

Teacher Experience in the Precarization Process

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Abstract

Precarization, which signifies the destructive consequences of the expansion and deepening of neoliberal conditions on the working classes of the 21st century, has also affected the field of education, which is increasingly regarded as a service sub-sector rather than a universal public necessity. This study aims to reveal how teachers experience processes of precarization. In line with this purpose, based on a phenomenological research design, in-depth interviews were conducted with a group of participants consisting of teachers from private schools, private course centers and hourly-paid teachers from public schools in Istanbul. The analysis of the interviews revealed that the experiences of teachers in the process of precarization have three main dimensions: the experience of the material conditions surrounding precarious teaching labor, social relations that can be described as the immaterial dimensions of this mode of labor, and strategies for coping with and resisting the conditions of precarization. The research indicates that like private course teachers and hourly-paid teachers, who have been frequently shown to work in low-status and insecure positions, private sector teachers are also being drawn into precarious life contexts. The article also shows that for many teachers unionization becomes a means to maintain their hopes for their future and their profession.

Keywords: Neoliberalism and education, teacher labor, precarity and precarization.

About the Article

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Introduction

As the first quarter of the 21st century draws to a close, teachers in Türkiye, who make up approximately 1.5% of the population, 3.3% of the employed labor force, and one-fifth of all public sector employees, are not only a sizeable professional group at the national level; they are also the bearers of a specific and indispensable category of labor that the global operation of neoliberal capitalism, as in the rest of the world, has devalued and suppressed. Neoliberalism, which operates, in Pierre Bourdieu's words, as "a program for the methodical destruction of collectives" (Bourdieu, 1998: 96), since its first laboratory experience in Chile in the 1970s (Barder, 2013; DeVault, 2024), has been shaped as a composite of global processes of liberalization, privatization, deregulation, marketization, reduction of entrepreneurial tax burdens and acceleration of the flow of capital, services, and commodities (Mudge, 2008; Moini, 2016). This last stage of capitalism is characterized by the flexibilization of labor processes, the precarization of labor markets, working conditions, and income, and the formalization of employment conditions. One of the salient consequences of the process has been the emergence of a broad category of labor, largely composed of temporary workers, those working on part-time or freelance contracts, and extended interns, who exist in living conditions that are explicitly below the standards of the welfare society. This category and the processes that shape/define it constitute one of the most important sociological issues of our time. Although there are ongoing debates on the scope, class characteristics, political transformation, and transformative potentials of the precariat as a collective subject(ivation) phenomenon and a concept, there is a consensus on the phenomenon and processes of precarization that shape it (Arnold and Bongiovi, 2013; Casas-Cortés, 2014; Foti, 2017; Jørgensen, 2016; Kalleberg, 2009; Standing, 2014).

Education has always been one of the public activities that neoliberal forces have primarily sought to transform. Today, education, which offers a global profit potential of two trillion dollars annually, has increasingly attracted the attention of capitalist investors and market-oriented bureaucracies in line with the neoliberal governance paradigm (Hirtt, 2009). From North America to Africa, from Zimbabwe to Ireland, from Scandinavia to New Zealand, education has been rapidly marketized, commercialized, and privatized; the field of education has been turned into a quasi-market, services for schools and, in many places, education itself have been outsourced in a process that operates with similar dynamics almost everywhere in the world (Ball & Youdell, 2007; Dahlstedt & Fejes, 2019; Hwami, 2011; McMaster, 2013; Skerritt & Salokangas, 2019). Under the new conditions of capitalism, schools began to function more and more like private companies, and education goals were determined by the market's needs (Apple, 2004; McLaren, 2007). Teachers' wages had fallen dramatically since the 1980s when neoliberalism began to spread; still in many countries in Latin America and Africa, a large proportion of educators must take secondary jobs to make ends meet (Robertson, 2008; Stromquist, 2018). Wherever possible, new hires have favored contract teachers over permanent staff. According to 2018 figures, the proportion of teachers worldwide

with security of tenure has fallen to just over 50% (Compton and Weiner, 2008; Kablay, 2012; Stromquist, 2018).

Within the framework of neoliberal governance models, the social, bureaucratic, and political context of education and schooling has also been transformed. From being the central institution that should intervene in social issues and alongside in education for the sake of the public, states have become administrative agents that operationalize entrepreneurial freedom towards the 'market,' 'investment in human capital,' and the 'cooperation of stakeholders' from different sectors of society (Simons and Masschelein, 2009). The imposition of neoliberal modes of governance that emphasize controlling principles such as measurability, performance, and accountability, which are increasingly compressed into narrower and narrower frameworks, has forced educational processes to become routinized and standardized, limiting educators' autonomy, initiative and creativity based on interaction and (re)contextualization in their fields. An understanding of education defined based on these dry criteria has rapidly relegated fundamental issues such as "humanity, difference, democracy, culture, thinking, personal meaning, ethical deliberation, intellectual rigor, social responsibility, and joy in education" (Lipman, 2009: 373). For teachers forced to conform to these patterns, the result has been the deskilling of the educators and the weakening of specialization (Elvira, 2020; Hursh, 2000; Means, 2019; Rasco, 2020). Education's share of public expenditure generally fell during the first phase of neoliberalism in the last quarter of the 20th century, although it seems to have stabilized in the 21st century (Kim and Boyle, 2013). Teachers and unions are pressured to accept performance-based wages (Robertson, 2008).

In Türkiye, which, like Chile, was subjected to a military coup to adapt to neoliberalism (Parliamentary Research Commission, 2012; Beriş, 2022), the conditions of this new phase of capitalism were dominant in education. First and foremost, education was adapted "to meet the needs of international competition that has been enhanced by the global market economy, and the demand for an intellectual ability compatible with the highly globalized economy" (Ertürk as cited in İnal, 2012: 23). The share of the MoNE budget allocated to public education investment has fallen dramatically; the education system has become test-oriented, fueling competition among students, educators and institutions (İnal, 2012). The rights-based understanding of education was eroded, institutional purposes and functions were transformed in line with marketization, education and knowledge production processes were commoditized, and access to quality education became more complex (Gök, 2014; İnal, 2006; Koray, 2012; Sayılan, 2006;). As in all education components, there has been a staggering transformation in teacher labor (Yıldız, 2014; Durmaz, 2014; Buyruk, 2015). In the last two decades, as the number of students has increased, teacher appointments have become exam-based, and not enough appointments have been made, the increasing need for educators has been met through contracted, temporary, and hourly-paid teachers (Güvercin, 2014; Kablay, 2012; Keskin Demirer, 2012). The ratio of private schools to the total number of schools has increased five-fold in the past two decades (Altun Aslan, 2019; Can & Sezer, 2022); private course centers and private schools have created a market context

in which teachers, who often cannot be appointed to permanent positions, are employed under precarious conditions, low wages, and performance pressure (Tomruk Ünal, 2020; Ulutaş, 2014).

Teaching practices outside permanent positions have undergone intense precarization in this process. In the last fifteen years, these practices have attracted attention especially from researchers in the field of educational sciences: There are studies which discuss problems of hourly-paid public teachers in various provinces of Türkiye (Çınkır & Kurum, 2017; Polat, 2014), measure their commitment to the profession (Sarıbaş et al. 2020), evaluate the opinions of administrators about hourly-paid teachers (Doğan, Demir, & Turan, 2013; Öğülmüş, Yıldırım, & Aslan, 2013), discover the opinions of permanent teachers about hourly-paid teachers (Turan & Bozkurt, 2010), reveal the views of teachers and administrators on employment differences in education (Soydan, 2012), examine the attempts of unassigned teachers to organize as a social movement (Kiraz & Kurul, 2018; Üstün, 2011), identify the precarious and temporary working conditions and risks of teachers (Gümüş & Çetin, 2014; Günerigök & Oğur 2018), criticize the proliferation of private course centers that menaces public education (Ulutaş, 2014; Balkız, 2014; Ural, 2018), and evaluate hourly-paid teaching in the context of public education and the right to education (Tunç & Taner, 2020).

The subject of this research is how teachers working in the public and private sectors experience the effects of the processes of precarization created by neoliberal policies. In addition to teachers in private course centers and hourly-paid teachers in public schools, whose working conditions are characterized by low wages, weak personal rights, and working conditions that are stretched in various ways for the benefit of the employer, private school teachers, whose working conditions have been little studied, are the focus of this research conducted in Istanbul. The aim is to understand the forms that the educator's experience takes and the ways of coping with these conditions under the pressure of marketization and the vacuum created by precarity at the professional, institutional, and personal levels. In this way, the views and perspectives of the category of labor, which is responsible for producing the experience and production capacities of the next generation, on the conditions of its activity are exhibited, while the damage done to this activity by neoliberalism, which is now considered to have reached the end of its term, is made a little more visible.

Method

Research Design

The design of this qualitative research is based on the interpretative phenomenological analysis approach. The phenomenological interpretive analysis makes it possible to understand the experiences, opinions, and perspectives of the participants and to interpret the social phenomena that emerge based on the meaning attributed to the experiences (Creswell, 2013). Phenomenological interpretive analysis was adopted as

the research design to understand teachers' experiences and perspectives on the process of precarization that emerged as a result of neoliberal practices in the field of education and to explore the meaning they attribute to the relationships in this process.

Participants

Participants of the research consist of teachers who have worked in private schools and private course centers in Istanbul after 2000, as well as teachers who have worked in preschool, primary, secondary, and high school levels for at least one academic year in the public sector. In accordance with the study's objectives, preliminary in-depth interviews were conducted with a small number of participants, and the chain process was completed by referring these participants to others with similar characteristics, who in turn recommended other participants. Consequently, 22 participants with precarious teaching experience were reached through 'snowball or chain sampling', which is classified as one of the 'purposeful sampling strategies' (Patton, 2018). **Table 1.** *Demographic information of the participants*

| Code Name | Gender | Age | Marital status | Teaching Experience in Private School(s) | Teaching Experience in Private Course Center(s) | Hourly-Paid Teaching Experience | Branch |
|-----------|--------|-----|----------------|--|---|---------------------------------|--------------------------|
| P1 | Male | 49 | Married | - | - | 8 years | English |
| P2 | Female | 44 | Single | - | 5 years | 1 year | PCG |
| P3 | Female | 36 | Married | - | - | 2 years | Classroom Teacher |
| P4 | Female | 34 | Married | 6 years | 4 years | - | Mathematics |
| P5 | Female | 39 | Married | - | - | 2 years | Music |
| P6 | Female | 42 | Single | 9 years | - | - | Philosophy Group Teacher |
| P7 | Female | 30 | Married | 4 years | 2 years | - | Mathematics |
| P8 | Male | 39 | Single | 8 years | 1 year | 1 year | Physics |
| P9 | Female | 48 | Married | 15 years | - | - | Pre-school Teacher |
| P10 | Female | 32 | Single | 9 years | - | - | Classroom Teacher |
| P11 | Male | 30 | Single | 3 years | - | - | PCG |
| P12 | Male | 38 | Married | 10 years | - | 3 years | Physical Education |

| | | | | | | | |
|-----|--------|----|---------|----------|----------|---------|--------------------------------|
| P13 | Female | 29 | Married | 6 years | - | - | English |
| P14 | Female | 35 | Married | - | 2 years | - | Philosophy Group Teacher |
| P15 | Female | 23 | Single | - | 1 year | - | PCG |
| P16 | Female | 28 | Single | 7 years | - | - | Classroom Teacher |
| P17 | Female | 34 | Married | 6 years | 3 years | - | Literature |
| P18 | Male | 42 | Married | - | 10 years | 8 years | Mathematics |
| P19 | Male | 33 | Married | 4 years | 4 years | - | Geography |
| P20 | Female | 48 | Married | 20 years | - | 2 years | Folk Dances Music |
| P21 | Female | 29 | Married | 1 year | - | - | Turkish |
| P22 | Female | 33 | Single | 2 years | 6 years | 1 year | Geography |

Six male and 16 female teachers from different branches participated in the study. Eight teachers were single, and 14 were married. The length of teaching experience varies from one year to 22 years. There are three teachers who have only worked in the public sector in an hourly-paid status, two teachers who have only worked in private course centers, and six teachers who have only worked in private schools. 11 teachers have experience working in at least two sub-sectors of education. Two teachers have worked in all sub-sectors.

Data Collection Tools

This study was conducted using the qualitative research method, with data being collected through in-depth interviews. The in-depth interview technique is predicated on the acquisition of exhaustive information regarding the experiences, perspectives, and opinions of a small number of participants by the problematics of the research (Creswell, 2013). The study participants were recruited from three fields: private school, classroom, or paid teaching. To this end, a semi-structured interview form of 22 open-ended questions, including alternative questions to cover all sectors in the precarious teaching category (private school, paid teacher, and classroom teacher), was created to obtain detailed information. Most of the questions in the form were asked of all teachers, regardless of sector; however, several questions were directed to participants according to the sector(s) in which they had worked. The interview form was drafted after a literature review on the research topic, by the research problem and in compliance with research ethics. To understand the validity of the content of the questions, the interview form was finalized with the opinions of two colleagues (an expert in the field of sociology of

education and a social psychologist experienced in conducting applied studies with teachers and students in schools). The comprehensibility of the questions was tested and clarified in a preliminary interview.

The questions were designed to capture teachers' views on the status of the teaching profession in society; their motivations for teaching in the public and private sectors; their opinions on the differences in terms of personal rights compared to permanent teachers; their opinions on their relations with permanent teachers, school administration, pupils and parents; their assessment of the working conditions during their service as a teacher; the reasons behind interruptions in their teaching career (if any); their experiences of precarious working conditions; their relations with their families and their environment during this process, their views on the impact of traditional and gender stereotypes on the teaching profession; their assessment of the impact of the marketization of education on the teaching profession and the field of education; the survival strategies they have developed in flexible and precarious working conditions, their thoughts on collective resistance, association or union initiatives for their personal rights, and their proposals for improving working conditions and solving problems.

Data Collection Process

In-depth interviews were initiated with people who had worked as hourly-paid teachers, as private course teachers, or as private school teachers through the social network of researchers. Then other participants with similar characteristics who would contribute to the study were contacted using the snowball method via references of the first interviewees. In-depth interviews lasting approximately one hour were conducted face-to-face by the researchers in the research team at a time and place deemed appropriate by the participants. Semi-structured, open-ended questions were used in the interviews that paid attention not to being directive and were developed as the interviews progressed. With the permission of all participants, the in-depth interviews were audio recorded and then transcribed.

Data Analysis

This research used the interpretive phenomenological analysis method, allowing the participants' teaching experiences, views, and perspectives to be explored and social phenomena to be understood and interpreted. The researchers transcribed the audio recordings obtained from the in-depth interviews. The analytic phase of the study was conducted following the steps propounded by Smith et al. (2009) regarding interpretive phenomenological research design. In the first step, the transcribed text was read, and the audio recordings were listened to again when needed to interact with the data obtained, and the text was read over and over. In the second step, the interpretive note-taking phase, the researchers took interpretive notes on the transcribed texts in three stages, first describing the content of the participants' words, then exploring how they used the language, and finally focusing on conceptual connections. The texts were read over and over again and related concepts and ideas were noted, colored and underlined,

and coded. The researchers did the coding processes separately and compared the codes and related notes when they came together. In the third step, the researchers tried to discover the meanings that the participants attributed to their experiences on the basis of the direct quotations and transformed the notes and codings obtained into themes by associating them with the relevant concepts according to the problematic of the research. The fourth step was to try to find connections and relationships between the themes, and to identify main themes and sub-themes referring to the literature data. In the fifth step, the themes and sub-themes generated separately by each researcher for each interview text were compared and a consensus was reached. In the final stage, the data obtained from each participant was placed under the themes and sub-themes and patterns were searched for, (sub-)themes were restructured and renamed when necessary. The statements selected as representative examples were associated with the relevant literature and the interpretative phenomenological analysis was completed.

Credibility and Ethics

Lincoln and Guba (1985) emphasize that the criteria of credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability should be fulfilled in qualitative research. They emphasize the importance of interaction with participants and peer review to ensure credibility. This study aimed to obtain genuine responses in the interview by establishing mutual interaction and trusting relationships with the participants. Peers were consulted about the questions' clarity and relevance to the literature. Participants were allowed to express themselves freely during the interview. The raw data obtained from the research were read and coded several times, organized under themes, and the participants' statements were directly transcribed. To ensure the dependability and confirmability of the research, the same semi-structured questions were asked to each participant; all interviews were recorded and transcribed after obtaining their permission. The data, which were read many times, were first coded separately by two researchers, and then the coded data were compared and analyzed. The text was read aloud many times by the researchers who came together regularly, and the emerging data were organized according to their similarities and differences, and themes were formed. The researchers, who periodically exchanged views on data collection and analysis, reviewed the themes repeatedly. Connections were established between the themes and sub-themes were generated according to the inclusivity of the experiences assessed. A consensus was reached among the researchers in selecting the statements of the participants to be directly quoted, and the chosen statements were directly shared in the findings section. The findings were interpreted based on the theoretical framework.

Participants were informed about the ethical sensitivities of the study. It was stated that the participants' experiences, sincere evaluations, and opinions were important for the research. The study was initiated after obtaining approval from the university's ethics committee. "Informed Consent Form" was given, and consent to participate in the study was obtained against signature. The participants were informed about the subject of the study, the researchers, the purpose of planning the research, how in-depth interviews would be conducted, that a voice recorder could be used with their permission and

approval and that based on the principles of confidentiality and voluntariness, they could terminate the interview whenever they wished. The confidentiality of the identities of the participants was ensured. Care was taken not to decipher the participants' identities to protect privacy and confidentiality. Ethical principles were followed before, during, and after the interview to prevent harm to the participants.

Findings

1. Experiencing Material Working Conditions

1.1. (Fixed-term) Contract and Interruptions in Teaching Careers

The official defining feature of precariousness for precarized teachers is that, unlike their tenured colleagues in the public sector, they do not enjoy the benefits of collective bargaining agreements and are bound by a contract that can be customized for each teacher separately. Such contracts are the central conditioning fact that articulates their life contexts to the general market conditions. Almost all of the participating private school and classroom teachers associated the contract and the contract process with feelings of fear and anxiety. The contract, which at first glance appears to be a formality for a work whose conditions are known in advance by the parties and which will be carried out in any case, is noticed to sit at the center of an emotional spectrum shaped by a series of negative feelings. Private school teacher P12 stated that one of the main factors forcing teachers to accept the conditions is the dread of unemployment. He and P22, who worked both in private schools and private course centers, reported that these institutions sometimes impose 10-month contracts on their employees.

"Employers can impose a 12-month contract; they have the right to do so. After 12 months, they can say I don't want to work with you (...), but they cannot offer a 10-month contract, as they often do. We call this illegal contract, which is not actually approved by MoNE, a 'drawer contract'; but the functional contract is, unfortunately, the document that the teacher signs with the terror of unemployment" (P12).

"Claiming that the minimum wage is too high, most institutions impose 10-month contracts. (...) I told them that I had no security, I wouldn't sign a 10-month contract, and left the institution. I asked for my severance pay, they didn't give it to me... Because of the excess of teachers in my branch, they say, "Teacher, if you don't work, we will find a new graduate who will work cheaper," and they actually find a new graduate" (P22).

The 10-month contract, which is a sector-specific example of flexible work, seems to document the cornering of the precarious teacher: On the one hand, years of painstaking professional training are disregarded; on the other, those who impose the contract make it clear that the teacher can be easily replaced if they don't accept the job. Contract processes divide the lives of precarious teachers into loops, during which subsistence anxiety fluctuates and at the end of which all conditions are reset. The vocational experience gained during the cycles is of limited value in terms of securing

work and earning a living, as the main issue for employers is the price rather than the quality of teaching. Overtime is hardly ever paid for.

"At the end of the 12-month contract, when they say 'I don't want to deal with you', we become unemployed (...) Usually in the third month of the second semester, in May, if it is clear that they will no longer work with a teacher, the teacher starts looking for a new job. This lowers my morale and enthusiasm for work a lot. Every year in the second semester I get very stressed with subsistence anxiety. Even though we earn little above minimum wage, our social security premium is paid on the basis of minimum wage. They impose extra work on Saturdays and Sundays under the name of two-day courses and even on public holidays; but overtime is not paid. If they want to work with you, the principal calls you at the end of the year, puts a blank piece of paper in front of you and says, 'Sign it!' (P7).

1.2. Low Wages, Long Working Hours and Temporary Status

As is customary, the primary issue at the center of contracts for both employers and teachers is wages. The interviewees reported earning at or slightly above the minimum wage, which is considered appropriate for any job in the country that does not require qualifications or training. On this front of the labor market, the reserve labor army of millions of unassigned teachers and millions of university graduates who have to pin their hopes on the field of education deprives the individual teacher working in the private sector of any bargaining opportunities and grounds for self-confidence and individual resistance.

"Towards the end of each semester, in May, something like that would happen in the classroom: The owner of the institution would come -they usually have a room at the top of the buildings- and we would wait downstairs like sacrificial lambs. They would call everyone upstairs one by one. 'We are forming next year's staff, we want to discuss whether we will continue with you or not!' First of all, there is always this anxiety: Do they want to continue with me or not? Let's assume they want to! How much will they offer? I remember such times, for example -this was a very humiliating thing: I want to sign you for next year at this price... There is very little room for negotiation, if you object, he might say 'no!'; you never know it from the beginning. You accept, of course you accept it most of the time..." (P2).

There are employers who argue that they do not have to pay teachers enough to live on, despite the fact that the working day is unofficially extended beyond working hours due to the insistent demands of parents, violating the boundaries of private life.

"During the contract process we even said to our founders, 'We can't make a living on such salaries' They said, 'We don't have to provide your livelihood!' But we spend all day here for the school? We are teachers who keep on working even after our shift ends. We are constantly disturbed by calls and messages from parents. How on earth can you say that you don't have to support us?" (P16).

One of the private school teachers (P19) reported that a newly graduated pupil of his is earning the same amount as him by working in an unskilled job. This is one of the most striking examples of the devaluation of teacher labor.

"Working conditions are very bad, wages are the most important problem. For example, I met a former student of mine who is now studying at university. He was working in a clothing

store. I asked him how much he gets paid. He said: minimum wage for 30 hours a week, plus travel and meal allowance... This is what we get at our private school" (P19).

The legal requirement of 40 hours of instruction per week (Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Özel Eğitim Kurumları Yönetmeliği, 2012) in private schools is often violated by corporatized educational institutions, forcing teachers to work well over the limit.

The legal requirement of 40 hours of instruction per week (Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Özel Eğitim Kurumları Yönetmeliği, 2012) in private schools is often violated by corporatized educational institutions, forcing teachers to work well over the limit. P15, who worked in a private course centre, stated that she worked about 19 hours over the legal period. According to private school teacher P21, who said that she had resisted the increase to over 40 hours, one of the most frustrating experiences is that teachers are forced to complete their working hours after pupils have left school, even though there is nothing left to do.

"They try to convince you somehow to take extra classes. When they increased my shift over 40 hours, I said, 'If you are going to increase it any more, I will not be able to continue.' One of the most annoying pressures they put on us is that they force us to stay at the school even after our classes are over... The children leave, but we can't. Even if they don't put extra-classes after school, we can't leave. I never understood this, strangely enough, it was not something that anyone objected to. Why do we stay, we have no work, no children? 'Mrs. Teacher, please, that's how it goes...'" (P21).

Hourly-paid teacherships constitute a specific category of precarious experience created by the state to take advantage of the excess of university graduate labor. P1 characterizes this temporary status with the term "seasonal", which is often used for unskilled labor in the agricultural sector.

"You belong to the seasonal worker class, and what it brings to education is definitely negative... For example, I witnessed an hourly-paid teacher whose major was chemistry delivering math lessons because they couldn't find another teacher.... It is used as a hasty, gap-filling method. That cannot be called a profession. That's an intermediary category that administrators can use to fill the gaps if you have a university degree" (P1).

1.3. Personal Rights Issues

The most important objective indicators of precarization, apart from low wages and high working hours, are the weaknesses in the personal rights of contract and hourly-paid teachers. These educators are deprived of many of the rights enjoyed by permanent teachers, such as regularly paid pension contributions, food and travel expenses, and vacation rights. P18 implies that health insurance, even if it appears to be valid on paper, is rendered de facto inaccessible in practical terms. P1 states that the government only pays half of the insurance premiums and doesn't cover the travel expenses of hourly paid teachers, although this is a relatively feasible matter.

"It becomes an issue to utilize the health coverage in hospitals. Because they never start it on time, it was very difficult for us to fulfill the 120 working days required for the insurance to take effect until June; and that's the time for schools to close. You can only get paid for 30

hours maximum and the insurance premium is paid for a maximum of four days per week. Public holidays and midterm vacations are not counted as work anyway. By occasions at weekends like parent-teacher meetings, we must have paid for our own meals and travel expenses. We covered the costs out of our own pockets" (P18).

"For a long time, the discounted transportation card granted to regular teachers was not given to hourly-paid teachers. Then the municipality, not the state, announced that they granted this benefit as their own disposal. (...) The social insurance premium was paid in half, and we were expected to make up the insurance from our salaries. I have never come across an hourly-paid teacher who covered the other half of their insurance out of the pittance they received" (P1).

P16, a private school teacher, complained about not being able to benefit from the smallest privileges of permanent teachers that come almost naturally from their position in the production and reproduction of culture.

"We are affiliated to the MoNE, our contracts go there, but we cannot enter museums, nor can we use green passports or other rights of permanent teachers. Why don't they see the teachers in private schools as teachers, although so many private schools have been established and allowed to do so? This is the real problem" (P16).

1.4. Marketization

Teachers are experiencing the phenomenon that sociology has labeled 'the process of marketization' through its different dimensions and indicators. One of the serious aspects of this experience is that the social relationship between students and teachers has begun to be squeezed into the framework of a vendor-customer relationship, and private educational institutions have normalized this framework.

"In institutions where the student is a customer, I think there is generally no educational ethics. Even if not explicitly, they wanted us to look on students as customers and act in that way... The system is based on selling something to the parents. They sell a package deal to parents. It is enough for a child to have five hours of literature a week, but they sell a package by saying that they would instruct more literature lessons and more hours of mathematics, and so they offer more hours but with an insufficient numbers of teachers. (...) You become both a part of that package and the implementer of it. Of course, you don't think about this much when you are alone with your students in class. More often in the meetings at the beginning of the semester, administrators make you feel as if you are selling something. You sit there with nausea inside without being able to object" (P21).

As seen from the viewpoint of P4's struggle for livelihood, the primary meaning of the term "market" (piyasa) seems to overlap with its secondary meaning in Turkish, which can be translated as "the place, the environment" or "here and there." Private schools, which grow steadily in number by demand, have begun to appear on the streets like ordinary workplaces. The fact that salaries remain low due to the excess of teachers is one factor that makes this development possible. P22 feels that her self-investment in teaching has been rendered meaningless by the market's demand for cheap labor.

"The number of schools in the market (piyasa) has increased. Our salaries remain constant or they raise them very little... Now there are private schools even on the alleys (P4). Education has completely turned into commerce... Unfortunately, I worked in the private sector for eight

years, and in the process I saw this: If you are a cheap teacher, you can find a job. This shows this: Your knowledge and years of experience are of no importance; unfortunately your qualifications are of no importance” (P22).

By comparing private schools to public schools, P6 finds the commercialization of education understandable not in terms of the goals of education but in terms of its conditions. However, when the 'teacher' element, which is essential to education, is placed as if naturally right behind these incidental conditions that have been made purchasable, the result is the commercialization of teaching labor in a hurtful way and the undermining of the status of the teacher.

“Within private schools, both teachers and comfort are bought; in other words, a safer environment, a better social environment, a 'more hygienic' environment and an accessible teaching staff... As teachers, we are commercialized and the value of the teaching profession is diminishing compared to when I was a student. There are school owners who value teachers, but there are also administrators who see us as unqualified workers. As a result, teachers are actually perceived as commercial beings. I mean, it looks as if we are selling knowledge in exchange of money, but of course this is offending...” (P6).

The phenomenon of competition, a banal consequence of market mechanisms among private schools, is channeled by administrators into relations between educators. P4 observed that competition creates mutual suspicion and uneasiness among employees and transforms the race between institutions in the field of education into a rivalry between teachers, leading to a kind of symbolic rent formation based on the name of educators.

“(...) After I got involved, I realized that there was a different kind of rant going on there... I mean, the teachers are very competitive with each other... For example, everyone wants their name to be more prominent. I think it was partly because of ambition and partly because of the attitude of our principal... He was encouraging this by getting everyone fired up; he was trying to achieve success by making them compete. Competition was eventually tied to this fact, that is, to make points with the principal who himself was in a race to promote the institution...” (P4).

1.5. Pressure, Mobbing, Drudgery

Unfair contracts, weak personal rights, lack of public support, the pressure of an excessive supply of reserve labor, and the bendability of the rendition of teaching according to the demands of students' parents make private school and private course teachers vulnerable to the managerial layer. P4 describes how drudgery imposed in the final stages of her pregnancy becomes exhausting:

“During my pregnancy I worked for 32 weeks. I had difficulty even attending my own classes, but in cases like the absence of a sick teacher I was the one who was assigned to take their place. Or, for example, they were going to AFAD for an earthquake drill, and they saddled me with the watching over task. What was I supposed to do in such a drill in my condition? Or they were going on a trip to the Belgrade Forests, and the watch-over burden was mine again, and I was seven months pregnant. I was having crying fits, trying not to show them to anyone. Now my friends were speaking for me and reminding them that I was pregnant... After going through a lot of mobbing by the management it is not possible to step into the

classroom and leave everything outside. We are human beings, not robots, it is not that easy... They didn't give me my salary in the summer because I got a report that I could not work due to pregnancy..." (P4).

Two participants, P22 and P2, who worked as hourly-paid teachers in the private and public schools, stated that their precarious conditions were used recklessly against them. P2 noted that hourly-paid teachers are forced to undertake floor watches for which they are not obliged and can not be paid. Their testimonies show once again that hourly paid teaching is the form of work most vulnerable to exploitation in the field, where legal and institutional safeguards are weakest and where the job description set out in contracts can easily be stretched to the detriment of the educator.

"...And teachers working in private sector are subjected to mobbing a lot. The principal comes in without knocking, scolds a student, covertly talks down to the teacher. Hourly-paid teachers in public schools also face drudgery from school administrators, such as irrelevant workloads and floor watches. We, hourly-paid teachers, could not oppose them, we were afraid of losing our jobs. (...) But there is a price for not speaking out, you feel that your dignity is damaged" (P22).

"There were jobs that could not normally be assigned to a permanent teacher. The permanent teacher could say "No, this is not my job". Of course, when they saw that I was doing everything, there occurred a constant burden of work. I couldn't draw the line there, I couldn't say, "No, this is not my job," because frankly I was afraid that I might be sent away... They also saddled me with the attendance entries..." (P2).

P11 emphasized that being in a union, conducting union activities, and sometimes even just talking about union issues can become one of the specific reasons for the oppression of teachers in private schools. On an emotional level, such oppression does not only generate simple and individual feelings of anger or resentment. Here, due to the nature of the collective struggle, a spectrum of emotions is generated by different subjects/subjectivities and the intersectionalities arising from their positions.

"(The administration) was trying to put us under pressure with questions like 'What did you talk about in the teachers' room? Did you talk about the union?' This pressure also created a lot of emotional turmoil for us. We were exercising a basic constitutional right and we had to hide (it) as if it were a crime. We even had to hide that we were talking about it. When we thought about the possible consequences of all this, both for the lives of our friends and for our own lives, it seemed like we needed to question our consciences. I mean, my friends could be unemployed next year just because the management thought they had talked to me about it. On the other hand, it is impossible not to get angry at this bullying" (P11).

1.6. Uncertainty of the Future, Invisibility of the Life Horizon, Sense of Loss.

The interviewed teachers frequently referred to different dimensions of precariousness in their living and working conditions. The experience of work, which becomes central to other dimensions of P22's life, allows us to trace how social ties outside working life loosen and how a socioeconomic phenomenon is almost being somatized.

"You do not feel safe. You will take out a loan for a simple need; there is the fear of whether the job will continue, whether you will be laid off. It's not just insecurity while working, you can't even create a small saving for the future. You shouldn't think ahead. There is a constant

feeling of being stuck, like shortness of breath. You don't have the luxury of being sick during the semester. If you miss a day of class, the program is disrupted, you have a heavy workload, there are very few teachers. When a teacher doesn't show up, the program may be disrupted. There is no way let a class go by unattended. So you never feel safe. Unhappiness at work is being reflected at home. I used to deliver 10-12 hours a day; so when you come home, you cannot tolerate your nephew, mother or father" (P22).

P2 observed how precarity makes it challenging to make important life decisions, leading to postponement or cancellation of choices that could be pivotal in one's life. According to her, the uncertainty caused by precarity creates different gender burdens.

"If I were a man, I am sure I would have been asked, 'Are you going to work for such a low wage?' If I were married, it would be impossible for my wife not to work. There is no assurance. Both spouses may be fired at any time. There were people who could not get married or build their lives for a long time because of that" (P2).

2. The Experience of the Immaterial Dimensions of the Labor Process

2.1. The Erosion of Intra-School Relationships Among Educators

The working context of hourly-paid teaching combines precarious modes of labor with a conventional mode of labor, creating a contrast that clarifies the process of precarization of the teacher experience and the status quo in teaching labor. The interviews revealed that hourly-paid teachers' experiences of the differences between them and permanent teachers were generally negative. Participants often felt markedly marginalized, minimized, excluded, or even tacitly humiliated. The manifestations of difference and incompatibility in everyday life, which at first glance appear to be simply a matter of status, were described by P2 as 'class difference'.

"The permanent teachers were slightly condescending to us... I could really feel it. Even when I went to the teachers' room, I could feel that I didn't belong there... First of all, of course, because we were temporary, because they had been there for many years, relationships and friendships were already established; but we, the hourly-paid, would come and go anyway (...). My best friend at school was also an hourly-paid one... She, either, couldn't connect with the permanent staff. But unlike me, she was in the teachers' room almost all day. So there was a class difference between the permanent and the hourly-paid teachers" (P2).

P22 emphasizes that this difference goes so far as to create spatial segregation in the school where she works. In the experience imposed on P22, she felt that offering desserts, a sign of social intimacy or a desire for such affinity became a fortification of the existing hierarchy. P20, on the other hand, described how difference and hierarchy were embodied in the attitude of a colleague in front of the students when she took her class time to catch up on her syllabus.

"In the teachers' room, hourly-paid teachers would always sit together, permanent teachers would pass to the other side. If an event was to be held, for example, a dinner was to be organized, hourly-paid teachers were never asked. If baklava was to be bought and served, we were never asked nor offered" (P22).

"In a class where I was teaching music, a core teacher asked for my hour to catch up on her schedule. I said yes. "Well, it's all the same to you, you're paid hourly anyway, sit down." She was implying that I was temporary and trivial and she did that in front of the children. It was very offensive." (P20).

According to P14, a similar distinction (and the way this distinction is being experienced) exists between STEM and humanities teachers in public schools. P14 stated that the salary difference between the two groups of teachers is significant enough to dissociate their socialization styles.

"In a way, I also was in the status of an hourly-paid teacher there (at the private course center). I had fewer classes. They were busier, earning much better. They could get together, go out for coffee because they were busier at school and had better salaries. I was already earning very little; I couldn't go out for coffee with them. The salary difference affected my relationships so negatively" (P14).

2.2. The Gendering of Labor Processes

Educators interviewed continue to experience similar stereotypes about teaching, which, since the beginning of Turkish modernization, has been represented as the most suitable profession for educated women. Female teachers expressed discomfort with the naturalisation of their professional activity as an extension of the caring work attributed by the school context to the "mother" figure in the family.

"Most of my entourage sees teaching as the best profession for a girl" (P15).

"There is a segment of parents who only expect their children to spend their time at school in a healthy and safe way, receive a good or bad education and return home in the evening. Therefore, in the eyes of such parents, we can be seen as a kind of caregiver rather than an educator. The administration, too, often sees us in such a way; therefore our working hours are long, study sessions are organized after classes... So we actually release the children from school at the time their parents return home" (P17).

"In the past, teachers were respected and were valued by institutions. Now they are seen as caregivers. Even my son... He said you are taking care of children, look at the salary you get. The undervaluation of our labor has changed the perception, it's so galling... Yet infant schools are where preparation for primary school and acquaintance with reading and writing begin. In recent years, institutional administrators have not stood behind teachers, so parents see us as caregivers" (P9).

Female participants who worked in private schools talked about how they experienced different aspects of the intersection of capitalist working conditions and patriarchal domination. P7 argued that the profession's performance should be freed from the symbolic burden arising from its identification with motherhood. She noted that female teachers face drudgery practices more frequently than their male colleagues. P17 also confirms that female teachers are expected to behave emotionally.

"Teachers are called 'half-mothers', which is very wrong... Yes, they are my students, but I am not their mother. I am very much against this emotional connection. Frankly, there is no need to put such a burden on oneself. We do our jobs and provide education, we affect their lives, but we do our jobs and we earn money in return. But the bosses try to sentimentalize

that. (...) We don't get the same salary as male teachers. Unfortunately, there is no equal pay for equal work. (...) For example, when I and a male friend of mine are at leisure at the same time and there's an unsupervised class whose teacher is absent that day. They send me to fill that hour. They make female teachers do the paperwork" (P7). "They attribute a motherly role to woman teachers. This may also be true for male teachers, but we don't hear much about fatherhood. They attribute motherhood to us because of our femininity and impose a particular mission, expecting us to fall into sentimentality and romanticism" (P17).

P4 observed that her male colleagues used such stereotypes about women to avoid workload and that there was tacit cooperation between male executives and male employees in this regard.

"When we were preparing for a science festival or setting a board, we might need to prepare materials or do something like model making. Male teachers would stand back remarking they are incapable of doing it. There was a misuse of female teachers and the principal actually was overlooking that" (P4).

P1 describes how the responsibility of providing for the family, which is generally attributed to men in patriarchal orders, takes a heavy turn in precarious conditions, and comments on how the performance of hourly-paid teaching is perceived according to gender stereotypes.

"The fact that a man is working as an hourly-paid teacher means that he is still unemployed, that his unemployment continues. As to a female teacher, it is as if- again, according to the general perspective of the society – she somehow is seen as an auxiliary force; like 'She manages to earn an income from somewhere, even if it is just a smidgen'... The attitude towards women may be softer in these matters" (P1).

2.3. Imposition of the 'Family Discourse'

One of the most striking phenomena revealed by the everyday experiences of private school teachers is the 'family discourse' to which they are frequently exposed. This discourse is used to impose extra-contractual burdens or to naturalize the institution's demand for tolerance when it fails to fulfill its responsibilities towards the teacher. The family discourse is performed through an institutional allegory, in which the students who are fragile and vulnerable children of the family in question, and teachers are assigned the role of parents sanctified by patriarchy. Based on their own experiences P7, described how the discourse and the practice work together.

"The society represents you in a sublime position, you are so great. Teachers are the crown of our heads, the teacher's labor is unpayable... There are a lot of epithets such as 'half-mothers' but unfortunately we teachers have to work with impositions based on this understanding. We have to work under this pressure created by society. For some of these reasons, teachers cannot quit their jobs because we are emotionally affected by the bosses' statements such as 'Please, go through the motions, cover that, too, teacher; take on also this class, teacher; we are a family, teacher; we are in the same boat, teacher'" (P7).

P17 and P21 also think that the family discourse and the artificially created feelings of closeness conceal and deepen the exploitation they have experienced.

"They say 'we are a family, come to us first when you have problems', but of course, over time you feel very clearly that you are being exploited. Especially female teachers feel that much more" (P17).

"'We are a family!' The school administrator - I don't call him an administrator anymore - our teacher friend who owns the capital always seemed to be very friendly with us. I see this as a way of not giving worth to teacher's labor. He chums up with you. I used to hear this from many of my teacher friends: 'The founding teacher is a very nice person!' But he doesn't pay your salary! He gives us just a whisker above the minimum wage, paid by hand. And you have to visit him many times to ask for that" (P21).

2.4. Hierarchy between STEM and Humanities Branches

One of the key divisions between teachers is shaped by the demand for STEM courses, which, for students, may pave the way to better positions in capitalist production. Within this status quo, the teachers of humanities subjects interviewed felt that they were becoming increasingly subordinated. P17 and P14 emphasized that when combined with characteristics such as gender, age, and marital status, being a teacher of humanities subjects becomes a categorical disadvantage.

"STEM teachers are clearly more favorable. Institutions are more flexible towards male teachers and STEM teachers in terms of class hours and special agreements through special agreements... But if you are female and a teacher in a humanities subject, you would be underpaid and cannot choose the off-day as you want. While someone else can get a weekend off very easily, they do not offer you that flexibility depending on your gender, marital status, whether you have children or not" (P17).

"Since I teach subjects in humanities and because I am younger and work with (university entrance) exam students, my classes were deemed a space of freedom for the pupils. As if my hours were free time from the very beginning" (P14).

2.5. Negative Transformation of Educator-Student and Educator-Parent Relations

Teaching for money in private schools has the consequence of undermining the minimum level of authority relationship between teachers and students and of reducing the student and their parents to the status of ordinary customers receiving services and the teacher to the status of a customer representative of any company operating under liberal market conditions. According to P6's experience, in private schools, there is a clear contempt for teacher labor. The value placed on teachers and their ability to practice their profession autonomously decreases as the annual tuition level of the school increases.

"We encounter so many attitudes, especially from parents, like 'We pay you, so you have to do this and that' or students in classes saying 'Teacher, what are you talking about, we do pay your salary'... It really hurts and here I show a very harsh attitude: I get paid for my labor, if I were porter, I would get paid for that too. Of course there will be a price for my labor, but you don't pay my salary, I say. Teaching is seen as something that is bought. In the case of a school where the income level of the parents is high (I know this because my children are in such a private school), the things expressed in the communication groups of the parents (as a parent I am a member of one of those groups) are horrible. 'She has to take care of

my child one-to-one!" We have just experienced something, for example, and the teacher is easily asked to leave immediately. They forget that teachers are also human beings..." (P6).

Since students and their parents are seen as customers, teachers in private schools may be subjected to direct and indirect pressure from parents, students, and administrators. P11 complains about a school system and an administrative approach in which the objective requirements of education and training are bent in favor of students.

"Students complain very easily; parents come and make complaints; they threaten that they will have their enrollment taken away. Therefore, such teachers can be taken by the school counselor or by the principal and exposed to lectures about teaching. If the teacher is still not good enough for the students, they can send them away... According to an article on "mutual satisfaction" in our contracts" (P11).

P7 is disappointed to find that the private school system has become a banal commercial enterprise and that even decisions about how homework is done are made by parents who have become ordinary customers.

"They say, 'Let's do that according to the will of parents, teacher.' For example, our homework system changed because the parents wanted it that way. Because they take the money from them... That's a business organization... Yes, they are customers and we are working slaves..." (P7).

P13 witnessed that in private schools where market conditions prevail, parents can be involved in evaluating teachers' performance, and in at least one case, they were able to ensure the dismissal of a teacher.

"If you are teaching in a private school, as I said, first of all you have to please the parents very much so that you can stay there permanently. Even if the administration is satisfied as much as possible, when there are complaints from the parents, they will not make a deal with you again... The parent who is not satisfied with you talks to another parent. Like a flock of sheep... They say, 'Yes, I don't like (this teacher) either', then together, 'We don't like this teacher, we don't want her/him'. The administration says, 'We are happy with you, teacher, but I'm sorry, we can't work with you if there are complaints' and fires you. Last year we sent one of our friends away crying in such a situation" (P13).

2.6. Feelings of Competence and Incompetence and Ethical Concerns

All of the participants who work as hourly-paid teachers in public schools are aware that they are not competent in the relevant field when they work in place of teachers who cannot be appointed, which burdens their conscience. P5 argues that the system obliges them to work as a substitute labor force to survive. P3, on the other hand, could not bear this burden of conscience, so she quit the job.

"I am not actually a graduate of a faculty of education; I attended there occupying the place of another regular teacher who could not be appointed there, who should have been appointed. But of course I had to work. I had to continue my life, but I knew from the very beginning that this was a great injustice because the work I did should have been done by a professional of that field" (P5).

"They do this injustice to people just to pay half of the salary and half of the insurance. And injustice to students too... There are teachers who have graduated from the relevant departments at one side, maybe they would be much more useful to children, waiting to be appointed, but instead of them, someone from an irrelevant department comes and gets the job. How useful can someone who left a managership in a cargo company be for example? There were also those who came looking for part-time jobs so that they would have time to take care of their children. For example, I wouldn't want my child to be taught by someone who is not a primary school teacher, who graduated from a different department. Since I felt the discomfort of this myself, I said, I would not apply again for the job" (P3).

2.7. Decline in Occupational Status and Its Relation with Marketization

Another commonly held opinion among the participants is that the status of the teaching profession has undergone a significant decline compared to that of the educators who played a pivotal role in their formative years. According to these opinions, the lowest status is that of hourly-paid teachers. These teachers are taught to be not competent in their jobs and used as a substitute labor force. In fact, due to the generally negative perception, P18 does not even want his experience as an hourly-paid teacher to appear on his resume.

"I realized this later. It is not right to serve as an hourly-paid teacher anyway. I am filling the place of someone who is going to be appointed and that is why they cannot be appointed. (...) Hourly-paid teaching is a waste of time, it does not add anything to the person doing it. I put it on my CV as job experience when I went to private course centers for job interviews. One course center founder said, 'It would be better if you don't write it down' because they used to think, 'He couldn't do anything, so he worked as an hourly-paid.' There is still such a perception" (P18).

P1 reported that the school administration strictly hid the fact that they employ hourly-paid teachers and that being the subject and sharer of this 'secret' was emotionally difficult for him.

"We are ordered not to tell that we are hourly-paid teachers, we are supposed to hide it. Normally I wouldn't make it a matter of pride, I would tell them (...) 'He is not a competent teacher; he is someone who comes and teaches for money, he will be sent away at the end of the year, he has a temporary job'; in other words, there is a conviction like 'He is not even a teacher'. Here, of course, we are asked by the administration to hide our situation, thinking that the parents of the students would not want an hourly-paid teacher to work. I was reprimanded by the principal for telling the students that I was an hourly-paid teacher... After I found out that the administration wanted me to hide it, a different kind of panic started, I mean I felt like I was lying. You find your self between a rock and a hard place" (P1).

P2's observations on the commodification of teacher labor show that the distance and difference between the personality/subjectivity of the laborer and their professional activity have become relatively blurred and that new dimensions have been added to the alienation of teaching labor, as in all forms of affective labor. According to P2, the selection and supervision of teachers by the school administrations and parents, which started in private schools, creates a new and generalized pressure setting in public schools where teachers are surveilled and "picked over" through social media and electronic means.

"Teachers are selected as if they were picking out fruits from the market. This also happens in the state schools. The status of the teacher has fallen down. Whether the teacher is hourly-paid, contracted or permanent, all parents know everything and their approaches change accordingly. I mean, in 2009 when I started, parents didn't know much about the teachers in the region where I worked, they weren't that conscious... Now they all know the entire genealogy of any teacher. All of the parents follow the social media of the teacher; they find out who the teacher is on the internet; they ask around about them" (P2).

2.8. The Impact of Precarious Work on Teachers' Family Relationships

The plainest manifestation of the erosion of teachers' social relationships caused by precarious work is what the participants experience in their family lives. P5 and P18 talk about different kinds of sadness and shame resulting from precariousness:

"My family was pretty much aware of the problems; they knew it was a temporary thing, that I was only trying to save the day. Just a small income to cover my own expenses, not enough to cover the rent, not enough to cover the bills. If something unexpected came up, I had to rely on my family for support. My parents try not to crush me, but they are always upset. I was ashamed to face my father during the two summers I was unemployed" (P5).

"If you ask my wife, she would say that it made her summer vacations miserable. I was really unhappy, and every summer I was anxious about how much money we would earn, which school we would work in, and whether there would be an assignment afterwards? It is embarrassing on the one hand, but while all teachers were happy for the appointments, we were worried. We thought we would lose our jobs" (P18).

3. Experiences of Coping and Resistance

3.1. Family Support

The first resource that economically challenged participants rely on to cope with the threat of precarity and poverty is their families. They explain that they develop a type of survival strategy by keeping their expenses limited to basic needs. For P5, living with his family feels like an extended childhood experience, combined with feelings of guilt. P17, in contrast, experiences the pressure and dissatisfaction of having to put her new life with her husband on hold and return to her parents because of the harsh living conditions.

"The salary of an hourly-paid teacher is low. (...) I was single at the time, (the salary) seemed to be relatively sufficient, but I was with my family. Even though I didn't want to be a burden, I couldn't leave. (...) You inevitably act according to their needs, their rhythm. It was hard not to be independent, not to make adult choices" (P5).

"I moved to my parents' house. My husband thought we were not going to get anywhere here and started looking for opportunities abroad. He is a graphic designer and now he is trying to get a foothold abroad. He is also going through different difficulties as an immigrant. I also moved in with my family, to get rid of the rent. I live very minimalized at the moment. In fact, I live incredibly minimalist. I am someone who already tends to live modestly, but that I have to live this way because of the circumstances makes me unhappy" (P17).

3.2. Subsistence on Additional Jobs

The majority of teachers who work in precarious conditions take on additional jobs to make ends meet. Participating teachers describe their experiences in these unstable situations as an overwhelming rush rather than a routine. P12 illustrates the plight of her colleagues, whom she saw working beyond their official hours, as "a vise within a vise." Other testimonies further confirm the existence of this breathless, suffocating, and dehumanizing extra work.

"Our friends who work privately go for private lessons, they give additional lessons. There are people working in construction, or as taxi drivers, truck drivers. Everybody I saw seemed like crushed in a vise that was squeezed in another vise. (...) There is also a well-off, aristocratic group there, or those who have better conditions in terms of teaching subjects, but on the other hand, there are also oppressed ones in the lowest conditions" (P12).

The experiences and testimonies of teachers who must work as taxi drivers, give private lessons, or teach in additional courses at school to meet their basic needs confirm the reality of this exhausting, suffocating, machine-like extra work.

"I know a teacher whose wife does not work because she takes care of the children, so he is the sole breadwinner, drives a taxi and is late for classes all the time... It is a breathless, sleepless life" (P7).

"I have students, I'm tutoring, so I can make some extra money from there. I was also questioning the private tutoring business at first. I felt like I was somehow taking advantage of the vulnerabilities of the system. But you have to do something to survive" (P13).

"The school has Saturday courses, it is not compulsory to attend those courses, but we feel obliged to attend them because we get paid from there. And of course I'm additionally tutoring one or two students so that I can pay my rent, because the salary barely covers my own needs. But it has caused this, I have turned into a complete machine. Sometimes I come home very late" (P8).

3.3. Issues of Organization and Solidarity

Participant teachers express that the collective attitude and solidarity that should be developed in response to the constraints and working conditions in which their profession operates in private schools remain insufficient. P18 articulates his disappointment in this regard, comparing it to the respect and support that physicians show each other. P4 voices concerns about colleagues who recognize the need for collaborative action but abandon their friends who step forward, fearing job loss.

"Everyone says (teaching) is "sacred", but I don't think it is highly respected. I have often seen that even teachers do not show much respect to each other. We actually envy doctors, I mean, when one of them has a problem, the others stand behind their colleague, but there is nothing like that in teaching" (P18).

"There is no unity among teachers. When the government raised the minimum wage, the school gave us a very small raise. Everyone was very angry about this situation, everyone talked about it; they talked about it in online groups, they got together and talked about it, "Let's go, let's meet the founder" and so on... Then, when it got serious, I said, 'Let's go, let's

talk, let's stand up for our rights'; no one came with me, I was left alone. I was in a bad situation in the eyes of the principal" (P4).

P13, harboring resentment towards her colleagues and the education community, highlights the rise in violent crimes against teachers as a facet of precariousness and the symbolic devaluation of the teaching profession.

"Today we see the condescending attitude of many. Why is that? Because there is no respect anymore. Every day we see on TV, 'The child stabbed the teacher after school' or 'The parent beat the teacher' or 'The parents complained about the teacher at school, the teacher was expelled... These things should not happen. People should resist: 'How dare you lay a hand on my teacher, insult them?' There is no such thing unfortunately.... Some quit teaching because of this (...) Being a teacher doesn't make any sense anymore" (P13).

A significant number of interviewees noted that the discounts provided by these institutions for their employees' children removed any chance of resistance from the beginning.

"For example, I have a colleague who is very unhappy (because of her job), but she has a child in our school and there is a discount for teachers' children. Yes, facilities at school like discounts or the possibility to leave work early prevail on women to accept poor conditions..." (P7).

"For some teachers, the fact that their child is attending the same school is actually a hindering factor. There are many teachers who say 'My children are here, let's not do anything,' and keep silent so that nothing bad happens to their child" (P10).

3.4. Unionization Experience

Private school and classroom teachers can join unions as the most effective form of professional solidarity. The experience of union membership occurs under various conditions, processes, and emotions, even though the underlying motives are similar. While P17 describes her liberation from the pressures of an isolated work experience, which left her feeling quite helpless, with the metaphor of "thirst," P15 reflects that she found relief from her troubles during her transition out of her job by becoming a union member.

"I heard about the union through my friends. I also saw them promoting it on social media. I never thought 'What is this, who formed it?' I was so thirsty that I directly became a member without thinking about who I would meet, what kind of path we would take, thinking that I could feel stronger" (P17).

"I became aware of the existence of the union during the process of leaving the job. It was quite a troublesome situation. I met with the union's lawyers; thanks to them, they supported me and I was able to leave the job without any loss of benefits" (P15).

For precarized teachers, participation in union activities opens a horizon of experience that erodes the artificial boundaries drawn between individual/private and collective/public levels of affect and action under the capitalist mode of production. P12 describes the change in the socio-economic status of teachers in the process marked by

the economic crisis in Türkiye in recent years by matching it with the weight transformation in the emotional repertoire.

“Heretofore the private school teacher's anxieties and fears were in the frame. They were unorganized, unable to express themselves. People esconsed in their comfort zones did not find it "ethical" to tell each other their salaries for instance, but today everyone has the courage to tell their salaries and voice their demands. Because people cannot make a living. They cannot pay their rent, they cannot buy anything. The only source of their income is the salary they receive from school. Of course they will make demands on their employer to improve that salary...” (P12)

P10 describes how union activity boosts collective self-confidence while underlining the emotional cost of this activity at the individual level. P15, on the other hand, conveys the sense of achievement when employee rights are defended at the institutional level against the employer to whom capitalism grants institutional authority through a company.

“Our biggest goal in the union is the base salary. We have social media and street activities as well as workshops. These require a certain sense of collective self-confidence and indeed increase that self-confidence as the activity and participation rise. But of course, you have to spend time you spare from your loved ones... A time you could maybe have a breather outside the work...” (P10).

“But unfortunately, I know from my friends that they are very hesitant about unionization etc. because they worry about being fired. I clearly remember when I told my boss, who said he would not give me my rights, that I was unionized and he said, 'OK then'... The biggest benefit of the union here is that it creates pressure on the bosses and balances the power conditions between the administration and the teachers. In other words, you see how effective unity can be... which is the goal... We learn together...” (P15).

3.5. The Cost of Solidarity and Struggle

Private school and tutoring center employers do not easily tolerate union activity in practice, which officially is a constitutional right. The fact that contract renewal is left entirely to the authority of employers makes it almost impossible for workplace representatives, who are the key agents of union activity, to stay in the same school and hampers the struggle for employee rights. P12, one of the participants, continues his legal struggle against such an injustice.

“I know that they did not renew my contract because I was openly conducting unionization activities. They dismissed me because I was unionized, using the limited-term contract as an excuse. If being a union member is a constitutional right, it should be protected and the right to work should be ensured. Of course, our sense of justice is being violated” (P12).

P13 witnessed that pressures in private schools regarding unionization issues can turn into prosecutions through social media.

“The bosses won't allow it. If someone joins a union, the administration would get wind of that through social media accounts or platforms. Even if you don't mention the name of the institution, they would follow you in case you make a bad comment. In other words, if someone else sees it, takes a photo of it, shows it to the administration, then there will be

trouble. They never want that... It creates a kind of pressure... We cannot speak out, if we do, we will lose our jobs" (P13).

P8 reported that even the most moderate civil protests cause significant discomfort to the employer. The message of the teachers wearing black for just a few days got through and caused panic among the employers. Of course, for the teachers who organized the action, this came at the cost of increased fear of losing their jobs.

"It is not so easy to talk about the union at school, to say that we need a union organization. You have to bide your time for a new trigger. For example, the general improvement (in public wages) in January (2024) -and I'm using it in quotes- created a spontaneous trigger in our school. In that process, one of our friends started an action by sending a message to everyone he knew, unionized and non-unionized, saying "let's wear black" and a black-wearing frenzy lasted for a few days. The situation was noticed. The atmosphere got tense, of course. Meetings were held immediately... The contracts are renewed every year. This has a legal basis, unfortunately. They can arrange that as they want. But we don't want it. The union also voices this demand. In fact, every year, everyone feels this concern, whether strongly or weakly. I know that it is known that I am a union member. Yes, the anxiety of being fired is a bit more (in me)" (P8).

Conclusion and Discussion

The narrations of the educators who participated in this study, which explores the repercussions of the neoliberalization of education in Türkiye on the experience of precarious teaching, reveal three main aspects of this experience. The first of these is related to the material conditions that can be said to position teachers in the system they exist in and which, over the last quarter of a century, have significantly transformed education into a service sub-sector. The second aspect corresponds to the immaterial or affective relations of teaching labor based on the experience of more social relations in education. The third aspect is centered on how participating teachers cope with the imposed economic conditions and the relations of social domination that represent their actual subordination in everyday life.

According to the conclusions of one of the most comprehensive field studies on the processes of precarization to date (McKay et al., 2012), two of the four characteristics inherent in precarity: (1) job insecurity based on the uncertainties of working on fixed-term contracts and (2) having to make do with low wages, are experienced by all teachers participating in this study. The other two features of precarity, (3) exclusion from social and employment rights and (4) lack of representation rights, are partially immanent - especially in the de facto working conditions of hourly-paid and private course teachers.

In this context, the first phenomenon that becomes apparent in this research is that the contract, which by its very logic should define the rights and responsibilities of two parties in an exchange or a legal relationship, secures precarious work in the field of education and structures the relationship between teachers and their employers in a highly unequal way. The contract process appears to be the most tense element for the participating

teachers of this relationship and livelihood cycle. All of the participants working in private schools and private course centers experience this process with intense feelings of anxiety and distress. What is striking in the literature on the subject is that despite the increasing prevalence of limited-term contracted teacher employment under neoliberal conditions, the practice of contracting itself and its effects on the life contexts of educators have never been problematized.

There is a consensus, feeling, and experience among participants that long working hours, low wages, and deficient benefits compared to those of tenured teachers crush precarized teachers in a vise of livelihood hardships and time deprivation. Since the 2000s, trade union investigations and academic field research in Türkiye have warned of the emergence of this neoliberal yoke that oppresses the lives of hourly-paid teachers, public employee contract teachers, and classroom teachers (Bayram, 2009; Dinçer, 2008), and witnessed the aggravation of conditions throughout the 2010s (Buyruk, 2015; Dali, 2017; Durmaz, 2014; Ertürk, 2012; Gümüş & Çetin, 2014; Güvercin, 2014; Keskin Demirer, 2012). A key feature distinguishing this study from previous research in the same field is that most of its participants are private school teachers, who constitute the most vibrant segment of the teachers' occupational solidarity and resistance movement today. After the private course institutions, whose spread across Türkiye took place in the 1970s within a completely different social formation, teachers of incorporated schools, which represent the main neoliberal context of the capitalization of education in the 21st century, constitute one of the fastest proletarianizing and precarizing segments among white-collar workers.

A common aspect of participants' experiences is that their social relations at school are subject to the corrupting influence of the market. They witnessed that with the commercialization of teacher labor, the ties and communication patterns between teachers and students/parents begin to resemble those of a vendor-customer relationship. This phenomenon, which Bayram's (2009), Cerev & Coşkun's (2020), Kılıç and Tunç's (2022), Keleş & Aslan's (2022) studies detected in public and private schools but left almost without comment, is addressed with relative richness in Kablay (2012), which is not based on a field study. According to Kablay, the customerization of students (and parents) accompanies a shift from a civic, rights-based, public-interest approach to a service perspective that emphasizes the private benefit of customers. This transition, as per the logic of neoliberal functioning, threatens to transform all teachers, regardless of public or private sector, from public agents into private field workers offering private lessons. When we look at how the participants experience this structuralized effect, we see that the teaching profession has begun to require the dispositions and abilities of customer representation. A significant part of their work now requires their ability to persuade and manage their interlocutors. The COVID-19 pandemic deteriorated the "work-life balance" of educators severely on account of the online working frenzy and the boundary between working and private time blurred. This process rendered teachers more accessible to students and their parents as ordinary customer representatives to ordinary customers. Durmaz's research (2014) reveals another aspect of the precarization process, which started and progressed in private course institutions, which

he calls "employers' becoming invisible." When the student, and especially the parent, becomes a customer purchasing the educational process and its results who can call for account for the functions and quality of the product they receive, the owner of capital and the administrators seem to position themselves in this relationship as neutral intermediaries who execute the requirements of measuring the performance of the educator (in the form of firing, not renewing the contract or 'adjusting' the salary) on behalf of the market. As one of the results of this research, it can be said that due to the open competition based on exams such as LGS and YKS, which define the existence of private course institutions, processes such as switching to customer representative status and 'employers' becoming invisible' have now become an ordinary part of the lives of private school teachers. Furthermore, it has been observed that teachers are exposed to widespread pressure and drudgery practices even in situations that require extraordinary care, such as pregnancy, and it has been conveyed that union member educators encounter these practices more intensely.

The experience of hourly-paid teaching, which makes it possible to observe precarious educational labor in public schools together with more conventional forms of labor, also allows us to see the strength of the precarization process. Partially in line with the findings of previous studies (Bayram, 2009; Çolak & Altınkurt, 2022; Dali, 2017; Kirlibal, 2024; Polat, 2014), many of the participants of this study who were working as hourly-paid teachers stated that they experienced contempt and marginalization in the institutions they worked in due to their working status. Some interviewees even mentioned that this experience was not simply a matter of institutional status but also corresponded to a class difference, which is suggestive of the accuracy of relying on a class-emphasizing term such as precariat to denote the difference between tenured and salaried workers, whose cultural capital, workloads and modes of work performance are not easily distinguishable from one another. Another contradiction regarding variables that directly affect professional satisfaction and self-confidence, such as income, time control, and job security, arises from the difference between the status of humanities and STEM teachers. In particular, humanities teachers working in private course centers reported that they were at a disadvantage compared to their counterparts in STEM subjects. How and to what extent this distinction contributes to the deepening of the status differentiation between teachers and the process of precarization needs to be further explored.

Gender inequality persists in the experience of precarization. An issue accompanying the widespread devaluation of labor power and the vulnerabilization of labor in the neoliberal phase is the marked increase in women's employment, in other words, the "feminization of labor" (Standing, 2014), and one of the consequences of the process has been the global manifestation of the so-called "feminization of poverty" (Moghadam, 2011). As Kayacan (2021) has shown, the clearest indicator of this process in Türkiye is the rapidly rising proportion of women in the teaching profession, which has been rapidly devalued since the 2000s. Especially in private sector schools where economic exploitation increases steadily, two-thirds of teaching labor is performed by women. The female participants in this study have also experienced the lack of "equal pay for equal

work" in the privatized education universe, as well as the drudgery of work stereotypically assigned to women. Another instrument of domination that female participants are more frequently made the object of is the 'family discourse.' Participant educators witnessed the widespread use of a family discourse by their supervisors to perpetuate economic exploitation or to stretch management obligations in practice. In this discourse, the family, imposed as the normative environment of human upbringing, is presented as the social logic of the teaching work in a patriarchal allegory produced in the school environment. In this crude allegory, the position of children remains unchanged. Still, teachers are positioned as the parents with whom children are expected to enter into loving relationships, and capitalists and administrators are the grandparents of such a social order and must be respected. The teacher's actions to protect their violated rights are condemned as violating the sanctity of this family and, thus, the established order of symbolic violence. Female teachers are positioned at the bottom of the hierarchy as 'mothers' and caregivers within this order.

Another salient dimension of the experience of precarity in this research is that precarious teachers in Türkiye, like all precarized contemporary workforces (Standing, 2014), are deprived of the possibility to design their future. This applies not only to the idea of a long-term future but also to medium- and even short-term plans, especially in the case of private courses and private school teachers who work on annual contracts. The level of wages makes it difficult to acquire even the essential equipment of modern life, let alone the possibility of creating a minimum saving. Ordinary life events that require a minimum of financial self-confidence, such as establishing an autonomous life from the parental generation or getting married, become experiences that crush precarious teachers psychologically, and sociologically. Social life is becoming increasingly limited, and even the sustainability of family ties is being eroded.

Hourly-paid teachers, who are not only deprived of the guarantees that the state can offer but also rendered objects of exploitation by the state itself (Kırlıbal, 2024; Polat, 2014), constitute the most researched category among pre-service teachers. Participants in the status of hourly-paid teachers, who in many cases take on courses that are not fully compatible with the profession or science in which they are specialized, are aware that their job is based on a great injustice because hundreds of thousands of educators wait for their appointments. They admit they carry out their work with a deep guilt. In an economic limbo conditioned by part-time work, these individuals experience the most severe forms of precarization among educators, and their bitterness is often aggravated by the idea that they are a burden on their families.

The fact that the family is the most essential element of the welfare regime in Türkiye that provides refuge in the face of economic crises (Buğra, 2001) can be demonstrated once again in the context of precarizing teachers. Among the participants of this study, the most important mechanism for coping with the conditions of precarization appears to be reliance on family support. While there are various forms and levels of this support, despite the heavy emotional burden it brings, continuing to live with the parent generation or returning to the family home is a remedy many participants had to resort

to. Some of the participants work in extra jobs, which adds to the pressure of long working hours. It should be emphasized that the 'coping' here almost entirely refers to the economic conditions of subsistence, as the relative economic relief expected from additional jobs is accompanied by psychosociological distress and associated risks.

Almost all participants acknowledged the futility, irrationality, and alienation in trying to cope individually with the harsh conditions surrounding precarious life. Some interviewees concluded from their own experiences that a collective initiative would not succeed. According to them, support and solidarity among teachers is extremely weak. Except for hourly-paid teachers, who do not have the chance of union membership anyway, some of the participants saw a way to defend their rights and lives in union organizing. These participants' testimonies reveal hopeful and relatively shadowy aspects of the still very recent unionization process of private school teachers. While these testimonies do not show any improvement in the general wage level of corporatized schools or in the base salary, which was the most critical demand of the union, the union was able to push back its opponents on a number of issues such as overtime, drudgery, and arbitrary dismissal. On the other hand, the non-renewal of the contracts of educators who serve as workplace representatives, the most important figures in the organizing process in schools, which has been the subject of several lawsuits, hinders the spread of the union. At least three participants observed that engaging in union activity, or even discussing whether or not to become a member, leads to great pressure and harassment. Therefore, becoming a union member becomes a matter of courage for precarious teachers.

The loss of professional autonomy, the obligation to implement a curriculum without any input in its design, parents inundating with messages at all hours, demanding returns for the school fees they pay, overtime stretched into weekends for centralized exam preparations, colleagues who embrace competition over solidarity, supervisors who turn hazing into a daily routine, and the relentless stress of a second job necessary to make ends meet -all combine to create an unrelenting and exhausting reality. The most absurd but probably the most meaningful thing we heard about in the whole ordeal of the precarious educator was what a school boss said to a teacher who could not earn enough to live on in return for her 50 hours of work a week: "We don't have to provide your livelihood!" The irresponsibility conveyed in this statement -a sentiment even an ancient master would hesitate to address toward their slave in the absence of an abundant supply of labor- can only be expressed from one subject to another within the framework of a fantasy where value is detached from labor, and individuals (parents and students) are deceived into believing the lie that each of them is "special," with their subjective choices framed as the sole determining factor. Only in a fiction where education's "decisive role both in the production of goods and services and in the production of producers" (Bourdieu, 1998: 95) is ignored and where the school system is turned into a matter of profit to be maximized can such a sentence be uttered. Only in a neoliberal world where teachers are increasingly transformed into temporary, unqualified and precarious workers can a capital owner pronounce this cruelty on educators who work 50 hours a week and have practically no lives outside of work. And

as an instance of the methodical destruction of collectives (Bourdieu, 1998), the devaluation of teacher labor can only be resisted through collective resistance and activism.

Recommendations

In the context of global capitalism, where marketization and precariousness permeate every aspect of life, the precarisation of teaching practices other than permanent status in the public sector has deepened the social problems experienced by teachers. The abolition of the practice of "hourly paid teaching", which reproduces low-wage employment and acts as a band-aid in the field of education, the instatement of non-appointed teachers in their rightful positions and the equalization of teachers' rights, without making any distinction between the private and public sectors, can have an impact on eliminating the destructive effects of precarization. It is imperative to stop the practice of fixed-term contracts that lead to precarious work, to improve working conditions against pressure and harassment, to reinstate the practice of a basic salary in the private sector against long working hours and low wages, to recognize private sector teaching as part of the education work branch, and to ensure that trade union activities can be carried out in accordance with the rights enshrined in the constitution. In the face of the devaluation of teachers' labor and the social problems experienced, it is necessary to plan and implement rights-based social policies in the field of education and employment, and perhaps more importantly, it is required to step up the social struggle to recover and advance social and professional gains.

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Genişletilmiş Türkçe Özet

Neoliberal koşulların yaygınlaşmasının ve derinleşmesinin 21. yüzyılın çalışan sınıfları üzerindeki yıkıcı sonuçlarını ifade eden prekerleşme, giderek yaygın bir kamusal ihtiyaçtan çok bir hizmet alt sektörü gibi görülmeye başlanan eğitim alanını da etkiledi. Ulusal düzeyde en geniş meslek gruplarından birini oluşturan öğretmenler, tüm dünyada olduğu gibi Türkiye’de de neoliberal kapitalizmin küresel çaptaki işleyişinin, değerini düşürerek baskı altına aldığı özgül ve vazgeçilmez bir emek kategorisinin yüklenicileri haline geldiler. Pierre Bourdieu’nün deyişiyle, “kolektiflerin yöntemli olarak yıkımına yönelik bir program” olarak işletilen neoliberalizm (Bourdieu, 1998: 96), serbestleşme, özelleştirme, kuralsızlaştırma, piyasalaştırma, girişimci vergi yüklerinin düşürülmesi ve sermaye, hizmet ve metaların akışının hızlandırılmasına yönelik küresel süreçlerin bir bileşkesi olarak biçimlendi (Moini, 2016; Mudge, 2008). Kapitalizmin bu son aşaması, emek süreçlerinin esnekleştirilmesi; emek piyasalarının, çalışma koşullarının ve gelirin güvencesizleştirilmesi ve istihdam koşullarının enformelleşmesi ile karakterize olur. Proleterya ve ‘precarious’ (güvencesiz, tehlike altında, istikrarsız) terimleri birleştirilerek prekarya olarak adlandırılan bu kategori ve onu biçimlendiren/tanımlayan süreçler günümüzün önemli sosyolojik meselelerinden birini oluşturur. Bir kolektif özne(leşme) olgusu ve kavramı olarak prekaryanın kapsamı, sınıf nitelikleri, siyasal dönüşüm ve dönüştürme potansiyelleri konusunda tartışmalar sürse de onu biçimlendiren prekarizasyon olgusu ve süreçleri hakkında genel bir mutabakat bulunduğu söylenebilir (Arnold ve Bongiovi, 2013; Casas-Cortés, 2014; Foti, 2017; Jørgensen, 2016; Kalleberg, 2009; Standing, 2014).

Eğitim, neo-liberal güçlerin öncelikli olarak dönüştürmeye çalıştığı kamusal etkinliklerden biri olageldi. Yeni kapitalizm koşullarında okullar giderek özel şirketler gibi işlemeye, eğitimin amaçları piyasanın gereksinimlerine uygun olarak belirlenmeye başladı (Apple, 2004; McLaren, 2007). Türkiye’de de hak temelli eğitim anlayışı aşındırıldı, kurumsal amaç ve işlevler piyasalaşma doğrultusunda dönüştürüldü, eğitim ve bilgi üretim süreçleri metalaştı ve nitelikli eğitime erişim zorlaştı (Gök, 2014; İnal, 2006; Koray, 2012; Sayılan, 2006). Son yirmi yıllık süreçte öğrenci sayısının artmasına, öğretmen atamalarının sınava bağlı hale gelmesine ve yeterli atamanın yapılmamasına bağlı olarak giderek artan eğitimci ihtiyacı, sözleşmeli, geçici ve ders saat ücreti karşılığında çalışan ücretli öğretmenler aracılığıyla karşılanmaya çalışıldı (Güvercin, 2014; Kablay, 2012; Keskin Demirel, 2012). Özel okulların toplam okul sayısına oranı son yirmi yılda beş kat arttı (Altun Aslan, 2019; Can ve Sezer, 2022); dershaneler ve özel okullar, genellikle atanamayan öğretmenlerin güvencesiz koşullarda, düşük ücretle ve performans baskısıyla istihdam edildikleri bir piyasa bağlamı oluşturdular (Tomruk Ünal, 2020; Ulutaş, 2014).

Bu araştırmanın konusu, neoliberal politikaların yarattığı prekarizasyon süreçlerinin kamu ve özel sektörde çalışan öğretmenlere etkilerinin deneyimlenme biçimleridir. Düşük ücretlerle, zayıf özlük haklarıyla ve işveren lehine çeşitli biçimlerde esnetilen iş koşullarıyla çalıştıkları daha önce yürütülmüş araştırmalarda belirginleşmiş bulunan dersane öğretmenleri ve ders saat ücretli devlet okulu öğretmenlerinin yanı sıra, varlık

koşulları şimdiye kadar pek az incelenmiş bulunan özel okul öğretmenleri, İstanbul'da yürütülmüş bu araştırmanın odağında yer alıyorlar. Amaç, piyasalaşmanın basıncı ve güvencesizliğin mesleki, kurumsal ve bireysel yaşamlar düzeyinde yarattığı vakum altında eğitimci deneyiminin aldığı biçimleri ve bu koşullarla baş etme biçimlerini anlamaya çalışmaktır. Böylece zamanımızda bir sonraki kuşağın deneyim ve üretim kapasitesini üretmekle yükümlü emek kategorisinin kendi etkinliğinin koşullarına ilişkin görüşleri ve bakış açıları sergilenirken, artık vadesinin sonuna vardığı düşünülen neoliberalizmin tüm bu etkinliğe verdiği hasar da biraz daha görünür kılınmış oluyor.

Nitel yöntemle ile yürütülen bu çalışmada eğitim alanındaki neoliberal uygulamaların yarattığı prekarizasyon süreçleriyle bağlantılı öğretmen deneyimlerini ve bakış açılarını anlamak, eğitimcilerin bu süreçteki ilişkilere attıkları anlamı keşfetmek üzere fenomenolojik yorumlayıcı analiz (Creswell, 2013), araştırma deseni olarak benimsendi. Araştırmanın katılımcıları, İstanbul'da 2000 yılından sonra özel okullarda ve dershanelerde istihdam edilmiş öğretmenlerin yanı sıra kamuda en az bir eğitim öğretim dönemi ders saat ücreti karşılığında çalışmış öğretmenlerdir. Çalışmanın amacına uygun olarak, amaçlı örnekleme stratejilerinden "kartopu veya zincir örnekleme" (Patton, 2018) yoluyla ulaşılan, preker öğretmenlik deneyiminden geçmiş 22 katılımcıyla, açık uçlu sorulara dayanan, yarı-yapılandırılmış derinlemesine görüşmeler gerçekleştirildi.

Eğitimin neoliberalleştirilmesinin güvencesiz öğretmenlik deneyimindeki karşılıklarını araştıran bu çalışmaya katılan eğitimcilerin anlatımları, söz konusu deneyimin üç temel veçhesi olduğunu ortaya koyar. Bunların ilki, öğretmenleri içinde buldukları sistemde konumlandığı söylenebilecek, son çeyrek yüzyıllık dönem içinde eğitimi belirgin bir biçimde bir hizmet alt sektörü haline getiren maddi koşullarla ilişkilidir. İkinci veçhe ise öğretim emeğinin eğitim alanındaki daha sosyal nitelikli ilişkilerinin deneyimlenmesine temellenen gayri-maddi ya da duygulanımsal ilişkilerine denk düşer. Üçüncü veçhe ise katılımcı öğretmenlerin dayatılan ekonomik koşullarla ve onların gündelik yaşamdaki gerçek boyunduruğunu temsil eden sosyal tahakküm ilişkileriyle başa çıkma yöntemlerinde yoğunlaşır.

Bu bağlamda elinizdeki çalışmada belirginleşen ilk olgu, sınırlı süreli sözleşme uygulamasının eğitim alanında güvencesiz çalışmayı güvenceye aldığı ve öğretmenlerle işverenleri arasındaki ilişkiyi son derece eşitsiz yapılandığıdır. Uzun çalışma saatlerinin, yetersiz ücretlerin, ve kadrolu öğretmenlerinkilerle karşılaştırıldığında son derece güdük kalan özlük haklarının prekerleştirilmiş öğretmenleri geçim sıkıntısı ve zaman yoksunluğundan oluşan bir cendere içinde ezdiği konusunda da katılımcılar arasında bir fikir, duygu ve deneyim birliği bulunur. Katılımcıların deneyimlerinin ortak yanı, okuldaki sosyal ilişkilerinin piyasanın yozlaştırıcı etkisini alıyor olmasıdır. Katılımcılar, öğretmen emeğinin ticarileşmesiyle birlikte öğretmenlerle öğrenciler/veliler arasındaki bağların ve iletişim kalıplarının satıcı-müşteri ilişkisinininkileri andırmaya başladığına tanıklık etmektedirler. Yaygın baskı ve angarya pratiklerinin, gebelik gibi ihtimam gerektiren durumlarda bile uygulanabildiği görülmüş, sendika üyesi eğitimcilerin bu pratiklere daha yoğun maruz kaldığı aktarılmıştır.

Kamu okullarındaki güvencesiz eğitim emeği ile daha konvansiyonel emek tarzlarını bir arada gözlemlemeyi olanaklı kılan ücretli öğretmenlik deneyimi, prekerleşme sürecinin

kuvvetini de görmemizi sağlar. Toplumsal cinsiyet eşitsizliği prekerleşme deneyimi içinde de varlığını sürdürür. Bu araştırmanın kadın katılımcıları da “eşit işe eşit ücret”in özelleştirilmiş eğitim evrenindeki eksikliğini bizzat yaşamışlar; aynı zamanda stereotipik olarak kadınlara yüklenen işleri angarya olarak deneyimlemişlerdir. Kadın katılımcıların daha sık nesnesi haline getirildikleri bir başka tahakküm aracı ‘aile söylemi’dir. Güvencesizlik deneyiminin bu araştırmada göze çarpan bir başka boyutu, tüm prekerleşmiş çağdaş işgücünde olduğu gibi (Standing, 2014) Türkiye’deki güvencesiz öğretmenlerin de geleceklerini tasarlayabilme olanaklarından yoksun kılınmış olmalarıdır.

Bu araştırmanın katılımcıları arasında prekerleşme koşullarıyla baş etme mekanizmalarının en önemlisi aile desteğine dayanmak olarak görünür. Katılımcıların bir bölümü ek iş yapmaktadır ki bu, uzun çalışma saatlerinin oluşturduğu baskıyı daha da artırmaktadır. Katılımcıların hemen tümü preker hayatı kuşatan bu ağır koşullarla bireysel olarak baş etmeye çalışmanın beyhudeliğini, yabancılaştırıcılığını ve akıldışılığını kabul eder. Görüşülen bireylerin bir kısmı kendi deneyimlerinden kolektif bir girişimin başarılı olamayacağı sonucuna varmıştır. Sendikal faaliyet yürüten olan katılımcılara göre, şirketleşmiş okulların genel ücret düzeyinde ya da örgütlenmenin en önemli talebi olarak görülen taban maaş konusunda bir gelişme görülmesi bile sendika, fazla mesai, angarya ve keyfi işten çıkarma gibi bir dizi meselede muarızlarını geriletebilmiştir. Öğretmenlerin giderek geçici statüde, vasıfsızlaştırılmış ve güvencesiz işçilere dönüştürüldüğü neoliberal bir dünyada kolektiflerin yöntemli yıkımının bir örneği olarak öğretmen emeğinin değersizleştirilmesine ancak kolektif direniş ve eylemlilikle karşı koyulabilir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Neoliberalizm ve eğitim, öğretmen emeği, güvencesizlik ve prekarizasyon

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