

ALIENATION OF LABOR: PERCEPTIONS OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE  
TEACHERS AT TURKISH UNIVERSITIES

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## Thesis Abstract

Ebru Davarcı, “Alienation of Labor: Perceptions of English Language Teachers at Turkish Universities”

This qualitative study aims to figure out what perceptions of English language teachers have about their own labor under the condition of labor as a commodity. Through these perceptions, this research tries to find the answers for the following research questions which are (1) What are the perceptions of English language teachers working in the English preparatory schools of public and private universities about their own English language teaching labor? (2) What are the perceptions of English language teachers about the extent of their alienation in their labor? (3) What are the perceptions of English language teachers about the factors that trigger their alienation in both contexts? (4) How do English language teachers respond to their alienation in their own labor?

For this study, case study method was employed and data was collected through semi-structured interviews conducted with 12 participants in Turkish. All interviews based on single meetings were recorded and later transcribed and translated into English. As for the data analysis, all transcribed data were content-analyzed.

Findings showed that all the participants chose to be an English language teacher because of perceiving this labor as something with an employment guarantee in a way; yet they also found teaching something monotonous which showed the alienated character of their labor since they weren't content with it. As the majority of these participants dreamt about something else other than teaching till the end of their lives, they didn't identify themselves with their life activity but were doing it involuntarily which made them have no control over it. Perceptions of feeling less secure in the workplace which was especially common among the females and trying to make oneself more productive with less workload and more time despite already being productive were the indicators of the extent of alienation of the participants in private context. Similarly, perceptions of feeling secure in public context were also the indicators of how alienated the participants were there because they were the contracted state employees who could be replaced any time but they were unaware of their situation. Also, perceiving students' undemanding nature as a reason for unproductivity in the public context or again perceiving them as imposing different expectations on teachers in the private context, and perceptions about how technology eased their work showed both the students and technology as the triggering factors for the alienation of participants in both contexts. However, division of labor among the teachers which was believed to ease work and different forms of conflicting relationships with the colleagues were the triggering factors of the alienation of all participants. Regarding how they dealt with their alienation, participants of both contexts responded their alienation with extreme tiredness especially the mental one affecting their social and private life. What was seen as an advantage in public context was the opposite in the private one; yet what was seen as an advantage such as the job security or money being paid was in fact the thing causing and triggering their alienation. Additionally, the things participants didn't like about being an English language teacher were indeed the factors triggering their alienation but they were unaware of that because of the loss of the reality.

## Tez Özeti

### Ebru Davarcı, “Emeğin Yabancılaşması: Türkiye’deki Üniversitelerde İngilizce Öğretmenlerinin Algıları”

Bu niteliksel çalışma emeğin meta olması durumunda, İngilizce öğretmenlerinin emeklerine karşı algılarının neler olduğunu incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Çalışma, bu algılar vasıtasıyla, şu sorulara cevap bulmaya çalışmıştır. (1) Devlet ve özel üniversitelerin İngilizce hazırlık okullarında çalışan İngilizce öğretmenlerinin, kendi İngilizce öğretmenliği emeğine karşı algıları nedir? (2) Bu İngilizce öğretmenlerinin emeklerindeki yabancılaşma boyutuna karşı algıları nedir? (3) Hem devlet hem özel bağlamında, İngilizce öğretmenlerinin yabancılaşmasını tetikleyen faktörler nelerdir? (4) İngilizce öğretmenleri emeklerindeki yabancılaşmaya nasıl tepki göstermektedirler? Bu çalışma için vaka çalışması kullanılmış ve veriler Türkçe olarak 12 katılımcıyla yapılan yarı-yapılandırılmış görüşmeler aracılığıyla toplanmıştır. Tekli görüşmeye dayalı bütün görüşmeler kaydedilip, transkripsiyonları çıkarılmış ve İngilizceye çevrilmiştir. Data analizi için transkripsiyonu yapılmış bütün veriler içerik analizine tabi tutulmuştur.

Bulgular göstermiştir ki, bütün katılımcılar İngilizce öğretmenliği emeğini iş garantisi olarak algıladıklarından İngilizce öğretmeni olmayı seçmişler fakat aynı zamanda öğretmenliği monoton bir meslek olarak da bulmuşlardır ve bu da yaptıkları işle mutlu olmadıklarından emeklerinin yabancılaşmış karakterini gösterir. Katılımcıların çoğu hayatlarının sonuna kadar öğretmenlik dışında başka bir iş yapmayı hayal ettiklerini belirttiği için, mevcut yaşam aktivitesi olan öğretmenlikle kendilerini özdeşleştirmemekte, gönülsüzce yapmaktadırlar ve bu tarz bir algı özel üniversitelerde çalışan katılımcılarda devlettekine oranla daha yaygındır. Özellikle kadın katılımcılarda daha yaygın olan iş yerindeki istihdamın devamı bakımından kendini daha az güvende hissetme ve zaten üretken olduğu halde daha fazla zaman ve daha az iş yüküyle üretkenliğini artırma çabası, özel üniversitelerdeki katılımcıların yabancılaşma boyutunu göstermektedir. Benzer olarak devlet üniversitelerindeki katılımcıların kendilerini güvende hissetmesi aslında yabancılaşmalarının boyutunu da yansıtmaktadır çünkü onlar her an yerlerine başkası geçirilebilecek devlet çalışanlarıdır ve bunun farkında değillerdir. Yine, devlet bağlamında öğrencilerin talepkar olmayan yapısının üretken olmamaya sebep olarak algılanması ya da özeldeki öğrencilerin farklı beklentilerini öğretmene dayatmaya çalışmaları algısının yanında; hem özel hem devlet bağlamında teknolojinin işlerini kolaylaştırdığını düşünmeleri, gerek öğrencilerin gerekse teknolojinin katılımcıların yabancılaşmasını tetikleyen faktörler olduğunu göstermiştir. Bununla beraber, işlerini kolaylaştırdığına inanılan öğretmenler arasındaki iş bölümü ve iş arkadaşlarıyla olan farklı şekillerdeki çatışmalı ilişkiler bütün katılımcıların yabancılaşmasını tetikleyen faktörlerdendir. Yabancılaşmaya nasıl tepki gösterdikleri ile ilgili, gerek devlet gerekse özeldeki tüm katılımcılar en çok da sosyal ve özel hayatlarını etkileyen kafa yorgunluğundan mağdur oldukları aşırı bir yorgunluktan bahsetmişlerdir. Yine, devlet üniversitelerindeki katılımcıların avantaj olarak gördükleri özelde dezavantaja dönüşmüş; ve hatta maaş ya da iş güvenliği gibi katılımcılar tarafından avantaj olarak görülenler aslında yabancılaşmalarına yol açan ya da tetikleyen şeylerdir. Buna ilaveten, katılımcıların çoğunun İngilizce öğretmenliğiyle ilgili sevmedikleri şeyler, onların yabancılaşmasını tetikleyen faktörlerdir. Fakat gerçeklik kaybı yüzünden bunun farkında değillerdir.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

ALES	Selection Examination for Academic Personnel and Graduate Studies
CELTA	Certificate in Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages
DELTA	Diploma in English Language Teaching to Adults
ELT	English Language Teaching
ICELT	In-service Certificate in English Language Teaching
TOEFL	Test of English as a Foreign Language
TQM	Total Quality Management
OSYM	Student Selection and Placement Center
OSYS	Student Selection and Placement System

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

A language can be made a first concern in a country's foreign language teaching despite its not having any official status (Crystal, 2003); and today the English language is the "most widely taught as a foreign language in over 100 countries such as China, Russia, Germany, Spain, Egypt, Brazil" (ibid.; p. 5). Surprisingly, while achieving this global status, English has been replacing another existing chief foreign language there (ibid.).

According to Graddol's (2006) estimation, in the next 10 to 15 years around two billion people will be learning English in the world. In view of this, there has been a connection between the economic process and the development of English language around the world (Holborow, 1999) because "it is by no means an exaggeration to say that language of capitalism at the turn of twenty-first century is English" (ibid.; p. 1). In much more clear terms, "language is practical consciousness" (Marx, 1963; p. 19); so it provides the constant change of human labor according to new needs and contributes to the transformation of material world (Holborow, 1999).

That's why; among some companies there is a tendency of treating language as a skill like any other work-related skills, which opens the path for "language-related work such as language training programs, the language competence evaluation criteria and instruments, or the capacity to translate from one language to another" (Heller, 2005, p. 3).

Although Heller here illustrates the picture in Canada; it is not so different in other parts of the world because as Ndebele (as cited in Pennycook, 1997) thinks

there is a close link between the spread of English and the spread of international business and technological standardization. Similar to Ndebele, Pennycook also underlines how English language acts as “a gatekeeper to the positions of prestige in the society”, while being “one of the most powerful means of the inclusion into or exclusion from further employment and social positions” (ibid.; p. 14). Still, what is underlined by Pennycook is also a matter of question since drawing a link between English language and the positions of prestige in the society or further employment makes English language teaching one of the prestigious labors with no employment concerns in the society. Yet, whether it is the real case or not will also be gone through out this study.

On the other hand, it can be concluded that English language teaching has an important place for the concepts related to capitalism such as production of commodities or value creation as it is the language of American capitalism based on its economic supremacy (Crystal, 2003; Holborow; 1999); and through English language which accomplishes the change of human labor while making new working practices real around the world, countries in Kachru’s (1992) expanding circle category (foreign language speakers of English) can adapt their economy to the heartbeats of global one because “the techniques or technologies under capitalism always dictate new working practices which exert pressure for change” (Greaves, Hill & Maisuria, 2007, p. 4)

As an illustration, when the name of Lean Production -a production system design which encapsulates some methodologies like Total Quality Management (TQM), Total Productive Maintenance (TPM), Just-in-Time (JIT), Kaizen- was first literally advocated by James P. Womack and his colleagues in their book *The Machine That Changed the World* published by Rawson Associates (Katayama &

Bennett, 1996); it was originally in English. However, today many countries have been following this system and its principles in their business matters. Not only this system's but also many other foreign production systems' principles are of course adapted by means of English being taught to the people of non-English speaking developing countries as in the case of Turkey which can be exemplifying the perceptions about education being regarded as the basic input of market and production (Ercan, 1998).

### Statement of the Problem

In view of this, because English the main language of First and Second Industrial Revolutions has been functioning as the language of capitalism while letting the western knowledge flow based on their values, governments around the world need to invest a lot for the provision of English language teaching (Naysmith, 1986).

In fact, this total movement on behalf of the English language even at the policy level matters putting great emphasis upon English language teaching is not pursued for the sake of obtaining the manpower for some specific industries; because as already stated by Offe and Ronge (1975);

It would be mistaken to argue that state policies of education and training are designed to provide the necessary manpower for certain industries...Such policies are instead designed to provide a maximum of exchange opportunities to both labor and capital, so that individuals of both classes can enter into capitalist relationships of production with each other. (p. 142)

In addition to what Offe and Ronge highlight above, it can also be driven that as a result of this total movement on behalf of English language teaching, jobs including teaching English also reduce the cost of English speaking laborers as parallel to the expansion of the reserve army of English speaking workers. Hence, as an unstatic labor, English language teaching entails an active processing even after many years

passed over the actual teaching process through the students taking part in the labor process later.

At this point, English language teachers in the Turkish education context has been a part of this production chain triggered by the market forces and this is especially valid for the teachers producing their labor at the private schools since they are the ones which have market-driven interests. Therefore, despite the truth reflecting that the purpose of a teacher's labor is not to produce commodities for sale since its aim is to produce use-values (ibid.) that have a utility "satisfying a particular want" of others without exchange relationships (Marx, 1974; p: 48); it can be stated that in order to create value, the school owner for whom the English language teacher produces use-values through his/her labor is the one who buys this labor from the language teacher selling his/her labor power on the basis of some pre-determined value of the labor power; so the teacher now accepts that the use-value of this labor power and more belongs to the school owner.

This commodified nature of the English language teacher's labor power is unquestionably related to the moment its being paid since Marx (1974) already highlights "when the labor-power takes the form of a commodity in the eyes of laborer, his labor consequently becomes a wage labor" (p.167). As it's commonly known, a commodity is "a good or service that is bought and sold" (Standing, 2009, p. 4). It must have an exchange value but its use-value is not obligatory despite existing many times (ibid.). However, the point is that although the labor power of English language teachers of public schools is also being paid; it is not directly possible to talk about such commodity aspect of their labor power because of the fact that they just produce use-values vis-à-vis the teachers laboring in private schools. Private ones buy this use-value for the sake of exchange values because value which

opens the path for the surplus value must be “embodied in a use value of some kind” (Marx, 1974, p. 183).

This labor power as a commodity includes not only some issues like wage, exchange value but the concept of alienation which is the top interest of this study as well. In other words, how English language teachers in the English Preparatory Schools of public and private universities perceive their labor from the moment they put their capacity for this labor -their labor power- into the hands of state or individual school owners is the starting point here opening the path for the concept of alienation. Thus, the basic concern is to find out whether or not English language teachers in the private context may feel alienated from their own labor as their own language teaching activity is not something meaningful to them, from the product of their teaching activity, their colleagues or their species being here when compared with English language teachers working in the public context where the education given still contributes to the capital accumulation and labor force in a capitalist dependent state despite the use-values produced (Torres, 1983). Hence, the perceptions of the teachers about their labor in both contexts have top priority in order to understand the alienated character of their labor which reflects itself as something alien confronting with its real owner (Marx, 1977). Yet, although this alienated character is thought together with the labor; that is the labor power -the “force flowing throughout the person” and internal to its owner- (Rikowski, 2001; p. 33) that creates specific use values as labor. “As being a value-producing property of labor”, labor power becomes a commodity that makes the exploitation of labor possible as already highlighted by Marx (Mandel & Novack, 1970; p.65); and this situation corresponds to “wage labor as a special type of alienated labor” (ibid.; p.67) Put another way, by putting his/her labor power into action, the laborer in fact

reflects his/her own life activity being sold to someone else to obtain the necessary means of the life; hence s/he works to survive where labor is seen as sacrificing one's life rather than a part of one's life to produce wages for the existence (Marx, 2008).

### Purpose of the Study

This study aims to explore how English language teachers in the English preparatory schools of both public and private universities in Turkey perceive their own labor, and again under their perceptions, what the extent of their alienation in their own labor is. In addition to the extent, I will also analyze the triggering factors behind such alienation and investigate how they respond to it by focusing on their perceptions again.

This study is also expected to serve the university administrators and policy makers in Turkey who can benefit from the findings of this study in order to break the competition between teachers besides the conflicting relationships either between teachers and their students or between teachers and the state or school owners as employers. Since such kind of competitive or conflicting relationships will influence teachers' performance in a negative way, they have to try to understand how English language teachers perceive their own labor, what can be done for the perceptions of their own reality, how content they are with their own labor and how their satisfaction can be increased. Here, this study may help them to develop some answers for this kind of questions.

## Research Questions

The present study aims to answer the following questions:

1. What are the perceptions of English language teachers working in the preparatory schools of public and private universities about their own English language teaching labor?
2. What are the perceptions of English language teachers about the extent of their alienation in their labor?
3. What are the perceptions of English language teachers about the factors that trigger their alienation in both contexts?
4. How do English language teachers respond to their alienation in their own labor?

## Significance of Study

Trying to understand the labor perceptions of English language teachers both in public and private university context and the alienation concept in relation to their perceptions is the core of this study; and despite of the fact that there are studies about perceptions of other type of workers and alienation concept like the ones working in the assembly line; there are very few ones about some professions like teaching.

Yet, in Turkey, the studies focusing on whether there is alienation among teachers or not are limited. Hence, this study is important to understand the alienation concept among the English language teachers in public and private context through their perceptions.

## CHAPTER II

### LITERATURE REVIEW

This part will be handled under some main headings and subheadings connected to them; and through these main and subheadings, it is intended to have a detailed exploration of the key concepts related to the focus of the study. Thus, first it starts with the discussion about labor and labor power and moves to alienation concept; then the division between productive and unproductive labor follows while opening the way for the topic of increasing labor productivity. Last, under value creation process surplus value and social labor issues will be analyzed. All of these concepts will also be discussed in relation to the English language teachers' labor both in public and private context through the subheadings covered at the end of each main one. At the end of this chapter, the picture of teaching labor and English language teaching labor will be visited to have a general overview about the target context before closing the section with the discussion about motivation and teaching labor.

#### The Distinction between Labor and Labor Power

In order to understand further related concepts better, it is basically so needed to see the difference between labor and labor power that Marx (1974) makes a clear distinction between these two terms. Labor is “a process in which both man and Nature participate and in which man of his own accord starts, regulates, and controls the material re-actions between himself and Nature” (p.173). At this point, Marx differentiates the human labor from the animal one as in the former one; through his imagination man knows what the result would be as a result of his labor process that has the elements like personal activity, the subject of that activity and its instruments;

and at the end of this process, man produces use-values while “appropriating the natural substances to human requirements” (ibid., p.179). Since under capitalism labor is “a process in which man makes use values for someone else in commodity form” (Harvey, 2010; p.117), it is clear that labor is a productive consumption of the process elements resulting in a product. Put another way; in a labor process, the products or the dead labor which are used as instruments of production through their use values are consumed for creating new use-values by means of living labor (ibid.).

While the objective factors used during labor process are the means of production; its subjective factor is labor power of the laborer. Labor power is “the capacity to do useful work which adds value to the commodities” (Bottomore, 1983, p. 265). The intertwined nature of labor and labor power is that one’s idle labor turns into labor power when it starts to be active under capitalist mode of production which in the end creates value; hence it can be concluded that labor-power is in fact the source of value being gained as a result of the use-value of one’s labor power that is labor left to the buyer (Ollman, 1976). At this point, this labor power sold to the buyer who needs it on the basis of a deal is the productive activity thereby value for its buyer (Marx, 1974). Put another way, the worker doesn’t sell an agreed amount of labor to the capitalist but his labor power on the basis of an agreed period of time which makes the capitalist be responsible for the whole labor process and creates the alienated character of labor process for the worker (Braverman, 1998).

During this labor process in which “laborer works under the control of capitalist to whom his labor belongs” (Marx, 1974, p.180), the capitalist consumes the labor-power for maximum profit because this labor power belongs to the capitalist as soon as he pays its exchange value and of course both the use value of the laborer’s labor power and the labor itself are now in the hands of their purchaser

which means that through labor process he uses this labor power and the means of production in order to create a new commodity having a use value with a value in exchange (ibid.). What is distinctive in such an analysis is that the purchaser pays exchange value or wage of labor while he exploits the use value or labor power in fact. Hence it is clear that people controlling labor want to exploit the ones being engaged in labor since the function of labor is “to produce marketable output or services” (Standing, 2009, p.6).

Of course, despite the fact that labor power is being consumed to produce marketable outputs or by generic name commodities, labor power itself is a commodity which is exchanged in return for some amount of price showing that “this commodity is exchangeable for money” (ibid. p.55) or it is something saleable from the moment being taken to the market of labor-powers. That’s why; here below, the commodity nature of labor power which opens the path for the laborer’s alienation will be under scrutiny.

### Labor Power as a Commodity

When the labor power is on the market for being sold by the free laborer and bought by a purchaser, it attributes this power the commodity features since it is the free laborer’s one and only commodity as not having any other commodities for sale other than the realization of this power (ibid.). In other words, labor power is a commodity “whose material attributes include the capacity to perform certain types and intensities of productive activity” (Gintis, 1976, p. 37). That is, through its purposive and intelligent character, human labor power can enlarge productivity and so the surplus for its purchaser (Braverman, 1998).

One striking feature of labor power as a commodity is that the use-value of this capacity doesn't immediately pass to the one who buys it because of its peculiar nature since the use value of this commodity includes practicing its force first; and because the labor-power purchasers gain this use-value after the consumption of labor-power; they pay the exchange value of this labor power after they consume its use value (Marx, 1974). That can be clearly seen in the contracts signed between the laborer and the buyer of the labor-power as those contracts put the payments of labor power in a fixed period after its being used first (ibid.).

This payment allegedly corresponds to the price or exchange value of laborer's labor power or specifically the wage labor in which a certain amount of money is paid to the laborer for his certain amount of labor. The amount of money that is paid to the laborer is the nominal wage as it is the estimated value. Hence, it is clear that there is a discrepancy between the price of labor power and its real value because of the fact that in money terms it is being paid less than its necessary value and this is also valid for the price and value of labor (ibid.) because the value of one's labor power includes the labor time required for production and reproduction of this capacity. Put another way, the value of labor power is "the value of the means of subsistence necessary for the maintenance of the laborer" (ibid. p.167). The thing is that although the laborers are free to sell their labor power through a contract that fixes the price of this capacity; still for Marx, they aren't in fact totally free since they don't have any other choices other than signing contracts in order not to starve (Bottomore, 1983).

However, despite being a commodity labor power has some peculiar features different from other commodities. First, its production includes "the biological and social reproduction of workers as human beings" (ibid., p.266). This is what Marx

(1974) stresses as the perpetuation of labor-power owners since the market always needs fresh ones. In addition, in order to utilize the use-value from the labor power, its purchaser is “to enter into a set of relations with the laborer” like the conflict or negotiation over the wage of labor commodity or conditions of labor etc. Last, the saleable aspect of labor power makes it exist in the hands of the purchaser while causing the laborer to be alienated from his own productive power because the laborer has no control over either the labor processes or its product (Bottomore, 1983).

### Alienation

As the laborer starts to produce commodities in the capitalist mode of production and to lose control both over his labor product and the process, the inevitable result is his alienation. Although it isn't only about workers or capitalist society, still it is the most severe among those workers and where they work (Glaberman& Faber, 1998); and it means the “process by which human beings are cut adrift from their natural moorings in the world as the result of unnatural, alien work arrangements” (Erikson, 1986, p. 2).

This state of alienation covers not only the man's estrangement from the product of his own labor in which the product exercises power upon the laborer as a result of sucking the life of him; but also his estrangement from the labor itself in which he feels neither happy nor content with it. However, the alienation of the laborer is not limited to his activity in production or the product at the end of this activity. It also includes his alienation from his fellow men and from his species-being (Marx, 1977). When different aspects of alienation are handled one by one, the picture of alienation of the laborer could be grasped better as below.

### Alienation from One's Own Labor

The first aspect of Marx's alienation is about the alienation of laborer from his labor process or labor in which the productive activity is not something meaningful since there is the loss of engagement with it (Erikson, 1986). Here, Marx connects this alienated character of labor to its being something external to worker and because of this he feels neither content nor happy with what he's doing; so in order to reflect the involuntary character of labor, Marx (1977) also highlights that "the worker only feels himself outside his work, and in his work feels outside himself. He feels at home when he's not working, and when he's working he does not feel at home" (p. 66). Hence, Marx draws a direct connection between the external character of labor and self-sacrifice of man (ibid.). So the labor of man is now external to him both in abstract terms based on his basic nature and in concrete terms since it belongs to someone else but not to him and man faces with the loss of control over the labor process because of "having to do work that doesn't engage his interests or challenge his abilities" (Kohn, 1976, p. 112).

### Alienation from Labor Product

Another aspect which covers man's alienation from the product of his own labor is the objectified nature of his productive activity in the product and through this objectification the product stands something alien to him (ibid). In this alienation, man can use the product of his labor neither for staying alive nor for other productive activity (Ollman, 1976); because the former one is what Marx (1977) says "the loss of realization to the point starving to death" (p. 63) for the worker; and the latter is whatever he produces belongs to someone else but not to himself (ibid.) unlike how

he produces tens of different use values such as cooking, training children at home or ironing his t-shirts in order to maintain his daily life.

In this sense, in production processes, the worker (laborer) has no control over the product of his own labor but he can only have piece of what his labor has created by spending his wage on it. Interestingly, he has also no control or awareness over the products used as the means of production since they also belong to someone else (Ollman, 1976). Here the man is experiencing what Marx regards the abstraction because of not having those products needed for his life and for his work (ibid.) Moreover, during the production process; those means of production also turn into the absorbers of the unpaid labor of the laborer as becoming capital that makes use of the laborer (Marx, 1969).

#### Alienation from Fellow Men

However, man's alienation is not limited to his relation with his product and labor as it also includes his alienation from his fellow men as well. Because of the competitive or conflicting relationships as a result of class structure, a person can experience this aspect of alienation (Cox, 1998). Such relationships can be seen both between a laborer and a labor-exploiter; or a laborer and his co-worker. About the former one, from the moment, the laborer starts to have no control over his labor as a whole, everything belongs to the capitalist and this causes man's alienation from his employer. Yet, the latter one is that since men are selling their labor power; in the end they become commodities and this creates a kind of competition among one another in order to stay under employment or protect wage levels which is a great burden on the authentic relationships (Erikson, 1986); because they see each other as competing entities rather than the ones to have a mutually cooperated relationship (Ollman, 1976).

### Alienation from Human Species

Last aspect of alienation in the capitalist mode of production includes man's relation with his human species. Because the term species is "the category of the possible, and denoting in particular the potentialities which mark man off from other living creatures" (ibid., p. 150), when man is alienated from his species because of his labor he no longer has the life of the species but an individual life as a purpose (Marx, 1977). Therefore, man's species being becomes just a means for his existence but nothing else which put it into an alien position so man is alienated not only from his own body and external nature but his human aspect as well (ibid. p.69). This is of course related to capitalist appropriation in which as Marx highlights "man has no human needs and money is the only true need produced in capitalism" (Ollman, 1976, p. 92). In addition to the four aspects of workers' alienation, Marx also draws a direct connection between this concept and the division of labor in relation to private property.

### Alienation in Relation to Division of Labor and Private Property

According to Marx (1977), division of labor is "nothing else but the estranged, alienated positing of human activity as a real activity of the species or as activity of man as a species-being" (p. 114) because of the fact that through division of labor each person deals with only one type of work. That's why; he needs the other people doing other types in order to survive (Ollman, 1976). On the other hand, the importance of division of labor for the capital owner is its increasing production of wealth (Marx, 1977) since the worker just focuses only one task which lets him increase his expertise in this specific work to increase the productivity as stressed out by Gartman (Berberoglu, 2002). Although for Adam Smith (1979), this kind of labor

division is something advantageous as there is “the improvement of productive powers of labor” (p. 109) by means of increasing the “dexterity” of the worker who can produce a lot of work as being reduced to “some one simple operation” (ibid., p.112); Marx (1963) already highlights that “as soon as the division of labor comes into being, each man has a particular, exclusive sphere of activity, which is forced upon him and from which he cannot escape” (p. 22).

Another point being handled by Marx related to the concept of alienation is private property. Here, according to Marx, “private property corresponds to the objects produced by alienated labor and encompasses all the products that come out of capitalist society” (Ollman, 1976, p. 158); thus there is a link between private property and alienated labor affecting one another (ibid.). Yet, for Marx, when we abolish the private ownership, we can let the laborer free from alienation because if some people have the production forces whereas some others do not have; alienation of the latter group is inevitable in the capitalist society (Churchich, 1990).

Here, before focusing on the alienation issue in English language teachers’ context, it’s essential to analyze labor power and labor of English language teachers both in public and private schools in Turkey.

#### Labor Power and Labor of English Language Teachers in Public Schools

In public schools, the labor of English language teachers is still mostly bought as a service by the state. In other words, despite the exchange of money with their labor, during the labor process the labor doesn’t produce capital but just the use-value (Marx, 1969). Hence, it is not possible to talk about the commodity nature of their labor power as long as they just produce use-values but not any kind of exchange values. Still for Harris (as cited in Carter, 1997), this use-value to meet a need is to

satisfy the need of capital accumulation in a capitalist state affecting the labor process in the state sector.

Additionally, in public schools there is no such a market to which English language teachers take their labor power for sale. That's why; the price of their labor power is not being determined in the market since it is already determined by the state laws in a standardized format. To illustrate, in the preparatory schools of public universities this standard price of an English language teacher's labor corresponds to a minimum 12-hour-of teaching a week by the Law of Higher Education numbered 2547<sup>1</sup> for the full-time employed teachers. However, the case is different for the part-time employed ones from the point of both their working hours and the money paid for those hours.

Despite just producing use values, interestingly there is the proletarianization of the teachers in public schools like the others employed by the state not only because of the fact that there is greater flexibility and insecurity in their working conditions in addition to the aggravation of their labor in the capitalist state (as cited in Carter, 1997) but also wage determination system of public teachers which is increasingly affected by the market. Today the number of those who are employed as English language teachers with fixed term contracts including payments based on active teaching hours in the preparatory schools of public universities is increasing since they are just employed for the hours they're teaching and this corresponds to 6 or 7 TL per teaching hour with no social security. As long as the contract employees deal with low wages and uncertain working futures as discussed by Parker (Berberoglu, 2002), it has started to become a state policy to lessen the costs arising from money paid to regular employees. Also, this proletarianization means "a weakening voice"

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<sup>1</sup><http://www.yok.gov.tr/content/view/435/183/lang,tr/>

since there is loss of control over one's work because of outside bodies in charge (Standing, 2009, p. 156).

### Labor Power and Labor of English Language Teachers in Private Schools

On the other hand, in private education institutions, the picture is completely different. When being observed, English language teaching is a specific kind of labor power in the education service because “to become a labor power of a special kind, a special education or training is requisite” (Marx, 1974, p.168). Here, this special kind of capacity is looked for by the owners of private education institutions that promise their students the necessary skills like knowing a foreign language which is mainly English in order to find better jobs. Because of the connection between English language, globalization and the spread of global economy, English language teachers as the owners of this labor power are always on the market coming face to face with the owners of those schools in order to sell their capacity on the basis of a contract determining their salaries, working periods, annual holidays and some other work-related issues. In fact, those contracts on behalf of the employer's advantage demands an open-ended commitment from the employee (Reid, 2003); since in terms of the contracts, those owners of private education institutions are basically interested in the exchange value of the language teachers' labor power rather than its use value. Put another way, the owner of the school is interested in increasing his capital by means of the value gained; so “what interests him in the commodity is that it has more exchange-value than he paid for it; and therefore the use-value of the labor is, for him, that he gets back a greater quantity of labor-time than he has paid out in the form of wages” (Marx, 1969, p. 156). That's why; while the teachers in the private school context are producing 8-10 hours of labor time to

produce their product which is their actual English language teaching labor, still they are just being paid not the corresponding amount but the less of it. This is what Marx highlights “the service which he renders the capitalist is therefore that he works six hours for nothing” (ibid., p.403).

The above focus on the labor of English language teachers in public and private schools further requires how this labor process is accomplished in each context which will be compared below.

### Labor Process of English Language Teaching in Public and Private Schools

About the labor process in both contexts namely public and private, the unity of the process and creating use values are the points they have in common (Carter, 1997). Still, despite the fact that the labor process in both contexts includes the same three elements such as English language teachers’ language teaching activity or labor power, the students as the subject or the raw material of the process and all of the materials like books, blackboard, classrooms, etc. that they use as instruments of their labor or in Marx’s (1974) own saying “conductors of activity” or means of production (p. 176); this process certainly differs from public to private at least for the time being.

As a start, in public schools labor process is organized by the state, and despite not having direct surplus value concerns -since the relationship between state teachers and capital is indirect-; the state has still concerns about how to convert the labor power of English language teachers into actual labor (Smyth, Dow, Hattam, Reid & Shacklock, 2000). Here, through labor process in which the three elements of teaching process come together, the state achieves this conversion. So, in public (state) schools, the purpose of production process which is a value-adding process is

“to fuse the raw materials, that is students and knowledge in order to produce skilled labor power and enculturated citizens” (ibid., p.35). To achieve this value-adding process, the state has also control mechanisms over the labor process of English language teachers since their labor power goes under the authority of state by the time it’s being sold (ibid.).

On the other hand, the labor process in private schools is arranged by the school owner and settled by the competition with the other school owners in the market. Hence, the elements of labor process –the teaching activity, student and means of production are organized to make a profit. For the school owner, there is a direct relationship between the English language teacher whose labor power is bought for this process and capital. Because the school owner doesn’t want to risk himself - since there is no guarantee of the fulfillment of his production goals by the hired teacher; he puts great emphasis on control channels during the labor process. Here, this control is basically achieved by setting a hierarchical organization between the English language teachers and administrators which include the coordinators, heads or some other administrative positions. During the labor process, people in these positions control the teachers in order to maximize capital accumulation by extracting surplus value from their labor power (ibid.).

Here, the above explanations about the labor process of English language teachers in public and private school framework recapitulate that the core difference between these two separate education institutions is that in the latter one the aim is to change one’s power to work into productive labor for profit (Reid, 2003) whereas in the former although there are no such concerns, still they indirectly contribute to the generation of surplus value as a part of total production process in which they educate the future labor power. In addition to this indirect contribution to the

generation of surplus value, it is equally important to note that today public schools are in a continuous restructuring process in the line of marketization which is another factor to increase competitiveness of market forces.

What is more is that the English language teacher who sells his/her labor power to the state or a school owner and whose labor power is exposed to just mentioned labor process will inevitably come face to face with alienation that will be discussed in detail below.

### Alienation of English Language Teachers in Public Schools

Although there is no direct value creation for profit in the public (state) school, still there is control which is accomplished by means of some controlling mechanisms over the work of the English language teachers there in order to check whether the teacher is accomplishing the work or expected tasks after selling its labor to the state (ibid.). Hence, these teachers in public schools become alienated from their teaching activity because of constraints put by the wage relations, curriculum about what to teach and how to teach especially if students are getting prepared for an examination, they are ruled by a syllabus based on exam requirements (Harvie, 2006). What is more as a form of alienation from teaching activity is the division of labor -which is in the form of administrative structures like testing, material production and so on or of attributing each teacher a different skill teaching like reading, writing, listening/speaking or grammar to make them specialize only in that skill and because of such divisions, the teacher is limited to only the given skill boundary without having the whole grasp of it.

Additionally, under the control of the curriculum laboring to fulfill the needs of the capital, these teachers in public schools produce the new labor power who will

produce future surplus value and so capital producers; and this will cause their alienation from their own labor since their end product will be something against them. When it comes to the alienation from fellow men, English language teachers in public schools experience this in two ways. One is that as a result of the effects of Total Quality Management (TQM) in which the goal of the organization is to make the customers satisfied with the service offered (Sallis, 2008); teachers in public schools face with some of its applications such as performance evaluation techniques practiced upon them no matter how conflicting this industry based model with the nature of education as argued by some educators (Johnson, 1993). Such tools of quality culture aims to increase the intensity of labor and its productivity on the basis of how to achieve being self sufficient as an education institution. Hence, through these applications of labor evaluation, the English language teachers in public schools are attributed new duties which are beyond their in-class teaching and because of the competition among teachers, they have no right to say no for a better performance. Here this competition and the labor intensification yielded by it make these teachers feel alienated from their colleagues (Aydođanođlu, 2006). Another aspect of their alienation from fellow men is because of the division of labor since some of their colleagues are responsible for some administrative structures such as level coordinators, testing office, material production, curriculum development that put pressure upon the language teacher.

#### Alienation of English Language Teachers in Private Schools

On the other hand, English language teachers in private context sell their labor power to the owners of private schools and from that moment their teaching labor doesn't belong to them but to its buyer the school owner; so on the basis of a contract those

teachers working for the employer “surrender their capacity to work” (Reid, 2003, p. 564). As soon as selling the labor power, teachers in this context start to produce the use values of their language teaching labor which in fact means exchange value for the owner of that institution. While achieving this, the owner presents all the means necessary for teaching but still they must also be used in a wise way in order to get maximum profit. Such constraints by the curriculum that Harvie (2006) presents for the public (state) school teachers are also valid for the teachers in private school context but this time with its more rigid forms since the school owner wants to use up the teacher’s labor power; and this of course causes the teacher’s alienation from his active teaching where his labor becomes involuntary and forced (Marx, 1977).

As in the case of public school context, English language teachers working for private schools are also alienated from the product of their labor which is the educated students as future workers who indirectly take part in the exploitation of their teachers by creating more surplus value. The same division of labor and even more strict form of it is also seen in private context but this time control is as a result of exploitation of the teachers’ labor power by the capital for a greater surplus value because “as the number of the co-operating laborers increases, so too does their resistance to the domination of capital and with it, the necessity for capital to overcome this resistance by counter-pressure” (Marx, 1974, p.313). Thus, different control mechanisms like hierarchical division of labor or skill-based teachers are used in private contexts as well. That is, during their labor process, these teachers just become the accessories of production since “all the knowledge, will and direction” is in the hands of school owner or his superintendents formed by this structural division (Mandel &Novack, 1970; p. 68).

What is more is that rather than having their teaching activity as the object of their wills and consciousness, English language teachers in private context need to follow some prescribed topics and methods in which they lose contact with the life activity itself; and their species life turns into just a means for their physical individual existence in which there is the estrangement from body, outside nature and spirit through the alienated labor (Marx, 1977). And according to Fromm (1961; p.53), such kind of alienation from species life opens the way for the “existential egotism”. Experiencing this aspect of alienation leads to these English language teachers’ alienation from their fellow men.

Here, teachers’ alienation from their fellow men includes not only their students but their peers as well. This time, private school students can have higher demands because of the money they are paying to the school owner; so they can “impose work on their teachers seeking extra help or pressurizing teachers to do additional work to make tedious material more interesting” (Harvie, 2006; p. 13) and this can put the English language teacher under a bilateral imposing coming from both the school owner and students. When it comes to the other peers, today there is also a general trend especially among the preparatory schools of private universities which is either to push their teachers to have an internationally accredited certificate like CELTA, ICALT and DELTA or to ask for one of these certificates as a prerequisite to the teachers in the market. This unquestionably makes them be alienated from their colleagues (fellow men) because of the competition to survive in the market of labor powers. This is what Marx (1977) highlights as they become “indeed the most wretched of commodities” (p. 61) through their alienated labor since as sellers of their labor power in the labor market, they are obliged to pull each other to the ground to have the available job (Mandel & Novack, 1970).

Furthermore, although English language teachers in private schools may seem to earn more for their labor when being compared with the public one; yet for Marx (1977) “the raising of wages presupposes and entails the accumulation of capital; and sets the product of labor against the worker as something alien to him” (ibid., p.21). In the end, the worker is either out of work or being exposed to a very minimum amount of wage as a result of overproduction. According to Marx (1974), the wages of the better-paid class of workers tend to fall, even in relation to average labor, with the advance of the capitalist mode of production. Because the necessary training, knowledge of production practices, languages, etc. is more and more rapidly, easily, universally and cheaply reproduced with the progress in science and education; the more the capitalist mode of production directs teaching methods etc., towards practical purposes. This increases the supply of both the English language teaching labor and English speaking labor. With few exceptions the labor power of these people is therefore devaluated with the progress of capitalist production. Their wage falls, while their labor capacity increases.

At this point, the basic reason behind different labor characteristics and so is the degree of alienation between English language teachers of public and private schools is the former one’s being unproductive and the latter’s productive labor which will be discussed in detail now.

### Productive Labor versus Unproductive Labor

In the capitalist mode of production, productive labor is wage-labor of the laborer which also produces surplus value besides the value being paid for his labor power as a wage (Marx, 1969). Therefore, when any labor power produces more value for the capital then it’s valuable for its buyer because he doesn’t care about the use-value of

this power or its end product but rather how much profit he could draw (ibid.).

Hence because the key is surplus value in productive labor, it is also called surplus labor (O'Connor, 1975).

However, from the laborer's behalf, productive labor is the labor in which he accepts "the relationship which the boss forces on him" and in which there is a competition between the laborers for the boss's interest besides accepting discipline of the workplace and being powerless (ibid., p.322).

Unlike productive labor, unproductive labor creates no surplus value but just use-values; therefore there is no capital accumulation and here employees in public sector where they produce the service costless can be given as an example for the unproductive labor category (Savran and Tonak, 1999). Put another way, labor in this sector is unproductive as long as the result is not a marketable output (Laibman, 1999). Here it can be concluded that this distinction between productive and unproductive labor is based on a double criteria: waged/non-waged labor plus circulation/non-circulation of his product in the market.

On the other hand, the privatization of some services like education or health which once only managed by the state itself without any charge but now also being handled by private sector or commercialization of them in the hands of state means that there is "the transformation of unproductive labor of state employees into the productive labor of workers of private" (Savran and Tonak, 1999, p. 119). At this point, Marx's (1974) words about a schoolmaster working for a school owner illustrating this context are really remarkable.

If we may take an example from outside the sphere of production of material objects, a schoolmaster is a productive laborer when, in addition to belaboring the heads of his scholars, he works like a horse to enrich the school proprietor. That the latter has laid out his capital in a teaching factory, instead of in a sausage factory, does not alter the relation (p. 477).

Hence, for Marx, if someone is a productive laborer, then he's not lucky but misfortunate (ibid.). When English language teaching labor is reconsidered from the point of productive- unproductive dilemma, two different pictures one of which is public schools and the other private ones come out again.

#### English Language Teaching as an Unproductive Labor in Public Schools

It is clear that the labor of teachers in public schools is unproductive despite being paid by the state in the form of wages or salaries since their labor is not transformed into capital but rather "an expenditure" in which the revenue is consumed (Marx, 1969). Hence, it can be concluded that the English language teacher in a public school not only serve to the needs of capitalist mode of production by educating the future manpower but becomes a burden on the capital accumulation because of the money paid to him by the state using the taxes to accomplish the payment for his unproductive labor. The reason behind the public schools' English language teachers being paid less than its counterpart in the private one is their being seen as a burden on the revenue of the state because if the unproductive expenditures are too much; then this may block the accumulation since the capital driven from the productive sphere will be more (Meiksins, 1981). This also brings the questions of exploitation of the laborers in the state sector (ibid.)

#### English Language Teaching as a Productive Labor in Private Schools

When compared with the ones at public schools, the labor of English language teachers working for private schools is definitely productive since they produce a surplus value for the school's owner. Put another way, the English language teacher's labor power is not only a commodity but producing commodities to be sold

in the market which in return will bring exchange-values beside their use-value (Marx, 1969). That's why, what is important for the school owner is to get more labor-time than the amount having actually paid to the teachers (ibid); as there is the exchange of labor power with the owner's capital. However, productive labor cannot be thought free from the capitalist's concerns about how to increase the productivity and efficiency of the laborer that will be the focus here below.

### Increasing Labor Productivity

According to the report on *Measuring Productivity* of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (2001), productivity is the ratio of a volume measure of output to a volume measure of input use (p. 11); so in much clearer terms, labor productivity is "the relative extent of the means of production that a laborer –during a given time- turns into products with the same tension of labor power (Marx, 1974; p.583). Hence, the more one adds value to the firm, the more productive the labor is (Koch & McGrath, 1996).

However, measuring how productive the labor is not so simple for every labor type because as Gaye Yilmaz (Yilmaz et al., 2006) underlines, about some service sectors like teaching, there may be problems of measuring the productivity of the teacher since it is not possible to measure either the value added by teaching labor or the end product of a teacher which is the educated person as the labor of the teacher will be objectified in the future labor of that educated person and the capitalist mode of production includes "the transformation of the labor process into a social process" (Marx, 1974, p. 317). That's why, through his labor, the teacher increases the students' capacity of value creation as potential value creators of the future; yet the absurdity here is that both the labor of the teacher and its end product students are

regarded as commodities (Yılmaz et al, 2006) having economic worth; so “human beings are seen as having more or less value by virtue of their level of education and skills” (Welch, 1998, p. 158).

Here, despite the common feature which is about the difficulty of measuring productivity of both public and private school teachers; still the issue of productivity of English language teachers in both contexts that will be discussed in detail now needs to be handled separately.

### Labor Productivity of English Language Teachers in Public Schools

Before moving to the issue about the labor productivity of teachers at public schools, the productivity in public sector is determined by the ratio of public sector outputs that are services produced and delivered by the agencies to the inputs including the amount of labor, equipment and other resources used while producing these services (Rosen, 1993, p. 5); so this productivity is improved when more or better services or both of them are produced with fewer resources. However, because public services are not sold as in the private one; its productivity can't be measured in money value (ibid.); yet it is important for the capital accumulation in general. Also, the aim in this productivity is to be able to respond to the citizens or clients by offering much more effective services in a timely and cost-effective manner (Berman, 1998).

When being focused on education as a service sector and the labor of English language teachers as one of the inputs of labor productivity in public schools; their productivity is to be increased in order to fulfill the needs of different interest groups like employers, tax-payers and this brings the matter of control over their work which includes labor intensification where they can't find time to do things for their own development and the issue of deskilling in which they have no control over the

goal of their work such as developing decisions about the curriculum (Hall, 2004). The thing is that because increasing the productivity is much more important in the private sector, the degree of control over the work of English language teachers working for private schools is inevitably more; and to grasp it better, here below the focus will be the issue of labor productivity in private schools.

### Labor Productivity of English Language Teachers in Private Schools

Labor productivity is a key element for the private sector since a productive worker who “turns out a lot of good work per day, week or year” (Rosen, 1993, p. 4) means high profit for the owner of that sector. Here, the competition among sector owners pushes the workers to be more productive.

At this point, when labor productivity is discussed in the setting of service sectors especially managed by private sector; it is realized that in many of them, labor productivity is increased by means of not only high technology but also assigning different tasks to each laborer in addition to already accomplished labor (Yılmaz et al., 2006). Hence, when this argument is handled in the context of English language teaching labor especially in private schools like the preparatory schools of private universities, it is apparent that those English language teachers are not only responsible for teaching English to the prep students but many other activities beyond their labor such as working during the registration period as a personnel, invigilating during the midterms or finals of the faculties, making translations of the school in general etc.

However, despite the intensity of their labor, there is still a competition in the labor market of English language teachers because as already highlighted by Marx (1974), “if one man does the work of 1½ or 2 men, the supply of labor increases,

although the actual supply of labor-power on the market remains constant” (p. 513). That’s why, for the school owner, the more intense the English language teacher’s labor, the more productive it is. As a result of the competition among their labor power in the market, increasing productivity of labor and the surplus value also means the “cheapening of the laborer” since there is an inverse proportion between the increase in productivity and money paid to the laborer (ibid). Here, as Marx highlights there is a direct link between the labor productivity and surplus value which is the focus below.

### Value Creation Processes

#### Surplus Value:

The surplus produced by the productive labor corresponds to “goods and services created by the producing class and appropriated by the owning class” which are above what is needed for the labor-power’s reproduction (O’Connor, 1975, p. 306). Here, at this point, surplus value means “the difference between exchange value of labor power and the exchange value of the product of labor” (ibid., p.307); so this difference corresponds to the capital expansion of its owner. In fact, for the capital owner, the amount of surplus value rather than the use-value produced by the laborer is important; that’s why, during a labor process, the laborer not only produces the value of his labor power which is the necessary labor but also produces the unpaid one which is the surplus labor required for the surplus value, so through unpaid labor, the capital accumulation is achieved by the capital owner (Marx, 1974). In view of this, “the rate of surplus value is therefore an exact expression for the degree of exploitation of the labor power by the capital, or of the laborer by the capitalist (ibid., p.209). Here the capitalist achieves this exploitation in three ways which

include expanding the labor time, intensifying the labor within the same labor time period, or both of them (Ercan, 1997).

When being turned to the context of English language teachers at public schools, it is realized that there is no surplus value creation there since there is no selling of their labor product and generating a profit from this by the state; yet still there can be seen different forms of exploitation because of serving to the needs of capital accumulation in a capitalist state.

However, if the subject matter is the situation of English language teachers at private schools, it immediately comes out that they as laborers become the means of creating surplus value for the school owners. There is positive correlation between the surplus value gained by their labor and their labor time -as the labor time is extended-; whereas there is a negative correlation between surplus value gained and the money paid for their labor power (Marx, 1974). Additionally, while producing surplus values, in order to see the degree of exploitation of English language teachers laboring at private schools, it is necessary to look at the time they spend for their necessary labor and the time they spend for their surplus labor. To illustrate, if the teacher whose working time is ten hours- is spending his five hours to produce his necessary means of subsistence by means of necessary labor corresponding to the value of his labor power; the remaining five hours refer to the amount of his exploitation. Furthermore, in order to achieve the prolongation of surplus labor, there happens the shortening of necessary labor time; and as a result of this diminishing in necessary labor time, the value of labor power also decreases (ibid.); that's why the labor power of English language teacher is not bought in its full value. Within the borders of surplus value creation, - as its value-creating manner, the social aspect of English language labor deserves special attention as discussed below.

### Social Labor

One's labor presents itself as something private, concrete, qualified and individual before the process of commodity production; but within this process, the labor of commodity producer undergoes some changes in which labor becomes something social, abstract, simple and socially-necessary; and here the condition of social labor is related to its being an abstract one (Rubin, 1972). According to Marx (1974), when the commodities are distinct from their use-values, the rest is just their exchange value. He explains this abstraction as following:

Along with the useful qualities of the products themselves, we put out of sight both the useful character of the various kinds of labor embodied in them, and the concrete forms of that labor; there is nothing left but what is common to them all; all are reduced to one and the same sort of labor, human labor in the abstract. (p.46)

At this point, for Ercan (as cited in Yılmaz et al, 2006) commodities produced by individual concrete labors gain social property by means of abstract labor; and the price of the commodity is determined by the labor time which is socially necessary; in other words, by “the moneyname of the quantity of social labor realized in the commodity” (Marx, 1974, p. 109) and when there is “the exchange of a commodity with money or vice versa; there is in fact the circulation of materialized social labor” (ibid., p.108). Now analyzing the social labor of English language teachers both in public and private contexts is essential for a better understanding of the issue.

### Social Labor and English Language Teachers in Public Schools

As previously mentioned, teachers working at public schools sell their labor power to the state in return for a wage in order to work for the state under a set of conditions (Smyth et al., 2000); and this saleable aspect of their capacity to work is of course their common point with the private school ones. That's why, in both of them,

teachers' labor power is their commodity. However, the state is only interested in the use-value of this labor power; hence, there is no abstraction of use-value for the sake of exchange value. Therefore, for English language teachers' labor in public schools, there is no transformation of concrete labor into the abstract one yet. That's why, at least for today it is not possible to say that their labor is "homogenous human labor in which there is the expenditure of one uniform labor power" (Marx, 1974; p. 46) by the state; so in these schools English language teachers' labor is concrete labor producing just use values and there is no creation of exchange value for the buyer "state". Put another way, despite their contribution to the equipment of future labor power, their labor is not the abstract one because of not creating a direct value for the state.

#### Social Labor and English Language Teachers in Private Schools

On the other hand, focusing on the labor of English language teachers who sell their labor power to the owners of private schools, it is noticed that the use-value of their labor power as a commodity doesn't interest the school owner, since what really matters for him is this commodity's exchange value which will bring surplus value for him. Therefore, the abstract character of these teachers labor can be explained with Marx's (1974) following words:

The value of labor-power is determined, as in the case of every other commodity, by the labor-time necessary for the production, and consequently also the reproduction, of this special article. So far as it has value, it represents no more than a definite quantity of the average labor of society incorporated in it. (p.167)

Here, as it can be understood through the above uttering of Marx, about English language teachers' labor working for private schools, the value of this labor is determined in the market and this is achieved by what he calls socially necessary

labor time which corresponds to the time “required to produce an article under the normal conditions of production, and with the average degree of skill and intensity prevalent at the time” (ibid., p. 47). Thus, by the school owner, the labor of English language teachers in private schools is thought away from its use value or concreteness which is socially unnecessary but just thought together with its abstract side because concrete side of labor makes it impossible for him to compare the same labor of different individuals (Pilling, 1980). However, this comparison is necessary in the capitalist production for the maximum productivity leading to much surplus for the school owner; and Marx (1974) demonstrates the importance of abstract labor or socially necessary one for the capitalist as below:

If one workman required considerably more time for the production of a commodity than is socially necessary, the duration of the necessary labor-time would, in his case, sensibly deviate from the labor-time socially necessary on an average; and consequently his labor would not count as average labor, nor his labor-power as average labor-power. It would either be not saleable at all, or only at something below the average value of labor-power (306).

What can be concluded here is that the abstract character of their labor makes the English language teachers working for private schools be alienated from their teaching labor since they can be replaced by another teacher who is more productive during labor process and who produces a lot of use values no matter how shortened the socially necessary labor time (ibid.) What is more is that because the labor theory of value includes how the value for the production of a unit of output is determined by socially necessary labor time that corresponds to the quantity of labor (Rubin, 1972), the increase in the productivity of private schools’ English language teachers’ labor means a decrease in the value of this output; and this is of course reflected as a lowering in their wages by the school owner. To illustrate the case, technology being used in a language class as means of production in order to increase these teachers’

productivity in their labor process is for shortening the socially necessary labor hours while extracting great amount of unpaid hours of labor as well (Dunayevskaya, 2000) and the result is how the teacher feels alienated from his labor because of not being paid what he really deserves for the labor power he sells due to the nature of abstract labor.

### Teaching Labor

As it is already known, Marx (1974) highlights labor power as “the aggregate of those mental and physical capabilities existing in human being which he exercises whenever he produces a use-value of any description” (ibid. p.164). Here, in teaching labor, this aggregation includes especially the mental capabilities at the utmost level. What is more is that teaching labor has some other peculiar features which differentiate it from other labor types. One of them is that the source of teaching labor never ends. Put another way, it can go on till the death of the teacher. However, for other labor types, there is a limit. Furthermore, the end product of teaching labor -that’s the educated student- is itself a potential value creator of the future (Yılmaz et al., 2006); but in other labors, the products are just value holders.

Therefore, teaching labor is absolutely a different labor process from working on the assembly line or in an office but those other jobs and teaching profession have something in common which is the degradation of labor as a “gift” given by “dominant economic and ideological arrangements” (Apple, 1990, p. 230). Here, Apple argues that despite its long period of skill-gaining, teachers still can’t take active part in planning or the selection of curricular materials since they are already being done by someone else outside; and this situation unquestionably leads the teachers lose control over their labor and the process (ibid.). Of course, Apple here draws the picture of the teachers at public schools.

However, with the neoliberal policies being followed in the world and in Turkey, education services which were once only owned by the state have been privatized while bringing private ownership and saleable aspect to the education service (Hill, 2007). This has of course unquestionably affected teaching labor. Especially here in Turkey with the appearance of private schools, teaching labor has started to take place in two different contexts. Still, the fact is that teaching labor is not handled in the same way in public and private schools as the latter is much more market-oriented and driven by the market forces whereas in the former one there is no aim of producing commodities for sale but distributing the product as the work of teachers by means of some channels other than exchange (Offe & Ronge, 1975). That's why; according to classical Marxists "a teacher's labor (like that of a housewife's) doesn't add value to the labor power it re(produces) because this labor is not in itself value-creating (Harvie, 2006; p:10). As for example, for Mohun (1994), "labor power is not a produced commodity; it is a commodified aspect of human beings, and human beings are not produced in any valorisation process.....and re(production) is neither production for sale nor production for profit" (p:401); that is "people aren't (re)produced under capitalist relations of production" (ibid., p. 398). Here what Mohun claims conflicts with the idea that one's labor power is to be shaped and improved; and this shaping includes both donating it with the necessary abilities and skills required for a certain concrete labor power and teaching it compliance to the capital's discipline so that the result covers productive graduates who will be future surplus value creators (Harvie, 2006). Therefore, not only do teachers produce the commodity future labor power but future surplus value by shaping this labor power as well which is possible "through the exploitation of the new labor power" (ibid; p: 2). And since teaching labor "contributes to an increase in

the social productivity of labor”, this means an increase in the productivity and so a decrease in the value of workers’ labor power leading to extra surplus labor and surplus value (Savran and Tonak, 1999; p. 145).

Again contrary to what Mohun claims, because of the connection between the education and capitalist economy in which for profit the employers need productive workers being donated with the necessary skills by the schools (Bowles & Gintis, 1976); public school teachers act as the agents of the education system contributing to the needs of capital (Apple, 1995). Hence teachers’ labor also does more than producing use-values through the hidden curriculum (Reid, 2003); because “curriculum aims and teaching practices will be the subject of involving those groups who have an interest in the labor process of students and teachers” (Smyth et al., 2000, p. 25).

The point is that these curriculum aims or teaching practices can’t be thought away from state regulation as education is “a site of struggle” both for the economy and civil society. Yet the form of regulation has changed according to the nature of accumulation (Robertson, 2000). That’s why; state regulation has been different in each period. Put another way, from Keynesianism to neoliberalism, there has been great pressure upon education systems to restructure in order to increase efficiency and contribute value for capital (Harvie, 2006). As an illustration, while the Keynesian policies before the 1970s followed the belief that public expenditures like education affected the economic growth in a positive way (Arısoy, 2005); after the 1980s, the neoliberal policies of states have followed the market mode of regulating teachers such as creating new conditions for teachers to contribute to the competitive advantage of the state because teachers’ salaries are seen as a drain on state resources. Hence, to promote its competitive nature, the state has changed its

regulation on education in such a way that now the scope of this regulation covers not only the reduction of education expenditures but to include market and competition as well (Robertson, 2000). Furthermore, as competitiveness strategies, the state puts emphasis on efficiency, quality and performance appraisals for its teachers (ibid.). The focus on the issues like performance, productivity, efficiency, control and etc. have caused to deepen the alienated and abstract characteristics of concrete teaching activities (Harvie, 2006; p.4). As a result of these strategies, for instance, how the scope of the state regulation upon the lecturers including English language teachers of public universities' Schools of Foreign Languages in Turkey has changed can be seen under the light of article 32 of The Law of Higher Education numbered 2547 because in this act the article says:

Lecturers can be appointed by the Rector upon the proposal of Deans, in the case of faculties and units attached to faculties, or of Directors, in the case of graduate schools or schools of higher education attached to the office of the Rector. They may be appointed on a part-time or full-time basis. Re-appointment is possible, but not automatic. In the case of re-appointment, the procedures originally followed are to be repeated<sup>2</sup>.

Hence, even their appointment on a full time or regular basis does not guarantee that these language teachers can work at their current work places lifelong if they don't accomplish what is being expected from them as a requirement of their labor. Still the replacement of an existing labor power with a new one is not as common as in the private schools because of the fact that the arbitrary manner of the school owner favoring his own surplus interests can be easily realized in the private context.

That's why; some teachers try hard to be a public school teacher no matter how low the wages are in order to take advantage of some of the gaining these teachers have.

However, as the time goes on, their conditions are also changing. To illustrate, the notion of contract employees as a form of flexible employment in public sector has

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<sup>2</sup><http://www.hacettepe.edu.tr/english/ortak/universite/kanun2547.pdf>

been promoted by the basic draft law on Public Administration (Evren, 2004); and this of course creates teachers employed on a part-time basis having no job security.

On the other hand, according to Costello and Levidow (2001), because of the state deregulation rather than regulation on the labor market; employers like private school owners can “replace workers with others on less secure contracts” or through the competition created they can obtain more labor in a less wage (p.1) or again by means of this competition, the school owners can “screw up further the length of working time” (Marx, 1974; p. 513). At this point, what Costello and Levidow argue as deregulation is Robertson’s (2000) state regulation in a different form causing an alteration in the nature of teaching and teachers’ work in order to bring them to a configuration that will keep the accumulation functioning.

As already seen, teaching labor has been exposed to a kind of degradation both in public and private context. For Glenn Rikowski (as cited in Hill, 2002, p. 10), because teachers shape the future labor power which has top priority for the capitalist system; “they are in fact the most dangerous of workers”. On the basis of this, teaching labor is under strict control in order to make them guard the future labor powers qualified enough for the needs of the capitalist system. That’s why; any changes in the productive sphere affects how teachers work will be conceived and needs to be accomplished for the production of labor power and accumulation (Robertson, 2000) because in a capitalist system labor power is associated with human capital in which human takes the form of capital; and education and training are the processes of human capitalization (Rikowski, 2001). Therefore, teaching labor has a significant place in the generation of capital and governmental policies about educational practices need to be adjusted according to what capital requires (Apple, 1995).

Handling teaching labor above now raises the question of how English language teaching labor is which will be explored further in the next section.

### English Language Teaching Labor

Under the broad teaching labor umbrella, there exist many different specific teaching labors based on different subjects; and one of them is English language teaching labor. English language teaching labor is what each English language teacher potentially has without working for a school. Yet, these English language teachers with their labor in hand turns it into labor power as soon as they start to work for a commercialized school which can be both private or public since in a capitalistically organized service sector, education is no longer free of charge but based on a tuition or fee (Savran and Tonak, 1999). In this way, their labor becomes their purposive productive language teaching activity which is their labor power. Put another way, their labor is “labor power in use” (Marx, 1974; p. 173).

Here, English language teaching as a part of teaching labor has a significant place especially in the non-English speaking developing countries because it is through the English being taught by the language teachers that the structures of capitalist world order are being benefited (Phillipson, 1992); and because English language is a big business especially in the countries where it is being taught as a foreign language, English language teaching is regarded as a service industry (Pennycook, 1994). To illustrate how competitive this industry is an internet provider which offers English courses for the fetus while it is in the mother’s womb could be given (Graddol, 2006).

For this reason, it can be driven that English language teaching is a chance for the capitalists because in order to solve the problem of loss of value of the

commodity, some precautions such as “enhancing the saleability of labor power by means of some measures or programs in education, training etc. where values can function as commodities” (Offe & Ronge, 1975, p. 143) are taken. Henceforth, they can present education as something marketable as in the case of private education institutions in which labor power of English language teachers is being sold for a temporary period of time on behalf of the contract which gives the buyer of this labor the right of consuming its use value before and paying for it later (Marx, 1974).

Hence, it is clear that English language teaching labor acts like an agent working on behalf of capital and the employers in Turkey who demand English language proficiency from the new labor power they will employ, and the schools who promote themselves by their success in teaching English can be the most concrete examples of this situation. Such favorable acts for the benefit of the capital is quite normal in societies where capitalist mode of production exists and the advance form of this production “develops a working-class, which by education, tradition, habit, looks upon the conditions of that mode of production as self-evident laws of Nature” (Marx, 1974, p. 689). Put another way, having not only the productive workers but also the citizens committed to such norms or practices of capitalist growth are necessary for an uninterrupted capital accumulation (Robertson, 2000). Therefore, besides donating future labor power with the necessary language skill, English language teaching labor is like a subcontractor for the business owners who want to have this working class either already being shaped or ready to be shaped by their values favoring more capital accumulation.

In order to have a deep understanding of English language teachers’ perceptions, it is better to look at the issue of how motivated they are by their teaching labor.

## Motivation and Teaching Labor

Motives direct our behavior “toward or away from some goal by potentiating certain perceptions, behaviors, and feelings rather than others” (Gleitman, 1996; p. 78); so when a person is intrinsically or extrinsically motivated to do something, s/he is moved to do it (Ryan & Deci, 2000). Hence, when a teacher loves his/her profession, this is thanks to motivation as it’s the major dynamic existing in a person who has positive feelings toward the profession (Czubaj, 1996). To understand how teachers feel about their work, Rothman (cited in Bishay, 1996) contrasts the motives which are security and financial gains during the depression years with present-day idealistic feelings while entering the teaching profession as today other professions pay better than teaching.

For Coladarci (1992), a teacher’s psychological attachment to the teaching profession shows the commitment. If there is no commitment of the teacher, s/he who enters teaching leaves within the first five years. Low salary and working conditions act as important factors for the decision to leave (ibid.). Again under the light of a poll among American teachers, Coladarci also highlights whether teachers would choose the same profession if they had a decision to change and the percentage of the ones saying they wouldn’t choose teaching was 30 per cent by 1986. The reasons for their lack of commitment and not wanting to go back their profession were like “nonteaching responsibilities, large classes, lack of job autonomy and discretion, sense of isolation from colleagues and supervisors, insufficient administrative support, and powerlessness regarding important decision making processes” (ibid.; p. 327).

## CHAPTER III

### METHODOLOGY

This chapter covers the research design including research questions and unit of analysis, research sites together with how they were selected and what their individual characteristics were in detail, sample focusing on selection, recruitment and demographic of the participants, interview protocol, research instrument, data collection and data analysis procedures, pilot study and credibility of data. Before closing, this section ends with a narration about position of the researcher in this study.

#### Design

As just mentioned above, this study employed qualitative inquiry in order to gain deep insights concerning the perceptions of English language teachers about their own labor because the data gathered by qualitative inquiry shows the researcher the depth of emotions, experiences and thoughts of the respondents (Patton, 1990). What is more about employing qualitative methodology for this study is that it was necessary to reach the answers of research problem since it attempts to understand the “meaning” of experience for the persons being involved in this experience (Maxwell, 2005). Because this methodology enables the researcher “to capture the data on the perceptions of the local actors from the inside” (Miles and Huberman, 1994, p.6); data gathered with qualitative method will provide “thick descriptions” about the real context (ibid.; p.10).

Therefore, this study used a case study approach to qualitative inquiry as the design because a case study gives the chance of understanding a complex social

phenomenon (Yin, 2003) reflecting the perspectives of the people involved in the phenomenon (Gall, Gall & Borg, 2007). Through its holistic nature, “a good case study can provide the actor’s motives that eventuate in specific decisions and events” (Feagin, Orum & Sjoberg, 1991, p.11). What is more is that because the research questions of this study required an in-depth examination of experiences and perceptions of a phenomenon in specific setting, case study fitted what was intended here best.

### Research Questions

This study tried to find the answers for the following research questions:

1. What are the perceptions of English language teachers working in the preparatory schools of public and private universities about their own English language teaching labor?
2. What are the perceptions of English language teachers about the extent of their alienation in their labor?
3. What are the perceptions of English language teachers about the factors that trigger their alienation in both contexts?
4. How do English language teachers respond to their alienation in their own labor?

### Unit of Analysis

The case in this specific study consisted of the group of English language teachers working at the preparatory schools of both public and private universities and they were the unit of analysis of this study as being the main focus to be investigated. The basic characteristics of the unit of analysis here were that they were all full time

instructors and were teaching English to the prep students by following some prescribed programs.

### Research Sites

The research sites of this study from where the participants were driven included the public and private universities in one big city because the sample of this study covered English language teachers working for the preparatory schools of these universities. Here, the English preparatory schools of three public and three private universities were to be determined first.

### Criterion for the Selection of Research Sites

The criterion used in this study while selecting the research sites was based on Altunay's (2010) study in which she categorized the private universities in Turkey as high, middle and low ranking ones according to their percentages of students they admitted from top ten thousand in 2008.

In much clearer terms, the formula followed while ranking the private universities in terms of the percentage of high achievers was to divide the number of students received from top ten thousand into the total number of students enrolled to those universities (ibid.) While doing this, Altunay's starting point was 2008 statistics of Student Selection and Placement Center (OSYM) and she considered the universities receiving 11 percent and above of their students from top ten thousand as "high"; universities receiving between 6 percent to 10 percent of their students from top ten thousand as "middle", and universities receiving between 0 percent to 5 percent of their students from top ten thousand as "low" ranking ones. Altunay also underlined that the reason behind high achievers' choosing high ranking universities was finding a job easily which showed how their consciousness was shaped (ibid.).

### Selection of Private Universities

Under the light of Altunay's criterion to rank the universities, when private universities were ranked according to 2009 statistics of Student Selection and Placement Center (OSYM); three private universities from which the English Preparatory Schools were driven for this study were private A representing the high ranking private universities as accepting 23 percent of high achievers from top ten thousand in the OSS exam of 2009, private B reflecting the middle ranking with 8 percent of high achievers from top ten thousand being enrolled after the same exam; and private C portraying the low ranking ones as having 1 percent of high achievers from top ten thousand of the OSYS (Student Selection and Placement System) of 2009. While making the selection, their being in this service sector for at least ten years was also taken into account in order to meet a much more established system.

### Selection of Public Universities

While choosing the target public universities for this study, again the way Altunay (2010) followed which was the ranking of universities as high, middle and low was to be the starting point. Hence, to rank the public universities according to Altunay's formula, the number of students from top ten thousand these universities in the big city received was divided into the total number of students registered to them in order to find the percentages of high achievers they admitted. After applying this formula according to 2009 statistics of Students Selection and Placement Center (OSYM), three public universities as the focus of this study could be ordered as follows: public A accepting 21 percent of its students from top ten thousand was the representative of high ranking public university; public B accepting 9 percent of its students from top ten thousand represented the middle ranking; and public C with its

5 percent of students from top ten thousand reflected a low ranking one. As none of the public universities in the big city was under middle ranking, a university from a small city which fell into this category was taken as a sample.

### Universities

- *Private A:* This university was established in the first half of the 1990s as a private, nonprofit university. English preparatory is a must at this university and the number of students they have in this program is more than 800. For those students' English language education, almost 50 English language teachers are included in its body. The majority of these teachers are native speakers. They have the specific units like Teacher Development, Curriculum and Testing; yet on their official web site, there is no information about how their curriculum is developed or who the responsible people are for testing, material or curriculum units.
- *Private B:* Founded in the second half of the 1990s by a private educational institution, according to 2010-2011 academic year statistics, English Preparatory Program of this university has nearly 2000 students with its academic staff which is around 150. The preparatory program here covers a Curriculum and Testing Office, Professional Development Unit and some Level Coordinators etc.
- *Private C:* This university was established in the second half of the 1990s. It has around 300 students in its English Preparatory Program according to 2010-2011 data. As being a unit under the Department of Foreign Languages, there are approximately 50 English language teachers in English Preparatory Program and the program also includes units like testing office, curriculum

office, in-service training office in addition to the coordinators assigned for different levels.

- *Public A:* This university was founded long before the 1980s and it is among the oldest universities in that city. Here, English medium of instruction is being pursued which of course shows the position of English Preparatory Program there. Through this program, English is being taught to more than 3000 students and the program has more than 150 full-time English language teachers in its body. It has units like testing, material production and also a curriculum development office deciding on what and how to teach.
- *Public B:* This university was established in the 1970s. English Preparatory is a division related to the Department of Foreign Languages. There are some different branches serving for the preparatory unit concerning exams, program development, distance education, audio-visual and printed material and so on. There are also level coordinators, curriculum development and testing coordinators inside this unit. According to 2010-2011 data, more than 600 students have been learning English in the preparatory program and it has around 50 English language teachers.
- *Public C:* This university was founded long before the 1980s; so it is one of the oldest universities in that big city. English preparatory is given under a specific name by the School of Foreign Language. At the beginning of 2010-2011 education year, more than 2000 students started the preparatory program. The program has more than 100 teachers in its body. Related to this unit, there are level coordinators who are responsible for designing the syllabus of their levels, development of the necessary materials and the

coordination of the other teachers. Beside the level coordinators, the program has also some specific branches like testing, curriculum development, online program etc.

## Sample

### Criterion for the Selection of Sample

Here the sample which included the English language teachers at the English Preparatory Schools were chosen from the context of public and private universities just mentioned above. Before reaching the sample; first the academic staff at the preparatory schools of each target university was analyzed and to reach the participants, purposeful sampling was utilized in order to select twelve teachers -two from each university- as the basis of this study because purposeful sampling enables a researcher to select the most productive participants from the point of research questions (Marshall, 1996). Here the teachers were selected according to the criteria of minimum two years of working experience in the same institution, and gender. Male teachers were also taken into account despite their being less in number in order to be able to generalize the results to both genders.

### Recruitment of Participants

Under the guidance of purposeful sampling, one female and one male teacher were selected from each school and in total the research participants were composed of six female and six male teachers who met the selection criterion of two years of experience. Yet, to reach these participants, the researcher got in touch with some gatekeepers. These participants were first contacted by mail or phone call to give a brief information about the aim of the study and asked for a more detailed face to

face talk about the scope of the study, and the determination of the exact interview time and date after getting their agreement; but in case of not being able to reach or being turned down by any of chosen participants, a backup list including some extra participants fulfilling the criteria of selection was kept to put into effect. On the continuity of the same problem, snowball sampling was employed in which the teachers who accepted to take part in the study led to other teachers who might want to participate.

### Participants

The demographic information about the participants both from public and private context can be seen in the tables below.

Table 1. List of Participants from the Sample Public Universities

Name	Gender	University Name	University Ranking
İpek	Female	Public A	High
Melih	Male	Public A	High
Elif	Female	Public B	Middle
Onur	Male	Public B	Middle
Şule	Female	Public C	Low
Burak	Male	Public C	Low

Note: More detailed information about the participants can be found in Appendix D.

Table 2. List of Participants from the Sample Private Universities

Name	Gender	University Name	University Ranking
Funda	Female	Private A	High
Mert	Male	Private A	High
Nalan	Female	Private B	Middle
Cem	Male	Private B	Middle
Tuğba	Female	Private C	Low
Ali	Male	Private C	Low

Note: More detailed information about the participants can be found in Appendix D.

Participants in this study were twelve English language teachers six of who are working at the English preparatory school or unit of three different public universities and the other six working at the same unit of three different private universities. Again, among those twelve teachers, six of them are female and the other six are male ones. Except for the middle ranking public university, all of the samples were chosen from one of the big cities in Turkey. Both in public and private context, the number of female teachers outweighed the number of male ones. This is may be because of the general tendency among people to connect teaching occupation especially the English language teaching with females.

Here, while the age group of the majority of participants in the public context is between 31 and 35; it is between 26 and 30 in the private context. Also, the youngest participant of the study who is 24 years old is from the private context whereas the oldest one at the age of 42 is from the public one.

Again, the majority of the participants in the public context are the graduates of the Department of Foreign (English) Language Teaching whereas in the private context, half of the participants graduated from the Department of English Language and Literature. Besides their undergraduate degrees, the majority of participants in

both contexts either already have their master degrees or are currently following their graduate programs.

One striking difference about the participants from both contexts is that unlike their colleagues in the public context, all of the participants in the private context have been working in their current workplaces between two and four years. Yet, in the public one, all of the participants have been working in their current workplaces for more than five years.

At the context of public universities, four of the participants indicate that there is no issue of working hours they need to fill in their workplaces since they can leave the school as soon as their classes are over; yet two of the male participants from different schools specify their working hours as less than eight corresponding to six hours. In general, all of the public school teachers have to teach between 12 and 18 hours weekly. Yet, except one female teacher Şule who has a toddler, all of them have extra hours to make more money.

At private university context, there are different applications about working hour issue. While the participants working at the high ranking university can leave as long as their work is over; the ones working at the middle and low ranking universities underline how they need to stay there for eight hours. Just one of the female participants Nalan puts the focus on how she is in need of staying more than eight hours to finish the work. In contrast, Tuğba from another private university states that their working hour isn't enough to finish the work most of the time and that's why; they take the unfinished work home. Participants driven from both middle and low ranking university contexts specify their weekly teaching hours as 20 hours; but in high ranking private university context, this situation changes according to the number of students passing the required exam each term.

All of the participants from three different public universities get the same salary which is between 1500 and 2000 TL. However, it is not the same for private school context since the participants working for the high ranking university earn the most which is more than 3500 TL whereas the participants working for the low ranking university earn the least which is between 1500 and 2000 TL. Also, in the low ranking context, the experienced female teacher's salary is more than the less experienced male teacher.

### Interview Protocol

In order to get deeper responses from the interviewees and “to increase the richness of the data”, probes which are in the form of follow up questions are used during a qualitative interviewing process (Patton, 1990; p. 324). Additionally, these probes provide not only the interviewer guidance, but also the researcher control about how the interview is running (ibid.). That's why; in this study, some probes were also used following some of the open-ended key questions. As a beginning, for question three (*How long do you think you will work in this workplace?*), the probing question *What will you do to protect your position in case of a downsizing in your workplace?* was asked because the aim was to get more details about the participants' experience and to see whether there was a conflict between what they said for the key question and for the probe. Regarding the question seven (*How is the relationship with your colleagues?*), two probes were used one after another. The first probe was *What would you do, if you knew that some of your colleagues were making mistakes in their lessons?*; and the second probe was *Despite working during the same working hours, what would you think about your colleague(s) who was being paid more than you?*. The aim of the researcher while asking these two probing questions was to

discover the unseen in the key questions just focusing on the relationships in general. In this way, if there were any competitive relationships existing among the teachers, these two questions would indicate that. Following, for question eight (*Do you have a teaching certificate? What do you think about having one of these certificates like CELTA, ICELT, DELTA etc?*); the probe being asked was *What may be the reason for the interest among the English language teachers for these certificates?*. The reason for asking this probe was to elaborate more ideas about the subject to see the participants' real thoughts. Additionally, for question eleven (*What kind of technological equipment do you use in your class? What kind of positive and negative contributions does this equipment you use bring to you?*), two probes employed were *Do you feel yourself as if you had to use this equipment?* and *Do you think this technology you use increases your productivity?*. Through these probes, the researcher aimed to find out how the participants really saw the equipment in their classes and whether they felt like controlling or being controlled by it. Last, regarding the question twelve (*At the end of a working day, how do you feel yourself when you go home?*); the researcher wanted to learn whether this tiredness affected their private life or not. Therefore, she used the probing question that was *Does this tiredness affect your private life?* in order to see the degree of dealing with this tiredness. All these probing questions gave more insights about the participants' perceptions within a conversational style.

### Instrument

The instrument used to gather data in this study was interviewing as a research strategy. Before the interview, some demographic questions were asked through a demographic questionnaire form asking questions about their age, sex, degree, major,

year of experience in the current institution, total year of experience in teaching, total working hours in a work day and in a week, daily and weekly teaching hours and the money being paid on a monthly basis. If there was no working hour requirement, they were also asked to explain it.

In order to capture the perceptions of the participants, fourteen open-ended interview questions were formulated under the light of research questions and literature review covered in the study. All of the interviews were conducted in Turkish and later translated into English for further data analysis.

#### Data Collection Procedure

Before starting data collection, except for the English preparatory school of middle ranking public university which is in a small city, the researcher visited the target preparatory schools where the majority of samples were driven in order to understand the contexts. After the selection of research participants, she tried to arrange the most convenient time for each one of those twelve participants. Here, time arrangement was so important for the accomplishment of in-depth interviews with the participants.

Prior to the in-depth interviews based on open-ended questions, all of the participants were requested to answer the questions concerning the demographic questions. While they were doing this, the purpose of the study was reminded them again both in written and in verbal to increase their motivation and interest toward the study.

After getting the demographic questionnaire answered, the consent forms for the participants' voluntary participation were given before the interviews. Also, in order to use a voice recorder, the consent of the participants was taken before. Later,

individual interviews based on open-ended questions were held because as highlighted by Tellis (1997), open-ended interviews provide insights of the participants; and make the researcher hear their “genuine voice” (Gubrium & Holstein, 2001, p.11). Because this study tried to explore the alienation phenomenon among the English language teachers of public and private context, these interviews provided access to find answers for the research questions which required a deep understanding of the phenomenon; and as Johnson already highlights through this deep understanding, what is “hidden from the ordinary view” was explored (ibid; p.106). Here, for each one-to-one interview, the researcher spent at least 1 and a half hours to gain the real insights. During this main data collection process; all of the open-ended interviews were audio-taped for further accuracy of data. Yet, the researcher also took notes despite the existence of a voice recorder to eliminate any technical problem and to grip the natural flow of the interview well by forming new questions where needed.

All of the interviews were held on a specific time, date and place which was the most appropriate for each participant. If the participants did not feel comfortable with having the interview in their workplaces, it was arranged in a place which was suitable for them. Furthermore, in order to protect the anonymity of the participants the consent forms for their voluntary participation were prepared and made ready to be signed for each interval of meeting. Also, both for the participants and the schools they have been working at, pseudonyms were used instead of their real names to protect the real identities.

## Data Analysis

At the end of data collection period, all of the data recorded were transcribed as a whole by the researcher. Through the transcribed data, the answers of each participant were analyzed for a content-analysis. Content analysis is “a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from texts (or other meaningful matter) to the context of their use” where the analyst makes inferences in a context-sensitive way (Krippendorff, 2004, p.18). With the application of this technique, the coded text data are reduced to some broad themes which are layered or interconnected with each other and at last findings are reported in a narrative discussion (Creswell, 2002). Therefore, the content-analysis of transcribed interviews was used for the data analysis. In this way, the themes which reappear were identified. After listing those emerging themes by using codes, each text statement which had a direct relation with the theme was quoted. These quotes were used both for in-case analysis within the participants of the same preparatory school and cross-case analysis between the participants of different preparatory schools belonging to completely two different contexts namely public and private universities.

## Pilot Study

To test how comprehensive and organized the interview questions were, a pilot study was held. This pilot study also provided to review the language and content of the research questions; and before the beginning, it prevented further possible problems arising from the instrument. Therefore, a pilot study including three teachers; two from the English preparatory school of a private university and one from a public one was conducted in March 2011. One of the participants was chosen as a male one

intentionally to see if questions were perceived differently by both genders. At the end of the pilot study conducted, it was seen that question four “How productive do you find yourself in your job?” wasn’t clear enough for the participants, and therefore to clarify, it was changed as “Do you think you are a productive employee in terms of the work that you accomplish at school?”. Again question fourteen “What are the things that you like and you don’t like about your job?” was added to the interview questions. As during the pilot study, the need for such a question was realized. After these necessary changes were made on the interview questions, the final form of the interview questions was shaped.

#### Credibility of Data

According to Corbin (Corbin & Strauss; 2008; p. 302), credibility of a qualitative study means that “findings are trustworthy and believable in that they reflect participants’, researchers’, and readers’ experiences with a phenomenon”. Here, in this study, in order to increase the credibility of the data, participants were requested to sign the consent forms before the interviews. After the transcription of interviews, the word documents of each interview were also sent to the participants for participant-checking. This was done to get their confirmation and permission to be used of what they said. At that point, some of the participants from both contexts were not comfortable with some of their uttering. Noting those specific lines, the researcher omitted them during the whole process. In addition, the in-depth questions were applied in order to see the depth of participants’ responses and this also increased the credibility of data generated. Last, to clarify the bias, the researcher wrote a self reflection under the heading of *Position of the Researcher* to be open enough in this study.

## Position of the Researcher

My professional English language teaching career started seven years ago- but not as soon as I graduated from university since I couldn't find a job at teaching right after I had my diploma. Before anything else, I had plans like many of the newly graduates of the Department of Foreign Language Teaching about taking the Public Personnel Selection Examination (KPSS) in order to be appointed as an English language teacher in one of the public schools. Then, I took the KPSS exam in 2004 and scored above 70. As a result of my score, I was appointed to Yüksekova Anatolian Teacher Training High School; and because of my parents' concerns about terror and not knowing the area well, I couldn't go there. For a while, I was unemployed since where ever I applied, they were asking for a job experience. Then, in the second half of 2004 I started the school in which I worked for six years. At that time, with its limited number of departments, students and academic staff in a small building, it was a vocational school of higher education. Yet, by 2008, it took its place among the private universities of Turkey with its ever growing students, departments and academic staff in an expanding campus. English Preparatory School of this institution has always been top of the interest for the administration since it was regarded as a kind of prestige to catch up with the contemporary education in the eyes of the parents. There in six years, I had taught English to hundreds of students some of who already graduated and started their professional career; I witnessed three different heads of the program with their different administration styles, and of course I met tens of English language teachers joining or leaving the institution with new hopes or lost dreams respectively. After taking some required exams like Selection Examination for Academic Personnel and Graduate Studies (ALES) in 2007 and Public Personnel Language Examination (KPDS) in 2006 and scoring 72

and 90 respectively, I applied a couple of public and private universities. In fact, my number one priority has been to work for the English Preparatory Program of a public university in where I live but I still could not achieve this because there is a harsh competition among the English language teachers who want to be under state authority other than a private one despite the former's low salaries. Likewise, the competition in private sector has also been aggravated and it has become really difficult to find jobs for the ones scoring low from the ALES. For a year I've been working for another private university and I got this job after spending my last summer trying to make the schools that I applied accept me. For me English language teachers in the whole sector are like headless warriors trying to find their ways by stumbling. Here, as an English language teacher who previously worked at the English Preparatory School of one of the new private universities for six years, I inevitably put myself into the insider position since it is impossible to clear my mind from what I experienced during this duration. The truth is that, since I have just experienced being a private school teacher, it can be unquestionably easy for me to internalize how English language teachers at private context feel under some similar circumstances. Yet, some common points between public and private context can ease my empathy with the public school teachers. In fact, the nature of study seems to prevent any kind of conflict of interest since its comparative nature tries to diagnose the problem in each context favoring none above the other.

## CHAPTER IV

### FINDINGS and DISCUSSIONS

In this chapter, four major themes which were identified after the data analysis and specified as perceptions about English language teaching labor, perceptions about the extent of alienation, perceptions about triggering factors of alienation and responding to alienation were discussed. Related to these themes, the categories and even subcategories where necessary were also developed all of which will be discussed in detail below.

#### Themes

Based on the research questions, the discussion themes were grouped under four main items. These are teachers' perceptions a) about English language teaching labor, b) about the extent of alienation in labor, c) about the triggering factors of alienation, d) about how to respond to alienation.

Under the first theme *perceptions about English language teaching labor*, there are two categories: 1. Employment guarantee, 2. Routine monotonous work.

Under the second theme *perceptions about the extent of alienation in labor*, there are three categories: 1. Dream of something other than teaching, 2. Feeling secure or insecure about the continuity of employment, 3. Feeling productive or unproductive

Under the third theme *perceptions about the triggering factors of alienation in labor*, there are four categories: 1. Conflict with the fellow men, 2. In favor of division of labor, 3. Awareness of extra duties other than teaching, 4. Easiness and productiveness by technology in class

Under the fourth theme *responding to alienation*, there are three categories: 1. Feeling of tiredness, 2. Aspects of being advantaged and disadvantaged, 3. Aspects of satisfaction and dissatisfaction within the job

### Perceptions about English Language Teaching Labor

Regarding the theme *perceptions about English language teaching labor*, two categories emerged. These categories are employment guarantee and routine monotonous work which will be analyzed below right after the frequency table showing each item.

Table 3. Theme I- Perceptions about English Language Teaching Labor (Both Public and Private)

	Frequency
Employment guarantee	11
Routine monotonous work	10

#### Employment Guarantee

The noticeable perception of the participants both in public and private university context about English language teaching labor is its employment guarantee and they expressed this directly or indirectly through some ideas.

Although four out of six participants from public universities were the graduates of Anatolian teacher training high schools, they put the focus on the success of their English language teachers at their high schools in their choices of choosing the department of English language teaching at the university entrance exam since through their teachers' success and the extra points given for the graduates of teacher training high schools, they increased their chance of entering a

university. Hence, it wasn't because they wanted to be a teacher except one of the female participants Şule from University Z who decided to be an English language teacher when she was fourteen. Thus, related to the easy access to university, four of these participants highlighted that they chose this department because they wanted to enter the university easily and to find a job immediately. Two of the male participants from different public universities justified their choice of English language teaching with different words showing the same idea. Here Melih explained his feelings by focusing on how he saw English language teaching as a guaranteed way for employment.

When you think about whether to choose the department of translation and interpreting, and English language and literature or English language teaching, the most guaranteed occupation is English language teaching because when you become its graduate, you can work for the state, for a university or for a language course. You can find a place to work for your living and in fact I chose the guaranteed way. (Melih, public A)

Although Melih focused on the time to find a job after graduating from the university, Onur first recalled how he cared about his entering a university and then finding a job with no difficulty.

I thought that when I chose the department of foreign language at high school I could enter a university and the Department of English Language Teaching more easily when compared with the Department of Mathematics Teaching...So not only getting access to university but also getting a job somewhere more easily had a great effect on my choice. (Onur, public B)

Here, the effect of extra points these teachers as the graduates of teacher training high schools were given for their teaching choice at university entrance exam can't be denied. Yet not all the participants were given such extra points as they were the graduates of regular high schools other than teacher training ones but still chose the department of English language teaching at university because of the same concerns like the access to a university and to a job easily. At that point, one of the female participants who didn't graduate from a teacher training high school and so couldn't

get extra points from the university entrance exam for choosing teaching departments also emphasized that she also chose this department to increase her chance of entering a university and then finding a job easily.

My English teacher at high school wanted me to choose a department related to English but I insisted on not being an English language teacher... Then when I saw the university entrance exam manual I realized that if I answered just one question in English part, I would get a point corresponding to two or more mathematics questions. In this way, I would enter the university more easily and then start my profession immediately. (Elif, public B)

In addition to those participants above, some of the participants in the same context justified how this employment guarantee affected their choice indirectly; as to illustrate the only participant of the public context namely Burak from public C who graduated from neither a teacher training high school nor the Department of English Language Teaching at university but the Department of English Language and Literature said that he chose teaching because he needed to earn his life in a way despite never thinking about teaching before while highlighting that “predominantly, teaching has been a matter of salary” for him. In contrast to all of these participants, only one of the participants, Şule, expressed that she went to the Department of English Language Teaching consciously.

In my period which was between 1985 and 1986, we had the feeling that we went to teacher training high schools to be teachers; an understanding closer to the old teacher training schools, but then graduates of teacher training high schools started to think about different things. (Şule, public C)

On the other hand, in private university context, three of the participants were the graduates of the Department of English Language and Literature and the other three were the graduates of English Language Teaching. Yet, only one of them namely Mert from private A was the graduate of a teacher training high school besides being a graduate of teaching department. In fact, none of these three graduates of the Department of English Language Teaching wanted to be English language teachers;

yet its employment guarantee affected their choice. To illustrate the case, the female participant who graduated from the Department of English Language Teaching felt very sorry when she learnt that she won the teaching department and justified herself with its image when saying “Teaching wasn’t an occupation I wanted to follow as I don’t like its image in people’s minds which is *female occupation*. My choice made me happy because I have never been unemployed; always found a job in a way” (Funda, private A). Similar to this female participant, the youngest participant of the study also stated that he didn’t want to be an English language teacher but just wanted to keep it in hand in order to feel safe.

In Turkey, from the point of job opportunities, you can earn your life as an English language teacher for better or worse. You can work in a language school and I think, even if you earn less there, you never feel hungry. (Ali, private C)

The only private university participant who graduated from a teacher training high school expressed his feelings about not thinking of being an English language teacher at first because of finding it something below their level and stated “I wasn’t in good terms with the formation lessons when I was at high school; to tell the truth, we were conceited and education faculty was the last option for us” (Mert, private A).

Two of the female participants who graduated from the department of English language and literature also emphasized that they started English language teaching because of not being able to find a job and make money in literature and because teaching could enable them a financially safe and insured job.

My choice made me happy because I am lucky from this aspect: For example, the working area of archeology graduates is also too narrow so they start in a company which keeps them very far away from their departments but I am a literature graduate....so teaching doesn’t mean something I never like or I am unhappy. I find myself lucky. (Nalan, private B)

Besides its being an insured job, the other female participant also gave the problem of unemployment in Turkey as a reason for her being an English language teacher while saying “There is a bottleneck in Turkish economy and we have a lot of unemployment problems. That’s why; my family wanted me to be an English language teacher”. (Tuğba, private C). Another literature graduate Cem stated how the image of an English language teacher in his mind was before he started to work for a university.

In fact, I studied English language and literature and didn’t think about being a teacher; may be because of its image...a person who works a lot all the time and thinks hard but who earns little...if I didn’t work for a university now, I would think differently from the tangible and intangible aspects. (Cem, private B)

Under the light of participants’ responses, it was seen that the basic motivation behind their choice of being an English language teacher in both contexts was its employment guarantee and for the graduates of Anatolian teacher training high schools it was employment guarantee by means of easy university access as they were given extra points which was especially felt among the participants from the sample public universities. Since motives push us to move to do something (Ryan & Deci, 2000); the basic motive which made them choose to be a teacher was the belief of never being unemployed. Asserting employment guarantee for their own choices showed how extrinsically motivated they were rather than choosing teaching simply for love. This also revealed how psychologically attached they were to their own labor. In fact, this employment guarantee was not simply a motive but something determined by the life itself. The truth was that although participants’ basic perception was about its being a labor with an employment guarantee, both group of participants weren’t conscious about their choice since their consciousness was determined by their actual life process and this was what Marx and Engels (1963)

highlighted in the German Ideology “as life is not determined by consciousness but consciousness by life” (ibid; p. 15). That’s why, the consciousness behind choosing to be an English language teacher because of its employment guarantee was the material activity of the people which was shaped by the needs and mode of production affecting their freedom in their choice of life activity (ibid.) In the end, they chose to be an English language teacher to maintain their lives rather than enjoying it and this created the alienated character of their life activity since this activity is neither free nor a result of their free will (Ollman, 1976). Therefore, it seems that even from the beginning, they stood outside their activity and accepted to treat it as something “in the service, under the dominion of” somebody else (Marx, 1977; p. 71).

#### Routine Monotonous Work

Another common perception about English language teaching labor is its being a routine work. Eight out of twelve participants directly pointed out that they found what they were doing as something routine and monotonous. Specifically, seven out of twelve participants from both contexts highlighted they felt as if they were repeating the same things every day and every year and even some gave this as a reason for not being happy with their choices of teaching. In addition to these eight participants, two other female participants one from public and one from private context indirectly reflected the monotony of their work through their feelings. Hence, in total ten out of twelve participants found their labor routine and monotonous; yet some expressed this directly and some indirectly. Interestingly, this is especially common among the male participants from both public and private contexts since five out of six participants who thought English language teaching as something

routine and monotonous were male teachers. To illustrate the picture, the participant from a public university emphasized that when he first started teaching, he was much more energetic and enthusiastic but then he started to feel as if doing the same things every year and expressed such feeling of repetition as “again, present perfect tense, again passive voice, again if clause in grammar lessons; or again the students are the passive side sitting and listening and I am the one reading the text and restating” (Melih, public A). Another male participant Onur from another public university stated that he was in the mood of searching for something different because of this routine which also turned his life into something routine.

It is because your life becomes a routine. That is, you come here in the morning and you do the same things not only till evening but also every year....The work you do is always like going from point A to point B, like getting on a bus and going from somewhere to somewhere and you know at which stop the student will make that grammar mistake....Every week you have to give a quiz, or you have to prepare questions, every term you have to do writing and even you know what errors the student will make in writing every term. (Onur, public B)

Burak from public C also connected this routine side of teaching with mental productivity and how it affected his creativity while stressing as “I don’t find myself mentally productive, because you turn off the switch somewhere and then you get into the class; then you teach in a mechanic way and leave”.

When we turn to private context; what the youngest participant of the study said was remarkable because he connected the routine side of being a teacher with having an ordinary life.

Sometimes, the idea of doing this job forever seems so ridiculous. Getting up early every day and teaching the same subjects for 40 years or during your whole life; I don’t know but I don’t want to have such an ordinary life, I guess. (Ali, private C)

The other participant Cem from private B stated that he always felt the necessity of updating himself in order to break the monotonous side and expressed that they had

to follow a course book in which the units, themes, dialogues were all the same as the previous one and added “I will do teaching for many years; and I don’t want to do this in this monotony. In order to get out of this monotony, I need to update myself”.

Surprisingly, one opposing view came from only a male participant namely Mert from the private A. He emphasized he never had classical repeat after me teaching; or the one where he was always in front of the class to teach English; but always integrated the things he liked into the classroom environment.

On the other hand, while the majority of male participants in the study directly mentioned their work as something routine or monotonous, this number was three out of six for the female participants from both public and private contexts. Here from the private context the only participant who directly emphasized the monotony of her work was Tuğba from private C and she connected how this monotony affected her creativity in a negative way.

I leave work at 5:00 and this is the earliest; sometimes our work may take longer and I take the unfinished work home and this is all a monotonous process that’s checking the papers of the students. I never add something to myself and I feel it. I wish I could.

However, Tuğba’s counterpart Funda from private A put the emphasis on such a perception of routine side of her job indirectly while telling how she was feeling when getting into the class with these words “when I’m going to the class I say to myself ‘again I have a class.’”

Yet when we look at the public university context, two female participants namely İpek from public A and Elif from public B directly stated English language teaching was something monotonous. Here according to İpek, it repeated itself a lot which made her learn nothing new and this monotony started to become a burden on her.

Having taught simple present tense many times; I am always going back to zero; but I don't have the satisfaction of getting students from zero to higher. I feel myself as if I was always turning back because again I am teaching simple present tense, what's your name?, and colors etc. (İpek, public A)

As for the other female participant Elif from public B, the work she was doing might be monotonous as students were doing the same mistakes every year and this made her feel as if living Dejavu.

Besides İpek and Elif who complained about the monotonous side of being an English language teacher, Şule from public C also indirectly reflected how she felt this monotonousness like her counterpart Funda from private A and emphasized that when she first started teaching, she was spending even her break times with the students but now she was already fed up with it and refused to spend these times with them which was to some extent because of 13 years passed and the monotony arose.

As the dominant perception among the majority of the participants and especially among the male ones in both contexts was about how routine and monotonous English language teaching was, they were complaining about teaching the same subjects or doing the same things again and again directly or indirectly. The number of female participants at public context who perceived their work as something routine and monotonous far outweighed the number in the private context; and under the light of all their perceptions, it was clear that the majority of the participants in both contexts and especially the male ones were not content with what they were doing. Put another way, always repeating the same topics and units or doing the same things like weekly quizzes, material productions and so on made their life activity –their labor- something not voluntary in which they could make use of their mental capacities freely but rather made it something forced as already highlighted by one of the male participants it was making them “mentally unproductive because of teaching in a mechanic way”. In the end, not only their life

activity –the labor- but also their life itself became routine by getting up early, coming to school and doing the same things or teaching the same subjects till evening every year. Here, Marx’s concept of ‘estranged labor’ has easily been visible in which “the alienation of the worker in his product means not only that his labor becomes an object, an external existence, but that it exists outside him, independently, as something alien to him, and that it becomes a power on its own confronting him. It means that the life which he has conferred on the object confronts him as something hostile and alien” (Marx, 1977; p. 64). Also, the external character of their labor created the teachers’ alienation from their own selves because their life activity became the “labor of self-sacrifice” in which they felt it outside themselves (ibid; p.66).

#### Perceptions about the Extent of Alienation

Related to the second theme *perceptions about the extent of alienation*, three categories came out and these are dream of something other than teaching, feeling secure or insecure about the continuity of employment and feeling productive or unproductive. Here below, the frequency tables for these items in both contexts can be seen before their analysis in detail.

Table 4. Theme II- Perceptions about the Extent of Alienation in Labor (Public)

	Frequency
Feeling secure about the continuity of employment	6
Feeling unproductive	5
Dream of something other than teaching	4

Table 5. Theme II- Perceptions about the Extent of Alienation in Labor (Private)

	Frequency
Feeling insecure about the continuity of employment	6
Dream of something other than teaching	5
Feeling productive	5

### Dream of Something Other than Teaching

When participants were asked whether they had ever thought about doing something else but not English language teaching till the end of their lives; nine out of twelve participants reflected their discontentment with being an English language teacher. At that point, while some of the participants had a clear dream instead of being a teacher, some others were still in search of something.

Turning to public university context first in order to analyze this issue, four of the participants one of who was female mentioned that they didn't want to do teaching. Yet while three of them had already something in mind, the fourth one didn't and was still in search of something. In order to see what those who had a clear picture of something other than teaching had in their minds, it was better to focus on what the female participant said about teaching versus her dream.

Teaching is not suitable for me. I want to have an office, finish an individual work and see a concrete product. That's why; communication might have been better such as writing news and seeing its being published... Definitely, one day I want to get out of teaching and maybe run a small patisserie, or maybe journalism but too late for the second one. (İpek, public A)

The male participant Burak from another public university expressed his yearning for his dream as he always had the feeling of not running after a dream which would always be with him during his whole life.

If you ask me where I want to be in my dream; I have wanted to be a philosophy professor. The things that excide me would be producing and developing original ideas and manifesting the areas that aren't opened, the things that aren't thought before or the new synthesis. In teaching, there aren't such opportunities a lot...I always had the feeling of not running after a dream and until a recent time, felt it more intense. I asked myself why I couldn't do it, or possible to try again but bit by bit I start to realize that it is being too late and the feeling of that's ok, you're here so be happy here has dominated more for a year. (Burak, public C)

Another male participant namely Melih from public A emphasized that he wanted to be an architect because when someone said 'I am an architect', it was something classy and creative. At that point, he also put a little blame on his family because of not orienting him.

However, not all the participants driven from sample public universities had an idea about what they wanted to do instead of being a teacher even if they didn't want to go on teaching till the end of their lives. Onur from public B pointed out he was in search of something to do till the end of his life and gave his age as a critical effect both on his search and deadline to find the thing being searched.

I read somewhere, may be not something academic but the age to change your job is between 30 and 35 and I'm exactly at that borderline. If I change my job these days, I can do it; but if I don't, it seems to me that I will always go on like this here. (Onur, public B)

Yet, despite the ones above who were thinking about something other than teaching, there were also two remaining female participants who didn't talk about any dreams other than teaching since they thought that being an English language teacher was the most suitable thing for them. Both of these female participants who graduated from the Department of English Language Teaching and working for public universities had their own explanations for that. According to the participant Elif from public B, being an English language teacher was good for her accomplishment of a mission since she was not only teaching the consciousness of mother tongue but the importance of learning a foreign language as well. Additionally, the other female

participant called Şule from public C emphasized she loved to teach English because she was learning something culturally new every day.

On the other hand, when looking into the context of sample private universities what was found was that five out of six participants who were thinking about something other than teaching were much determined than their counterparts in public universities; and the number of female participants who dreamt of something other than teaching far outweighed the ones in the public universities. And these female participants not only had something in their minds but also were trying to do something to accomplish their dreams. At this point, what Nalan from private B said was remarkable.

I have wanted to do something about art, in fact drama. That's why, for example, I go to drama courses and get acting lessons after work... if one day I had enough financial gains – but it seems as if this would never happen at least from my side... That's, my only aim is to be able to be interested in just drama and acting.

Besides what Nalan said, Tuğba from private C also stressed she was always interested in television and media which made her complete her graduate degree on this subject and go on her postgraduate study on the same field again. Despite the determinedness of Nalan and Tuğba, the other female participant Funda from the private context even didn't know what to do but wanted to quit teaching since she first started eight years ago.

Because I don't know what to do, it has become eight years and I am still here... Sometimes I take pleasure in what I'm doing but you know you get into the mode of fatigue and say 'enough, I want to do something else like going to a seaside town and have my own café and so on'. I also have a getaway plan like others, but nowadays I'm cooler. (Funda, private A)

However, not only all the female participants but also the youngest participant of this study coming from the private context had a clear cut dream other than teaching

which was being a studio drummer and gave the reason for this as its being infinite when compared with being a teacher.

I wanted to be a studio drummer as a musician but it didn't come true; I also thought about being a music producer; I can do it but now without my income I can't go on my life in order to get its training.... In music, you can play a musical note in many completely different styles; but in how many different ways can you teach simple present tense? Teaching is too narrow especially trying to follow a specific curriculum. (Ali, private C)

Maybe not having such strong passion for his dream like Ali; and even simplifying it by seeing as a hobby; another male participant Cem from private B also highlighted that he had 20-25 years for his retirement hence he didn't want to be in the same position, in the same place and among the same people as a teacher. Hence, he wanted to move toward another branch of teaching like teacher training. However, when negative things happened he recalled his hobby photography and said "I wish I could go on my life just by taking photos"; yet he added it was only a nice dream. Despite such responses of male and female participants' from the sample private universities, the third male participant from the same context gave a deviating response. This participant Mert claimed that he wasn't in need of longing for something other than English language teaching.

I have never seen myself just as an English language teacher. I'm Mert, and I have many different hats and I have different tags such as musician, web designer, and one of them is English language teacher. English language teaching has never been the only field that I make money... So my job isn't something that makes me who I am.... It is one of the parts of my life. (Mert, private A)

As the majority of participants –whether already having something in mind or still searching for it- wished to do something else instead of teaching; their perceptions revealed that they weren't content with their labor. Again all these perceptions about dreaming something other than teaching were the indicators of how their life activity was in fact something they didn't even identify themselves with and something done

involuntarily. Because of the alienated character of their labor, they didn't feel as if they had been doing something they wanted to do just like while exercising their choice for some functions like eating, drinking and so on (Ollman, 1976). Also, as a result of not feeling creative or not feeling like producing new and original ideas or even a concrete product; most of them were dreaming something that would make them happy while seeing teaching as something not engaging their interests or challenging their abilities (Kohn, 1976). Additionally, in the private context, because of the social division of labor in which there are the school owners as the owners of the means of labor and teachers who don't own them but just the labor power, their labor was just reduced to "empty wage-earning" which had to be accepted without question (Fischer, 1996; p.64). To overcome such emptiness, the majority of female participants in the private contexts were actively doing something to achieve their dreams as they found their productive activity less meaningful than their counterparts in the public context. Still, this might arise from the age difference and different working conditions of the participants. However, there might also be the effect of assumptions and perceptions on "public context" regardless how "public" was in reality upon such a difference between the female participants of both contexts.

#### Feeling Secure or Insecure about the Continuity of Employment

The basic issue about the continuity of employment of English language teachers both in public and private context was whether this continuity was in their hands or not. At this point, while the majority of participants in public context had the feeling of security as having the continuity of their employment; all the participants in the private context felt insecure because they mentioned that they could work in their current workplaces until being fired.

Here, while some of the participants in public university context emphasized their unsureness about working in their current workplaces for a long time especially because of low salary; yet all six of these participants underlined the employment security they had as a result of working for a public university and this security made them keep on working in their workplaces. Of course, such kind of feeling secure made them feel the power of holding the continuity of their own employment.

When I first started to work here, I was thinking about working maximum two or three years; because it was a public one and I was thinking about moving to a private university to earn more money...but now I've been here for five years and maybe will be here for another five years but then I'm sure I'll make a change....When compared with the other private institutions, I am relatively satisfied with the working conditions. For example, there is no necessity of working hours and I don't like the idea of being at school although I don't have any classes....Also, it's not possible to teach for more than 18 hours and my students' profile is also good. (İpek, public A).

The other female participant Elif from public B put the emphasis on the continuity of her employment in her school while comparing her situation with the ones from the private context and saying “When compared with the private, we are working under state guarantee so people don't have the concerns of being fired for a reason.”

The last female participant Şule from public C said that she already knew she might get bored with working at her current school but could work until her retirement because it was difficult to be accepted by a new school and because she had no master's degree or a bright ALES score she didn't want to lose the employment security she had in her current workplace.

Just like their female counterparts, the male participants of the public context justified their perceptions about how secure they were feeling in their workplaces from the point of continuity of employment as well. As Melih from public A expressed the importance of feeling safe for him while telling the dilemma of

whether he really wanted to go on in his workplace or not because of the fear of losing employment security he already had at the time of leaving.

I don't know if I want to be here three years later...but public work is guaranteed one; if you want you can work here until your retirement; nobody can fire you and I feel myself under this guarantee...nobody says 'your performance is low' or 'you are at the age of something and we aren't satisfied with your performance so we will fire you'; but we aren't provided a lot of opportunities here. (Melih, public A)

Yet, both Onur from public B and Burak from public C made a connection with the employment security they had and feeling relaxed which was according to them something teachers working at private schools didn't have.

As it was clear that all of the participants driven from public universities believed in having the continuity of their employment in their current workplaces and so felt secure there; and they stated the employment security as the basic criterion for staying in their workplaces despite the low salary. Even some of the participants couldn't risk the security believed to be in hand because of the competitive environment created by ALES and some master's degree or certificate requirements asked by other schools.

Besides how secure they felt about the continuity of their employment in where they work, the majority of these participants from public context - corresponding to four out of six emphasized that they wouldn't do anything to protect their positions in case of a downsizing because they believed they were doing their best. That's why; they thought they wouldn't be in the category of the one being sent. Even, one of the male participants -since two of them were males and the other two were females- namely Onur from public B admitted that he did his graduate degree as a precaution for the future. In contrast to these four participants, the remaining male and female participant mentioned they would do something according to the criteria asked. At this point, Şule from public C stressed that she

could have a graduate degree in order not to be eliminated because of not having a graduate degree. Surprisingly, the other participant Melih from public A said that he would try to win the students' favor in order not to be fired as such kind of downsizing would probably be done through the results of student evaluations.

On the other hand, when the same issue about the continuity of employment was analyzed among the participants from the private context; the responses of six of them showed that the continuity of employment in their current workplace wasn't in their hands, as being decided by the school owner. Here, what Funda from private A said as "I think I will work until they fire me; I don't want to leave. If I was asked to work extra, I would. I don't want to lose my job; maybe I would judge the necessity of the duty, but I would never refuse" was remarkable.

Interestingly, Mert from the same university also highlighted that he was satisfied with his current workplace; and wanted to work there until he was able to work which was something in the hands of the school owner and explained this situation as below:

We work under contracts and renew these contracts every year. It is a kind of 'preach or perish' situation. ... As a result; it is the appreciation of our elders. Without waiting for extra duties, I already try to give as long as I can. ... Maybe all the things I am already doing are the things to guarantee my place.  
(Mert, private A)

The third participant stated that if the administration or the school owner also wanted, she would go on working in her workplace and explained the unexpected nature of private university context by saying "It is the policy of private education; the policy based on student. Anything can happen or I can have a problem with one of the students. I can be reported or fewer students may enroll so I can lose my job" (Tuğba, private C).

However, some of the participants in the private context underlined how the continuity of their employment wasn't in their hands indirectly. To illustrate, Nalan from private B justified why she had to stay in her current workplace for at least a couple of more years because of thinking about having a baby as she thought if she got pregnant in a new workplace, this would affect the continuity of her employment in a negative way.

In addition, Nalan's colleague Cem from private B told the uncertainty of his employment in his workplace by referring to the certificate program he was already doing and highlighted he was expecting some tangible and intangible returns for this certificate but remarkably pointed that he wasn't able to say he was determined to be still working in his work place after five years.

The youngest participant Ali from private C focused on how uncertain was the continuity of their employment in his workplace by making a comparison with the public context and stressed that "in private context, the job security isn't that much; even if you are the best in your job and doing it well and developing yourself, you can get fired."

On the other hand, when the responses the same group gave for the question of how they could protect their positions in case of a downsizing; while all of the three female participants emphasized they would do anything given or asked in order not to lose their jobs; the whole group of male participants said that they wouldn't do something extra as they thought they wouldn't be among the eliminated group. Their justifications were as follows. Mert from private A explained that he didn't need to seem cute for some other people in order not to lose his job, as he was already trying to do his best. Cem from private B showed his involvement in the personal and professional development programs such as attending a DELTA certificate course as

a justification. Ali from private C explained why he thought so as he was sometimes reading his job description and knew that he was doing everything within this description.

Here the perceptions of the participants about how secure they were feeling in their workplaces in terms of the continuity of their employment showed that while all of the participants in the public context felt themselves secure in the workplaces despite facing with the dilemma of low salary there; this feeling of employment security gave the majority of these public school participants the mood of not doing anything extra to protect their positions in case of a downsizing. However, under the reference of the law of Higher Education numbered 2547 the truth was that they were all contracted state workers so even their appointment on a full time basis didn't guarantee they could work at their current work places lifelong as long as they didn't accomplish the expected performance as a requirement of their labor. Here, the participants in the public context were unaware that they can stand idle any time as being contracted state workers which created the alienated character of their labor (Mandel & Novack, 1970)

In contrast, the perceptions of all of participants in the private context were the opposite as they highlighted it wasn't in their hands but the school owners. Interestingly, only the female participants in this context accepted to do anything given extra in order not to lose their jobs unlike their male colleagues who refused to do so because of the belief of already doing the requirements. What these perceptions revealed was that the participants in the private context were aware of the arbitrary manner of the school owner and experienced the hidden fear of replacement of their labor power with a new and cheap one. Yet, female participants had such kind of fear more than the males since they were ready to accept extra workload. Hence, they

already seemed to accept neither their labor nor their labor power belonged to them but the school owner which created the alienated, diabolical character of their labor as it wasn't something their spontaneous activity (Marx, 1977). Additionally, the alienated character of their wage labor showed they could be the victim of the school owner's arbitrary manner as soon as there was no need for their labor power as a commodity (Mandel & Novack, 1970). Moving from the contradictory answers given by male and female respondents it seems that the gendered roles do also matter. It may be argued existing secondary position of female employees both at home and also in workplaces pushes women to accept extra workload or to work in return for cheaper wages.

#### Feeling Productive or Unproductive

When the participants of the study were asked to evaluate their performance from the point of work they produce at school, there was a slight difference between the participants from public context and the participants from the private context as because while the majority of the participants (five out of six) from the public context remarked that they didn't find themselves very productive or using all of their potentials; the majority of the participants (five out of six) from the private context emphasized they found themselves productive and keeping their performance high. The basic reason why the public context participants thought they weren't productive enough was that they can't get back its tangible and intangible return.

Within my school's standards I am hard-working in general; but when it's considered, more can be done, of course. It is clear that I am not using all of my potentials.... Since you don't have the risk of losing your job, you're completely alone with your conscience and we see some people who may not be doing half of what you're doing and you can also do what they do, there is no sanction ...and this affects your performance and you say why should I get tired by throwing stones even if s/he doesn't and we get the same salary?  
(İpek, public A)

Another female participant Şule from public C compared her productivity now and before and found herself less productive now while connecting this situation to the lack of justice as both the ones who work hard and the ones who don't have the same salary. She justified her low performance as a reaction for this injustice.

Three of these participants namely İpek and Melih from public A and Onur from public B also highlighted that because students weren't demanding and eager, this also affected their performance and productivity in a negative way.

One different response for this issue came from Elif working at public B as she stressed there was no individual productivity in her current workplace but she could do any kind of funny thing to teach a subject.

However, the same participants also emphasized they weren't the only responsible ones for their productivity increase since there were other external factors such as the administration, students, environment and technology. Here, İpek from public A connected her productivity increase with necessary conditions set by the administration and her justification was like "I have the most responsibility; but of course, the administration must also provide the necessary conditions; for example if I didn't have the technology in my class, I couldn't use it." Yet, Melih from the same university gave the students unwilling and undemanding nature as a reason for his lack of productivity while questioning himself.

In fact, do I really want to be more productive? There is no audience demanding from you; and when you try to give without demand, you realize nobody listens or cares about you and inevitably you don't give more.

In addition to the student factor upon productivity increase, Onur from public B also added the importance of environmental factors such as the darkness of their building which had been used as a hospital before.

Both Şule and Burak from public C saw administration and the environment of school as an effect on their productivity. Burak stated that instead of teaching a standard text which you really didn't believe, doing something you believed in class would be better so he highlighted the importance of fluid mentality.

Only one of the participants Elif from public B drew attention to the negative correlation between excessive teaching hour and productivity increase and pointed if she thought less than 28 hours, she would be more productive but the thing was she needed that money for her children both of who were students.

On the other hand, when the responses of the participants from the private universities were scrutinized, the picture was completely different as the majority of them (five participants) found themselves very productive in what they were doing. Although their reasons for why they were thinking so were not exactly the same, generally the common point was about the materials they produced for their classes.

Yes, I find myself productive maybe because of the structuring of my workplace. We don't have a work environment in which there are a lot of ready-made materials, and also every year we often change the books and everything becomes new and we become responsible for the material production. (Funda, private A)

Another participant Cem from private B who also underlined increasing the variety of the materials was a sign of his productivity said that he was doing this because each student had a different expectation, goal and personality and he had to struggle with these things.

One of these participants namely Ali from private C gave technology as an underlying factor for his productivity since he prepared all of the materials in a digital environment which made him produce fast.

Other than the relationship seen by the participants of private context between the degree of productivity and material production, one of these participants Nalan

from private B also emphasized the relationship between her productivity and the extra duties she was assigned during her free time at school and explains these duties as “checking the exam papers, entering students’ daily absenteeism into the system, and so doing a lot of things other than teaching.”

Despite what those five participants said about their productivity, only one female participant namely Tuğba from private C didn’t directly stated that she found herself productive and her justification was not to find enough time because of teaching 20 hours a week which she thought sometimes really unnecessary. She also added because she couldn’t find time to finish her work during work time, she also took the unfinished part to her home since there was a meeting almost every day in addition to the regular in-class teaching.

Yet these five participants also emphasized they weren’t the only responsible bodies from their own productivity since the system must also help them. At that point, both the male and female participants Funda and Mert from private A expressed the link between productivity increase and professional development and highlighted the importance of system’s help at the workplace such as decreasing their regular teaching hours or giving permissions for the conference attending.

Likewise, Tuğba from private C also emphasized the importance of system’s help; as she thought the regular teaching hours had to be less than 20 hours if the productivity increase was aimed. Not only Tuğba but also Ali from the same university believed that what they were supposed to do at work such as portfolios or action research was already too much and extra; and this became a burden on their personal development actions like following a master’s degree, or going to a certificate program which would be good for the productivity increase.

However, Cem from private B pointed how this productivity increase was not just in his hands by telling the importance of having a peaceful mind with no stress and as causes of stress he saw not fulfilling the expectation from the students or not having enough time other than regular teaching.

All in all, there were two different opinions on self-productivity so while the majority of participants in public context found themselves unproductive, it was the opposite in private context. The thing was teachers in public context found themselves unproductive; yet their employer the state also found their labor unproductive because for the state, these teachers were burdens on the revenue with their salaries which must be kept low. Here, making the teachers in public context feel their labor cheap which caused not only the dissatisfaction of tangible returns but also low productivity created competitive relationships within the workplace as they compared their performance with their colleagues who were working less and getting the same salaries. Such kind of competition was the indicator of how they confronted and were estranged from their colleagues in the same workplace which affected their authentic relationships in a negative way (Erikson, 1986). However, in private context the materials they produced and even for some of the participants the extra duties they were already doing were the indicators of their productivity. The intensity of such extra duties was felt more in the low ranking private university because the school owner aimed to increase the productivity while paying less for it and this of course showed the degree of exploitation of the teachers while making one teacher do the work of two teachers. All these perceptions of the participants from the private context were the indicators of how their labor was used in the most productive way by the school owners with the same salary and work-time but much workload like material preparation because as already highlighted by Marx (1974), the aim was to

make one teacher do the work of 1½ or 2 teachers in order to increase the amount of labor produced. Yet, the participants couldn't understand this aim of the school owner and asked for much time and less workload for the productivity increase which was something against the school owner's interest because his real interest was to increase the intensity of labor while shortening the socially necessary labor time that would cheapen these teachers' labor power in the market through competition which created competing entities in the workplace. This competition created both in the labor market and in the workplace led not only to the alienation of the teachers from the other teachers as a result of being competing entities rather than cooperated ones but also to the class hostility (Ollman, 1976).

#### Perceptions about the Triggering Factors of Alienation

Concerning the third theme *perceptions about the triggering factors of alienation*, four categories appeared. These categories include conflict with the fellow men, in favor of division of labor, awareness of extra duties other than teaching and easiness and productiveness by technology in class all of which are presented in frequency tables for both contexts below. Following the tables, they will be examined thoroughly.

Table 6. Theme III- Perceptions about the Triggering Factors of Alienation (Public)

	Frequency
Easiness and productiveness by technology in class	6
In favor of division of labor	5
Conflict with the fellow men	
-Colleagues	5
-Students	4
-Competition	4
Awareness of extra duties other than teaching	2

Table 7. Theme III- Perceptions about the Triggering Factors of Alienation (Private)

	Frequency
Easiness and productiveness by technology in class	6
Conflict with the fellow men	
-Competition	6
-Colleagues	5
-Students	4
In favor of division of labor	4
Awareness of extra duties other than teaching	4

#### Conflict with the Fellow Men

The fellow men of English language teachers include not only their colleagues but their students as well within their English language teaching labor. Hence, the focus was their conflicting relationships with both of them and the competition among the

teachers. As the responses of the participants about this issue were analyzed; it was seen that there weren't very slight differences between the public and private context.

### Students

Besides being the raw material of the teachers' labor process, students are also their fellow men. Here, when the relationships of participants with their students in public university context were taken under scrutiny, there were differing relationship styles even between the male and female participant working at the same university. Both of the participants from public A namely İpek and Melih mentioned that they didn't have such a friend-like relationship with their students even İpek highlighted her students were to be the ones to whom she would teach something and then leave the class. Whereas, Melih drew the attention to the problem of not being seen as a teacher by the students if there was no distance. Interestingly, one of the male participants Onur from public B expressed that his students saw him as a friend and behaved in that way, but for him they were the mass to whom he taught something so it seemed that the distance required by Melih to be seen as a teacher wasn't a signal of respect for Onur.

However, the participants from public C showed a slightly different relationship between one another since for the male participant Burak, his relationships differed according to the class; yet he didn't take much initiative to teach the life to them since he had to leave all of his own ideas outside the class. In contrast, his colleague Şule emphasized that she was trying to inform them about other things such as mixed sex school or nuclear power plants whenever she had the chance.

Turning to the participants in private university context, they revealed similar aspects with their counterparts in public university context. Both for Mert from private A and Elif from public B, students were not the ones from a lower class on whom they could practice their hegemony. The thing was Elif was the oldest, and Mert was one of the youngest participants of the study. Yet, while Elif had mother-like relationship, Mert had a friend-like one while both were trying to be bitter-sweet. However, for Mert's colleague Funda from the same university, her relationship was based on just teaching and leaving the class where she didn't act like a kindergarten teacher who took the possession of the students.

Again as in private A, there was a difference among the male and female participants of private B. While the male participant Cem stressed that he didn't have such intimate relationships but somewhere in between while trying to teach what it meant to be a university student besides teaching English to his students. The female participant Nalan explained she had very intimate relationships as she showed them they were all there for a common goal and she also added she was acting like the leader of their friend group.

Just like what Ipek from public A and Funda from private A said about the kind of relationship they wanted to have with their students, Tuğba from private C also highlighted the same things which was just teaching and leaving the class. Yet she also added that the attitude of the other teacher affected the way she treated them and she drew attention to the expectations of the private university students as they were completely different from the public ones where she once worked. Her colleague Ali the youngest participant of the study expressed that his relationship with the students was in the gap between what he wanted and how it was and the

reason for this gap was the conflicted expectations especially with the low level or repeat students.

The above comments by both group of participants showed that the type of relationship was changing from public to private because of the student profile. One striking thing was that both Tuğba and her colleague Ali from private C drew the attention to the student evaluation and its effect upon the removal of distance between the teachers and students especially for some teachers as Ali underlined that students nonsense wishes even came before what teachers wanted and some teachers couldn't take action for such cases because of student evaluations. However, İpek from public A mentioned that student evaluations weren't a big deal at her school and even they were informed about the evaluation results too late.

To sum up, the type of relationship with the students moved from friend-like to keep-the-distance in both contexts. Even some of the female participants wanted to have teach and go style. Within the public context, half of the participants blamed their students' undemanding nature for being unproductive which was something very interesting as this could mean extra work or energy for the private context whereas feeling productive for the teacher from the public context. The majority of participants from private context no matter what type of relationship they supported put the emphasis on different expectations of private university students which were found something negative by the most. Yet, this could cause their alienation from their students as these students could impose additional work or higher demands on their teachers because they were paying money to the school (Harvie, 2006). In addition, the student evaluation forms applied in some public and private universities opened the path for the conflicting relationships between those teachers being evaluated and the students since this affected the type and scope of their relationships

and also these evaluations created competition among the teachers to be the best. Such kind of competition was especially noticeable in the low ranking private university context. Hence, in the end, they felt alienated from their students because of the conflicting relationships and especially in the low ranking private one, from their colleagues because of the competition as a result of performance evaluations by the students.

### Colleagues

On the other hand, the fellow men of English language teachers also include their colleagues in their workplaces. Except for one of the participants, five of the participants from public university context stated that there were some colleagues with whom they had close relationships and some others with whom they didn't; even Ipek from public A pointed out that because of the huge number of instructors in the department, she didn't know the names of some of her co-workers. However, Melih from the same university put emphasis on less number of male teachers corresponding to fifteen with the native speakers and added that he was spending his time with those not in the crowded teachers' room. Yet, he also admitted he wasn't the one spending much time at school and having good relationships with the others. One important point Onur from public B highlighted was that he was especially trying to see his colleagues outside the school.

Here you only talk about work, but outside the school you talk about other things and the conversation is better because your life is not just work. For instance, I want to go on a trip with my colleagues because there you can get to know them better but here you can't. At workplace, people may lose themselves and they may have ambitions.

Despite what those five participants said about their relationship with their colleagues, only one participant namely Elif from public B explained that she was in

a good relationship with all; yet she was trying to stay away from the gossip and rivalry. That's why, she added that she never wanted to exist just with her work but with other things like diving, dancing, hiking and so on because she believed that "people who dedicate themselves to their work too much will be unhappy if they can't take advantage from this dedication and they start to spy and the rivalry will start."

In addition to the majority of these participants' not having close relationships with all of their colleagues, two out of six of them also emphasized they wouldn't get involved if one of the colleagues made a mistake. But the same participants Ipek from public A and Onur from public B also added if these mistakes affected the performance of others they would talk to the authorities.

If someone is making a mistake, then s/he isn't being assigned any duties. If someone is putting off the work, s/he isn't being assigned any work....Who is being assigned? The one who says 'ok, I will do, no problem when am I supposed to finish?... I don't always have to do work, right. (Onur, public B)

Another participant namely Melih from public A expressed how he stopped himself about this issue by saying to himself "please Melih, it has nothing do to with you, don't get involved." Despite those participants, three other participants namely Elif from public B, Şule and Burak from public C put the emphasis on how they would choose to talk to their friend about the mistake first if they had a close relationship; if not they would refuse to go to the bodies in charge. Yet, all of these six participants from different public universities pointed out they would never reflect the mistake made by their colleagues to the students.

Again, six of these participants from public university context also stated in case of a situation in which one of their colleagues was paid more than what they were paid, except one of them Elif from public B who found such kind of behavior unethical; they would all go and talk to the administration about why it was so. But

since their salaries were standard, except for the difference arising from the length of service or some academic qualifications, their assumptive approaches were more or less the same which was finding out the reason. At that point, what Melih from public A said was remarkable since he believed in working with less effort in case of such a discrepancy and he expressed that “if someone who has the same length of work with me and who gives the same service earns more than me, I say ‘ok, then, I work less’. I don’t teach 28 hours by using all of my voice and energy.” Such kind of disturbance was told in a different way by Melih’s colleague and according to İpek from public A, there must be a system of eliminating the ones unfitting or not working attached to the system of standard pay.

While the case about the relationships with the colleagues as fellow men was like the ones above; it wasn’t completely different in the private university context since five out of six of these participants from private university context mentioned they had good relationships with their colleagues; but with some closer with others less. Yet, only one of the participants Nalan from private B stressed that her relationship with her colleagues was not bad; but they didn’t have a lot of sharing together and she also drew the attention to how she classified her colleagues in her mind as the ones who only cared about make-up, clothing etc, the ones who thought they knew everything and had a different mind while humiliating the others and the ones who internalized the rules of the society. Also, she highlighted that “whenever I talk about something related to real life, I am not accepted” while telling how some of her colleagues were just to talk about trivial stuff.

Around the relationship with the colleagues, five of these same participants also highlighted in case of a mistake made by their colleagues, they wouldn’t reflect it either on the students or the administration. One of the participants who already

experienced such a situation drew the attention on how some people at her workplace could put the mistakes of their colleagues in the middle of their talks with the top levels and claimed such a situation happened in private environment more than the public one. Here Tuğba from private C explained that “naturally, people want to come to a position and to feel safe; also they want to be in good terms with the top levels and by having such a communication, they want to be safe.” Only one of the participants namely Ali from private C pointed out he would probably go to the coordinators; and because of the disturbing feeling of working with someone who was ineptitude to teach a certain topic, he would start to hate his job.

I'm doing my best and teaching in a correct way; yet some certain people don't give the equivalent of my work in return because here there is a pay disparity among people. As a result, there appears the feeling that I take this salary and do this amount of work; but look at the amount of work you do.  
(Ali, private C)

Yet, the same participants gave different opinions about the issue of assumptive discrepancy between what they were already being paid and one of their colleagues being paid more. However, the qualifications of the other colleague were seen as a clue for the discrepancy by four of the participants here in this context. What Ali from University C highlighted was remarkable as he thought if this discrepancy was between the salaries of two non-native teachers, it wouldn't disturb him since this situation would arise from the year of experience but a discrepancy between the salaries of native and non-natives would definitely disturb because natives weren't doing something different. Similarly, Cem from private B stressed if he knew that the person who was paid more had the same qualifications with him, this would be very disturbing. While the male participants focused on the issue within the work context, two female participants handled the issue from its very beginning that was the contract. Here, Funda from private A and Tuğba from private C drew the attention to

the issue of how they agreed on the contract beforehand. At that point, Funda described it as the bargaining made at the beginning of the entrance which was self-marketing for Tuğba. Yet, while Tuğba from private C stated she would talk to the administration right before she left the workplace in order not to lose her job; Nalan from private B emphasized that she would directly show her reaction to the administration. Interestingly only for Mert from private A, the money coming into his pocket at the end of the day was what really mattered for him and asserted it wasn't logical to rebel against the administration in case of such a situation since you accepted this work, it meant you would do it. Compared to the assumptive responses for this situation, the responses of participants from private context definitely varied although in the public university context the majority of the participants pointed out they would talk to the administration.

Here, the responses of participants displayed that the majority of the participants in both context didn't have very close relationships with all of their co-workers and this was of course an indicator of lack of unity among the teachers within the same workplace which was what the system really wanted because when their number in cooperation increases, their resistance to the control of the capital increases too (Marx, 1974) -which is something especially common in private context. In the public context some of the participants' talking to the coordinators in case of a mistake done by a colleague was the indicator of how competitive the relationships could be between the colleagues even if it was done for the correction of something wrong. This was a form of competition unseen. In case of a possible discrepancy among the salaries, the majority of the participants in public context chose to talk with the administration about the reason. Therefore, competitive relationships based on assumptive salary differences among the teachers of public

context felt more intense than their counterparts in the private context. Here, the intensity of competitive relationships among participants from the public context revealed that because of the low salary paid to them as their salaries were seen as expenditures from the revenue (Marx, 1969); there was a break between participants and they were estranged from each other which prevented them from developing a group identity (Ollman, 1976). However, in case of a possible discrepancy among the salaries in private context, the majority of the participants either connected it to the bargaining terms during the contract time; or the year of experience rather than choosing to talk with the administration. The fear of losing the current job might be a factor on this since one of the female participants put the emphasis on the negative reaction of the employer in case of such a questioning. Such kind of not questioning with the administration showed again the alienated character of their labor since it became “a mere means to their existence” (Marx, 1977; p.68); and they had no control over the private property even they themselves became a part of it (Ollman, 1976)

### Competition among the Teachers

The popularity of some specific certificates among the English language teachers drew the attention to the issue of competition among them. Although there were different opinions about the necessity of these certificates, the common point among all of the participants from public context was that such certificates were for getting out of the general mass; finding a job easily and maintaining job security.

When they have these certificates, they probably think that they will find better jobs with better conditions, I guess; because we’re living in such a country where there is the belief of fine feathers make fine birds... so the better you donate yourself, the more you get respect and these certificates are a kind of feathers. (Elif, public B)

While Elif drew the attention to the issue of using these certificates to promote oneself in the market; Şule from public C emphasized their importance for the job security within the current workplace; and she also had such concerns even if she was working for a public university because of the new comers who were studying their graduate degrees and even aiming the post graduate one.

I think they are necessary for the job security as the bar is getting raised and it is necessary to have something... Only being a graduate of English language teaching won't be enough. In the past there was the idea that English language teachers would never be unemployed but now they are. (Şule, public C)

At that point, only two of the participants namely İpek from public A and Burak from public C pointed out the unnecessariness of such certificates for them as they didn't need the certificates for their current workplaces and İpek believed that they were all about reaching a better pay in private schools. Yet, for Burak from public C, because there was a more competitive environment in private schools, such certificates would probably be necessary as he emphasized that "they have to be the vitrine because the competition is intense so it is like 'look, I have this and I just got this certificate'.

Although two of the participants from public B which was the one in a small city highlighted they had no idea about the certificates, they also added they would get them if the administration put it as a precondition in their workplaces one day. Even the male participant Onur stated that if a private university was to be open in their city and one of the certificates was demanded as a condition, he would try to get it.

Interestingly, only one of the participants namely Melih from public A who already had one of these certificates believed in the necessity of them and justified himself as they gave the chance of making more practice. However, he also stressed

the importance of such certificates in finding a job at a university which was a reason for the interest toward them rather than being a teacher teaching well. Hence, what he said before and after was a matter of conflict.

Similar to what the participants from public universities thought about the certificates, all six of the participants from sample private universities more or less emphasized the similar things as they pointed out these certificates were all about financial gain, job security, finding a better job, or being the potential labor power for the schools they were applying, and the competitive environment. Two of the participants from different universities saw the certificates as something commodity and a big market.

There are thousands of candidates before you and the number they'll hire is already determined so these certificates are tags used as a requirement such as being a university graduate, preferably from the department of English language teaching, and if possible having a graduate degree or one of these certificates. So it's a matter of supply and demand; the market demands it and you are bound to supply it. (Mert, private A)

For the other participant Tuğba from private C, such certificates were just a matter of the market and teachers with these certificates were finding better jobs with high pays. That's why; she believed that none of the English language teachers would want to have them voluntarily because of the heavy workload and then added that "there is absolutely economic thinking behind."

The thing was that none of the five participants had one of these certificates or were even trying to have one as four of them already finished their graduate degrees and one of them was still working on it. Yet, only one participant remaining namely Cem from private B who was following the DELTA program stated that he was a part of this certificate program as he graduated from English language and literature and it was something good for the occupational necessity; but he also admitted people were doing such kind of things in order not to fall behind.

Of course, they help your skill and your knowledge, but these things don't always make you feel full every time but from the point of personal satisfaction yes, because ultimately you get into a competitive environment and this is not about 'I will teach better' but about a competition like I have this and that or I did this abroad. (Cem, private B)

Here it's clear that in both contexts such kind of certificates were highly regarded as something related to a better job with a better pay next to the job security in the current job; yet these things were felt in the context of private university more intense than in the public one; since in public context even the participant namely Burak from public C who just had an undergraduate degree from the department of English language and literature with no pedagogical formation saw no need for such certificates as he was already comfortable with his workplace. In contrast, Tuğba from private C admitted she was also thinking about going to a crash DELTA course despite her being a post graduate student now. Yet, in general most of the participants found these certificates unnecessary for them as they all had their graduate degrees which was something plus in the labor market; so in order to survive in the labor market, they already took their precaution and this was how they turned themselves into commodities –the most wretched ones (Marx, 1977). Hence, they already turned themselves competing entities with their graduate degrees. Yet, despite the perceptions of all participants about what these certificate programs were aiming, still some of them from both contexts either already had or expressed to have one in case of a condition; and this revealed how they became the victim of the competition created which caused their alienation from their fellow men since they not only competed before the gate of their workplaces but also continued to compete inside to get the favor of the employer (Ollman, 1976; p.207) Additionally, through the competition created by those certificates, the school owners could easily find the labor power corresponding to his needs such as the most productive and the cheapest

one while replacing the existing ones which was completely in contrast with how the participants saw these certificates as finding a job easily, maintaining job security, having financial gain and so on. Here the conflict between what the school owners aimed and what the teachers of this study thought about the aims of these certificates showed their alienation since they weren't aware of the real aim of these certificates behind as they served the interests of the school owners but not the teachers'. Therefore, the participants here had alien reality rather than the reality of their own essential powers "the human reality" (Marx, 1977; p.95).

#### In Favor of Division of Labor

As the nature of structuring in both public and private context showed there was a division of labor among the members of the English preparatory unit and there were different opinions about this labor division among the teachers both in public and private university context. Such divisions were generally in the form of offices responsible for some specific issues of the system such as testing, material production, coordinators, professional development and so on.

Here in the public university context, five of the participants underlined that these unit divisions were necessary for the coordination and flow of the work. Again all of the six participants agreed on the standardization these units brought. Yet, while for three of these participants, this standardization was something advantageous; for three others it was something disadvantageous. The ones in favor of standardization claimed that this was something good in order to prevent the devil-may-care attitude.

At that point, six of these participants believed such units really eased their work and lessen their workload since they didn't need to deal with material

production or worksheet or exam preparation and this could especially be felt by what Melih from public A and Onur from public B who worked as coordinators before said.

Absolutely they ease my workload. Now I have three classes: reading, writing and grammar all with different levels. I arrive home at 7:30 in the evening and have my dinner. Then it becomes 8:30; so if I say ‘these things in that unit are not enough for the kids’, I need to prepare something extra and my daily working hours will reach 10 hours. Then I will turn to a robot who gets up in the morning, teaches English, prepares material in the evening, goes to sleep and then gets up again. (Melih, public A)

Another participant Burak from public C focused on how these units eased their workload and added that in order to ease the work of the majority, these units made the work standardized and something done in a mechanic way. Yet for him this was also something that brought up ready-made product.

In addition to Burak’s in-between feelings about these units, Burak and two other participants namely İpek from public A and Elif from public B displayed that not all the participants had completely positive feelings about these units as they highlighted these units made them feel as if not mastering the whole work or not feeling completely in charge and İpek expressed her feelings as “I can’t even be responsible for their learning English because there are some already cut patterns and I am supposed to teach them; sometimes I am doing the things that I find wrong.” Besides İpek, for Elif from public B, not being in charge of the whole work was because of not being able to interfere where necessary. Also according to Burak from public C, this system may sometimes be restrictive as the curriculum was determined beforehand and the whole system had to be run like a factory students were coming and going.

Likewise, in the private university context, four of the participants who were working for the English preparatory schools where there were such clear forms of

these units also stressed how necessary such units were for them in terms of coordination. These four participants all specified that these units really eased their work. To illustrate, Nalan from private B justified why she thought these units had to exist as “there appears a need and when there are no people working in these departments; the whole work is left to the teachers; so does the teacher not only teach but develop some materials?”

And for Ali from University C, these units were definitely great benefit to decrease the workload of the regular teachers because he asserted that it was impossible for him to prepare the exams in addition to his current workload.

What could be more about the advantage of such units for some of the participants from private context were the positive feelings about standardization. Tuğba from private C thought it was good to keep something standard and added when the material they prepared for a class was envied by the students of the other class, this might create some problems.

In contrast to these four participants, two participants from the same university namely Funda and Mert from private A pointed out they didn't have such strong forms of units but just committees; and they were following a welcoming attitude for anybody; so despite the responsible people in charge, any regular teacher could be a part of these units. Yet, Funda also added that these divisions were to be neither too controlling nor too loose.

About the structural divisions in both contexts, what the majority of participants (ten out of twelve) believed as the necessity of such units and how they eased their work through coordination; flow of work and to some extent standardization was in fact the indicator of how alienated they were from their labor process because such divisions which had all the knowledge and will in English

language teaching context were the control mechanisms of the state or the school owner. Yet despite their acting a passive accessory role, teachers in both public and private context interpreted this as something easing their work which was in fact a weakening voice because of other people in charge so the majority of these participants were unaware of the fact that such divisions prevented them from being involved in the whole process but experiencing just a piece of it. That's why, they just turned in to the physical accessory factor during the process and all the plan, process and the aim confronted them as something alien, hostile and dominating (Mandel & Novack, 1970; p. 69)

Also the constraints put by the curriculum about what and how to teach made them alienated from their teaching activity as most of the time English language teachers of preparatory schools were supposed to prepare the students for a proficiency exam. Hence, in the end, because their activity was not voluntary, their own deeds became something alien to them since these deeds couldn't be controlled but rather were enslaving them (Marx, 1963; p.22). Another invisible impact of the division of labor is that it is the main source of monotonous work. Ironically, almost all respondents complained about monotony at work while they were supporting further divisions of labor which was something increasing monotony in their labor process. These contradictory stands also reveal the extent of alienation among English language teaching laborers because their labor became something "simple and monotonous grind" so they produced nothing but the capital (Dunayevskaya, 2000; p. 56); and they were reduced to some function making their work contentless which made the product of their work "something removed from their grasp" (Fischer, 1996; p. 65).

### Awareness of Extra Duties Other than Teaching

As participants were asked whether they were responsible for some extra duties besides their in-class teaching; there were differences not only between the public and private context but both genders as well. Put another way, in both contexts for the female participants the duty was seen as a workload which was especially felt heavily in the private context; whereas for the majority of the male ones it wasn't. In public university context, these extra duties generally included the invigilation during the exam weeks, material production when asked, checking writing papers of the classes being assigned and translation. The participants never mentioned that they were to be paid for the invigilation duty as they thought they just went and sat during the exam. Yet, for Elif from public B who talked about translations about the university's web-site given by the administration explained that they had to be paid as these translations were also the product of their own labor. Interestingly, while Elif was complaining about this situation, it wasn't even mentioned by her colleague Onur. Additionally, Ipek from public A focused on how some extra workload could be removed from being something extra upon the teachers.

If I am the writing teacher, I am responsible for checking them and if I have two writing classes, I have to take them home... may be not something extra on the salary but these teachers may be given one or two hours less than the other teachers.

Ipek also added the unfair distribution of writing classes in which the older teachers were either assigned one or none class; and the newer ones were given two, created competitive relationship between the teachers and led the ones who had more writing classes than the others to unethical ways such as not assigning any writing tasks, finishing the lessons earlier and so on.

However, in the private university context the difference between the responses of male and female participants was more remarkable. While the female participants specifically Funda from private A and Nalan from private B mentioned their extra duties as helping the students during the office hours, TOEFL exam invigilation, material production, following the students' tasks; their male colleagues in their same workplaces namely Mert from private A and Cem from private B pointed out that they didn't have any specifically assigned duties but rather indirect ones. Surprisingly, the participants Tuğba and Ali from private C as representatives of the low ranking private university were the ones who complained about such extra duties more than the others. These duties covered checking students' papers, invigilation at the weekends, material production and translation. Ali emphasized all these extra duties were affecting their productivity as for example they were required to make the translation in their free hours; and such kind of extra duties were also above their plans in their personal life as to illustrate, they had to attend their invigilating duties at some weekends which were preventing them from making any plans on that day. Additionally, Tuğba also drew the attention to the matter of how these extra duties were assigned to them even during their free time such as between tracks.

During the one week break, on the first day we try to finish checking the exam papers even sometimes our working hour may reach 7 or 8 o'clock in the evening in order to finish earlier and announce them on the Internet. On the following days we revise materials at any rate.... so I don't like that week in which students don't need to come to school. This one week break is passing at ease during the regular teaching time as now let's go to meeting, let's go to training, here are the materials to be revised. But I can understand them. In the end, people shouldn't be idle because when they are idle, they want to go as they don't have any work to do there. (Tuğba, private C)

The truth was that although the participants in the public context found themselves unproductive, they were also given extra work other than teaching, and interestingly

this work seemed to them something part of their jobs. Being assigned extra work like exam invigilation, translation or even the registration etc. was to increase their performance efficiency for the advantage of the state because in the end, the state aimed to intensify their labor through some extra work despite no surplus value concerns but to help the capital accumulation indirectly. Such kind of labor intensification was something increasing competition among participants as they were struggling for their own personal success such as trying to get the easier duties while “being indifferent to the plight of others” (Ollman, 1976; p. 206); and this caused their alienation from their colleagues as fellow men. Yet, in the private context, such extra duties were among the factors that made them feel productive so the degree of seeing these extra duties as an extra workload is increasing from high ranking to low ranking. In other words, both the intensity and scope of these extra duties and the yielding of the teacher can be felt more in the low ranking private context. Such concerns of the private context about productivity increase made the teachers alienated from their labor because of the competition as they always had the risk of being replaced by someone more productive within given socially necessary labor time since neither their labor nor their labor power would be counted average (Marx, 1974; p. 306); and the school owners exercised their arbitrary manner of getting more labor time than the amount actually paid to them (Marx, 1969). Yet, that kind of alienation was especially felt among the female participants of the private context who could count their extra duties other than teaching without hesitation when compared with the majority of male colleagues who thought they didn't have such extra duties other than teaching. Such a perceptual difference showed that because the female participants in the private context were ready to accept the extra work; they could easily mention their extra duties. This awareness

of extra work stemmed from the fear of not losing their jobs which made them accept anything assigned other than teaching without questioning. Therefore, they were suffering from not only the intensified work in their workplaces but the domestic labor at home and their struggle between these two domains would inevitably create conflicts or tensions in their homes (Apple, 1988; p.51) and suffering from this “dual exploitation” and alienation demonstrated the situation of the female teachers especially in the private context.

### Easiness and Productiveness by Technology in Class

The technology used in an English language class plays the role of means of production since they are one of the actors of English language teaching labor process. The thing was that although the kind of technology used in the class differed from public to private university context and even within the same context, yet the common thing for all the participants driven from both was how this technology really eased their work and increased their productivity.

This technology used in public university context was of course not so various and not the latest technology as in the private one and showed differences from high to low ranking university. While in the high ranking public A, the teachers had projectors and sound system in the class and were also handed netbooks to be used in class; in the middle ranking public B, teachers had sound players and overhead projectors but not computers or projectors; yet in the low ranking public C they just had the CD-players. The common point in three universities was that the technology they had in their classes made their work easy and the participants from public A also claimed it broke the monotony of the class. Even for Melih from this university, the technology they used in class decreased their workload. Yet, another

participant namely Şule from public C drew the attention to her stress in the beginning about how to use them in the rightest way in addition to the easiness they would bring.

About the relationship between technology in class and the teachers' productivity; there were only two voices as they were the ones who were experiencing more technology in their classes than the other four participants. At that point, while for İpek from public A, the technological equipment she was using in the class was increasing her productivity as she could do more such as using the projector instead of writing on the board; for Melih from the same university, this technology affected his own creative productivity negatively as he could no longer produce something on his own but instead of spending hours, choose the easiest way by technology. Yet the participants from middle ranking public B and low ranking public C also highlighted if they had more technological equipment like computers, projectors in their classes, they would be more productive.

Besides how they were feeling about the technology they already had in their classes, none of the participants from public university context felt the necessity or pressure coming from the administration but the one from the students. Yet, this necessity coming from the students was especially higher in public A which was more technologically donated than public B and public C.

On the other hand, in the private university context, all participants remarked that they had computers and projectors in their classes even in the high ranking private A, teachers were also given laptops. In addition to this equipment, the classes also had the Internet connection. All the participants were happy with the equipment they had in their classes as they stressed that this technological equipment in their classes eased their work and increased their productivity. Yet, how it was increasing

their productivity wasn't interpreted in the same way by all the participants. For Funda from private A, her productivity was increasing because the equipment made her save time since instead of looking for materials; she was just using it as a material pool. Similarly, Ali from private C stressed how he preferred to prepare PowerPoint presentations rather than photocopying. Additionally, Cem from private B emphasized the productivity was 100 per cent increasing not only while using the technology in class but also after using it. However, Tuğba from private C interpreted the connection between productivity and the equipment in class and pointed out how it kept her productive as she was always searching what she could do more with the given technology such as finding videos and she never thought that this was something extra as it was easing her work.

Despite their very positive feelings for the technological equipment in their classes, none of the participants felt that they had to use them for the sake of administration or students. Yet, all three female participants of the private context emphasized its importance for the students as they stated it was drawing the students' attention and making them happy. Also, Tuğba from private C drew the attention to the questionnaire made among students in order to check whether they were satisfied with the use of technology in class and the result was the positive feedback by all students.

To recap, no matter how technologically donated the universities were, participants from the both contexts pointed how technology eased their work and increased their productivity without feeling any pressure coming from the administration. Yet, in the private context the increase in their productivity means a decrease in the value of their labor which means low salaries by the school owner. In other words, through technological equipment in class, the amount of unpaid labor

time of English language teachers who are alienated from their own labor as being waged laborers increases (Marx, 1969). Also, the technological equipment in the class was the means of production, the private property belonging to the school owner not the teacher. Therefore, it served the school owner's interests. That's why; the teachers who experienced abstraction because of not having these means had no control over them (Ollman, 1976); even contrary, the means of production had control over teachers as they exploited the teachers with "their domination over the living labor" (Dunayevskaya, 2000; p.114) which revealed their alienation from labor product. Additionally, this technological equipment used during the labor process of the participants created the alienated character of the process because the participants were nothing but the physical accessories functioning in unnatural work arrangements (Erikson, 1986); and during the labor process of the participants, this equipment served as a controlling mechanism of the school owners to increase productivity of the teachers (Braverman, 1998). Yet, in the public context, because only the high ranking public university had such kind of technological equipments, the other participants who didn't have such equipment saw this something negative on their productivity that could be explained as "productivity fetishism" which is the expected result of alienation.

### Responding to Alienation

In order to see how the English language teachers of the study respond to their alienation, their perceptions were taken as the basis again in both contexts, and with regard to the last theme *responding to the alienation*; three categories appeared. These are feeling of tiredness, aspects of being advantaged and disadvantaged,

aspects of satisfaction and dissatisfaction within the job as depicted with the frequency tables for both contexts and later gone through in detail below.

Table 8. Theme IV- Responding to Alienation (Public)

	Frequency
Aspects of being advantaged and disadvantaged	
-Advantaged in terms of job security	6
-Disadvantaged in terms of salary	6
Feeling of tiredness	4
Aspects of satisfaction and dissatisfaction within the job	
-Favoring the social aspect of teaching	3
-The monotony	3

Table 9. Theme IV- Responding to Alienation (Private)

	Frequency
Feeling of tiredness	6
Aspects of being advantaged and disadvantaged	
-Advantaged in terms of salary	6
-Disadvantaged in terms of job security	6
Aspects of satisfaction and dissatisfaction within the job	
-Favoring the social aspect of teaching	4
-The monotony	2

### Feeling of Tiredness:

All the six participants of the private university context stated the tiredness they felt at the end of the day; whereas this number in public context was four out of six. In fact, some of the participants were even extremely tired or exhausted; and this tiredness was sometimes physical sometimes mental without gender difference.

Four of the participants from the public university context connected their tiredness to some different reasons. As for example, İpek from public A pointed out the physical tiredness she was feeling at the end of the day.

My tiredness is generally physical because I am teaching on foot. This may also arise from me but I don't feel like dominating the class when I am sitting; also carrying the netbook, or books every day...if we had a small table I wouldn't carry those books to my home.

In addition to how İpek described her tiredness and its reasons, her colleague Melih emphasized how his tiredness started with the start of the day as he was living in a very far location and so had to get up very early to go to work. According to his calculation, he was spending approximately two and a half hour to come to his workplace in the morning; and after teaching all day, he was taking the service bus and arriving home something around even. He also thought that the extra hours he was taking could be the reason for extreme tiredness, yet there was no way of dropping those extra hours since he needed money as his bare salary was not enough.

Additionally, participants from public B laid the stress on their mental tiredness. Elif from this university explained how she was trying to deal with her tiredness by keeping her mind busy by watching TV or cooking, yet if she had the mental tiredness she was trying to keep herself in a quiet place. She also added how

she took the unfinished part of work to her home. However, for Onur from the same university, the reason for his mental tiredness was about the things related to work affecting in the background.

In contrast to four of these public context participants, two other participants namely Şule and Burak from public C didn't directly mention that they were feeling tired at the end of the day; even for Şule the workload at her school was not that tiring; but she was sometimes feeling tired because of the relationships between people. Yet, for her colleague Burak, how he felt was changing according to the day; but basically he connected this to the air of the class and lesson; and how useful the students made him feel. He also put emphasis on the issue of relationship and its effect upon the feeling of the teacher in that workplace.

According to the three participants in the public context namely İpek, Melih and Elif their tiredness also affected their private lives. Interestingly, all three of these participants were the married ones. Here, İpek from public A connected cases of her extreme tiredness to the days on which she had more teaching hours than the other days and added "on those days, I was nullified. I only had energy to eat something, and then I was just lying down."

On the other hand, Elif from public B focused on how this tiredness affected her family life as she was a mother of two boys and admitted that now she became less tolerant. However, Elif's male colleague Onur underlined he never let this tiredness affect his private life and put the emphasis on avoiding talking about work at home.

Although in the public context, four of the participants felt extremely tired; in the private context, all six of the participants agreed upon the tiredness they felt at the end of the day. Yet, the degree of their tiredness was getting more when moved

from high to low ranking private university. As to illustrate, Funda from the high ranking private A was feeling generally tired because of working, going to classes and checking exam papers; not because of the workload of the class hours. But, Mert from the same university asserted he wasn't having physical tiredness as he believed in active resting in which he was always keeping himself busy with outside activities other than teaching such as going to a bağlama course or a gym or planting flowers. Through active resting, he believed that he was overcoming his mental tiredness which was very important for him to produce more.

The student gives ..... TL and is trying to learn English for a year, so you have to satisfy him in a way and it's not possible just with a course book. Hence, your mind is always busy with these things but as I already said this is something I already do and like but if I were someone like nod your head and take the salary type, I would say just go along the course book unit by unit; it's ok. (Mert, private A)

When moved to the middle ranking private context, the degree of tiredness of the teachers seemed more than the previous one especially for the female one. Both Cem and Nalan from middle ranking private B pointed out the heaviness of their mental tiredness rather than the physical one. Here Nalan described her tiredness as feeling exhausted and burnt-out:

I don't want to do anything but just to empty my mind as a whole. For example, I have realized that I'm watching TV shows and normally I am not the type of person watching TV shows; but what I've seen is when I am watching these shows, I am thinking about nothing, and my brain gets empty... I am just watching it with no reaction.

Of course, in the low ranking private C, the degree of this tiredness was the most striking since both of the participants expressed their feelings as unbelievably tired especially mentally tired. While Tuğba emphasized how her mental tiredness affected her social life as she spent her weekends sleeping at home what Ali stressed was in fact similar to Nalan from private B since he saw television as a way of escaping from the mental tiredness of the day as stating "when I come home after

work, the first thing I want is to turn on the TV and sleep in front of it while lying but generally I don't want to do anything after that" (Ali, private C).

Similar to what the participants said about whether their tiredness affected their social life or not; five of the participants of the private context stated the same things like their counterparts in the public one as they all believed that their mental tiredness was affecting them in a way; but this way might differ from one to another. Here, two participants who were single complained about how their tiredness affected their social life in a negative way. At this point one of these participants Ali from private C focused on how his tiredness prevented his social life and made him an indoor person as he justified himself as "we come home at 6:00; it's not possible to do something after that hour." Three participants emphasized its effect on their marriage or family life. Two of these participants who were married pointed out how this tiredness affected their marriage and their relationships with their partners. Yet, what the female participant said was more severe than the response of the male participant.

When I go home, I don't have enough energy to do something but my husband waits for more care and interest. This year I have just cooked something once or twice I guess, we always buy ready-made food or cook pasta; and this year it's been more common. I don't know maybe we're getting older and the tiredness is increasing every year. (Nalan, private B)

While the female participant explained how this tiredness affected her performance as a wife at home; the male participant put emphasis on the negative air this tiredness created in his home.

When you are at home, if you do something showing your tiredness, it might be a real problem. You can give such negative energy that at last your wife can also be affected. Also, you don't want to do anything....sometimes you don't even want to eat anything. (Cem, private B)

As it was seen through the responses, all the private and most of the public context participants felt terribly tired at the end of the day. When being scrutinized, married

participants and female ones experienced this tiredness more intensely than the single and male counterparts respectively. Additionally, when moved from high to low ranking universities in the private context, the degree of tiredness increased. This feeling of tiredness and teachers' reactions for that showed how they were alienated from their species-being; and so they were alienated from their own body, external nature and humanly aspect and such kind of alienation was especially felt among the married participants or female ones in general and the ones working for the lower ranking universities at private context. Moreover, this intense tiredness and how it affected their private life was also the signifier of the degree of their alienation because what they underlined was how a tiring day at work affected their responsibilities in their private or family life as a married person, a mother or a woman at home since their life time turned to working time; and their wives, husbands and children were also dragged under the wheels of the "Juggernaut of capital" (Marx, 1974; p. 604). That's why, they were severely alienated because the more they put themselves into their life activity the more they felt tired and suffered because of the activity against them and this estranged character of their labor going hand in hand with their extreme tiredness made them feel like just a means for labor as being the victim of "après moi le déluge" (Marx, 1974; p.257) manner of the school owners and because of this manner the school owners didn't care the physical or mental tiredness of their teachers but just the free competition with the other schools which increased the teachers' degradation. In the end, participants suffering from the heavy tiredness felt themselves at home when they were not working (Marx, 1977; p.66)

### Aspects of Being Advantaged and Disadvantaged

When the participants of the study were asked to compare themselves with their counterparts working at other universities under public and private umbrella; the responses of the participants from public university context were generally common for all as they had more or less the same working conditions with the English language teachers working at other public universities such as the salary paid; minimum class hours given and the curriculums followed. Yet, there were also the things the public universities differed such as the equipment they had in their classes or the environmental things. To illustrate, Elif and Onur from public B showed the physical conditions of their workplace as a difference and disadvantage both from the other public and private universities. Even Elif highlighted because the building and the physical conditions were awful, neither the student nor the teacher felt like at school and this affected the performance of both and she connected the immediate departure of the teachers as soon as their classes finished with these negative physical conditions. In addition to such feelings of Elif, Onur made a comparison with another public university he already knew especially in terms of technology while uttering “My wife is working for another public university; in fact, their opportunities are better. For instance, they have the overhead projectors in their classes and their own buildings.”

However, when comparing themselves with their counterparts in private universities, all the participants from the sample public ones were like-minded about the job security or guarantee they had when compared with their counterparts in private context. For İpek from public A and Onur from public B, this guarantee gave a relaxing feeling to them. Also, Elif from public B put the focus on this situation as

state guarantee and believed that people in private universities may have the concerns about getting fired because of anything.

Other than the job security they had, the participants from the public context also found themselves advantaged from the point of less workload and teaching hours; and this case was specifically highlighted by three of the participants namely Melih from public A and Şule and Burak from public C. Surprisingly, the female participant Elif from public B thought that they were working as intense as their counterparts in private universities.

Not mentioned by the majority but two male participants –Melih and Burak also showed the quality of their students as an advantage when compared with the ones in private universities.

Above all, the things these participants found as advantages in their situation far outweighed the things they regarded as a disadvantage since the most striking disadvantage for all of the participants was the money they earned. Yet, the opportunities given at private context such as free lunch, technological equipment in classes especially uttered by Burak from public C where they had just the tape-recorder as an equipment were the other advantages believed to be lacked in public context by Melih and Burak.

While the things above reflected how public university participants interpreted their situation; the participants in private context reflected the other side of the mirror. All of the participants found themselves advantaged from the point of money being paid, yet disadvantaged from the aspect of job security with a stable income. Yet, according to Mert from private A, the limited job security and contracts signed on a yearly basis prevented them from making long term investments but for him this situation was a good challenge. Similar to Mert, Ali

from private C regarded this lack of job security as something good for his own personal development.

In private context, the job security is not that much; even if you're doing your job very well and improving yourself, you can still be fired. That's why, for the personal development, the private context is better I think. (Ali, private C)

However, three of the participants put the emphasis on the matter of student profile at private universities and stated this as a disadvantage for this context. Their basic argument was the problem of satisfying students and showing more tolerance.

We have to show more tolerance; and also the students find it as their right since they act in the way that they're paying money; kind of a customer mentality. It's not felt that much in my current workplace but we can't go over the students much. If we go over them, they start to complain or even go to your superiors. (Funda, private A)

Yet, for three of the participants, their counterparts in some other private universities were also more advantaged than them in terms of salary, holidays, and students. The university names they put under this more advantaged category were the ones representing the rank higher than their university.

Surprisingly, only one of the six participants Mert from the high ranking private A refused to make such an advantaged/disadvantaged comparison as he thought that they weren't in the same category. Hence, he believed that some of the private universities like the one he was working for didn't have concerns about financial gain or profit like some other private universities.

I respect friends working there but the system itself is so corrupted and ridiculous that we serve for different purposes. It's like comparing the tailor with the baker. Yes, we both are shopkeepers and make money but I bake bread, you sew a jacket (Mert, private A)

The noticeable thing between the responses of public and private context participants was that while the participants from the public universities couldn't tell any differences between their conditions and their counterparts' at other public universities; some of the participants from the private universities already made a

comparison with their counterparts working at other private universities without hesitation.

Here it was clear that all the teachers from the sample public universities found themselves more advantaged from their counterparts in private context in terms of having the state guarantee and job security and no fear of being fired; yet disadvantaged from the point of money paid and lack of technology the classes had both of which arose from intentional state policies to cut their expenditures. However, feeling advantaged from the point of job security was nothing but a delusion since they didn't have such kind of security because of being contracted workers for the state even if they had the full time employment. This was another indicator of their alienation since they weren't aware of the situation they were in. In addition, such kind of delusion of job security and no fear of getting fired also created some competitive relationships among the teachers based on a competition about who was going to work less with the same salary. On the other hand, despite the less secure contracts they signed with the school owners because of the changing form of state regulation on the labor market, teachers from the sample private universities still found themselves advantaged in terms of money paid which in fact was a delusion again since what they were doing was more labor in less salary within extended working time. Therefore, the alienated character of their labor appeared to them something for their advantage even though their labor was taken away from their hands by "the stipulations of the labor contract" which let the employer use and exploit this labor however they want (Mandel & Novack, 1970; p.68).

### Aspects of Satisfaction and Dissatisfaction within the Job

About the things they liked about being an English language teacher, not all of the public university participants had a common point. Here, at this point, for three participants the student part of their job was the thing they liked most. Yet each participant justified this in different ways. As for İpek from public A and Burak from public C, the communication with different students was the thing they liked about their job; yet for Elif from public B, enlightening the students and achieving a mission was the thing she enjoyed. Related to this communication issue, Şule from public C stated that the thing she liked about what she was doing was to be with her friends at school. However, the responses of two male participants Melih from public A and Onur from public B showed that they liked to be a teacher because of the job itself as Melih pointed out that teaching was the thing he knew well and found himself good. Here, Onur put the emphasis on his being at ease when compared with the other jobs while stating “There is no one telling you ‘do this, do that’ and when you close the door, you are together with your students. You have a free environment there. You aren’t under control like working in an office” (public B). Similar to things they liked about being an English language teacher, not all the participants agreed upon the things they disliked about it. According to the participants, İpek and Melih from public A, the monotonous side of their job made them dislike it. In fact, Melih believed that he could do something to break this monotony but he needed time for other things in his life as well.

I think I can break this monotony but only if I start to think about how I can be productive both for the school and students and how I can do my job better; on the other hand I have my own life, I am a human, a husband, a son, a man trying to go home by bus, the person who wants to watch TV at the weekend or to read a book. And I need to spare time for these. That’s why; I can’t pass all of my energy and focus on this place. (Melih, public A)

Likewise, Burak from public C stated that he wanted to devote himself more to his job; but he couldn't as his financial expectations weren't met and this made him develop the feeling of 'that was all'. Interestingly one of the participants, Onur from public B, stressed the changing student profile as something he didn't like about his job; yet the student part of teaching and communication with them was in fact something three of his counterparts from other public universities showed as a reason to like the job.

Two female participants namely Elif and Şule focused on their workplaces and became more specific by recalling what they didn't like about the work they were doing in their workplaces rather than the big picture. For Elif from public B, taking unfinished work to her home was the thing she disliked as she wanted to forget her workplace when she was at home but she couldn't. However, Şule from public C complained about not having enough opportunities for professional development.

On the other hand, what the participants of private context said about the things they liked about their job showed similarities with their counterparts in the public context. At that point, four out of six participants at the sample private universities showed being together with young people as the thing they liked about their job; yet this was the communication with students in the public context. Other than these four participants, teaching students something and being able to get its feedback was what made participant Cem love his job. Again only one out of six participants namely Mert from private A looked at his workplace specifically to find out what he liked about his job and uttered the opportunities presented as the thing he enjoyed.

Unlike the things they liked, about the things they didn't like, the majority of them couldn't find a common point. Here, two of the participants, Funda from private A and Cem from private B stated the human side of their job as something they didn't like. In fact, Cem was worried about the necessity of being ready as a teacher any time because he believed that it wasn't possible to carry the personal problems into the classroom and added that "it affects everybody directly so you always have to study for something, update yourself and make something ready." As for Nalan from the same university, lack of monetary satisfaction was the thing she didn't like about her job.

We are outworn a lot, and also dealing with a lot of people. I am making my students happy in my class, and give a lot from myself, from my private life, from my personal interests; but what about its monetary satisfaction?..In fact we don't get a lot intangibly as well. (Nalan, private B)

In the context of private C, Ali put the emphasis on the unnecessary work they were doing there and admitted that he felt as if he had been cheated because he identified himself with his workplace. He also complained about not having enough authority and being pushed to keep the students in the class no matter what was happening. Similar to what Cem highlighted, his colleague Tuğba from private C also showed the system of ambiguous warning about something wrong as something negative in her workplace. Unlike all those five participants, only one remaining participant Mert from private A stressed that there was nothing he didn't like about his job and by uttering "I came here accepting its conditions. If I don't like it, then why will I do it? It is like getting a job, then complaining because they pay very little. Then why are you working there, go somewhere else", he underlined the importance of being a realist.

To sum up, for the majority of the participants in sample public universities, the social aspect of their teaching was the thing they liked most about their jobs; and some even specified this social aspect by focusing on the interaction with their students. Yet for the things they didn't like about being an English language teacher, there wasn't a common ground but rather different ideas such as monotony which made them unhappy with what they were doing, changing students' profile that created conflicting relationship with the fellow men, unreturned monetary expectations as a result of being seen as a burden on the budget, taking work home showing the intensity of their labor, and not having enough professional development opportunities. However, for the private context, being ready any time since from the moment they sold their labor power to the school owner they accepted to surrender themselves; lack of monetary satisfaction because there was always the unpaid part of their labor power, unnecessary work to be done as for the school owner their labor power was never to be idle, and not being given enough authority because of the school owner's own control mechanisms that already held this authority were all the things disliked. Here, both in public and private context, the things mentioned by the participants as the things they didn't like about their jobs were the factors causing or triggering their alienation but they were unaware of that. Because the manifestation of their life was the alienation of their life; their realization was the loss of reality since the reality was the alien reality (Marx, 1977; p.93) and there was the "sheer estrangement" of all physical and mental senses (ibid.; p.94).

## CHAPTER V

### CONCLUSION

The main focus of this study was to explore the labor perceptions of English language teachers in public and private university context in order to understand how they perceived the extent of their alienation in their own labor and factors triggering this alienation. Through the qualitative data collected based on open-ended interviews with the twelve participants driven six from public and six from private university context, the researcher attained the conclusions below.

First of all, the study looked into the perceptions of English language teachers about their own labor and through the data gained, two major labor perceptions were in hand; the employment guarantee of English language teaching and the routine and monotonous side of this labor; so the results driven were as follows: Here, seeing their own labor as something with an employment guarantee revealed that the majority of participants were extrinsically motivated even before starting their life activity because they had the concerns of security rather than idealism and this also affected their commitment and how they identified themselves with their occupation as the majority told they wanted to do something else till the end of their lives. Of course, such kind of perception about English language teaching was determined by their actual life-process. In other words, the material intercourse of participants changed both the way they thought and the products of their thinking, so the employment guarantee created by the productive forces that determined the nature of the society was the language of real life; and this guarantee made being a teacher something divorced from their real interest and rather made it something based on common interest. Therefore, it appears that their consciousness about their choice

was developed by the increased fetishism on productivity and the lack of job security. This of course made their teaching activity something involuntary and distributed which was controlling them rather than being controlled by them (Marx & Engels, 1963)

In addition to the employment guarantee as a motive behind their choice; another dominant perception of the participants about their teaching labor was its being a routine monotonous work which was especially common among male participants. Such kind of perception of the majority of participants indicated that not only their life activity but their life itself turned to routine which was not in their control. This of course created the external character of their English language teaching labor and it seems that this externality depicted the alienated character of their labor that wasn't in their control but rather imposed causing their unhappiness. Monotonous works are also among the invisible impacts of capitalist division of labor. Ironically, almost all respondents complained about monotony at work while they supported further divisions of labor which is something increasing monotony in labor processes. These contradictory stands also revealed the extent of alienation among English teaching laborers whose life which 'they have conferred on the object confronts them as something hostile and alien'. (Marx, 1977; p.64)

Besides the labor perceptions of English language teachers, the study also focused on their perceptions about the extent of alienation in their labor. It appears that most of the participants were severely alienated from their labor as of not being content with their actual life activity teaching itself and either dreaming about something else other than teaching or still looking for something to replace teaching. Yet, these were all the signs of "estranged" character of their labor since they were doing their life activity involuntarily while finding it less meaningful. In addition to

the perceptions about dreaming something other than teaching, all the participants in public context also agreed on the employment security they already had in their workplaces and felt sure about their security. Yet this was in fact the indicator of their alienation because they were unaware of their own situation. The truth was they were full time based contracted teachers so they couldn't have the guarantee of lifelong employment. However, the perceptions of insecurity of all the participants in private context showed their alienation again but this time they were aware of the will of the school owner on the continuity of their employment; but just yielded to this power and accepted to be replaced by a new labor power any time. Such kind of fear was especially common among the female participants as they accepted any kind of extra workload; that's why; it seems that their alienation and exploitation was more than the male ones. This finding supports the stringent necessity for further research which will focus on the relationship between gendered roles in labor processes and alienation.

In the public context, teachers' perceptions about their own unproductivity and the state's finding their labor unproductive created conflicting relationships within this context because teachers were not only made to feel the ones with cheap labor but in a competition with each other about working less with the same less money. However, the perceptions of the participants from the private context showed they were also in an unseen competition in order to be more productive with the extra work which was especially common among the females; and it looks like that this competition caused their estrangement from their labor because of not being conscious about it but just forced to believe to be more productive from their colleagues as there was always someone accepting the extra work and threatening their position.

Following the perceptions about the extent of alienation in labor, the triggering factors of English language teachers' alienation were explored through their perceptions again. Here their conflicting or competitive relationships with their students and colleagues respectively, what they thought about division of labor and extra duties other than teaching, and their attitudes toward technology were all the indicators of triggering factors of this alienation.

Focusing on the conflicting relationships with the students revealed that their students acted as a triggering factor for their alienation in both contexts. While in the public context, teachers blamed their students for their undemanding nature, the majority of teachers in the private context were negatively affected by different expectations of the students as they might impose their demands on them. Again through the participants' perceptions about their colleagues, it was understood that the competitive relationships with the colleagues which might lead to possible competitions were more common in public context. Yet when the private context was analyzed, most of them were in the mood of yielding. This yielding of the majority in the private context was a sign of how they surrendered their labor power (Reid, 2003) and through a contract how they accepted the control of the school owner which led to alienation from one's own labor. The idea of having extra teaching certificates was also seen something unnecessary by the majority of participants. Yet they forgot something. As they all had their graduate degrees, it seems that without realizing they already became competing entities which caused their alienation from their colleagues as fellow men. The majority of the participants' perceptions in favor of division of labor in their workplaces indicated how their alienation was also stimulated by such divisions since they couldn't control their labor process as a whole because these units had all the will, knowledge and decisions in their hands.

They were also estranged from their teaching activity since they couldn't decide on what and how to teach but those divisions could. Similar to divisions of labor, the perceptions of all the participants in both contexts reflected that more or less the technology they had in their classes eased their work and increased their productivity. However, this was a triggering factor for the alienation of teachers within the private context as the value of their labor power decreased when this technology as a means of production increased their productivity. As a result, they were unable to seize the real value of their labor power and this situation was one of most essential factors that made them estranged from labor. Additionally, because this technological equipment as private property didn't belong to the teachers but the school owners, it appears that teachers were experiencing abstractions as they had no control over them so they got alienated from the products of previous dead labors.

Other than the extent and triggering factors of alienation of English language teachers in both contexts, they also respond to their own alienation in different ways. The majority of participants felt terribly tired at the end of the day. This intensity of their tiredness revealed that these teachers were not only estranged from their labor, labor product or fellow men but their own species being –humanly aspects as well. Because of such intensity again they didn't feel at home since they were especially suffering from the mental tiredness and just living to compensate their basic functions like eating, drinking and so on but not other human functions like a social life. What participants found as an advantage about their labor was in fact the thing causing and triggering their estrangement. Here for all the participants in public context having the state guarantee, job security and no fear of being fired were the things that made them feel advantaged and such an advantage also created a competition among them about working less with the same salary. However, what

they forgot was they were in fact contracted state workers who needed to renew it every year and it appears that such kind of unawareness reflected their estrangement. Similar to their counterparts, participants in private context were again so alienated that they even saw the money the schools paid to them as an advantage without being aware of the unpaid part of their labor which in fact reflected the alienated character of their labor as being a waged one. Just like the discussion above, in both contexts, what teachers didn't like about their jobs were indeed the complaints which had a direct connection with their own alienation; but they weren't aware of that and just considered them as the things they didn't like. Therefore, it looks like there was the loss of reality and estrangement of their senses.

To sum up, it seems that teachers in both contexts seemed to yield to the situation they were in. Rather than diagnosing the problem; they were deeply gone under the problem and just got sick and tired of it. Yet, some reflected this with its whole reality whereas some reflected it camouflaged.

### Implications

This study first serves to the English language teachers in the ELT sector by making them be aware of their own situation, and by increasing their consciousness about their own situation. In addition to English language teachers in the ELT sector, it can also help to understand the position of English language in higher education system of our country.

This study tells a lot about competition among teachers which triggers their alienation and prevents them from uniting. Because of this competition and alienation of the teachers, it seems that the balance of power is against the teachers. Therefore, by its removal as a result of a deep understanding of teachers' perceptions

within this study, the relationships between the teachers and public and private administrators can be balanced. Thanks to this maintained balance, united teachers can not only sit at the bargaining table but also have a more powerful voice in negotiations with public and private administrators.

Last but not least, the findings of this study can be helpful both for the policy makers and teacher unions. The policy makers can increase the active participation of the teachers in decision-making processes by finding alternatives to division of labor among the teachers. Likewise, the labor unions for teachers can take advantage from the findings here in order to discover the dimension of competing relationships between teachers and to do something for increasing class consciousness and maintaining unity among them. Also, through increased class consciousness, teachers can be empowered which is necessary for the stability of the system that includes regulating the working conditions, working hours or the salaries of the teachers.

#### Limitations of the Study

There are two basic limitations of this study. One of them is about the gender issue. Because the number of female English language teachers far outweighs the number of male ones in the ELT sector, the researcher not only had difficulty in reaching the male participants but also couldn't achieve the variety among the male participants as she could do for the female ones.

Another noticeable limitation of this study is about one of the research sites of the study. Five of the universities were chosen from a big city; but according to 2009 OSYS statistics; none of the public universities fell into the middle ranking category in this big city. That's why; the university that fell into that category had to be

chosen from a smaller city specifically. This situation however might create different interpretations of the questions by the two participants outside this big city because of the differences arising from life and conditions there. Due to possible discrepancy, it would be better to be able to have all of the universities either from the same city, or each one from a different city.

### Recommendations for Future Study

This study shows the perceptions of English language teachers about their labor, the extent of alienation and the triggering factors. It can also be used as a basis in order to have a further research of what can be done to prevent the alienation of the teacher in both contexts because alienation issue is something to be solved for the benefit of teachers and their families. Since for example an alienated mother working as a teacher can do no good to her family, her near environment, her relatives or her colleagues and so on; and when the hostile character of capital accumulation leads to the laborer's alienation; such kind of alienation creates and increases the conflicting relationships between the alienated laborer and the people in his/her near environment such as at home or at work because the laborer suffering from estrangement can no longer have healthy relationships. Yet, while within the same class, teachers might be hostile to each other because of the competition; they can keep on a common battle against the employers who represent another class because the interests of the employer are conflicting with their own. Such kind of class struggle among the English language teachers against the employers will also create antagonism and class consciousness among the teachers. Hence, another study can be held to understand the dynamics of teachers' class consciousness to make them take further step for political action.

Additionally, some of the findings of this study -such as the one showing how unlike their male colleagues, the female participants in the private university context accepted extra workload in order not to lose their jobs- reveal the necessity of further research to see the relationship between labor processes and gender roles.

In order to have more generalizable results, another study can be held but this time with the participants chosen from six different public and private universities in different cities to see if the participants' perceptions and feelings change.

## APPENDICES

APPENDIX A  
DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONNAIRE FORM

KATILIMCI BİLGİ ANKETİ

*Bu anket “Emeğin Yabancılaşması: Türkiye’deki Üniversitelerde İngilizce Öğretmenlerinin Algıları” konulu yüksek lisans tezi için sizinle yapılacak olan mülakata yönelik hazırlanmıştır ve demografik anlamda ön bilgi sağlamayı amaçlamaktadır.*

*Anket anonimdir, bu yüzden adınızı yazmanız beklenmemektedir. Katkılarınız için şimdiden teşekkür ederim.*

*Ebru Davarcı*

*Yetişkin Eğitimi Yüksek Lisans Programı*

*Boğaziçi Üniversitesi*

***Lütfen aşağıdaki soruları kutucuklara ✓ işaretini koyarak cevaplayınız.***

A. GENEL BİLGİLER

1. Cinsiyetiniz  Kadın  Erkek
2. Yaşınız  20-25  26-30  31-35  
 36-40  40+
3. Eğitim Durumunuz  Lisans  Yüksek lisans  Doktora
4. Mezun Olduğunuz Bölüm:  
 İngilizce Öğretmenliği  
 İngiliz Dil Bilimi  
 İngiliz Dili ve Edebiyatı  
 İngilizce Mütercim Tercümanlık  
 Amerikan Kültürü ve Edebiyatı  
 Diğer
5. Toplam olarak kaç yıldır İngilizce öğretmenliği yapmaktasınız?  
.....

## B. İŞYERİNE YÖNELİK BİLGİLER

6. Şu an hangi üniversitenin İngilizce hazırlık okulunda çalışmaktasınız?  
.....
7. Kaç yıldır bu kurumda çalışmaktasınız?  
 2-4 yıl                       5-7 yıl  
 8-10 yıl                       10 yıldan fazla
8. Günlük mesai süreniz toplam kaç saattir?  
 8 saatten az (Lütfen saati belirtiniz.)        ..... saat  
 8 saat  
 8 saatten fazla (Lütfen saati belirtiniz.)        ..... saat  
 Diğer (*mesai kavramı yok, vs.*) Lütfen açıklayınız.  
.....
9. Günde toplam kaç saat derse giriyorsunuz?        .....
10. Haftada toplam kaç saat derse giriyorsunuz?        .....
11. Aldığınız maaş aşağıdaki hangi aralığa girmektedir?  
 1500 TL den az  
 1500 – 2000 TL  
 2000 – 2500 TL  
 2500 - 3000 TL  
 3000 – 3500 TL  
 3500 TL den fazla

APPENDIX B  
CONSENT FORM FOR MASTER THESIS

**Date:**

**Title of the Study:** “Alienation of Labor: Perceptions of English Language Teachers at Turkish Universities”

**Researcher:** Ebru Davarcı, M.A candidate, Graduate Program in Adult Education, Boğaziçi University

**Purpose of the Research:** This research aims to find out how English language teachers in Turkish Higher Education context perceive their own labor and how their perceptions reflect the extent of their alienation in their own labor. Moreover, it’s intended to explore triggering factors of their alienation through their perceptions and how they respond to their alienation.

**What you will be asked to do in the research:** For a successful conduction and accomplishment of this study, your contributions are highly valued. Therefore, as a participant, you will be requested to answer the questions in an open-ended way and in a sincere manner.

**Risks and Discomforts:** There is no possibility of risk or discomfort from your participation in the study.

**Benefits of the Research and Benefits to you:** This study will be beneficial to understand the alienation concept among English language teachers and its findings can serve to the school administrators or policy makers to improve the conflicting relationships between the teachers and their employers (either the state or the private school owner). When necessary actions are taken by the policy makers in order to prevent the negative perceptions of the English language teachers, your contentment and satisfaction in your teaching labor can also be increased.

**Voluntary Participation:** Your participation in this study is to be on voluntary basis; hence, if there is any question that you aren’t comfortable with, you may choose not to answer; or again, if you want, you can stop participating any time you want. Hence, you are completely free to withdraw from the study at any time without any specific reason. When you decide not to take active part in the study or not to answer some particular questions, this won’t affect the nature of your relationship with the researcher. By the time your withdrawal takes place, the data generated through your contribution will be destroyed.

**Confidentiality:** All the data gathered by means of your participation will be treated confidentially. As a part of this confidentiality, your name won’t appear in any report or publication of this study if you don’t want to give away your identity. Furthermore, the information you have provided will be stored in a safe place to which only the researcher herself has the access.

**Questions about the Research:** If you have any further questions about this study, you can contact with me through my e-mail address e.davarci@gmail.com. Thanks for your invaluable time and contributions.

**Legal Rights and Signatures:** I consent to participate in this study entitled “Alienation of Labor: Perceptions of English Language Teachers at Turkish Universities” that is conducted by Ebru Davarci. There are no questions about the nature of this study in my mind and I am willing to participate. Signing this form doesn’t mean that I give up my legal rights; yet my signature here is an indicator of my consent for the participation.

Participant Signature \_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

Researcher Signature \_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

## AKADEMİK ÇALIŞMA İÇİN KATILIMCI İZİN FORMU

### Tarih:

**Araştırmanın Başlığı:** Emeğin Yabancılaşması: Türkiye’deki Üniversitelerde İngilizce Öğretmenlerinin Algıları

**Araştırmacı:** Ebru Davarcı, Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Yüksek Lisans öğrencisi

**Araştırmanın Amacı:** Bu çalışma, Türk Yüksek Öğretim sistemi yapısında çalışan İngilizce öğretmenlerinin emeklerini nasıl algıladıklarını; emeklerindeki yabancılaşmalarının boyutu ve bunu tetikleyen faktörler ile ilgili algılarını ortaya çıkarmayı amaçlar. Böyle bir yabancılaşmaya nasıl tepki gösterdiklerini bulmak ise araştırmanın son kısmını oluşturmaktadır.

**Araştırmada Sizden Beklenen:** Bu çalışmanın başarılı bir şekilde sürdürülebilmesi ve sonlandırılabilmesi için, sizin katkılarınız gerçekten çok kıymetlidir. Bu yüzden, katılımcı olarak, sorulara açık ve samimi bir şekilde cevap vermeniz rica edilir.

**Riskler ve Rahatsızlık Verebilecek Durumlar:** Sizin bu çalışmaya katılımınızla oluşabilecek hiçbir sıkıntı ya da risk bulunmamaktadır.

**Araştırmanın Genel ve Size Yönelik Faydaları:** Bu çalışma İngilizce öğretmenleri arasında yabancılaşma kavramını anlamak açısından faydalı olduğundan; bulunan sonuçlar, öğretmenler ile devlet ya da özel işveren arasındaki çatışmalı ilişkileri iyileştirmek için okul yöneticileri ve yetkililere de hizmet edebilir. Yetkililer tarafından İngilizce öğretmenlerinin olumsuz algılarını önlemek için gerekli tedbirler alındığında, öğretmen olarak sizin de emeğinize karşı tatmin ve memnuniyetiniz artacaktır.

**Gönüllü Katılım:** Bu çalışmaya katılımınız gönüllük esasına dayanmalıdır. Bu yüzden, eğer kendinizi rahat hissetmediğiniz herhangi bir soru sorulursa, cevap vermeme hakkınızı kullanabilirsiniz. Yine, şayet isterseniz, dilediğiniz an, çalışmaya katılımınızı hiçbir gerekçe göstermeden geri çekebilirsiniz. Eğer, araştırma sırasında bazı sorulara cevap vermek istemez; ya da çalışmada daha fazla aktif olarak yer almak istemezseniz, bu sizin araştırmacı ile olan ilişkinizi etkilemeyecektir. Katılımınızı geri çektiğiniz andan itibaren, o ana kadarki katılımınızla elde edilen veriler yok edilecektir.

**Gizlilik:** Katılımınızla elde edilen bütün verilere gizlilik esasına göre davranılacaktır. Bu gizliliğin bir parçası olarak, kimliğinizi vermek istemediğiniz müddetçe, adınız bu çalışmayla ilgili herhangi bir yayında görünmeyecektir. Yine, verdiğiniz bilgiler, yalnızca araştırmacının ulaşabileceği güvenli bir yerde muhafaza edilecektir.

**Çalışma ile İlgili Sorular:** Şayet bu çalışma ile ilgili başka sorularınız olursa, bana e.davarci@gmail.com adlı elektronik posta adresimden ulaşabilirsiniz. Çok değerli vaktiniz ve katkılarınız için teşekkürler.

**Yasal Haklar ve İmzalar:** Ebru Davarcı tarafından yürütülen “Emeğin Yabancılaşması: Türkiye’deki Üniversitelerde İngilizce Öğretmenlerinin Algıları”

adlı bu çalışmaya katılmayı kabul ediyorum. Bu çalışmanın niteliğiyle ilgili kafamda herhangi bir soru yoktur ve katılmak için gönüllüyüm. Bu katılım formunu imzalamak, benim yasal haklarımdan feragat edeceğim anlamına gelmez; fakat buradaki imzam katılım için rızamın göstergesidir.

Katılımcı İmza: \_\_\_\_\_

Tarih: \_\_\_\_\_

Araştırmacı İmza: \_\_\_\_\_

Tarih: \_\_\_\_\_

APPENDIX C  
INTERVIEW FORM IN TURKISH AND ENGLISH

MÜLAKAT FORMU

1. Neden İngilizce öğretmeni olmayı seçtiniz? Sonrasında seçiminiz sizi mutlu etti mi?
2. Hiç hayatınızın sonuna kadar başka bir işi yapmak isteniz mi? Lütfen açıklar mısınız?
3. Bu iş yerinde ne kadar daha çalışacağınızı düşünüyorsunuz? Neden?  
\*\*\*\*\* Çalıştığınız yerde eğitim kadrosunun daraltılacağını bilseniz işinizi korumak için ne yapardınız?
4. Okulda geçen zamanlarda ortaya koyduğunuz işler bakımından kendinizin üretken bir çalışan olduğunu düşünüyor musunuz?
5. İşinizde üretkenliğinizi nasıl artırabileceğinizi düşünüyorsunuz?
6. Öğrencilerinizle ilişkilerinizi nasıl anlatabilirsiniz?
7. İş arkadaşlarınızla ilişkileriniz nasıl?  
\*\*\*\*\* İş arkadaşlarınızın derslerinde belli hatalar yaptığını bilseniz ne yapardınız?  
\*\*\*\*\* Aynı sürelerde çalıştığınız halde sizden daha yüksek ücret alan iş arkadaşlarınız (varsa) konusunda ne düşünüyorsunuz?
8. Herhangi bir öğretmenlik sertifikasına sahip misiniz? CELTA, ICELT, DELTA gibi sertifikalardan birine sahip olmak hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz?
9. Akademik kadro içindeki seviye koordinatörlüğü, materyal geliştirme, müfredat geliştirme gibi birimler hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz? Bunların herhangi birinde aktif olarak yer aldınız mı?
10. Çalışma süreleri içinde öğrencilere İngilizce öğretmek dışında başka görevlerden de sorumlu musunuz? Örnek verebilir misiniz?
11. Sınıfınızda ne tür teknolojik ekipman kullanıyorsunuz? İşinizi yaparken kullandığınız teknolojik ekipmanın size ne gibi olumlu ve olumsuz getirileri vardır?  
\*\*\*\*\* Kendinizi bunları kullanmak zorunda hissediyor musunuz?
12. Bir çalışma gününün ardından eve gittiğinizde kendinizi nasıl hissediyorsunuz?
13. Kendinizi başka üniversitelerin hazırlık okullarında çalışan meslektaşlarınızla nasıl karşılaştırabilirsiniz? (Avantajlı ve dezavantajlı gördüğünüz noktalar neler?)

14. a) İŖinizde sevdiđiniz taraflar nelerdir?  
b) İŖinizde sevmediđiniz taraflar nelerdir?

## THE INTERVIEW FORM

Issues concerning the perceptions of English language teachers about their own labor

1. Why did you choose to be an English language teacher? Are you happy with your choice?

Issues concerning the perceptions about the extent of alienation in labor

2. Have you ever wished to do something else until the end of your life? Can you please explain?
3. How long do you think you will work in this work place? Why? Why not?  
\*\*\*\* If you knew that there would be downsizing among the teachers in your workplace, what would you do to protect your job?
4. Do you think you are a productive employee in terms of the work that you accomplish at school?
5. How do you think you can increase your productivity?

Issues concerning the perceptions about the factors that trigger alienation

6. How can you describe your relationship with your students?
7. How is the relationship with your colleagues?  
\*\*\*\* What would you do if you knew that your friends were doing some mistakes in their lessons?  
\*\*\*\* If there are any of your colleagues who work at the same time with you but earn more, what do you think about them?
8. Do you have a teaching certificate? What do you think about having one of these certificates like CELTA, ICELT, DELTA and etc.?
9. What do you think about structural divisions like level coordinator, material production, curriculum development and so on among the academic staff?  
(And have you ever taken active part in any of them?)
10. Are you also responsible for some extra activities other than teaching English to the students? Can you give specific examples?
11. What kind of technological equipment do you use in your class while doing your work? What kind of positive and negative contributions does this equipment you use bring to you?  
\*\*\*\* Do you feel as if you had to use them?

Issues concerning how they respond to alienation

12. At the end of a working day, how do you feel yourself when you go home?
13. How do you compare yourself with your other colleagues working in different universities?
14. a) What are the things that you like about your job?  
b) What are the things that you don't like about your job?

APPENDIX D  
DETAILED INFORMATION ABOUT PARTICIPANTS

*Public Universities:*

Participant 1 (İpek, Female, Public A, High ranking): İpek is 29 years old and she has a master's degree on adult education. Her undergraduate degree is on Foreign Language Education and has been teaching English for seven years. She has been working at her current school for more than five years. İpek is married but has no children.

Participant 2 (Melih, Male, Public A, High ranking): Melih is 32 years old and he has a master's degree. He graduated from the Department of Foreign Language Education. In total, he has been working as an English language teacher for eight years. He has been working for the English preparatory of Public A for eight years. Melih is married and where he lives is very far from where he works.

Participant 3 (Elif, Female, Public B, middle ranking): Elif is above forty and having her master's degree right now. The reason why she started the master program is to refresh and update her knowledge in ELT. She graduated from the Department of Foreign Language Education. She has been teaching English for 21 years; and she is very close to her retirement. At the present, she is working at the English preparatory of Public B in a small city. She has been in her current workplace for 10 years. She is also a mother and has two sons one of who is a university student.

Participant 4 (Onur, Male, Public B, middle ranking): Onur is in his mid 30s. He has a master's degree. He graduated from the Department of Foreign Language Education. He has been working as an English language teacher for 12 years and working for his current workplace which is the English preparatory of a public university in a small city for more than 10 years. Onur's wife is also an English language teacher but at a different public university in the same city. Onur thinks that, her wife's working conditions are better than his.

Participant 5 (Şule, Female, Public C, low ranking): Şule is 36 years old and graduated from the Department of Foreign Language Education. She doesn't have a graduate degree. She is also a mother and has a toddler. She has been teaching English for 13 years and working for her current workplace for more than 10 years. Şule thinks that she needs to do something for her personal development but because of her baby she can't find time.

Participant 6 (Burak, Male, Public C, low ranking): Burak is 31 years old and his undergraduate degree is English Language and Literature. He doesn't have a graduate degree. He has been teaching English for five years and working at his current workplace for five years. What Burak emphasized is that he has always wanted to do something academic about philosophy but because of some conditions, he couldn't pursue his dream.

*Private Universities:*

Participant 7 (Funda, Female, Private A, high ranking): Funda is 30 years old. She has a master's degree on ELT. She graduated from the Department of Foreign Language Education. She has been working as an English language teacher for eight years and this is her third year in her current workplace. Funda is married but doesn't have any children yet.

Participant 8 (Mert, Male, Private A, high rank): Mert is 28 years old. He got his master's degreea university in the US. He graduated from the Department of Foreign Language Education and has been teaching English for six years. His current workplace is the English preparatory school of a private university and has been working for this school for two years.

Participant 9 (Nalan, Female, Private B, middle ranking): Nalan is 32 years old. Right now, she is trying to get her post graduate degree but not something on language or teaching but on drama because acting and theatre are her lifetime interests. She graduated from theDepartment of English Language and Literature and has been teaching English for nine years. Yet, Nalan has been working in her present workplace for three years. Nalan is one of the married participants; and thinking about having a baby.

Participant 10 (Cem, Male, Private B, middle ranking): Cem is 29 years old. He graduated from the Department of English Language and Literature. He doesn't have a graduate degree but he's trying to get his DELTA certificate. In total, he has been working as an English language teacher for seven years and this is his third year in his current workplace. Cem is married with no children.

Participant 11 (Tuğba, Female, Private C, low ranking): Tuğba is 28 years old. She graduated from the Department of English Language and Literature. Right now, she is trying to get her post-graduate degree which is about television and media. When being asked why something very different from teaching, she said because it was her interest area. She has been teaching English for five years and working in her present school for three years.

Participant 12 (Ali, Male, Private C, Low Rank): Ali is 24 years old and he is the youngest of all participants. Besides teaching, he is also trying to finish his master's degree. He graduated from the Department of Foreign Language Education. He has been teaching English for three years and he has been working for his current workplace for three years.

APPENDIX E  
ORIGINAL TURKISH TEXT OF THE QUOTATIONS FROM THE  
INTERVIEWS IN CHAPTER IV “FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS”

Melih, public A:

Mütercim tercümanlık mı, edebiyat mı, yoksa öğretmenlik mi diye düşününce en garanti meslek yine öğretmenlik. İngilizce öğretmeni olduğun zaman devlete girebiliyorsun, üniversite de olabilirsin ya da derslane de çalışabilirsin. İlla bir ekmek kapısı bulunur. Biraz garanticiliğe kaçtım aslında.

Onur, public B:

Yabancı dili tercih edersem üniversiteye İngilizce öğretmenliğine girebilmem, matematik öğretmenliğine girebilmekten daha kolay olacağını düşündüm. Tercihimde üniversiteye kolay girebilirim artı daha kolay bir yere yerleşirim büyük etkisi var.

Elif, public B:

Lisedeki İngilizce öğretmenim benim İngilizce ile ilgili bir yeri seçmemi çok istedi fakat ben İngilizce öğretmeni olmak istemiyorum diye tutturmuştum... Sonra kılavuzu görünce ben bir tane İngilizce sorusu yapsam, iki hatta daha fazla matematik sorusuna eşdeğerde puan alacağım. Bununla üniversiteyi daha kolay kazanırım ve sonrasında da mesleğimi hemen elime alırım.

Şule, public C:

Bizim dönemimizde 1985-1986 yıllarında, öğretmen okullarına gerçekten öğretmen olmak için gittiğimize dair bir his vardı yani eski öğretmen okullarına yakın bir anlayış. Fakat sonra Anadolu öğretmen lisesi mezunları farklı şeyler düşünmeye aştı.

Funda, private A: “Öğretmenlik direkt olarak yapmak istediğim meslek değildi çünkü insanların bayan mesleği gibi kafasındaki imajdan hoşlanmıyorum...Seçimim beni mutlu etti çünkü hiç işsiz kalmadım, hep bir şekilde iş buldum.”

Ali, private C:

Türkiye’de iş şansı olarak düşündüğümüzde, İngilizce öğretmeni olarak iyi veya kötü bir şekilde kazancını sağlayabilirsin. Dershaneye de gidebilirsin, daha az ücret alsan bile aç kalmazsın diye düşünüyorum.

Mert, private A: “Lisedeyken, eğitim dersleri ile aram iyi değildi....İşin aslı, burnumuz havadaydı, eğitim fakültesi bizim için son seçenektir.”

Nalan, private B:

Seçimim beni mutlu etti, şu açıdan şanslıyım. Arkeoloji mezunlarının da çalışma alanları çok dar, bu yüzden giriyorlar bir şirkete çalışıyorlar; alanlarından çok uzaklar ama ben edebiyat alanından mezunum... Hani bu bana hiç sevmediğim, mutsuz olduğum iş anlamına gelmiyor. Kendimi şanslı görüyorum.

Tuğba, private C: “Türk ekonomisi çok dar boğazda ve çok fazla işsizlik sorununuz var; bu yüzden ailem benim İngilizce öğretmeni olmamı istedi.”

Cem, private B:

Aslında İngiliz dili ve edebiyatı okudum, aklımda öğretmenlik yapmak yoktu; hani belki imajımdır nedir...öğretmenlik mesleğinin hep çok çalışan, kafayı yoran ama ona rağmen az para alan kişilerle özdeşleştirilmesi....şu an üniversitede çalışamıyor olsaydım, maddi ve manevi olarak daha farklı düşünüyordum.

Melih, public A: “Dilbilgisi derslerinde yine present perfect tense, yine passive voice, yine if clause; ya da okuma derslerinde yine öğrenciler oturup dinleyen pasif taraf, bense pasajı okuyup yeniden ifade eden taraf.”

Onur, public B:

Hayatınızın bir rutin haline gelmesi buna sebep olabiliyor. Yani sabah buraya geliyorsunuz, akşama kadar aynı şeyi değil, her yıl aynı şeyi yapıyorsunuz... Yaptığınız iş her zaman A noktasından B noktasına gitmek gibi, yani bir araca binip bir yerden bir yere gitmek ve siz ikinci durak da öğrencinin o hatayı yapacağını biliyorsunuz... Her hafta bir quiz vermeniz ya da soru hazırlamanız gerekiyor, her dönem yazma dersi yapmanız gerekiyor ve her dönem yazma dersinde öğrencinin yapacağı hataları biliyorsunuz.

Burak, public C: “Kendimi zihinsel anlamda üretken bulmuyorum, çünkü bir yerlerde şalteri kapatıyorsun ve sonra derse giriyorsun; mekanik bir şekilde onu işleyip çıkıyorsun.”

Ali, private C:

Bazen insanın bu işi bütün hayatı boyunca yapacağı fikri çok saçma bir fikir gibi geliyor. Her sabah erken kalkıp, her sabah aynı konuları hayatın boyunca kırk yıl öğretmek, ne bileyim kadar da sıradan bir hayatım olsun istemiyorum herhalde.

Cem, private B: “Bu işi bu kadar süre yapacağım, bu monotonluk içinde yapmak istemiyorum. Bu monotonluktan kurtulmak için, kendimi güncellemek zorundayım.”

Tuğba, private C:

5.00'de çıkıyorum işten, o da en erken, bazen iş uzayabiliyor ve eve iş götürüyorum. Ve hep bunlar çok monoton bir süreç, çocukların kâğıtlarını kontrol etme gibi. Kendimden bir şey katamıyorum, bunu hissediyorum. Keşke katabilsem.

İpek, public A:

Geniş zamanı defalarca öğretmiş olmak; ben hep sıfıra dönüyorum ama öğrencileri sıfırdan alıyorum nerelere getiriyorum tatmini bende yok. Kendimi hep geriye dönüyormuş gibi hissediyorum. Çünkü tekrar geniş zaman, adın ne, ya da renkleri öğretiyorum.

İpek, public A:

Bence öğretmenlik bana çok uygun değil... Ben daha böyle ofisim olsun, kendim bireysel bir iş yetiştireyim ve somut olarak son bir ürün göreyim; bu yüzden iletişim güzel olabilirdi, haberi yazmak sonunda çıktığını görmek... Kesinlikle bir gün öğretmenlikten sıyrılıp istiyorum; küçük bir pastane işletebilirim ya da dediğim gibi gazetecilik ama onun için çok geç.

Burak, public C:

İdealinde nerede olmak isterdin diye soracak olursan, felsefe profesörü olmak isterdim. Orijinal, özgün fikirler üretip, onları geliştirmek; açılmamış alanları, düşünülmemiş olanları ya da yeni sentezleri ortaya koyabilmek beni heyecanlandıran kısmı olurdu. Öğretmenlikte bu imkânlar çok fazla yok... Her zaman bir hayalin peşinde koşmamış olma hissi vardı ve yakın bir zaman kadar bunu daha fazla hissediyordum. Niye yapamadım, bir daha denesem mi falan, sonra yavaş yavaş vaktin geç olmaya başladığını hissetmeye başlayıp, tamam artık buradasın, burada mutlu ol diye bir düşünce bir senedir daha ağır basıyor.

Onur, public B:

Bir yerde okumuştum, akademik kaynak olmayabilir; insanların iş değiştirme yaşı 30-35 yaş arasıymış; ben de tam o sınırdayım şimdi. Bu aralar bir iş değiştirirsem değiştiririm, değiştirmesem herhalde burada böyle devam edip gidecekmişim gibi geliyor.

Nalan, private B:

Sanatla uğraşmak isterdim, yani tiyatro. Bu yüzden mesela okuldan sonra tiyatro kurslarına gidiyorum, oyunculuk dersleri alıyorum... Maddi olarak yeterli bir kazancım olursa ki olamayacak gibi gözüküyor, en azından benim tarafımdan... Yani tek amacım benim bir an önce sadece tiyatroyla ilgilenebilir hale gelmek.

Funda, private A:

Nasıl bir iş yapmak istediğimi bilemediğimden, hala sekiz yıl oldu buradayım yani... Bazen zevk aldığım oluyor ama hani tükenmişlik moduna girip 'yeter artık, başka bir iş yapmak istiyorum, sahil kasabasına gideceğim, kafe açacağım falan'. Herkesin kafasındaki o kaçış planı bende de var ama şu aralar daha sakinim.

Ali, private C:

Stüdyo davulcusu olmak istiyordum, müzisyen olarak olmadı. Müzik produktörlüğü düşünmüştüm; onu yapabilirim. Fakat şu an onun eğitimini almak için kazancım olmadan yaşayamam... Müzikte bir notayı bir bambaşka bilmem kaç şekilde çalabilirsin ama mesela geniş zamanı kaç tane farklı şekilde öğretebilirsin ki... Öğretmenlik çok dar; özellikle belli bir müfredatı uygulamaya çalışmak.

Mert, private A:

Ben zaten hayatımda hiç tek başına İngilizce öğretmeni olarak bakmadım kendime. Ben Mert'im, benim bir sürü farklı şapkalarım var ve müzisyen, web tasarımcısı gibi farklı etiketlerim var ve bunlardan biri de İngilizce öğretmenliği. İngilizce öğretmenliği benim için tek başına hayatımı kazandıığım bir alan olmadı... İşim beni ben yapan şey değil yani... İşim hayatımın herhangi parçasından biri.

İpek, public A:

Buraya ilk girdiğimde, maksimum iki üç sene çalışırım diyordum çünkü devlet okulu olduğu için daha çok para kazanabilmek için özele geçmeyi düşünüyordum. Ve şimdi beş senedir buradayım ve belki bir beş sene daha burada olurum ama sonra bir değişiklik yapacağıma eminim... Diğer özel kurumlarla karşılaştırınca, çalışma şartlarından nispeten memnunum. Örneğin mesai saatinin olmaması, dersim olmasa bile okulda olma fikri bana çok sıcak gelmiyor... Ders saatinin 18 saatten fazla olma ihtimali yok ve genel olarak öğrencilerimin profili iyi diye düşünüyorum.

Elif, public B: "Özele göre devlet garantisi altında çalışıyoruz bu yüzden insanlar acaba şundan dolayı işten atılır mıyım endişesi yaşamıyor."

Melih, public A:

Üç yıl sonra burada olmak isteyip istemediğimden emin değilim... Fakat devlet işi garanti iş; istersen emekli olana kadar burada kalabilirsin kimse seni buradan atamaz diye onun verdiği bir garantilik var. Kimse sana 'performansın düşük' diyemez ya da 'bilmem kaç yaşına geldin biz senin performansından memnun değiliz buradan atıyoruz' demez... Fakat burada çok fazla olanak sağlanmıyor.

Funda, private A: “Beni kovmadıkları sürece çalışırım diye düşünüyorum; ayrılmak istemiyorum. Ekstra çalışmam istenirse çalışırdım. İşimi kaybetmek istemiyorum; verilen görevin gerekliliğini belki sorgulardım ama ben bunu yapmam diye reddetmem.”

Mert, private A:

Sözleşmeli çalışıyoruz ve her yıl bunu yeniliyoruz; bu biraz şey bir durum ‘ya öğret ya yok ol’; hani sonuçta büyüklerimizin takdiri falan. Dışarıdan gelen herhangi bir şeyi beklemeden ben zaten elimden geldiği kadar iş yerime vermeye çalışıyorum. Belki zaten yapmakta olduğum şeyler, herhalde yerini garanti etme gibi bir şeydir.

Tuğba, private C: “Sonuçta özel bir eğitim politikası; tabii ki öğrenciye dayalı bir politika. Her han her şey olabilir, bir öğrenciyle bir sorun yaşayabilirim... Şikâyet edilebilirim; ya da öğrenci sayısı çok az gelebilir; yine işimden olabilirim.”

Ali, private C: “Özelde iş güvencesi o kadar fazla değil, çok iyi olsan, işini çok iyi yapsan, kendini geliştiren bile kovulabilirsin.”

İpek, public A:

Çalıştığım okul standartlarında genel olarak çalışkanım ama düşününce daha fazlası yapılabilir tabii ki. Bütün potansiyelimi ortaya koymadığım kesin... İşinden olma gibi bir risk taşımadığım için aslında tamamen vicdanıyla başbaşa; ve bazı insanları görüyoruz senin yaptığını yarısı kadarını bile yapmıyor olabiliyor sen de yapmayabilirsin, bunun bir yaptırım yok... Ve bu senin performansını etkiliyor. Diyorsun ki niye ben taş atıp yorulayım ki o taş atıp yorulmuyor ve aynı maaşı alıyoruz.

İpek, public A: “En çok sorumluluk ben de ama tabii ki idarenin o uygun şartları sağlıyor olması lazım. Mesela sınıfımda teknoloji olmazsa ben tabii ki teknolojiyi kullanamam.”

Melih, public A: “Aslında daha fazla üretken olmak istiyor muyum? Sizden talep eden bir kitle yok ve talep olmadan vermeye çalıştıkça, fark ediyorsunuz ki kimsenin dinlediği taktığı yok... İster istemez vermiyorsunuz.”

Funda, private A:

Evet, belki çalıştığım iş yerindeki yapılanma yüzünden kendimi üretken buluyorum. Çok fazla hazır materyalin olduğu bir iş ortamımız yok ve her sene çok sık kitap değişikliği oluyor; her şey yeni oluyor açıkçası ve sürekli materyal hazırlamak bize kalıyor.

Onur, public B:

Burada sadece iş konuşuyorsunuz, ama orada başka şeyler konuşuyorsunuz, muhabbet güzel oluyor. Çünkü hayatınız iş değil; mesela arkadaşlarla geziye gitmek isterim. Çünkü orada insanları daha iyi tanıyorsunuz burada tanıyorsunuz. İşyerinde insanlar kendinden geçebiliyor, hırsları olabiliyor.

Elif, public B: “Çok fazla işine vakfeden insanlar eğer bu adamdan istedikleri yararı göremezlerse mutsuz olacaklardır. Sonra sizi gözetlemeye çalışacak, sonunda çekişmeler başlayacak.”

Onur, public B:

Bir insan hata yapıyorsa, ona iş verilmiyor; bir insan işini savsaklıyorsa ona iş verilmiyor... Kime iş veriliyor? ‘Tamam, yaparım, problem değil, ne zaman getireceğim?’ diye cevap verene... Ben sürekli iş yapmak zorunda değilim ki.

Melih, public A: “Benle aynı yıldır çalışan, aynı hizmeti veren bir kişi çok daha fazla maaş alıyorsa, ‘madem öyle ben de daha az çalışırım’, derim. Hafta da 28 saat bağıra bağıra ders anlatmam.”

Tuğba, private C: “Çünkü sonuçta insanlar bir yerlere gelmek istiyorlar, kendilerini güvene almak istiyorlar; bu yüzden de üst düzeydekilerle aralarını iyi tutmak istiyorlar. O yüzden de böyle bir iletişimi sağlayarak kendilerini sağlama almak istiyor olabilirler.”

Ali, private C:

Ben elimden geleni yapıp doğru bir şekilde öğretiyorum ve belli insanlar burada benim uğraşımın karşılığını aynı şekilde vermiyorlar. İnsanların arasında maaş ayrılığı var. Sonuç olarak, ben bu kadar maaş alıyorum şu işi yapıyorum, senin yaptığına bak gibi bir his oluşuyor.

Elif, public B:

Bu sertifikalara sahip oldukları zaman daha iyi koşullarda daha iyi işler bulacaklarını düşünüyorlar sanırım çünkü öyle bir ülkede yaşıyoruz ki ‘ye kürküm ye’; siz kendinizi ne kadar donatırsanız karşı tarafta o kadar saygı gösteriyor. Bu sertifikalar bir çeşit kürk yani.

Şule, public C:

İş güvenliği açısından gerekli gibi geliyor artık çünkü çıta sürekli yükseliyor ve bir şeyinin olması gerekiyor. Sadece İngilizce öğretmenliği mezunu olmak yetmeyecek... Eskiden İngilizce öğretmenleri açıkta kalmaz diye bir düşünce vardı ama şimdi kalıyor.

Burak, public C: “İşte vitrin olmak durumundalar. Rekabet yüksek bu yüzden bak işte buyum var, bu sertifikadan aldım bir tane de şeklinde.”

Mert, private A:

Senin önünde binlerce aday var ve alacakları sayı belli bu yüzden bu sertifikalar koşul olarak kullanılan etiketlerden biri, üniversite mezunu olmak, tercihen İngilizce öğretmenliği mezunu olmak, mümkünse yüksek lisans ya da bu sertifikalardan birine sahip olmak gibi. Arz talep meselesi, piyasa bunu istiyor, siz de mecbur olarak sunuyorsunuz.

Cem, private B:

Muhakkak bilgine becerine bir faydası oluyor ama hani her zaman bunlarda karın doyurmuyor ama kişisel tatmin yönünden evet oluyor çünkü eninde sonunda garip bir şekilde rekabet ortamına giriyorsun bu daha çok 'ben daha iyi öğreteceğim' şeklinde değil; 'benim şuyum var, buyum var; ben yurtdışında bunu yaptım' şeklinde.

Melih, public A:

Kesinlikle işimi kolaylaştırıyor. Şimdi üç tane sınıfım var benim: okuma, yazma, dilbilgisi, bunların kurları farklı. Ben akşam 7:30 da evime varıyorum, yemeğimi yiyorum saat 8:30 oluyor. Ben bir de her akşam bu çocuklara bu ünitedeki 1-2 sayfa yetmez; ekstradan bir şeyler hazırlayayım desem, benim günlük mesai saatim 10 saate çıkacak. Sonra ben sadece sabah kalkan, ders anlatan, akşamda ekstradan materyal hazırlayan, yatan ve sonra tekrar uyanan bir robot haline geleceğim.

İpek, public A: "İngilizce öğrenmelerinden bile sorumlu olamıyorum ben, çünkü benim haricimde kesilmiş şekiller var. Benim onu öğretmem gerekiyor öğrencilere; doğru olduğunu düşünmediğim şeyler yapıyorum bazen."

Nalan, private B: "Çünkü ihtiyaç ortaya çıkıyor ve bu birimlerde insanlar çalışmayınca hocalara kalıyor. Yani hem hoca derse girecek hem de müfredat, materyal mi geliştirecek?"

Ipek, public A:

Yazma hocasıysam onu değerlendirmekten sorumluyum tabii ki; eğer iki sınıfım varsa mecburen eve götürüyorum... Ekstra bir maaş değil belki ama onlar bir iki saat daha az derse girebilirler.

Tuğba, private C:

Bir hafta verilen ara boyunca ilk gün sınavları bitirmeye çalışıyoruz; hatta bazen akşam 7-8'e çıkabiliyor mesai saatlerimiz; hani bir an önce bitsin de internete verelim diye; ondan sonraki günde mutlaka materyal revize ediyoruz... O bir haftalık boşluk arasını ben hiç sevmiyorum. O bir haftalık boşluk dersler zamanında daha rahat geçiyor çünkü ders zamanında dersine giriyorsun ama burada hadi toplantıya gidelim, hadi eğitim var, hadi al bakalım materyalleri gözden geçir. Ama onları da anlayabiliyorum sonuçta

insanlar boş kalmaması lazım; çünkü insanlar boş kalınca gitmek isteyeceklerdir bizim işimiz yok diye.

İpek, public A:

Yorgunluğum genelde fiziksel oluyor; ayakta anlattığım için o benden de kaynaklanıyor olabilir çünkü oturarak hâkim hissetmiyorum sınıfa. O netbook'u, kitapları taşımak... Hani masamız olsa ben o kitapları taşımam.

İpek, public A: "O günler iptal oluyordum sadece yemek yiyecek enerjim vardı, böyle yatiyordum yani."

Mert, private A:

Öğrenci .... TL veriyor ve bir sene İngilizce öğrenmeye çalışıyor. Hani onu öyle bir tatmin etmek zorundasın ki, ve bu öyle bir ders kitabıyla olacak bir şey değil. Sürekli bunlarla meşgulsün ama dediğim gibi bu benim yaptığım sevdiğim bir şey ama sallabaşı al maaşı birisi olsaydım sana verilen kitabı ünite ünite git tamam derdim.

Nalan, private B:

Hiçbir şey yapmak istemiyorum, sadece kafamı tamamen boşaltmak. Mesela dizi izlediğimi fark ettim; normalde ben dizi hayatta izleyen birisi değilim fakat şunu gördüm, dizi izlerken hiçbir şeyi düşünmüyorum, beynim boşalıyor... Sadece mal gibi izliyorum.

Ali, private C: "Eve geldiğim zaman yapmak istediğim ilk şey televizyonu açıp karşısında uyumak istemek oluyor herhalde... Genelde ondan sonra bir şey yapmak istemiyorum."

Nalan, private B:

Eve gittiğimde enerjim olmuyor bir şey yapmaya, eşim daha fazla ilgi bekliyor. Bu yıl sadece doğru düzgün iki kere yemek yaptım herhalde; hep hazır alıyoruz ya da makarna falan yapıyoruz. Bu yıl daha çok böyle oldu. Bilmiyorum belki yaşımızda geçiyor herhalde, yorulma her yıl daha da artıyor.

Cem, private B:

Evdeyken, üç beş kez üflediğin zaman, çok sıkıntı olabiliyor. Öyle bir negatif elektrik veriyorsun ki sonuçta eşinde etkilenebiliyor. Sonra içimden hiç bir şey yapmak gelmeyebiliyor... Bazen hiç bir şey yemek bile istemeyebiliyorsun.

Onur, public B: "Eşim başka bir devlet üniversitesinde çalışıyor; onların imkânları daha iyi. Sınıflarında tepegöz var; kendilerine ait binaları var."

Ali, private C:

Özelde iş güvencesi o kadar fazla değil; işini çok iyi yapsan, kendini geliştiren bile kovulabilirsin. O yüzden kişisel gelişim için özeline daha iyi olduğunu düşünüyorum.

Funda, private A:

Öğrenciye çok daha fazla tolerans göstermemiz gerekiyor; öğrencide kendinde bu hakkı görüyor, para veriyorum tarzında, müşteri zihniyeti... Şu an çalıştığım yerde pek hissedilmiyor ama çok fazla öğrencini üzerine gidemiyoruz. Eğer gidersek, şikâyet etmeler başlıyor, amirine gidebiliyor.

Mert, private A:

Çalışan arkadaşlara saygım var ama sitemin kendisi o kadar çürük ve komik ki; farklı amaçlara hizmet ediyoruz, fırıncıyla terzinin karşılaştırılması gibi. Evet, ikimizde esnafız, ikimizde para kazanıyoruz ama ben ekmek pişiriyorum sen ceket dikiyorsun.

Onur, public B: “Sürekli başınızda dikilen şunu yap bunu yap diyen birisi yok ve kapınızı kapattığınız zaman öğrenciyle başbaşasınız. Orada özgür bir ortamınız var bir ofiste çalışır gibi sürekli kontrol altında değilsiniz.”

Melih, public A:

Bu monotonluğu kırabilirim diye düşünüyorum ama okula ve okuldaki öğrencilere nasıl daha verimli olurum, işimi nasıl daha iyi yaparım, nasıl daha verimli olurum diye düşünmeye başlarsam, bu sefer benim bir hayatım daha var. Mesleğimin dışında ben bir insanım, bir kocayım, bir evladım, otobüslere binip evine gitmeye çalışan bir insanım, hafta sonları TV izlemek isteyen, kitap okumak isteyen biriyim. Bunlara da zaman ayırmam gerekiyor; o yüzden de bütün odağımı enerjimi buraya aktaramam.

Nalan, private B:

Bu kadar yıpranıyoruz, bu kadar insanla uğraşıyoruz, ben sınıfımda öğrencilerimi mutlu ediyorum ve onlara kendimden, özel hayatımdan, özel ilgi alanlarımdan çok şey veriyorum ama bunun maddi tatmini?... Aslında manevi olarak da çok fazla bir şey almıyoruz.

Mert, private A: “Buraya o şartları kabul ederek girdim. Yani sevmiyorsam niye yapayım o zaman. Bu şey gibi giriyorsun oraya, şikâyet ediyorsun az para veriyorlar diye. Niye giriyorsun oraya başka bir yere git o zaman...”

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