participant to focus on embedded structures which surround the students. Detail of the interview process will be given in the procedure section.

3.4.2. Participant Observation

For Burawoy (1998), observers' involvement into the field and building up a dialogue with the participants is a significant part of extended case method. Since extended case as a method is adopted for conducting this ethnographic study, participant observation is of utmost importance for the data collection in the fieldwork. Parallel to Burawoy's (1991) the definitions of the participant observation which is "the study of people in their own time and space, in their own everyday lives" (p.2), this experience enabled me to be familiar with the culture of my participants and to examine people's social practices and actions in their times and contexts for a long period of time.

As acknowledged by Fetterman (2010), participant observation "combines participation in the lives of the people under study with maintenance of a professional distance that allows adequate observation and recording of data" (p.45). Important point in participant observation is that it requires researcher immersion in a culture. For a complete disguise, researcher has to make use of some tactics. According to Fraenkel, Wallen, & Hyun (2011), a researcher may arrange to work at the institution where the study is being conducted for a period of time fulfilling all the responsibilities necessitated by the profession on the condition that the researcher informs the institution about the research.

In the study at hand, the researcher works as an English teacher at the school and professional identity can be considered a good way of eliminating researcher position in the field. Since I get all the permissions from both school and provincial directorate of national education, I have not encountered any problems related to "going native" in the field. Fieldnotes are the traditional means in ethnography for recording observational and interview data. Thereby, a major role on the accuracy of an ethnographer's observation lies in the quality of her field notes. Hammersley

& Atkinson (2007) exemplify the importance of the good field noted as such : “...with inadequate note-taking the exercise could be like using an expensive camera with poor quality film. In both cases, the resolution will prove unsatisfactory, and the results will be poor.” (p.142).

Field notes in educational research generally mean the detailed noted researchers take in the educational setting as they observe what is going on or as they interview their informants. They are the researchers’ written account of what they hear, see, experience, and think in the course of collecting and reflecting on their data (Fraenkel, Wallen, & Hyun, 2011). Field notes may take the form of field diary, field jottings or reflexive field notes (Fraenkel, Wallen, & Hyun, 2011). I collected the data which I get during my observations in these three forms. In these writings, I write interesting events which I encountered on that day in the classes or teachers’ room, took notes about the family visits I made once or two times a week and jot down the incidents which I want to write more about later.

3.5. Data Analysis

Ethnographic research is distinguished from the positivistic research in many aspects ranging from the data gathering to the analysis of the data. These differences contribute to the distinctive position of the ethnography among other academic endeavors. Lecompt & Goetz (1982) states that ethnography including subjective experiences of both participants and the researcher into its research frame provide a depth compared to other research methods. For this reason, during the interpretation of the data, both emic (insider’s meanings) and etic (researcher’s analysis) perspectives are considered. Furthermore, ethnographic studies are often reluctant to give a clearly articulated system of data analysis. They are frequently “personalistic, vague and intuitive” (LeCompte & Goetz, 1982, p.45). Therefore, ethnography is criticized for being lack of validity and reliability. Organizing data gathered from the field into manageable units and clearly specifying the unit of analysis in the data analysis is a strive toward increasing the reliability and validity of the study. Unless the categories for the codes are defined carefully and theoretical background is presented, dangers for “idiosyncrasy and comparability” are not

eliminated (Lecompte & Goetz, 1982, p.40). In order to handle these risks, special attention is paid during the coding process.

In order to organize and analyze the data in a systematic way, ATLAS.ti.7 programme is used during the coding process. Themes are generated on the basis of frequency of the material. Qualitative data were gathered through conducting a fieldwork consisting of a field diary and 18 interviews with students, teachers and administrators at a state secondary school for eight months, from April 2018 to December 2018. Nearly 9 hours of interviews were audio-recorded by the researcher's mobile phone. Since all the interviews are conducted and field notes are taken in Turkish, they are later translated into English by the researcher. In order to prevent any types of meaning loss, both Turkish and English versions of the data are presented in this study. Furthermore, data, permission letters, consent forms are stored in a safe place. Audio recorded data and field diary were transferred to the researcher's personal computer. The audio recording of each interview was labelled accurately with pseudonyms and also entered into log along with the interview details. All of the data were also backed up through online resources for keeping the material secure and accessible anywhere and anytime.

3.6. Role of the Researcher

Gaining an understanding of the researcher's roles in a study is essential in order to understand the powerful influence of her/his identity, perspective, and relationship with participants on the conduct and the results of the research (Maxwell, 2002). In particular, such personal characteristics that the researcher transmits to the study as previous experiences, values, beliefs and characteristics shape the way the researcher views the study and engages with it. Therefore, inquirers cannot hold that they are totally objective since the perspective they reflect on what they are studying certainly influence the exploration and interpretation of the case. More important point for researchers is to develop a reflexive understanding toward what they are studying and place themselves and their practices under scrutiny.

To present my role as a researcher in the current study, I have been giving courses at the school where this study was conducted. As a graduate of English Language Teaching Department, it is the first school where I have ever taught. Therefore, all the feelings and opinions which are reflected here are the result of the adjustment process of a novice teacher to two-layered world of ‘being a teacher’ and ‘being a teacher in a village school’ to which she was totally a stranger.

I graduated from one of the high ranked university in Turkey according to national university entrance examination. Although I studied at public schools throughout my life, I am coming from an upper-middle class family. I have a certain cultural capital which I inherited from my family and my educational background. More importantly, I have a family which is bonded each other with strong ties. These strong ties present themselves most apparently in our outstanding effort for being together in any special occasion such as bayrams, funerals, marriage ceremonies even if we are far away from each other. When I first come to this school as an English teacher, I was looking at the students and interpreting their lives, their reactions to English lesson through these lenses. Although I made an effort to empathize them, it was not good enough at the first time. Famous art critic John Berger states in *Ways of Seeing* (1977), “it is seeing which establish our place in surrounding world, we explain that world with words, but words never undo the fact that we are surrounded by it. The relation between what we see and what we know is never settled” (p.7). As Berger (1977) states, my opinions about the field have been prone to constant change. I could realize that there are numerous underlying structures which impact on the practices in the field, but it took time to ‘go native’ and be an insider there. The time I spent with the people enabled me to be familiar with the people in the field and to make sense of the events through their lenses.

During this period, I talked about my experiences at the school with my thesis advisor and decided on writing a thesis study relating to my students. She suggested me to search on Bourdieu's concept of habitus and then, more recent concept institutional habitus. These concepts can be considered as the starting point for me. The fact that students come to school with a certain schema of education, interference of this mindset with the structures and practices within the school and

their dual impact on students' identities enabled me to explore the depths of the identity formation process of the students within the circle of a pedagogical space.

To start with myself, when I attended the university from which I graduated, I passed through an adjustment period. I was coming from a peripheral city in the Black sea region of Turkey. I was brought up by a conservative family in a conservative city. Besides, we had limited opportunities to get socialized in this city. Our only chance for opening to the outer world is to enter a university. The university I attended is well-known with its appreciation of diversity, physical and social opportunities it provides for the student and academic success of the students enter there. On the other hand, profiles of the students who attend this university are very similar to each other. They graduate from well-known high schools, such as Galatasaray High School, Robert College and they have various types of hobbies and even for some of them, graduating from this university is a kind of family tradition. I was totally an outsider for this university. Considering Bourdieu's framework, I was not aware of the rules of the game in this institution and I did not have enough cultural capital to compete with. The institutional habitus which welcomingly accepts students from different backgrounds provided me with the chance of broadening my worldview. Obviously, students' experiences in the state school are very similar to my story in the university. Considering all my experiences during my university years, I decided to conduct this study in order to understand the unequal forms of difficulties and experiences students' face with along their education and in what ways their identities are formed under these conditions of unequal access to educational resources.

3.7. Ethical Considerations and Trustworthiness

While the research does not pose any threats to individuals by the very nature of nature of its subject matters, some ethical measures are taken. Initially, all the informants are signed either assent or consent forms showing that they are voluntarily participating the study.

Secondly, researcher respect the privacy issues. Diener and Crandall (1978) put forward three points, which are 1) the research setting or location, 2) disclosure of the findings of the study, 3) sensitivity of the data. Regarding the setting and location, any problem did not occur since all the required permissions were taken from the Ministry of national education. However, names of the locations are kept anonymous because of the disclosure issue. I paid a special attention for the anonymity since kinship relations were prevalent in the field and their statements might have harmed the other individuals. I provided pseudonyms for the participants and the school in order not to provide a clue on the real identities.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

In this chapter, the data which is collected through the fieldwork study, interviews and family visits done on a weekly basis will be presented and interpreted on the basis of two forms of *habitus* which are: Institutional habitus and family habitus. There are no clear-cut separations among these two forms since they expand the borders of each other through interacting in multiple ways. As a result of the analysis, the workings of the two forms of habitus will be analyzed through the themes and categories emerged in the data collection process. Table 1 presents the emerging themes and categories of the study.

Table 1
Themes and categories of the study

| Theme 1: Institutional Habitus | Theme 2: Family Habitus |
|--|---|
| Category 1: Recognition as a teacher: Perceptions of being a teacher and teaching process | Category 1: Unequal childhoods: forms of capital and the family-school interaction |
| Category 2: Issues and problems about school and school administration. | |
| Category 3: Multiple roles of a teacher: a family member? Or a teacher? | |
| Category 4: School as a place for discipline and forms of intimacy | |

4.1. Institutional and Family Habitus

In this study, the workings of habitus allocate a pivotal space to a set of micro-practices of identity formation which requires certain forms of relational ties of

intimate family life. The concept of habitus, in the social sciences, is best known for the works of French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu. Broadly speaking, habitus means the regulation of the individual's social and cultural orientations by the social structures and "transformation of the structured structures into structuring structures (Bourdieu, 1990, p.53)." Along with Bourdieu's concept of habitus, it is essential to address the linkages between institutional habitus (school setting) and family habitus, since they are the central structures to explain the identity formation process of students in this study.

Studies conducted by Patricia McDonough (1997), Diane Reay (1998) and more recently Nicola Ingram (2009) pave the way for the development of the new conceptualization of the habitus on institutional and familial basis. Reay (1998) conceptualizes the institutional habitus as a complex mix of curriculum offer, teaching practices and what children bring with them to the classroom, but also the teachers' expectations, prejudices and biases. With this concept, Reay (1998) examines the impact of school's institutional habitus not only on students' own habitus and choice but also on those of their parents too. Additionally, Reay, David and Ball (2001) proceeds relating the institutional habitus with the Basil Bernstein's notion of 'expressive order' (Bernstein, 1975 as cited in Reay, 2001). Expressive order involves in the expectations, conduct, character and the manners of the school. Along with the curriculum offer and organizational practices, expressive order of the school is regarded as an equally significant but less tangible parts of institutional habitus (Reay, David, & Ball, 2001).

In addition, Liz Thomas (2002) discusses the term institutional habitus and its possible impact building on Reay et al. (2001) and Thomas (2001) argues that since educational institutions have the power to determine the legitimation of values, language and knowledge, it can ascribe success and award qualifications on this basis. Therefore, institutional habitus is more than culture of the educational institution; it refers to relational issues and priorities through deeply embedded, and sub-consciously informing practice (Thomas, 2002).

Recently, Nicole Ingram (2009) adhering to the general understanding of the concept, mines the parallel between the concept and Bourdieu's individual habitus. Ingram (2009) draws together the strands of success, failure, working class boys and locality, and examines the ways in which identity is constructed and reconstructed in response to schooling. It is claimed that students who have experienced 'failure' often internalize a culture of resistance to schooling as a means of maintaining their local identity, whereas the academically successful students often become ambivalent to or resist the local identity as a means of promoting success. The study suggests that only if institutional habitus enable students feel less like 'a fish out of water', they increase student retention. Therefore, internal structures of power and representation are at the heart of student success (Thomas, 2002).

Another important concept in this study is family habitus. It is defined by Raey as "the deeply ingrained system of perspectives, experiences and predispositions family members share" on education (Reay, 1998b, p. 527). According to Reay (1998), once a student with a certain set of dispositions, a schema of perception enters the education system, student reacts to it in a multiple way depending on the degree of match between family habitus and institutional habitus. It generates a whole array of emotions as well.

4.1.1. Recognition as a Teacher: Perceptions of Being a Teacher and Teaching Process

In this section of the study, a first step of the portrayal of the school's institutional habitus will be taken. At this juncture, recognition practices which are implemented at the school, basically regarding teachers will be interpreted. Building on a novice teachers' experiences in a village school, process of becoming an insider will be described. Meanwhile, based on the students and teachers' statements, fading autonomy of the teaching profession will be examined. At this point, transformation in the logic of teaching profession will be depicted based on the certain implementations at the school.

There is a common routine in schools, when a teacher is appointed to a new school for the first time, this person is initially positioned as the “other” or “outsider.” Getting familiar with the school culture and holding an insider position at the beginning require recognition by the actors in the institution and relational ties with them in school. At this point, harmony between teachers’ interpretations of the profession and students’ and other school attendants’ expectations from the teacher play a significant role. If the teacher’s, students’ and other school members’ demands and expectations coincide with, the newcomer is accepted easier. Besides, match between the teachers’ and other school members’ perceptions of teaching, positive attitude toward the teachers enable them to maintain autonomy and be more committed to the profession. For this reason, knowing teachers’, students’ and other school attendants’ perceptions of ideal teacher is an informative path to have an idea on the institutional habitus of the school.

On the first day of school, I used the minibuses of the village which was really old and small. I was reading a book and people were staring at me. They were curious about knowing me because looking at my outfit, they were sure that I was a foreigner. With one of the old women, I had this conversation:

Old Woman: My niece, are you single or married?

Researcher: Aunt, I'm an English teacher.

Old Woman: Mashallah Mashallah. Are you permanent or temporary?

Researcher: I'm permanent, aunt.

[Old woman: Yeğenim kız mısın gelin misin?

Researcher: Teyze ben İngilizce öğretmeniyim.

Old woman: Maşallah maşallah. Kadrolu mu, geçici mi?

Researcher: Kadroluyum teyze.]

The conversation between us provided me an idea about the status of teachers in the eyes of local people. When I got off the minibuses, my story in this secondary school started. It took some time to get used to not only the school but being a teacher at a public school. When the students enter the faculty of education at the university I graduated from, the feeling of “you should not only work as a teacher under the rule of the Ministry of Education” covers you. Since this feeling is not restricted to the university campus, I was part of it, it also followed me after my graduation. All the people at the school who learnt my academic background asked me: “Really, why

here?” It was not easy to provide a valid, satisfactory answer since I also did not know why I am part of this place. Therefore, the first months of my being at school were full of doubts. This state of uncertainty led me to engage in a quest and applied for a master’s degree. Consequently, I got accepted to another prestigious university as a master student and I was there two days a week. Although school administrator was warning me about that “your first responsibility is being a teacher!”, he advised me also that; “some way or another, try to get a position at the university my daughter. Any position under the Ministry of Education cannot satisfy you after a period of time!”

The other part of the fieldwork was about the students. The year when I started to conduct my fieldwork, 2 more permanent (*kadrolu*) and 3 paid teachers (*ücretli*) were also appointed there. There was no familiarity between students and teachers. Considering this, the first months of the school, we spent time together with getting to know each other better. According to my schedule, I was working 3 days at school during the weekdays and 1 day during the weekend. I was really tired of moving between two cities. However, after knowing the students and building an emotional connection, after a while, I felt like a famous celebrity in school. It was interesting that students were curious about every detail of my life. During the break time, when I was on duty, students were surrounding me to ask questions or play with me. Especially female students were asking me about my clothes, my accessories, and anything which they find interesting about me and the other things.

When I first entered the class as an inexperienced teacher, there were 35 students in the class. I really do not know what I should do. I sometimes could not understand students’ accents; I was making them repeat the same sentences again and again. Although I am a language teacher, I feel that I have learnt from the students more than they have learnt from me. Language was not the only point which I was puzzled. Manners of some students were also strange to me, let me give an example based one of the conversations with a student that illustrates one of these interesting moments:

Researcher: You can't go to class like that. You have to knock the door.
Doruk: Teacher, we are peasants.
[Araştırmacı: Doruk sınıfa böyle elini kolunu sallaya sallaya giremezsin. Burası yol geçen hanı mı?
Doruk: Köylüyüz hocam biz.]

I was not sure about the exact meaning of “we are peasants” for Doruk. Was it a kind of resistance towards me? Was it a form of breaking the rules in class? If he was defining himself with these words, then, would he meant that I did not belong to this definition. Doruk apparently did not take me as an insider. However, in the meantime, I felt that students were getting used to me, but I was wondering about the reasons behind the interaction and asking about the reasons that eliminate the distance between students and me? For instance, they started to write letters to me about their personal and family issues and problems. Most of the time, I observed that, since the divorce rate is high in the village, students were writing about the “traumatic events” they experienced in these letters. I remember one of the letters from a student in the 7th grade, Gülcan, and she was including lots of details about her family issues which ended up with a divorce. I found some of her writings were about very intimate things and emotional that I assumed someone could not easily share with the others. When I was on duty, she just dropped the letter in my bag and told me that: “please do not tell it to anybody else.”

At the end of a year, we had a conversation type of an interview with Gülcan and her two other friends in a café. I asked them “what type of a teacher they would dream of? Could you describe the ideal teacher in your mind?”

For example, you always stay. That's very nice. We don't know when paid teachers come, so we're scared at first. We're not afraid to know you. Ideal teacher should be like you, it is important to be sincere. Sense of trust matters. For example, we came here trusting you.
[Hocam mesela siz hep kalıyorsunuz ya güzel oluyor. Ücretli öğretmenler geldiği zaman tanımıyoruz ilk başta o yüzden korkuyoruz. Sizi tanıdığımız için korkmuyoruz. İdeal öğretmen sizin gibi olmalı, samimi olması önemli. Güven duygusu önemli. Mesela biz buraya size güvenerek geldik.]

Students built the definition of ideal teacher more on the personal characteristics of the teacher and mutual relationships between the student and the teacher. In the interviews conducted with Işık, Remzi and Halise during the lunch breaks, they also touched upon the personal characteristics;

My ideal teacher is a friendly, playful and softhearted person, besides, someone who teach effectively (Işık).

My ideal teachers should be cute, respectful towards the students. She/ he should show his/her love. Further, she/he should be enjoyable and energetic (Remzi).

He/she should be a fun and affectionate person (Halise)

[Hayalimdeki öğretmenlerin davranışları yumuşak kalpli, iyi ders anlatan, güler yüzlü, oyun oynatan (Işık)

Sevimli olsun öğrencilere karşı saygı sevgi gösterebilsin eğlenceli olsun enerjik olsun (Remzi).

Eğlenceli, derste iyi vakit geçirebileceğimiz, bizi seven (Halise)]

In addition to personality of the teachers, for some students, the gender of the teacher was also important and determining dimension of an ideal school and ideal teacher:

Researcher: Is the gender of the teacher important for you?

Mehmet: I find female teachers closer; I see them as elder sisters.

Researcher: How would you like your dream school?

Melek: I wish all teachers were girls. I think I'd get along better with them.

Gülcan: Usually we find female teachers closer to us because we might have some private issues to talk about and we can't share them with everyone. For instance, if there was a male teacher, we wouldn't be here

[Araştırmacı: Öğretmenlerimizin kadın/ erkek olması senin için bir anlam ifade eder mi?

Mehmet: Kadın öğretmenleri daha yakın buluyorum, abla gibi görürüm onları.

Araştırmacı: Hayalindeki okulun nasıl olmasını istersin?

Melek: Bütün öğretmenlerin kız olmasını isterdim. Sanırım, daha iyi anlaşırdım onlarla.

Gülcan: Genellikle kız öğretmenleri kendimize daha yakın buluyoruz çünkü bazı özelliklerimiz oluyor onu herkesle paylaşmıyoruz. Mesela bir erkek öğretmen olsa buraya gelmezdik.]

Some students who have more developed vocabulary could use sophisticated concepts to identify their ideal teacher:

My dream teacher is a democratic teacher who is able to maintain the order of the classroom, be disciplined (Canan).

[Hayalimdeki öğretmen sınıf düzenini sağlayabilen, disiplinli, herkesin önerisini alabilen, demokratik bir öğretmen]

Ayca as one of the most hardworking students in school comes from a family where education level is relatively high. Her father and mother are graduates of primary school, however, one of her elder sisters is a psychological counsellor at a state school and the other one is also a student at the same department. During the interview, Ayca emphasized the importance of the quality of the lessons to define her ideal teacher. She stated that an ideal teacher provides students with various activities. In addition to this, Ayca is a 7th grader so she draws the attention to high

school entrance exam as well. She indicates that an ideal teacher cares about students' future and guides the students in this process.

Several students defined their ideal teacher based on their good memories during their primary school years. During the interviews, some students express the intimate relationships with their primary school teachers. For instance, one of my students Remzi lost his mother when she was giving birth to his little brother. During this period, he was at the 4th grade. According to the statements of Remzi's grandfather, Remzi's primary teacher paid an utmost care for him during such a critical period. Primary teacher's affection and care, the emotional connection between Remzi and the teacher lead me to consider that his definition of ideal teacher is influenced by this early experience.

On the other hand, perceptions of the teachers and administrators were based on a larger framework including both the history and politics of teaching profession and psychology of students. Teachers' perceptions of ideal teacher and ideal teaching were obviously much more complex than students. Teachers focused on several dimensions from the psychology of the students to the presentation of the profession to the students. Serdar at this point held that:

I think that instead of solving problems with violence, insulting, the teacher should first endear the work and then endear himself. I think the ideal teacher should be the one who can make herself and her profession lovable.
[Öğretmen sorunları şiddetle, hakaretle çözmek yerine önce o işi sevdirmesi, sonra kendini sevdirmesi gerekir diye düşünüyorum. Bence ideal öğretmen kendini ve yaptığı mesleği sevdirebilen öğretmen olması gerek.]

In each interview, I asked the interviewee "can you describe the ideal teacher in your mind?" Sitting in the administrators' office in the last 20 minutes of the lunch break, we had a sort of conversation with Veysel hoca. I asked the same question to him and he replied:

The teacher should have a free environment. I believe that the teacher should be able to act freely without being constrained by a certain system or stereotyped rules
[Özgür bir ortama sahip olması gerekir öğretmenin. Kesinlikle belli bir sistem ya da kalıplaşmış kurallar ya da kazanımların dışında öğretmenin özgürce davranabilmesi gerektiğine inanıyorum.]

Veysel hoca voiced his concerns about the teacher's autonomy. The emphasis on the agency of the teacher was based on the concerns resulting from the compulsory and other control mechanisms activated in school. Veysel hoca argued that this type of mechanisms restricts the freedom and creativity of the teacher. In the following statements, Veysel hoca indicated that the state intentionally uses these control mechanisms as an "ideological state apparatus" (Althusser, 1970). At this point, he shares some of his critiques on the current teacher education system:

In other words, systems want a generation that is suitable for itself, obedient and not going beyond what they say. I believe that the style of teacher training is also very problematic in our education system.

[Yani sistemler kendisine uygun, itaat eden, kendi dediklerinin dışına çıkmayan bir nesil ister. Bizde de öyle Öğretmenlik mesleği, öğretmeni yetiştirme tarzının da çok problemlili olduğuna inanıyorum.]

Another conversation on the current education system I conducted is with Ayla Hoca. Through the similar statements, she also illustrated teachers' general attitude towards curriculum, administrative interventions during the class hours and also addressed the other control mechanisms.

The first thing that comes to mind is a system where there is no supervision, questioning or comparison of the teacher. That's my dream.

[İlk aklıma gelen, öğretmeni derste denetlemenin, sorgulamanın, öğretmen şöyle yapıyor böyle yapıyor gibi ifadelerin mukayeselerin olmadığı bir sistem. Hayalimdeki bu yani]

On the other hand, during my conversations with some teachers, it is seen that some of them long for the reputation of the teaching profession in the past. For instance, Serdar hoca, physical education teacher, commented on the role of teachers in forming the many forms of authority in school. In this vein, he remarked that:

For example, in the past, when our father and mother took us to school, the first sentence they said to our teachers was "the meat is your and bone is mine" because they thought that teachers wouldn't do anything wrong, they used to defend the teachers

[Şimdi mesela geçmiş yıllara bakıldığı zaman kendi baba ve annelerimiz bizi okula götürdüklerinde öğretmenlerimize ilk söyledikleri cümle hani tabiri caizse "eti senin kemiği benimdi". O zaman biz öğretmenin kızmış olduğu bir konuyu eve gidip de anne babamızla paylaştığımız zaman bir de bunun üzerine azar işitiyorduk çünkü öğretmenin her zaman arkasında duruyorlardı. Yanlış bir şey yapmayacağını düşünüyorlardı.]

Ahmet hoca, the vice principal, also indicated the loss of autonomy experienced by the teachers. He expressed the dichotomy between the authority and the responsibility that teachers have by stating that:

The teacher's duties are clearly defined. They have the authority; however, it is being restricted. This is one of the biggest problems of teaching profession. We have a lot of responsibility but too little authority. This puts us in a vortex, we can't get out.
[Öğretmenin görev alanları belli. Yetkileri de belli. Yani git gide kısıtlanıyor öğretmenlerin otoritesi. En büyük sorunlarımızdan birisi bu. Bizdeki en büyük hatalardan biri. Biz de sorumluluk çok fazla yetki çok az. Bu da bizi girdaba sokuyor, çıkamıyoruz.]

Moreover, focusing on the shift in the logic of teaching profession, Ahmet hoca expressed his quest for a new code of ethic which determines the boundaries of the teaching profession as such: “If the teaching profession is no longer sacred, it must be a professional, that is, it should have a frame.”

Teachers’ statement throughout the interviews and conversations with them during the breaks made me consider several points about the teacher autonomy in this school. Teachers frequently focused on the current status of the teachers in the eye of the students and parents and complaint about losing their previous authority. In this vein, they indicated that one of the central problems of the current education system is erosion in the teacher autonomy and deterioration of the teacher previous status due to the misrecognition of the teacher identity reflects upon the education system. Taking into consideration teachers’ views, I asked myself this question: “What is the nature of this autonomy they long for or desire to accumulate?”

Contemporary philosopher of education Nel Noddings describes the teaching profession as a caring profession and evaluates it according to the “ethic of care” (Chatelier & Rudolph, 2018, p.6). Noddings (2013) claims that purpose of teaching profession is beyond being instrumental or academic. However, the logic of this caring relationship is highly changed after the reconstruction of the education system in line with the governing ideas of the neoliberalism. Noddings’ “ethic of care” is replaced by the “neoliberal responsabilisation” of the teacher (ibid, p.6). To fulfill the need for recognition and advancement, teachers’ focus shifted from the care of students on care of teachers’ professional self. This transformation is

maintained through accountability and audit mechanisms within the market-based mentality of neoliberalism (ibid). Naturally, neoliberal responsabilisation has harmed the agency of teachers in their relations with other school actors. During the fieldwork, I had a chance to observe several instances which can exemplify such audit mechanisms and the reasons lying behind teachers' such concerns of losing their autonomous status.

Compulsory family visit of the teachers to students' houses, which is obligated by the governor of the city, was one of these. Teachers were unwilling to pay these visits because they had already tight schedules and arranging a suitable time was an extra workload for them. Besides, teachers had to visit all of the students' houses and also document these visits with a visit form. Limited time for achieving these aims were taking away the natural flow of the visits and turning them into mechanical conversations. In time, the visits became monotonous activities whose only aim is to fill the forms. Some teachers were even not entering the houses but asking the questions in front of the door. I personally found the visits to the students' houses very effective in terms of knowing the students and their home environment better. Besides, since families have a low school involvement rate, it might have been the only chance to be informed about them. However, since such activities take the form of "responsibility", they subject teachers to a control mechanism, restrict their freedom and give rise to a "mistrust" regarding the relationship between the teachers and school administrators.

Another similar incidence was the use of the smart boards and course application of the national ministry of education (EBA). Smart boards are available in every class of this school and teachers are generally willing to utilize them to enrich their lessons. Nevertheless, use of EBA was always in the agenda in any meetings. Yunus hoca was always indicating that "Please be careful about the use of EBA. The governor attaches great importance to this. Our province ranks X in the use of EBA". Logging in the course application was subject to an online control mechanism. Some of the teachers was making use of the application, on the other hand, other teachers-unwillingly and for show only- was logging in the system for a short time and, then, going on using the applications they prefer.

The other such implementation was the use of course materials determined by an executive board and monitoring whether they are used or not through official inspections. School administration especially was warning the teachers who give after school courses about the use of multiple-choice tests which are posted on the websites of the ministry of national education in a monthly basis. This type of an audit mechanism was creating a stressful atmosphere within the school during the official inspections. Such demands from the teachers was leading them to find strategies to cope with the imperatives of the executive board. Although implementations of the executive board are seemingly innocent and helpful, they disregard judgmental process and autonomy of the teacher. Teachers considers proving themselves rather than considering students' benefit. Meaning of "care" which was once completely involving the students as "cared-for" has turned into teachers' own professional self to satisfy their needs for recognition and advancement.

As claimed by Axel Honneth (2002), recognition is a process of struggle. This struggle is more productive in certain environments. In the context of education and in terms of teachers, one of these productive environments is encouraging and supportive school atmosphere. Only if a teacher is appreciated, respected and acknowledged for what he/she done by other people, he/ she develops a positive relationship with his/her other self (Fanon, 1952). Indeed, these positive behaviors are not restricted to the polite words. Recognition is an indispensable element of the identity formation. For

Charles Taylor, recognition is "a vital human need" (Taylor, 1992, p.26). Parallel to the theory of recognition suggested by Axel Honneth, within the context of education, teacher struggles to gain self-esteem and be recognized as a teacher, a *worthy* teacher by the significant other. As it can be understood from the field, recognition process of the teachers can be examined from several dimensions. According to the statements of the interviewees, they are not recognized adequately within the current education system. One of the results of misrecognition is fading autonomy of the teaching profession. Teachers claims that current control mechanisms result in misrecognition of the teaching profession. Besides,

employment status of the teachers is another point to trace the recognition process of the teachers. Both in the eye of students and families, administrative units and the students, paid teachers have in a 'pity status'. On the other side, recognition is a reciprocal process. According to students' statements, recognition of the teachers at the school are based on the personal characteristics of the teachers such as gender, age, playfulness and employment status of the teacher. However, students relate teacher's employment status with teacher's early leaving. Therefore, teachers who are known by the students previously are recognized easier.

In general, recognition of the teacher has a significant role in establishing a culture of recognition within the school. Considering recognition as a reciprocal process, it can be argued that unless teachers at the school are sufficiently recognized, they cannot invest in the recognition of the student. In this way, teachers as the potential actors who facilitate the learning process cannot fulfil their mission. This can be considered as one factor which adversely impact on academic achievement of the students and consequently, students' construction of "positive" identity.

4.1.2. Issues and Problems About School and School Administration

In this section of the study, issues and problems which characterizes the school will be presented. This part of the study enables the readers to be more familiar with the field by touching on various issues. These issues range from the social activities organized in the field, reciprocal relations between the school members and local people, problems which are specific to the school, reactions of the school administration to these issues and problems.

General picture of the school could be captured at the first glance. It is located in the center of the village and school garden is the center of most of the cultural activities. Even the ones that are not related with the education, for instance pumpkin festival is one of them. The village is famous for its pumpkins. Every year in November, farmers bring their pumpkins in front of the school and the school garden is used as a festival area and with the participation of the governor, mayor and other political figures, the best pumpkins are selected. It is an important social event and many

students and parents start to talk about it several weeks before. In this regard, the place of the school in the village can be considered at the intersection of the local community and the state institutions/officials. While the event organized in the garden functions as a public meeting, in the meantime it brings together all the stakeholders of the school: family, students, state officials, teachers, school administration.

After the contest, selected pumpkins become a source of pride for the local community. Even some of the parents who come to the school try to convince teachers to sell their pumpkins referring back to the success of their pumpkins in the festival. As it can be perceived from the name of the festival, farming is a widespread way of making money in this area. Many local people work in the fields which are very close to the school borders. Students can even see their parents working in their fields. Indeed, farming develops certain form of relationship between local people and school staff. Teachers and other school personnel buy vegetables and fruits from the local sellers. Even, one of the school administrators buy a land in the village for his “hobbies”. This type of relationship leads the students to see school staff as a potential customer. Such tendencies of the students can be considered as the domination of the rural culture over the urban culture which is represented and reproduced by the teachers and school administrators through daily practices and discourses.

Animal husbandry is another prevalent means of livelihood in the field. During the class hours, anybody can see a cow in the school garden grazed by a shepherd or the elder brother of a student. One of the common saying made by the teachers and the school administrators is that: “Look! How much they are getting tired. If you don’t study well enough, you will be like them.” At this point, school attendants might be displaying a “disparaging attitude” towards the local people. Just as the social events special for the village and local people’s ways of living influence the relationship between local community and the school, celebration of the social events within the school and school’s striving for creating its own budget also shapes the relationship between school and local community.

National Sovereignty and Children's Day which is a historical event celebrated each year and connects the local community with the school. Preparations for the event start one month in advance. What I observed in the field is that school administration arranges a meeting before the preparations start and it is the signal which starts the preparations. By the time of the Children's day, it is possible to say that the composition of the audience consists of students' families. Along the event, each class performs its own performance with the participation of students. Since the school does not have a conference hall, the performances in general includes dance shows along with the popular songs of the year and staged in the school garden. In school, except for the children's day, the other national and religious holidays are considered as an administrative burden for the teachers since there are too many of them. As a result, teachers generally assign students with high academic achievements and strong social skills in these activities. Therefore, all these activities and events organized in school are realized with the participation of the students in school. National Sovereignty and Children's day is a significant social event which makes school institution and local community closer to each other. One reason for the closeness is obviously weather conditions. Since it is celebrated at the end of April, the weather is relatively more favorable than the other national bayrams for the participation of local people. The other reason is that it is the only day exclusive to the children. It reminds all the children the fact that they are children.

Another function of the social activities/events organized in school can be considered creating financial resources for the school. Creating financial resources for school is one of the essential concerns for the school actors and for this reason during the activities organized in school families are asked to prepare and bring home-made foods to sell at school. School members' this endeavor resembles to families' effort to make their livings. School members adopting an altruistic view strives for improving the schools' financial conditions and students' disadvantageous status in the accumulation of cultural capital.

I also observed that parental involvement in the primary school is much higher than in secondary school; therefore, primary school teachers are the ones who deal with

the preparation of the food and selling them in the ‘kermes’ (small charity bazaars). To illustrate, one of the reasons for the variation in families’ eagerness to take active role in school might be related to the students’ age. Since primary school students are considered as incapable of satisfying their own needs without their parents’ help, especially their mothers are more willing to communicate with the teachers. So, it is more common to see parents in the primary school’s corridors than secondary school’s corridors. Another reason for high parental involvement in primary school might be families’ level of education. Families frequently complain about that they are not capable of dealing with their children’s schoolworks. Since high majority of the families are graduate of primary or secondary school, variety of the courses in secondary school causes a type of reluctance for the families in communicating with secondary school teachers. High turnover rate of the teachers may be another reason for the parents to be reluctant to involve in school. Teachers in primary school are “former residents” of the school. Intimacy created along the time facilitate the relationship between primary school teachers and the families. Combination of these factors influence families’ taking on active role in school activities. As it is stated, one of the occasions which presents families’ school involvement and school’s endeavor to create its own budget is ‘kermes’ (small charity bazaars). The money earned from the kermes is used to cover some expenses of the school.

TUBITAK (The scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey) projects are another way to create budget for the school expenses. In the second academic year, preparations of this presentation take most of school members’ time. The teachers and the students have to write 20 project proposal to get the fund given for Tubitak projects. Each teacher at the school strives for getting accepted by the directorate of ministry of education. The reason for trying so much hard is not only providing a space for students to present themselves but also using the remaining fund to meet the other needs of the school. For example, the school administration is used rest of the money to buy books for the new school library.

In spite of the problems experienced by all school attendants, during the interview conducted with the school principal, mystification of the state was an emerging theme which took my attention. During the fieldwork and interviews, I realized that

in spite of the governmental policies which have changed the definition of the profession, school administration still feels responsible for representing and protecting the state. To illustrate this issues, school principal's remarks on making monetary aid to school are significant:

I am against this understanding "let the state do it". 50-100 liras donation to school family union doesn't kill people. I see everyone smokes. If you bring money as much as you can buy two packs of cigarette to the school and family union, you can contribute to our state and contribute to our school. Your children are studying here. It is wrong to expect everything from the state. The state should bring it, the state should make it. Our state has a limited budget and it is obvious that they already meet most of the things, I think.

[Ben şu anlayışa da karşıyım "devlet yapsın". Yani bağış insanı öldürmez, 50 lira, 100 lira okul aile birliğine bağış yapmak. Bakıyorum herkes sigara içiyor. İki paket sigara parasını okul aile birliğine getirip verseniz hem devletimize katkı hem okulumuza katkı, hem burada çocuklarınız okuyor. Her şeyi devletten beklemek anlayışı yanlış. Devlet getirsin, devlet yapsın, devletimizin de imkânı belli, zaten karşıladıkları da belli, bence.]

In addition to perceiving this type of aids as civic duty, school principal strengthens the idea relating it to religious duties.

To be frankly, they behave differently to the unions in the mosque. When it comes to the school family union, they expect everything from the state. When they donate money to the mosque unions, they think that they do a good deed, but I don't think so, good deed isn't bought with money. I don't think it's easy. We have to make the school parent union active because we have to run our school, we get many things through the school parent union.

[Açık konuşmak gerekirse camideki bir derneğe daha farklı davranıyorlar, okul aile birliğine gelince devlet versin diyorlar, hani camideki derneğe katkıda bulununca sevaplarının arttığını düşünüyorlar. Ben öyle düşünmüyorum, yani, sevap öyle parayla satın alınmaz. Kolay değildir diye düşünüyorum. Okul aile birliğini biz faal hale geçirmek zorundayız çünkü okulumuzu yürütmek zorundayız, pek çok şeyi biz okul aile birliği vasıtasıyla elde ediyoruz.]

Furthermore, the selection of the students for Tubitak projects is based on the students' academic success and 'not being a trouble' for the teachers. When I see the students, who do not take part in these social events, I always think that 'once you are in an event, you are always there'. As in the bayrams, the responsibilities are generally given to the same students, however, since there are not enough successful students at the school to assign, the responsibility is given to students, starting from the intermediate ones to the least successful.

There is another event in school that invites students without any limitations concerning their achievement or “trouble-maker” position in school. In this domain, physical education teachers take active roles in creating a kind of “public domain” in which each student can actively participate. For instance, Yasin hoca, one of the physical education teachers of the last year organized a sport tournament where the number of participants was very high. During the tournament, we were informed by Yasin hoca that “we gave 36 medals at a school which have 80 students. It was really fascinating. Students came and enrolled even in the sports which they are least interested in. The event included different sport and performance categories for instance dart, table tennis, football, athleticism etc. I observed that it had an effect on changing the school atmosphere for a week. Even student who were excluded from other activities had a chance to take part in the tournament. At this point, it can be claimed that certain activities take the role of social exclusion, but some others do not create such an effect. In this sense, school includes both mechanisms which facilitate the socialization of students and mechanisms which triggers social exclusion. For this reason, students are frequently exposed to this flux and hesitate to participate in activities at the school. Muhammed is one of these students. As called by the teachers, he is a real troublemaker. He has a problematic family background, low academic achievement and show resistance to the school rules and Yasin hoca was one of the rare teachers with whom Muhammed got along well. At this tournament, Muhammed got the medal as being the top student in the table tennis. Yasin Hoca told that Muhammed was asking him whether he can become a physical education teacher like him or not. Or questions like “which exam do you take?”

The problem with the activities organized in school is that since the teacher turnover rate is high in school, these activities cannot take the form of tradition. Therefore, the effects of activities are short term and are not accepted by the students. Vice principal, Ahmet Hoca criticized the current situation and remarked:

There must be something special for the school. For example, when you went to the graduation ceremony of a private school, there was a stamp on the stage. The students who rank first at the school was nailing the stump which is a nice custom. Or, there was a flag or pennant to be delivered to under classes. I think these ceremonies connect

students to the school. For example, I remember in the secondary school in Diyarbakır, the opening and the closing of our school would have been festive like. We used to dance, sing, eat and drink there. I never saw such things again. Those kinds of things would be nice.

[Yani okula has özel şeyler olmalı. Mesela bir özel okulun mezuniyet törenine gittiğiniz zaman, bir tane kütük vardı sahnede. Mezunlara kütüğe çivi çaktırıyorlardı, bu güzel bir adettir. Veya bir bayrak veya bir flama oluyor, onu alt sınıfa teslim ediyorlar. Bu tür şeyler öğrencileri okula bağlıyor bence. Mesela ben Ortaokulda hatırlıyorum Diyarbakır' dayken okulumuzun açılışı ve kapanışı çok şenlikli olurdu, davullu zurnalı, halaylı yemeli içmeli. O tür şeyleri mesela bir daha hiç görmedim. O tür şeyler çok güzel olur.]

Such statements from a school administrator seemed ironic to me. Although he has the biggest authority to influence the school culture initiating new traditions in the school, he was holding the school principal or other teachers responsible for the problems related to school culture.

Inadequate school facilities seem as another major point which characterizes the school and influence school's institutional habitus. Teachers frequently indicated that unfavorable conditions of the school prevent students from attaining dominant cultural capital. During the interview, physical education teacher Serdar hoca stated that:.

Children's ability to distinguish between sports and games does not improve. The game is played in the neighborhood or anywhere, even inside the house, but sports are not done everywhere. In some branches, there should be a certain field for doing this sport. However, I see that children's understanding of sports and game doesn't develop here unfortunately, one of the biggest reasons for the lack of opportunities to do sports here.

[Çocukların spor ve oyun ayırt edebilme özellikleri gelişmiyor. Mahallede oynanan oyun her yerde oynanır, evin içinde bile oynanır ama spor her yerde yapılan bir şey değildir. Bazı branşlarda belirli bir yerin, bir mekânın olması gerekiyor. Çocukların spor oyun anlayışının gelişmediğini görüyorum burada maalesef bunun en büyük sebeplerinden bir tanesi de burada spor yapacak imkanları bulamamaları.]

Teachers also related students' identity formation with partial attainment to the cultural capital at home. School's vice principal Yunus hoca and physical education teacher Serdar hoca characterized the students at the school as such:

As the upbringing of children differs from that of children from central schools, they acquire certain skills either too late or never. Therefore, they are at a disadvantageous position compared to their peers. Both students and teachers have to deal with this problem (Serdar Hoca).

[Çocuklarda yetişme tarzı merkezi okullardan gelen çocuklara göre farklı olduğu için burada belli kazanımları çok geç kazanmış ya da hala kazanamamış oluyorlar. Kendi

yaşıtlarına göre eksiklikleri var bunun sıkıntısını hem öğrenciler hem öğretmenler yaşıyorlar.]
...Family has different views on education, school also has different education system. This causes a confusion in the child. As a result, students graduate from the school as becoming “unidentified stuffs”
[... aile farklı bir eğitim sistemi farklı bir kültür, okul farklı bir eğitim sistemi... Çocuk ortada kalıyor... Biraz ondan, biraz bundan ne olduğu belli olmayan şeyler ortaya çıkıyor sonra. (Yunus hoca)]

Inadequate number of teachers for some courses might be a reason for students' inability to reach cultural capital. The number of teachers at the school is merely enough for meeting the need for the main courses (Turkish, English, Math, Science). The courses especially the ones that require creativity such as art and music are fulfilled by the main course teachers. Naturally, during these classes, students just spent time making simple drawings or memorizing simple chants. They do not have time to present their abilities in these areas. It can be claimed that students are exposed to a one-sided education which do not include the elements of the cultural accumulation at the school. This can be also considered as a problem which hinders students from reaching cultural knowledge. On the other side, social science teacher Veysel hoca stated that scarcity of the teacher is an advantage which facilitate the relationship among teachers and improved the school culture:

Because of the scarcity of teachers in this school, sincerity is a bit more. You can talk, you can exchange ideas. There is a warm, friendly atmosphere in terms of education. It may be even better, but there are some problems that the system brings.
[Bu okul içerisinde öğretmen sayısının azlığından dolayı samimiyet biraz daha fazla. Konuşabiliyorsun, fikir alışverişinde bulunabiliyorsun. Eğitim açısından sıcak, samimi bir ortam. Daha da iyi olabilir ancak sistemin getirdiği bir takım sıkıntılar var.]

Nevertheless, one-sided education makes the school also a boring place for the students and their attachment to the school is negatively influenced by it. Veysel hoca also stated the dullness felt by the students as such:

I think that they feel bored. In the classes, yes, participation in certain subjects is good. There is a warm atmosphere, but when you consider the times when a teacher is not at the school, students are over the moon, and this is something that shows that the child is forced to come to school. I don't think they feel free enough at the school.
[Sıkıldıklarını hissediyorum. Verdiğiniz derslerde, evet belli bazı konularda katılım güzel. Sıcak bir ortam oluşuyor ama genelde baktığımızda çocuklar boş bir ders olduğunda uyuyorlar bu bile çocuğun okula zoraki geldiğini, çok da istemediğini aslında gösteren şeylerdir. Özgür hissetmediklerini düşünüyorum.]

The other issue that teachers deal with within the school environment is involvement of families in education. In this case, the parental involvement affects the school culture and since the involvement is insufficient, according to the teachers' statements, the professional competence of teacher does not make a difference in school. Many reasons such as families' working conditions, importance they attach to secondary school education, their expectations from the students regarding further education impact on the parental involvement. For instance, one of the physical education teachers Serdar hoca, paid teacher, addressed that "ignorance" of the families is a major problem in a school environment:

As I said earlier, there is a problem in the system, there is congestion. On the basis of this, the indifference of the family plays a very important role. If you train teachers well and the school-family relationship is complete, most of the problems will be solved. I believe it.

[Daha önceki sorular da söylediğim gibi sistemde bir sıkıntı var, tıkanıklık var. Bunun temelinde de ailenin ilgisizliği çok önemli rol oynuyor. Öğretmen iyi yetiştirirsen ve okul-aile ilişkisi tam olursa, sorunların büyük bir kısmı halledilmiş olur. Buna inanıyorum.]

Social studies teacher, Veysel hoca, substitute teacher, made a similar statement on parental involvement and related low parental involvement with the teachers' feeling of professional inadequacy.

Parents at this school do not very much care about their children. They're coming to official meetings. Apart from them, very few parents who come and deal with students. which inevitably annoys people. Education is not something we will do alone, but we have to do it with them. You cannot handle things alone, you can't. I feel like I am inadequate at the school.

[Aileler çok fazla çocuğun durumu ile ilgilenen veliler değiller. Resmi olan toplantılara geliyorlar. Onların dışında çok fazla gelip de böyle öğrenci ile ilgilenen veliler çok az. E tabi bu da ister istemez insanı rahatsız ediyor. Eğitim bizim tek başımıza yapacağımız bir iş değil, onlarla birlikte yapmamız gerekiyor. Tek başımıza da bazı şeyleri halledemiyoruz. Eksik kaldığımı hissediyorum okulda.]

Another concern is about the personal histories of teachers which is also important source to track their perspectives toward the teaching profession. In Turkey, there is a common question unique to the teaching profession: Is choosing a teaching profession a 'conscious' choice? The same question is rarely valid for the other professional groups. Why does the choice of the teaching profession require another form of (self) consciousness or awareness? What does this question tell us about the social status of the teaching profession? In the field, during a conversation with

Ahmet hoca, vice principal, he seemed less motivated compared with the other teachers in school because, according to his words, his choosing the profession was not a “conscious choice” but a last choice;

I actually didn't want to be a teacher. It was the most upsetting moment for me when my family did not let me take the university entrance exam again after I succeeded to enter education faculty. They convinced me to go to education faculty and did not give me another chance to try again. Otherwise, I believe that I would be a great lawyer. [Öğretmen olmayı istemedim açıkçası. Benim en çok üzüldüğüm anlardan biri sınava girdim öğretmenliği kazandım çok ısrar ettim gitmeyeyim, bir daha sınava gireyim diye ama ailem zaten çalışmıyorsun ancak bu kadar olur sene kaybın olmasın diye maalesef gönderdiler. Bir şans daha vermediler. O benim içimde her zaman bir uktedir. Yoksa ben kendimden çok iyi bir avukat olacağını düşünüyordum her zaman (Ahmet hoca).]

A type of reciprocal relationship between school and local community exists. Daily life of the local people influences their relationship with the school actors. Celebrations of the social events, livelihood of the families influence the language used for the local culture by the school actors. On the other side, celebrations of the special days, sport and cultural activities organized at the school and students' selection process to these activities reveal significant points about the institutional habitus of the school. Furthermore, infrastructural barriers of the schools collaborating with the families' socio-economic status might be preventing students from reaching the dominant culture. In addition to these, number of teachers and high turn-over rate of the teachers impact on both students and teachers' attachment to the school. However, teachers generally blame either the education system or families for the problem experienced at the school. In the same way, school administration does not use the full potential to improve the conditions of the school. School administrators mystifying the state considers elimination of these problems as civic duty and resort to teachers' idealism to cope with the problems at the school.

Problems experienced at the school leave a limited space for the students to transcend the borders of the family habitus with which they come to the school. Contrarily, students become inclined to creating an anti-culture against the school and all its values. Teachers and the school expose the students to a symbolic violence through despising their way of life and endeavour to make money, consequently, these school attendants strengthen a type of rural identity by not preventing the

students from seeing them as “potential customers of their products.” Through the time, making money by selling the products become more appealing than having a profession and gaining money. Furthermore, since farming or animal husbandry is an alternative job for the students in case of the school drop out, families’ low school involvement parallel to the students’ academic achievement might be also reinforcing the type of rural identity.

4.1.3. Multiple Roles of a Teacher: A Family Member? Or a Teacher?

This section of the study will be interpreting multifarious roles of the teachers at this school. Separating into two sub-categories, teachers’ roles are analyzed from two aspects: professional and emotional. In the first part, teachers’ workloads and underlying reasons for this excessive workload are analyzed. Afterward, emotional burden of the teachers is examined on the basis of ethic of care.

4.1.3.1. Teacher’s Workload: Extending Work Lives?

Teacher’s workload is intricately related to the employment status of the teachers. In general, hiring a paid teacher is the last option to fulfill the need for the teacher. School administrators refrain from dealing with the problems resulted from employing a paid teacher. One of these problems is that they do not have time to get used to the school, students and school culture. They are generally hired for an academic year and leave the school at the end of the year leaving a “resignation letter”. That is why, they are frequently in problematic relationships with the students, teachers and school administrators. Additionally, paid teachers earn below the subsistence level. They sometimes earn even less than the additional course fees of a permanent teachers (additional course fees paid for a permanent teacher who gives course more than 15 hours a week and gives extra courses after usual school hours). Such unfair working conditions of the paid teachers causes problems in terms of their teaching motivation and attachment to the school. During the fieldwork, a paid teacher who was hired in the course of the pregnancy leave of Turkish teacher resigned in the middle of the second academic year. The reason for her resignation was the number of the course hours scheduled for her and the money

she earned at the school is less than her travel expenses. Such problems of school administrators with paid teachers cause negative feelings towards the teachers other than permanent teachers. This negativity impacts adversely paid teacher's attachment to the school. Physical education teacher's reluctance to speak in a meeting exemplifies the issue: "In usual, I involved in the discussion but this time I told myself: "shout up Serdar! Do not bother yourself!" However, prejudice towards the teachers employed in a different status gives rise to an expansion in working hours of the permanent teachers. As a result, all the permanent teachers except for the administrators teach more than 25 hours a week at the school. "Intimacy" is the governing feeling which convince the permanent teachers give extra courses. School administrators expect especially from the permanent teachers to give after-school courses. Turkish teacher Ayla remarked on this issue:

It's just because I can't aggrieve people. If I tell Yusuf hoca to get paid, they will be upset. He once told me, 'don't make us deal with the paid teachers.' That's why I agreed. But I can't keep up with anything since then. You know, if I was free for a day, I would have a rest. I can tolerate other people's children all day long, but I cannot my own children.

[Hep insanları kıramamamdan oldu. Yunus hocaya ücretli alın desem onlar üzülecek. Bana bir defasında "bizi ücretliyle uğraştırma" demişti. O yüzden Kabul ettim. Ama hiçbir şeye yetişemiyorum. Hani 1 gün boşum olsa vurur kafayı yatarım ama olmuyor işte. Ellerin çocuklarına akşama kadar tahammül ediyoruz, kendi çocuklarımıza edemiyoruz.]

Furthermore, according to the paid teachers or other substitute teachers are not obligated for watching the students during the breaks. Permanent teachers are the only teachers who are responsible for the duty of care. Intimate relations between all of the teachers and school administrators plays a significant role in the scheduling of the duty of care. At this point, paid teachers behave in accordance with social exchange theory. Since their getting hired to the same school next year depends on the relationship between the teacher and school administration, they do not "leave a bad taste in their mouth". Furthermore, there are few permanent teachers for duty of care in the school for this reason paid teachers generally do not prefer to be seen as a standout among other teachers. At this point, shame as a powerful feeling governing people's actions awaken. As a result, all the teachers including the paid and substitute ones watch the students during the breaks.

Financial difficulty lived by the teachers is the major reason for the increase in the workload of teachers at the school. Additional course fee is a substantial contribution to permanent teachers' monthly income. Paid teachers are subject to article 89 of the civil servant law numbered 657. They are paid and insured in return for the hour. For this reason, they strive for working as much as possible. Although the expectation from the paid and substitute teachers and the effort made by them nearly the same, their income levels are not even close to one another. Serdar hoca, paid teacher, expressed his complaint as such:

I give course for 104 hours in a month. If I was a permanent teacher, would I give more courses? Despite of giving course for 104 hours, I gain 1600 liras, less than the subsistence level.

[Ayda 104 saat toplam derse giriyorum hocam. Kadrolu öğretmen olsa 150 saat mi girecekti. 104 saat derse girmeme ragmen aldığım ücret 1600 lira. Asgari ücretten bile az!]

On the other hand, Turkish teacher Ayla, permanent teacher, her complaint as such:

I said I need it, but it's too much. I don't have any free time anymore. I had to take all the classes not to deal with the paid teachers. I'm going to warn the school administration about the case in the second term.

[Tamam ihtiyacım var dedim ama bu da çok fazla. Hiç boş vaktim kalmadı artık. Ücretli öğretmenle uğraşmamak için tüm derslere ben girmek zorunda kaldım. İkinci dönem bu durumun olmaması için uyaracağım.]

Along with the usual courses, opening after school courses is a widespread implementation of the school administrations. In some cases, school administrators ask from the main course teachers such as Turkish, Math and Science to give after school courses. One of the reasons for this request is that since students are unable to learn the necessary exam techniques which are required for being successful in the high school exam, both school administration and provincial directorate of national education considers after school courses a way to deal with this problem. Another reason is to provide teachers an additional income. Hourly fee of after school courses is two times more than usual courses. That's why, it contributes to the teacher's monthly income substantially. Considering this, school administration might help the teacher who are in need regardless of the students' interest or course type. For example, physical education teacher, Serdar hoca, is a paid teacher. He was going through financially hard process. To do him a financial aid, school

administration opened physical education after school course, although, there are enough physical education courses in the usual schedules.

Financial difficulties of the teachers and the intimate relation between teachers and school administration are the driving forces which increase the workload of the teachers. However, teacher's workload is not restricted to the class hours and safety of the students in the break times. Teachers are also responsible for organizing the social events at the school. Civil servant teachers are the foremost responsible actors in the organization of these events. Although paid or substitute teachers are not obliged for such duties, they are also hold responsible for them in the same way as the civil servant teachers.

Difference between the employment types of the teachers adversely affect the relationship between the teachers and the school administrators, consequently, teachers' organizational commitment. Intimacy is a powerful notion which governs the relation within the school. In terms of the scheduling the courses and holding the responsibilities, this notion guides the teacher's reactions toward the imperatives. As a coping strategy, the permanent teachers do not react to the school administration in order not to violate the intimacy between these two sides, whereas, paid teachers prefer not to voice their reactions in order not to be excluded from the school culture and guarantee their position in the next academic year.

4.1.3.2. A family Member or a Teacher?

Since students might pass through various emotional periods throughout their education life, teachers' professional role is not restricted to the hours in which they give courses. In this sense, famous education philosopher Nel Noddings' (2013) views are illustrating. Noddings (2013) argues that caring is on the basis of teaching profession and, further, defines *caring* as "a set of practices which fosters mutual recognition and realization, growth, development, protection, empowerment, and human community, culture and possibility" (Owens & Ennis, 2005, p.393). To establish the relationship between the teacher and the student in line with the ethic of care, Noddings (2013) put forwards several characteristics which need to be

available in a teacher. These characteristics include “engrossment in the cared for student, a commitment to the cared for student, and a motivational shift from a focus on the teacher self to a focus on the student other” (Owens & Ennis, p.394). Noddings (2013) argues that when teachers perform their job considering caring ethic, they approach the professional from more subjective perspective and feel more responsible for the success of the students (ibid). Although caring perspective has gone through a deformation process in the last 30 years, teachers indicated the responsibility they feel based on this caring relationship in the interviews conducted. Teachers generally identify this caring relationship with motherhood. According to the statements of the teachers in the interviews, this role is internalized and counted as a natural part of the profession. Turkish teacher Ayla’s statements were illustrating in terms of both portraying the field and the mother role she takes on:

As this neighborhood is a place where divorce, domestic violence and alcohol use are prevalent issues, we have to support children in terms of their psychology rather than education. The administration is well aware of this although they do not suggest openly the importance character development of children, or attention to their psychological state. We already feel it while we are sitting in the teachers’ room and talking about the students. I try to show the affection of the motherhood as much as I can. Sometimes, you have to even take on the role of a sister, psychological guidance or a caregiver when a student falls and his head bleeds. I think teaching profession has to take on many roles in society.

[Bu mahalle zaten ailelerde parçalanmışlıkların olduğu, kadına şiddetin olduğu, aile içi şiddetin olduğu, aile içi alkol kullanımı vesaire gibi durumların çok olduğu bir yer olduğu için çocuklara eğitimden ziyade öğretim noktasında, psikolojileri noktasında destek olmak zorunda kalıyoruz. İdare de bunun farkında, toplantılarda eğitimden önce öğretim, çocukların karakter gelişimi ya da onların psikolojik durumlarına dikkat etme gibi telkinlerde bulunmasalar da laf aralarında, gizli öğrenme gibi sağlanıyor. Ama onun haricinde biz kendimiz zaten öğretmenler odasında otururken, aramızda konuşurken ya da vicdanen bunu hissediyoruz. Annelik rolünün gerektirdiği ilgiyi şefkati elimden geldiği kadar göstermeye çalışıyorum. Ben bir anne olarak annelik rolünü hani tabi kendi annelerinin yerini tutmasam da o rolü kendimde görüyorum ya da yeri geliyor bir abla rolüne bazen bir psikolojik danışman rolüne bürünmek durumunda kalıyorsunuz ya da bazen hasta bakıcı hemşire oluyorsunuz çocuk düşünüyor kafası kanıyor bir şey oluyor... ya zaten bence öğretmenliğin adı öğretmenlik bence toplumdaki birçok rolü üstlenmesi gereken bir meslek olduğunu düşünüyorum.]

Especially, the teachers who have children related their motherhood experiences with their profession and expressed relationship between teaching profession and their other social roles. Science teacher Hacer, permanent teacher, stated that: When the student does not have breakfast, when she is sick, or sometimes just because of the conscience, I really approach with a sense of motherhood. I mean, sometimes it really puts you in the role of mother as a social role.

[Hani dedik ya Kahvaltı falan yapmadığın zaman...Orada gerçekten annelik duygusu ile yaklaşıyorsun hasta olduğu zaman. Yani, bazen kızdığında vicdandan dolayı. Bunlar toplumsal rol olarak gerçekten insanı annelik moduna sokuyor bazen.]

On the other hand, teachers who are single and have no children affirm that mother role is also an expectation from them and seen as one of the responsibilities of every teacher. Religion teacher, Aynur, permanent teacher, explains this expectation telling one of her experiences with a grandfather of a student whose mother is died:

For example, let me give an example about one of my students. Remzi lost his mother at the birth of his brother. So, his grandfather was taking care of him. When his grandfather came, he told me “Can you treat him with the affection of a mother?” [Mesela ben bir öğrenciyim örnek vereyim. Remzi annesini kaybetmişti kardeşinin doğumunda dedesi geldiği zaman bana söylediğin şey “ona anne şefkati gösterin hocam” olmuştu mesela.]

During a chit-chat in the teachers’ room, one of the paid teachers, Derya, told me that her students sometimes call her as “sister” and want to spend time with after school. Similarly, Serdar hoca, physical education teacher, told his conversation with a student in the interview:

A couple of days ago, one of the students approached to me and told me that you resemble my uncle very much. I am about to call you uncle. I mean, I can have any feature that resembles her uncle, but the reason that the child makes me look like his uncle is that he's comfortable in communicating with me as if he was communicating with his uncle. [Geçenlerde öğrencilerden bir tanesi bana dedi ki hocam siz dayıma çok benziyorsunuz, size dayı diyesim geliyor. Yani, dayısına benzeyen herhangi bir özelliğim mutlaka olabilir ama çocuğun beni dayısına benzetmesinin nedeni asıl amacı benimle diyalog kurarken dayısıyla iletişim kurmasının rahatlığı içerisinde.]

Then, it reminded me that I was also calling my 5th grade teacher, who is at her 40s at that time, mistakenly as “mother”. It may seem as a simple confusion, yet it also has some roots in the caring relationship between the students and the teachers. According to Noddings’ arguments, teacher is not the only responsible side for the establishment of caring relationship. It is a reciprocal process and requires the responsiveness and receptiveness of the students. As it can be perceived from this simple confusion and statements of the teachers in the interviews, teachers’ motherly/fatherly manner towards the students facilitate the establishment of the caring relationship and students feel the intimacy to identify them with their family members. At this point, I asked several questions to myself. “Why do the students

tend to call the teachers as father or mother?”, “Why do teachers incline to take these roles?” and “Do we need domestic roles to do this job or is the teacherhood a profession?”

4.1.4. School as a Place for Discipline and Forms of Intimacy

In the final section of Institutional habitus theme, “intimacy” as an influential concept which governs the in-school relations will be analyzed from two aspects. In the first part, familialization of the school will be scrutinized and how this social intimacy is established at the school will be presented. In the second part, school’s functions for the students on the basis of intimacy, care and discipline will be examined.

4.1.4.1. Familialization of the School: Emerging a “New” Institutional Intimacy?

In the field, I observe that the in-school networks somehow formulate a new intimate school culture. An emerging new institutional intimacy was the familialization of the school. School as an institutionalized form of education involves intimacy structures just as the family. These structures have a significant role in the regulation of in-school practices. For anthropologist and social theorist Michael Herzfeld (2005), cultural intimacy is defined as "the recognition of those aspects of a cultural identity that are considered a source of external embarrassment but that nevertheless provide insiders with their assurance of common sociality..." (Herzfeld, 2005, p.3). (Cultural) intimacy can be defined as the boundary which separates inside and outside of the group creating a sense of familiarity through shame, accustomedness, honor and history (Üstündağ, 2012). Herzfeld (2005) also states that “shame” as the constituent of the cultural intimacy functions as one of the most effective tools of the politics of emotions. This type of intimacy is generally employed as an apparatus for in-group power. For the school context, *intimacy* emerge as a significant concept to examine the possible transmission of the relations at home to the school institution. Considering the concept of intimacy, in-school relationships can be viewed from several aspects.

School principal explicitly states being family is a need because everybody needs one another at this school. According to the observation I made throughout the fieldwork, the first reason for this is the distance of the school from the city center. All the teachers and school administrators (except for 1) live in the city center and scarcity of means of public transportation force teachers to come to school together. At this point, especially the school principal, Yunus hoca, takes on a “father role”. He arranges the travelling process of teachers who do not have their own cars and even takes these teachers to the school himself by taking full responsibility. His one of the most common utterances concerning young and single teachers, is that “Our teachers are like our children. They are entrusted to us. We are their families here.” Through such statements and actions, Yunus hoca frequently emphasizes a family spirit and develops a culture of intimacy within the school. Thereby, teachers feel indebted to the school administration.

Besides, the process of getting permission also strengthens Yunus hoca’s patriarchal role. From the very beginning of the academic year, Yunus hoca openly states that he is the only authority who can give a permission. Permissions taken from the vice principals are considered as invalid. Even some teachers are subjected to warnings because of violating this rule in front of the vice principals. For this reason, I felt sometimes that Yunus hoca’s such attitude downplays the authority of the vice principals over the teachers. However, in time, both teachers and the vice principals get used to this system. Both his age and his “fatherly manner” ease Yunus hoca’s getting accepted by teachers and vice principals as a head of the school.

Another factor which facilitates the familialization of the school is insufficient school facilities. Absence of a school cafeteria is one of these. However, lunch arrangement process of the school attendants makes teachers closer to each other. As indicated by both teachers and students throughout the interviews, the difficulty of finding someone to prepare the food and financial burden of it still makes the school unattractive. However, gathering around one table and chit-chats during the lunch breaks create a “cozy” atmosphere among the teachers and school administrators. Content of the conversations during the lunch breaks covers variety of topics such as a problem which is specific to a student, a class or the school

administration. Upcoming social events might also be the topic of conversations. In addition to the topics regarding the school, these conversations might be covering more personal topics about the school attendants. However, grouping is a rare behavioral pattern which separates civil servant teachers from the paid teachers.

Female teachers are commonly the responsible ones in the lunch arrangement process. Therefore, lunch breaks are also fruitful occasions to see how the gender roles are applied within the school. While women teachers arrange the person who cook the meal, keep the list of the expenses and collect the money paid for the lunch and even set the table, male teachers are generally the ones who are responsible with the outdoor chores such as doing the shopping or just paying the money for the lunch. At this point, the school evolves into a home where patriarchal relations are sustained. Female teachers (especially the married ones) transmit the domestic labor to the school. However, none of the women teacher feel uncomfortable about this issue. They accept this role without even questioning.

Arrangement of the course hours in line with the teachers' needs is another point which reinforce the familialization within the school. Yunus hoca, the school principal, take into consideration even the school hours of the teacher's students or mind the minibus (dolmuş) hours for the teachers who do not have car while arranging their schedules. Turkish teacher, Ayla hoca stated that:

I was very depressed in the first weeks of the school. I was feeling suffocated. My children were sick, but I had to leave the house early. I couldn't spend time for myself and I was sleepless. One day I started crying while sitting in the teachers' room. At that moment Yunus hoca came. He was asking for the reason, but I couldn't answer. Then, I got better and told my problem. He said that we pushed you too far and then, he emptied my first class hours in the morning.
[Okulun açıldığı ilk hafta çok bunalmıştım. Her şey zaten üstüme geliyor. Çocuklarım hasta ama evden erkenden çıkmak zorunda kalıyorum. Kendime hiç vakit ayıramıyordum ve uykusuzdum. Bir gün öğretmenler odasında otururken ağlamaya başladım. O an Yunus hoca geldi. Noldu diye soruyordu ama cevap veremiyordum resmen. Daha sonra kendime gelip derdimi anlatınca: “seni çok yormuşuz dedi” ve sabahları ilk saatlerimi boşalttı.]

In addition to these, Yunus hoca also considers financial benefit of the teachers in the allocation of the courses. For example, he strives for opening after school course for the teachers who have financial problems-these courses contribute to the

teacher's monthly income two times more than usual courses- or try to increase the number of courses that the teacher gives by opening elective courses if it is possible. Such conveniences that the school administration offers to the teachers consolidates the father role of the school administrator and form a barrier to protect the family spirit covering the school.

Multiple roles of the teachers necessitate an intimate culture within the school to ease the handling of the schoolworks. This emerging intimacy is familialization of the school. this culture involves the relations both between teachers and the school administrators and among the teachers. Difficult working conditions make teachers dependent on each other. Especially, school administrator takes an active role in the elimination of these problems. Fatherly manner of the school administration creates an indebtedness among the teachers. Such feeling protects the intimate culture within the school. In order not to destroy this relation, teachers pay an utmost care. On the other side, women teachers transmitting their domestic role to the school quickly take on a mother role. Even new teachers get accustomed to this order to be able to involve in school culture.

Intimacy is a powerful notion which regulate the interpersonal relations. Emerging culture of intimacy is familialization of the school in this study. This intimacy culture functions for eliminating the impacts of the disadvantageous working conditions of the teachers and adjusting the relationship between teachers and school administration. Caring relationship between teachers and the students is another component of the familialization at the school. Through this caring relationship, both teachers and the students can maintain the emotional or, so to speak, "motherly" side of education. In a school where such a high rate of divorce exists and most of the students cope with the problems of divorce without any other psychological support, caring relationship between the teachers and the students plays a significant role in students' success, their attachment to the school and most importantly to satisfy the need for recognition for both parts.

4.1.4.2. A hybrid Nature of School for Students: A Space of Learning, Friendship, Intimacy and Care

Students spend majority of their daytime in the school environment from the very early ages onwards. Through this time, experiences they have contribute to the meaning of the school for them. Basically, school is a place where children go to be educated (Cambridge Dictionary, 2008). In this sense, school is a space for students where the formal learning take place. This type of a definition is the first one which can be considered. For this reason, in the interviews, all of the students answered the question of whether you are happy being at the school or not stating that “Yes, I am happy because I learn new stuff ” or “I like the school because I become knowledgeable about new topics.” However, evaluating the school considering it only as a space for learning is infertile. School is the most commonly used public place for the students where they can interact with other students, teachers and school personnel from both same and different ethnic, religious and socio-economic backgrounds. In this sense, school functions as a meeting point for the students. According to the interviews conducted with the students and especially with the female ones and with the families, school is the only safe place where they can meet up with their friends. Herein, Armağan’s mother, 7th grade student, voices her concerns with the safety indicating that “this neighborhood is dangerous, and we don’t let children go outside. it is safer for them to be at home or at the school”. Hacer, 7th grade student, states that “When I am at home, I do my homework but then, I get bored. At the school, I spent time with my friends and my teachers.” In the same vain, Yakup, 7th grade student state that “I am happy at the school because we come together here. We play games and study our lessons here.” According to my observations in the field, students do not have any other opportunity to socialize other than coming to the school. I even see some students who come to the school in summer holidays or at the weekends.

Along the time, function of the school as a meeting point evolves it into a space for friendship. Consequently, school institution stands out as a space where different types of emotions are released and where students share all their privacy. 7th grade

student Canan, who have passed through difficult times because of the divorce process of their parents, states her relationship with the school mates as such:

I'm trying not to reflect my problems to the school, but if something happens, Armağan knows. I try to get away from her, but eventually Armağan learns. But I don't withdraw from the daily life

[Okula yansıtmamaya çalışıyorum sıkıntılarımı ama bir şey olsa zaten benim her şeyimi Büşra bilir, Hemen anlar. Bir şey yok diye erteliyorum ama eninde sonunda Büşra öğreniyor. Ama öyle üzülmem, üzgün gezmem.]

During the fieldwork, I realized that the intimacy, which has been established among the students, surrounds all the school members in time, as well. However, for the establishment of the intimacy culture in the school between teachers and the students, permanency of the teachers is pivotal. Since they have to deal with the problems of high turnover rate of the teachers for years, intimacy is a very fragile issue for these students.

Canan told, 7th grade student, her experiences with different teachers as such: Our first English teacher was Fatma. She was scolding the spoilt students. There was Deniz teacher. I never liked him. Then, Elif teacher came, I liked him. After her, Büşra teacher, Mustafa's cousin, came. She was giving homework which necessitates photocopying. Some students did not have the opportunity to photocopy these assignments. But she was always yelling to us. In those days, we sent text messages to Elif teacher. We told her that we missed you very much.

[Bizim ilk İngilizce öğretmenimiz Fatma hocaydı. Şımaranları çok kızılıyordu. Deniz hoca vardı erkek hiç sevmezdim onu. Sonra Elif hoca geldi onu severdim. Sonra Büşra hoca geldi Recep'in halasının kızı. Fotokopi ödevi veriyorum Sonra bazılarının çekirme imkanı olmuyor da niye çekirmediniz diyordu. Hemen bağılıyor çağırıyordu. Büşra Hoca döneminde Elif Hoca ile mesajlaşmıştık Hocam sizi çok özledik diye.]

As stated above, students' disappointing experiences might have paved the way for a "mistrust" toward the teachers and the school. However, during the time when the fieldwork is conducted, there were 4 permanent teachers at the school. Thereby, intimate relations between the students and teachers were not interrupted in the meantime. At this juncture, students had the opportunity to establish healthy relationships with the teachers. Teachers also found time to know both the student and students' family. This closeness enabled the students to see the school as a safe space where they can always see people they know and trust. So, sharing of the privacy was not restricted to the intimate relations among the students but teachers also engaged in the intimate relations with the students. Additionally, teachers, especially the female teachers', who are the majority, caring relationship with the

students facilitated establishing intimate relations with the students. At this point, I observed that students generally prefer to tell their problems, even the most private ones, to the teachers they had previously known. They even tell the permanent teachers the problem they had with the paid teachers or problems they had with their family member. In this sense, according to the statements of students, school evolves into a safe home when the sufficient intimacy and caring atmosphere is created. Caring atmosphere is especially important for the school in which students coming from divorced families are high number and families' school involvement is so low. Establishing relations based on trust and intimacy are significant for the students to feel more accepted and to invest in their academic progress. As a result, caring attitude of the teachers contributes to students' internalization of school values and building their self-confidence.

4.2. Family Habitus

In this section of the study, family habitus as the second theme of the study will be introduced. To contextualize the theme, "Unequal childhoods: forms of capital and the family-school interaction" will be presented as a category. Several issues will be scrutinized under this category. Initially, literature review of the category will be presented. After that, the data gathered from the conducted fieldwork and interviews will be analyzed. In this analysis, family habitus which enable the formation of certain identities fostering "a sense of constrain /sense of entitlement" will be described

4.2.1. Unequal Childhoods: Forms of Capital and the Family-School Interaction

Parallel to the recent research studies conducted to document the positive relationship between socio-economic status and school achievement, students coming from upper-class economic status tend to have better achievement scores than the ones who comes from lower-class economic status regardless of the students' ethnic backgrounds (Bowles & Gintis, 2002; Blair & Madamba, 1999; Entwisle et al., 2005). Although the studies traditionally focused on either the factors

related to institutional structure of the school (Kozol, 1991) or students' family lives (Coleman, 1987), recent studies explores the collaborative influence of the institutional and family factors in production and reproduction of social inequality (Diamond & Gomez, 2004; Lucas 2001; Morris, 2005).

Particularly, a well-known sociologist Annette Lareau's (2003; 2000) works provide convincing evidence to illustrate how various child-rearing practices of the working- and middle-class families operate in the education system building on Bourdieu's (1986) concept of cultural capital. Lareau (2002) argues that middle class families engage in a "concerted cultivation" which corresponds with the school professionals' cultural repertoire and provides the students with the required skills to navigate in the school; on the other hand, working class families practice "the accomplishment of natural growth" and children raised in the working class families miss out the necessary skills to effectively negotiate in the school institution (Lareau, 2002, p. 750). For Lareau (2002), middle class families promote "concerted cultivation" through providing their children with the organized extra-curricular activities, communicating with the children through a language which foregrounds reason and being actively involved in the school. As a result, middle class parents taking an active role in the lives of their children boost "a sense of entitlement" (Lareau, 2002 p. 749). On the other hand, working class or low-income families fosters "accomplishment of natural growth" (Lareau, 2002, p.753). Families who promotes natural growth love and care about their children; however, they consider that children can thrive on their own without a deliberate effort of the families. They rarely lead their children to participate in organized actives. Children generally hang out with their kin groups. Regarding the language used by the families, it includes more directives from adults and obedience by their children. Students from working class background have limited verbal skills and feel uncomfortable in speaking with adults. Furthermore, students who are reared under the logic of the natural growth depend on the institutions more and experience more conflicts because of the discrepancy between the family and the school institution. As a result, patterns of natural growth contribute to "a sense of constraint" (Lareau, 2002, p.753).

Lareau's interpretation of the classed parental practices are gathered around four main points which are “cultural capital, habitus, parental involvement, and the organization of daily life” (Redford, Johnson & Honnold, 2009, p. 29). “Cultural capital” is a significant component of Bourdieu’s theory of social production (Redford, Johnson & Honnold, 2009, p.29). Along with the economic, social and symbolic capital, cultural capital functions as a power resource, a tool to preserve the dominant class position of those who possess it (Bourdieu, 1997). Pierre Bourdieu (1986) argues that cultural capital is a powerful notion which sheds light on the unequal academic achievement of the students from different social classes. For Lareau (2002), cultural capital influencing the family’s taste and dispositions following the parenting styles presents itself in the classroom and places the higher-class students at an advantageous position over their lower-class counterparts. Taking into account these explanations, Lareau seeks for an analysis which explains how the interaction of the family practices and school institutional structure produce and reproduce the social advantages and disadvantages.

“Habitus” is the second concept on which Lareau bases the logic of parental practices (Redford, Johnson & Honnold, 2009, p.29). Habitus is one of the important components of Bourdieu’s theory of social production. Bourdieu (1990) describes the habitus as a set of embedded patterns of thought, behavior and taste which can be expressed in durable ways “of standing, speaking, walking, and thereby of feeling and thinking” (Bourdieu, 1990, p.69-70). Bourdieu utilizing the concept offers a link between social structures and social practice. Lareau (2002) uses the term to express the sense of entitlement or the constraint based on the classed rearing types of the parents and to interpret students’ academic success (Redford, Johnson & Honnold, 2009). Dumais (2002) argues that students’ habitus and socio-economic background is a substantial factor influencing their school success. Specifically, habitus rather than cultural capital has a strong effect on the academic outcomes of the male students (Dumais, 2002). In another study, Dumais (2006) claims that parental habitus, that is, expected amount of the education the child will receive, has a positive impact on the teachers’ evaluations.

Parental involvement is the third component of the Lareau's logic. Lareau (2002) argues that families who engage in concerted cultivation takes an active role in any sides of their children's lives. There is a consistent literature which suggests that parental involvement has a considerable positive impact on the school success (Spera, 2005; Hill & Taylor, 2004). Hill & Taylor (2004) purposes that decrease in the parental involvement is associated with the school achievement of the adolescence and their future aspirations across middle and high school. Social class of the families is a strong predictor of the parental involvement (Redford, Johnson & Honnold, 2009). In Diamond & Gomez's (2004) works, it is argued that middle class families are more careful about the selection of their children's school and have more positive feelings toward the school. In contrast, children of the working-class parents are generally assigned to the schools and parents assess the schools less favorably. To conclude, in their study, Hill & Taylor (2004) suggest that parental school involvement increases parallel to the level of socio-economic status of the families.

The last component of the Lareau's parental practice logic is "the organization of daily life" (Redford, Johnson, & Honnold, 2009, p.30). Lareau (2002) claims that children who are raised engaging in a concerted cultivation have highly organized lives which are busy with scheduled extra-curricular activities. In contrast, children raised abiding by the accomplishment of natural growth have less organized lives and they are freer to create their own activities. These organized activities are significant tools for the middle-class children to learn the skills they will use in their professional lives such overcoming the anxiety or working with the groups. Hofferth & Sandberg (2001) suggests that children spent their time in organized activities have a considerable positive impact on the children's educational outcomes. Besides, organized activities positively influence "the cognitive and emotional skills" of the child (Hofferth & Sandberg, 2001, p. 307). In the quantitative work of Hansen et al. (2003), it is claimed that extra-curricular activities play a pivotal role in adolescents' lives to develop the skills such as assertiveness, group-work and establishing positive relations with the community members (Hansen et al., 2003).

For Lareau, these skills place the children at an advantageous position and enable them to navigate at the institutions.

Marriage as a very influential social contract has a central role in forming the family habitus and the forms of capital. Considering students' achievement and adjustment, the impact of parental involvement can be considered as a sine qua non condition. Parallel to the academic achievement of the students, families suggest two options especially to the female students. They will either get married several years after graduating from high school or pursue education life. Growing up in a middle-class family and with middle class values, continuing educational life has never been an 'either-or' situation in my life. However, this is not such an indispensable part of most of the people's lives in the village. For the male students, "as much as he can do, teacher (...olduđu kadar hocam)" is the most common expression which I have ever heard from the families of low achievers. Another saying from the families of low achiever students is that "teacher, gaining literacy skills is enough (hocam okumayı yazmayı öğrensin yeter)". In addition, my family has never come to me with a suggestion of marriage before graduating from university because they considered me immature before that age. Here, a female student even at the 8th grade might be considered at the age of marriage. This view indeed changes according to students' gender and their school achievements.

In spite of being higher among female students, low marriage age is not specific to the female students. I encountered several males who are on the verge of marriage and just at the age of university education, that is, 19 or 20 years of age. Completing the military service is the only necessary qualification for a male to get married here. Therefore, families' expectation from the education become primarily finding a job to meet the needs of the new family. Thereby, while female students who have low academic scores face with the suggestion of getting married after finishing high school education, male students are involved in labor market earlier and prefer the professions which requires minimum educational qualifications such as being a safe-guard, cashier, driver, farmer, soldier etc.

For the students at this school, reflection of the professional choices of their elder brothers or cousins become most apparent in the classes which I teach 'Jobs'. When I asked the students "what do you want to be in the future?", the jobs which I previously mentioned are the most common answers for the male students. On the other hand, female students commonly state jobs such as being a doctor, teacher, engineer or lawyer which requires a university education.

Minibus driving is a prevalent job opportunity for the male students. Nearly all the minibus drivers have a child at the school. Therefore, just as the minibuses, minibus driving as a profession is also inherited by the male children. In the daytime after the school, anyone can see a secondary grade student driving a minibus in the village. When the teachers at the school warn the parents about the situation, they most commonly express their pride for their children's courage and ability. In terms of female students, 8th grade is a critical period. Families begin to consider them as candidates for getting married. During the period when I was conducting the fieldwork, I even encountered one of the female students from previous year. She got engaged a year after the graduation from secondary school. Families are not strict in sustaining academic life after secondary school for female students. Compulsory high school education is the only reason for some to send their daughters to high school. One of the female student's father stated that "I asked my older daughter whether you want to study or to get married. She responded that I want to get married. So, I married her off." This is the case generally for low achiever female students.

When I asked the mothers of the students the age of their marriages, they generally answered 14 or 15. Ecrin is a 7th grade student. When I went to her home, I asked the mother (30) to tell me the first period of her marriage. She, similar to other women in the village, started with stating:

I learn to be a woman at my husband's home; otherwise, I would have been still playing outside with my friends. At the first times, I was forgetting the meal in the oven. It was sometimes burning because I was still not at the age of taking things seriously; however, my mother in law never told anybody else. She always supported me and told me that your meal is so delicious. Thereby, I haven't had serious problems till today.

[Kocamın evinde kadın olmayı öğrendim. Yoksa dışarda hala arkadaşlarımla oyun oynuyordum. İlk zamanlar yemeği ocakta unutuyordum, kötü oluyordu, yanıyordu hala o ciddiyette değildim çünkü. Ama kayınvalidem kimseye söylemezdi. Hep beni desteklerdi ve yemeklerime hep lezzetli derdi. Böylece şimdiye kadar problem yaşamadım.]

As it can be understood from Ecrin's mother statement, she does not go through a problematic process in her marriage life. Nevertheless, not all of the marriages in the village result in a happy ending like Ecrin's mother.

High rate of divorce is a common phenomenon here and shapes the family habitus of the students extensively. Low marriage age is one of the substantial reasons for the divorcing because there are many students at the secondary school who have divorced parents and their mothers are just in the middle of their thirties.

When I asked the teachers the reason why they get married and break up in a short time, Halime told me:

Since the age that the girls get married is very low, they are attracted by the glamorous appearance of the brides. Before working here, I was working in another village. I got engaged when I was there. Girls were always asking me how it is like to be a bride or whether I have bracelets and other kinds of jewelry or not. They seem alluring to them. There is a similar case here. The girl who is engaged initially dyes her hair to blond and get a new mobile phone because these girls cannot have these at their homes. Their parents in law trick them with these stuffs. However, after several years, most of them cannot stand the responsibility of marriage and unfortunately end up with a divorce. [Evlenme yaşı düşük olduğu için genel olarak gelinlerin ışıltılı görünüşlerinden çok etkileniyor kız öğrenciler. Burada çalışmadan önce başka bir köyde çalışıyordum. Oraya gittiğimde daha yeni nişanlanmıştım. Kız öğrenciler sürekli gelin olmak nasıl bir duygu? Bilezikleriniz var mı? gibi sorular soruyorlardı. Bu durum onlara çok çekici geliyordu. Benzer bir durum burada da var. Kızlar nişanlanınca ilk olarak saçlarını sarıya boyattırıyorlar ve yeni bir cep telefonu alıyorlar çünkü bunları kendi evlerinde bulamıyorlar. Nişanlılarının aileleri de tabi bu şekilde kandırıyor onları. Fakat bir kaç yıl sonra birçoğu sorumlulukların altında ezilip ayrılıyorlar.]

All the problematic processes before and after the divorce influence the students' and families' beliefs and expectations from the school. Thereby, students' family habitus and school's institutional habitus interact in a way. Since the meaning of divorce is 'loss' for the student, school in which he/she spend most of the time become the natural responsible institution to compensate this loss. Accordingly, teachers and administrators take on the responsibility of enabling the child to go through this hard process smoothly. In the meantime, families' views of the

education are influenced to a certain extend. Especially, following the first period of the breaking up, families perceive the school as a place for ‘rehabilitation’ rather than an educational institution. Since grant parents are generally the ones who take care of the children during the process, they ask the teachers to show more attention toward these specific students. On the other side, children are exposed to a period of ignorance and disorder in the family. Because family is in the crises at that moment, they generally do not give much importance to the educational success of the students but focus primarily on the psychological well-being of the children. However, most of the students do not take any kind of psychological support. The general point of view regarding the children at this period is that ‘time is the greatest healer’.

When the first period of the divorce pass by, other problems follow the students. The students get used to the terms such as custody, child support. During the interview, Canan on this issue told her own experience:

At 7 in the mornings, we got up and went out. While my grandmother and my father were asleep. We were coming home just for the lunch. Then, we had dinner and went out again. There were a lot of people in the neighborhood back then. Even at 7:30, we were playing games. We had dinner at 8 pm and went out again. We weren't much intertwined with our family. We went back to the home at midnight. So, we didn't feel too much trouble. When we arrived at home at midnight, we used to go to bed. One day, my mother called my father to bring us back. Then we stayed with my mother for a month or two. We thought that my mother would take the custody. But she told me that I can't handle it alone. So, my father took our custody. We stay with our mother on the weekends. A few years after the divorce, my mother got married and we have another sister from this marriage. We ask my mother for taking the custody. However, she says that I can't raise you by asking for money from anyone. So, we're still staying with my dad.

[Sabah 7'de kalkıp dışarı çıkıyorduk. Babaannem babam uyurken daha bir tek öğle yemeğine geliyorduk yemeği yiyip tekrar çıkıyorum. O zamanlar mahallede Çok kişi vardı Akşam 7 buçukta oyun oynuyorduk. Fazla aile ile iç içe değildik. Akşam yeni buçukta eve geri dönüp Akşam yemeğini ye 8 Tekrar dışarı çıkıyorduk.12'ye kadar oynuyorduk. O yüzden çok fazla bir şeyimiz yoktu 12'de geldiğimizde de zaten uyuyorduk... Babamı aramış geri bir hafta süre vermiş geri getirmesi için. Sonra biz bir iki aya kadar annemin yanında kaldık. Ondan sonra velayeti anneme vereceklerdi. Ama annem de tek başına ben idare edemem çalışayım, velayetleri babasının da kalsın hafta sonları ben alırım demiş. Birkaç yıl sonra annem evlendi, boşandıktan birkaç yıl sonra. Biz anneme hep diyorduk velayeti al diye. Annem de şimdi kardeşim var 2 yaşında. Velayeti alsam diyor çalışmamak durumunda kalırım. Ben de kimseden para isteyerek sizi büyütemem dedi. O yüzden biz de hala Babam da kalıyoruz.]

As it can be understood from the Canan' s statement, in the period of disorder, they also deal with remnants of the judicial process. Contrary to a middle-class, children in the working class, as in the example, get through this process on their own, with their friends in the neighborhood or in the school. This struggle of the students is not specific to just a certain period here. Most of the students have to cope with the problems related to the divorce throughout the all school life and this situation adversely affect the students' academic achievement. Derya teacher told the story of Semih - a student who have a low academic success - in the following lines:

Semih's father appeared years later. He said he'd pick you up. She said Samet would have gotten you if her father showed you to her, blaming her. But Nazım, Mustafa was always supportive. If your father wanted to see you, he would have found you somehow, he would have supported you. He always supported his friends. This kind of special situation is reflected in the speeches. For instance, once Gülcan closed the door hard due to the wind. When Samet said that you closed the door of your father, I guess he didn't have a father, he warned him that he didn't have a father. Then Semih immediately apologized as for Gulcan. And Semih, for example, said that his father had left and Nazım would not have gone if he had been a man. They are not all surprised by the “how did it happen için because they all have a problem in their families in general. They think it's normal because we have it. I also treat students with such a special situation differently. If I'm going to give an example from the family, I'm not trying to get into that. Because he can change his mood. I don't go into family matters much in class. It's more like friendship with individual characteristics. [Semih' in babası yıllar sonra ortaya çıkmış. Seni alacağım falan demiş. Samet' e babası annen gösterseydi seni alacaktım falan diyormuş, annesini suçlamış. Ama Nazım, Mustafa falan hep destek oldu. Eğer baban seni görmek isteseydi bir şekilde bulurdu, destek olurdu falan dedi. Hep arkadaşları destek oldu. Bu tür özel durumlar konuşmalarına da yansıyor. Mesela bir kere Gülcan rüzgardan dolayı kapıyı sert kapatmış. Samet babanın kapısı da mı öyle kapatıyorsun deyince Gülcan'ın babası yokmuş sanırım, hemen nizam uyardı babası yok diye. Sonra Samet hemen Gülcan gelince özür diledi. Bir de Semih' i mesela babası terk edip gitmiş Nazım' da adam olsaydı gitmezdi diyordu. Hepsinin ailesinde genel olarak bir problem olduğu için “aaa nasıl oldu” diye şaşırmıyorlar. Bizde de var diye normal karşılıyorlar. Bir de ben böyle özel durumu olan öğrencilere farklı davranıyorum. Aileden örnek verilecekse o konuya hiç girmemeye çalışıyorum. Çünkü bir anda duygu durumunu değiştirebiliyor. Ailevi konulara derste çok girmiyorum. Daha çok arkadaş ilişkileri bireysel özellikler falan.]

Another example is Muhammed. He also has a low school achievement. He lives with her mother, grandmother and brother. His mother works in a factory in shift to make the living. His father suffers from alcohol and a drug addiction. His mother and father separated when he was a 2nd grader. Throughout the divorcing process and before it, children and the mother are exposed to violence by the father; however, since Muhammed was little at that time, he still puts the blame of the divorce on his mother. He cannot accept the divorcing. Besides, Muhammed's

brother (18) has a special place in his life. After the divorce, he had to work to earn the living because their mother's salary is not enough to live by. Muhammed has hard times when his brother is out of the town. Although Muhammed looks stiff and unsubmitive at the school, he cries in the absence of his brother. Muhammed has a low school achievement and presents behavioral problems. He has a bullying tendency and have problems with complying with the school rules such as going out of the class in the middle of the lesson or high rate of absenteeism. In *Learning to Labour*, Paul Willis interprets such problematic behaviors of the students coming from working class backgrounds as an effort to create a counter-school culture to preserve their class positions. According to Willis, although breaking the rules or disturbing the class might seem as failing in the education system, they are considered as a source of self-esteem among the 'lads.' Another example of counter-school culture attempts might be the resistance he shows against the certain social activities in school. One of these was a dance show for the Children's day. Muhammed refused to dance to an English song. Instead, he insisted on the folk music. He was also ridiculing the other students for dancing in a 'girlish' manner to a 'girlish' song. As a result, other students also refused to dance to a pop music. Instead, they preferred a folk dance in the Children's day.

Producing a type of masculinity might be another way of creating a counterculture. In this sense, both home environment and school resemble to each other. Both of them are the places where Muhammed needs to protect his 'manhood'. During the home-visit I conducted to his home, his mother explained Muhammed's visits to his father's home:

Because of my moral concerns, I don't want them to see each other very often, but I still do not stop them. Muhammed become very angry when he returns from his father home. His dad's always playing good cop, bad cop, and he's always good cop.
[Ahlaki endişelerimden dolayı pek görüşmelerini istemiyorum ama yine de engellemiyorum. Muhammed babasından döndüğü zaman çok sinirli oluyor. Babası hep iyi polis, kötü polisi oynuyor ve iyi polis hep o oluyor.]

In another statement, Muhammed's mother indicates that

...Muhammed needs a "man" around him. Last year there was a science teacher at the school. Muhammed liked him very much. Although he doesn't talk about anybody or

anything related to the school, he was talking about this science teacher. Muhammed was attracted by him.

[...Muhammed'in etrafında bir "erkeğe" ihtiyacı var. Geçen sene okulda bir fen bilgisi öğretmeni vardı. Muhammed onu çok sevmiştir. Normalde, okulla ilgili hiç kimse veya bir şey hakkında konuşmamasına rağmen, fen bilgisi öğretmeni hakkında konuşuyordu. Muhammed ondan etkilenmişti.]

Male figure symbolizes the authority for Muhammed. In a female dominant environment, Muhammed has a positive view toward the males but negative feelings toward the females considering the problematic relations of him with his mother, his grandmother and his female school friends. Muhammed's hatred toward the females is legitimized in my eye with his reaction toward his female friend during the rehearsal of the dance show for the National sovereignty and Children's day. He told me that "no way, I hate girls, sometimes I want to kill even my mother. I don't stand near the girl. If this is the case, I'm out then" or his statements regarding the female dominant school "I want to set the school building on fire and kill everybody inside".

From the Muhammed's story, it can be perceived that stressful atmosphere which the children subjected to during and after the divorce process causes the students from working class background to develop sexist views.

Halise is another student who faces the problems of having separated parents. She is a 7th grader. Although she has a brilliant academic record, I realized that she has a problem with social relations. She does not speak when she is not asked for or not very eager for participating in the games. During the class, she raises her finger to answer the questions, but she feels insecure. Her face is always still and gives the impression of unhappiness all the time. Whenever I talk with her, she answers my questions with short and plain words without any details. On the other side, she lives with her grandparents. Her grandmother is an overprotective person. She waits every day in front of the school to take Halise to home. She even protects her granddaughter from her son, that is, from Halise's father. One day, she came to the school crying and trembling with the fear. She told the teachers' that "please don't let my son take Halise. He will harm her; he will kidnap her. We will get the Halise's custody but don't let her father take Halise till that time." Teachers said "Ok" to calm her down, but everybody knows that nobody would have the right to prevent

her father seeing Halise. Halise grows up in an environment which is full of care and affection but fear at the same time. During the interview with Halise, I asked her whether she tells anything about the school at home or not. She replied that “I just tell the good ones because my grandmother suffers from panic attack, so I do not tell anything bad about the school.” Does the fear of her grandmother feed the stillness on Halise’s face? Does the overprotective parenting of her grandparents reinforce the timidity in Halise?

Since these students do not receive psychological support or participate in extra-curricular activities, the school and the neighborhood become the only place for the students to get relaxed and move away from these disorders. Students’ family habitus are significant in terms of maintaining good relations with the school. In the families where education has an utmost importance, student’s opinions about the education also influenced by it. Families’ structures and family’s educational expectations from the students impact on the place of education in their agenda. If the family has more urgent problems to deal with such as divorce, education might be in the secondary position. On the other side, if the student has a low academic success, the purpose of education also goes through a transformation.

Cultural and social accumulations of the family life which comply with the teacher’s request can be identified as cultural capital (Lareau, 1986). For this reason, understanding teacher’s expectation of the cultural capital and families’ level of cultural capital offer a fruitful pathway to understand students’ school experiences. According to my observations and the interviews conducted, parental involvement is the foremost request of the teachers and administrators from the families and this request is considered as a key to academic success. During the time I spent at the school, except for the meetings, families rarely come to the school to communicate with the teachers regardless of their children’s academic success. When the families come to the school, the interactions between the teacher and parents are generally stiff and short. The parents often show the signs of discomfort during the conversation such as blushing, stuttering and nervous. A small number of the parents pay regular visits to the school. They are generally called by the administrators or

teachers during a time of crises. During the interview, Ayla hoca stated parental involvement as the first problem he encountered when he came to the school as such:

One of the challenges I face here is the family structure. I mean, families don't pay much attention to their children. They don't care very much about the school. They don't cooperate with the teachers in tracking the improvement of the students. It's like we've got kids alone, like there's no parents. We are not in a co-operation; we should definitely cooperate. We try to provide the most work with parent visits at this school. During the visits, they say "OK." But, after a while, everything we said are forgotten. As I said, I don't think the families at this school or in this neighborhood care very much about the education.

[Burada karşılaştığım zorluklardan biri aile yapısı. Yani, ailelerin çocukları çok fazla önem vermemesi. Okulda çok içli dışlı olmaması. Öğretmenlerle birlikte öğrencileri takip etmemesi. Böyle sanki biz çocuklarla baş başa almışız gibi sanki veli hiç yokmuş gibi. Biz bir iş birliği içinde değiliz ki kesinlikle aile eve öğretmenin işbirliği içinde olması gerekiyor. Bunu sağlayamıyoruz biz bu okulda en fazla işte veli ziyaretleriyle sağlamaya çalışıyoruz. Onda da gidiyorsun "tamam hocam, hallederiz hocam" sonra dönüyorsun 3 gün sonra hepsi unutuluyor. Dediğim gibi bu mahalle, ya da bu kurumda bir ilgi göremiyorum aileden yana.]

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Families occupations have a substantial role in the family-school interaction. Parents who works in shift have more fixed schedules; therefore, they have to make some complicated arrangements to come to school and ask about their children. It was common for me to see parents coming from the work in the early hours of the day. Especially in the divorced families, mother or father is generally the only person who work in the family. For this reason, working hours of the parents decrease the time spent for the student and school involvement. Families who deal with the farming also have different schedules. When I asked Armağan's mother how many times she visited the school since Armağan has started secondary school education, she answered it as just once because time is arranged in accordance with the routines of the farming. At this point, education of the students become in the secondary position. In contrast to a middle-class family, in the village, families spend less time to school involvement because of their strict schedules to reach the material resources. On the other hand, Basri is an exceptional student within this context. His father is an İmam. His parents regularly visit the school to be informed about their

son's academic performance. Basri's parents are also more comfortable during the interaction. These conversations are more centered around academic matters and Basri's school progress. Basri's mother told her conversation with social science teacher and their following actions as such:

At the meeting the other day, the social studies teacher said the successful student here is like the average student at a school in the center. That's why he has to work. Now we've made a deal. His father took 2 books, one of which was all courses and one was only in English. Now when we go on holiday, he will study from noon to afternoon. We thought that he cannot go out during the day because it is hot, but he can go to amusement park in the evening. So, we planned he study two hours a day in the summer holiday. At first, I said him to study in the evening but then, we arranged it so that he study in the morning.

[Geçen gün toplantıda sosyal bilgiler öğretmeni dedi burada başarılı öğrenci merkezdeki ortalama öğrenci gibi. O yüzden çalışması lazım. Şimdi biz bir anlaşma yaptık babası bir tüm dersler biri de sadece ingilizce kendisi istemiş. Şimdi tatile gidersek gündüzleri sıcakta dışarı çıkamaz ama akşamları luna parka falan gider diye öğlen ikindi arası diye düşündük. Ben önce akşam dedim ama böyle ayarladık. Günlük iki saat. Sonra o gündüz istedi sıcakta oynayamayacağı için.]

Cultural and social capital accumulation in a certain level is another issue which influence the compliance with school's institutional habitus. Educational attainment of the families is an important predictor of the cultural capital of the families. Families generally graduate from primary or secondary school graduates. Students who have a family member graduating from high school or following a university education generally come to the school completing their assignments with small mistakes or without any; however, the other students might come unprepared for the lesson and reluctantly. Educational attainment has a considerable impact on students' further education as well. During my observation, students who have a family member graduating from high school or university might be more determined to pursue a further education and be more aware of the examination system. Aycan is one of these students. Two of the Aycan's sisters are graduate of university. Both of them are psychological guidance. Departments of Aycan's elder sisters are advantageous because being a psychological guidance, they eliminate one of the school's shortcomings which is psychological support. In the interview with Aycan, she mentioned her sister's contribution to her as such One of the challenges I face here is the family structure. I mean, families don't pay much attention to their children. They don't care very much about the school. They don't cooperate with the teachers in tracking the improvement of the students. It's like we've got kids

alone, like there's no parents. We are not in a co-operation; we should definitely cooperate. We try to provide the most work with parent visits at this school. During the visits, they say “OK.” But, after a while, everything we said are forgotten. As I said, I don't think the families at this school or in this neighborhood care very much about the education.

Basri's mother is a high school graduate. Relative to the other school, his family's education is higher and thanks to his father's occupation, his parents spent more time with him and show more attention towards Basri's interest. During the visit I paid their home, his mother stated:

We go into the room with Basri, his father does not bother us at all until we finish homework. Sometimes we watch English movies together. When I was in high school, I liked English courses very much and I think it reflected on Basri. I still ask him meanings of the words. In this sense, we have a special relationship with Basri [Biz Basri ile gireriz odaya, babası bizi hiç rahatsız etmez ödevi bitene kadar. Bazen İngilizce film izleriz beraber. Ben lisedeyken İngilizce dersini çok severdim, Basri'ye de yansıdı sanırım. Hala sorarım ona kelimelerin anlamlarını. Bu anlamda Basri ile aramızda özel bir ilişki vardır.]

Besides, language use of the parents is also an indicator of cultural capital and rearing practices which facilitates the sense of entitlement. During the visit, Basri's mother also talked about their holiday arrangement. Her language presents what kind of language they use toward Basri.

We're giving him the control this year. I said, let's make a change this year. Before going to Karabük, we go to Devrek. But he's the boss. So, he told me “mommy, if we like Karabük, we'll stay for 15 days. Then, we pass on to my grandmothers. Giving control to him made him happier than before. Last year, for example, his father gave him the money completely. He also gave him a wallet from his grandfather. He put the small wallet in his pocket. His hand was always in his pocket. He always gave me the money when I was traveling. Then, his self-confidence boosted. He's the boss again this year. We've paid attention to this issue. [Bu sene kumandayı ona vereceğiz. Ben bu sene bir değişiklik yapalım önce Karabük'e gidelim ordan Devrek'e geçelim demiştim ama patron o ya 'anne eğer hoşumuza giderse 15 gün dururuz. Sonra anneannelere geçeriz' dedi. Onun dediği olduğu için daha bir mutlu oluyor. Geçen sene mesela babası parayı tamamen ona verdi. Cüzdan verdi ona dedesininmiş rahmetli, hatıra dedenden diye bir küçük cüzdan cebine koydu. Sonra el hep arkada. Para ondaydı. Gezerken hep o verdi parayı. Ondan sonra kendine bir güven geldi. Bu sene yine patron o. Onun üstüne çok düştük.]

Basri and Ayca are rare students who can relatively attain dominant cultural capital. General view for most of the students was that they lack the cultural capital

to reach academic success. During the interviews, teachers generally focused on this issue.

For example, the neighborhood we work in, I see it as a village, since families' level of education is maximum secondary school, of course, reading is not related to education, but still the rate of reading is very low in families due to farming, difficulties they face and low education level. You expect from the students who haven't seen his parents reading newspaper or a novel once in their lifetime, or they have never studied in their lives and didn't do anything related to education. You expect from this child to study continuously, or you expect his or her parents to be involved in education, most of whom are secondary school graduates. I think education level of the parents and social life of the students are significant factors in education.

[Mesela çalıştığımız mahalle, yine ben köy olarak görüyorum, ailelere bakıldığında eğitim seviyeleri en fazla ortaokul olan aileler olduğu için hani tabi okumak eğitim ile alakalı bir şey değildir ama yine de çiftçilik, zorluklar, eğitim düzeyinin düşüklüğünden kaynaklı ailelerde okuma oranı çok düşük, yani ortaokula gelmiş anne babasını eline bir defa gazete almış, bir defa roman almış olarak görmeyen bir öğrenciden siz sürekli kitap okumayı bekliyorsunuz, ya da hayatı boyunca anne babasını ders çalışmamış, eğitim öğretim adına bir şey yapmamış. Bunu gören bir çocuktan siz sürekli ders çalışmasını bekliyorsunuz, ya da anne babasının eğitimsiz, en çok ortaöğretim mezunu olan öğrenciden üniversite okumasını, iş sahibi olmasını bekliyorsunuz yani ailenin ya da sosyal çevrenin eğitim alanında çok büyük bir etkisi olduğunu düşünüyorum.]

The language used by the students also reflect the cultural capital possessed. Positive recognition of the students' language impact on the student's school experiences and eliminate or cultivate the sense of constraint felt by the students as Lareau (2002) suggests. At this point school principal's statement is very significant:

We warn him to speak Turkish properly, but when he goes home, he speaks with the accent. To give an example: "Angara" they say, and I fix it. I say my son, this not true, that's what I say. For example, when they are buying something from the school canteen, they say "Give it!", I observed it. I sat there for about a week and became an audience. I warned them, every time I warned them. My kid ask it like that "would you give it to me?", don't say "shh" and call people with their names.

[Türkçeyi güzel konuşmaları için uyarıyoruz ama eve gittiğinde buranın şivesiyle konuşuyor. Mesela her şeyde uyarırım. Örnek verecek olursak: "Angara" derler ben düzeltirim onu. Yavrucuğum o değil, bu derim, öyle derler. Mesela okul kooperatifinden bir şey alırken: "ver!" bunu gözlemledim. Şöyle bir hafta kadar orada oturdum, seyirci oldum. Ben uyardım, her seferinde uyardım. "Yavrucuğum, verir misin? Öyle denmez, şşşt diye seslenmez, kişinin adıyla hitap edilir.]

From this statement, it can be understood that the school might privilege certain type of a language use. This preferred language may contradict with the one possessed by the students and this contradiction presents itself in the advices and interventions of the teachers and administrators. In this sense, language preferences can be

considered as the intersections of the family habitus and institutional habitus in the daily life.

Teachers also touched upon the language use of the families toward students. As seen in the example of Basri, language use of the family does not conflict with the institutional habitus of the school and is expected to cultivate a sense of entitlement as Lareau (2002) argues. However, Serdar teacher, paid teacher, emphasizes that this is not the case for the rest of the students.

One of the challenges I face here is the family structure. I mean, families don't pay much attention to their children. They don't care very much about the school. They don't cooperate with the teachers in tracking the improvement of the students. It's like we've got kids alone, like there's no parents. We are not in a co-operation; we should definitely cooperate. We try to provide the most work with parent visits at this school. During the visits, they say "OK." But, after a while, everything we said are forgotten. As I said, I don't think the families at this school or in this neighborhood care very much about the education.

[Çocuğun diyalog anlamında karşısındaki kişiyi belirleyip onun durumunu, onun vasfını, onun yaşını belirleyip, hatta cinsiyetini belirleyip ona göre konuşması gerekir diye düşünüyorum. Burada bu böyle değil. Neden? Çünkü çocuklar ev ortamında annenin babaya, babanın anneye, abinin kardeşin birbirlerine olan konuşmalarını hani küçümsediğim için söylemiyorum ama kültür açısından biraz daha geride kalmışlık söz konusu olduğu için belli bir saygı çerçevesi içerisinde mesela nezaket kurallarına uygun konuşmayı çocuklar yapamıyorlar.]

For Lareau (2002), children's organization of the social lives give us a clue about their families' childrearing practices and attainment to dominant cultural capital. In the village, children's after school activities were not scheduled: bike riding, watching television, playing with marbles or pets, playing with cousins or neighbor children and taking care of younger siblings. Throughout the interviews with the students, I asked them to tell me about their after-school activities. While female students were more eager to increase their cultural capital through forcing their parents to enroll them organized activities, male students preferred to comply with the habitus and learn how to drive a car. As Dumais (2002) argues, students at this age become more aware of the gender roles and of what is socially more appropriate for them. Therefore, male students in secondary school might have a tendency to prove their masculinity. Several male students told me how they learn to drive car. Remzi and Hamza told me how their family members facilitate this learning processes:

At first, I was sitting on the lap of my uncle, my uncle, then I held the steering wheel, then I pushed the clutch of my uncle in the arms of my uncle, then I started to drive alone. I have been driving alone since I was 8 years old (Remzi).

When I first got on, I can't ride alone because I was not tall enough. Grandpa's got me sitting on his lap so I can get used to it. I started driving when I was six. I started driving myself when I was 8. I'm driving now (Hamza)

[Ben ilk dayım dayımın kucağında oturuyordum sonra direksiyonu tuttum sonra dayımın kucağında vitestir debriyajdır kendim bastım ettim ondan sonra tek başıma sürmeye başladım. 8 yaşından beri tek başıma sürüyorum (Remzi).

İlk bindiğim zaman zaten tek başıma süremiyordum boyum yetmediği için. Dedem kucağına oturtturuyor alışayım diye. 6 yaşında arabayı sürmeye başladım. 8 yaşında tam kendim sürmeye başladım. Şimdi iyice sürüyorum (Hamza)].

On the other hand, female students are more enthusiastic about participating in organized activities. During the class hour, Işık stated that she enrolled in a sport center to do sport regularly. Along with Işık, some other female students also indicated their enthusiasm for joining a scheduled extra-curricular activity.

I love swimming, I love listening to music, I love painting, I love reading book. Just like you said. I said I'm bored, find me an activity. I'm forcing my father to enroll me for a swimming course this year, I went to a swimming course last year. I keep pushing my father telling that in order to get taller, I need to swim (Aycan).

My mother would send me an English course but then she thought that I would be hard for me to travel alone so she gave up. The first song which I memorize when I was little was an English song, but now I don't remember much (Canan).)

[Yüzmeyi seviyorum, müzik dinlemeyi seviyorum, resim yapmayı seviyorum, kitap okumayı seviyorum. Tam da dediğiniz gibi. Ben sıkılıyorum bana bir aktivite bulun dedim... Babamı zorluyorum bu sene yüzmeye yazdır beni diye, geçen sene de gitmiştim. Sürekli onu zorluyorum. Hem boyum uzasın diyorum. İlla beni yazdıracaksın diye şart koştum (Aycan).

Ben mesela burada annem ben İngilizce kursuna yazılacaktı gidiş gelişler zor olduğun için yazdıramadı. En mesela küçüklükten beri ilk ezberledim şarkıda İngilizceydi ama şimdi pek hatırlamıyorum (Canan)].

In spite of their eager for such activities, general picture of the organization of students' social lives are similar to each other. They mostly hang out with their friends or cousins in the neighborhood, play computer games, watch TV and help their families with housework or outside chores.

Strong family ties with the extended family is another issue which is drawn from the field. Most of the students live close to their grandparents. Since students' both parents work outside the home, grandparents be responsible for taking care of the students. Contrary to middle class families who tend to have looser family relations, majority of the students at this school spend most of their time with their extended families.

To sum up, students at this school encounters various forms of disadvantages and misrecognitions which put them in an unequal position against the students from middle- or higher-class students. The reason for the inequality lies at the heart of the incompilance between student's family habitus and school's institutional habitus. Looking at the parenting practices of the families and school attendants' views regarding the students' family habitus and cultural capital they possess, it is obvious that sense of constraint that the students experience is cultivated both through parental practices and institutional practices. Although some exceptional students exist, it is also clear that their advantageous status stem from the overlap between families and school's cultural repertoire.

Under this category, it can also be argued that working class identity and - considering field of the study - rural identity is produced and reproduced by means of the parental practices of the families. This production presents itself through various practices of the families ranging from the language used by the families, organization of students' social activities. However, the gap between the way students are raised and cultural accumulation necessitated by the school prevents students developing a positive identity.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

In this study, identity formation practices taking place at Sevgi secondary school are scrutinized. Acknowledging Taylor's (1992) statement of "recognition is a vital human need" (p.25), Axel Honneth's (1992) argument that development of positive self-identity is based on maintaining recognition in 1)love, 2) rights and 3) solidarity and based on Bourdieu's one of the major theoretical tools: *Habitus* and more recent institutional form of habitus (Reay, 1998; Reay, David & Ball, 2001, Thomas, 2002; Ingram, 2009), this study mainly interrogates whether institutional habitus of Sevgi secondary school satisfies students' needs for recognition and contributes to identity formation process in school. Throughout the fieldwork, in addition to identity formation of students, various issues which menace teachers' developing a professional identity also emerged. For this reason, the study discusses the development of teacher's professional identity along with the students' identity formation.

As suggested by Hunter, Elliott, Marland & Wormald (1985), teaching profession has undergone a reconstruction process after the implementation of the market-based logic of neoliberalism in education. Precarious employment of teachers is one side of these implementations (Ünal, 2008). According to the results of the study, this instability influences how teaching profession is defined by both school members and local people. Students, school administrators and families tend to perceive permanent teachers as ideal teacher and feel more trust towards them; however, paid teachers occupy a degraded position in the eye of school members and local people. This biased attitude toward them results in a type of misrecognition and presents itself in the discourses and practices of the school attendants and local

people. Prevalence of the prejudice supports Reay's (1998) and Reay, David and Ball's (2001) conceptualization of the *institutional habitus*. Although Reay (1998) uses the concept regarding what students bring to the classrooms and teachers' expectations from them and their prejudices; results shows that it can also be enlarged to include the teachers.

Chatelier & Rudolph (2018) argue that education system parallel to this new mentality has given rise to the overestimation of accountability and audit mechanisms in teacher evaluation. Therefore, purpose of teaching profession has been shifted from *caring of students* to *neoliberal responsabilisation* after the implementation of neoliberal policies. Such implementations substantially influence the teacher autonomy since they contribute to the standardization, delimit the creativity and increase the pressure on the profession (Chatelier & Rudolph, 2018). According to the results of the study, teachers suffer from the fading autonomy and lack of freedom within the education system. Correspondingly, teachers emphasize the pressure on the profession and the coping mechanisms they resorted to eliminate it. Teachers' coping mechanisms support Woods & Jeffery's (2002) engagement into *identity work* to deal with the "fateful moments" of Anthony Gidden's and maintain consistency between their *personal and social identities* (Parekh, 2009). Furthermore, physical insufficiencies of the school force teachers to find ways to deal with them and "save the day". At this point, parallel to Sachs and Smith (1988) *practicality ethic* suggested by Doyle and Ponder (1977) become the guiding principle of the teachers' and school administrators' actions and statements. In this sense, school's institutional habitus reinforces a uniform identity and give less space for both students and teachers to present their differences.

From another side, Herzfeld's (2005) concept of *intimacy* emerged as a predictive concept to characterize the school's institutional habitus. According to the results of the study, intimacy is used as a tool to deal with both state level and personal problems. Familialization of the school appeared as a form of intimacy within the school. At this point, intimacy acts as a powerful concept which maintains the transmission of domestic roles to school. School principal's patriarchal role and the feeling of gratitude have a substantial influence on the teachers' practices. From this

point of view, this substantial influence created through the familialization complies with the Herzfeld's (2005) definition of cultural intimacy which offers a common sociality to the insiders. On the other side, transmission of the mother role to the school, caring and intimate relations between the teachers and the students, compatibly, students' identifying the school as a safe and caring place after the appointment of permanent teachers to the school are consistent with Nodding's (1984) ethic of care. Besides, teachers' willingness to take these roles contrasts with Chatelier & Rudolph's (2018) view of *neoliberal responsabilisation* of the teacher. Additionally, intimate and caring relations are perceived as positive signs of recognition. It can be argued that teachers strive for creating an environment which enhance recognition and development of the students.

However, disparaging attitude of the teachers and school administrators toward the students' way of life and students' acceptance of such attitude comply with Reay's (2001) and Thomas's (2002) views on the institutional habitus which has the power to legitimize certain values, language and knowledge in the school. Additionally, it is parallel to Mac an Ghail's (1998) and Thomas's (2002) studies which claim that institutional habitus of the school which contrasts with students' family habitus makes the student feel more like a "fish out of water."

Family habitus is portrayed under the code of unequal childhood: forms of capital and the family school interaction. Multiple parallels can be drawn between the findings in this study and those of Lareau (2000; 2002). Well-known sociologist Annette Lareau illustrates how class specific child rearing practices of the families operate in the education system. Lareau (2002) argues that working class families engage in "the accomplishment of natural growth" as a child rearing practice. For this reason, students miss out the necessary skills to effectively navigate in the school institution. Similar to Redford, Johnson & Honnold (2009), Lareau's interpretation of the class based parental practices are grouped under four headings in this study which are cultural capital, habitus, parental involvement, and organization of daily life. This separation enables a systematic understanding of the identity formation of students and recognition practices within the family culture

and how these identities are reinforced through various recognition practices in the school institution.

For Lareau (2002), *cultural capital* influencing parenting practices of the families put working class students at a disadvantageous status in the education system. In this vein, findings of this study suggest that students of this school also face difficulties in attainment to cultural capital in both school institution structure and family environment. For this reason, it can be claimed that these students are at an unequal position compared to their working-class counterparts.

Families' perspective towards the marriage, students' professional tendencies, socio-economic background of the students, families' expected amount of the education that a child gets and students' academic success support Dumais' (2002) argument of the relationship between family habitus and academic achievement of the student. Results of the study supports Hill & Taylor's (2004) and Spera's (2005) studies indicating that low parental involvement rate in the school considerably influences and is influenced by the students' academic achievement. Also, parental involvement fluctuates according to the social class of the families (Redford, Johnson & Honnold, 2009). This thesis study suggests that educational background of the parents and number of university graduates in the family influence students' academic achievement as well.

In terms of the organization of daily life, results of the study comply with Lareu's (2002) interpretation of *the accomplishment of natural growth*, which claims that working-class children can flourish on their own without a deliberate effort. Coping strategies of the student with the divorce process of their parents indicate the need for organized activities which coincide with Hoffert & Sandberg' (2001) claims that organized activities positively affect "emotional and cognitive skills" of the children (p.307) and Hansen's et al. (2003) arguments that extra-curricular activities contribute to establishing positive relations with the community members.

In this study, school's institutional habitus is described to present the privileged values and in-school problems dealt with by all school members in order to examine

the recognition and misrecognition processes. Results of the study indicates that not only the students but also the teachers are subject to various forms of misrecognition. While the teachers are misrecognized within the current education system because of precarity in the employment, flexibility in their work hours, fading professional autonomy, students go through the same process because of their contrasting values with the teachers and school administrators' cultural repertoire. In this process, students are exposed to prejudices in terms of their class identity, language and ways of living. As suggested in *Inheritors* (1979), even if students get education in the same educational institution and under the same conditions, they are not counted as equal. Real equality is not only maintained through the opportunities offered by the school institution, students should be culturally equal in order to benefit from these opportunities. For Lareau (2002), source of this inequality is the classed rearing practices of their families. Cultural acquaintance middle class students have with the culture of the school place them in an advantageous position. However, cultural practices of the working-class students in the home environment do not provide this advantage. This study discusses that in this field where cultural gap is so prevalent, school's institutional habitus is not enough to overcome it. Therefore, students are condemned to the academic failure, which is a significant factor to develop positive identity, and their limited chance to move upper classes are taken away. It is also restricting teachers developing a positive social identity by restricting their freedom and delimiting the space for the individual differences. Students are condemned to the academic failure, which is a significant factor to develop a school identity, and their limited chance to move upper classes are taken away. They also restrict teachers in developing a positive social identity by restricting their freedom and delimiting the space for the individual differences.

However, different from Lareau (2002), working class background is not the only point which characterizes students and impact on their identities, students at this school are also identified with their rural backgrounds. Their rurality even more penetrating impact on these students' identities since organization of students' social lives, families' economic backgrounds, their expectations from the futures and families' expectations from their children are all shaped the rural background.

Penetrating influence of the rurality give rise to certain problems in students' acceptance of schools' norms and values. On the other side, infrastructural barriers of the school do not improve students' academic progress. Therefore, students internalize academic failure even without questioning. Even students who have brilliant academic scores till the 8th grade give up studying for the national exam in their last year. As a result, they cannot transcend the borders of their family habitus. Introducing a reasonable institutional habitus which eliminates the institutional and regional barriers of the students is an issue which needs an immediate attention.

5.1. Suggestions for School Administrators and Policymakers

Recognition of the class habitus of the students in school context is of utmost importance in students' school achievement. Since students spend majority of their lifetime within the school institutions and family habitus resist to the change (Çelik, 2017), policy interventions should target the school institutions and reformations should be in line with the students' needs (Çelik, 2017). Besides, teachers are also subjected to various forms of misrecognition. In order to replace neoliberal responsibilisation of teacher with ethic of care which takes mutual recognition on its basis (Owens & Ennis, 2005), policy interventions should aim at satisfying needs of teachers as well. In addition to the policy interventions, schools should make an effort for introducing a proper institutional habitus which compensate the insufficient resources of the working-class students (Çelik, 2017). At this point, cultural differences should be taken into account. Relationship between students, school and family should be improved. Teachers should be encouraged to develop an inclusive perspective toward the students from different socio-economic backgrounds and recognize students' local identities. This ethnographic study also foregrounds the importance of the collaboration in the level of family, school, ministry of family and social policies. On the other side, school conditions should be improved, and more opportunities should be offered to the students in order to ease the attainment to the cultural sources, decrease the school failure and prevent misrecognition of the school values by the students. All of the teachers should be hired at a permanent status in order to improve the teachers' status in the eye of society and in-school actors. Furthermore, studies on the precarization of teachers

should be done and policies should be implemented to eliminate such processes. Control mechanism which creates pressure on the teachers and limit creativity and increase the standardization should be eliminated in order to allocate more space for the teachers to be recognized.

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APPENDICES

A. SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

YARI YAPILANDIRILMIŞ GÖRÜŞME SORULARI

Öğrencilere yöneltilecek sorular

1. Ailenizle ilişkileriniz nasıl? Ailenizde kendinize en yakın kimi buluyorsun?
2. Okulu seviyor musunuz? Okulda olmaktan memnun musunuz?
3. Hayalinizdeki okul ne özelliklere sahiptir? Okulunuz bu özelliklere sahip mi?
4. Okulunuzdaki öğretmenleri kendinize yakın buluyor musunuz?
5. Hayalinizdeki öğretmen ne özelliklere sahiptir?
6. Öğretmenlerinizle ne gibi problemler yaşıyorsunuz?
7. Mezun olduktan sonra öğretmenlik mesleğini yapmak ister misin?
8. Arkadaşlarınızla ilişkileriniz nasıl? Okuldaki kendine en yakın hangi arkadaşını bulmaktasın?

Velilere yöneltilecek sorular

1. Kendinizden kısacak bahseder misiniz?
2. Çocuğunuzun okuması, iyi bir eğitim alması sizin için ne gibi bir anlam ifade ediyor?
3. Çocuğunuza örnek olarak gösterdiğiniz kişiler var mı? Varsa bu kişiler kimler?
4. Kendi çocukluğunuzu düşündüğünüzde, sizin örnek aldığınız kişiler var mıydı?
5. Çocuğunuzun kendisine örnek aldığı kişi veya kişiler var mı?
6. Örnek aldığı kişilere benzer davranışları çocuğunuzda gözlemleyebiliyor musunuz?

7. Çocuğunuzun aile içinde ilişkileri nasıl. Kendisine en yakın kimi buluyor?
8. Aile içerisinde çocuğun davranışlarını en fazla etkileyen kişi kimdir?
9. Çocuğunuz okulu seviyor mu? Sevmesinin/ Sevmemesinin kaynağında ne gibi faktörler olabilir?
10. Okuldaki en yakın arkadaşı kimdir? Neden bu öğrenciyi özellikle sevmektedir?
11. Çocuğunuzun en sevdiği öğretmeni kimdir? Neden bu öğretmeni özellikle sevmektedir?
12. Sizce okul aile ilişkisi bu okulda nasıldır? Nasıl olmalıdır? Neden?
13. Sizce okul idaresi bu okulda etkin midir?

Öğretmenlere/İdarecilere yöneltilecek sorular

1. Kendinizden kısaca bahseder misiniz?
2. Neden öğretmen/İdareci olmayı tercih ettiniz?
3. Kaç yıldır öğretmenlik/İdarecilik yapıyorsunuz?
4. Bu okulda ne kadar süredir çalışıyorsunuz?
5. Bu okula dair deneyimlerinizden bahseder misiniz? Karşılaştığınız zorluklar nelerdir örneğin?
6. Öğrenciler/Öğretmenler ile ilişkileriniz nasıl? Karşılaştığınız zorluklar nelerdir?
7. Meslektaşlarınızla/Öğretmenlerle ilişkileriniz nasıl? Karşılaştığınız zorluklar nelerdir?
8. Okul ve çevresinin sizin mesleğinizi yapmanıza etkisi var mı? Nasıl açıklar mısınız?
9. Öğretmenlik mesleği başka toplumsal rollerle ilişkili midir sizce? Örneğin annelik, babalık, abilik, ablalık vb. Neden?
10. Öğretmenlik mesleği bu okulda başka toplumsal rollerle ilişkilendiriliyor mu? Örneğin annelik, babalık, abilik, ablalık vb. Neler gözlemliyorsunuz buna dair. Neden böyle ilişkilendirmeler oluyor sizce?

11. Okul aile ilişkisi bu okulda nasıldır? Nasıl olmalı ve neden?
12. Eğitim süreçlerinde ailenin rolü nedir sizce? Nasıl parçasıdır bu süreçlerin?
13. Okulda karşılaştığınız zorluklar nelerdir?
 - mesleki formasyon anlamında
 - çevre ve okulun bulunduğu şartlar anlamında
14. Ailenizde başka öğretmenlik yapan var mı?
15. Okul yıllarınızdan hatırladığınız öğretmeniniz var mı? Hangi özellikleri ile hatırlıyorsunuz?
16. İdeal ya da hayalinizdeki öğretmen/idareci profili nasıldır?
17. Okulun bulunduğu çevreyi, kişileri tanıyor musunuz?
18. Sizce öğrenciler okula bağlılık hissediyor mu?
19. Okulun başarısında/ başarısızlığında rol oynayan faktörler nelerdir

B. INFORMED CONSENT FORM

Katılım Sonrası Bilgi Formu

Bu araştırma daha önce de belirtildiği gibi ODTÜ Eğitim Yönetimi ve Planlaması Bölümü öğrencisi Betül Sümeyye ÖZGÜN tarafından Dr. Öğretim Üyesi Duygun GÖKTÜRK danışmanlığındaki yüksek lisans tezi kapsamında yürütülmektedir. Aşağı Mahmutlar Ortaokulu kurumsal kültürü incelenerek yapılacak olan bu çalışma temel olarak bireyin kimlik oluşum ve etkileşim sürecini konu edinmektedir. Buna ek olarak da okul kültürü içerisinde bu kimliklerin nasıl inşa edildiği ve daha sonra hangi pratiklerle etkinleştirildiği incelenmektedir. Okulun örgütsel kültürü ve öğrencinin kimlik edinimi-oluşumu arasındaki ilişki etnografik araştırma yöntemlerine başvurularak incelenecektir.

Okul kurumu toplumsal yaşamın çok boyutlu ilişkiselliği ile temas halindedir ve toplumsal birçok yapının bir ürünü olmak ile beraber, bu yapıların yeniden üretiminde de etkin kurumsal donanımına sahip eylem alanlarıdır. Bu nedenle, saha çalışması okulun bireyin kimlik oluşumu ile etkileşimi üzerinden başlamakla beraber, sahada gözlemlenebilecek farklı yapıları göz önünde bulundurarak da şekillenme ve ilerleme potansiyeli taşımaktadır. Bunlara ek olarak, okul kültürü içerisinde hangi kimlik yapılarının inşa edildiği ve ardından bu kimliklerin nasıl pratiklerle ile etkinleştirildiği gözlemlenmektedir. Bu kimliklerin tanınma, üretilme, yeniden-üretilme ve korunma süreçlerinin detayları da bu araştırmanın sorularından birisini teşkil etmektedir.

Bu çalışmanın Ağustos 2019 itibarı ile bitirilmesi amaçlanmaktadır. Elde edilen bilgiler sadece bilimsel araştırma ve yazılarda kullanılacak ve isminiz yer almayacaktır. Çalışmanın sağlıklı ilerleyebilmesi ve bulguların güvenilir olması için çalışmaya katılacağını bildiğiniz diğer kişilerle çalışma ile ilgili detaylı bilgi paylaşımında bulunmamanızı rica ediyoruz. Çalışmaya katılmayı kabul ettiğiniz için teşekkür ederiz.

☐ Katılımı Onaylıyorum

☐ Katılımı Onaylamıyorum

İAraştırmanın sonuçlarını öğrenmek ya da daha fazla bilgi almak için aşağıdaki isimlere başvurabilirsiniz.

Dr. Öğretim Üyesi Duygun GÖKTÜRK (E-posta: dgokturk@metu.edu.tr)

Betül Sümeyye ÖZGÜN (E-posta: betul.ozgun@metu.edu.tr)

Çalışmaya katkıda bulunan bir gönüllü olarak katılımcı haklarınızla ilgili veya etik ilkelerle ilgi soru veya görüşlerinizi ODTÜ Uygulamalı Etik Araştırma Merkezi'ne iletebilirsiniz.

e-posta: ueam@metu.edu.tr

C. ASSENT FORM

Veli Onay Formu

Bu araştırma daha önce de belirtildiği gibi ODTÜ Eğitim Yönetimi ve Planlaması Bölümü öğrencisi Betül Sümeyye ÖZGÜN tarafından Dr. Öğretim Üyesi Duygun GÖKTÜRK danışmanlığındaki yüksek lisans tezi kapsamında yürütülmektedir

Bu çalışmanın amacı nedir? Çalışma bireyin kimlik oluşum ve etkileşim sürecini konu edinmektedir. Buna ek olarak da okul kültürü içerisinde bu kimliklerin nasıl inşa edildiği ve daha sonra hangi pratiklerle etkinleştirildiği incelenmektedir. Okulun kültürü ve öğrencinin kimlik edinimi-oluşumu arasındaki ilişki etnografik araştırma yöntemlerine başvurularak incelenecektir.

Çocuğunuzun katılımcı olarak ne yapmasını istiyoruz?: Bu amaç doğrultusunda, çocuğunuzdan yarı yapılandırılmış bir şekilde hazırlanmış sorularımızı cevaplamasını isteyeceğiz ve cevaplarını ses kaydı ve not alma biçiminde toplayacağız. Sizden çocuğunuzun katılımcı olmasıyla ilgili izin istediğimiz gibi, çalışmaya başlamadan çocuğunuzdan da sözlü olarak katılımıyla ilgili rızası mutlaka alınacak.

Çocuğunuzdan alınan bilgiler ne amaçla ve nasıl kullanılacak?: Çocuğunuzdan alacağımız cevaplar tamamen gizli tutulacak ve sadece araştırmacılar tarafından değerlendirilecektir. Elde edilecek bilgiler sadece bilimsel amaçla (yayın, konferans sunumu, vb.) kullanılacak, çocuğunuzun ya da sizin ismi ve kimlik bilgileriniz, hiçbir şekilde kimseyle paylaşılmayacaktır.

Çocuğunuz ya da siz çalışmayı yarıda kesmek isterseniz ne yapmalısınız?: Katılım sırasında sorulan sorulardan ya da herhangi bir uygulama ile ilgili başka bir nedenden ötürü çocuğunuz kendisini rahatsız hissettiğini belirtirse, ya da kendi belirtmese de araştırmacı çocuğun rahatsız olduğunu öngörürse, çalışmaya sorular tamamlanmadan ve derhal son verilecektir.

Bu çalışmayla ilgili daha fazla bilgi almak isterseniz: Çalışmaya katılımınızın sonrasında, bu çalışmayla ilgili sorularınız yazılı biçimde cevaplandırılacaktır. Çalışma hakkında daha fazla bilgi almak için Eğitim Yönetimi ve Planlaması öğrencisi Betül Sümeyye Özgün ile (e-posta: betul.ozgun@metu.edu.tr ve Tel: 0 531 678 22 19) iletişim kurabilirsiniz. Bu çalışmaya katılımınız için şimdiden teşekkür ederiz.

Yukarıdaki bilgileri okudum ve çocuğumun bu çalışmada yer almasını onaylıyorum (Lütfen alttaki iki seçenektan birini işaretleyiniz).

Evet onaylıyorum_____

Hayır, onaylamıyorum_____

Velinin adı-soyadı: _____

Bugünün

Tarihi:

Çocuğun adı soyadı ve doğum tarihi: _____

(Formu doldurup imzaladıktan sonra araştırmacıya ulaştırınız).

D. APPROVAL OF METU HUMAN SUBJECTS ETHICS COMMITTEE

UYGULAMALI ETİK ARAŞTIRMA MERKEZİ
APPLIED ETHICS RESEARCH CENTER



ORTA DOĞU TEKNİK ÜNİVERSİTESİ
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08 AĞUSTOS 2018

Konu: Değerlendirme Sonucu

Gönderen: ODTÜ İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu (İAEK)

İlgi: İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu Başvurusu

Sayın Dr. Öğretim Üyesi Duygun Göktürk AĞIN

Danışmanlığını yaptığınız yüksek lisans öğrencisi Betül Sümeyye ÖZGÜN'ün "**Okulda Kimlik Oluşumu üzerine ethnografik bir çalışma: Kurumsal Habitus'un rolü**" başlıklı araştırması İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu tarafından uygun görülerek gerekli onay **2018-EGT-027** protokol numarası ile **08.08.2018 - 30.08.2019** tarihleri arasında geçerli olmak üzere verilmiştir.

Bilgilerinize saygılarımla sunarım.

Prof. Dr. Ş. Halil TURAN

Başkan V

Prof. Dr. Ayhan SOL

Üye

Prof. Dr. Ayhan Gürbüz DEMİR

Üye

Doç. Dr. Yaşar KONDAKÇI

Üye

Doç. Dr. Zana ÇITAK

Üye

Doç. Dr. Emre SELÇUK

Üye

Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Pınar KAYGAN

Üye

E. TURKISH SUMMARY/ TRKE ZET

ETNOGRAFIK BİR ALIMA OLARAK OKULDA KIMLIK OLUUMU: KURUMSAL HABITUSUN ROL

GİRİ

Etnografik bir alıma olarak tasarlanan bu alıma okulda kimlik oluumunun kltrel boyutunu anlamayı amalamaktadır.

Kimlik oluumu ocukluktan balayan, geliimsel olmanın tesinde politik bir sretir. ztan (2012) ocukluğun politik inasının Avrupa’da 19. Yzyılın sonları ve 20. Yzyılın balarına dayandıđını savunarak bu sreci Trkiye zelinde analiz etmektedir. ztan (2012) Trkiye’nin de Avrupa’ ya benzer bir tarihi sreten getiđini savunmaktadır. Trkiye’nin modernleme srecinin ocuk algısını etkilediđini ifade etmektedir. Ideal ocuk imajı lkenin politik atmosferine gre ekillenmitir. Osmanlı dnemi “sadık ve dindar ocuk” ideali 2. Merutiyet dneminde yerini “yurtta ocuđa” bırakmıtır. Trablusgarp savaından sonra ise “yurtta ocuk” ideali “milliyeti asker ocuđa” dnmtr. Cumhuriyet dnemi Trkiye’inde de ocuk yeni ideallerin yerlemesi iin verimli bir alandı. Gemile bađı bulunmayan ocuklar ekil verilmeye daha msait grlmtr. Bu dođrultuda, Cumhuriyet Trkiye’si “Cumhuriyet ocuđu” yetitirmek iin abalamıtır. 2000’ li yılların baında Batılı ve laik genlik ideali yerini iktidar partisi olan AKP’nin “dindar nesil” olarak ifade edilen İslami genlik projesine vermitir (Lksl, 2016). AKP’nin “dindar nesli” toplumu İslami kurallar ve Neoliberal ihtiyalara gre yeniden dzenlemeyi amalamaktadır. Bu noktada, ocukların bu idealleri iselletirmelerini sađlayan dinamiklerin neler olduđu sorusu ortaya ıkmaktadır. Kk yatan itibaren ocuđu sardıđı iin eđitim bu ama iin en etkili aratır.

Marksist sosyolog Antonio Gramsci bu içselleştirme sürecini ve control sistemini hegemoni olarak adlandırmakta ve eğitimin hegemoniyi yaymak için şiddet içermeyen (non-coercive) bir araç olarak görmektedir. Diğer bir Marksist sosyolog olan Luis Althusser (1970) benzer bir yol takip ederek okul ve diğer eğitim kurumlarını ideolojinin yayılması ve statükonun korunması için kullanılan devletin ideolojik aygıtlarından biri olarak görmektedir. Bowles and Gintis (2002) ise okulların temel amacının kapitalist sistem içerisinde ekonomik yeniden üretimi sağlamak olduğunu savunur. Fransız filozof Pierre Bourdieu (1977) eğitimi üst sınıfların kültürünü yeniden üretmek için bir araç olarak görür. Dolayısıyla, eğitim sınıfsal eşitsizliklerin yeniden üretildiği bir alan olarak öne çıkmaktadır (Bourdieu, P. & Passeron, 1979). Kültürel sermaye ve Habitus bu doğrultuda Bourdieu tarafından kullanılan temel iki teorik araçtır. “İşçiliği öğrenmek” adlı etnografik çalışmasında, Paul Willis (1977) bu içselleştirme sürecini okul karşıtı kültür olarak ifade eder. Öğrencilerin aile habitusu girdikleri kurumsal habitusla farklı olduğu için öğrenciler bilinçli olarak okulun değerlerini ve kültürel sistemini reddederler. Bourdieu ve Passeron (1979) “Varisler” adlı kitabında sözde adil temeller üzerine kurulmuş eğitim sistemi orta sınıf öğrencileri başarısızlıktan korurken, işçi sınıfından gelen çocukları başarısızlığa nasıl ittiğini anlatır.

Teorik arka plan dikkate alınarak bu çalışmada farklı kimliklerin çeşitli tanınma veya tanınmama pratikleriyle okul kurumu içerisinde nasıl üretildiği, yeniden üretildiği veya göz ardı edildiği konu edilmektedir.

Araştırmanın amacı ve önemi

Çalışma iç anadolu bölgesindeki bir köy okulundaki gündelik pratikleri inceleyerek okulun kurumsal habitusunun kimlik oluşumuyla ilişkisini keşfetmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Ayrıca, etnografik metod kullanılarak, aile hayatının ve ilişkilerinin okul içerisindeki rolünü incelemeyi de amaçlamaktadır. Buna ek olarak, çalışma temel tanınma söylemini düşünerek çeşitli pedagojik ağların okul içerisinde nasıl üretildiğini ve yeniden üretildiğini de tespit etmeye çalışmaktadır. Son amacı ise bu süreçlerin eğitim yönetimiyle nasıl bir ilişki içerisinde olduğunu incelemektir. Çalışma okul-aile-öğrenci-devlet çoklu ilişkisini inceleyerek bu ilişki ağının öğrenci

kimlik oluşumuna etkisini incelemektedir ve çalışma bu doğrultuda önemli bir adımdır. Ayrıca, etnografik metod kullanılarak yürütülmüş bu çalışma kullandığı metodoloji nedeniyle de eğitim yönetimi ve planlaması alanına katkı sağlamaktadır.

LİTERATÜR TARAMASI

Bhikhu Parekh (2009) çalışmasında kimlik kavramını iki bölüme ayırmaktadır: Kişisel ve sosyal kimlik. Kişisel kimlik, bireyin sahip olduğu değer ve yargılara dayalı olarak kendini tanımlamasıdır. Kişisel kimlik bir kere sahip olunan ve değişmeden kalan bir nitelik değildir; doğru davranış ve seçimlerle kendini meşrulaştırması gerekir. Toplumsal kimlik ise bireyin kendisini belli bir kişi olarak tanımladığı ve belli beklentiler içeren toplumsal anlamda önemli kategorilerdir.

İngiliz kültürel çalışmalarının kurucularından ve kültür teorisyeni Stuart Hall (1996) “ ‘Kimliğe’ ihtiyaç duyan kim?” makalesinde kimliği psikoanaliz ve söylemsel pratiklerle ve oluşumların birleştiği bir “buluşma noktası”, “dikiş noktası” olarak tanımlar (Hall, 1996, p.3).

Diğer bir çalışmada, Diana Fuss (1994) kimlik tartışmasını 20. yüzyılın önemli yazarlarından Franz Fanon’a başvurarak yürütür. Fuss (1994) psikoanaliz ve politikanın kimliğe nasıl etki ettiğini göstermeye çalışmaktadır. Fuss’a göre Fanon’un eserleri bireyin her zaman politik sürecin ve tarihselliğin içerisinde olduğunu hatırlatmaktadır.

Tanınma

Tanınma kavramına dair tartışmalar Hegel literatürüne uzanmaktadır ve tanınmanın karşılıklılık içeren anlamı en meşhur şekilde Hegel tarafından öne sürülmüştür. Hegel’ in (1991) Jena dönemi eserlerine bakıldığı zaman tanınmanın bu anlamı genişletilmiştir. Daha sonraki eserlerinden olan *Tüze felsefesi*’nde ise bu anlam karşılıklılığı ve kurumsal düzeni de içermektedir. Hegel (1991)’e göre birey 1) Ailede Sevgiyi, 2) sivil toplumda sözleşmeye dayalı saygıyı, 3) Devlet içerisinde

dayanışmayı sağladığı zaman bireysel otonomiye elde edecektir (p. 160-129). Böylece birey devlet içerisinde ahlaki değerlere uygun bir hayata sahip olacaktır.

Modern dönemde Hegel’ in tanınma fikrinin yeniden uyanışı Charles Taylor’ un *Hegel ve modern toplum* (1979) kitabıyla olmuştur. Özellikle John Rawls’ ın Adalet teorisi (1971) ve Siyasal Liberalizm (1993), bu dönemde yazılmış önemli eserlerdendir. Fakat bu görüşlerden hiçbiri Hegel’ in görüşlerini tam anlamıyla ve güncel bir şekilde incelememişlerdir. Axel Honneth (2002), Hegel’in Jena dönemi eserlerini inceleyerek *Tanınma Mücadelesi* eserinde “eleştirel sosyal teorinin normative temellerini” öne sürmüştür. Honneth (2002), Hegel’in ahlaki yaşam evrelerini 1) Aşk, 2) Hak, 3) Dayanışma şeklinde tanınmanın evreleri olarak yeniden düzenlemiştir. Honneth tanınma mücadelesini bu 3 alanda yaşanan patolojilere dayandırmıştır (Honneth, 2002, p.161-170). Nancy Fraser Honneth’ ı bu mücadeleyi psikolojik temellere dayandırması nedeniyle eleştirmiştir. Yerine *Katılımcı eşitlik* (*Participatory Parity*) kavramını önermiştir ve yeniden dağıtımı da teorisine eklemiştir. Honneth bu eleştirileri dikkate alarak sonraki eserlerinde Hegel’ in *toplumsal özgürlük* kavramını diriltmeye çalışmış ve toplumdaki patolojileri daha geniş bir perspektiften ele almıştır.

Habitus’ u tanımlamak

Bu çalışma bir köy okulundaki öğrencilerin kimlik oluşum süreçlerini konu edinmektedir. Okuldaki kimlik oluşum süreçlerinin analizinde kurumsal habitus önemli bir teorik çerçeve olarak görülmüştür. Dolayısıyla çalışmanın bu kısmında genel olarak habitus, özel olarak ise örgütsel habitus kavramına dair literatür sunulacaktır.

Fransız filozof Pierre Bourdieu sosyal hayatta meydana gelen olayları değerlendirmek için alan teorisinden yararlanır. Bourdieu’ ya göre alan sosyal hayatta çeşitli mücadelelerin gerçekleştiği yerdir. Alan teorisi, habitus ve sermaye kavramlarını içerir. Sermaye bireylere oyunun kurallarını belirleme olanağı tanırken, Habitus bu mücadelede yolunu bulabilmesi, hayatta kalabilmek için stratejiler geliştirmesini sağlar (Kluttz & Fligstein, 2016). Habitus bireyin bilişsel

sistemi ve zaman içerisinde oluşmuş eğilimlerini içerir. Fakat, dönüşüme açıktır, bireyin yeni deneyimleriyle var olan habitusunun ötesine geçebilir. Alan tarafından inşa edilen Habitus, alanı da etkiler. Habitus yapılandırılmış yapıların, yapılandırılan yapılara sahip olduğumuz eğilimler ve bulunduğumuz konumdan etkilenen pratiklerimiz yoluyla etki etmesidir (Bourdieu, 1990). Lahire (1998) ve farklı yazarlar habitus kavramına bireysel farklılıkları göz ardı ettiği düşünülerek çeşitli eleştiriler getirse de, çalışma bu eleştiriler göz önünde bulundurularak yürütülmüştür.

Kurumsal Habitus

Reay (1998) öğrencilerin yüksek öğretim tercih süreçlerini analiz etmek için geleneksel Habitus kavramını genişleterek Patricia McDonough (1996)' un habitusa dair fikirlerinden yararlanıp kurumsal habitus (institutional habitus) kavramını öne sürmüştür. Reay (1998) kurumsal habitusu kültürel bir grubun veya toplumsal bir sınıfın bir kurum yoluyla bireysel davranışlara etkisi olarak tanımlar. Daha geniş bir ifadeyle, Reay (1998) kurumsal habitusu müfredatın, okul içi pratiklerin ve öğrencinin sahip olduğu kültürel arka planın öğrencinin gelecekteki davranışlarına etkisi olarak değerlendirir. Daha sonraki çalışmalarında Diane Reay, Miriam David and Stephan Ball (2001) kurumsal habitusun tanımına okulun öğrenciden beklentilerini, okulun karakterini ve yönetim şeklinin de dahil etmiştir. Liz Thomas (2002) öğrencilerin yüksek öğretime devamına kurumsal habitusun etkisini incelemiştir. Sonuç olarak okul öğrenciyi ne kadar az “sudan çıkmış balık” hissettirirse, o ölçüde öğrencinin akademik başarısını ve okula devamlılığını artırır. Nicole Igram (2009)' a göre okulların kurumsal habitusu başarılı ve başarısız öğrencilere farklı etkilerde bulunur. Başarısız öğrenci için okul karşıtı kültür oluşturarak kendi yerel kimliklerini korumak ve başarısızlığı içselleştirmek için bir araç olurken; başarılı öğrenciler için yerel kimliklerini başarılı olmak için terk etmelerini sağlayan bir araç olmaktadır. Tanınmama ve sembolik şiddet bu noktada önemli bir yere sahiptir. Atkinson (2011) kurumsal habitusa dair çeşitli eleştiriler getirmekle birlikte Burke, Emmerich and Igram (2012) karşı bir makaleyle bu eleştirileri gidermeyi amaçlamıştır.

Öğretmenlerin Kimlik Oluşumu

Son 40 yılda öğretmen yetiştirme sistemindeki önemli değişiklikler eğitimi bir çok yönden etkilemiştir. Hükümetlerin ölçülebilirliğe verdiği önem öğretmen kalitesinin yalnızca nicel standartlarla değerlendirilmesine yol açmıştır. Fakat bu durum çeşitli sorunlara neden olmuştur. Hunter (1985) bu durumun öğretmenin özgürlüğünü ve yaratıcılığını kısıtladığını savunmaktadır. Elliot (1985) bu durumun öğretmenin statüsünü etkilediğini savunmuştur. Meslek etiğine bağlı öğretmenleri profesyonel olarak adlandırırken; belli kriterleri tamamlamayla sorumlu öğretmenleri teknisyen olarak adlandırmıştır (p.105). Woods and Jeffery (2002) öğretmenlerin bu modern dönemde kimliklerini koruyabilmek için belli başat mekanizmalarına başvurduğunu iddia etmektedir. Doyle and Ponder (1977)'in savunduğu pratiklik etiği (practicality ethic) bunlardan birisidir (Sachs & Smith, 1988). Bu tercih kurum dinamiklerinden olduğu kadar öğretmenin kültürel repertuarından da etkilenir (Sachs & Smith, 1988).

YÖNTEM

Model

Çalışma etnografideki iki temel gelenekten birisi olan genişletilmiş vaka çalışması (extended case study) olarak planlanmıştır. Genişletilmiş vaka çalışmasında amaç özelden genele hareketle, geleceğe dair fikir öne sürmek amacıyla belli bir teorinin üzerine bina ederek şimdi ve geçmişi birbirine bağlamaktır (Burawoy, 1998, p.5). Genişletilmiş vaka çalışması araştırmacının sahaya girmesini ve katılımcıların bu duruma tepkisini önemser. Çalışmada üzerine bina edilen teori Pierre Bourdieu'nun Habitus kavramıdır.

Örneklem ve çalışmanın yürütüldüğü ortam

Çalışma İç Anadolu bölgesindeki bir ilin merkezden uzak, bir kaç yıl öncesine kadar köy statüsünde olan bir mahallesindeki bir orta okulda yürütülmüştür. Okul tek bir müdürlük altında iki seviyeden oluşmaktadır. 2018-2019 eğitim öğretim yılı

içerisinde okulda 5 şube bulunmaktadır. Sınıflardaki öğrenci sayıları 10-15 arasındadır. Okulda 7 öğretmen, 2 idareci ve 3 okul personeli bulunmaktadır. Çalışmaya idareciler ve öğretmenlerin tümü katılmıştır. 15 öğrenci ile mülakat yapılmıştır. Ayrıca, 10 veli ziyareti yapılmıştır. Okulun öğrenci profili homojen bir yapı göstermektedir. Öğrencilerin bir çoğu akraba veya benzer sosyo-ekonomik arka plandan geldikleri için farklılıklar yok denecek kadar azdır. Bölgede boşanma oranı şaşırtıcı seviyede yüksektir. Aileler genel olarak geniş aile şeklinde yaşamaktadırlar. Boşanmış ailelerde de aile büyükleri önemli fonksiyona sahiptirler. Boşanmış ailelerden gelen çocukların velileri genellikle aile büyükleridir. Bölgedeki iş kolları çiftçilik, hayvancılık, dolmuş şoförlüğü ve İŞKUR (İş ve İşçi Bulma Kurumu) aracılığıyla sağlanan iş imkanlarıdır. Okuldaki öğretmen değişim oranı yüksektir. Bir çok ders ücretli öğretmenler aracılığıyla tamamlanmaktadır.

Veri toplama aracı

Fraenkel, Wallen, & Hyun (2011)' a göre etnografilerde temel olarak iki veri toplama aracı bulunmaktadır; mülakat ve katılımcı gözlem. Bu çalışma sonucunda toplam 9 saat süren mülakat verisi elde edilmiştir. Ayrıca 8 ay süren bir saha çalışması yapılmıştır. Burawoy (1998)' e göre araştırmacının sahaya girmesi ve katılımcılarla dialog kurması katılımcı gözlemin önemli bir bölümüdür. Burawoy (1998) katılımcı gözlemi “insanların kendi zaman ve mekanlarında, kendi günlük hayatlarında gözlemlenmesi” olarak tanımlamaktadır. Bu süreçte araştırmacının araştırmanın yürütüldüğü okulda ders veriyor olması, saha dahil olmasını kolaylaştırmıştır.

Veri Analizi

Veri öğrencilerle 15, idarecilerle 2, öğretmenlerle 7 olmak üzere 24 mülakat, 10 veli ziyareti, saha günlüğü ve 8 aylık bir saha çalışması sonucu elde edilmiştir. Lecompt & Goetz (1982)' a göre etnografi hem araştırmacının hem de katılımcıların öznel deneyimlerini içermektedir. Dolayısıyla analiz sürecinde araştırmacının kendi analizi(etik) ve katılımcıların yükledikleri anlamlar (emic) dikkate alınmıştır. Çalışmada geçerliliğin ve güvenilirliğin artırılması için verilerin kodlanmasına

özen gösterilmiştir. Sistematik bir veri analizi için Atlas.ti 7 programından faydalanılmıştır. Anlam kaybının engellenmesi için çalışma içerisindeki konuşmalar hem Türkçe hem de İngilizce versiyonlarıyla sunulmuştur.

SONUÇ

Çalışmanın sonucunda veriler analiz edildiğinde ortaya temel iki tema çıkmıştır; Kurumsal ve Aile Habitusu. Bu temalar altında ortaya çıkan kategoriler aşağıda sunulmaktadır.

Kurumsal Habitus

Öğretmen olarak tanınma: Öğretmenliğe dair görüşler ve öğretmenlik süreci

Axel Honneth (2002)' in de vurguladığı gibi tanınma bir mücadele sürecidir. Belli ortamlar bu süreci kolaylaştırıcı etkide bulunur. Bir öğretmen başarılarının takdir edildiği ve desteklendiği ortamda tanınma ihtiyacını giderir çünkü Charles Taylor (1992)'a göre tanınma insani bir ihtiyaçtır. Çalışmaya katılan öğretmenlerin ifadeleri kendilerinin mevcut eğitim sistemi içerisinde yeterince tanınmadıkları yönündedir. Bu durumun bir nedeni öğretmenler üzerindeki kontrol mekanizmalarıdır. Öğretmenler sayısal standartlara göre değerlendirildikleri ve sürekli bu standartlar kontrol edildiği için yeterince özgür hissetmediklerini ve yaratıcılıklarını sergileyemediklerini ifade etmişlerdir. Ayrıca, öğretmen statüleri arasındaki farklar da tanınmamanın diğer bir örneğidir. Okulda çok sayıda ücretli öğretmen bulunmaktadır. Bu öğretmenler hem okul idarecilerinin, hem velilerin, hem de öğrencilerin gözünde değersiz konumdadırlar.

Öğretmenin tanınması okulda tanınma kültürünün oturmasında önemli bir role sahiptir. Tanınmanın karşılıklı gerçekleşen bir süreç olduğu düşünüldüğünde öğretmenin yeterince tanınmadığı bir ortamda, öğrencilerin bu yönde desteklenmeleri zor görülmektedir. Ayrıca, temel görevi öğrenme sürecini kolaylaştırmak olan öğretmenin tanınmadığı bir ortamda bu görevini de tam anlamıyla yerine getirmesi mümkün olmayacaktır. Bu durum okuldaki öğrencilerin

akademik anlamda başarısızlıklar yaşamalarında ve okul değerlerini kabul etmemelerindeki etkenlerden birisi olmaktadır ve öğrencinin kimlik oluşumunu olumsuz yönde etkilemektedir.

Okul ve okul idaresiye ilgili konular ve problemler

Okulda yaşanan problemler öğrencilere aile habituslarının sınırlarını aşmaları için sınırlı bir alan bırakmaktadır. Aksine bu problemler öğrencilerin başarısızlığı içselleştirip, okul kültür ve değerlerine karşı bir kültür oluşturmaları için zemin hazırlamaktadır. Öğrencilerin maruz kaldıkları sembolik şiddetler de bu karşı kültürü kuvvetlendirmektedir. Ayrıca, ailelerin okula katılım oranındaki düşüklük ve öğrencileri söylem ve pratikleriyle yönlendirdikleri iş alanları öğrencilerin var olan taşra kimliklerine bağlılıklarını arttırmaktadır.

Öğretmenlerin çoklu roller: Öğretmen mi? Aile üyesi mi?

Saha çalışması ve mülakat sonuçlarına göre öğretmenlerin yaşadıkları mesleki problemler ve maruz kaldıkları iş yoğunluğu onları Noddings (2013)' in mesleğin temeli olarak ifade ettiği öğrenciye karşı ilgiyi öğretmenin kendisine çevirmiştir. Öğretmenler kendi tanınma ihtiyacını karşılamaya çalışırken, öğrenciye olan ilgileri azalmaktadır. Okulda kaynak aktarımında etkin role sahip öğretmen bu misyonunu yerine getiremediği için öğrenciler ailelerinden miras aldıkları kısıtlılık hissini yeniden üretmektedirler. Halbuki, Noddings (2013)' e göre öğretmenlik mesleğini ilgi etiğine uygun bir şekilde yapıldığında öğrencinin tanınma ihtiyacını ve kendini geliştirmesini kolaylaştırıcı etkiye sahiptir. Öğretmenler maruz kaldıkları yoğunluk nedeniyle mesleklerini gerektiği gibi yapamadıkları için öğrenciler de kendilerini geliştirecek ve okul kültüründen ve değerlerinden etkin bir şekilde faydalanamamaktadırlar. Öte yandan, bölgede boşanma oranının yüksek olması nedeniyle öğretmenler kendilerinde annelik/ babalık rolünü de görmektedirler. Öğretmenler yoğunlukları nedeniyle gösteremedikleri ilgiye bu duygusal sorumluluk da eklendiği için kendilerini yetersiz hissettiklerini ifade etmektedirler. Fakat, bu durum aynı zamanda öğrenciler ve öğretmenler arasında bir samimiyetin oluşmasını sağlamaktadır.

Bir disiplin alanı olarak okul ve samimiyet türleri

Sahada okul içi ilişkileri yöneten güçlü bir kavram olarak samimiyet dikkati çekmektedir. Ortaya çıkan bu kurumsal samimiyet okulun aileleşmesi olarak ifade edilmektedir. Bu durum okul içi pratiklere ve söylemlere etki etmektedir. Saha çalışması sonucunda elde edilen verilere göre, okul içi aileleşme öğrenci ve öğretmen seviyesi olmak üzere iki şekilde değerlendirilmektedir. Okul idaresi öğretmenlere karşı baba rolünü üstlenirken; öğretmenler ise öğrencilere karşı anne/baba rollerini üstlenmektedirler. Okul imkanlarının kısıtlılığı bu aile ilişkisini daha da kuvvetlendirmektedir.

Okul içindeki samimiyet kültürü öğretmenlerin çalışma ortamlarındaki dezavantajları hafifletmekte ve öğretmen-idareci ilişkilerini düzenlemektedir. Boşanma oranının yüksekliği ve okulda psikolojik destek alınabilecek birimlerin yokluğu durumunda öğrenci ve öğretmenler arasındaki ailevi ilişki öğrencilerin okula bağlılıklarına, akademik başarılarına ve de en önemli tanınma ihtiyaçlarının karşılanmasına önemli derecede etki etmektedir.

Aile Habitusu

Eşitsiz Çocukluklar: Okul- aile ilişkileri ve sermaye türleri

Bu okuldaki öğrenciler orta sınıf ve daha üst sınıf öğrencilerle karşılaştırıldıklarında bir çok çeşit dezavantaj ve tanınmama türüne maruz kalmaktadırlar. Okul ve aileler arasındaki kültürel fark bu problemlerin temelinde yatmaktadır. Ailelerin çocuk yetiştirme pratiklerine, sahip oldukları kültürel sermayeye ve okulun öğrencilerin ailelerine dair görüşlere bakıldığında öğrencilerde bulunan yetersizlik hissinin, içselleştirilmiş başarısızlığın kurum ve ailevi pratiklerle güçlendirildiği görülmektedir.

Bu kategori altında tartışılabilir bir diğer nokta ise ailevi pratikler yoluyla işçi ve taşra kimliğinin yeniden üretildiğidir. Bu üretim kendini ailelerin çocuklara karşı kullandığı dilden, çocukların günlük hayatlarının organizasyonuna kadar bir çok

noktada kendini göstermektedir. Fakat öğrencilerin yetiştirilme biçimleri ve okul kurumunun gerektirdiği beceriler arasındaki fark öğrencinin pozitif bir kimlik oluşturmada problemlere neden olmaktadır.

Tartışma

Bu çalışmada Sevgi ortaokulunda gerçekleşen kimlik oluşum pratikleri incelenmiştir. Taylor (1992)' un “tanınma hayati bir ihtiyaçtır” ifadesi dikkate alınarak, Axel Honneth (1992)'in pozitif bir kimlik keliştirmenin kişinin 1) Aşk/Sevgi, 2) Hak, 3) Dayanışma alanlarında tanınmasına bağlı olduğu fikrinden hareketle ve Pierre Bourdieu'nün ünlü teorik çerçevesi habitusun üzerine inşa ederek, Sevgi Ortaokulu'nda olumlu bir kimlik gelişimi için öğrencilerin tanınma ihtiyaçlarının giderilip giderilmediği gözlemlenmiş, analiz edilmiştir. Sahadaki gözlemler ve öğretmenlerle yapılan mülakatlar sonucunda öğretmenlerinde maruz kaldıkları tanınmamalar ve profesyonel kimlik oluşumlarını engelleyen faktörler incelenmiştir.

Hunter, Elliott, Marland & Wormald (1985)'a göre öğretmenlik mesleğinin geçirdiği neoliberal dönüşüm öğretmenlik mesleğini bir çok yönden etkilemiştir. Eğretilişme ve esnekleşme bu etkilerin bir yönüdür. Çalışmanın sonuçlarına göre, öğretmenlik mesleğindeki eğretilişme, mesleğin öğretmenler, idareciler, öğrenciler ve bölge halkı tarafından nasıl tanımlandığına etki etmektedir. Ücretli öğretmenler bu grupların gözünde “acınacak” durumdadırlar. Bu durum okul kurumu içerisindeki ve bölge halkı tarafından yapılan söylem ve pratiklerde kendini göstermektedir. Kadrolu öğretmenler ise ideal öğretmenlerdir. Fakat kadrolu öğretmenler de meslekteki esnekleşmeden muzdariplerdir. Her iki grubun da kalitesini değerlendirmek için kullanılan nicel standartlar, Chatelier ve Rudolph (2018)'a göre öğrencilerin tanınmalarını ve kişisel gelişimlerini sağlayacak ilginin öğretmenin kendisine, kendi tanınma mücadelesine kaymasına neden olmaktadır. Ayrıca öğretmen kalitesinde nicel standartlara verilen önem ve kontrol mekanizmaları öğretmenleri yaratıcılık ve özgürlüklerini kısıtlamaktadır. Sachs ve Smith (1977), öğretmenlerin kendi kimliklerini koruyabilmek ve problemlerle baş edebilmek için yöneldikleri yaratıcılıktan yoksun mekanizmaya *pratiklik etiği* adını

vermektedir. Okuldaki birçok öğretmen pratiklik etiğine başvurduğu için hem öğretmenlerin hem de öğrencilerin kendilerin gösterebilecekleri alanı kısıtlanmaktadır.

Okuldaki samimiyet kültürü kurumsal habitusu tasvir eden diğer bir konsepttir. Çalışma sonuçlarına göre aile ortamı okulda yaşana birçok problemin göz ardı edilmesine neden olmaktadır. Fakat, öğretmenlerin okula taşıdıkları anne rolleri ve öğrencilerle kurdukları samimi ilişkiler Noddings (1984)' in ilgi etiğiyle örtüşmektedir. Bu anlamda, öğrencilerin ifadelerine göre tanınmalarına yönelik olumlu işaretlerdir. Öte yandan, öğretmenlerin ve idarecilerin öğrencilerin hayat tarzlarına yönelik küçümseyici ifadeleri okulun bazı değerleri, yaşayış biçimlerini ve dilleri onaylayıcı güce sahip olduğuna dair Reay (2001) ve Thomas (2002)' ın görüşlerini doğrulamaktadır. Bu açıdan, okul birçok öğrenciye “sudan çıkmış balık” hissi vermektedir.

Eşitsiz çocukluklar altında anlatılan aile habitusu temasında ise Lareau (2000; 2002)'nün çalışmasıyla paralel sonuçlar bulunmuştur. Ünlü sosyolog Anette Lareau (2002) sınıfsal yapılara dayanan farklı çocuk yetiştirme tiplerinin öğrencinin okul hayatına etkilerini incelemektedir. Çalışmada benzer bir yol takip edilerek öğrencilerin yetiştirilme biçimleri ve okulun gereklilikleri arasında kalan öğrencilerin kimlik oluşumları incelenmiştir. Öğrencilerin aile habitusları, sahip oldukları kültürel sermaye, sosyal hayatlarının organizasyonu ve ailelerinin onlara karşı kullandıkları dil öğrencilerin okul hayatında karşılaştıkları ve idealize edilenlerden çok farklı olmaktadır. Bu nedenle öğrenciler devamlı bir eksiklik hissi ile mücadele etmektedirler. Bu kendi benlikleriyle olumlu bir ilişki kurmalarını engellemektedir. Pierre Bourdieu'nün Varisler (1979) kitabında ifade ettiği gibi öğrenciler aynı kurumlarda eğitim alsalarda eşit sayılmazlar. Yalnızca öğrenciler kültürel eşitlik sağlandığı zaman okulun sunduğu imkanlardan eğitim seviyede yararlanırlar. Lareau (2002) bu durumu ailelerin sınıfa dayalı çocuk yetiştirme pratikleriyle açıklar. Çalışmada öğrenciler, öğretmenler ve okul idarecileri arasındaki kültürel fark o kadar fazladır ki okulun kurumsal habitusu bu farklı giderememektedir. Bu nedenle öğrenciler akademik anlamda başarısızlığa mahkumlardır. Okul aynı zamanda hem öğrencilerin hem de öğretmenlerin bireysel

farklılıklarını göstermelerini engellemektedir. Bu durum yaratıcılığı ve özgürlüğü kısıtlamaktadır.

Öneriler

Öğrencilerin sınıfsal habituslarını kabullenmek onların akademik başarıları için son derecede önemlidir. Öğrenciler vakitlerinin çoğunu okul kurumu içinde geçirdikleri için ve aile habitusu değişime daha dirençli olduğu için (Çelik, 2017) yasal değişikliklerde öğrencilerin ihtiyaçları göz önünde bulundurulmalıdır. Buna ek olarak yapılacak değişiklikler öğretmenin de tanınmasına ve öğretmenlerde ilgi etliğini geliştirecek adımlara yönelik olmalıdır. Yasal düzenlemelere ek olarak, okulda kültürel kaynaklara ulaşımında sıkıntı yaşayan öğrencilerin ihtiyaçlarını gidermeye yönelik çalışmalar yapılmalıdır. Öğretmenlerde farklı kimlik ve sosyo-ekonomik gruplardan gelen öğrencilere karşı kapsayıcı bakış açının geliştirilmesi sağlanmalıdır. Öğretmenlerin hepsi kadrolu statüde çalışmalıdır ve öğretmenlerin mesleki imajı düzeltilmelidir. Öte yandan, öğretmen ve öğrencilere yaratıcılıklarını ve farklılıklarını sergileyebilecekleri ortam sunulmalıdır.

F. TEZ İZİN FORMU / THESIS PERMISSION FORM

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