

# The Focal Point of Stigma and Alienation in Education: Evaluation of Professional Lives Through the Eyes of Paid Teachers

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## Abstract

The main purpose of this study is to examine the professional lives of primary and secondary school teachers who have undisguised disadvantages, within the framework of their own narratives and experiences. In other words, it reveals how the concept of alienation, used by Karl Marx as an expression of the result of economic exploitation, and the concept of Stigma, used by Goffman, emerge and intersect in the lives of paid teachers. The data for the present study were collected from paid teachers working in schools located in the Kemalpaşa district of İzmir, where the population density is high. In this study, phenomenological design was preferred among qualitative research methods, while the snowball method among purposeful sampling types was used in determining the interviewees. Structured interview questions were preferred in this study. The analysis of the obtained data was resolved by content analysis. Research findings showed that paid teachers received salaries far below those of permanent teachers, which wears them out. Their insurance was paid in half, and as paid teachers, they were subject to stigmatization in their work areas and daily lives, and over time, alienation from their profession. This research was conducted with paid teachers working in five schools within a single district. Therefore, further research involving more schools and a larger sample size will likely yield richer data.

**Keywords:** Stigma, Alienation, Paid Teaching.

## About the Article

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## Introduction

The social welfare and development of countries and nations are parallel to the degree and quality of their education levels. Societies that have achieved educational success and stability in the context of this success are ahead of other societies in social, cultural, and economic aspects. These societal successes are linked to appropriate, strong, and balanced dynamics within the education system. Otherwise, disruptions occur with the aim of reaching developed, educated individuals and societies. In this context, it is possible to talk about the effects of neoliberal approaches on educational life. It is believed that these effects, which are not limited to business life, have reflections on educational life.

Approaches of neo-liberal policies such as flexible production and flexible working have also had an impact on education life and have also affected teacher employment, which is a critical point for an educational activity. Free market policies have caused significant restrictions on the state's health, social and education expenditures (Suğur & Doğru, 2010: 115). According to Dali (2017); as the relationship between the market and education deepens under the influence of neoliberal policies, this has led to the transformation of teacher employment. In this context, a form of employment called "paid teaching" has emerged and has caused many discussions. Paid teachers are teachers employed in schools under the Ministry of National Education and work in exchange for additional lessons (Gökşen, 2019). Before this situation, becoming a permanent teacher in the state or public sector required graduating from education faculties and having pedagogical formation training. In addition, candidates are expected to get sufficient scores from the Public Personnel Selection Exam KPSS exam and be successful in the interviews (Cantürk, 2023).

At this point, in Türkiye, the number of candidate teachers is more than needed, and the process of starting a job as a teacher and being appointed requires going through different difficult processes. A person who wants to become a teacher must first pass the Basic Proficiency Test (TYT) and Field Proficiency Test (AYT) in the context of the Higher Education Institutions Exam (YKS) conducted by the Measurement, Selection and Placement Center (ÖSYM) in Türkiye. In addition, teacher candidates who have successfully completed university must take the Public Personnel Selection Exam (KPSS) conducted by ÖSYM and get the sufficient score for the department they want. After getting the sufficient score from this exam, the interview process begins, and if they get the sufficient score from the interview, their appointment is made. Of course, the process does not end here, and teachers who are appointed on a contract basis gain the status of candidate teachers from the status of teacher candidates, and in order to pass from

the status of candidate teachers to full teachers, they are also subjected to another exam called the “Candidacy Removal Exam” (Demirbaş, 2022: 308).

In addition to the fact that these exams are thought to seriously tire candidate teachers, the number of candidates taking the exam increases every year. In this context, when the KPSS held in 2023 is taken into consideration, a total of 572.020 candidates applied to the Education Sciences session (ÖSYM, 2023). While people who do not meet these conditions are trying to fulfill these conditions again, they are also preparing for the KPSS exams again. Simultaneously, they apply to the National Education institutions in the provinces or districts and request to work as paid teachers.

Paid teaching is the practice of assigning teachers to schools with teacher vacancies or during periods when a permanent teacher is not at school (on leave, on sick leave, etc.) in return for an additional lesson fee in order to prevent disruption of education and training. The legal basis for the paid teaching practice is the decision of the Ministry of National Education administrators and teachers regarding the lesson and extra lesson hours in article 4/C of the Civil Servants Law No. 657. According to this law and decision, in cases where the number of teachers is insufficient, paid, part-time and temporary teachers who are called paid teachers can be employed according to article 4/C of the Civil Servants Law No. 657 (Öğülmüş et al., 2023).

In educational institutions of all levels, universities and academies (including military academies), schools, courses or non-formal education institutions and similar institutions, if there are no teachers or lecturers, teachers, lecturers or other civil servants or those to be appointed openly may be assigned additional teaching duties in return for payment (Civil Servants Law, 1965). The number of paid teachers is not clearly known throughout Turkey because they are assigned temporarily and the ministry does not share these numbers with the public (Tunç & Gülseven-Taner, 2020: 23). However, according to the results of a study conducted by Türk Eğitim-Sen in February 2025 and covering the years 2024-2025, a total of 86,136 paid teachers work in 78 provinces. While this information is based on information received from the governorships of 78 provinces, it is also seen that the province with the highest number of paid teachers is Istanbul with a number of 19,757 (Türk Eğitim-Sen, 2025). On the other hand, it is seen that this number is lower in a previous study covering the 2023-2024 year and the number of paid teachers in Turkey is 66,780 (Türk Eğitim-Sen, 2025). This situation reveals that the number of paid teachers is increasing and the number of teachers needed is increasing.

After paid teacher applications are made via e-government, graduation information is seen, province, district and branch preferences are determined. Applications are shown on the screens of provincial or district national education directorates and in the

following process, assignments are made to schools according to needs. The term of office of paid teachers during the education period ends with the appointment of a permanent teacher, the return to duty of the teacher after maternity leave, and the completion of the term or academic year. Sometimes, paid teachers may suddenly and unexpectedly learn from the administrative authorities of the institution where they work that their term of office has ended. Since paid teaching is temporary, if there is no cooperation between students, administration, teachers and parents, the process is disrupted and the paid teacher ends his/her duty without getting to know and adapt to the school and parents (Tunç & Gülseven-Taner, 2020). This can cause significant disappointment for paid teachers and their students.

On the other hand, these and similar possibilities affect the insecurity of paid teachers in the future and the decrease in their motivation in their work, as well as their ability to establish improved relationships with the administrative group and other permanent teachers in the school where they work. On the other hand, according to Ayna and Deniz (2022), since paid teachers are compensated based on the hours they teach, their earnings are very low, less than half of the salaries of permanent teachers. In addition, paid teachers do not receive compensation for medical reports when they are sick and do not receive wages during these periods. Due to these and similar reasons, the salary of paid teachers sometimes does not even meet the minimum wage. While paid teachers can take up to 30 hours of lessons per week, most paid teachers cannot take 30 hours of lessons. When looking at the hourly wage, the hourly wage of a paid teacher (for the 2<sup>nd</sup> Term of 2025) is equivalent to 120,67 liras, which is approximately \$3.09 (US Dollars). A paid teacher who takes 30 hours of lessons per week takes 120 hours of lessons in a month, provided that there are no holidays or interruptions. When it is also considered that the state provides an additional lesson every two hours, a total of 180 hours of lessons are formed. In this case, when calculated based on the single hourly wage (120,67) as stated above, the monthly salary of a paid teacher who takes 30 hours of lessons corresponds to 21,720 liras. In contrast, the lowest and highest salary ranges of permanent teachers vary between 52.000 and 62.000.

In addition to the economic discrimination that paid teachers experience, as well as the partial or lack of insurance-like rights, being described as “paid” causes them to experience a stigma both in their business life and personal lives. While this situation damages the sense of justice of paid teachers (Dogan et al., 2013), it causes job dissatisfaction, lack of belonging, alienation from work and quality problems in education (Polat, 2014). Studies on paid teachers reveal that; in addition to not being accepted as regular teachers, the work they do is not valued and they are not treated

fairly (Karadaş & Yıldız, 2024). People who work as paid teachers have many problems and these problems are waiting to be solved. It is not possible to move forward or ignore these problems without solving them (Bilgiç & Ekinci, 2020).

The situation of paid teachers and the problems they experience have characteristics that overlap with the “precariat” group emphasized by Guy Standing. Precariat is the expression of a group formed by individuals, workers and their families who suffer the consequences of the risk and insecurity brought about by the flexibility in the labor market that emerged under the influence of neo-liberal policies (Standing, 2020: 11). While this concept is translated into Turkish as “precariousness”, it aims to define an increasingly expanding insecure mass (Günerigök & Oğur, 2018: 138). On the other hand, another way to understand the precariat is to understand how people become precarious. This means being exposed to pressures that cause living in an insecure existence and going through these experiences (Standing, 2020: 36). In fact, precariat is an expression of not being able to gain a protected area within social networks while being excluded from social institutions and systems (Günerigök & Oğur, 2018: 142). On the other hand, another way of describing the precariat is the concept of “partial citizen”. It is the name given to a person who has more limited rights compared to normal citizens for one reason or another (Standing, 2020: 31). When considered in this context, the pressures and problems experienced by teachers assigned as paid employees in terms of social rights and relationships, especially in terms of salary, are significantly similar and overlap with the group called the precariat. Especially, the serious differences in terms of job description, income status and personal rights compared to permanent teachers who do similar jobs in the same places cause paid teachers to become precariat and to have serious concerns about the future. This situation damages their sense of belonging and causes them to become alienated from their profession (Yağan, 2022: 16).

The precarious situation of paid teachers, the lack of any employment contract, the anxiety of being laid off or the uncertainties after the temporary working period show the feelings and discourses of the social classes belonging to the precariat (Günerigök & Oğur, 2018: 142). The precariousness experienced by paid teachers regarding their future, the lack of a clear situation about what will happen to them, wears them out emotionally and negatively affects their motivation. As Standing (2020: 90) also stated, precariousness causes stress and negative erosions from the individual’s life, making the situation worse. Although it is not a support provided by economic security, it is likely that the flexible labor market will produce such results.

In this context, this study addresses the problems faced by paid teachers working in secondary and high school institutions affiliated with the Ministry of National Education in terms of their economic and social relations and their perceptions of these problems. In addition, conducting research that will reveal the problems of paid teachers comprehensively and scientifically will affect the expected important regulations. Considering the importance of the research, the fact that it will have an up-to-date quality regarding the material and moral problems of paid teachers will provide an important source of information. On the other hand, the fact that the research is carried out in the form of in-depth interviews will shed important light on the unknown and unclear problems of paid teachers in terms of their financial problems as well as their relationships. A review of the literature shows that there are limited studies addressing the problems of paid teachers, making this an important educational issue both qualitatively and sociologically. Therefore, this study can fill an important gap.

### **Stigma**

The symbolic interactionist approach is a micro-level theoretical approach within the sociological framework that examines how society is formed and maintained through repeated interactions between individuals (Carter & Fuller, 2015). Symbolic interactionism studies, which focus on the origin and interpretation of the interaction process during interpersonal relationships, form the basis for semantic and communication science studies (Alver & Çağlar, 2015). In terms of interaction, the symbolic interactionist approach provides a framework for addressing “stigma”, which is an important phenomenon in interpersonal relations (Roe et al., 2010). “Stamp” is associated with Goffman within the symbolic interactionist approach. According to Goffman, stigma refers to the fall from grace itself, rather than the physical symptom of the fall from grace (Goffman, 2014). Similarly, according to Goffman, normal and stigmatized individuals are not concrete persons, but rather constitute a point of view and are socially produced (Goffman, 2014). In fact, Goffman is interested in the gap between what people should be, that is, the “supposed social identity”, and what they actually are, that is, the “real social identity”. People who have a gap between these two identities are stigmatized (Ritzer & Stepnisky, 2014). On the other hand, stigma is a complex construct with personal, structural and public components (Corrigan et al., 2014). According to Goffman, three different types of stigmas can be mentioned: The first type is the horrors of the body and physical deformations, while the second type of stigma includes character disorders defined as oppressive or more unnatural passions, weak will, rigid beliefs, perversions and immorality, such as imprisonment. Examples include alcoholism, unemployment, suicide attempts mental disorders, alcoholism,

addiction and radical political attitudes. Finally, in the third stamp, there are ethnological types. These stigmas are the ones that are transmitted through lineage and infect all members of the family equally (Goffman, 2014).

On the other hand, since the stigma is contagious, the stigmatized person shares some of the stigma and disrepute with their relatives, and their circle of friends, acquaintances and people with whom they have relationships other than their relatives tend to terminate their relationships with the stigmatized person (Goffman, 2014). As can be understood, stigma can affect many disadvantaged people and groups in society and affect them negatively. In its most general terms, this disadvantaged position is explained as a place occupied by people who experience certain characteristics of the person and inadequate or limited living conditions (Burcu-Sağlam, 2017). One of the disadvantaged groups in question is paid teachers who experience financial problems as well as relational problems in their professional lives.

Paid teachers may face problems such as exclusion, discrimination, marginalization and stigmatization in the schools they work. Paid teachers, who are also referred to as unassigned teachers, may experience psychosocial problems such as burnout and alienation during this process, as well as problems such as financial difficulties and working in insecure jobs due to employment-related problems (Çinkır & Kurum, 2017). According to Kızıldaş (2021); paid teachers may face problems such as marginalization in the institutions they work for. In addition to the fact that the rights provided to them such as salary and insurance are very few compared to permanent teachers, the relational problems they experience negatively affect the motivation of paid teachers and cause them to face problems such as stigmatization over time.

### ***Alienation***

The concept of alienation is generally the deterioration of the relationship between the object and the subject or between consciousness and things, or the alienation of the subject unit. Historically, the first name that comes to mind regarding this concept is Hegel. Although this concept of being someone else is seen in Hegel, Marx, unlike Hegel, deals with this concept in a social and economic context. While discussing this concept in an economic context, it declares production processes and working life as criminals (Aydoğan, 2015). Although alienation is a difficult concept to understand, it has been found to be a concept that constitutes the central area of interest of sociological analysis (Sarfraz, 1997). Alienation indicates that he cannot be himself, loses his excitement and becomes mechanical. (Atmaca et al., 2021). Alienation is the state of knowing that anything done is done not for our own or anyone else's admiration or respect, but on the orders of someone else and for someone else's sake (Standing, 2020: 42).



When this concept is considered in the context of Marx, it reveals the situation where the worker cannot perceive the flow of life as a whole and cannot realize himself in the context of his labor, and perceives the outside world, the people around him, and even himself in an alienated state due to the effect of alienation (Yedekci, 2016). In other words, working life leads to alienation and creates places where employees are exploited (Bozkurt, 2015). We can think of alienation as consisting of four types of components: (1) alienation of employees from their productive activities, (2) alienation from the product and service they provide, (3) alienation from their colleagues at work, and finally (4) alienation from their human qualities and human potential (Ritzer & Stepnisky, 2014). Alienation, which is also expressed as psychological and intellectual distance and loneliness, as well as being perceived materially, is related to the person feeling worthless and meaningless (Shah, 2015). In this case, the environment and the self emerge as a disorder that leads to deep loneliness and despair (Ghaleb, 2024).

For paid teachers, it can be said that their lack of job security and their concerns and feelings of uncertainty about their future lives increase their alienation from their profession (Atmaca, 2020). In addition, it can be said that the emotional stress and pressure created by the “unappointed teacher” stigma developed about them by both their environment and their colleagues causes alienation from themselves and their profession (Güvercin, 2014). On the other hand, while alienation affects educational institutions in various ways, this situation may occur depending on the qualifications of the school where the teacher works, the value given to the teacher by the administration, and the opportunities provided to the students (Özgen & Erdem, 2023).

### **Purpose of the Research**

The main purpose of this research is to examine the experiences of paid teachers who are disadvantaged compared to permanent teachers in terms of material and moral rights. In this context, the following questions were sought:

1. Is the professional experience of paid teachers limited to only financial elements and certain rights?
2. How do paid teachers explain their situation?
3. What are the perceptions of paid teachers about their current schools?



## Method

### Model of the Research

In this study, the qualitative research method was preferred to understand the economic, social and cultural problems of paid teachers in more detail, and to reveal in detail the problems arising from being a paid teacher, both in their relationships in business life and social life. This method was preferred especially to ensure that paid teachers provide broader, more comprehensive and more detailed information to the questions asked. Thus, it was possible to reach deeper information. Qualitative research can be defined as research in which data collection techniques such as observation, interviews and document analysis are used, and a qualitative process is followed to reveal perceptions and events in a realistic and holistic way in their natural situations. From a different perspective, qualitative research is an approach that prioritizes researching and understanding social phenomena within and within the environment they are connected to, with an approach based on theory building (Yıldırım & Şimşek, 2013).

Qualitative approaches express a different scientific research perspective than quantitative research techniques. Although the processes of both are similar, qualitative approaches are based on text and imaginary data and have their own unique steps and different patterns in the analysis of the collected data (Creswell, 2016). In this context, snowball (chain) sampling, one of the purposeful sampling methods, was preferred as the sample selection of the research, as it would be most suitable for the purpose of the research. This type of sampling consists of reaching other people to be interviewed from the source people in the research area and growing the sample by reaching new people as a snowball continues (Kümbetoğlu, 2008). In this context, to reach the participants of this study, people who were assistant principals in two different schools were contacted, and then interviews were conducted by talking to the paid teachers working in those schools. Later, through the interviewed paid teachers, the interviewed paid teachers working in other schools were reached. On the other hand, for the field research part of this study, ethics committee approval was received from Bolu Abant İzzet Baysal University Human Research in Social Sciences Ethics Committee, in the context of issue 2024/205.

### Interviewers

The interviewees of this research consisted of 17 paid teachers who resided in the Kemalpaşa district of Izmir and worked in secondary and high school institutions affiliated with the Kemalpaşa Directorate of National Education (Table 1). The reason for the selection of research topics in this region is to ensure that studies of sufficient

quality to fully reflect the research topics are conducted and networks are provided in different educational institutions for application.

**Table 1:** Information about Interviewers

Nickname	Gender	Graduation Branch	Officer Branch	Formation Status	Graduation Degree	Term of Office
P1	Female	Theology	Religion	None	Associate Degree	3 Months
P2	Male	Physics	Physics	Yes	Undergraduate	2 Months
P3	Female	Science	Science	Yes	Undergraduate	3 Months
P4	Female	History	Special Education	Yes	Undergraduate	6 Years
P5	Female	Religion	Religion	Yes	Undergraduate	4 Years
P6	Female	History	History	Yes	Undergraduate	2 Years
P7	Female	Art	Art	Yes	Undergraduate	1Months
P8	Female	Literature	Literature	Yes	Undergraduate	3 Years
P9	Female	Maths	Maths	Yes	Undergraduate	3 Years
P10	Male	Machine	Machine	Yes	Undergraduate	3 Years
P11	Female	Literature	Special Education	Yes	Undergraduate	7 Years
P12	Female	Literature	Special Education	Yes	Undergraduate	4 Years
P13	Female	Philosophy / Child Development	Special Education	Yes	Undergraduate	9 Years
P14	Male	Guidance	Special Education	Yes	Undergraduate	1 Years

P15	Female	Geography	Social Studies	Yes	Undergraduate	1 Years
P16	Female	Religion	Religion	Yes	Master	4 Years
P17	Female	Literature	Special Education	Yes	Master	3 Years

Interviewers worked at five educational institutions. Four of them were secondary schools and one was a high school. Interviews were conducted with 10 paid teachers in secondary schools and seven in high schools. Teachers mainly work in special education and give special education lessons. The remaining paid teachers teach Physics, Mathematics, Religious Culture, Social Studies, Science, Machinery, Art and Literature courses. Three of the participants were men and the remaining 14 were women.

### Data Collection Tools and Process

First of all, the prepared questionnaire forms were examined by two different academicians, the questions that were requested to be removed were removed, and the questions that were requested to be added were added. Before collecting the data, people who could be contacted by the interviewees were identified and the paid teachers to be interviewed were reached through them. School principals, especially those working in different schools, were contacted and asked to meet with paid teachers in their schools. Interviews were held on days and class intervals that were convenient for the paid teachers who accepted the interview. Teachers' rooms, special education classes and empty classrooms deemed suitable were preferred as the places where the interviews were held. The research data were collected through a social demographic form and interview questions in the semi-structured questionnaire (*What do you think paid teaching means, how do you define the concept of paid teaching? How do you evaluate the working situation as a paid teacher? What would you like to say about the advantages of paid teaching? etc.*) The most important part of qualitative studies is to reveal which questions the research seeks answers to and the nature of the answers in question. While dealing with problems, researchers seek answers to one or more of the questions such as what, where, who, how and for what (Kümbetoğlu, 2008). Therefore, the questions in the interview form were evaluated by three academicians who experts in their fields before the interviews are. In addition, the interview questions were evaluated by the ethics committee academic team, and questions that were deemed inappropriate and needed to be changed were removed or edited. To avoid data loss and save time during the interviews, the interviews were recorded with a voice recorder and later transcribed. All participants are confirmed daily based on their voluntary and

marital principles. The names of the contestants are guaranteed to be kept confidential and not shared with anyone. The meetings were recorded with permission.

### **Data Analysis**

The content analysis method was preferred in order to examine the research data more appropriately and systematically and to reveal meaningful themes and relationships. Firstly, the research interviews were analyzed by two experts. During the analysis phase of the research data, the recorded voice recordings were transcribed in an orderly manner. Appropriate common areas were identified in the transcribed interview texts with the help of codes, and these were titled superordinate themes. Then, the codes and themes were arranged, and the findings were defined, and then the interpretation phase began (Yıldırım & Şimşek, 2013). As mentioned above, before the data of the study were subjected to content analysis, the transcriptions obtained were reviewed and read several times. The main reason here was to make the coding stronger and to create it. The coding stage took place within a general framework, and in this context, codes appropriate to the purpose and conceptual frameworks of the study were prepared before the data were collected, and then new codes were created after the data were read.

For example, while codes such as “Dam” and “Yab”, which express stigmatization and alienation in accordance with the purpose of the study, were prepared before the data were collected, codes such as “Dış” and “Ayrı”, which express exclusion and discrimination, were later included in the list after the data were collected. As in the codes given in this example, appropriate themes were developed to express each section in the code lists. For example, the theme “relations of paid teachers”, which is above the codes and related to the codes in subjects such as stigmatization and alienation experienced by paid teachers, constitutes an example of the themes to which the code lists are connected. As mentioned before, the data were analyzed using the content analysis method. The names of the teachers were kept confidential and were given codes as P1, P2, ..., P17. After the hard copies of the written texts and reports were read several times by the researcher, the coding phase began. On the other hand, the data of this research were evaluated in the context of the concepts of “*stigma*” and “*alienation*” to help better understand the problems of paid teachers such as alienation, stigma and exclusion.

### **Validity and Reliability**

One of the most important criteria for a study is that its results are convincing. In this context, “*validity*” and “*reliability*” are the two most commonly used criteria in studies (Yıldırım and Şimşek, 2013: 289). In terms of the validity and security of the study, control

was provided regarding the data collection and data analysis process from the beginning to the end of the study. The survey questions of the study were checked by three different academicians before the study. The data obtained from the first participant to the last participant was tried to be checked, and factors and situations that could harm validity and reliability were tried to be isolated. The voluntary consent and participation approval of each participant was obtained before the interview, and care was taken to obtain the data and comments correctly. In this context, the time required for the participants and the ease with which they could respond were provided. After the survey questions were completed, an effort was made to obtain additional information about the topics they wanted to add. In addition, participants were asked questions that were similar to each other in terms of validity and security. Before this entire process, participants were given extensive and satisfactory information about the subject before the research began, and the research was not started without obtaining the approval of the ethics committee.

## Findings

### ***Paid Teaching by Definition***

All participants answered the question *"How do you define the concept of paid teaching?"*, which was asked to 17 paid teachers who participated in this research. Considering the findings, the concept of "paid teaching" was evaluated by considering financial limitations and generally included *"not being paid in terms of salary"*, *"education provided in exchange for additional lessons"*, *"employment for less than the minimum wage"*, *"slavery"*, and *"per lesson"*. It is handled with definitions such as *"wage earner"* and *"seasonal worker"*. Some of the answers given by the participants to this question were as follows; for example, in the words of P10; *"In my opinion, doing the same job for less salary and being less satisfied is paid teaching"*. Another participant P13 said; *"Paid teaching is, in a sense, slavery. Since nothing is financially covered, it is only done by people who love students and value their profession"*. When an evaluation is made based on these quotes, it can be seen that; the perspective of the people who work as paid teachers on the concept of paid teaching is that they do not receive the salary that is in return for their labor in financial terms and the rights that they do not receive compared to the permanent teachers whom they compare in the quotes. The fact that paid teachers have fewer and more limited rights than permanent teachers in many matters, especially salary, also affects their views on their profession and the definition

of this profession. The descriptions of “being less satisfied” in the first quote, and “slavery” as an expression of economic inadequacy are important symptoms of this situation.

Within the scope of the interview research questions, the participants who were working as paid teachers were asked questions. For example, “what they would like to say based on the salary they receive and how they evaluate the situation of working as a paid teacher.” Participants first of all emphasized that the wages earned in terms of salary are very low and insufficient. Although the same work is done for permanent teachers, the wage is much lower than what permanent teachers receive. This situation significantly impacts their personal and professional lives. Some evaluations of the participants who work as paid teachers regarding their narratives on this subject are as follows: In the words of P12, *“Let me say this clearly and clearly, I remember crying while working in Armutlu that I had no money and could not send money to eshot. “I’m stuck on the road; I’m crying because it’s not enough to do anything.”* Similarly, P8 said: *“A very, very small amount at a time. In other words, you cannot support a married person with this money. A married person with a child cannot do anything in life with only one salary.”*

These narratives reveal that the participants who work as paid teachers are not satisfied with the wage or salary, they receive in return for the labor they put in, and this has a negative impact on their lives and professional lives. In the first quote above, the descriptions in the participant’s narrative of *“crying that I have no money”* and in the second quote *“we work the same but”* reveal the significant difficulties that paid teachers experience in terms of getting their salaries and the return of their labor. In another quote, P9 said, *“I mean, we are people who have proven certain things. You know, we are not workers, but we cannot even get the money that workers get, and I am saying this again, we work like permanent teachers, so there is no difference between us. We are people who are rotten”* and *“we cannot even get the money that workers get.”* These statements reveal the intellectual and psychological difficulties experienced, as well as the teachers’ perspective and alienation towards their own profession.

### **Stigma: A kind of common disadvantaged situation**

In general, if we evaluate the results of the research data, the relations of paid teachers with the administrative staff, permanent teachers, students and students’ parents in the period when this research was conducted and, in the institutions, where they worked were mostly and almost entirely positive and good. On the other hand, when the interviews of each paid teacher participant at the end of this study were analyzed, 8 out of a total of 17 participants stated that they were exposed to attitudes and behaviors that could be subject to stigmatization, either in the institutions where they had previously worked or by a relative of a paid teacher. Some of the narratives of the participants who

stated that they had grievances due to being a paid teacher or having the “paid” stigma were as follows: P5 said, *“So I can’t say anything about the school I work at, but my friend works at a school in Izmir, and even his principal and yes, his teachers and principal constantly emphasize that he is a paid teacher and constantly rub it in his face.”* Similarly, the statements of the 10th participant can be seen as quite interesting. *“Even if you teach the same course as a grade teacher, you are seen as a second-grade teacher [...]. They say yes, you are a teacher too, etc., but generally people’s looks are from outside...”*

On the other hand, P15 states, *“Paid teaching and normal teaching are both teachers, but when we look at one of them, it has the word paid at the beginning, and even that can sometimes push a person to a very different position”*. In the quotations given regarding the relationships of the participants who work as paid teachers, it is seen that they face the problem of the concept of paid and the stigma that comes from being a paid teacher. In particular, the concept of “paid” in the first quote and the negative consequences of its weight in relationships, and the participant’s anxious approach to the concept of “paid” in the third quote, stand out as an expression of significant pressure and stigma against the participants who actually work as paid teachers.

On the other hand, the participant’s “second-class teacher” approach in the second quote and his statements about trying not to make this felt in mutual relations are actually what Goffman (2014) stated as a situation of contradiction when expressing the situation of the stigmatized person; In fact, it reveals the approach that non-stigmatized people express to stigmatized people that they are like one of them, while on the other hand, they somehow explain that it would be futile to deny the difference in question. In addition, the statements of the participant in the last quote, such as *“They look at us as normal teachers”* and *“We are no different from them”*, reveal that the participants who are actually working as paid teachers have adopted and internalized the categories of “normal and non-normal”, “Us and Them”.

### ***Alienation: Paid teachers’ traditional trauma***

An important problem of the participants who work as paid teachers in terms of their social relations is the alienation process; they experience towards themselves and their profession. Although the participants do not directly state this concretely, they reveal the alienation process in question with the relationships they have experienced, their feelings and thoughts. Some of the evaluations of the participants (5 Participants) regarding the narratives of their alienation experiences are as follows: in the words of P6 said, *“I don’t have any other definition for such paid teaching. Frankly, it’s just a concept that upsets me[...]when we look at it, it is not a very good thing for a teacher to be working in a*



*working class.” Similarly, P13 said, “We are not at all satisfied with the negative situations, that is, economically. Psychologically, there is pressure in the environment and the pressure in my social environment. Is it possible to work for this price? Go to the market and work, you will get better, I see the same pressure from my family.” These quotes show the alienation practices of the participants who work as paid teachers.*

First of all, despite not having the full teaching qualification in the first quote, being “forced” to work with non-experts, as well as the problems posed by the economic and social relations experienced, and despite everything, wanting to do a profession in line with his education and having to continue doing it, being paid, it wears out teachers significantly. Especially, as stated in the second quote, the significant impact of “psychological and social pressure”, not being able to receive adequate financial and other rights, as well as the exclusion, discrimination and stigma problems they experience in their relationships, cause paid teachers to feel a significant alienation from their own profession, their relationships and life. Apart from these, in another quote, P1 stated the following: *“This definitely reduces one’s motivation at some point. I mean, I don’t know, people want to be materially and spiritually happy in their work, after all, there is only one thing we do in life. But of course, this does not meet financial expectations.”* As a matter of fact, the approaches of “discrediting” in the last quote and “wanting to be materially and spiritually happy” in the 3<sup>rd</sup> quote, but not being able to have them, explain the process of alienation.

### **Current workplace relationships**

One of the important findings of this research was to reveal the existing relationships in the schools where one of them was official at the time it was used in the treatment process. Although paid teachers have previous problems in terms of salary, social rights and important problems in terms of their relationships, they have had positive and important approaches to the permanent teachers, administrators, students and their parents in the schools where they currently work. The participants thoughts coded P8 regarding the relationships in question were as follows: *“Our administrator is very good in this regard, our teachers at the school are really good, we have not experienced any problems, that is, we have never seen the distinction between paid staff. I mean, I am speaking for this school. For example, there is discrimination in some schools in the center, not by the administration, but at least I see that the teachers do it, I have friends, they say it.”* In the words of P14 *“There is a completely fair approach in this school. I think I do not see any discrimination. I think there is no discrimination between them, but I can say this specifically for this school.”* The thoughts of these participants show that; participants are satisfied with the administration and permanent teachers in the schools they work in. In

addition, the thoughts of the 9th participant confirm these: *"There is no difference. I am lucky in that regard at the school where I work. I mean, I have heard of different ones, but there is no difference at our school, we are just like a normal teacher."* The last participant's thoughts also coincide with the previous two participants. But it is different in one aspect. Although participant 9 stated that they did not experience discrimination and exclusion, the approach of *"we are like normal teachers"* stated that he actually internalized and accepted the categories of 'normal and non-normal', 'paid teacher', 'permanent' or 'contracted teacher', although he did not want to and was conscious of it.

Even if it is not, it can be evaluated as being under their influence and reproducing this process of stigmatization and exclusion. On the other hand, the participants described the approaches of the management staff and other permanent teachers with sentences such as *"good"*, *"completely fair"* and *"normally"*. They emphasized that the students and parents also have promising approaches. It is evident from the above quotes that paid teachers did not experience any problems in terms of their relationships with both administrators and permanent teachers in the schools where they worked at the time of this research, and that they did not feel discrimination or exclusion.

However, an important point that should not be overlooked is that, while the participants express their thoughts about permanent teachers and administrators, they express their opinions such as *"we are lucky"* and *"there is no discrimination"*, as well as positive approaches, and that their opinions are limited and related to the school where they are currently working. In other words, the participants want to express that they faced problems such as exclusion, discrimination and stigmatization before their professional lives and in the experiences, they gained from other paid teacher colleagues. This result explains that the social problems experienced by paid teachers may differ depending on the schools and administrators they work for. Approaches such as *"in our school"*, *"I can limit it to this school (positive thoughts)"*, *"discrimination is made in some schools"*, which the researchers use when expressing their thoughts, are seen as important in terms of expressing the social problems that paid teachers experience from time to time.

## Results and Discussion

The neo-liberal model that emerged after the 1970s was based on the idea that growth and development depend on competitiveness and that everything should be done to increase competition and competitive potential. According to this model, it was necessary to increase the flexibility in the labor markets of countries. However, this meant that the

costs of risk and precarious work had to be borne by employees and their families (Standing, 2020). The impact of this model has shown itself in many areas and has also caused significant negative effects in the field of education. The effects of qualities such as flexibility and insecure employment on teacher employment are among the important examples of this situation. In addition to permanent and contracted teacher employment, there is also the increasing number of paid teacher employment.

Paid teachers aspire to study for a long time and begin working life after graduating from university. If they cannot be appointed, they seek work as paid teachers. Teachers who start teaching as “paid” teachers as they try to practice their profession, find a job suitable for the education they have spent, and shoulder the economic burden of life, even if the earnings are minimal, face important problems. The problems of paid teachers primarily and predominantly focus on salary; although they do the same job and put in the same effort as permanent teachers in the institutions where they work, they receive salaries approximately three times less than permanent teachers. This situation may affect the motivation of paid teachers in their work lives, their relationships in the institutions where they work, and their family and social lives. The salary problem identified in this research is consistent with previous studies (Ayna & Deniz, 2022; Doğan et al., 2013; Doğan & Aydın, 2023; Kanat, 2018; Yılmaz, 2018). On the other hand, the problems that paid teachers find themselves in can also affect the atmosphere in the schools they work in and can cause the concept of justice to be questioned. Paid teachers, who receive approximately one third less salary than permanent teachers, can feel excluded, subjected to inequality, and can have an internal attitude towards permanent teachers. This can sometimes cause a division into paid and permanent teachers within institutions and can have negative effects on the school climate and work peace.

As a result, there is a serious salary problem for paid teachers, which is basically not being appointed after graduation and not being able to receive the reward of their labor afterwards. In this case, two controversial questions and situations arise. First, why are paid teachers not appointed after graduation? Second, if there is a need for teachers, why are permanent teachers not appointed but paid? When considered as the first problem, reasons such as not being able to open enough positions and not being able to win the KPSS exam come to the fore. However, this situation also manifests itself in paradoxical situations that bring discussions.

First of all, the discussions about the nature of the KPSS exam and the objectivity of the interview process afterwards are voiced by paid teachers, and this situation creates a discussion and then hopelessness for paid teachers. On the other hand, as the second question, in addition to the fact that people who are not allowed cannot be appointed,

there are many protected people who come with assignments like themselves in the schools they are assigned to, this does not question some situations from its own perspective. Although there is a need for teachers in schools, the fact that there are many people who are not assigned as permanent staff and are employed creates a distrust towards the people who are hired, while an alienation and coldness towards themselves and their professions emerges.

While the issue of salary constitutes the most important problem of paid teachers, discrimination arises from this situation and the concept of “justice” is questioned. The participants’ descriptions of the salary such as “a funny wage”, “something like pocket money” and “a small fee” also emphasize this. On the other hand, regarding their social rights, the fact that their insurance is paid for half the number of days they have worked can be considered the loss of an important social right of paid teachers. Particularly, paid teachers are insecure about their retirement because their insurance is not paid in full and is paid very little. This emerging situation coincides with the findings of some studies (Bayar & Çelik, 2020; Cantürk, 2023; Dali, 2017). While it is seen that paid teachers, who have serious problems especially in terms of salary and insurance, answer the question “What are the disadvantages of paid teaching?” mainly in terms of “salary”, and this problem, combined with the lack of insurance and other rights, causes them to feel significant discrimination and exclusion. Over time, this situation becomes exhausting, and when they compare themselves with permanent teachers who do the same job, their motivation for their profession decreases, causing them to feel alienated.

This situation in particular reveals that, as adults and educated individuals, paid teachers are particularly not paid for their labor, are not satisfied financially, and are deprived of a basic right such as insurance, which causes significant disappointment, low motivation, and, as mentioned in the literature, a serious alienation from their profession. In this context, when evaluated through Marx, the person whose right to use his labor is taken away falls into a passive situation and as a result becomes alienated from his labor, work, and environment (Yedekci, 2016: 891).

On the other hand, the fact that paid teachers are in a partial and limited situation in terms of their negativities and rights also brings forward a discussion on the concept of “partial citizen” that Guy Standing uses for individuals and communities (Precariat) who are in flexible and precarious working conditions caused by neo-liberal approaches and globalization. Because although paid teachers are defined within the concept of “teacher” and are in the same place and doing the same job as permanent teachers, as Standing (2020 :11) puts it, for one reason or another, they have more limited rights compared to a normal citizen (or a permanent teacher).

Paid teachers have low salaries, half insurance, and are in an isolated situation in terms of their social rights. In particular, as one participant put it, the approach of “we have no guarantees” and “there is no institution we can take refuge in” reveals a significant precariousness in terms of future social rights as well as negative material conditions. Precarious work causes stress and negative emotions, as well as erosion in a person’s life and worsens this situation (Standing, 2020: 90). In total, this situation and the precarious way of working cause alienation and create environments where employees are exploited through their salaries (Bozkurt, 2015). In short, in addition to the financial deficiencies, anxiety about the future and precarious working conditions cause significant psychological and mental damage to paid teachers and increase the problems they experience.

The segregation of teachers by employing them in different capacities such as permanent, contracted and paid, causes issues like job insecurity and inequality for working teachers. This situation leads to significant issues such as a decrease in the quality of education, dissatisfaction, lack of belonging and alienation (Polat, 2014). As a result, deep economic and social problems arise in education and society. The reflection of inequalities within the class also manifests in many ways (Kaymaz & Atmaca, 2022). In addition, while the participants who are working as paid teachers stated that the paid teaching profession obviously does not have any advantages, it was observed that some of the paid teachers who evaluated in terms of advantages highlighted situations such as “gaining experience” and “doing their job”.

While this situation provides some advantages for the paid teachers who are newly appointed or will be appointed in terms of warming up to their profession and being able to overcome their excitement, this situation constitutes a very minor point when compared to the problems experienced and felt by paid teachers. Because the limited number of positions in terms of appointments and the prolongation of the processes of not being appointed cause significant wear and tear and burnout for paid teachers. On the other hand, an important part of the discussion is the difference in the society’s view of teaching. The significant problems experienced by paid teachers individually cause significant discredit and stigmatization in the view of the teaching profession in society. Because the employment of a portion of the society that is educated as teachers who have received university education and formation training with low wages and insufficient rights affects the view of individuals towards the teaching profession in society and causes a loss of reputation in the eyes of society. According to Kızıldaş (2021); it is possible to say that the practice of paid teaching damages the reputation of the teaching profession. In addition, paid teachers are socially described as “unappointed”,

“unearned”, “unsuccessful” teachers due to the working conditions and problems they experience, and they are subject to a kind of stigmatization.

A critical aspect of this research is the relationships in the institutions where paid teachers work. The research findings reveal that the relationships between administrators and permanent teachers, parents and students in the schools where paid teachers work are positive and continue with mutual respect and assistance. While the participants expressed the approaches of the management staff and other permanent teachers with sentences such as “good”, “completely fair”, “normally”, they also emphasized that the students and their parents had good approaches. While paid teachers stated that they did not experience any problems with students and students’ parents, a significant number of them also stated that they did not know the distinction between paid staff and the difference between students and students’ parents.

This finding is in terms of the relationships of 17 paid teachers in the schools and institutions where they worked as of the period when this research was conducted and the interviews were conducted. Otherwise, it is not possible to generalize this finding. Because, as stated in the literature, many studies and findings reveal the relational problems of paid teachers in the schools they work. In fact, almost all of the 17 paid teachers who participated in the study touched upon the relational problems that emerged in terms of their past experiences and the relatives of other paid teachers they knew. On the other hand, while this finding of the study differs from the studies that show that paid teachers are not taken seriously and are marginalized by parents, teachers and students (Ayna & Deniz, 2022; Bayar & Çelik, 2020), it aligns with the study indicating that paid teachers do not have problems with administrators (Polat, 2014).

However, it is in contrast to the studies (Gökşen 2019, Polat, 2014), which show that paid teachers do not communicate adequately with permanent staff and are not considered by students. In this context, it is thought that these differences may differ in the context of factors such as the openness of communication between the administrative staff and teachers in the schools where paid teachers work, the level of sharing and dialogue between parents, students and teachers, and the socio-cultural situation of the city, district or settlement where the schools are located. On the other hand, although the participants in the research stated that the relationships in the schools they worked in were smooth and positive, nearly every paid teacher faced problems such as stigmatization, alienation in their experiences in the institutions where they had previously worked or through paid teachers who were their relatives. They appear to be face-to-face.

As stated above, while the problems of discrimination and exclusion primarily arise from the salaries paid to paid teachers and the low insurance paid, they are also seen in the attitudes and behaviors of the administrators and other permanent teachers in the institutions where they work, in terms of relations. As stated in their experiences with paid teachers who are friends and relatives of the previous institutions they have worked for or they know, the participants are labeled as “paid”, and since they are not permanent staff and their working hours are short and temporary, the approaches towards them are distant and distant. In this context, as expressed in Goffman, paid teachers are categorized and stigmatized based on their working hours and salaries, whether they are permanent or paid teachers. Stigmas are produced by individuals and society as a perspective (Goffman, 2014).

Particularly the description of “*landlord-tenant*” stated by one participant is a significant example of this situation. Stigma actually refers to the fall from grace itself, rather than the physical symptom of it. This situation may result in not being included in relationships and sometimes brings with it problems such as exclusion and discrimination. However, paid teachers put the same effort and perform the same job as permanent teachers but are deprived of most of the rights they should have. According to Öğülmüş et al. (2013); while paid teachers feel adequate in terms of their profession, they are dissatisfied in terms of wages and other rights and feel a lack of commitment to their profession. Although they see themselves as competent, their negative feelings about their personal rights and the wages they receive negatively affect their commitment to their profession. Paid teachers sometimes work on duty and do not receive money for their shifts like permanent teachers.

On special days, they prepare the class for ceremonies and take responsibility for the class by becoming class guidance teachers. In addition, although paid teachers can get a medical report when they are sick, their wages are cut and they cannot receive money like permanent teachers for periods such as leave, public holidays and snow holidays. This situation causes significant financial and economic pressure and stress for paid teachers, leading to a decrease in their motivation. On the other hand, the problems they experience such as stigma, exclusion and discrimination cause them to feel burnout, distance, disrepute and alienation towards their own lives, professions and relationships. According to Yıkılmaz and Altınacak (2021); the problems that paid teachers experience are not limited to the people they find in relationships at work and in relationships, but also stand out as anxiety about being appointed outside of school, financial difficulties and problems within the family. These issues reveal the alienation of the person from



production activities, the products and services they provide, their colleagues at work, and their human quality and potential (Ritzer & Stepnisky, 2014).

In addition to these, when we look at it, another important issue that emerged in the research is that a significant portion of the participants who work as paid teachers demand the abolition of paid teaching. This situation is particularly caused by the idea that it constitutes a major obstacle to permanent appointment, and it has been determined that 3 different views have emerged, with participants who want to make arrangements and improvements in the paid teaching practice. The first view consists of participants who work as paid teachers and want the conditions to be improved and corrected. While they state that they can continue their profession in this way, they expect the conditions to be corrected and improved.

Another view expects paid teachers to be transferred to the permanent staff, and to be increased to the permanent staff level in terms of current salaries and social rights. The defenders of the last and third ideas are mostly composed of participants who are graduates of education faculties and who are graduates of four-year universities and branches. Although there are those who state the other two different views among these three views, especially those who are in the third view want paid teaching to be both a way of restoring the lost reputation of the teaching profession, and to be carried out by people who are graduates of teaching departments, competent and in their own field, and to have the rights provided to permanent teachers as permanent teachers.

On the other hand, some of the participants who want the abolition of paid teaching want the abolition of paid teaching practice, thinking that this practice prevents the increase in the number of quotas. This situation that has emerged is in a situation that may cause the innocence of the paid teaching practice to be questioned. The fact that the number of people who graduate from teaching is increasing every year and the number of people assigned as paid teachers is also increasing in parallel is a situation that is criticized by the candidates who graduated from teaching and are waiting for a position. In addition, it would be valuable to think that the fact that paid teachers do not have any union activities and are not members of any union, the procedures and conditions of their assignment are lighter than those of permanent staff, and that they do not impose a significant financial burden in terms of salary and social rights may weaken the collective bargaining and resistance capacity of permanent teachers. As a result, when evaluated, it is seen that the paid teaching practice has an important role in many parts of the education sector, and paid teachers work within the broad labor dynamics in many areas where there is a teacher shortage. In addition to this study, when previous studies and the extensive literature are taken into consideration, it can be

thought that paid teaching will continue to play a structural role in broader labor dynamics with newness to be made regarding the paid teaching practice, salary, social rights or staff arrangements.

### **Suggestions**

In the context of the findings and results of this research, the following suggestions are considered important:

- First of all, the very low salaries of paid teachers can be regulated and improved.
- In particular, the social rights of paid teachers should be taken into consideration and their half-paid insurance should be provided in a way that it will be full.
- When assigning paid teachers, first of all, branch graduates should be assigned, and those who are 4-year faculty graduates and have formation training should be preferred.
- In order for the existing relationships in the institutions where paid teachers work to be more regular and fluent, information can be provided to both the teachers who will be employed as paid and the permanent teachers in the school, which will increase the relational sensitivity and awareness.

### **Limitations**

When the limitations of the research are evaluated, the following issues come to the fore:

- The research is limited to one high school and four middle schools.
- The research is limited to 14 female and 3 male participants.
- The research is limited to paid teachers working in 5 different institutions in Kemalpaşa district of İzmir province.
- The branches in which the participants in the research work are limited to theology-religion, physics, science, history, painting, mathematics, machinery, literature and special education.

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### Genişletilmiş Türkçe Özet

Ülkelerin ve milletlerin toplumsal refah ve gelişmişlikleri eğitim seviyelerinin derecesi ve kalitesi ile paralellik göstermektedir. Eğitim açısından başarı ve bu başarı bağlamında istikrarı yakalamış toplumlar, sosyal, kültürel ve ekonomik olarak diğer toplumların önünde yer almaktadır. Toplumların söz konusu başarıları eğitim sistemi içerisindeki dinamiklerin yerinde, güçlü ve dengeli olmaları ile bağlantılıdır. Aksi durumda gelişmiş, eğitilmiş birey ve toplumlara ulaşmak amacıyla aksamalar ortaya çıkmaktadır. Bu bağlamda neoliberal yaklaşımların eğitim hayatı üzerine etkilerinden bahsetmek mümkündür. İş hayatıyla sınırlı kalmayan bu etkilerin eğitim hayatında yansımalarının olduğu düşünülmektedir.

Neoliberal politikaların esnek üretim ve esnek çalışma gibi yaklaşımları, eğitim hayatında da etkisini göstermiş ve bir eğitim faaliyeti için önemli bir noktada olan öğretmen istihdamını da etkilemiştir. Dali'ye (2017) göre; neoliberal politikaların söz konusu bu etkisinde piyasa ve eğitim arasındaki ilişki derinleşirken, bu öğretmen istihdamının dönüşmesine neden olmuştur. Bu bağlamda "ücretli öğretmenlik" ismi altında bir istihdam biçimi oluşmuş ve beraberinde birçok tartışmaya da neden olmuştur. Ücretli öğretmenlik, Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı'na bağlı olarak okullarda istihdam edilen ve ek ders karşılığında çalışan öğretmenlerdir (Gökşen, 2019).

Bu durumun öncesinde, normal şartlarda devlete bağlı, kamuda ve kadrolu olarak öğretmen olabilmek ve görev yapabilmek için, eğitim fakültelerinden mezun olmak ve pedagojik formasyon eğitimi sahibi olmak gerekmektedir. Yanı sıra, adayların KPSS'den yeterli puan alarak, girilen mülakatlardan da başarılı olması beklenmektedir (Cantürk, 2023:128). Bu şartları sağlamayan kişiler tekrar söz konusu şartları yerine getirmeye çalışırken, aynı zamanda KPSS'ye yeniden hazırlanmakta ve aynı zamanda il veya ilçelerde bulunan Milli Eğitim kurumlarına müracaat ederek ücretli öğretmenlik yapmayı talep etmektedirler.

Ücretli olarak görevlendirilmesi sağlanan öğretmenlerin eğitim dönemi içerisindeki görev süresi, kadrolu öğretmen atamasının olması, doğum izni tamamlanan öğretmenin göreve geri dönmesi, dönemin veya eğitim yılının tamamlanması ile birlikte sona ermektedir. Bazen ücretli öğretmenlerin görev sürelerinin bittiğini, çalıştığı kurumdaki idare yetkililerinden öğrenmesi ani ve beklenmedik bir zamanda oluşabilmekte, bu ücretli öğretmenler ve öğrencileri açısından önemli bir hayal kırıklığına neden olabilmektedir.

Diğer taraftan bu ve benzeri ihtimaller ücretli öğretmenlerin ileriye yönelik olarak güvensizlik duymasına ve beraberinde işlerindeki motivasyonun düşmesine, yanı sıra

görev yapmış oldukları okuldaki yönetici grubu ve diğer kadrolu öğretmenlerle gelişmiş ilişkiler kurabilmesine de etki etmektedir. Diğer taraftan, Ayna ve Deniz'e (2022 :67) göre; ücretli öğretmenler girmiş oldukları ders saati kadar ücret aldıkları için kazançları kadrolu öğretmenlerin maaşlarına kıyasla yarısının da altında ve çok düşüktür. Ayrıca ücretli öğretmenlerin hasta olduklarında almış oldukları raporların karşılığı bulunmamakta, ücret alamamaktadırlar. Bu ve benzeri nedenlerle bazen, ücretli öğretmenlerin maaşı, asgari ücrete bile karşılık gelmeyecek durumda kalmaktadır.

Nitekim araştırma bulguları dikkate alındığında öncelikli olarak ayrımcılık ve dışlanma sorunları ücretli öğretmenlerin almış olduğu maaş ve az yatırılan sigorta ile öne çıkarken, ilişkiler açısından da çalışmış oldukları kurumlardaki yönetici kadro ve diğer kadrolu öğretmenlerin kendilerine yönelik olarak tutum ve davranışlarında da görülmektedir. Önceki çalışmış olduğu kurumlarda veya tanımış oldukları arkadaş ve yakını olan ücretli öğretmenler üzerinden deneyimlerinde belirtildiği gibi, katılımcılar "ücretli" damgası yemekte, kadrolu olmadıkları ve çalışma sürelerinin kısa ve geçici olduğu bilindiği için kendilerine yönelik yaklaşımlar mesafeli, uzak olmaktadır.

Özellikle bir katılımcının belirttiği "ev sahibi-kiracı" betimlemesi bu durumun önemli bir örneğini teşkil etmektedir. Bu durum ilişkilere dahil edilmeme yönünde ortaya çıkabilmekte, bazen dışlanma ve ayrımcılık gibi sorunları da beraberinde getirmektedir. Diğer taraftan ücretli öğretmenlerin yaşamış oldukları olumsuzluklar ve hakları açısından kısmi ve sınırlı bir durum içinde bulunmaları Guy Standing'in neo-liberal yaklaşımlar ve küreselleşmenin neden olduğu esnek ve güvencesiz çalışma şartları içinde bulunan kişi ve topluluklar (Prekarya) için kullandığı "kısmi vatandaş" kavramı üzerinden bir tartışmayı da ileri sürmektedir. Çünkü her ne kadar ücretli öğretmenler "öğretmen" kavramı içinde tanımlansalar, kadrolu öğretmenlerle aynı mekanda bulunup, aynı işleri yapmakta olsalar da, Standing'in (2020:11), ileri sürdüğü biçimde o veya bu sebepten ötürü normal bir vatandaşa (veya kadrolu bir öğretmene göre) kıyasla daha sınırlı haklara sahip durumdadır.

Ücretli öğretmenlerin maaşları az, sigortaları yarım, sosyal hakları açısından dışlanmış bir durum içinde bulunmaktadır. Özellikle bir katılımcının ifade ettiği şekilde "ücretli öğretmenlikten emekli olamazsın" yaklaşımı olumsuz maddi şartların yanında geleceğe yönelik sosyal haklar açısından da önemli bir güvencesizlik durumunu gözler önüne sermektedir. Güvencesizlik, strese ve olumsuz duygulara neden olmasının yanında kişinin yaşamında aşınmalara neden olmakta ve bu durumu daha kötü bir seviyeye taşımaktadır (Standing, 2020:90).



Ücretli öğretmenler, kadrolu öğretmenlerle aynı emeği vermekte, aynı işi yapmakta fakat olması gereken hakların çoğundan mahrum kalmaktadırlar. Ücretli öğretmenler bazen nöbet tutup, nöbetin karşılığı kadrolu öğretmenler gibi para alamamakta, özel günlerde sınıfı törene hazırlayıp görev almakta, sınıf rehber öğretmeni yapılarak sınıfın sorumluluğunu üstlenmektedirler. Ayrıca ücretli öğretmenler hasta olduklarında rapor alabilmelerine rağmen ücretleri kesilmekte, izin, resmi tatil, kar tatili gibi süreçlerde kadrolu öğretmenler gibi para alamamaktadırlar. Söz konusu durum maddi ve ekonomik açıdan ücretli öğretmenler için önemli bir baskı ve stres unsuru olarak ortaya çıkarken, motivasyonlarının düşmesine diğer taraftan yaşamış olduğu damgalanma, dışlanma ve ayrımcılık gibi sorunları kendi yaşamlarına, mesleklerine ve ilişkilerine yönelik olarak bir tükenmişlik, uzaklık, itibarsızlaşma hissetmelerine ve yabancılaşmalarına neden olmaktadır. Söz konusu durumlar ücretli öğretmenlerin kadrolu öğretmenler içerisine dahil edilmemesi yönünde, Giddens'in (2008: 403-404) ortaya koyduğu dışlanma biçimlerinden ilkinin ifade ederken, diğer açıdan ücretli öğretmenin veya damgalı kişinin çok önemsenmeyip, ilişki kurulmak istenmemesi ve ilişkiden kaçınılmak istenmesi açısından Goffman'ın (2014:61-62) vurguladığı damgalı kişi ile ilişkileri sonlandırma ve kaçınma durumuna örnek teşkil etmektedir. Diğer taraftan bu bulgu, yabancılaşma ve benzer sorunlar açısından (Dali, 2017; Güvercin, 2014) gibi çalışmalarla örtüşmektedir. Ayrıca her ne kadar dönemlik veya yıllık olarak ücretli öğretmenler görevlendirilse de kadrolu öğretmenin izinden döndüğü gün ücretli öğretmenin işine son verilebilmektedir. Hatta bu bilgi ücretli öğretmenin kendine ani olarak verilebilmekte, ders arası veya gün sonu büyük bir hayal kırıklığı ve şok yaşayabilmektedir. Ücretli öğretmenin kendi yaşamış olduğu bu hayal kırıklığı, aynı zamanda öğretmenini seven ve ona bağlı birçok öğrencinin de üzülmeye ve hayal kırıklığı yaşamasına neden olmaktadır. Toplamda çoğu da genç ve hayatının baharında denilebilecek eğitimli insanların "ücretli öğretmen" kavramı altında yaşamış olduğu maddi ve sosyal bu tarz gerçekler, bir neslin "adalet" ve "eşitlik" kavramlarını sorgularken, toplumundan, devletinden ve yaşamından güvensizlik duymasına sonuçta önemli bir insan kaynağının günden güne "erimesine" neden olmaktadır. Sonuç olarak, ücretli öğretmenler maddi ve sosyal olarak birçok sorunla yüz yüze gelmekte, yaşamış oldukları problemler nedeniyle motivasyonları düşmekte, geleceğe ümitli bir biçimde bakamamakta, mesleki yaşamlarına ve hayata ilişkin yabancılaşma yaşayabilmektedirler.

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