THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TEACHERS' POWER PERCEPTION,

TEACHERS' PERCEPTION OF CHILD,

AND CHILD-TEACHER INTERACTION

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I. Nehir Cabi. certify that

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ABSTRACT

The Relationship Between Teachers' Power Perception,

Teachers' Perception of Child,

and Child-Teacher Interaction

The main purpose of this study was to analyze the teachers' perceptions of child, power and their interactions with children. The issues of power, discipline, authority, and the concepts of school, teacher and child were used to examine teachers' comprehensions of the culture of power in classroom. The sample of the study was four female primary school teachers in a public school in Istanbul, Turkey. The results showed that there was a relational sphere between power and child perceptions of the teachers. The teachers' perceptions of authority and discipline embedded to the conceptions of child and school context. The teachers' perceptions of authority and discipline embedded to the conceptions of child and school context. In addition to this, teachers' child and power perceptions reflected to teacher-child relationship as a shortcut of and nonverbal communication in classroom. Findings suggest that teachers' explanations about power and child concepts are fed each other by the same concern that is the anxiety of losing their control of power over children. The findings of the current study provide to analyze the internalization and externalization process of power, child and their effects on teacher-child interaction in educational arena.

ÖZET

Öğretmenlerin Güç ve Çocuk Algısı ile

Öğretmen Çocuk Etkileşimi Arasındaki İlişki

Bu çalışmanın amacı, öğretmenlerin sınıf içi güç ve çocuk algıları ile onların

çocuklarla sınıf içi etkileşimini analiz etmektir. Bu nedenle çalışmada öğretmenlerin

disiplin, otorite, okul, öğretmen ve çocuk kavramlarını nasıl algıladıkları ve bu

algıların davranışlarını nasıl etkilediği incelenmiştir. Çalışma örneklemi Türkiye

İstanbul'daki bir devlet okulundaki dört kadın ilkokul öğretmenidir. Gözlemler ve

yapılan görüşmeler sonucunda; öğretmenlerin güç ve çocuk algıları arasında bir

ilişkinin olduğu ve bu algının sınıf içinde otorite ve disiplin kurma davranışlarıyla

etkili olduğu gözlendi. Ancak yapılan gözlemler sonucunda öğretmenlerin gücü

kullanma biçimlerinin çocukları kontrol etme ve kendi statülerinin devamlılığı

üzerine kurduğu görülmüştür... Öğretmenlerin güç ve çocuk algıları sınıf ortamındaki

öğretmen-çocuk ilişkisine kısa ve sözsüz iletişim olarak yansımaktadır. Bunun yanı

sıra, öğretmenlerin güçle ilişkili endişeleri öğretmen-çocuk etkileşimlerine

derinlemesine yansımıştır. Görüşmelerde öğretmenler çocuklar üzerindeki güç

kontrolünü kaybetme kaygısı yaşadıklarını belirtmişlerdir. Bu çalışma sonuçları,

gücün, çocuğun ve onların eğitimsel alanla ilişkisine etkilerinin içselleştirme ve

dışsallaştırma sürecini analiz etmeye faydası olacaktır.

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Dedicated to all children who have ever felt different,

and to my mom, dad who always believe in me,

and my grandmother who always loving and supporting me.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

"It seems to me that power is 'always already there', that one is never 'outside' it,

that, there are no 'margins' for those who break with the system to gambol in.'"

(Foucault, 1980, p. 141)

1.1 A personal narrative

My mother was my first teacher in such a way that she made me learn the definition

of being a teacher before that of being a mother. During my childhood, my mother

who was a teacher reminded me of how important rules and instructions were. In

every step I took, there were her words, eyes, warnings and reminders. As a child, I

thought being a teacher was such a harsh, sharp and heavy duty that it preceded

being a mother. To be a teacher there were firm rules, determination to implement

them no matter what and making progress without emotions taking control. My

Mom, who was my teacher, decided time for my studies, for play, even which game I

could play for how many minutes. While rewards were exceptional and related to my

school success, punishments were, more frequent based on my behavior. I thought a

teacher had to use body language very well. There were always the same clear

expressions: frowning brows, fixed looks of the eyes and the forefinger pointed like a

gun to make the person do something. Towards the end of those years when I

thought that I was the only one who had a teacher mom, I did everything so that the

teachers at school would stroke my hair. I became a vulnerable, sentimental and

fearful student. I had no adaptation problems and did not even cry when I had started

kindergarten. With the rules, words and voice of my first teacher in my ears, I had a

quiet life at school. When my teacher asked me to come to the black board in class, I was shy and remained silent. Therefore, she said that she would call me a KID from then on and would forget my name. This did not surprise me because my mother used to find me wrongful. Then I was only eight. This is the age when I added, "Being a teacher means disregarding feelings" to my definition of teacher. In a class where we were coerced to make the same choice, my teacher who yelled at me saying, "What's more your mother is a teacher!" just because I wanted to make a different choice scolded me. I was only ten then, and this made me confront my first teacher, my Mom. At that instant, my responsibility humiliated me.

After primary education when I could not tell the difference between home and school, I was in middle school and then senior high where I had the opportunity to observe that being a teacher was no different from what I had experienced with my Mom. With every teacher I encountered, I found pieces and bits of my Mom. I wanted my teachers to like me, but at the same time I did not want them to leave any traces on me because I had grown up in a home where a teacher was never criticized and where I had met my first teacher. She was a teacher who showed affection when I obeyed her rules or displayed behavior that was considered success. When I asked myself what she saw in me, I always criticized myself and tried to swell. Forcing myself to obey her rules and to become the child she desired, I had lost my childhood in order not to be marginalized, to be accepted and to be loved. The rules on the walls of the kitchen, bathroom and my room made me long for those on the walls of the school while making me worry for the students who used to run in the school corridors as they could be punished for breaking the rules. In those same corridors, I was looking for another teacher figure than the one my Mom had defined and made me experience. I was looking for a teacher who did not speak using imperatives, who

did not use her knowledge to underline her students' lack of knowledge, who did not say, "You are in school!", and who was searching for the truth rather than the questions! Similar to the other teachers I came across; my Mom got her strength from her intimidation. Respect meant doing what she asked to be done. Being disrespectful was violation of rules. Having to make a university preference without having developed my individualism at school, in other words, in neither of the schools I had attended, I realized my awareness. Choosing the university to attend would be my decision and I wanted to prove to my mother, my first teacher that being a teacher helps to remove fears instead of nurturing them. It yields warmth, respect and self-confidence. As a second grade student, I had drawn a picture on Mother's Day for Mom: there was a desk, a chair, a flag and us. My mother with her back to me was writing something on the black board and I was extending a bunch of flowers to her. In the pictures of my friends, there were hearts and they were holding the hands of their mothers. Actually, I wanted to show that being a teacher was being a mother, and for this reason I chose this profession. After a childhood full of fears, I had made a fearless choice. In this beloved career, I am carrying out my job as a serene, compassionate, naive person, listening mostly, learning and being free of school while in class.

The existence of power is not a domain, which illustrates the balance in the society. In contrary, it remains me unequal issues among individuals whose expectations are built over the others. During my childhood, I was 'the other' for 'the others' whose power increased incrementally. Now, I try to show 'the other's placements in the society especially in schools which are constructed for children under the aim of stabilization of power. I always ask myself 'Who am I in my teacher's eyes?' The necessity of this question that I need affects my approaches to

the education and schooling contexts. Thus, I want to ask this question again as a teacher, but at this time, it will be coming for teachers who are in on power.

1.2 Aim of the study

All the experiences that I had as a child and as a teacher, my starting point of this research was to understand teachers' perceptions of power and child in depth. Due to my interest, the aim of this study was shaped around the concepts of teachers' perception of power and child through the relationship with students. The basic core of this study is to understand under what circumstances that the power effect over this relationship. To what extent that teachers set the context for the children and construct the relationship based upon power is the focus of this study.

In addition to that, some questions have emerged while observations and data analyzes have taken place. How do teachers perceive the power in the school context? Their interpretation of power depends on their perception of child, which is fed by the same cultural structures of society. How do they understand the child as a teacher? How do they determine their interaction with children in the school? To analyze power in the context of school, power related ideas embedded in classroom activities, teachers' attitudes towards children and classroom discourse need to be examined.

The process of defining childhood has different aspects and cultural histories. These signs help us to determine the dress of childhood in a different way under the social roofs. The images of children are embedded in every social and cultural norm such as; schools, media, literature, art, etc. It has its own place in the society and this place is fed by the institutional structures, educational theories and formulations of policies. The placement of child demonstrates the place of adults, parents, teachers,

researchers, in brief, our adult subjectivity. I do think that we cannot separate the definition of child from the other domains in the society; there is a strong chain among them. Thus, this relation makes it difficult to define other terms individually. I perceive that there is a construction, which reflects the definitions, roles and the necessities of a child in the society. This construction reproduces itself in every model of the institutions with the help of repetitions. The school system is one of the places that enhances the roles and definitions of child and teacher attitudes in the minds of individuals. Based on this point, it can be said that the school has its own tasks for the continuity of the social and cultural norms, but it can be also claimed that the school has to generate its own culture to reach the aims of this balance of the society.

The educational system needs the definitions of child since the individuals' place is shaped by these definitions. Moreover, educational system controls the mechanisms of the schools by using defined restrictions determined by culture of power. This system generates not only the definitions of child but also the effects of childhood in depth.

Childhood is as a continuity of the social domains. According to Corsaro (2005), childhood has two parts, one is a temporary process for childhood and the other is the permanent period for the society. Childhood is constructed by social structures to arrange and stabilize the categories in social groups like class, and gender. These periods help the culture of power to maintain the childhood contexts that are internalized by human beings in social institutions like school. At the base of the perception of school is the perception of child in order to coexist with the aims of power of school in the society.

The structure of the school illustrates the aims of this construction directly. There are three public school pictures in Turkey. They show that the aims of school construction and the relational arena between students and school sphere. These school pictures reflect the effect of power over the construction of it. As Fig. 1, Fig. 2 and Fig. 3 illustrate that the walls, the colors used on sections like corridors or classrooms, the type and placement of the desks can help us to have an idea about the education and child perception of this system. The power over childhood diffuses itself by using the physical outlook of the school like the walls as if the aim was to protect them. In contrast, initially, the power mechanism is activated over the body control to reduce the will of freedom. In fact, the power enhances the similarities not differences so, children are confined in the same construction to be assimilated. The design of the school building has this purpose to maintain the culture of power. Indeed, this aim works for the original purpose to legitimize the perception of power over children based on the school context. The controlling bodies contribute to the culture of school, but they cannot service children while reducing their freedom. On the contrary, schools seemed to be working for children's well-being. Moreover, the culture of school and the culture of power suggest not trusting children. The construction of this building shows us the point of view that is derived from the perception of child. The enclosures that are around the school also protect the place of power to maintain the status quo of the culture of power.

Fig. 1 Yarı açık cezaevi gibi okul. Reprinted from yeniasya. com.tr, Retrieved February 23, 2015, from http://www.yeniasya.com.tr/egitim/yari-acik-cezaevi-gibi-okul_322630. Copyright 2016 by Yeni Asya Gazetecilik ve Matbaacılık ve Yayıncılık Sanayi ve Ticaret A.Ş. Reprinted with permission.

Fig. 2 Okul duvarı jiletli telle çevrilince, hapishaneye döndü. Reprinted from posta.com.tr, Retrieved October 07, 2015, from http://www.posta.com.tr/adanada-jiletli-tellerle-cevrili-okul-haberi-304776. Copyright 2015 by Posta.com.tr. Reprinted with permission.

Fig. 3 Şemdinli'de sınıflar boş, depolar dolu. Reprinted from radikal. com.tr, Retrieved October 03, 2012, from http://www.radikal.com.tr/egitim/semdinlide-siniflar-bos-depolar-dolu-1102549/. Copyright 2016 by Hürriyet Gazetecilik ve Matbaacılık A.Ş. Reprinted with permission.

As Fig. 3 shows that, a typical school and its units of classrooms have the same design, plan and items to reach the same goals of education, arrangements of students' minds. The class shows the perspectives of teachers' perceptions of school and education. It is a very powerful domain to make students internalize the issues of schooling, discipline, and authority. Culture and education cannot be separated from each other, if anyone tries to realize the power dynamics on teachers' minds, the best way to recognize it is to observe the classroom management and instruments of education. I think the perception of power and children are encompassed with the classroom and school culture.

The type of classroom environment is the crucial issue to analyze the teachers' perspective about the position of children on their minds. It gives us the

domains of power perception throughout the equality and the authority in the classroom environment. Teachers' priorities about instruction, children and the school can be visible through the deployments of objects; as well as an answer to whom they work for may be reached. The classroom environment can also explain the aims of educators concerning the type of instruction, the importance of child participation during the learning process, the significance of children's thoughts and safety and the relation between teacher and children. Moreover, these pictures especially Fig. 3 demonstrates that the teachers' positions towards children such as the place of teacher's desk are very significant to analyze the activities. Building classroom connections through the teacher's perception of authority and children might help to realize their understandings about these concepts. I think that the power structures in the classroom might be affected by the structure of school context as well. The classroom and the structure of the school cannot be separated from each other since they try to keep the same culture in this concept. I realize that if the school is a mirror of the society, the classroom reflects either the society or the school constructions inside of it.

The school is considered as a structure of disciplinary constitution that demonstrates the relation between social control and manipulation of the body. Fig. 2 illustrates that these exercises of power enhance childhood in a construction where teachers determine the desired and undesired behaviors under the effect of the culture of power. I realize that power disperses within the definitions of education, discipline, type of instruction in the school. Thus, it has its own structures and domains. Actually, it maintains the status quo in the school and keeps the culture of school context within the social norms. Moreover, this culture of power helps educators to draw the mental boundaries on children's minds concerning the

perception of the school and teacher. How do teachers generate their definitions under the light of power? In my opinion, knowledge is another exercise of power so it can never be free from ideologies. Adults/teachers construct knowledge as they have chosen to place children under surveillance, making the decisions as to what truth is based on the knowledge; and those who do not fit the categories of normal established by the system of power. I question how teachers interpret these relations in the structure of schools and how this interpretation reflects the perception of child in the classroom.

Historically, the child image has been different from one culture to another. It has taken various definitions. Plato thought that child is a creature that must be held in check (Hamilton & Cairns, 1961). This idea shows that there is a bridge extended from adults to children. This bridge controls the social and cultural mechanisms over the arrangements of childhood. Moreover, he mentions the word 'creature' that is associated with the construction of childhood over adulthood. According to Locke, children are born empty vessels, which wait to be filled with education and rational ideas coming from adults. This thought determines the place of adults, children and the role of education. Locke presented childhood as a formative process of heightened vulnerability (Locke, 1693). His concerns about the developmental process of childhood are children who are passive and dependent. Rousseau's image of child cannot reach adult reason (his term) until the age of twelve (Morss, 1996). This perspective illustrates that the age is the boundary to understand the capability of children. This idea also involves the dichotomies between the child/adult-teacher and determines their roles in the school/social environments under the effect of power. Hendrick (1990) thinks that children are helpless because of the social control of young people's activities, especially after the industrial revolution since parents

work outside the home and their children are away from them. Thus, the social contexts developed the controlling mechanisms such as schools and educators inside. The cultural intervention of children generates the cultural construction of schools and the context of schools need their own culture to maintain the status quo and discipline through the common goals of social norms. When we look from this perspective, the context of child takes us to the school concept in the macro level and the position of educators in the micro level of the structures in the society. It gives us a picture, which shows the shapes of environment around the developmental process of perception for both children and educators in the system.

Education programs in schools enabled power to infuse into public sphere and take a role in social change. The definition of power includes some concerns inside itself, and it has no clear meaning yet (Adams & Fogelson, 1977). It was power, which generated the field under the influence of hierarchy at either schools or other social institutions. The term power is defined as to influence others or control others. I realize that there is always the others or shows the property of person. In the social institutions, having power or exercising power illustrates the relationship among people. If the educators' attitudes towards children include commands, anticipated reactions then the children's behaviors towards educators are generated by the teachers' reactions, which I question under the title of power relations in the school. According to Foucault, power generates the construction of school, which includes more knowledgeable people who have their spheres within a different discourse. I firmly believe that the existence of power in the school system is not to control the balance of relations. It increases the rational distance between the child and teacher since institutionalized power relations need the exercising space in their own contexts. Thus, the existence of power includes limits and the choices of others.

During this process, mental boundaries are shaped and reshaped by these exercises until the desired behaviors of the children are exhibited. The school system, which is an exercise of power in the society, has some missions to keep stabilization over the period of childhood. Schools remind children of the power hierarchies in the other structures by using repetitive actions and routine behaviors like break time. The whole picture makes me think that the discipline tendencies contribute to the reproduction of childhood contexts over schooling. There are many chains in mesh since there is no central point of power inside schooling. On the contrary, so many parts imply each other in every detail of these constructions.

Discourse shapes our behaviors, and then it transmits and produces power. As Foucault (1977) stated "One does not have more or less power than the other but each equally shapes the other" (Foucault, 1977, p. 138). Thus, the legitimacy of power becomes traditional under the concept of school. This situation defines the teachers' status, which involves authority over the behaviors of children, for instance, communicative strategies using imperative statements. In classroom activities, these attitudes, which come from teachers, cause pressure over the children's status in class not because of the power reactions, but also because of the consequences of power. According to Corsaro (2005), socialization is not just an adaptation or internalization of acts directly, but is also a process of reproduction. When we look from this perspective to children's' position, we cannot say that they participate in this process. Participation in social and cultural acts begins very early when the place of teachers is generated by the school system under the effect of cultural domains, which affect the perception of child regarding terms such as authority, discipline, attitudes towards teachers and rules, etc. With the help of these points, children gain insight into the nature of cultural participation in the routine of

school context. Schools play a crucial role to maintain the accumulation of cultural capital. Furthermore, children can learn this knowledge and they enhance their skills to have better occupation within the schooling system (Apple, 1995). According to Bourdieu, the educational system has the responsibility for transmission of social inequality in society (Bourdieu, 1973). Actually, this constructional arena of school has already been determined before children come to school not to be alienated by the school system. The system of schooling plan is to involve the children in this process as objects. Thus, children will be the part of this culture of power; the status quo of power maintains with children's attendance. School and its construction reflect the picture of social structure; such as the perception of discipline, the perception of child, individualization process. "Disciplines are forms of power which are not violent or destructive, but seek rather to produce docile subjects through the process of training, connection, normalization and surveillance" (Gallagher, 2004, p. 14). The system of training is a special time for re-conceptualization of the developmental process of childhood. Training or shaping through the system rules are the same strategy inside their rationality. This role is to normalize the individual and to construct new forms of knowledge that facilitate the government of life processes (McHaul & Grace, 1993). Normalization is a kind of categorization or generating the groups of others, which are selected by people who are in power, much more than the others. In the school context, the process of normalization of children is to construct their perceptions over the culture of school and power. Moreover, determining the definition of child under the normalization domain can help the culture of school to internalize the rules in depth. In this process, teachers' perspectives and understandings are so important to emphasize the place of children on their minds under the microscope of culture of power.

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The context of school system and the teachers' approaches about power and childhood perceptions are in this study. I will present the current studies in which teachers' perceptions of power and their construction of childhood and children have been explored. Following, I will state the relationship between the child and power perceptions of teachers. I also question the placement of teachers over child perception and power attitudes in the school and classroom contexts.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE

I started to think the existence and the effect of power in the learning environments. I believe that if the world becomes, educationally and socially, interdependent, educators can develop critical understandings of power dynamics in structures like schools. These buildings have a significant role of reshaping the authority, class and discipline domains inside with the help of power, which is invisible but individuals internalize in depth. I think that the questioning of mechanisms of controlling, perceptions and roles of schooling describe power dynamics in learning environments. Thus, the basic understandings of child, authority and discipline issues are in the structure of power. Power has its own forms like authority and discipline; therefore, I will try to analyze it from its core. Force, manipulation, persuasion, authority, discipline are its forms which I examine to focus on the relationship between child and power perceptions of teachers in the school.

2.1 Power

Power, commonly understood as the influence of an individual or group over another or the ability to affect the others' intentions. There are an intended and unintended influences, power is an intended one (Wrong, 2004). According to Thomas Hobbes, power is a man's present means to any future apparent good (Wrong, 2004). British logician and philosopher Bertrand Russell defined power as the production of intended effects and expressed that in order to understand social trends and issues among a population, firstly one must analyze the power dynamics of the environment that is being examined (Russell, 1938, p. 102). Socialist writer Antonio Gramsci

(1971) asserted that power struggle exists in society that affects every place of human civilization, especially education. American writer Alvin Toffler (1990) identified three main kinds of power found in every society: violence, wealth and knowledge. According to Toffler, violence can be used in a negative way, but wealth can be used both negatively and positively. Knowledge can be used in negative and positive ways. Toffler's theories contributed that knowledge is power. Actually, there has been a conflict concerning the situation of knowledge in historical studies. Knowledge cannot be free from ideologies, since all knowledge is biased and incomplete (Habermas, 1996). On the other hand, some researchers think that knowledge is free from policies. From this perspective, teachers use their level of knowledge to show their power over children's status in school context. They determine more knowledgeable ones in class to maintain the hierarchy of power through the knowledge levels of students. Teachers combine violence and the knowledge under the power presence in their classrooms.

People who are in power in the society, determine the definitions as what truth is, what discipline should be, and based on that 'knowledge' and 'truth' are domains some people accept while others do not. Hooks (2003) observed that questions of power and authority, particularly relating to race, gender, culture and class, permeate the learning environment and shape children's perceptions and participations in depth. In teaching community: A pedagogy of hope, Hooks (2003) states that educational relations enhance learning among students and teachers; no one acquires the power to use the classroom as a space of domination. This relationship includes power, which generates the field under the influence of hierarchy. Moreover, the field of education reflects the existence of power, which affects to perceptions of child and the understandings of schooling, which is socially

constructed by the power again. The intersection between perception of power and the position of subject generate a power sphere like school and the culture of power over the teachers' and children's perceptions. Teacher-student, student-student and teacher-teacher relationships commonly compress dynamics related to authority, technology, language, ideology, dominant culture, race, gender and class, all of which can influence learners throughout their academic careers and adult lives (Crowther, Joris, Otten, Tekkens, & Wächter, 2000; Harris, 1998; Sears, 2011).

Foucault (1977) explains in his book of Discipline and Punish to think of power in the traditional way is to think of it as a possession of a free subject, outside of its relations. The rules of school or punishments are the exercises of power; the subject or Subject relations reflect this term inside of themselves. From my experiences as a teacher, I think that subject uses the power to be Subject, like teachers. I observed that teachers adapt the school culture and embed the responsibility of this system in the school; thus, they have the role to determine the power hierarchy from the more knowledgeable person to the unknowledgeable person. In contrast, teachers have the role of teaching, analyzing the facts that students live in their environments and critical thinking.
Walkerdine writes;

> primary school forms an important place where this 'free-will' is established. It is in this sense that we can begin to understand the position of the teacher as 'the responsibility and the spur of freedom. The freedom, which she has to foster, is, I would argue, the notion of bourgeois individuality...The teacher then, is responsible for freedom. (as cited in Foucault, 1980, p. 61)

According to Foucault (1977), the responsibility of freedom is contrary to the construction of school context as he mentioned in the Discipline and Punishment book that the school concept has the same ways of prison. The school system accommodates silence in depth, which is installed with such signals like bells,

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clapping of hands, gestures from teachers, which are techniques of commands and the culture of power or obedience. Power creates a sphere in its field of exercises by using these mechanisms of behaviors. Thus, school becomes a construction of learning of power. It is the learning of adaptation, combination of forces, which are required to sustain the power relations between teachers and students. Moreover, Foucault (1977) mentioned in his book that the examinations, which are the new models of power to make students individual cases under the influence of hierarchical surveillance like markings or grades, which, are given by teachers in this, school system. Individuality includes the dynamics of power, determined by the culture of power in school.

In the literature, there are some studies about teachers' perceptions of authority, discipline, control, classroom management and teacher-children interactions. However, there are limited studies used the term power of teachers or their comprehensions of it and its effects in school context. In this study, the term power takes part because of its unique contribution to our understanding in social contexts such as schools. Without touching upon concepts of power such as authority and discipline, no one can really analyze the existence of power. In schools, hierarchic positions of groups, teachers and students in this case, are strictly determined, thus power in school contexts need further attention.

2.2 Force, manipulation and persuasion

Force generally refers to biological means, but in this study, it involves a threat towards human beings/children as if they were not more than a physical object. Using force on a subject, transforms it from the Subject to object that is the exemplifying of power. There is the threat as if he were less than human who does

not have enough capacity of understanding (Wrong, 1995). This statement makes me

consider the communication between the teacher and the child. Teachers' commands

concerned with how students should behave in school context are to restrict the

others'/students' choices or behaviors. Force relates to punishment and violence

indirectly because of the placement of power. Violence will appear when power is in

threat, for instance when the school rules don not conform with students, the school

principal or the teacher appears against the student with the domains of power

structure. There is a strong relationship between power and violence. Moreover,

force is in the middle of this relationship. It might seem to be the final step to

enhance the existence of power in the sphere of its construction like school.

According to Wrong (1995, p. 96) "Force is the result of the prior-failure of power".

The use of force as punishment generates the reshaping of power relation with

student and teacher. According to Foucault, there is an unequal situation when we

look from the individual's point of view and the power since one side has all the

forces while the other has the entirety of society (Foucault, 1977). How do the social

rights work towards the person who does not have enough rights to punish? There is

stabilization in the society, which is generated by the culture of power. The school

context designates the acts, which illustrate the power system. The proportion

between the penalty and the quality of the offense is determined by the influence that

the violation of the pact has on the social order (Filangieri, 1786). Every detail

concerning the power includes the social stabilization. David Easton (1958)

observes:

> I distinguish here between force and the threat of force. In the latter
> case, we have an example of the exercise of authority. There is a
> significant difference between actually eliminating a person from
> the political system by jailing him and merely threatening him with
> incarceration. When only threats are made, the individual may be
> inclined to obey, thereby participating in an authority relationship,

whereas in the case of pure force the individual continues to refuse
to obey but is compelled to conform to the decision of the
authorities. (p.183)

Based on this statement, force either restricts the acts of an individual that are not appropriate for school context or generates the existence power in their minds; thus, the one attains the construction of concepts. The existence of force is like a bridge among power tools such as manipulation. Manipulation sets its roots in social relations, when the power holder fails to maintain the rules. Dahl and Lindblom (1953) stated that the manipulation is an intended field of control. Teachers use these manipulations, which are planned based on students' behaviors (Dahl & Lindblom, 1953). Teachers' plans are invisible, but they are the important parts of the structure of classroom organizations.

Persuasion is another form of power, which is an intended attitude towards others in asymmetrical power relations among them. As Arendt observes, "Where arguments are used, authority is left in abeyance. Against the egalitarian order of persuasion stands the authoritarian order which is always hierarchical" (as cited in Aries, 1951, p. 148). As Wrong (2004) mentions, persuasion is a reliable form of power for the power holder since it has reduced risks of failure.

2.3 Authority

Authority is one of the main controlling mechanisms for teachers. It is interconnected with other actors and domains as Pace and Hemmings stated (2007) "It is a social relationship in which some people are granted the legitimacy to lead and others agree to follow" (p.6). A relationship between the students and the teachers is generated over the mechanisms of school. Students depend on a link of authority in relation with teachers, friends and family members (Amit & Fried, 2005). According to Pace

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and Hemmings (2007), authority is to be connected with individuals, they think that tools and arts can be involved with authorities especially in the context of schooling. The position of teacher is also another issue of authority since Russell (1983) focuses on "teachers are 'an authority (of content) in authority' (by virtue of position)" (p.30). The expectations and attitudes shape the status of authority, which is embedded with the help of the power.

The culture of power shapes and forms some changeable spheres. Skemp (1979) noted that when another authority, which is imposed, generates authority there can be new relational arena between these individuals. When a teacher, for instance, gives students a command that they are expected to obey, any classroom instructions are perceived as if they were orders. School is an authoritative place and the teacher is a tool of power to exercise it. Thus, both of these authorities create a new power relation together and this new and strong relation affects to the relationship between the teacher and children.

There is a relationship between the teacher and students like commander and soldier who had to be subordinated to the orders. If we talk about obedience, we should look at the Max Weber's definition of authority; Max Weber (1978) defined authority as obedience, he expressed the domination under the light of his perspective of authority;

> to be more specific, domination will thus mean the situation in which the manifested will (command) of the ruler or rulers is meant to influence the conduct of one or more others (the ruled) and actually does influence it in such a way that their conduct to a socially relevant degree occurs as if the ruled had made the content of the command the maxim of their conduct for its very own sake. Looked upon from the other end, this situation will be called obedience. (p.946)

The terms of command and obedience can combine under the roof of authority. Their aims tend to enhance the culture and diffusion of power.

Moreover, these terms help to legitimize power as if it were a natural

formation for individuals. Arendt (1961) defined authority with the help of

the relation between command and obedience;

> The authoritarian relation between the one who commands and the
> one who obeys rests neither on common reason nor on the power of
> the one who commands: what they have in common is the
> hierarchy itself, whose rightness and legitimacy both recognize and
> where both have their predetermined stable place. (p.93)

The normalization of authority cannot be possible according to Robert Bierstedt

(1974);

> authority which or may not be accepted hardly qualifies as
> authority in accordance with the ordinary connotation of the term.
> There is something mandatory, not merely arbitrary, about the
> acceptance of authority and no analysis can quite rationalize this
> mandatory element away and retain the full significance of the
> phenomenon. (p.257)

On the other hand, this statement illustrates the situation of the acceptance of

authority or without any judgment of it, and the appearance of individuals. Therefore,

individuals seem to be like objects that are determined by the others who control the

power over themselves like constructing the institutions and using them to diffuse the

culture of power in the society with these tools.

Based on these perspectives, I would like to shift the attention to another

statement of authority to widen our points of view. Blau's (1964) authority definition

is;

> Authority entails voluntary compliance, in contrast to coercion,
> since the influence of the superior on subordinates rests on their
> own social norms. However, authority entails imperative control, in
> contrast to persuasion and personal influence, since social norms
> and group sanctions exert compelling pressures on individual
> subordinates to follow the superior's directives. Compliance is
> voluntary from the perspective of the collectivity of subordinates,
> but it is compulsory from the perspective of its individual
> members. (p. 209)

In a schooling context, it involves some types of attitudes, which are arranged from teachers to children. Commands represent the educator's approaches to children and the system of education. On the other hand, counseling is another issue of education, which determines this attitude as a role of teacher. I want to mention Hobbes' distinction between command and counsel, which concurs the difference between authority and persuasion:

> Command is where a man says do this or do not do this without expecting other reason than will of him that says it…Counsel is where a man says do or do not do this, and deduces his reasons from the benefit that arrives by it to whom he says I. (Hobbes, 1958, p.203)

I think that the term command maintains the culture of authority and power of school. There is an interwoven relation within these terms; all of them work for the power, which is decentralized by the culture since it is in every detail of our lives. In persuasion, one embraces the other's communication as the basic act of his attitudes, thus, he chooses his behavior independently. In contrast, in authority, there are visible forbidden issues (Wrong, 2004). Herbel-Eisenmann (2010) studied authority in mathematics classroom discourse. The findings showed that authority structures are coded over social positions. From this research, most common statement used by the teachers to the students was "I want you to do…" This particular finding illustrates that the teachers assumed the role of ordering the students instead of instructing them. By acting this way, it seems that the teachers chose to use their authority rather than guiding the students. Authority is unquestioned and internalized by students with the help of authoritarian strategies, which are used by educators in legal ways. Most research on authority in classrooms focus on teacher authority, where textbook might be an exercise of authority relations in classroom is mentioned (Amit & Fried, 2005; Haggarty & Pepin, 2002). The study of Herbel-Eisenmann and

Wagner (2013) analyzes how mathematic teachers understand and interpret authority in their classrooms. The results show that truth and proof are very crucial issues about authority in mathematics and teachers cannot explicitly make the interconnections and definitions of authority in their diagrams. They could not give clear explanations about authority in relationship with their instructions. Since the teachers assumed that they own the truth, no further explanations with proofs needed. In use of power, teachers using knowledge becomes the subject. The relationship between the subject and the truth develops an area of power directly effects the relations in classroom.

> My problem has always been… the problem of the relationship between subject and truth. How does the subject enter into a certain game of truth? So, it was that I was led to pose the problem power-knowledge, which is not for me the fundamental problem, but an instrument allowing the analysis-in a way that seems to me to be the most exact-of the problem of the relationships between subject and games of truth. (Foucault, 1988, p. 18)

2.4 Discipline

The classical age defined the body as an object, which is the aim of power mechanism, there are so many traces that demonstrate that the placement of body is shaped, reshaped, constructed and trained (Foucault, 1977). The book Man-the-Machine refers to the body that constituted itself with the help of regulations of the army, the school and the hospital to control it. This book's basic statements remind us of Foucault's body definition that is docile which may be transformed, the effect of strict power that regulates all details of prohibitions and restrictions in the society (Foucault, 1977). If we perceive a subject as an object, we can easily control and reshape it with the help of discipline such as schooling. For these schools, school discipline was an influential agent for enhancing order and subordinate (Hirschfield, 2008; Kupchik & Monahan, 2006).

During the social era of 17th and 18th centuries, the disciplines enhanced themselves to "a level at which the formation of knowledge and the increase of power regularly reinforce one another in a circular process" (Foucault, 1986, p. 224) and diffuse through the social body to shape "what might be called in general the disciplinary society" (Foucault, 1986, p.209, p. 215; Foucault, 1979, p. 64). In this way "political sovereignty comes to insert itself at the most elementary level of the social body", making available, to those who "know how to play the game"; the new tools are authority and obedience which are left behind the traditional ones like weapons (Foucault, 1979, p.85).

There were also other alterations about the manner of application of discipline to internalize and legitimize it in depth. As Ariès (1962) has shown, until the 18th century the house was a constructed and undifferentiated space, containing rooms in which one might sleep, eat, cook or receive visitors. After that time, the spaces of the house are shaped and functionalized, into bedroom, dining room, kitchen and living room (Foucault, 1980); after a while, the school that is formed by a single, suitably demarcated, space, began to develop and was shaped into individual classrooms (Hunter, 1988; Jones & Williamson, 1979). This "cellular-ization" (Foucault, 1986, p.149) of space was dividing and organizing the time from simple to complex (Giddens, 1985; Foucault, 1986). The construction of spaces transforms into complex to eliminate the different domains simultaneously. Every different space can harmonize with one of us, so each one is embedded in this system by using these different locations. The rules of subject and object are generated by the discipline mechanisms. Indeed, the age of discipline is the age of the fabrication of individuals; "[d]iscipline "makes" individuals; it is the specific technique of a

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power that regards individuals both as objects and as instruments of its exercise"
(Foucault, 1986, p.170).

There is a relationship between the discipline and the power. Discipline is
defined in a different way by Foucault "[d]iscipline" may be identified neither with
an institution nor with an apparatus. It is a type of power, a modality for its exercise,
comprising of a set of instruments, techniques, procedures, types of application,
targets; it is physics or an anatomy of power, a technology that can be taken over or
utilized by diverse institutions and apparatuses' (Foucault, 1986, p.215). The aim of
discipline is to abolish the individualism. According to Foucault, disciplinary regime
'individualization is "descending" (Foucault, 1986, p.193): 'the child is more
individualized than the adult, the patient more than the healthy man, the madman and
the delinquent more than the normal and the non-delinquent' (Foucault, 1986, p.193).
When the human body is an exercise of power, discipline enlarges the forces of body
control such as determining its capacity or transforms to the energy of body whatever
power wants. Discipline uses different techniques over the body to diminish its
domination over itself.

Discipline generates its own space, which has its own rules. This organization
determines where and how to locate individuals, how to control them, and how to
maintain the status quo of the power. According to Foucault 'Discipline' is not the
expression of an 'ideal type' (that of 'disciplined man'); it is the generalization and
interconnection of different techniques themselves designed in response to localized
requirements (schooling; training troops to handle rifles) (Foucault, 1981, p.9,
parenthesis is original).

The studies about power in educational arena are named by the term of
discipline instead of power. Actually, discipline is another part of the power

mechanisms, thus the relationship between them should be analyzed in depth within the school culture. Dağlı and Baysal (2011) research is about primary school teachers' definitions of behavior problems in their classrooms and their discipline strategies which they used to solve them. The results of this research show that teachers commonly identify the problematic cases in three parts; talking without any consent, kick around class and talking outside the class. Moreover, they use three common strategies to deal with these problems in their classrooms: warn children using body language, talking to students after class and distract their interests from the topic. In 1960s and 1970s, researches about classroom management focus on discipline approaches (Jones & Jones, 1998). However, after 1970s the studies emphasize on teachers' organizational skills, instructional skills and teacher-student relationship.

Another research is Cabaroğlu (2012) about pre-service teachers' comprehension of classroom management, misbehavior and their skills about in terms of teaching and classroom management. This study shows that educators have a depository, which includes the initial knowledge/experiences about classroom management, misbehavior and how to deal with them. According to this study, educators' classroom management strategies involve organizational and dealing strategies with students' misbehaviors. Most frequently observed misbehaviors are making noise, lack of motivation and passive students who are not interested in lesson. In addition to these strategies, teachers' solutions to diminish these misbehaviors are non-verbal and verbal warnings ignore students and talking them out of class. Moreover, results illustrate that classrooms are the complex organizations in which educators' values, ideas, biases inform and impress children by what they do and express in their classrooms (Brown & Cooney, 1982, Clark &

Peterson, 1986; Clark & Yinger, 1987; Munby, 1982). The study of Akkök (1995) includes the responses of primary school teachers about disciplinary problems in and out of class. They reported being loud, complaining about friends to educators as the misbehaviors which teachers perceive most frequently. Sadık (2000) also studied misbehavior identifications with primary school teachers in their classrooms. The research shows that most common problems are eating during the class, not doing anything or being interested in the subjects given by teachers. Moreover, this study includes teachers' complaints who do not have any time to deal with their problems and in the same way, talking incessantly, being noisy (Akkök, Askar & Sucuoğlu, 1995; Altınel, 2006), doing nothing (Altınel, 2006; Altınel & Cabaroğlu, 2010) were reported as the misbehaviors that are commonly seen in Turkish classrooms. These perceptions of teachers generate their disciplinary and authoritative structures in their minds.

As Foucauldian analysis emphasized, the power and knowledge relation significantly diffuses to the structure of school curriculum, thus educational system carries this relation to the children, teachers, school principal (Ball, 1990). In analyzing the power distributions in the school subject/object relations, the exercises of power such as discipline finds a good fit in the agendas of culture of schooling. Discipline helps subject/object dichotomy to maintain the power of culture. The rules of school involve the discipline and serves to control of the environments of school. The visible exercises were always disciplines in the studies of schooling and educational arena disregarding their strong relationship with the power politics. Decentralized power reflects in normalization, industrialization, and subordination. These concepts are critical to stabilize the power hierarchy and the legitimization process of power within the social structures such as schooling.

2.5 Teachers' child perception

2.5.1 The child as a construction of society

Constructing a child as a concept is possible within the culture, social domains and knowledge acts. Adults seem not to have enough knowledge about children's understandings of their social positioning (Oakley, 1994; Thorne, 1993). This lesser degrees of knowledge entail them in different interpretations of child. For instance, psychological discourse legitimizes children's powerless status in social structures because of their age and period. Because of comparisons between children' and adults' cognitive abilities, knowledge and moral thinking (Bradley, 1989; Burman, 1994), potential misconceptions of children continued to be developed. Aristotle and Plato's expression of child is as if he was danger and in incomplete human being. Aristotle interprets 'children' are like humans, not exactly as 'human'. Adults blockade children through their aspects of life. As Mayall (1996) stated "Children's lives are lived through childhoods for them by adult understandings of childhood and what children are and should be" (p.1).

Children are the constructions generated by adults as a tool serving adult's interests. Children's bodies/subjects constitute the center of adult interests. Moreover, adults' interests are determined by the culture of power. Children try to keep the stabilization of culture of power under the structure of adults whose knowledge perceived as the true. According to Ovortrup (1997), children seem to be as dependent individuals in the structure of family, thus they are examined under the family structure by using social accounting. Caroline Bledsoe (1990b), in her study found that physical punishment is a way of teaching children to obey in a social

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order. Coming from these backgrounds, social ordering and its normalization process start within the family structure and then it continues under the construction of schooling. Thus, head and body relation is generated within the regular system of reproducing as the educational system, which produces the similar objects.

The study of Kapıcıoğlu, Kuyucu and Şahin (2013) highlights the impressions about child in pre-school teachers' mind. Teachers produce some metaphors about their child perceptions. They generated metaphors such as angel, sponge, star, shining, dough, cell, fortune, sacred space and barefaced unopened letter to explain their comprehensions of child. Most commonly used metaphor was child as raw material to be shaped. Teachers' usages of metaphors to define child as a concept might show the traces of cultural, social, historical influences of understanding children. In addition to not-yet-to-be-formed aspect of child, the teachers used metaphors to emphasize innocence and vulnerability in the concept of child. Teachers' expectations from children illustrate the perceptions of their status such as powerless, not yet completed, needs to develop to become complete form of individuals, which is adulthood. The essence of power reformed within the dichotomy of being/becoming of child. Power is fed by dichotomies since it creates the unequal and opposite sides to classify the groups of people within the context of structures. Schooling is also a construction of power hierarchy because of the mechanical obedience of bodies such as break time.

2.5.2 The child perception under socialization

Children's social structure reshaped in the cultural settings used to force them to be under control (Bourdieu, 1984). Socialization is a process of normalization process of bodies. It is understood as a reproduction process thus; children learn the ways to

be an adult in this process. Alanen (1996) expressed that determinism, adult centered

domains and individualism form socialization. The aspects of children are very

crucial domains for generating the contexts of social structures like schools or

family. The definition of vulnerability of children causes a basic social policy is to

protect children and to marginalize them from adult's environments (Engelbert,

1994).

Carl Friedrich (1958) states that;

> as the child grows…a wise parent will increasingly prefer to
> explain what needs to be done and to be believed, to give reasons,
> thus replacing subjection by understanding…By coming to
> understand these regulations and beliefs, the child is helped, so to
> speak, to shape them into proper possessions, to make them his
> own. Thus, discipline is transformed into self-discipline. (p.34)

Controlling a child is to reflect the social and cultural dimensions of power in the

society. Every domain of it feeds this idea. Erasmus (1990), 1800 years after

Aristotle, tells parents:

> To be a true father, you must take absolute control of your son's
> entire being; and your primary concern must be for that part of his
> character, which distinguishes him from the animals and comes
> closest to reflecting the divine.... Is there any form of exposure
> crueler than to abandon to bestial impulses children whom nature
> intended to be raised according to upright principles and to live a
> good life? (p. 67)

   According to Foucault (1979) power is an institutionalized disciplinary tool,

which reaches into the attitudes of people's everyday routines. He focuses on the

shaping of 'docile bodies' under the aim of disciplinary constructions that shape the

acts of children at schools, prisoners to control the mechanisms; he emphasizes that

the aim was to formalize individuals towards subordination thus, it occurs effective

social citizens. As one of the primary socializing agents outside the family, schools

are most important site for teaching moral and civic norms and reinforcing social

structure (Bowles & Gintis, 1976). As James (1993) describes children learn the

crucial issue of social values, their self is constructed as children in the first step at home later at school with the relationship with adults. They also learn the civilizing agendas at school by adopting the rules and the culture of this construction. Children are as socialization projects; in that time, teacher's duty is to work with immature children (Mayall, 1994). In this process, the acts of children are determined and restricted by the school context and there is non-negotiable relation between the teacher and children.

2.6 Teacher child interaction

 School is a field, which is generated by social-cultural domains. The issues of education like examining, control and classification cause to divide the types of education and separate the forms of teacher-student relationships, identities and subject-object practices (Ball, 1990). Bourdieu and Wacquant express a field as the basic placement of power issues, which they are, imposed commands to others by the help of domination, organizations of institution (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p.97).

Fields are places where resistance and domination affect each other and they seldom are issues of social reproduction (Swartz, 1997). Bourdieu expresses the context of field to reflect the factors of behaviors, which they are formed by this area. In that, area teachers generate the stems of behaviors from the common conception of teacher-child relation as a mechanical assembly or performed program, which is adopted (Bourdieu, 1984). How do the attitudes of teachers' become common or traditional ones in school context? According to Weber, habitual actions are associated with traditionalism (Weber, 1978). Habits of obedience, surveillance, rules or rulers are sites of resistance; the help of these processes generates one-part ties to another within the reproduction of power and internalization of social

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behaviors of children and their perception. During these processes, practical communications are institutionalized and one side commonly by the teacher establishes boundaries among them.

Interactions among individuals within fields are shaped and reshaped by their hierarchal positions constructed by cultural and social domains. The power produces hierarchal authorities, which exercise its forms over the body. The controlling mechanisms over the body are to be embedded in the institutional spaces and discourses where the teachers' statuses are determined by the culture of power. The roles of teacher are composed from the hierarchal mechanisms, past experiences, which they are the basic divisions of teacher-child relationship in the field. The study of Yılmaz, Yılmaz and Gökçen, (2013) demonstrates that teachers have used some metaphors such as parent, family, gardener, guide, light and shepherd to define the role of a teacher. Moreover, the qualities of being a teacher indicated by the teachers are reshaping, guiding, being an information source, and being flexible. They defined the profession as not being prestigious, but controversially a holy profession. From the metaphors, it can be easily seen that the teachers who are the parts of the existence of power from them. Since they entitle their status based on social-cultural domains and the head and body structure. Other studies have shown similar results. For instance, Buaraphan (2010), Guerra and Vilamil (2002) and Koçbeker and Saban (2006) indicated that the teachers' identification of being a teacher is information source, Nikitina and Furuoka (2008) express that the metaphor of being a teacher is the teacher who has got a holy profession. The metaphors show children as if they are the objects of schooling and they are gained teachers more power. Actually, they highlight the unequal and hierarchical structure within the school context, so these metaphors are the exercises of power in social-cultural

arena. The understandings of power and child interact with each other and affect the issue of being a teacher. Besides that, teachers generate their practical strategies with their personal biographies/past experiences over their interpretations of classroom contexts (Clandinin & Connelly, 1986). The roles of this relational area between the teacher and children are to maintain the existence of power in the structural roles that are internalized within the cultural context of schooling.

The field of schooling generates not only the students as objects of power relation but also it constitutes them as powerful subjects for institutional experiences of modern society. The relationship between the teacher and student, which is constructed over the power hierarchy, is to constitute a single process, which involves the knowledge and power sides. The master-slave dialectics of Hegel explain the positions of master and slave in a different way. According to Hegel, master has more power than slave does but slave has more knowledge than master does. Thus, slave knows what master likes or does not like and he/she determines his/her attitudes towards this knowledge (Bauer, 2001). The sides of power generate two roles: teacher and student. The side of teacher has more knowledge but she is not free like master, the system has some expectations from her or him. The side of children does not have any knowledge as teachers do. However, they are freer than teachers are since educational system has not transformed them yet. At this point, the explanation of the difference between Hegel and Foucault's power definition becomes a necessity.

According to Foucault, knowledge is an exercise of power (1977). By using this statement, master has more power than slave does but power mechanisms do not give any permission to master to be free and more knowledgeable. On the other hand, slave who has more knowledge is not free but if we analyze this dichotomy

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within the Foucauldian perspective, slave should have more power than master should. If master has more power than slave does, how can it be explained that master does not own more knowledge than slave does? Does it mean more power does not mean more freedom?

Hegel's dialectic conflicts with the Foucauldian analysis. On the contrary, more power means more subordination. The level of knowledge cannot show the level of power since the power relations create the knowledge, thus one who uses the knowledge; he/she is the exercise of power. Educators might hold more knowledge than children do but they are not free to determine their emotional levels, rules and judgments. In that period of learning and training, how this system produces subjects and keeps their subjectivities, meanwhile children are normalized by the schooling system needs further understanding.

The status of teacher is determined by the social and cultural norms, they control their attitudes, discourses and levels of communication with students. Teacher generates the borders of relation thus the communication among them is determined and normalized by teachers and their status in school. They try to maintain the stabilization and shape of it day by day. Teachers' discourses determine the rules and legitimation process of behaviors in class. The control mechanisms of teachers and their attributions generate a model of student who cannot communicate with them and express himself without any permission especially while teacher is talking. They focus on the role of teacher and social reproduction of students' perceptions about how a student and teacher relation should be. The reproduction of teacher-student relations is based on the privilege and status of teachers. Actually, they create the reproduction of power relation among students and parents. This structure of communication is exercised and maintained by the power in class thus,

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they use, exchange, practice, keep and enlarge the power of teacher on students'
minds; their understanding is normalized and transformed. Moreover, both teacher
and students' perceptions save the existence of culture of power. Coming from this
point, teachers' status is enhanced by culture of power against students'. The
existence of child who is powerless maintain the power of teacher as being less
powerful and immature. Since this relation, generate the negative school atmosphere.
On the other side, positive atmosphere is created by equal relationships in school
better serves to children's overall well-being.

Teachers' emotional support affects child social emotional outcomes (Brock,
Curby & Hamre, 2013) and teacher–child relationship qualities (Hipson & Séguin,
2015). Findings of these studies show that the relationship between teacher and
student is either the reason or the result of this relationship. These outcomes also
depend on educators' understandings of child and their classroom strategies, which
are formed over these perceptions of children.

Setting the equality and independency tone in classroom by developing warm
relationships might result in positive development in children. Warmth and open
communication between children and their teacher means a close teacher-child
relationship, which is concurrently and predictively related to a mixture of positive
school outcomes for children (Birch & Ladd, 1997; Burchinal, Peisner-Feinberg,
Pianta, & Howes, 2002; Hamre & Pianta, 2001; Hughes, Cavell, & Jackson, 1999;
Pianta & Stuhlman, 2004). In addition to these studies, dependency on classroom
teacher causes a child to shy away from exploring his classroom and cooperate with
peers. Since he or she would rather not leave his teacher's part; on the other hand,
those who are closely related to their teachers can willingly collaborate in the
classroom while their teacher acts only as a source of support (Birch & Ladd, 1997).

The bridge of teacher and student is to perpetuate and feed the subject/object antinomy in social-cultural norms, which they serve the fields of power such as schooling. One of the consumption of power is to use the language of power in class; this usage is to product and circulate the cultural and material issue of power. School culture is a social and practical power instrument for getting along in the social world. Teachers' have internalized Swidler's (1986) tool kit, which includes cultural practices as teachers. Tool kit shows the hierarchy of power of culture. They focus on children's achievement focus, analytical thinking, drafting skills and managing resources, which they are, enhanced the power of teacher and his positional power organizations. These issues emphasize the social order of children and feed the legitimation process of thinking of students in school area. On the other hand, the individual ones such as, developing talent of students, organizational alignment, strategic thinking, negotiating and influencing are not the issues of teachers to improve children's competencies. The basic part of this relationship is to maintain the culture of power through the field's system. If a child's analytical thinking improves, the atmosphere of class changes. Moreover, if a child's mindfulness level increases, he questions the rules, system, his location in that area and this situation might be a threat for stabilization process of power relations. At least one child and his understanding can change the class atmosphere thus; teachers who serve the power mechanisms in schools generate big teamwork in class. Personal interests, values and differences' improvement are not suitable for exercise of power in school.

Education is an exercise in which and through which confirms the basic field of power in social world. It organizes its own culture and hierarchy in the area of power institutions like schools. Teacher-child relations' base depends on teachers' perceptions of child, education, and their status in school issues. However, teachers

assume that they create their relations with children in free but they construct their roots of power relations over the institutional settings before they internalize. School helps to maintain the organisms of power relations with the help of production, transmission and accumulation of the various forms of culture. Teachers inculcate the dominant systems of classification through which symbolic power is expressed such as discourses in class which teachers define them to normalize the children's attitudes and understandings. Bourdieu's term of doxa is to enhance the contexts for the misunderstandings of power relations thus; the desired conclusion of maintaining the mechanisms of social control is kept by doxa (Swartz, 1997). The relational spaces within the school context are to enlarge their capacities by the help of external and internal sources of power. Their effects on each other cannot be separated in this context. External resources of effect relates to the structure and changeable fields (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). Actually, internal sources and their effects might seem as if they were external such as culture of power. However, teachers have internalized their model teachers of culture of power and they use those models during the normalization process of culture of school. Thereby, they have realized the power and its connections within the hierarchy of the schooling. On the other hand, they observe how the power maintains it inside of the culture. Coming from this observation, teachers learn how to use the power when they gain it as a teacher towards children and their status in school. The relational area among them is generated over the perception of power and the internalization of power effects.

CHAPTER 3

METHOD

Sociologists express that ethnography is to observe the individuals in a social group directly and it can present their acts' positions, evaluations and definitions. Either anthropologists or sociologists (Abercrombie, Hill, & Turner, 2000) can use ethnography. It helps the researcher to catch the details surrounding the topic throughout her or his eyes but not to change the actual cases. Willis (2007) defines ethnography is to gather the information of cases in an authentic way by using interviews, observations by locating herself and himself in the field.

Hooks (1990) addresses the work of Clifford and Marcus (1986) to redefine ethnography. Ethnography is located between very strong items like civilizations, cultures, classes, races, and genders. It shapes the codes and meanings of structures under the effects of interdisciplinary phenomenon. Its diffusion affects in many fields where culture is situated and how it is constructed (Hooks, 1990). Moreover, Britzman (2003) emphasizes that traditional ethnography introduces reader with an actual world to touch the cultural settings of a particular environment and time through the subjectivities of individuals of this place. This study includes child and power perception under the culture of power effect. They are situated in natural environments of individuals so; ethnography can help me to touch these domains' reflections over the participants who are inhabitants of this place. I focus on the power and child perceptions but not only their placements of these cases. I observe the cultural sphere that is surrounding these issues' entities and rationalities. My aim is to reflect the facts and cases what they seem under the influence of culture of power.

This ethnographic research was undertaken in a public school in Istanbul, which has diverse socioeconomic, geographic and ethnic backgrounds. I was first exposed to the school by my principal's suggestion. He informed me that the context of the school was not generated by principals' strict rules so this approach touched me profoundly. The statement by the schools' principal has raised my curiosity. At that point, I decided to visit the school and meet with the staff was a good candidate that serves to my research aim.

3.1 Entrance to the field

I encountered to a running student when I entered to the school building. My first reaction of his running to say 'watch out'. He gave a response to my reaction by a question "Are you a teacher?" That moment made me think of the reality of this place left in children's minds in depth. After that conversation, I went to school principal's office; he introduced me to the teachers and assistant managers in their office as a master student studying at Boğaziçi University. He asked me the classes that I wanted to observe. However, only the school principal was interested in my presence in his office. When I was sitting there, a parent came into the room; she wanted to talk about her first grade child. At the same time, the assistant manager asked a question to the school principal on a different topic. I looked carefully to the principal's face since I wondered to whom he would give a response. He answered the assistant manager's questions first and he answered the parent's question. I felt terrible; I saw the parent's embarrassment while she was waiting for her turn. After what I witnessed, I asked to myself how many times I had caught this feeling of shame on parents, teachers and children's faces.

He introduced me as a masters' student in the education field to the first grade teachers. However, the teachers did not seem to be interested in my study. They only asked me one question and that was related to my visiting times and days. After this small talk, the school principal asked me the days that I would come to school, and then he gave me a document on which the schedule of the first grade classes are listed. I started to walk around the corridors and classrooms. I looked at the design of the classrooms and sizes. The first part of this observation is that they resemble each other in the way of their design, furniture, equipment, and design. For instance, the teacher's table and chair, the position of students' desks, and the children's bags' were located exactly the same in the classrooms. There is a wooden block under the teachers' desk to observe all the students from a height. The windows were higher than the students' eye level. The students cannot see the garden from their desks. The image of class is similar to head and body relation: the teacher's desk is the head; the desk of students is the body. The color of classes was blue and there was nothing on the walls except blue. The designs of the classrooms in the school are identical.

A procedural aspect of the school was to use the guard system. The school principal assigned the guarding role to the teachers based on the teachers' daily schedule. They control, observe and warn children who do not follow the rules in break time. Two teachers patrol both floors and playground in school during break time. The observed floors were changed every week routinely by the school principal. As defined by the teachers, their responsibility is to control the corridors to maintain the discipline in the school. During this break, the only job was to watch and warn children when they scream, run, talk aloud and have snacks. When I asked one of the teachers who the guard of the day was, she answered that she was the

unlucky one of that day. I asked her another question "Why are the first classes on the first floor of this school?" she seemed to be shocked because of my question. She looked at me with a face 'how would you not know this?" and responded, "They are only six years old thus, they cannot climb up the stairs."

The reason that I chose this school was my school principal's advice that this school had a completely different context. He said that the school principle had no strict rules as the other school principals. However, my first impression showed me the opposite. From the first reaction of the running student until the end where the teacher said they are, only six so they cannot climb up the stairs gave me an impression of the school has strict borders for children. As teachers' and students' positions were challenging and questionable. Their reactions to my presence at school as a researcher generated some questions in my mind. Moreover, school principal's communication with teachers and students was authoritative and formal. Coming from these impressions on the first day was the real reason, which aroused my curiosity. The second step was able to take the ethics committee approval (Appendix A).

3.1.1 The school

This school was constructed in 1975, but it was reconstructed again in 2006 because of the earthquake regulations. It was converted to a primary school, providing education from first grades to fourth grades. There are forty teachers serving to families and children in the school. There are two buildings, one of them is for primary school students, and the other is for preschool children. There is a playground for preschool children between these two buildings shared by both preschoolers and primary students. The wall separates the playground and only

primary school students are allowed to pass the wall by using an allocated space. The wall has the height of a child that any child could jump. There are two assistant principals and one officer in the school. Assistant principals organize the lesson plans of educators, plan the meetings between teachers and school principal, and inform the children and teachers' reports to school principal.

The school has four floors. On the first and the second floors of the schools, there are offices for the school principal, the assistant managers and the officer. The principal addressing the importance of monitoring children's behaviors by the administrative staff made this arrangement. The principal and the assistant managers have cameras in their rooms to control and check if there are any inappropriate conducts within the school's property as suggested by the principal.

3.1.2 The teachers

There are forty teachers in the school. Twenty-eight of them are primary teachers, six of them are preschool teachers, two of them are English teachers and one of them is the counsellor of this school. All primary educators have graduated from primary school teaching department except the English teacher and Counsellors. The age range of teachers is so wide from twenty-eight to forty-nine. I have four participants in this study who are the first grade teachers of this school. Their written consents were obtained (Appendix B). Berna is one of the teachers of this school who is thirty-five years old and this school is her third place of teaching. Hilal, thirty-eight, who has been teaching for sixteen years. Ayşil, thirty years old colleague who did her master degree four years ago, the least experienced teacher. She had 8 years of working experience in the school. Ayla, thirty-two years old colleague who has been teaching ten years as a primary school teacher in the same school. In public schools,

teachers have their position by receiving a class and follow the students until they graduate from 4th grade. This was the rule in this school as well.

3.2 The researcher's role

At the meeting first meeting of the semester, the school principal introduced me as a master's student doing her research to all the school's teachers. He announced my visiting schedule that was once a week. The teachers required no further explanations. I entered the first grades' classes and observed the classroom management, student-teacher dialogues, teachers' attitudes towards students and their parents in breaks. I observed the teachers and their communication with the staff, parents, and children. I also took notes about these observations. Next, I started interviews with the teachers. On the breaks, I went to the teachers' room in the school, I listened to their topics, what they were talking about, how they felt about some concerns with the students, teachers, school principal or administrators, what kind of issues made them angry or happy in the school. I tried to learn their attitudes towards each other, their emotions and perspectives about school. After the breaks, I went back to the classroom before the teacher came in since my plan was to observe students' behaviors without their teacher's presence in the classroom. Observations on children's behaviors towards each other and towards their teacher are very crucial for this study.

I conducted in-depth class observations and semi-structured interviews with four first grade primary school teachers, all of them females. I chose primary school teachers since they always complain about preschool teachers' understandings of children is not enough to improve their skills throughout their developmental processes. I wonder their understandings of child and power in their relationship with

students. Moreover, pre school was not available to observe because of the size of classrooms. In fact, most of the first grade students' age range were six and the age of six was the preschool students' age normally. I also wondered how this conflict reflected to student –teacher relation in school. I observed two classrooms in a week. In a day, I divided six hours for these two classes based on their schedules. My aim was to observe actual classroom hours. Thus, I chose to divide my time due to classes outside trips, art classrooms, and parent meetings. During the observations, I wrote about the class routine and teacher/child dialogues in an anecdotal form. I sat down on a chair back of the classroom in every observation. I observed every session during the day. I was everywhere in school like a ghost. I went to teachers' room in break, playground during teachers' guard time and sometimes I observed the communication between teachers and chars in school. Individual interviews with the participants were conducted. Most interviews lasted around an hour. I planned five main question at first but then these questions increased during the interview. At the beginning of interview, I chose the definitions of power, discipline and school. After the participants' explanations, these terms are enhanced by the other questions. Thus, my interview questions increased five to twenty-four. I did my interviews in teachers' room but sometimes I used empty classrooms in break or after their lesson. All of the interviews were tape-recorded and then transcribed. Pseudonyms were used to replace with the real names and the name list was kept in a different file. During the interviews, participants were asked questions about power, child definitions, punishment and discipline: What they thought they stood for; how power emerged on their minds; and what they thought about discipline, punishment and the definition of child (Appendix C). Interviews provided a detailed picture of issues related to childhood, authority and discipline, power relations with child and

classroom activities. I constantly identified emerging themes for coding and constructed categories and subcategories when I completed each interview.

In analyzing the teachers' understandings of the entity of power-child issues in the school culture, I took notice of a warning which is suggested by Theobald and Prentice "Those who enter the schools of the past with their own set of perceptions should tread warily, since the individual outcomes of such an education vary greatly" (1991, p. 82-83). In addition to this statement, Mertens (1998) expresses that 'research is a product of the values of researchers and cannot be independent of them' (p.11). These expressions help me to realize my own childhood stories in the past primary school context, my personal memories of experiences and my relationships with teachers-children in the data of this study. Besides of these forces in my memory, I was able to investigate the lived experiences of teachers who were a student at one time and more importantly to examine how they felt about those experiences with their own teachers in primary school.

Clearly, my personal connections and childhood process in the primary school prompted my initial interest. That interest also led me to continue visiting the school. Additionally, credibility of the respondents who shared their ideas, feelings and memories of primary school years encouraged me to conduct the study in this particular school.

CHAPTER 4

ANALYZING THE DATA

My aim is to look for the themes, connections and possible relations between the

teachers' perception of power and child and the connection between child teacher

interaction. With my research question as a guide, my aim was to establish plausible

explanations for links between teachers' perception of power and child relation

through my theoretical readings. Discovering such relations is a crucial step to revisit

the school sphere and to represent the data from that landscape in a way. Data is

analyzed using a content analysis to categorize the verbal and behavioral data for the

purpose of descriptive and interpretative of educators' opinions. Data that teachers

provided were direct and clear but sometimes implicit data was a challenge. I

analyzed the message as the same issue can be described and interpreted in a

different way.

4.1 Looking for connecting themes in the data

Analyzing of the data in the study includes looking for evidence of the ways that the

perception of power-child, the relationship among them may have shaped in the

school context. This involves reframing the picture/perception definition of child on

teacher's mind, the structure of power in school culture and in the teacher-child

relationship.

The analysis of the data particularly aims to highlight the entity of power and

child perceptions, the process of their effects on teacher-child interaction and the

power-child perceptions' influences of that environment. These influences generate

the categories of power and the responses of teachers create the categories and subcategories of the concept of power and child.

4.2 Categorizing the data

According to Marshall and Rossman (1999) is 'the process of bringing order, structure and interpretations to the mass of collected data' (p.150). My study involves structure, contextualization, critical eye, oral and observable data, I have collected in school.

In this study, I have categorized the data with the help of social and theoretical contexts of power and child issues. For the purposes of this study, I have conceptualized these intersections between the issue of power and child perceptions for the primary school teachers in four categories: The child perception, teacher perception, teachers' models and discipline-authority perceptions.

The focus was clearly on the teachers' perceptions and definitions of power and child, as well as the relationship among them in the school culture. Culture of power reflects the role of teacher and the infrastructure of child is generated on teachers' mind (Table 1).

Table 1. The Roots of Power

POWER			
Child Perception	**Teacher Perception**	**Teachers' Models**	**Discipline-Authority Perceptions**
Play Dough	Rule Maker	Fear of not Being Liked	Essentiality
Lack of Motivation for Whom?	Being Organized	To be Shamed of Making Mistakes	The Art of Teaching
Regime of Corporal Obedience	Intelligent Servant		Shortcut of Communication
Infrastructure of a Child	Do not Miss the Train		Self-steering Equipment
The Responsibility of a Sound Basis	Authoritative Voice		Goodwill Ambassador
	Strong Principles		The external frontier of the resistance and adaptation
	Qualified Person		

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4.3 Connections between subcategories

Commonly used concepts by the teachers have been used to develop the categories of power and the connections between subcategories. Power has four categories, child perception, teacher perception, teachers' models and discipline-authority perceptions. Under child perception of power, there are five subcategories identified; a) Play dough b) lack of motivation for whom? c) Regime of corporal obedience d) Infrastructure of a child e) The responsibility of a sound basis. The second category is teacher perception, which had seven subcategories; a) rule maker b) being organized c) intelligent servant d) do not miss the train e) authoritative voice f) strong principles g) qualified person. The third category is teacher's models, which has two subcategories; a) fear of not being loved b) to be ashamed of making mistakes. The fourth category is discipline-authority perceptions, which has six subcategories; a) essentiality b) the art of teaching c) shortcut of communication d) self-steering equipment e) goodwill ambassador f) the external frontier of the resistance and adaptation. There are some interactions and connections between these subcategories. The subcategory of play dough and the responsibility of a sound basis are related to the qualified person. Teachers firmly believe that they are individuals who have the skills to shape the dough-the child, thus there is a relation between the play dough and the qualified person. Teachers believe that their job has some social responsibilities, so they should have these responsibilities to be a qualified teacher. Teachers' teacher perception has these skills to be qualified teacher. The subcategory of lack of motivation for whom is related to the rule maker. Teachers who have strict rules in classroom believe that children have lack of motivation and these rules help them to adapt and maintain the school system. The subcategory of regime of corporal obedience is related to essentiality, the art of teaching, shortcut of communication

and the external frontier of the resistance and adaptation. Teachers' child perception depends on how to control their behaviors, thus the necessity of control shapes their discipline and authority perceptions. They believe that discipline and authority is essential, they should form the teaching technics, thus the essentiality and the art of teaching are related to regime of corporal obedience. Moreover, teachers determine their relation based on these necessities of discipline and authority, so shortcut of communication is another root of this subcategory. Furthermore, the external frontier of resistance and adaptation is related to this subcategory, since teachers think that teachers should control children and this necessity generates some rules that are constructed by their warnings and instructions. The category of teacher perception is related to the subcategory of the external frontier of the resistance and adaptation. Teacher's teacher perception includes that being a teacher has some necessities; one of them is to control the misbehaviors of children with warnings and discipline rules. Moreover, their teacher perception creates this relation with this subcategory. The subcategory of rule maker is related to the shortcut of communication since teachers believe that they should have rules so they do not have to communicate with children continuously. The last intersection with subcategories is the authoritative voice and shortcut of communication. Teachers' responses show that they have to be authoritative and their tones are very crucial to reflect children their authority. They explained that if they had an authoritative tone to give an instruction, they did not have to use long sentences. On the other hand, they explained their instructions with short sentences.

CHAPTER 5

RESULTS

5.1 The image of teacher

When asked what they think about the teacher and his/her acquired characteristics, participants stated that they are generated by cultural and social structures in this country. Their responses were about the responsibilities of being a teacher, discipline rules of a public school, the status of children in school.

5.1.1 Rule maker

When I observed the teachers' behaviors towards children in the school context, I realized the rules and the effects of their sanctions on children. Teachers used a specific language that explains how well they understand their jobs and the necessities of language so I used this title to analyze their aspects in depth. As a plausible example, Berna, thirty-five years old colleague who is the teacher of first grade, blamed culture for restricting the attitudes of teachers even before they had become teacher. The following are parts of remarkable responses that these colleagues gave.

> "We need to have rules to organize the class, students since they are
>
> lack of order, they do not know how and why we need to have
>
> them…We live in the same structure, and we should know the
>
> importance of rules especially in school. It is the crucial part of the
>
> society. We cannot teach anything without rules in the school."
>
> (Berna)

"Teacher is meant to produce the rules in her class and then to preserve them whatever children do to violate them. The education system tells us a story of being a teacher…this story has some rules about being a teacher, we have rules in real life too. These rules include school, teacher-management relations, classroom instruments and their safety which teachers he to obey them. To obey the rules generates to reveal your own rules against students." (Hilal)

"When someone or a parent says that this teacher is not a strong person, children exploit and make fun of her …Rules should be a part of our job…They should exist for us to be able to do our job satisfactorily." (Ayşil)

5.1.2 Being organized

According to teachers, the order of school and classroom introduce the field of education and student-school relationship. They use the exam, the break time or the school principal room to show the students how the school is organized and run. The organization of teachers and their outputs are very crucial for them; thus, this part was given this heading. Hilal expressed her teacher definition with a comparison.

"The Teacher should organize to diminish misbehaviors of students. We need to prepare them into the real life." (Ayşil)

"We do lots of plan about our lessons so this habitation reveals a necessity that is to be in order." (Berna)

5.1.3 Intelligent servant

Teachers complained about parents' attitudes towards teaching and its necessities. When they were questioned about their job during the interview, teachers formed a picture, which includes some obligations related to the educational system. Moreover, educators generated the position of the teacher where she had to remain and function under the influence of the school, culture and social issues. This explains the use of the heading intelligent servant since they admitted that their status had to include either intelligence or being a servant for students and meeting parents' expectations. When Hilal talked about teacher's qualities, which represent the necessities of teaching on her mind, she complained about teachers' responsibilities. This is how Ayla expressed her ideas about being a teacher based on social norms:

> "Teachers have to follow the lesson plan and know the changes of the curriculum. We have lots to do, we are like the gatemen of the education system…We should be well reader intellectuals who are also good listeners. (Ayla)

> "We are the volunteers of our society's educational army… (She said ironically) The school is the significant part of our society. It is like a mirror of the social issues. Everything is brought to school in children's bags. For instance, Syrian children have started to come to school… How can I speak with the parents of Syrian children when we are expected to keep the balance within the school culture?" (Berna)

> "Parents come and say bravely 'You have to listen to my child' (she laughed) who am I? Her child has to listen to me. I cannot listen to

every child's problem in one lesson which is forty minutes and is not

enough for teaching live alone listening to their troubles." (Ayşil)

5.2 Teachers' work of art

When asked what they think about the educational system and teaching strategies in

school participants stated their thoughts about both the position of children and their

positions in school. Teachers make themselves part of all the achievements of

children. Moreover, the desired behavior of children was referred to as results of the

teachers' strategies. Expressing that teachers create and construct material beneficial

for society, it was observed that hierarchal attitudes of teachers towards children in

the classroom especially in exam hours or teachers guard hours demonstrate in fact

their decentralized power.

5.2.1 Play dough

While I was observing the teacher and students during the class period, I witnessed

the teachers tell the students "To do whatever he / she told them to". Whenever a

student wanted to go to the teacher's desk to ask for something, the teacher's reply

was "Did I give you the permission to come here?" During the lesson, children

always look at teacher's eyes and mouth to wait for the next instruction. During the

break, one of the teachers determined and controlled the children's activities.

Teachers who was a guard on the first floor during break time shouted at a child

"Who do you think you are, you are just a student, you cannot run!" Teachers

generally use the word 'belong' when they are angry with them to remind them of

their status in the context of school. Thus, students' power in confronting teachers

was diminished. As a result, the teachers reshaped the students' capacities in time

that they could change their capacities quickly, manage their very attitudes towards others even their parents. Ayşil remembered the quote of John Locke and expressed her ideas about education under the lens of this statement. Hilal talked about teachers' position in the education of children. Berna mentioned that the teaching methods were suitable for all children since they were being tested.

"I think John Locke says that children are just an empty plate. I agree with him in that, we shape their personalities, characteristics and perceptions. Their self-image had not been improved before they came and experienced school. Education reshaped their personality truly." (Ayşil)

"Children need us to enhance their capacities; we hold their brains in our hands and control their undesired behaviors such as speaking too much in class." (Ayla)

"The child is not aware of the problem or the situation in class because of his inexperienced. As he is only seven years old , teachers help him to find a solution with the help of education, which was taught us at university…A case in point is, when a student stands up in class without permission, his teacher should observe him carefully and if his misbehavior continues, teacher should give him a warning only once not twice…Based on this case, education is not an individual issue because the rest of the students are watching this process so, the teacher should maintain her in children's eyes."
(Hilal)

"We, not only generate children's learning, but we also shape

reading and thinking skills. Our duty is to create carefully children's

place in the society." (Berna)

5.2.2 Essentiality

Teachers always remind children of the rules of school and class. During class, a

teacher threatened her student saying, "If you do not write the letter correctly, you

know what I will do." Still another teacher warns her students even before writing

anything on the board with the words, "You know me…If you speak with your

friends while I am writing, my pencil will not write any other letter and during the

day you will be without a teacher." One day after the first break before entering the

class for observation, I noticed a child who was waiting outside the class door. When

I asked him why he was there, he replied, "I cannot enter the class until my teacher

lets me in". Then I asked him the reason of this punishment. He said that 'she got

angry because of the rule which forbid entering the class if a student was late".

Teachers' conceptions of children's desired behaviors in school and the acts thus

associated determined this sections' heading.

"Rewards and punishment are the crucial factors of teaching since

they help to increase students' motivation and will to learn

quickly…If they are not employed, the desirable behaviors cannot be

reached." (Ayşil)

"Discipline helps us to diminish the violence and undesirable

behaviors in the school. If we aim to reach the "normal" behavior,

which is not shouting in the corridors, we have to put some

dissuasive rules in the school, which were already a part of the

educational system. Even before we initiated them." (Berna)

"For instance, if I see a child who is running in the corridor, I should

stop him and remind him of the rules, "What the rule is". If I do not

do that, he never behaves "normal"." (Hilal)

"Discipline is necessary to maintain the desirable behavior in

schools." (Ayla)

5.2.3 Do not miss the train

Teachers talked with their colleagues about the plan of reading festival and the status

of students about reading. Hilal said to her colleague "I do not listen to parents'

problems; I have problems too. If I do my job, parents have to help their children to

study." While I was waiting the lesson for observation, Berna spoke with Hilal about

the reading festival, she said that "My students do not study, they are not ready for

this festival, I will be ashamed because of their failure." They were in a hurry about

the lesson programs, students' reading achievement levels and their aim was to finish

the schedule. They concerned about the time of reading festival at the end of the

semester, they shared their anxieties with their students in reading lessons. They tried

to catch something, which was not related to children. This part illustrated teachers'

concerns in school. Hilal located the teachers' place through their responsibilities in

the school. Ayşil talked about her teaching experience "We have strict borders about

time, curriculum, plans that we have to do. There is no time to waste for the other

things such as listening the family problems or psychological issues…There is a

guidance service…We have a clear calendar to teach these children reading at the

end of June." Berna complained about the process of reading festival of first class

students. Ayla also agreed with the other participants about timing plans in education system and she shared her experience about teaching to read.

"First class in the primary school is a very stressful process for teachers and families…At the end of first semester, parents start to ask the reading level of their children according to other students' levels." (Hilal)

"The school principal, the other first class teachers talk about the reading festival…It is very stressful sometimes. Time is never enough to teach reading well, since I have a very crowded class, they never stop talking like the management service (she laughed)." (Berna)

"Five years ago, I have had a very problematic class; I could not teach the reading all students until the June. I was very stressful and nervous person in that process with my school principal and parents…" (Ayla)

5.2.4 The art of teaching

During my observation of teachers in class, they generally used the word of "misbehaviors" of class or school. They remind children these and their conclusions if they break the rules or show these behaviors. I asked educators their definitions of misbehaviors. All of them gave similar explanations about misbehaviors in class. Moreover, they mentioned that they need these rules in order to maintain the "good" side of class and teaching environment with their stabilization. Their identifications of misbehavior have strict borders to keep them in the construction of school culture. They generally used the "good" side of school to keep these borders and their

necessities in class. In fact, educators preserve the rules of school from students who have these misbehaviors against teachers and school culture. They feel that their misbehaviors are done against their status. Educators become integrated with the borders of school culture within their work during educational process.

"Talking about of turn when supported to talk." (Berna)

"Indifference towards lesson" (Hilal)

"Lack of concentration, interruptions against me, class" (Ayşil)

"Shouting, running, disinterest of class, disruptive talking" (Ayla)

5.3 The alpha in the wolf pack

When asked what they think about the needs and placements of children in their classes participants stated that their understandings of children and their needs through their eyes. Teachers' understandings of children and their placements in school was very crucial part to analyze their methods and perceptions in depth. One of my participants projected her concerns about teaching achievement with the students'; she generally said to students "I do not want to hear your students are unsuccessful in reading or lazy about other activities". Participants thought that their students' achievements are tied to the teachers'. Coming from this background, teachers try to increase students' motivation to increase their achievement level. This part is related to children's position on teachers' minds and how they tried to shape their placements with their understandings about children's needs.

5.3.1 Lack of motivation for whom?

Ayşil said to a child who did his homework correctly 'Good' when she controlled students' homework before the lesson started. One day, while Ayla was controlling

students' homework, she said to them "If you did not do your duties, your class level would be the same for the next year." During the lesson, she repeated these warnings for children. Berna also used some directions repeatedly as Ayla used. She said to children before she started to lesson "I will change your desks since today is Monday, and I evaluated your achievement scores so I will change Ali's desk with Nur's because of Nur's writing score are higher than Ali." To maintain the achievement and motivation levels in a high level, teachers used these strategies as if they were about children's needs. Berna talked about her strategy to increase children's motivation. Ayşil expressed why she changed the students' desks in the class. Ayla spoke with ambitious feelings about their needs.

> "Children have not got enough motivation to learn lessons so our
> methods and educational strategies are very important in that way.
> The order of classroom is very significant for us since we know what
> children need for instance, I changed their desks yesterday since I
> observed some of them lost their will to read, I wanted to motivate
> them and I use their last exam grades to organize their places."
> (Ayşil)
> "In every lesson, children want to speak until I said 'Be quiet'
> because of this problem I have to plan where and with whom they
> should sit in… I think they forget why they came in school; I should
> remind their goals to come in." (Ayla)
> "They need to have achievement to come to school in every morning
> at nine o'clock. Success rating is necessary for their motivation at
> the beginning of the school especially their will of achievement is
> triggered by out class order technics like deciding the placement of

child who sit in front of the blackboard. You can see in every

Monday different students sit there because of their changeable

levels of motivations. We have to keep it stable." (Berna)

5.4 The good teacher

When asked what they think about what kind of characteristics teachers should have

participants stated that they analyze the location of teacher in a different way in

school. Their answers posed the conceptions of "teacher" and classroom

management on their minds. Moreover, they expressed how a teacher should be

especially in the face of students. They defined being a teacher and being a 'good'

teacher.

5.4.1 Authoritative voice

Berna called the student to the board to write letter 'a'. When the child could not

write it, Berna asked her student how her eyebrows appeared. Then she raised her

eyebrows (which means disapproval and anger) and scolded him and said that she

had told her to try writing it. When Ayla wanted to say to students "Close your

notebook, only takes your pencil and rubber", she did not use a high tone. On the

other hand, if she calls a child to go to the blackboard, she speaks loudly with him.

Ayşil talks to her students harshly if she wants something done related to

what she is teaching. During the lesson, Ayşil gives some directions about writing

alphabet. In the second lesson, she warned Hasan sternly and she warned him "What

did I tell you in the first lesson, would you remember what I told you about this

letter?". According to participants, having an authoritative voice as a teacher is a

necessity to keep the classroom atmosphere in "normal" conditions. This section

takes its name from teachers' voice. Berna also agreed with Ayla about the importance of voice. Ayşil talked about her experiences and attributions.

"A good or an experienced teacher should know how to treat students especially the problematic ones. The best instrument is her voice, which is easy to use and she knows how to manage her tone while she is speaking with children…This voice should be dominant and powerful." (Berna)

"A teacher can only use her voice and glances to control and call out the children especially in class. You should keep a close eye contact and speak seriously with an authoritative voice. If you do not have these properties, children do not listen or take you seriously." (Ayla)

"I cannot speak softly if I want them to listen to me during the class. In other words, I cannot speak with the tone that I use with my friends. I should be serious and my voice should reflect my seriousness." (Ayşil)

5.4.2 Strong principles

During break time, while I was waiting for the class to start in the teachers' room, Berna and Ayla talked about a problem student in Ayla's class. Berna gave her some advice on this problem. She advised her not to conciliate and to keep Kaan at arm's length. Ayla responded that she did not speak to him much except in class. In addition, added that she did not respond to his jokes in her class.

In the third session, when Ayşil entered the class, she expected her students to stand up when they saw her, and she started by saying, "Do not go to the toilet during class time because you will take an exam". Teachers try to practice their knowledge

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about teaching and training children throughout their coordinating processes, which they implementing class. These processes include their dynamic interactions with their mottoes. Ayla and Berna expressed their ideas on the most important concept of being a teacher.

> "We have learned lots of techniques to be a good teacher. They have taught us that teachers have to generate their own rules in the class and if a teacher says 'no' to a student, he or she should adhere to it." (Berna)
>
> "A teacher should be aware of her position in class, with every word she utters and with her actions in class. She has to stand behind her rules in front of the students…She should set an example of the correct behavior for them." (Ayla)
>
> "We have to be in control in class. She should keep in mind what she has learned and experienced with students and set the rules again and again through these experiences. We should record the misbehavior of children to keep them from behaving inappropriately during class." (Ayşil)

5.4.3 Qualified person

Teachers shared parents' expectations regarding mostly educators both in class and break times. Moreover, teachers compared their demands about school and children's level of achievement scores. The status of parents, their relationships and attitudes with the school principal were very significant issues for teachers to determine their status towards parents and their children. If a teacher does not full fill the expectations of a parent regarding her teaching style or behavior towards her child,

this situation might be an unlucky case for her. Since the relationship between a teacher and her parents is directly related to that of the teacher and a school principal. In fact, participants shared with me their ideas about the teacher's position in school considering the anxieties about of being an unwanted teacher. Berna talked about the views of parents' effects on the teacher's status. Hilal expressed parents' position with their children and its consequences for them. Ayla explained why parents preferred her because of her educational status.

> "A teacher preferred by parents is the best teacher in the school especially for the school principal. Parents ask for you, respect you and if you teach students observable acquisitions like mathematic skills, they like you and your teaching style." (Berna)

> "We try to teach undeveloped child…If we do our job well, everybody, parents, teachers, school managers like us and our teaching methods cannot be criticized by them. In short, they admire us!" (Hilal)

> "I completed my master degree after graduation, I guess this had an important effect to be preferred by parents (she laughed)." (Ayla)

5.5 Brick in the wall of school

When asked participants' perceptions of children, they expressed their ideas under the educational process and its necessities for children. However, they could not give definition of "child" for them. Their definitions of child consisted of children's needs only in the educational process. When we talked about the status of children in school, the teachers admitted that they knew the role of student in school. In a condescending tone, they said that children wanted to play, talked about their

perceptions of everything or whatever they saw in their little world. One of my participants used the word 'freedom' for the will of children in school, but then she replaced this word to 'whim'. The teachers try to change their wishes, perceptions and understandings with the targets in the system, which is used to construct children's bodies and thoughts and to make them resemble each other under the effects of culture of school. This part will focus on the child's placement under the lens of power and teacher's understandings of children. During the interviews, they defined the child as a person who can do better in every skill. One of them added that the students even learn language when they are kids. On the other hand, there was a conflict with teachers' behaviors and discourses about children's needs and their positions in teachers' minds. When I observed them in the class or in break time, they treated them as if the children did not understand or could not analyze anything. The teachers always warned them about what they had to do or how they had to behave in class. Teachers emphasized the attitudes of children that had to be embodied by school context. In teachers' eyes, the wall reflects the image of school in society and the word brick is just the children's position in there.

5.5.1 Regime of corporal obedience

The bodies of children are formed within the internalization process by teachers employing the effects of school machines like discipline rules. The attitudes of teachers are intertwined with these structures of school, which is also generated through the cores of social- cultural conditions. In this part, the hierarchy of school is reflected through teachers' behaviors to children contrary to what they mentioned in their interviews.

While Berna was talking about the autumn and its special properties in the third session, she stopped suddenly, and reproached: "How dare you to stand up in class!" She continued by adding the other rules that students should not violate. "I am your teacher, I am the one who knows better than you, you have to obey my rules" are the statements Ayla always uses before she starts in a new topic.

On the other hand, Hilal formed two groups of desks in the mathematic class, with names 'hardworking students' and 'lazy children'. She informed that if they did not study, they would be 'children' who always played games and watched television. However, if they studied more, they would be students who deserved to be a called 'student'. She expressed that when she saw a student who did not do his or her homework, she would give him or her lots of worksheets about class as a punishment. She always reminds her students of her rules before and during the lesson explaining the reasons and the results. Hilal also mentioned social responsibilities of teachers. Ayla talked about the possibilities of children's behaviors in the absence of any class rule. Furthermore, she tries to understand children by using these probabilities. Berna illustrated her child image in her mind clearly, and Ayşil talked about her strategy to create appropriate behaviors in class.

> "Schools need masters to whom the training of the children is
>
> entrusted through the system since the children need to be changed.
>
> They are our future so they have responsibilities. Therefore, our will
>
> is to change their undesired attitudes to desired ones is very
>
> significant in the process." (Hilal)

> "Of course we determine their behaviors in the school. If we do not
>
> have any rules or strategies, children want more freedom; they want
>
> to enhance the borders that are not theirs. Before they came, the rules

were generated. For instance, the teacher enters the class; the children have to stand up, the basic construction that establishes the place of students in relation to teachers. They are children, but firstly they are students in school and the rules are formed for them."

(Ayla)

"For today's class, I planned some good exercises for you and if you do not want to participate in them, I will cross out your names."

(Students whose have been crossed out for three times, are deprived of the right of other students) (Berna)

When we talked about children and their needs for their teacher, she said that:

"Children need to be controlled especially in crowded classes. Education also needs discipline to stabilize the construction of school…We have the control of children. We have to know how to make them exercise, examine them, and evaluate their actions."

(Berna)

"I choose one child for every correct behavior. When I say, "this is wrong or this is correct behavior" it does not help children to acquire the correct attribution. On the other hand, when a child is shown as a model for the others who rebel against the school rules, he or she becomes a motivation for the others which are more very useful."

(Ayşil)

5.5.2 The infrastructure of a child

The image of the child is demonstrated within this part by teachers' discourses. When we analyze only the answers of teachers during the interview, we cannot obtain the opposite sides of this picture of the child. In the interview, one of them said that children were innocent and kind. Thus, "I generally do not tell them what they must do, I only look at their faces and they understand what I will mean". Based on this statement, I observed that she exercised power over them using their innocent identities. In teachers' room when Berna talked about her comprehension of the reasons of children behaviors, she shared her ideas with her friend. In the writing class, Ayla shouted at a child because she wanted to go to the toilet, she warning her "Why did not you listen to me carefully If you go to the toilet, everybody wants to go to the toilet. You may go there in the break, sit down!" While she was writing some letters on the blackboard, she continued to talk on this, "You play games, but you do not go to the toilet!" When Hilal is angry with the children, she uses this statement "You are spoiled" … Then, Ayla talked about the aims of her game plans in class. Ayşil reflected very simply her point of view about children. Hilal spoke of about children's characteristics as if they were objects of social construction.

> "Children show what they have in depth on their minds like a mirror,
> but they learn what they should hide from us quickly. May be they
> are innocent when they first come to school, but then they change
> fast because of these reasons. We have to keep them under the
> discipline, if we do not (she laughed and said that their families have
> not already taught them any rules) control their behaviors, they lose
> their innocent souls." (Ayşil)

"It is impossible to listen to them one by one in class. After class, I want to be free; I want to take a breath… Actually they always want to speak on the same things…They are children, I know that they want to play games but in the first grade, they have to learn reading and writing skills since it is a part of our curriculum. Sometimes I plan games before the class to increase their motivation, but they want more and more games, which is impossible. I am not an early childhood teacher; they have to concentrate on the lesson…My job is to enhance their capacity of learning because their capacity is very very low. I know they are children; it is normal but..." (Ayla)

"Children's needs and expressions are very simple. I can read their codes of thinking. (She laughed) For instance, a child approaches me slowly and asks me in a low voice because she wants something that will made me angry and I say "no!" to her then I have to remind her of the rule, "Do not stand up during class time!". This is a very simple rule but her feelings and thinking skills have not improved yet. I know their developmental processes but what about mine? Sometimes I wish their identities were as powerful as mine were… They do not realize that we need rules in the society. I teach rules to them by using the class as a social place to improve their personalities and their comprehensions. As a result, they are both being controlled and can learn how to behave normally." (Hilal)

"Before a child comes to school, her parents allow her permission nearly her every wish and behavior. When the child comes to school and enters the class, she cannot be the only one for her teacher…We

have to transform their actions since their concept of self has not

matured yet, so they have not got any self-control. We should

develop their identities with the help of discipline mechanisms such

as silent classrooms…The structure of classroom should be the same

for all the class members. We are teachers our job is to reshape even

reconstruct their characters. To be honest, if a child starts going to

school, his character should be changed." (Berna)

5.5.3 The responsibility of a sound basis

The pressure of being a good teacher and having a crucial responsibility for training

children generate and reconstruct participants' image of teacher and child. This part

will show us their concerns and doctrines about being a teacher. Ayşil expressed that

children's responsibilities should be given to the teachers since they do not have any

essence to carry out this responsibility by themselves. Berna also agreed with Ayşil

in social responsibilities of teachers because of children's undeveloped identities.

Hilal emphasized her position over children's inabilities under the social norms.

"My mother tells me "You are the doctor of society" this statement

is the abstract of my job. I think before being a teacher in the

society, a teacher should be the doctor of her students since they lack

thinking and analyzing skills, we are the ones who teach them these.

For instance, I had a student two years ago who could not open his

lunch box and he brought it to me to open it… He and the others do

not know how to take their responsibilities… We relate to parents,

children, school principals…Our relational area is wide because of

these reasons. We are not only responsible only for the class."
(Ayşil)

"I think a classroom illustrates the capacity of the teacher and the social norms for the future. We do not create, but we reshape the child's actions through the educational, cultural, social norms that we have. This is what we have learned from our teachers…Children will live in this country and with this society's rules. Educational process facilitates their adaptation process to the society. Some people oppose discipline rules, but they have to be rules to improve and construct the child's behavior rightfully and normally. They have to be better reshape. Actually, the more the responsibility a child has, the less the responsibility of a teacher." (Berna)

"We are the models of the society; we gain this status by using the cultural norms that we harmonize into the educational plans since we rewrite the structure of society which start with children. We start with them because they are blank pages in terms of their characters, beliefs and perceptions. They do not know the social issues or the standards of living…Since they have no experience to understand the world, the teacher should be show or open the way to learn the world. Thus, we know the methods of doing this better than them and their families. Actually, they should follow us in every aspect. If they do not, the rules exist to remind them to do so". (Hilal)

5.6 Under the lens of teachers' childhood

Teachers' discourses and behaviors are shaped and reshaped starting from their childhood. They were students, they had teachers in school, and their models of teachers' attitudes, perceptions were very crucial domains for their descriptions of schooling, childhood and teaching. These formations were embodied in a series of parallel educational, cultural, extended and rationalizing regimes.

Teachers' models of teachers are reflected in that part in depth. Some of them did not want to talk about this issue frankly, but their reactions gave me some ideas about their memories and childhood periods in school. When they enter the classroom, three of them raise their left hands and wait for what the students have to say to them. During the lesson, they continue to hold the board markers and when they want to give any instruction to students, they use these board markers to highlight the statements. Actually, all teachers place their handbags on the left side of teacher's desk. Based on these observations, I felt to need to analyze their childhood memories with their teachers and schools. When asked teachers' memories of their primary school years and teachers, they expressed their experiences about these years. Some of them were very outspoken and some of them relived the experiences of which they were reminded.

5.6.1 Fear of not being loved

Participants had their own models who were their teachers when they were child. Their teacher models are very significant points to analyze the history and hierarchy of power in their minds. Moreover, the effect of power might be coded by their childhood memories and feelings. During the interview, I asked what kind of feelings they remembered related to their primary school teachers. They expressed their

feelings about childhood process. It took Berna thirty minutes to express her feelings about this difficult process. Ayla shared her talk with her mother about her primary teacher.

> "He did not love me so much… (She laughed) I remembered that he forgot my name and misnamed me routinely. I generally reminded him and my friends laughed at me." (Berna)

> "I told mom that my teacher never liked me because I breathed loudly in class because she had told us not to breathe without any permission. After sharing that memory, she added that she had some problems with her throat and she thought that her teacher was right in being angry with her and with her friends." (Ayla)

> "She liked me so much because I was a hardworking and intelligent student. I sat in the front row and I held her handbag and pieces of her chalks during the break. She was my model teacher. She balanced hardworking and lazy students very well. Sometimes I questioned myself how she did it, but I could not understand in depth. She reshaped my childhood as well." (Ayşil)

5.6.2 To be ashamed of making mistakes

During the class, I observed the feelings of children while their teacher was angry with them because of their mistakes. In the writing class, a child could not write the letter "e" on the blackboard. He could not look at his friends' faces until the class ended since the teacher shouted at him and said that she did not want to see his face because of his mistakes and added that he should be embarrassed due to his mistakes in writing. While I asked their model teachers to participants, they expressed their

primary teachers' strategies in class that consisted of some memories about punishments and reinforcements. Hilal talked about her teacher's basic rules and she compared hers with the rules of her teacher. Then, she prided herself on the flexibility of her own rules. Berna thought that her teachers' rules resembled those of Adolf Hitler's and she added that he was a military officer before being a teacher.

"She had so many rules in the classroom. When she entered the class, we could not breathe; we only looked at our desks and waited for her voice to tell us to sit down. During the session my hands were sweaty, they left a trace on the desk (she laughed and held her hands). We could not move without permission let alone got to the restroom, which was considered impossible and disrespectful by her." (Hilal)

"The system was so bad…He did not look at our eyes, he looked only at our hands, nails, teeth and notebooks… He spoke in a loud voice and only gave the instruction one at a time. If you did not hear or understand them, he told to stunt to live. I was really afraid of making any mistakes and violating the rules." (Berna)

"I have not used any eraser for six years…" (Ayşil)

5.7 Silent motion pictures

When asked participants' perceptions of power, they expressed their ideas, feelings and memories of it. They tried to express what the meaning of power for them was. During the interview, some of the teachers used the word "authority" in place of power and some of them used the word "discipline" instead of power. Moreover, some of them could not even distinguish the two concepts.

5.7.1 Shortcut of communication

Participants used different methods of conversing with children in classroom. When Hilal tried to talk to a child who opened the window without any permission, she gave him a furious look and indicated with her hand to close it at once. In another class, Hilal suddenly took a child's pencil while she was walking towards the blackboard saying to him "You know why I took this from you, do not you". No words were exchanged between the teacher and the student regarding this act. Then, Berna also used some words to remind the students of the rules and to stop the misbehaviors of her students. When she said "order!" children put their legs under their desks and sit back straight. Still another word that she calls out is "board!" Hearing this word children leave their pencils and sit back. Sometimes she checks the homework before the class starts, during which she uses a statement that means waiting for the teacher to control their homework: "Be a plant!" On the other hand, Ayşil used the imperative to explain her rules and orders: "Sit down", "Stand up", "Open it", "Listen", "Look at me", "Think silently", and "Do not speak until I give you permission". If a child laughs at her friend, she tells her to shut up or if she does not listen to her, Ayşil says, "Use your pencil, not your mouth". When Berna talked about her perceptions and understandings of power, she used the planning of lessons. Moreover, she defined the normal behavior. During the interview, Ayşil defined power as if she never used power in class.

> "I do not use power in treating children. I do not approve people
> who use it directly since I think that power helps someone to
> increase the violence inside him. Teacher should control the class to
> teach them normal behaviors. Normal behavior is behavior that is

approved by the majority of people. Actually, education is about giving students this insight." (Berna)

"Our class periods are limited so I want to be more efficient. I do not want to talk to students too much; I agree that we should talk little and work more. I cannot say that I am an authoritative teacher. My students understand me. Our relationship is good and sufficient. They know my communication style and I think they are happy. No one wants a teacher who speaks too much (She laughs)." (Hilal)

"I do not speak in a loud voice with children or shout at students in class. Thus, I am not a teacher who uses power in class. I think power enlarges the authority, but I apply the rules and strategies. Yet I give students space and times to do whatever they want." (Ayşil)

"In some classes, I give my students some reinforcements related to lessons. Some of them study more so they are rewarded. The others just watch them while they play during the class. I believe this is a good strategy to motivate the others." (Ayla)

5.7.2 Self-steering equipment

When Hilal entered the class, she left her bag on the teacher's desk, then wait for the students to stand up and say "Good morning teacher". After that process, she took her board marker and told them her plan of the day. She told them to open their notebooks and pencil case to look at the board and copy what was on the board into their notebooks and not to speak with their friends. The routine of the class depends on the teacher's orders. During the interview with Hilal, I asked about some class plans and instruments. Berna constantly pointed out the time to the children when

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they started or finished an activity. For example, she told them to start writing letter "l" until she told them to look at the clock. When I asked her the exercises of authority in her class, Berna used the mechanisms of child development in contrast to their nature. She also answered that how a teacher becomes authoritative in class. Ayla started the lesson with "Good Morning" and gave some directions such as "Stand up, do not talk with your friends, focus on your study, do not come to my desk until I call on you, do not touch me or to talk to me." She looked at the clock repeatedly during the class time then she went on to give new instructions.

> "I have some methods to use the time effectively, actually every
> teacher has them. The school principal comes and asks the teachers
> the curriculum plan and where they are in that period so, we have to
> adopt this plan. Children are not aware of the problems that teachers
> have. They come, talk, eat their meals, and take their homework and
> leave. I have put down some rules, plans and orders, which should be
> like this or else how can we educate them without any plans, orders
> or discipline? There are thirty children plus thirty parents which
> makes sixty." (Ayşil)

> "The teachers should give the instructions quickly, since students do
> not know how they should study or follow the class responsibilities
> in forty minutes. I draw the line on which they should walk. My aim
> is to draw it for their achievement and training process. These have
> nothing to do power or authority. I am not an authoritative teacher."
> (Berna)

"A teacher can shout at her students if necessary because they are always unhappy and cannot sit still." (Ayla)

5.7.3 Goodwill ambassador

Teachers had difficulty in definition of discipline. They felt the extreme responsibility about social structures when they were talking about it. For instance, some of the participants mentioned that being a teacher is a very significant duty. They reminded the students of the modes of being a teacher in the classroom in every lesson or during every homework check. They regarded the necessity of discipline not only for themselves, but also for children since they could demonstrate their abilities and adopt social norms because of this process. Their concept of being a teacher is mainly formed by the idea of discipline. That is the reason why I used this heading for the section. Hilal highlighted the importance of children's needs over the necessity of discipline in the society. Ayşil blamed the education system and the curriculum, which restricts every step of a teacher instead of liberating her. The below notable moments in the interviews are very significant to understand the teacher's views of discipline.

"Discipline is an important part of the education system. We produce educated people for the society that we live in. If we do not create and keep discipline in children's minds especially in the classroom, we will not achieve a peaceful and organized environment in the society." (Hilal)

"We have to plan the lesson before teaching takes place so it is the discipline that helps us to organize and teach them in depth. Discipline levels depend on the teachers' understanding of

education. If you are a well disciplined teacher yourself, your class, students and the whole picture in the society will be so as well."

(Ayşil)

"Children need to have discipline; we are models for them. Standards of lessons are determined based on the class which can create immediate rules spontaneously." (Berna)

"The education plan which has been previously formed, involves the discipline and school rules. Discipline has already been there for us, for children. As teachers, we are either the crucial part of this system or we do not have not any real power to organize the system. However, serving as models for the students we should be disciplined ourselves." (Ayla)

5.7.4 The external frontier of the resistance and adaptation

When educators tried to explain their discipline definitions, I asked them their solutions about disciplinary problems in their classrooms. During class observations, I witnessed their expressions about misbehaviors. Teachers say that they should keep children in the school borders within its culture. Moreover, they added that the rules of school context determine the borders of school and help students to understand what the school is. They generally show their warnings with their gestures, mimics or body languages. They do not want to prefer talking to students to warn them directly. I asked them why they preferred this; they responded me that children internalize these rules without word or statement easily. In fact, the external forces help students to generate their internal mechanisms indirectly. Moreover, their attitudes towards children generally include non-verbal communication. The relationship with teachers

and children depends on educators' choice and their definitions of child, discipline and educational space that are formed by culture of power in school context. They keep these domains to determine the form of communication with children over the comprehension of children regarding power mechanisms as discipline. The understanding of discipline reconstructs how the relational area should be generated and transformed through the necessities of power stabilization and its culture in school.

> "I warn them with my body languages to stop their misbehaviors; I do not need to talk one by one everyday in every lesson. I do not have any time to do this." (Hilal)
>
> "Oral warnings, scolding or punishments as not going out in break times are my dissuasive methods." (Ayşil)
>
> "Some students are afraid of school principal or their parents so I remind them their concerns. Sometimes my eyebrows are enough to warn them. In fact, my warning style depends on their misbehavior level which is done by students." (Ayla)
>
> "Scowling, warning them orderly, and talking out of lesson after class." (Berna)

CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION

Cultural arena is a different issue of power but it has its own codes of exercise (Swartz, 1997). School is a field of culture that maintains its domains within the power structures. The process of stabilization of culture of power gives some roles to teachers in that construction. Thus, they reconstruct and redefine the relationship between children and maximize the distribution of knowledge concerning being a teacher and installing school culture over their perception. As students learn and exercise this knowledge, they can invest their abilities and comprehension under the power of the lens. In the context of school, teachers teach and highlight "essential" ideologies and domains that are generated by social constructions (Apple, 1995). The definition of school is given in different ways as if it could be changeable under the effects of culture of power. Teachers used the terms "normal" and "deviant" which were the needs of social sphere as if these needs were formed outside of school. This institutionalization process helps actors who work for power mechanisms to classify the students as teachers do. The authority appears in that process over social codes in teachers' minds. This study illustrates that teachers cannot explain authority in depth, but they define their position in front of it. Educators identify the authority under the social lenses and its necessities for their and children's status in school context. These findings are similar to the findings of Herbel-Eisenmann (2010), Herbel-Eisenmann, and Wagner (2013). These are the acts that are thought by teachers to organize the culture of power in school context. In order to help the teacher, power mechanisms choose the teachers from the social construction and direct them to school institution to control children's perceptions of hierarchy in education system.

The normalization process is embedded and shaped by teachers who generate their structures as if they were free from the ideologies in their classes in which there are the codes of transformational arena of power.

> Hierarchized, continuous and functional surveillance may not be one of the great technical "inventions" of the eighteenth century, but its insidious extension owed its importance to the mechanisms of power that it brought with it. By means of such surveillance, disciplinary power became an "integrated" system, linked from the inside to the economy and to the aims of the mechanism in which it was practiced. (Foucault, 1977)

According to participants, the definition of education involves self-development and self-actualization. On the other hand, the class observations demonstrate that classroom belongs to the teacher and he or she is the main character to organize it; thus, this is the way of generating children's perceptions about education in class (Hooks, 2010). The routine exercises contribute to the classroom and school dynamic without students' acts except their adaptation processes. Looking from this perspective, teachers have the role of determining the mental borders of children that are constructed by power issues. The term Doxa refers to limits of participation of individuals regarding how they follow and share the social habit in structural balance of spaces (Bourdieu, 1989). Moreover, this term brings forth traditional procedures of power thus it can create its own culture within the body of teachers who contribute to the normalizing of legitimatization of power, hierarchical observation and reorganization of teaching under the lens of power relations. Teachers perceive students under the effect of power lenses, so they put stabilization of power on the identities of being a teacher. Schools keep alive the cultural issues in their formation during the process of reproduction of perceptions, thus social formation generates more than one meaning on children's and teacher's minds. Although teachers have different definitions of child, they reshape the similar

production of bodies within the context of school. When they determine the status of children, they indicate the status of teacher against children. Schools generate knowledge and this generation creates the reproduction of division of labor (Apple, 1995). If there is diversity among individuals, the power and its relations appear there. This study shows that teachers' child perceptions are generated by the effects of knowledge and power hierarchy. Teachers' comprehensions of children have some similarities with the study of Kapıcıoğlu and colleagues (2013) Educators used the terms "dough", "material to be shaped" to explain children as the study of Kapıcıoğlu and colleagues (2013).

Being a teacher in school has different meanings in teacher and children's case since school is a concept that is taught to children within the culture and social domains before they start school. This term is the crucial part to maintain the formation of society as a product (Apple, 1995). Educators explain their jobs through their definitions. My findings include the explanations that are similar to the findings from Yılmaz, Yılmaz and Gokcen (2013) with regard to teachers' definitions of their status with such terms as "advisor", "source of information", and "the teacher who has got a holy profession". Moreover, identifying "guiding" is also similar to the findings from Oxford and others (1998 p.14), Korkmazgil and Ölcü (2009), Mahlios and Maxson (1998). Identifying "information source" is similar to the findings from Buaraphan (2010), Guerra and Vilamil (2002), Koçbeker and Saban (2006). The result of "the teacher who has got a holy profession" corroborates with the results of a study of Nikitina and Furuoka (2008).

The focus on the production of knowledge helps teachers to analyze how schools keep the distinction among social structures and enrich the powerless of children and powerful groups within the dichotomy of perception. The naturalization,

normalization and industrialization processes in school enhance this dichotomy. The values, definitions, understandings, language are formed over the children's understandings of teacher, school and status of student. This process is obviously not as strict but is easily internalized by children since school fits the needs of social division of labor during the organization of production. Social class is not defined solely by a position in the relations of production, but by the class habits that is "normally" associated with that position (Bourdieu, 1984, p.372).

Teachers' position maintains the status of children during the formation of perceptions and clear -cut boundaries on their minds by the help of social cultural domains. Actually, the arenas of subjects and objects are given to social actors such as the teachers by the culture of power within the legitimate version of divisions. Educators' understandings are shaped under the influence of culture and knowledge that is generated during their childhood in the school context, thus the cultural lenses contribute to their behaviors in a routine manner (Raittila, 2012; Rutanen, 2014; Vuarisalo, 2011). Behaviors and attitudes of teachers are the crucial factors of (re)interpreting and (re)constructing the positions of children. Their responses about discipline, authority and children reflect their communicational spheres and their structure. The results of this study are supported by the study of Curby, Brock & Hamre, (2013) and Hipson &Se' guin (2015) regarding the teacher-child relationship and its link to child's social outcomes. In this study, teachers' position is dominant in their relations with children. Based on this case, the child's dependency on and independency of a teacher is a crucial part of being a social person and interacting with peers. The results show that the position of children in class is not allowed to be free from teachers' instructions, therefore, the mechanisms of power and its effects over the relationship between children and teacher continue in class. The above

findings of this study are supported by the studies of Birch & Ladd, 1997; Burchinal, Peisner-Feinberg, Hamre & Pianta, (2001); Hughes, Cavell, & Jackson, (1999); Pianta & Stuhlman, (2004).

There is a bridge between the perceptions of educators and children. Moreover, students interpret their and others' acts through the teachers' lenses. Behaviors of educators reflect the cultural knowledge that is normalized and re-defined with the repeated acts during the day. Teachers determine the places and create the attitudes of children based on teachers' cultural domains and how they internalize it. Swidler's (1986) "tool kit" appears in teachers' behaviors in that study within the social-cultural responses. The finding of this study is similar to the findings from Clandinin and Connelly (1986) and Cabaroğlu (2012) to illustrate where the teachers' practical strategies, classroom contexts come from. This study supports the initial knowledge and experiences that are crucial domains to generate the perception of teacher, child and power.

Being a teacher on educators' eyes is to diminish the risky moments, prevent children from danger and recognize the skillful ones to be beneficial in the constructional space that is shaped by power. Coming from this background, children redefine the privileged position of student as being skillful, one who has the powerful position against or for the teacher. The cause of this inability to choose his position is due to not knowing where and how to use the power. Since they define children's boundaries of active participation throughout skillful and successful ones, children determine their positions over this definition of teachers' and how they contribute themselves as subjects or objects in the culture of the school. Educators' system maintains itself in school context not only mechanisms of control, but also their status against the school principle. Students' behaviors are conducted by hierarchy,

reshaped, normalized by teachers in relation to children's abilities. Bourdieu

questions   whether there is privilege or powerful position in having the right skills

within the social structures (Bourdieu, 2000). Teachers focus on their academic skills

but they emphasize the reason of this through the aim of school context. The

definition of school on teachers' minds is to improve students' skills, classify the

groups of children under the effect of social-cultural identities. As is obvious, there is

a power relation among these groups to internalize and normalize them as a product

of society. The effect of power is embedded either in the construction of class or in

the relationship among actors in school.

The concern of teachers is the instruction mode that is reflected through the

basic instructions in reading, writing and arithmetic to shape the children. The

knowledge cannot be separated from ideologies or positions of power since they are

responsible for the selection, organization, evaluation, classification and

transformation of bodies. The structure of industrialization in schools produces

knowledge that is authorized through the status of educators. Foucault expresses

disciplines are "general forms of domination" which generate "practiced, docile"

bodies (Foucault, 1979). However, the perception of teachers maintains the process

as is invisible like the power and its exercises in the culture of school. Foucault

warns in his book Discipline and Punish:

> Perhaps we should abandon a whole tradition that allows us to
> imagine that knowledge can exist only where the power relations are
> suspended and that knowledge can develop only outside its
> injunctions, its demands and its interests. We should admit rather
> that power produces knowledge (and not simply by encouraging it
> because it serves power or by applying it because it is useful); that
> power and knowledge directly imply one another; that there is no
> power relation without correlative constitution of a field of
> knowledge, nor ant knowledge that does not presuppose and
> constitute at the same time power relations. (Foucault, 1979 p. 27-8)

In the light of this study, findings show that teachers employ discipline to maintain the school culture, their status and children's status in school. Based on these reasons, they generate some strategies to keep the discipline in school. The results of this study are similar to those of Cabaroğlu (2012) and Dağlı and Baysal (2011) to show that teaching methods of teachers and their initial knowledge and experiences are important issues to construct the discipline strategies and how they warn students under the discipline rules of teachers. Moreover, teachers observe some misbehavior of children based on their rules of discipline. Akkök (1995) and Sadık (2000) had come up with similar results with this study that include most common disciplinary problems in teachers' eyes. Knowledge transforms itself within the culture in educational attributions that are inside power mechanisms. Every child finds and maintains his role within this construction until they are more knowledgeable than others are. The hierarchy of power keeps itself in the educational institution through the cultural exercises that are internalized in the course of school. Schooling seems to assure the privilege of success and failure to succeed. In fact, it reinforces the skills of industrialization and not to resist to the systems of power in social world. In this study educators' expectations from children show that the rules of obedience had been even formed before they became teachers. They determine the discipline and authority as adaptation but for what. Their responses, actions in class routines and break time attitudes illustrate that their adaptation is necessary for stabilization of culture of power in school. It is the adaptation for obedience (Weber, 1968).

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

In teachers, power is internalized through the dominant principle of hierarchy, the distribution of cultural heritage and educational process is not exempt from this. Children are labelled by these institutional exercises and necessities to define and maintain the structure within the field of power. Educational experience is a determinant to generate the cultural perceptions that disperse through one's behaviors in depth. While focusing on the competitive and skillful system or academic success of children, there is a crucial reason for power to be internalized and to reshape opportunities presented to children with limits as a consequence of experiences in life. The process of industrialization is not visible like power mechanisms. They are both embedded in school routines such as examinations or break time. As it was discussed in the previous sections, children do not question this system since they are made to think that adaptation is part of power. Thus, they construct their understandings through the necessities of social, cultural domains. When they generate these perceptions, they are not free from ideologies. Teachers symbolize exercise of power like culture, and schooling. They have carried their perceptions of child and power ever since their childhood periods. As their level of knowledge increases, they believe that they add more to the power system. Moreover, they form a power building. When they feel that they have more knowledge, they feel more powerful. The other side of the coin shows that more power means more captivity, so teachers are not free from the system, reminiscent of Hegel. Their relations with children, their instructions, their bodily messages and they themselves, the way in which they talk all reflect the power issues within the

context of school culture. In school environment, children are exposed to power to such an extent that they are alienated from their own interests. Thus, they are objects of culture of power. In short, the interests of children hit the wall of the school in other words power. This study is crucial for teachers and children's positions in society. Their perceptions and behaviors interact and they cannot be separated from social, cultural domains. School is not only the educational institution, but also is the heritage of culture. These issues transform educators and children in educational periods. How they understand, choose, comprise themselves as subject and create the relations over these dimensions of social structures in school context. This comprehension is significant in order to analyze the roots of internalization. Therefore, education is an internalization of externality and externalization of internality like Gramsci's (1971) sociology definition.

APPENDIX A

ETHICS COMMITTEE REPORT

Sayı: 8 /2016   28 Nisan 2016

Nehir Cabi
İlköğretim Bölümü
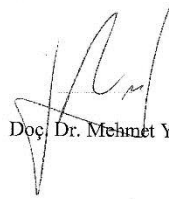Eğitim Fakültesi

Sayın Araştırmacı,

"The Relationship among Teachers' Power Perception, Teachers' Definition of Child, and Child-Teacher Interaction" başlıklı projeniz ile ilgili olarak yaptığınız SBB-EAK 2016/11 sayılı başvurunuz İnsan Araştırmaları Kurumsal Değerlendirme Alt Kurulu tarafından 28 Nisan 2016 tarihli toplantıda incelenmiş ve uygun bulunmuştur.

Saygılarımızla,
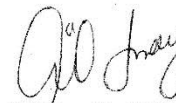
İnsan Araştırmaları Kurumsal Değerlendirme Alt Kurulu

Doç. Dr. Ebru Kaya   Doç. Dr. Mehmet Yiğit Gürdal

Yrd. Doç. Dr. Gül Sosay   Yrd. Doç. Dr. Mehmet Nafi Artemel

                        Dr. Nur Yeniçeri

Fig. 4 Ethics committee report

APPENDIX B

CONSENT FORM

Araştırmayı destekleyen kurum: Boğaziçi Üniversitesi

Araştırmanın adı: Öğretmen ve öğrencilerin sınıf ortamı davranışları

Proje Yürütücüsü/Araştırmacının adı: Mine Göl Güven (Danışman) , Nehir Cabi
(yüksek lisans öğrencisi)

E-mail adresi: nehir.cabi@boun.edu.tr

Telefon : 05073565940

Sayın öğretmen,

Boğaziçi Üniversitesi İlköğretim Bölümü öğretim üyesi Yard. Doç. Dr. Mine Göl
Güven ve Boğaziçi Üniversitesi yüksek lisans öğrencisi Nehir Cabi "Öğretmen ve
öğrencilerin sınıf ortamı davranışları" adı altında bilimsel bir araştırma projesi
yürütmektedir. Bu çalışmanın amacı okul içindeki iletişim ile çocuklarının sosyal
yetkinlik ve arkadaşlık kurma becerileri arasındaki ilişkiyi incelemektir. Bu
araştırmada bize yardımcı olmanız için siz sınıf öğretmenlerini projemize davet
ediyoruz. Kararınızdan önce araştırma hakkında sizi bilgilendirmek istiyoruz. Bu
bilgileri okuduktan sonra araştırmaya katılmak isterseniz lütfen bu formu imzalayıp
kapalı bir zarf içinde bize ulaştırınız.

Bu araştırmaya katılmayı kabul ettiğiniz takdirde sınıfınızda haftanın bir günü tam
gün gözlem yapılacaktır. 2016 bahar döneminin sonuna kadar sizin uygun
olduğunuz zamanlarda iki kez görüşme yapılacaktır.

Bu araştırma bilimsel bir amaçla yapılmaktadır ve katılımcı bilgilerinin gizliliği esas
tutulmaktadır. Seçilmiş görüşme kayıtları Nehir Cabi'nin yüksek lisans tez
çalışmasında kullanılacaktır.

Araştırmanın öğretmenlik mesleğine yönelik bilgi ve tecrübe birikimimizi
arttırmasını umuyoruz. Araştırmanın sizin için büyük bir risk veya fayda
içermemektedir. Sınıfınızda bir gözlemci bulunması ve öğretmenlik

uygulamalarınızla ilgili sorular sorması düşük derecede rahatsızlık uyandırabilir. Fakat bu rahatsızlığı minimumda tutmak için araştırmacı büyük özen gösterecektir. Herhangi bir özel durumda, belirttiğiniz taktirde araştırmacı sınıftan çıkabilir veya görüşme sürecinde istemediğiniz soruya cevap vermeyebilirsiniz. Talep ettiğinizde araştırma sonuçları sizinle paylaşılacaktır.

Bu araştırmaya katılmanız tamamen isteğe bağlıdır. Araştırma 2016 yılı bahar döneminde yapılacaktır. Katıldığınız takdirde çalışmanın herhangi bir aşamasında herhangi bir sebep göstermeden onayınızı çekmek hakkına sahipsiniz. Araştırma projesi hakkında ek bilgi almak istediğiniz takdirde lütfen Boğaziçi Üniversitesi .... Bölümü Öğretim Üyesi Dr. .... ile temasa geçiniz (Telefon: ...., Adres: Boğaziçi Üniversitesi, ..., 34342 Bebek, İstanbul).

Eğer bu araştırma projesine katılmasını kabul ediyorsanız, lütfen bu formu imzalayıp kapalı bir zarf içerisinde bize geri yollayın.

Ben, (katılımcının adı) ...., yukarıdaki metni okudum ve katılmam istenen çalışmanın kapsamını ve amacını, gönüllü olarak üzerime düşen sorumlulukları tamamen anladım. Çalışma hakkında soru sorma imkanı buldum. Bu çalışmayı istediğim zaman ve herhangi bir neden belirtmek zorunda kalmadan bırakabileceğimi ve bıraktığım takdirde herhangi bir ters tutum (yerine olumsuzluk ?) ile karşılaşmayacağımı anladım.

Bu koşullarda söz konusu araştırmaya kendi isteğimle, hiçbir baskı ve zorlama olmaksızın katılmayı kabul ediyorum.

Formun bir örneğini aldım / almak istemiyorum (bu durumda araştırmacı bu kopyayı saklar).

Katılımcının Adı-
Soyadı:...
İmzası:...
Adresi (varsa Telefon No, Faks No):..
....

Tarih (gün/ay/yıl):...../......./..............

Varsa Katılımcının Vasisinin Adı-

Soyadı:...

İmzası:...

Tarih (gün/ay/yıl):........./............/..............

Araştırmacının Adı-Soyadı:...

İmzası:...

Tarih (gün/ay/yıl):...../......./..............

APPENDIX C

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1. What does power mean to you?
2. What is the meaning of school for you?
3. What is the meaning of child for you?
4. What is the meaning of teacher for you?
5. What does profession of teaching mean to you?
6. How would you define discipline?
7. How would you define authority?
8. What do the expressions "good teacher" and "bad teacher" bring to your mind?
9. What do the terms "child" and "school" mean for you?
10. How do you think children feel in the school environment?
11. In what kind of a school environment would children feel happy or unhappy?
12. Would you please tell me about your primary school teacher?
13. How did your primary school teacher practice education and training?
14. What do you think about reinforcement and punishment at school?
15. Are there any rules to be obeyed at school? If so, what are they?
16. How do you think the perception of authority and discipline come through at school?
17. What do you think about discipline in educational environments?
18. What kinds of practices are applied under the context of discipline?
19. What kind of practices could be presented under the context of authority?
20. What are the factors that define an educational environment?
21. In what kind of environments and how do you feel power?
22. How would you describe an authoritarian teacher?
23. What kind of a class environment would a disciplinary teacher have?
24. What kind of a class environment would an authoritarian teacher have?

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