THE ROLE OF EDUCATION ON WOMEN'S EMPOWERMENT:

THE CASE OF VILLAGE INSTITUTES IN TURKEY, 1940-1946

ÇİĞDEM BİRCED

BOGAZİÇİ UNIVERSITY

2014

THE ROLE OF EDUCATION ON WOMEN'S EMPOWERMENT:

THE CASE OF VILLAGE INSTITUTES IN TURKEY, 1940-1946

Thesis submitted to the

Institute for Graduate Studies in the Social Sciences

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

in

Political Science and International Relations

by

Çiğdem Birced

Boğaziçi University

2014

Thesis Abstract

Çiğdem Birced, "The Role of Education on Women's Empowerment:

The Case of Village Institutes in Turkey, 1940-1946"

By taking the case of the Village Institutes (VIs) experience in Turkey, 1940-1946 period in particular, this thesis aims to investigate and answer the question of whether VIs' education (including its tools: pedagogy, curriculum, activities, methods and the system) contribute to the empowerment process of its women graduates by challenging the pressure and the gender norms of patriarchal society? 1940-1946 was the period that the foundational aims of the VIs were implemented despite the adverse impact of patriarchal society, which reinforced private/public dichotomy, subordination of women to men and disabled female education in rural Turkey. It was, also the time when the Republican project of modernization, nation building and democratization and its focal point of women's emancipation and education were in the foreground of the political sphere. By benefiting from the models of power, empowerment theory and critical theory in education, and by applying Rowlands'(1997) qualitative model as theoretical framework, this thesis examines whether the contribution of VIs' to education was sufficient to challenge patriarchal pressure and to empower its women graduates on personal, collective and relational levels. Based on evidence from the interviews, this thesis argues that VIs' education contributed to its women graduates' personal development and empowerment in personal level. However, it was not enough by itself in challenging gender norms, patriarchal obstacles and pressure of society, which limited women graduates' collective (social) empowerment and inhibited empowerment within close relationship level.

Tez Özeti

Çiğdem Birced, "Kadınların Güçlenmesinde Eğitimin Rolü:

Türkiye'deki Köy Enstitüleri Örneği, 1940-1946"

Bu tez, Türkiye'deki Köy Enstitülerinin kuruluş dönemine (1940-1946) odaklanarak şu soruya yanıt bulmayı amaçlamaktadır: Acaba, Köy Enstitülerinin eğitim modeli ve bu eğitimin araçları (pedagojik yaklaşımı, ders programı, özel aktiviteleri, ayrıştırıcı yöntemleri ve eğitim sistemi), Köy Enstitülü kadın mezunların, ataerkil toplumun baskıcı ve toplumsal cinsiyet konusundaki kuralcı yaklaşımına karşı koyabilecek şekilde güçlenmesine katkıda bulunabildi mi? 1940- 46, ataerkil değer yargılarının etkisiyle özel alan / kamusal alan dikotomisin güçlendiği, kadının toplumda ikincil konuma itildiği ve kırsal bölgede kadınların eğitim imkanının bulunmadığı bir ortamda, Köy Enstitüleri'nin kuruluş hedeflerinin hayata geçirilebildiği dönemdir. Aynı zamanda, Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin modern, demokratik bir ulus devlet oluşturma evresinde, yürütülen politikaların odağında kadının özgürleşmesi ve eğitiminin yer aldığı süreç de bu dönemle kesişmektedir. 'Güç' modelleri, eğitimdeki Güçlenme Teorisi ve Eleştirel Teori den yararlanarak ve Rowlands'ın (1997) kalitatif modelini uygulayarak gerçekleştirilen tez araştırması, Köy Enstitüsü eğitiminin kadın mezunlarını- ataerkil baskılara karşı koyacak şekilde- kişisel, toplumsal ve ilişkisel boyutlarda güçlendirip güçlendirmediğini belirlemeyi hefeflemektedir. Görüşmelerden elde edilen bulgulara dayanarak bu tez Köy Enstitüsü eğitiminin, kadın mezunlarının kişisel gelişimine ve güçlenmesine katkı sağladığını, ancak, onların kollektif (toplumsal) düzeyde güçlenmesini sınırlayan, yakın ilişkilerde güçlenmesini engelleyen cinsiyet normlarına, ataerkil engellere ve toplumsal baskılara karşı koyma konusunda tek başına yeterli olmadığını öne sürmektedir.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This thesis would not be possible without the assistance, encouragement, critique and enlightening suggestions of my thesis advisor Assist. Prof. Zeynep Kadirbeyoğlu who supported me whenever I needed her help. I am also grateful for her tolerance, patience and motivation. Her close attention as well as her discipline and diligence helped me to complete my thesis. Therefore, I consider myself very lucky.

As my second reader, Professor Dr. Yeşim Arat has contributed by expressing her valuable comments during the preparation process of my thesis. Her books and articles made an important contribution to my thesis as well. Prof Dr. Fatma Gök, who is my external reader, was very helpful on drawing the scope of thesis research by sharing her valuable insights on Village Institutes (VIs) as well as her experiences on Girls' Institutes. I am indebted to Prof. Dr. Mine Eder for her patience and assistance. I am also thankful to Prof. Dr. Nermin Abadan Unat for her contribution by recommending surveys as well as sending the most motivating messages. She became my role model with her curiosity, enthusiasm and zest for life and displayed the best example of an empowered woman with her incredible journey of education. I cannot express my gratitude to Halime Kocataş, who is my primary school teacher, women graduate of VIs and my first gate opener. I could not complete my fieldwork if she would not stand by me. I also want to thank all my interviewees and VIs' associations for their sincere help.

Finally, I want to thank to my husband Ercan, my daughter Elif and my son Emre who believed in me and supported my goal of completing this thesis as the gift of knowledge for my fiftieth birthday.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION 1

Purpose of the Study 1

Thesis Outline 6

CHAPTER II LITERATURE REVIEW 8

Empowerment 9

Education and Empowerment 33

Gender Education and Empowerment 38

Modernization and Nation Building Processes and Women 41

Turkish Modernization and Turkish Women during Tanzimat, Young Turks and Republican Eras: Reforms and Educational Policies 44

CHAPTER III METHODOLOGY 57

Research Methods and the Structure of the Fieldwork 57

Distribution and the Characteristics of the Sample 60

CHAPTER IV THE CASE OF VILLAGE INSTITUTES IN TURKEY 64

Nature of Society 65

Village Institutes in Turkey 73

Nature of Village Institutes' Education and its Contribution to Women 81

CHAPTER V EMPOWERMENT ANALYSIS: EMPIRICAL FINDINGS ON WOMEN'S EMPOWERMENT 120

Common Inhibiting Factors 122

Personal Empowerment 133

Collective Empowerment 154

Empowerment within Close Relationships 180

CHAPTER VI CONCLUSION 208

Summary of Findings 208

Implications of Findings 223

APPENDIX 229

BIBLIOGRAPHY 248

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Purpose of the Study

The thesis focuses on the Village Institutes (VIs) experience in Turkey, during the foundational period of 1940-1946, and aims to investigate and answer the question(s) of whether VIs' education (including its pedagogy, curriculum, activities, methods and the system) contribute to the empowerment process of its women graduates by challenging the pressure and the gender norms of patriarchal society. The aim is to examine to what extent VIs' educational attainment empowered or failed to empower its women graduates against pressure, obstacles and gender norms of patriarchal society.

Available research and other sources on VIs lack a discussion of the experiences and development of women graduates, which made this question worth studying as it sheds light on the gender dimension of education and empowerment. Although limited number of village girls became teachers via VIs' coeducation (1.308 women graduate teacher out of 17.251 VI graduate village teachers [Çetin and Gülseren, 2003]), measuring education's empowering impact on VIs' women graduates qualitatively was still very important mainly due to its contribution to VIs literature by providing valuable insights on a previously understudied group.

In the context of literature on education, thesis research also displays how Freire's empowerment theory and the critical theory in education were implemented through VIs'critical, productive, coed education and how this education developed consciousness, skills and abilities to change the previous circumstances of oppressed village girls. It also shows how Dewey's approach of democracy and democratic participation in education was practiced through participation-based functioning and management style of VIs' education.

On the other hand, by focusing on VIs' women graduates, this thesis also shows us that in difficult conditions, Turkish modernization project equipped women with new rights to emancipate and educate them as self-confident and empowered people. It also emphasizes two incompatible approaches towards the implementation of these new rights by pointing out that the supporters- like Nermin Abadan Unat- evaluated modernization reforms as functional and saw liberation and education of women as the reason for changing women's fate (Arat, 2010; Kaya, 2004; Kışlalı, 1991). Many other academics, on the other hand, challenged and criticized these rights by emphasizing that legal rights were symbolic as they neither totally changed patriarchal system nor the position of Turkish women in society (Özbay, 1986; Toprak, 1982; Arat, 1983), and could not provide gender equality despite the emphasis given to women's education to actualize it (Arat, 1998). Some others pointed out that these rights did not liberate women in daily life (Tekeli, 1982). As the establishment period (1940-46) of VIs coincided with the implementation of Turkish modernization project, sheding light on the experiences of VIs' women graduates is important in terms of examining the modernization project from a gender perspective in order to display how women's

emancipation and education affected women graduates' daily lives. In the context of modernization, thesis research also sheds light on how the project of modernization was practiced via VIs' coed boarding public education in rural Turkey.

The idea of establishing VIs, as productive, vocational, mixed rural schools emerged in 1937 under the leadership of İsmail Hakkı Tonguç and started legally in 1940 with the aim of providing equal educational opportunities and educating the rural youth as well-skilled teachers to be sent back to the villages for educating people and developing rural Turkey. Establishment aims of the VIs were in line with the educational aims of Turkish Modernization, nation building and development project, which gave special emphasis to women's education and liberation on shaping the new society. Beside educational aims, the implementation period of Turkish modernization also overlapped with the establishment period of VIs. This was one of the reasons behind focusing on VIs' foundational term (1940-46) as the basis of thesis research. Another reason was that the gradual removal of the original structure, vision , ideals and the content of VIs' education after 1946, stemming from criticm of conservative circles, pressure of patriarchal society as well as the changing scene of the political sphere which ended up with the closure of VIs in 1954.

In order to answer my questions and identify the contribution of education on women's empowerment in different areas of life, I focused on the concept of empowerment in relation to gender, education and development. My literature review highlighted the root concept of "power", definitions and categorizations of empowerment as well as case studies, measurement and analysis of empowerment. I also examined empowerment's relation to education, gender dimension (women) and

development through modernization and nation-building processes. I looked through Turkish modernization and nation building, particularly, the role of Turkish women within the process of modernization. When evaluating the case of VIs in Turkey, I benefited from the existing VIs literature together with the interviewees' own perception and articulation.

Along with the literature review, I conducted an extensive and multi-level qualitative study to have an in-depth understanding of the nature of society, VIs, its education, including its differentiating tools, features and contribution to women graduates as well as the detailed empowerment analysis. In order to identify the utility of VIs' education on women's empowerment, it was important to understand the limits and the prospects of the women graduates' empowerment process during VIs' education and after graduation. Rowlands'(1997) three-dimensional qualitative empowerment model provided applicable framework and variety of qualitative measures (core values, indicators, encouraging and inhibiting factors) to measure the impact of VIs' education on women graduates' empowerment in personal, collective and close relationship levels. The model focused on interviewees own perception and articulation of experiences as the basis of empowerment analysis. On the other hand, due to the ethical reasons (to protect privacy), a pseudonym was used under the quotes of each interviewee.

I argue that, in 1940s patriarchal structure, limited number of village girls benefited from VIs' education, which was the only education opportunity for females in rural Turkey.Therefore, VIs' education changed the lives of village people (village girls in particular). I also argue that, although VIs' coeducation system provided equal

education opportunity, founding ideals and the egalitarian discourse aimed to promote the sense of equality, these efforts did not lead to gender equality in practice.

Although a variety of definitions exist for empowerment, I used Rowlands' definition, which evaluated empowerment as a process in which people gain decision-making ability, capacity and right to act and influence decisions rather than just gaining power as it does not always lead to empowerment. I emphasize that, VIs' education and its tools corresponded to the characteristics of empowering education and contributed to its women graduates' personal empowerment, to a considerable extent. In personal level, VIs' education developed their personality and raised them as well skilled, confident, self-sufficient women who could stand on their own feet. On the other hand, due to the inhibiting influence of patriarchal society, VIs' education slightly contributed to women's collective (social) empowerment through "role model teacher" identity and led to "quasi-empowerment" in collective (social) level. Collective (social) empowerment in the case of VIs based on individual efforts and limited action of women graduates in society rather than collective / group work and action. The negative influence of patriarchal pressure and obstacles (including marriage, husband's interference / opposition, gender roles and responsibilities) were even stronger in the private sphere, which inhibited the realization of empowerment in close relationship level.

I also argue that disempowerment (or low level of empowerment) in relational level and limited ("quasi") empowerment in collective (social) level indicated that the influence of patriarchal pressure was significant. Despite VIs' education matched the characteristics of empowering education, that Freire, Dewey, Shor and other critical educators advocated, by itself it could not contribute undoing the inhibiting influence of

patriarchy which penetrated into the lives of women graduates and restricted /or totally inhibited their empowerment particularly within close relationships, in private sphere. I also added that, as well as the educational attainment, previous experiences and external interventions (including social, political, economical and familial factors as well as personality traits) influenced empowerment process of women graduates in each dimension differently and the qualitative model's analytical capacity was limited to reflect these complex interactions and interrelations.

Overall, I believe that, in the context of gender, education, modernization (development) and empowerment, measuring the impact of VIs' coeducation on its women graduates (qualitatively), in personal, collective/social and relational levels, will be a new contribution to the literature mainly due to the identification of uninvestigated group of people, unstudied topic and unanswered questions in VIs' literature.

Thesis Outline

Following the introduction, Chapter II provides the theoretical base of the thesis and reviews the literature around the key concept of empowerment in relation to other important concepts of education, gender, development via modernization, nation building and democratization, including the Turkish modernization, Turkish woman, the role of women's education and related educational policies in this process. This chapter also sheds light on measurement and analysis of empowerment and covers the elaborative review of Rowlands' Model, which I chose as the theoretical framework for measuring and analyzing women's empowerment. Chapter III outlines the methodology

of the thesis research, which is based on semi-structured in-depth interviews (both face to face and via telephone) among- predominantly- female graduates and other VI-related respondents, including male graduates, Village Institute teachers, academics and other contributors from eleven cities. Chapter IV covers the case of Village Institutes (VIs) in Turkey, and consists of three major sections. Nature of society, first section, highlights village conditions in late 1930s / early 1940s and identifies the barriers against village girls' access to education. Second section, VIs in Turkey, provides brief information on VIs' founding aim, life cycle, gender and teacher profile as well as their distribution in Turkey. Third section is the most comprehensive one, which identifies the nature of VIs' education, including its educational components / tools, differentiating features and their contribution to the progress of its female students, from the vision of the respondents. Interviewees evaluate the nature of VIs' education under the components of VIs' founder and founding pedagogy, academic program, methods and the VI system (style of education, relations, discipline, functioning and management). By benefiting from Rowlands' three-dimensional empowerment model, Chapter V identifies the results of empowerment analysis, which indicates the empowering impact of VIs' education on women graduates' lives in personal, collective (social) and relational dimensions. As well as the encouraging aspects, this analysis also differentiates the barriers and inefficient areas against women graduates' empowerment by shedding light on the differences between realized empowerment levels in personal, collective (social) and relational dimensions.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

The purpose of this literature review is to prepare the theoretical base for the thesis research and support the empirical findings by identifying the key concepts and the method of the selected theoretical framework for analysis. This chapter consists of five sections. First (and the most comprehensive) section will review the key concept of empowerment in terms of its underlying forms of "power", its definitions, categorizations, measurement and analysis. This section also provides in depth understanding of available methods/indicators, exemplary studies as well as the basics of Rowlands' Model (1997). It highlights the structure, qualitative measures and the implementation of Rowlands' model (1997) which came out as the most relevant theoretical framework for measuring and analyzing women's empowerment (qualitatively) in personal, collective and close relationship levels. Second section will draw attention to education in relation to empowerment and will address empowering education (including related theories) and its differentiating characteristics. Third section will focus on the gender dimension by emphasizing the role of education on women's empowerment. Section four, will shed light on modernization and nation building processes as the means of development through women's education and empowerment. And finally, section five, will-briefly- cover Turkish modernization and Turkish women in relation to empowerment and education in Tanzimat era, Young Turks era and the Republican era when women's emancipation (and empowerment) through education became the central issue in political ideology.

Empowerment

As I summarized above, this section will shed light on empowerment, which is the key concept of this thesis. Following review will cover models of power, definitions and categorizations of the concept as well as the measurement and analysis of empowerment, which will form the base of theoretical framework of the thesis research.

Power in Empowerment: Models of Power

Empowerment is a process in which various power relationships take place between women and men. In order to develop conceptual framework for evaluating and measuring empowerment, one needs to start identifying the underlying ("root") concept of "power" (Mosedale, 2005: 7; Rowlands, 1997: 9) which consists of four major forms: "power-over", "power to", "power-with", "power (from) within".

"Power-over"

According to Dahl, "within the social sciences power was first typified as 'power over'. A has power over B to the extent that s/he can get B to do something that B would not otherwise do" (Dahl, 1957: 202–203). According to Jo Rowlands, "power over"

represents the "controlling power which may be responded to with compliance, resistance or manipulation" (Rowlands, 1997: 13).Therefore, power-over requires a "relationship of domination and subordination" which occurs when power is exercised by dominant people over "marginalized" / oppressed ones (Rowlands, 1995: 101-102; Rowlands, 1997: 13; Mosedale, 2005: 7-8). For Srilatha Batliwala, empowerment stands for "the process of challenging existing power relations, and of gaining greater control over the sources of power" (Batliwala, 1994: 130). Power and gender relation is generally constructed on "power over" definition of power. Patriarchy displays the condition of males' "power-over" and oppression of women. From feminists' perspective, patriarchy refers to power of men (father, husband, etc.) over women and displays unjust social structure in which males' supremacy and females' subordination prevail (Kramarae, 1992; Stacey, 1993). In patriarchal societies, as the power is predominantly exercised by men over women, women's empowerment challenges men's patriarchal power over women and lead to change in power distribution in favor of females. Therefore, men might perceive women's empowerment as a barrier against their patriarchal control over women (Rowlands, 1997: 11).

"Power-to"

"Power-to", on the other hand, refers to "productive power, which creates new possibilities and actions without domination" (Rowlands, 1997: 13). In "power-to" situation, increase in individual's (or group's) power does not lead to decrease in other party's power (Rowlands, 1997:12). Power-to stands for people's self-decision making,

action taking, implementing and problem solving capacity (Kabeer, 2001: 21) and supports "leadership" as well (Oxaal and Baden, 1997: 3). In "power-to" case, rise in women's "ability to resist and challenge (men's) power-over" become the sign of women's empowerment (Rowlands', 1997: 12).

"Power-with"

"Power-with" stands for group power or "collective action" in which individuals come together to deal with the problems as a group (Rowlands, 1997: 13; Mosedale, 2005: 7-8). In "power-with" situation, people work and act together to empower collectively by "recognizing that more can be achieved by a group acting together than by individuals alone" (Mosedale, 2005: 7-8). "Power-with" is where the collective element comes in; and how far group power (collectives) can draw on "power-to" in terms of skills, tools, knowledge etc. (Rowlands, 1997).

"Power- from-within"

"Power-from-within" represents "spiritual strength" and exists in each individual. Self-acceptance and self-respect form the basis of "power-from-within" (Rowlands, 1997: 13) which is the starting point of any action for individual consciousness, positive change and development in the process of empowerment. In "power-from-within" case, increase in "self-esteem, awareness, and confidence" (Oxaal and Baden, 1997: 3) lead to (women's) empowerment.

Overall, empowerment is related to the models of power and is about "bringing people outside the decision making process into it" and "devolving 'power over' to those with none" (Bennett et al, 1994 in Rowlands, 1995:22). From feminists' perspective, empowerment covers 'power-over', 'power-to' and 'power-from-within'. Hence, empowerment involves accessing to and being part of decision-making process as well as developing human abilities and capacity to remove negative social constructions to make people perceive themselves as capable and having the right to act and influence decisions (Rowlands, 1995:23; Rowlands, 1997:14).

The Concept of Empowerment:
Definitions, Categorizations and Measurement

This section will shed light on the concept of empowerment by identifying how empowerment is perceived, defined, categorized and measured in the literature.

Definitions of Empowerment

There has been a range of definitions of empowerment in the literature. According to the core of these definitions; empowerment is a dynamic process of enhancing awareness (Charmes and Wieringa, 2003), developing skills, knowledge, and the "ability to make strategic life choices" (Kabeer, 2002: 19; Kabeer, 2008), accessing to resources (Kabeer, 2001; Charmes and Wieringa, 2003; Roy and Niranjan, 2004), enabling labor force

participation (Roy and Niranjan, 2004), and expanding individuals' agency (Sen, 1999; Kabeer, 2001; Ibrahim & Alkire, 2007), decision making capacity (Jojeebboy, 1995; Roy and Niranjan, 2004), status (Gage 1995; Tzannatos 1999) and autonomy which leads to increase in power and control over their own lives, bodies and environments (Narayana, 2002, World Development Report, 2002/2000; Oakley, 2001; Kishor, 2008) as well as supporting others' empowerment process. McWhirter's definition incorporates all of the above qualities and Rowlands make use of it in her book (McWhirter, 1991: 222 in Rowlands, 1997: 15).

Empowerment process challenges oppression and inequality (Oxfam, 1995) in patriarchal societies and requires significant change in the conditions of disempowered individuals (and groups). In order to understand the real meaning and the process of empowerment, one should be clear about the definition of disempowerment as well. According to Mosadale, empowerment necessitates disempowerment: "one must have been disempowered relative to others or relative to themselves at a previous time" to be empowered (Mosadale, 2005: 2). Empowerment leads to "the expansion in people's ability to make strategic life choices in a context where this ability was previously denied to them" (Kabeer, 2001:19). According to Kabeer's definition, empowerment requires change (transformation) from the condition of disempowerment by developing choice making ability.

Similar to Kabeer's disempowerment approach some others explained empowerment by using the concepts of "power and powerlessness" (Moscovitch and Drover, 1981; Townsend et al., 1999). According to this approach, the ones who were powerless (disempowered) previously, gain power to tackle with problems, achieve

change and development in the process of empowerment. From this perspective, empowerment stands for "the gaining of power by the vulnerable" (Townsend et al., 1999: 19 in Taşlı, 2007: 35). According to Lerner (1986) powerlessness arise from economical inequalities and oppression reinforced from outside (by the system or by others) as well as internalized negative beliefs, which inhibit individuals' struggle for gaining power (control and influence) (Lord and Hutchison, 1993: 2). Similar to Bourdieu's view of "aspects of tradition and culture which are so taken-for-granted that they have become naturalized" (Kabeer, 2001), Rowlands (1997) explains powerlessness with "internalized oppression". According to Rowlands, it occurs when people internalize the messages they received on how they are expected to be in society (e.g. subordinate status, obedience, having less value, etc.). When they believe those messages, control becomes internalized (oppression reinforced from outside leads to "internalized oppression") in this way, there is no need to assert power overtly (Rowlands, 1997: 11). "Internalized oppression creates barriers against women's exercise of power thereby contributing to the maintenance of inequality between men and women" (Rowlands, 1997: 13).Therefore, for Rowlands, empowerment occurs as the result of "undoing the effects of internalized oppression" (Rowlands, 1997:15).

Overall, empowerment is a complex concept; it is a multi-dimensional, multi-level, dynamic, social process and occurs in relation to others. It requires knowledge and skills (through education) for physical and intellectual development to result with gaining power and change (Page and Czuba, 1999; Peterson, Lowe, Aquilino & Schnider, 2005 in Hyung Hur, 2006: 524) and finally enhances and transforms the social status of disadvantaged (disempowered) to advantaged (empowered) (Gallway &

Bernasek, 2004; Gerges, 2004; Weissberg, 1999 in Hyung Hur, 2006: 524-526). According to Jo Rowlands, as the result of empowerment, individuals become "subjects in their own lives", develop "critical consciousness (understanding of their own circumstances as well as the circumstances of the social environment)" (Rowlands, 1995: 27), decision making capacity as well as the perception of having "the right to act and influence decisions" (Rowlands, 1997: 14).

Categorizations of Empowerment

In terms of conceptualizing empowerment, various categorizations exist in the literature of empowerment. For instance, Nelly Stromquist evaluates empowerment as a socio-political concept which is made up of four constituents; cognitive, psychological, economic and political empowerment (Stromquist, 1995:14, 15 in Mosedale, 2005: 6). Women gain awareness on the causes of their oppressed and subordinate position as well as their own needs, expectations and rights (cognitive component), develop self esteem, confidence and manage to free from 'learned helplessness' (psychological component), work both in private sphere and out of home which provide economical freedom (economical component) and develop the ability to influence and mobilize others for collective actions to achieve social transformation (political component) (Stromquist, 1995:14, 15 in Mosedale, 2005: 6). Batliwala's empowerment approach requires redistribution of power in political, social and economic dimensions, between and across both individuals and social groups (Batliwala, 2007: 559). Malhorta's empowerment dimensions- economic, socio-cultural, familial / interpersonal, legal, political, and

psychological- (Malhotra et al., 2002) show similarities with Batliwala's and Stromquist's.

Kabeer and Rowlands see empowerment as a process. Kabeer's categorization of empowerment consists of three interrelated and indivisible elements; resources, agency and achievements to gain the ability of making strategic life choices (Kabeer, 1999: 437, 438 in Mosedale, 2005: 7). Jo Rowlands, on the other hand, examines empowerment process from the angle of social work and education in particular and her three dimensional model is composed of personal, relational and collective components (Rowlands, 1995, 1997, 1998).

Measurement of Empowerment in the Literature

In order to find the most relevant theoretical framework for my thesis research, I searched and analyzed existing literature on measuring women's empowerment by benefiting from empirical studies. However, available work were either limited or focused on development projects-in particular, the development of women- such as; financial development programs (e.g. micro-credit), which targeted women's -personal, social, economical- development and empowerment and basic literacy programs, aiming to increase literacy, developing knowledge and abilities of teenage girls and adult women in underdeveloped countries and the related studies measured empowerment through qualitative and quantitative methods: either separately or as the combination of both methods. However, most of the work provided quantitative indicators that work in

macro level and only few developed a framework and provided qualitative measures working in micro level.

Availability of appropriate indicators in different levels was critical to measure empowerment. Oxaal and Baden categorized quantitative indicators for measuring empowerment in broad societal level and in project and program levels (Oxaal and Baden, 1997: 17). UNDP's[1] gender related indices (GDI[2] and GEM[3]) and HDI[4] are the examples of broad societal measurement indicators. GDI and GEM address the gender disparities according to the basic dimensions of HDI, which are life expectancy, educational attainment and income. These-quantitative- indicators enable country-based comparisons. On the other hand, CIDA's[5] empowerment indicators (in political, legal, economic and social levels),which are the examples of second category of project and program level, measure women's empowerment locally rather than universally (CIDA,1997: 3). CIDA indicates that most of these indicators are quantitative (CIDA, 1997: 32-33). However, understanding people's self-perception as well as capturing change in awareness, confidence, gender relations and social behaviors requires qualitative indicators (Wallenlind, 1997: 3; Kabeer, 2001: 28). Empowerment, as a dynamic process, is qualitative in nature (Sen, 1993). As Kabeer emphasizes, due to the subjectivity of empowerment process, measuring empowerment should rely on

---

[1] UNDP: The United Nations Development Programme

[2] GDI: The Gender-Related Development Index

[3] GEM: The Gender Empowerment Measure

[4] HDI: Human Development Index

[5] CIDA: The Canadian International Development Agency

individuals' own interpretation, self-assessment, judgment and validation rather than values provided by the evaluators of the programs (Kabeer, 1997; Kabeer, 1998).

Hashemi, Schuler, and Riley's (1996) study, conducted in Bangladesh, provides an example of measuring empowerment via a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods and related indicators. The study, which aimed to measure empowering effect of micro credit program on poor women's lives in local level, combined ethnographic research and a survey in six villages of Bangladesh. Quantitative part based on economic analysis whereas qualitative part included the evaluation of observations and interviews on different aspects of women's lives. The authors developed eight indicators to measure women's empowerment and set definitions for each indicator. These indicators, which based on observations, personal interviews and survey data, were mobility, economic security, ability to make small purchases, ability to make larger purchases, involvement in major decisions, and relative freedom from domination by the family, political and legal awareness and participation in public protest and political campaigning (Hashemi, Schuler, and Riley 1996:638-639). They also formed a point system, which required gaining certain number of points in a specific category, to measure empowerment through these indicators. "A woman was classified as 'overall empowered' if she had gained a minimum score on five or more of the categories" (Hashemi, Schuler, and Riley 1996: 637). Although Hashemi, Schuler, and Riley's empowerment model (1996) provided valuable indicators and comprehensive structure it required complex analysis and use of both qualitative and quantitative methods together.

Adato and Mindek's (2000) study on welfare and adult education program of Mexio (PROGRESA) was another example of measuring gender empowerment, via mixed methods: qualitative and quantitative methods. The aim was to measure the influence of education on women's status and relations within the household. The key indicator of empowerment was the development of bargaining power of spouses, which based on control over resources, legal rights, developing skills and knowledge, self-esteem, self-confidence, mobilization of interpersonal networks and improvement of women's status through education. Household surveys, which included questions on women's status and bargaining power, provided the quantitative base. Qualitative data of focus group studies identified women's empowerment through the lenses of women and men by evaluating the changes they perceived in their lives. Their research showed that this specific education program empowered women by raising awareness, gaining self-confidence, increasing ability of decision making, implementing and controlling their own actions as well as household resources (Adato and Mindek, 2000 in Murphy-Graham, 2008).

In qualitative level, Murphy-Graham's (2008) study aimed to clarify the relationship between education and women's empowerment and to measure the influence of education on women's empowerment. They researched the impact of specific tools and features of coeducational SAT[6] program, targeting primarily secondary school students (and adults slightly), in Honduras, in 2004, by applying qualitative-comparative- study in four villages (three of them had the SAT program for

[6] SAT (Sistema de Aprendizaje Tutorial): innovative secondary education program, promoting women's empowerment

five years and one comparison village who had SAT program for three months). The SAT program's uniqueness based on its curriculum and pedagogy, which were differentiated from traditional academic disciplines with the courses of "technology, mathematics, science, language, communication, and community service" as well as practical learning (combining theory with practical work). The pedagogy based on dialogue and debate among students, comprehension rather than memorization, motivation for participating in class discussions to express opinions and to challenge gender stereotypes, gender equality freely in front of a crowd (Murphy-Graham, 2008: 3-6, 11). Gaining knowledge, skills and critical understanding, self-esteem, self-confidence, self-determination, recognizing one's own power (awareness), ability to make strategic decisions and motivation to act were the qualitative indicators. "Capacity for self-determination and abilities to make strategic life choices" has come out as the defining criteria of empowerment. According to the results, the SAT program participation empowered women both cognitively (gaining specific knowledge and critical understanding) and psychologically (gaining and improving self-esteem and self-confidence to recognize their own power and motivate them to act) as Stromquist (1993) named the former as 'cognitive empowerment' and the latter 'psychological empowerment' (Murphy-Graham, 2008: 8, 10).

Jo Rowlands (1997) constructed a model of empowerment which based on two case studies on educational development projects of two different organizations (PAEM, the *Programa Educativa de la Mujer*-Women's Educational Programme, and the Health Promoters' training programme in Urraco Pueblo) working with "grass roots" rural women in Honduras, locally (at micro level). Her research aimed to identify these

programs' impact on participant women's empowerment and used qualitative methods (individual interviews with group members and group discussions) and the individual perspectives of the respondents (Rowlands, 1995, 1997).

Rowlands approached empowerment from a gender-education- and development perspective and evaluated empowerment as a process in which woman (or a group of women) discovered herself (/or themselves) and experienced change (Rowlands, 1995). Rowlands' research brought broader analytical perspective to the discussion of empowerment. She showed that empowerment could be achieved and measured at different levels. Although she accepted the complexity and difficulties of defining and measuring empowerment, unlike the others, she proposed an applicable framework and variety of qualitative measures, to measure empowerment on personal, collective and relational (within close relationships) grounds, which provided a useful basis for qualitative analysis (Rowlands, 1997: 13-15). Rowlands' qualitative measures in three dimensions incorporated most of the indicators of above studies as well. Due to these aspects, I chose Jo Rowland's qualitative model as the basing theoretical framework for my research to design the interview schedule, to measure and analyze the impact of specific education on women's empowerment process qualitatively.

Now, I will evaluate the details of Rowlands' model (1997) but prior to the in-depth evaluation, I will address the limitations of Rowlands' model then, I will explain how this three-dimensional qualitative model of Rowlands measures and analyzes (the impact of education on) women's empowerment in each dimension.

Measurement and Analysis of Empowerment via Rowlands' Model (1997)

Jo Rowlands related the concept of empowerment to gender-women in particular- and saw empowerment 'as part of processes of social change' by emphasizing that, "development is about change" (Rowlands, 1995: 12; Rowlands, 1997: vi). Two case studies that Rowlands based her research on were related to two different women organizations' education / training programs and her analysis identified the empowering impact of these educational programs on participant women by focusing on their own perception (Rowlands, 1995:14; Rowlands, 1997). Therefore, Rowlands' approach to empowerment from gender-education (educational/training programs) - and development point of view, corresponded to my case (of VIs' education during the foundational period of 1940-46) which was concurrent with the Turkish modernization, nation-building and development process in which Turkish women's education took central role for social change and development (social, economical, cultural and political). At the same time, Rowlands' model-to a large extent- met the theoretical needs of my thesis research to identify and measure the empowering impact of education on women. Prior to detailed evaluation of three-dimensional Rowlands' model, I will identify existing limitations of this framework, which may address the possible questions / difficulties regarding the analysis of empowerment process.

Limitations of Rowlands' Model

Although three-dimensional Rowlands model provides useful and practical measures to simplify measurement process, it has some limitations as well. Empowerment process has complex and dynamic nature, which require interaction and interrelation between various elements. However, Rowlands' model may fail to reflect the interactions and interrelations between three dimensions and different elements-including previous experiences and external interventions- during the process of empowerment mainly due to its insufficient analytical capacity. Therefore, it is not suitable for detailed analysis. Empowerment is a very context-specific process and Rowlands model emphasizes the different contexts (personal, relational and collective levels) in which empowerment can be achieved. However, in this model there is a strong emphasis on individual-psychological or psycho-social- aspects of empowerment. As Rowlands indicates, it (personal level) is the most significant area of change and empowerment evaluation base on self-perception of particular individuals (respondents) and that context (personal level) is therefore clear. However, in collective and close relationship levels, things are more complex, and the nature of the context is variable. So it becomes harder to generalize the results and fully identify the interactions between these levels (Rowlands, 1997: 110). However, positive aspects of this framework preponderate over its limitations, which made me to choose it as the theoretical basis of my thesis research.

Three-Level Model of Empowerment: Personal, Collective, Relational

Rowlands' model includes three levels-personal, collective and within close relationships- where empowerment can be experienced and exercised (Rowlands, 1997:14). As following diagram (figure 1.) displays there is an interaction and interrelation between three levels of empowerment.

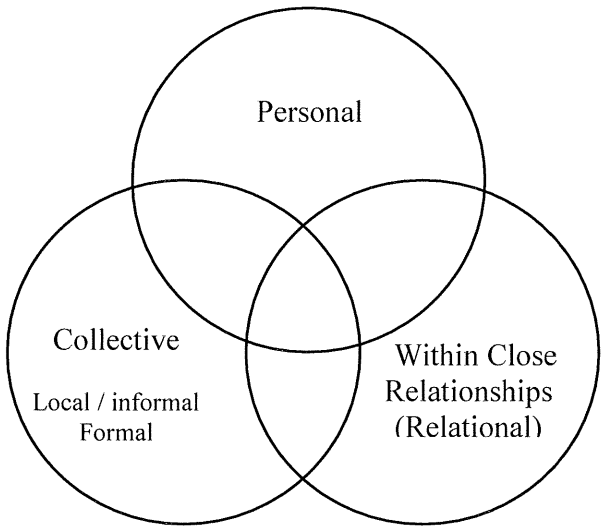


Fig. 1 Three levels of Empowerment (Rowlands, 1997: 14)

For each level, the model provides a set of 'core values', 'indicators', 'inhibiting factors' and 'encouraging factors' to measure changes to identify whether and to what extend women experience and exercise empowerment in each level (Rowlands, 1997: 112, 116,120).

"Core values" represent the essence and the determinant elements of empowerment process. Significant increase in core values is the sign of empowerment (Rowlands, 1998: 22). Rowlands distinguishes between "the 'core' of the empowerment

process that is, the transformation of the individual or group that is the 'key' that opens the 'locks' on the empowerment door; and the circumstances, that appear to encourage or inhibit the process" (Rowlands, 1997: 111). For Rowlands, empowerment is not free from previous experiences and history (including background and character traits, etc.) which may influence the strength of encouraging or inhibiting factors (Rowlands, 1997: 111).

Indicators represent skills, abilities and capabilities that women gain to achieve positive change (transformation) which is critical for empowerment (as changes display the realization of empowerment). Encouraging factors support empowerment process. These factors might relate to cultural, economical, political, social or physical conditions. Inhibiting factors, which appear as the components of cultural, social and physical conditions, the gender roles, political or economical circumstances, hamper the empowerment process (Rowlands, 1997: 114).

Personal Empowerment

Personal empowerment refers to women's unique, individual ("psychological and psycho-social") experience of development and change, which depends on each woman's own background, conditions and actions (as well as the influence and contribution of education). "The process of empowerment is both experienced as a feeling of personal change and development and also, manifested, or demonstrated, in changed behavior" (Rowlands, 1997: 111, 114).

According to Rowlands, personal empowerment means, "developing a sense of self, individual confidence and capacity and undoing the effects of internalized oppression" (Rowlands, 1997: 15). The 'core values', in personal level, consists of "self-confidence, self-esteem, sense of agency, sense of 'self' and dignity" which are necessary to remove the negative impact of "internalized oppression" (Rowlands, 1995: 24; Rowlands, 1997: 15, 111). In personal dimension, "sense of agency" means, "being an individual who can interact with her surroundings and cause things to happen". "Sense of self", on the other hand, comes to mean, "being able to move out the gender assigned roles given by culture" and the meaning of "dignity" is "not only worthy of respect from others, but having a right to that respect" as well (Rowlands, 1997: 111, 113).

"Encouraging factors" involves motivational activities or conditions supporting personal empowerment process. For instance, social activities contribute breaking isolation, participating in-group activities and developing communication or gaining particular skills and abilities develops confidence and strengthens self-identity (Rowlands, 1997: 113).

"Inhibiting factors" comprise of cultural, social and physical context as well as political, economical, traditional, religious or familial barriers, which include the elements of oppression (e.g. male pressure-machismo-dependency, male control over income, etc.). Inhibiting factors in personal level influence empowerment process in other levels as well.

"Indicators" of personal empowerment involve personal skills and abilities (e.g. communicative, cognitive, social, economical, etc. skills and abilities) that women develop (through education). These abilities contribute to their progress and lead to changes (indicators also display these changes). For instance, increased ability to think, analyze, and express opinions, to develop a sense that more things are possible are some of the indicators (evidence) of personal empowerment (Rowlands, 1995: 101).

Following table (Table 1.) exhibits the components of Rowlands' model, which consists of the core values, indicators, encouraging and inhibiting factors for measuring personal empowerment:

Table 1. Components of Rowlands' Model in Personal Level

Core Values of Personal Empowerment	Indicators of Personal Empowermen	Encouraging Factors for Personal Empowerment	Inhibiting Factors (obstacles) for Personal Empowerment
•Self-confidence •Self-esteem / self-respect •Dignity •Sense of "self" •Sense of "agency"	•Ability to formulate and express ideas and opinions • Ability to participate in and influence new spaces • Ability to learn, analyze and act • Sense that things are possible • Ability organize own time • Ability to obtain and control resources • Ability to interact outside the home	• Activity outside the home • Travel • Development of Literacy skills • Time for self • Being Part of a group and participating in its activities • Ending isolation • Wider friendship • Sharing of problems / support	• Fatalism • Dependency • Machismo • Active opposition by partner • Male control over income • Constant child bearing / lack of control over fertility • Childcare obligations • Health problems (obligation of patient care) • Poverty (economical obligations stemming

			from poverty) •Unstable local politics •Lack of control over use of time

Source: Rowlands, 1997: 112-113

Collective Empowerment

In collective level, "individuals work together to achieve a more extensive impact than each could have had alone" which "includes involvement in political structures, but can also be collective action based on a co-operative rather than a competitive model" (Rowlands, 1995: 24; Rowlands, 1997:15). Collective empowerment involves wide range of scale from local and informal to formal and institutional. Individuals' previous experiences influence collective empowerment as well. Therefore, Rowlands admits that, "empowerment in a collective dimension in practice needs to be broken down further as a category" (Rowlands, 1995: 24; Rowlands, 1997:15). Collective level depends and builds on personal level, as without being empowered in personal level it is difficult to be active in collective level. However, the model "does not fully represent the interaction between them" due to the complex and dynamic interrelations and interactions stemming from multiple variables (Rowlands, 1997:110). On the other hand, detailed measures (core values, indicators, encouraging and inhibiting factors) of collective empowerment serve as a checklist to identify whether women achieved collective empowerment as a result of collective work and action or not.

The core values of collective empowerment include "developing group identity, sense of collective agency, group dignity, self organization and management" (Rowlands, 1997: 115-116, 23). The reason for taking "self organization and management" as a collective core value, is because of its connection and reinforcing effect on other core values (Rowlands, 1997: 117).

Encouraging factors, in collective level, support the development of the 'core' of collective empowerment. Some of the encouraging factors base on organizational form using the methodology of respect and learning from experience or 'autonomy', some of them rely on motivation of pioneering personalities and some others are activity based factors like organizing small income generating activities which encourage empowerment process in collective level (Rowlands, 1997: 117).

Inhibiting factors base on social, cultural, economical and political conditions that inhibit the development of collective empowerment. For instance, culture of male dominance-machismo-, pressure of conservative / religious forces, economical disadvantages (lack of control over land / financial sources), dependency on others, or unstable local politics discourage people (group of individuals) to tackle collective projects and inhibit collective empowerment (Rowlands, 1997: 118).

Indicators are the signs of changes that result from collective empowerment. These changes include development of various abilities such as an ability to negotiate with other organizations, to get recognition by outsiders and ability to generate external support. Through these abilities women manage to organize collectively to meet their

own needs, to access resources (financial, expertise, etc.), to respond collective events, etc. (Rowlands, 1997: 118-119).

Following table (Table 2.) summarizes components of Rowland's model – core values, indicators, encouraging and inhibiting factors- for measuring empowerment in collective level.

Table 2. Components of Rowlands' Model in Collective Level

Core Values of Collective Empowerment	Indicators of Collective Empowerment	Encouraging Factors for Collective Empowerment	Inhibiting Factors (obstacles) for Collective Empowerment
• Group dignity • Developing group identity • Sense of collective agency • Self organization and management	• Ability to negotiate with other organizations (and officials) • Ability to organize around own needs • Recognition by outsiders and ability to generate external support • Ability to join and start new networks of organizations • Ability to respond collectively to events outside group • Access to resources	• Support from key individuals • Methodology of respect and learning from experience • Animators within groups • Identification of own needs • Analysis of own context • Tackling the conflict • "Autonomy" • Links/networking with other organizations • Development of leadership • Organizing small income generating activities • Spiritual base (philosophy/liberation/theology) • Discussion of sexuality	•Conservative (culture and) forces within religious institutions •Dependency on "key" individuals (traditional and conservative culture of women's subordination -in place of "culture of caudillismo") • Machismo • "Internalized oppression" reinforced from outside • Active opposition • Lack of control over land (income / financial sources) •Conservative culture of obedience (conservative force of men over women) • Unstable local politics •Lack of control over use of time • Lack of appropriate technical support • In cohesive local community

Source: Rowlands, 1997: 116

Empowerment within Close Relationships (Relational)

Empowerment within close relationships is about "developing the ability to negotiate and influence the nature of the relationship and decision made within that relationship" (Rowlands, 1995: 24). Relational empowerment includes close family members like children, parents and in-laws as well as spouses (Rowlands, 1995: 107). "To have a sense of empowerment in relation to other people, to a large extent, dependent upon self-confidence, self-esteem and sense of agency" (Rowlands, 1997: 119) which are the core values of personal empowerment. Therefore, empowerment within close relationship is also related to personal empowerment.

The 'core values' of relational empowerment includes the individual's abilities to negotiate, communicate, to get support, to defend self/rights as well as developing sense of "self" and dignity in relationship. Such skills lead to changes displaying both personal and relational empowerment (Rowlands, 1997:119-121). In order to be empowered within close relationships not only women but also spouses need to experience (or to cooperate with that) changes demonstrating empowerment (Rowlands, 1995: 102).

Encouraging factors, in relational dimension, involve socialization by joining groups which ends women's isolation, gives them the opportunity to share their problems to get support, to develop awareness of 'women's rights' and the perception of inequalities as 'wrong' (Rowlands, 1997: 119).

The factors inhibiting empowerment within close relationships are related to conservative culture of male dominance-machismo- over women and cultural expectations, male's violence and alcohol consumption as well as male's control over

income / economic dependency of women and 'internalized oppression' of women that reinforces dependency even more (Rowlands, 1997: 119-121).

Indicators- changes- demonstrating empowerment within close relationships included development of communication with husbands, women's contribution to decision making process within the family and more cooperative relations with others (e.g. neighbors) (Rowlands, 1997: 119). Rowlands emphasized that positive change in relationships with husbands or in-laws leads to increase in women's control over income, childbearing, mobility, time use as well as ability to attend meetings, making own choices and seeing more respect from others(including the husbands) (Rowlands, 1997: 121). Following table (Table 3.) exhibits components of Rowlands' model -the core values, indicators, encouraging and inhibiting factors- for measuring empowerment within close relationships:

Table 3. Components of Rowlands' Model within Close Relationships

Core Values of Empowerment within Close Relationship	Indicators of Empowerment within Close Relationship	Encouraging Factors for Empowerment within Close Relationship	Inhibiting Factors (obstacles) for Empowerment within Close Relationship
•Ability to negotiate •Ability to communicate •Ability to get support •Ability to defend self/rights •Sense of "self" in relationship •Dignity	•Self-respect and respect from others •Capacity to make own choices •Control over time use •Control over income •Control over mobility •Ability to attend meetings •Control over childbearing	•Concept of "women's rights" •Knowledge of women's rights" •Perception of inequalities as "wrong" •Ending isolation •Participation in groups •Sharing problems with other women •Peer pressure / support •"Travel"	•Cultural expectations of women •Dependency of women •Machismo •"Internalized oppression" •Male violence (strong culture of violence) •Alcohol consumption by partner •Male control over income

Source: Rowlands, 1997: 110-128

After evaluating the concept of empowerment in terms of definitions, categorizations, measurement and analysis, I will examine the other interrelated dimensions of education, gender, development, Turkish modernization and Turkish women in relation to the key concept of empowerment.

Education and Empowerment

This section aims to shed light on education in terms of its connection to empowerment to answer the questions of how education empowers and what kind of education empowers / what are the characteristics of empowering education?.

Education's Role on Empowerment

Education is the key initiator of the empowerment process, which starts with raising awareness, continues with gaining confidence and mobility to be free from oppressions, maximizing power and finally creating new social order through knowledge provided by education (Gibson, 1995; Robins, Chatterjee and Canda, 1998: 91; Parpart et al., 2003; Freire, 1973; Friedmann, 1992; Weissberg, 1999).

Empowerment theory in education was developed by Paulo Freire[7] and based on the idea of "liberating the oppressed (disempowered) people through education" (Hyung Hur, 2006: 523). Freire's liberating education based on "critical pedagogy", combination of education and "critical theory" (Kincheloe and Steinburg, 1997), which promotes consciousness ("conscientization") to shape person (and the society) to take action against oppression as the critical theory aims "to liberate human beings from the circumstances that enslave them" (Horkheimer, 1982: 244). According to Freire (1973), education develops abilities by enhancing consciousness and by triggering people /or groups to challenge inequalities, to mobilize them to create desired change and transformation. In other words, through the contribution of education, oppressed individuals become the "subjects" in their own lives, develop "critical consciousness" to be aware of their own circumstances and to understand the conditions of their own environment to take action (Rowlands, 1995: 27) to develop and change. The outcome shows how oppressed people gain power and access resources (Freire, 1973; Parpart et al., 2003; Robins et al., 1998: 91) through education.

---

[7] Freire's *pedagogy of the oppressed* (1970) involved a consciousness-raising (*conscientizacao*), allowed people to be aware of their deficiencies and aimed to be more fully human. His pedagogy based on freedom, praxis and balance between theory and practice in education. Freire adopted Marx's notion of a 'polytechnic education', advocating the strong relationship between education and production. His approach allowed to engage in dialogue with teachers and to fully participate in the educational process, help individuals better themselves and create a better life through social transformation and empowerment. His perception of discipline based on love. He rejected the idea of conforming to dominant views and values of traditional education. Therefore, pedagogy of the oppressed opposes dominant conceptions of education and schooling, emancipates and starts social transformation, which has been vital for the education of revolutionary societies (Freire, 1996).

Empowering Education and its Characteristics

Freire's empowering pedagogy ("critical pedagogy") exhibits anti-authoritarian, conscious generating, liberating, empowering and inspiring characteristics, which promotes critical thinking and interactive learning. In "pedagogy of oppressed", Freire compares empowering education ("the problem defining model of education") with traditional education which he calls "banking model of education" as it treats the student as an empty vessel (like an "empty bank account") to be filled with knowledge without questioning, or critical thinking. According to Freire, in traditional education, teachers display authoritarian characteristics, they talk, give orders and students listen and obey teachers' orders thus traditional schools do not encourage students to become autonomous individuals (Freire, 1991: 47 in Gümüşoğlu, 2012: 16) and active participants instead promote passive receiver role for the students. Whereas, Freire's empowering education "builds skills, confidence, and opportunities for individual and collective action" (Delp et al., 2005: 273), "encourages the conscious to actively criticize the reality" as well (Freire, 1991: 53 in Gümüşoğlu, 2012: 16). According to Freire, in empowering education, teachers act "as a guide" rather than dictating authority.

As a pioneering progressive educator and educational reformer, John Dewey's[8] educational philosophy shows similarity with Freire's constructivist philosophy as both

[8] John Dewey is known as the father of the progressive education who saw "education as an evolving and experiential process in which one would learn by doing". He believed that students should be involved in real-life tasks and challenges. He rejected authoritarian teaching methods. He linked education with

advocated participatory and dialogue based (Gordon, 2009; Rocha-Schmid, 2010; Freire, 1968; Lewis, 2009) empowering education. Dewey also emphasized democracy and democratic participation as the most effective way of (empowering) education where students learn the functioning of democracy not only politically but also as a way of working and interacting within society (Engel, 2008). Taking and sharing responsibility in class / school was another important feature of Dewey's effective education pedagogy as a way of empowering students.

According to Ira Shor (critical pedagogue), empowering education provides "critical-democratic pedagogy for self and social change" (Shor, 1992:15) and she identifies the values of empowering pedagogy as; "participatory, affective, problem-posing, situated, multicultural, dialogic, de-socializing, democratic, researching, interdisciplinary, and activist" (Shor, 1992: 17). Banks (1991), on the other hand, emphasizes that empowering education needs to provide a specially designed curriculum which "must be transformative in nature for students to develop the knowledge, skills and values needed to become social critics who can make reflective decisions and implement their decisions in effective personal, social, political and economic action" (Shor, 1992:16). Following table (Table 4.) summarizes the key aspects of empowering education in comparison to traditional education.

Table 4. Empowering Education versus Traditional Education

---

democracy by emphasizing that education was the key to democracy. He pointed out that one had to be educated to be a good citizen and competent actor in democratic life (Dewey, 1938).

Empowering Education	Traditional Education
Student-centered	Teacher-centered (ignoring students)
Critical	Obedient / submissive
Participatory (active) learning (based on the idea that "learning works best when it is an active, creative process")	Passive Learning
Cognitive and Emotional learning (Affective learning)	Rational learning
Democratic (egalitarian democracy)	Authoritative (imposition, pressure)
Autonomous	Restricting
Cooperative	Competitive
Sociality / social habits / cooperative and productive relations	Isolation, alienation
Participatory curriculum and Participatory classroom	Official syllabus and classroom
Problem–posing (active, inquiring, critical learning)	Memorizing / Transfer of knowledge/ Giving-answers
Situated model of learning (curious, creative, critical, experiential, encouraging)	Dictated (by the teacher)
Multicultural learning (reducing conditions of alienation)	Alienation from civic life
Mutual dialogue between teacher and student	One-way teacher talk- didactic teaching / lecture
Desocialized Thinking (critical consciousness, questioning existing knowledge, inequalities, conditions to transform them)	Imposition of official culture and language (top down)
Activist Learning (learning and acting for the democratic transformation of self and society)	-
Researching (values research)	-
Interdisciplinary (integration of reading, writing, critical dialogue and cooperative learning in curriculum)	-
Develop skills (skill-building)	Suppress skills
Promotes self-discipline	-
Intellectual curiosity and intellectual development	Lack of intellectualism
Encouraging / motivating	Inhibiting
Confidence building	Guilt generating
Promotes self-discipline	-
Optimistic feelings about students' potential and future	Pessimistic feelings / denial of positive feelings
Provoking Positive emotions (humor, cooperativeness, hope, curiosity, responsibility, respect, attentiveness, openness, concern about society	Provoking Negative emotions (boredom, frustration, desire to escape, self-doubt, disrespect, hostility, resentment, indignation)

Shor, Ira.1992.Empowering Education. London: The University of Chicago Press.

Supporters of the critical theory advocated democratizing education which required progressive, experimental, participatory, cooperative, dialog and discussion based methods and curriculum as opposed to patronizing and imposing (neo-liberal) approaches (Kellner, 2003: 15,16). These aspects were also in line with the characteristics of empowering education as emphasized in Table 4. Linking education with democracy leads to change in domination / subordination type of social relations in the direction of social justice and equality (Kellner, 2003: 7, 8) where gender dimension- in the context of women's empowerment through education- gains importance.

Gender Education and Empowerment

This section will identify the gender dimension and its relation to empowerment and education to answer the question of how and in which conditions education empowers women.

Education is crucial for everyone, as emphasized by UNPF[9] authorities, but even more important for girls and women. Education is a gateway to other opportunities. The educational gains and progress of women can also reflect and create changes within the family and across generations. According to ICPD's[10] program of action, paragraph 4.2, "Education is one of the most important means of empowering women with the knowledge, skills and self-confidence necessary to participate fully in the development

---

[9] UNPF: The United Nations Population Fund
[10] ICPD: International Conference on Population and Development Programme of Action on population and development for the next 20 years, *Cairo, Egypt, September 5-13, 1994.*

process". Relevant knowledge, skills and confidence provided by proper formal education will contribute to women's empowerment and will enable them to have a stance to compete in life. "Education of girls has the potential to transform the life chances of the girls themselves, their future families, and the societies in which they live" (Levine, 2006).

Women's subordination and oppression, in patriarchal societies, necessitate the examination of the gender dimension of education through its impact on empowerment. In patriarchal societies, not only biologically but also culturally defined and assigned gender roles for men and women, reinforce, and perpetuate relationships of male dominance and female subordination. There are differences between males and females in terms of their status, power, behavior and roles in society. Women have lower status and power in various practices, which may become difficult to root out from the mental frames of people (Njogu and Orchardson-Mazrul, 2006).

Women's education, contribute to women's well-being, provides long-term gender equality, empowerment, and social change, secure social returns for the benefit of the society and the nation as well (Subrahmanian, 2002:iii, v). However, for Kabeer (1999), education in general is not a substantial measure of ("resource" for) empowerment unless it fulfills the function of developing women's capabilities to have self-determination to be able to make strategic life choices. Therefore, for Kabeer, 'the essence of empowerment is to enhance women's capacity for self-determination' (Kabeer, 1999: 435, 462 in Murphy-Graham, 2008: 2). Rather than positing the view of education and empowerment contribute each other automatically, Murphy-Graham argues that if the content and pedagogy used in education contribute to the development

of women in terms of gaining knowledge, skills, self-confidence and consciousness (on gender equality in particular) then, education can support the process of women's empowerment (Murphy-Graham, 2008).

Stromquist (2002) emphasizes that empowerment through education can be achieved in case of implementation of "a curriculum that challenges current sexual stereotypes and provides students with alternative visions of society unburdened with gender inequality"(Stromquist, 2002 in Murphy-Graham, 2008:3). "Awareness of gender equity", "increased knowledge" and "self-confidence" is the key educational attainments that enable women to empower and progress (Murphy-Graham, 2008: 13).

Although becoming literate with any kind of education contributes women's lives in some way, qualities of education influence women's empowerment. Education that enhances skills, abilities and knowledge, promotes awareness on gender equality, develops self-confidence as well as capacity of decision-making and self-determination contribute women's empowerment.

It is important to examine education's utility and empowering impact on women in the context of development through modernization and nation building processes to understand whether these processes lead to women's empowerment / whether the educational policies during these development processes overlap with the goals of women's empowerment. Following sections will focus on these issues.

Modernization and Nation Building Processes and Women

This section will briefly shed light on the process of modernization-as the means of development- in relation to women's education and empowerment.

The idea behind the modernization theory was development of societies and social change (transformation) from traditional to modern to escape from backwardness. Development, as the synonym of modernization, also comes to mean "as the process of changing traditional society into a modern one" (Harrison, 1988; Inkeles and Smith 1974). Inglehart describes modernization as increased level of industrialization, urbanization, occupational capabilities and education (Inglehart 1997: 7). Similar to Inglehart, Inkeles and Smith link modernization with industrialization and personal qualities-modern values-, gathered through family, school (education) and factory (Inkeles and Smith 1974).

Modernization provides resources, which develops the capability of people and gives them freedom against domination and external constraints. In the process of modernization, increase in emancipative values, emphasizing 'freedom of expression' and 'equality of opportunities', encourage people to practice freedom. In this process, democratization, on the other hand, provides legal rights for practicing freedom (Welzel and Inglehart, 2008; Welzel, 2013) which form the necessary social and cultural conditions for empowerment.

In general, political elite have taken the lead in the modernization projects and the 'West' as their model. Development in literacy, education, urbanization,

industrialization as well as improvement and change in social, cultural (and religious) values became important aims of these projects where women became the key actors of modernization (Gelgeç Gürpınar, 2006:3, 15). As part of development, women's education, emancipation, status, participation into the public sphere and empowerment became debated issue in the process of modernization and nation building. Change in women's status triggered challenges coming from outside or inside of a given society (Abadan-Unat, 1974).

Women have taken pivotal role in the modernization and nation-building processes in different ways. In most cases, they have become the symbol of these projects and represented the liberation and progress of the society as well as the political ideology. Expectation from women was to make them work for the common good as the biological reproducers and the cultural transmitters of the nation (Anthias and Yuval-Davis, 1997:22-23).

Nationalism, which became the dominant ideology of modernization and nation-building processes, justified women's existence as good citizens of the nation in public sphere and as good mothers, nurturing good citizens, in the private sphere (Gelgeç Gürpınar, 2006: 5-6). Although women's roles in private sphere(as mother, as spouse and as citizen of the nation) continued, through education women experienced development, transformation (change) and gained the opportunity to have an access to public sphere (Abu-Lughod, 1998:8) with new rights and new status in society (Mogdam, 1994). However, according to Nagel, nation was a familial area where males undertook more dominant roles than females. Women served symbolic roles as the reproducers of the nation and represented national identity. Hence, protection of

women's sexuality gained importance in the context of nationalism. Purity of women's sexuality became the matter of male honor in the private sphere and the subject of national honor in the public sphere (Nagel, 1998: 254-256).

Women's education, emancipation and gender equality have become the indispensable part of the modernization and nation building projects. According to Inglehart and Welzel, gender equality increased women's access to educational and occupational opportunities and contributed economic development (economic modernity), which influenced cultural process of human development as well. Through cultural development (cultural modernity), women gained emancipative worldview, enhanced values of self-expression, decision-making and autonomy (Inglehart and Welzel 2005; Welzel 2003; Welzel, Inglehart and Klingemann 2003) which led to women's empowerment within society (Inglehart and Norris 2003; Inglehart and Welzel 2005). In terms of political development, secular and rational approach (change in religious traditions), women's suffrage, strength in democratic traditions, state's welfare policy and leftist government formation contributed women's political inclusion and increased gender equality, and women's empowerment (Alexander and Welzel, 2007:8-12).

According to Inglehart, during the process of modernization, economic, cultural and political development went hand in hand (Inglehart, 1997) and "economic development triggered cultural changes that make individual autonomy, gender equality, and democracy increasingly likely" (Inglehart and Welzel, 2005). Overall, increase in gender equality and the rise in emancipative values reinforced women's empowerment

(Inglehart and Norris 2003; Inglehart, Norris, and Welzel 2002; Inglehart and Welzel 2005; Welzel 2003).

On the other hand, as Smith (1999) emphasized, during the processes of modernization although women gained civic rights, in many cases they remained citizens under the tutelage of male citizens or state authorities or, like inter war France, they became citizens in the sense of national duties but not in terms of civil or political rights (Smith, 1999). According to the feminists, in patriarchal societies, during modernization processes the promises on equal rights did not lead to gender equality in citizenship stemming from social, political and economic inequalities in practice. Feminists saw the double subordination of women (to husband and to state) as hampering reason against the implementation of given civic rights (Yuval-Davis, 1997:5; Heater, 1999: 93) and these unequal treatments conflicted with human equality principle of democracy (McDonagh 2002; Welzel 2003) as well as equal opportunity and gender equality approach of modernization and nation-building processes.

Following section will draw attention to the Turkish modernization and Turkish women's role within this process. Then, I will cover educational policies in the context of Turkish modernization and nation-building processes including the aims and implementations of educational policies to identify the role of education on women's empowerment during the Turkish modernization in the Republican era.

Turkish Modernization and Turkish Women during Tanzimat, Young Turks and Republican Eras: Reforms and Educational Policies

Turkish modernization process was different from the Western model. Starting point of Western modernization was the Enlightenment and industrial revolution, which promoted transformation from traditional to modern. Turkish modernization, on the other hand, represented the aspects of transition from an imperial state to non-imperial one (Arnason, 1997 in Kaya, 2004:11-12) without going through industrial revolution. Turkey's modernization experience realized with the aim of developing its own-autonomous- modernity (Kaya, 2004:35) and represented the character of a project, which entailed with internalization of Western-European- civilization and improvements (Göle 1984; Göle 1997; Kasaba 1997; Keyder 1997). In Turkish modernization, state's centralization, secularization, gender equality and individuals' autonomy were necessary for social transformation and nation-building (Keyder, 1997).

Turkish Modernization and Turkish Women during Tanzimat and Young Turks Eras

Modernization efforts of Ottoman Empire began in Tanzimat era with new reform policy and related laws, which included women into the political agenda (Yeşilyurt Gündüz, 2004: 115). Therefore, starting point of the Turkish modernization was Tanzimat era.

Tanzimat Era (1839-1876)

During Tanzimat era ('regulations' of 1839) perception of Western superiority became the rising trend, women's status, education, and existing patriarchal implementations

(e.g. polygamy, concubinage, etc.) took part in the political agenda (Sirman, 1989; Gole, 1991; Kandiyoti, 1991). Women's oppression was considered as a barrier against Ottoman Empire's modernization efforts. Therefore, women's education gained importance as a way of nurturing new modern generation (Yeşilyurt Gündüz, 2004: 115). However, gender segregation, which supported patriarchal structure, continued in this process (Kandiyoti, 1989). Reformist attempts –for changing the position of women- were limited mainly due to ideological and religious reasons (Tekeli, 1998:295). In Tanzimat period women were seen as wives and mothers in need of education to improve themselves for fulfilling their domestic roles better rather than taking place in the public sphere as part of working force (Sirman, 1989).

Young Turks Era

Education during the constitutional periods followed different path. During the first constitutional period (1876-1878), modernization attempts of Tanzimat era continued however, "Islamism" was emphasized more than westernization and "Ottomanism". In the second constitutional period (1908-1918), the climate of the Balkan Wars (1912-1913) and World War I (1914-1918) influenced prevailing values and the context of education. Women's position in the society and liberty became the topic of discussion during the Young Turks period. Necessity for women's work power during Balkan Wars and First World War paved the way for women's mobilization and appearance in the public sphere (Unat, 1998; Tekeli, 1998). Although there was an increasing demand for

women's labor force, the role of being "reproducers of the nation" continued to be emphasized (Kandiyoti, 1989: 135).

Starting from Tanzimat and followed by Young Turks era reformist ideas and attempts on women's position, liberty, etc. prepared the basis of Republican reforms and the Turkish modernization project (Kaya, 2004: 45).

Turkish Modernization and Turkish Women during Republican Era

When establishing the nation-state, under Mustafa Kemal's leadership, special emphasis was given to secular modernization (Jayawardena, 1986:25). Significant shift from Islamic to secular modernization necessitated radical reforms, aiming to change women's position in the society (Durakbaşa, 1998:139). Therefore, women became integral part of the Turkish modernization and nation-building project. During the early Republican period, the purpose of the nationalist and modernist ideology was to transform women's identity to form new modern women and family model for the Turkish society (Sirman, 2002).

Modern nation-state was formed by the Republican reforms, which gave priority to gender equality that aimed to change women's role in society, lifestyle and culture (Tuna, 2012: 274). From another perspective, gender equality, which was part of national identity, meant equality of women with men within the new Turkish nation who shared the same ideals and responsibilities for establishing the modern nation-state (Durakbaşa, 1998:141).

Reforms and Turkish Women

Education was an effective way of integrating Turkish women into the modernization and development project of the nation-state to fulfill the desired progress and transformation (Moghadam, 1993:71) in all levels. Granting equal rights to women in 1923 and the acceptance of the law of Integration of Education ('Teşkilat-ı Esasiye') in 1924 became the first step of actualizing the need of secular, democratic and equal education (Kaplan, 1999). With this law, the duality disappeared. Madrasahs ("Medrese") were closed. Public and private schools were combined, controlled and managed by the Ministry of Education. The law on apparel in 1925, the civic code in 1926, which provided modern secular legal system, (and acceptance of new Latin alphabet in 1928) changed women's lives significantly (İnan, 1998: 170-171). Women gained freedom and equal rights with men in term of possessing the equal status of citizenship, this enabled women to enter the public sphere (Saktanber, 2002 in İnsel, 2002). Women's liberation and enlightenment process went hand in hand with Turkish modernization project (Moghadam, 1993, Göle, 1999, Göksel, 1993).

In the literature, there were two major approaches towards the reforms of Turkish Modernization and its influence on women. First approach emphasized that these reforms contributed to removal of patriarchal system and emancipated Turkish women by providing more rights to women, and by taking western women as the role model (Durakbaşa, 1987:21-23).They evaluated modernization reforms as functional and saw liberation and education of women as the reason for changing women's fate (Kaya,

2004: 131). They emphasized that, although women's motherhood and housewifery duties continued in the private sphere, their roles and the responsibilities enlarged. In this process, education and citizenship rights helped women to take place and became more visible in the public sphere. They (equally) contributed to the formation and the development of the modern nation-state with men (Kadıoğlu, 1994).

The defenders of the second approach, on the other hand, criticized the implementation of Republican reforms and underlined that although these reforms emancipated Turkish women legally they neither totally changed patriarchal system nor the position of Turkish women in the society but produced a new type of "patriarchy" (Özbay, 1986:7, 10; Toprak, 1982; Arat, 1983 in Durakbaşa, 1987:21-22). According to Arat, Ottoman patriarchy promoted women's subordination in private sphere and gained its power from religious institutions. Through Republican reforms, improvement in women's status opened the doors to the public sphere, changed traditional values, and the nature of patriarchy, which could nolonger be based on religion. Although it did not disappear totally, it became milder (Arat, 1989: 24, 29, 33) and based on nationality rather than religion.

Among the advocates of this critical approach, Tekeli pointed out that, granting equal rights for women did not serve to "the actual liberalization of women in everyday life" (Tekeli, 1982 in İlkkarcan, 2013: 157). In terms of gender equality, Arat (1997) emphasized the contradiction between the equality discourse and its implementation in practice by limiting women's autonomy in the public sphere. Attempt of forming the Republican Woman's Party, in 1923, and its refusal due to the perception of potential threat for the Republican Peoples' Party (RPP), was an example of this contradiction

(Arat, 1997: 101; Toprak 1988: 30-31). Toprak argued that these reforms served to "pragmatic" political aims rather than changing (traditional) gender roles (Toprak, 1986: 54).

There were views that saw the new Western image of Turkish women as the symbol of state's ideology (Durakbaşa, 1987: 22, 23) and "tools of modernization and Westernization rather than as equals and full partners of men" (Arat, 1998:68 in Yeğenoğlu, 2006: 99). They evaluated the modernization reforms and women's rights as symbolic rather than functional and emphasized that, although the "new women" exhibited modern image in public sphere, the primary role of the 'new woman' did not change. However, having more active role in public sphere made them "competent mothers and practical wives" (Saktanber, 2001: 327; Arat, 1994:7).

According to Sirman, in the Republican period, women were not only considered as mothers and wives but also as patriotic citizens and educators of the new nation. Therefore, Republican women were perceived as professional women and teaching was exalted above anything else. Perception of professional women as the symbol for the Turkish Republic leads to associating women with democracy rather than civilization (Sirman, 1989: 9). Gender equality in public sphere did not directly reflect to private sphere where patriarchal norms prevailed (Sirman, 2000:11-112) and women's recognition in public sphere did not significantly influence male/female relations in the private sphere where women's domestic duties (with a new term of "home economics") and motherhood continued in addition to the new role of professional woman (Durakbaşa,1998:144).

On the other hand, according to Kandiyoti, women's appearance in public sphere depended on displaying an "asexual" image (or even masculinized image) to prevent any misperception of "sexual (erotic) object" image. This approach was stemming from segregated (conservative and patriarchal) nature of society (Kandiyoti, 1995:315). In other words, as Durakbaşa stated, patriarchal morality required modest and respectful attitude from women in the public sphere (Durakbaşa, 1998:147). Ideal Turkish woman, in 1930s and 1940s, was equal to men and similar to hardworking and productive Anatolian women of pre-Islamic period (Toska, 1998: 78). She displayed honorable, asexual comrade characteristics in public sphere (in social and professional life) and fulfilled the role of self-sacrificing, modest and compassionate wife and mother in the private sphere (Arat, 1994:62; Kadıoğlu, 1998:96).

Turkish modernization process led to changes and transformation-from traditional to modern- in educational policies as well. Therefore, it is important to examine the education policies within the context of Turkish modernization and nation building processes. Following sub section will briefly identify forming ideas and aims of the educational policies during Republican modernization and nation-building process (Republican single party period: 1923-1946) to understand whether the educational policies of the era prepared the ground for women's empowerment.

Educational Policies and Turkish Women: Aims, Implications

As Shor emphasized, education (policies) serve to dominant political ideology in society (Shor,1992:13). Therefore, educational policies of early Republican era were in line with the aims and ideology behind the Turkish modernization and nation building project.

Aims of Educational Policies in Relation to Women

In this process, Turkish woman and her education played the key role. Subject matters of modernization and nation building were defined according to women's body, gender identity and social status within society (Sirman, 2002). As the following aims indicate, goals of educational policies of the era were also defined accordingly.

To raise new generation(s) inline with the ideals and principles of the Republic:

Major aim of the education policy was to convey nationally widespread, free, secular, coed, public education (Woodsmall, 1975) to raise "Republican, nationalist, populist, secularist, statist (etatist), reformist citizens" which were in line with the ideals and principle of the new Republic (Arat, 1998:158; Kaplan, 1999).

To provide equal education opportunities and increase the level of literacy:

Illiteracy was an important obstacle against the ideals of the new Republic. Educational reforms aimed to increase the level of literacy as well as the intellectual level of Turkish women (Woodsmall, 1975) by implementing secular, democratic and equal education (Kaplan, 1999) which paved the way for women's education and aimed to alter

individuals' position from passive subjects ('sufferers') to active citizens (Abadan-Unat, 1975).

To form the new "ideal Turkish women" and raise the mothers/wives who are crucial in the reproduction of a healthy and productive generation:

Education policies had dual purposes; first aim was to transform women into emancipated modern women of the West by forming the image of new 'ideal Turkish women' with modern identity, who took part in the public sphere as social and professional women. Second aim was to emphasize the basic traditional motherhood and wifehood duties (Arat, 1998; Kaplan, 1999) by equipping them with necessary knowledge and skills for nurturing healthy and productive generation in the private sphere. Educated mothers were seen as the producers of educated generation as they became the first teachers of their own children (Üstel, 2005: 123).

To teach modern/western values and lifestyle to show to the world that the country is modern and western (demonstrative role of education):

Education policies of the era aimed to spread and establish the new social, political and cultural values of "modern, urban social and cultural lifestyle with a Western approach" (Gök, 2007: 248) by providing Women freedom, equal education opportunities with men, mobility, confidence, new status in the society (Saktanber, 2002 in İnsel, 2002; İnan, 1998:170-171; Yaraman, 2001; Kologlu, 2002). Women became the mirror of modern and Western image of Turkey to demonstrate the world that Turkey is a modern Western country.

Implications of Educational Policies

Following the establishment of Turkish Republic in 1923, education reform played a key role in modernization and nation-building process and the education policy of 1920s focused more on urban areas of Turkey. However, majority of the population were living in the dispersed villages across the countryside of Turkey. Republican government realized the urgent need for mass, public education to spread revolutions and establish the principles of the new nation-state (Ahmad, 1999:101 in Gürol, 2003: 9).

Between 1924 and 1933, outstanding educationists -Dewey, Kuhne, Buysa, Malche and Parker- were invited to Turkey to advise their methods and course of action to reshape Turkish educational system (Gök, 1999:14). The recommendations of these educators, as well as the educational philosophy of antique Greek (*kalagagahos),* became the essential basis of the new educational policy. The goal was to educate, responsible, self managed, problem solver, productive and creative people (Gök, 1999:11).

The realities of life, needs of the society and the goals of the new nation-state influenced the educational policy in 1930s and 1940s. Illiteracy, poverty, imbalanced distribution of population, lack of industrial production, villagers' dependency on feudality and primitive living conditions were the reality of rural Turkey that the new nation-state faced (Gümüşoğlu, 2012: 13). On such conditions, mass, productive, coed rural education was crucial to increase literacy, to raise skilled and productive human capital to increase production for the development of the nation-state.

Women's education, mixed vocational school system and the idea of educating teachers for the rural part of Turkey became substantial components of the new policy of education (Gök, 1999:10). In line with the realities of rural areas, production-based, free public education was provided to make villagers more productive. The government was responsible of regulating, controlling and financing the education in Turkey (Gök, 2007: 248).

As part of education policy for rural development, the Village Educator Courses were established in1937, which based on the idea of training young villagers, who completed their military duty as sergeant, as village educators to teach the first three grades of primary education in small villages and to give support to the villagers on agricultural issues. These courses contributed to increase literacy and formed the basis for the Village Institutes project in Turkey, which is the backbone of my thesis and I will evaluate it in Chapter four under the title of ; "the case of Village Institutes in Turkey".

Concluding Remarks

This chapter briefly covered the concept of empowerment concerning the models of power, definitions and categorizations of empowerment as well as the measuring methods and the exemplary studies in the literature. Being part of the decision-making process and developing abilities / capacity to act and influence decisions were the key for empowerment. Existing cases mostly based on financial development or literacy projects, which used both quantitative and qualitative measures. Although available studies used qualitative and quantitative indicator almost none of them provided

structured method. The chapter also shed light on three-dimensional Rowlands' model which was the selected theoretical framework of the thesis research mainly due to its applicability for qualitative analysis and availability of wide range of qualitative measures, on personal, collective and relational (within close relationships) grounds. The model contributed to framing the interview schedule and analyzing the empirical findings on measuring women's empowerment qualitatively. It also covered most of the indicators of other models.

Following the in-depth evaluation of Rowlands' model, I examined the other important concepts of my thesis to identify empowerment's relation to education and the gender dimension (women) which indicated that empowering education based on liberating, student-centered and critical pedagogy in which participation, dialogue, creativity and democracy gained importance. Enhancement of women's skills, knowledge, capacity and confidence through education contributed to women's empowerment. Then I examined development through modernization and nation-building processes, including the Turkish modernization, nation building and the role of Turkish women within the process, where women's education, emancipation and empowerment occupied central place. As a next step, I will examine the impact of education on women's empowerment qualitatively by taking the case of VIs' education.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Research Methods and the Structure of the Fieldwork

Fieldwork of my research started on October 2012 and continued until September 2013. Overall, the fieldwork extended over time mainly due to accessibility and availability of the targeted interviewees. Applying qualitative in-depth interview method as a tool of gathering data and the semi-structured format gave me the freedom of asking open-ended questions. Qualitative in-depth interview method also allowed me to probe to have an intensive understanding (Boyce and Neale, 2006), to gain real insight about respondents' experiences / observations (in relation to the purpose of this study), and to search for 'meanings' more than collecting 'hard data'. I chose the theoretical model and the methodological approach accordingly (Rowlands, 1995: 62).

I focused on the concept of empowerment in relation to gender and education and aimed to measure women's empowerment through education. I took the case of VIs, as its educational philosophy based on the development of all aspects of individuals (Gök, 1999: 18) and its coeducation provided equal education opportunity for females in rural Turkey. I used Rowlands' (1997) qualitative model for measuring and analyzing women's empowerment. I prepared the interview schedule and the evaluation forms according to the criteria of Rowlands' model (1997: 15, 110-128), which provided three-

level categorization, and qualitative measures for personal, collective and close relationship levels. The model also enabled qualitative analysis of women's empowerment by using interviewees' own articulation of experiences and observations regarding their empowerment process.

In order to reach the targeted interviewees, I found relevant "gate openers" from different cities. My first "gate opener" was my own elementary school teacher who was the graduate of Arifiye Village Institute (Sakarya). She made the initial contacts, shared the telephone numbers of several graduates for further appointments, and helped me to reach some of the graduates and some other contact people. Other "gate openers" were the representatives of various VI foundations and associations, located in different cities, who either directed me to the others or provided contact names and telephone numbers. I used snowball-sampling method and received the support of respondents-VIs' graduates in particular- on reaching new interviewees.

Overall, the level of commitment and loyalty to the VIs was very high which helped me to get appointments and provide other contact names and numbers. I was welcomed more than I expected- both face-to face and on the phone- which created warm and friendly atmosphere and eased the interview process.

More than half of the interviews took place in the houses of the respondents in Istanbul and Sakarya but the rest of them actualized via telephone interviews. Each interview took approximately two hours. I tape-recorded all the interviews with the permission of the respondents. For the telephone interviews, I used special "speaker-phone" to take notes and to tape-record them as well.

The day before the interviews, I called each respondent to confirm the date and the hour, which also gave me a chance to inform that the interview (both face to face and telephone interviews) should take place in private, in order to prevent any unwanted participation and interference of the spouse, relatives or friends, etc. I gave introductory explanation prior to each interview on the study and assured them about the confidentiality of the interviews. Each interview took approximately two hours. I also filled pre-prepared empowerment evaluation forms by myself and with the contribution of each respondent right after conducting the interviews to double check their responses and use them as a benchmark for the empowerment analysis. Three academicians and four interviewees who use computer filled these forms themselves and sent me via e-mail. I transcribed the tapes right after each interview. Overall, I completed each telephone interview at once with the exception of two interviews, which required sufficient break and two separate calls due to health and availability reasons.

In the beginning, I was worried about the memory and perception capacity of my interviewees as the average age was 85 but most of them surprised me not only with a good memory but also with their energy, enthusiasm and eagerness, supportive approach and contribution. As the respondents shared their experiences in private sphere (e.g. domestic violence, etc.) as well, preserving their anonymity was important. Therefore, I used pseudonyms for each interviewee when referring to them in this thesis. After each interview, I prepared a letter thanking the interview participant and sent them either through regular mail or via e-mail (to the ones who used computer and had an internet access). Although I used Rowlands' model as the structure of my analysis, I made sure

to include all the data, which came out from this comprehensive research. I used the transcripts as the basis for analysis and benefited from the other forms when necessary.

Distribution and the Characteristics of the Sample

In total, I conducted forty in-depth interviews with twenty-seven female graduates, five male graduates, two VI teachers, three academics, one film director who shoot a documentary film on twenty-one VIs, one relative (grand son) of higher VI's woman graduate and one close relative of the founder of the VIs (see Table 5.).

The interviewees were from eleven cities, majority was from Istanbul mainly due to the place of residence of the available Village Institute (VI) graduates, and the other respondents (see Table 5). I should note that, due to the advanced age of the VI graduates, health and memory based availability was the main selection criteria. Below given table shows the distribution of the respondents according to the place of residence.

Table 5. Distribution of the Interviewees

Cities	Total Number of Interviewees	VIs' Female Graduates	VIs' Male Graduates	VIs' Teachers	Academics	Film Director	Others (Relative of the founder and VIs' graduates)
Istanbul	23	16	2	2	1	1	1
Ankara	4	3	-	-	1	-	-
İzmir	4	3	1	-	-	-	-
Manisa	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Mersin	1	1	-	-	-	-	-
Eskişehir	1	1	-	-	-	-	-
Isparta	2	1	-	-	1	-	-
Kayseri	1	1	-	-	-	-	-
Kırklareli	1	-	1	-	-	-	-
Sakarya	1	-	1	-	-	-	-
Yalova	1	1	-	-	-	-	-
Total interviews:	40	27	5	2	3	1	1

to include all the data, which came out from this comprehensive research. I used the transcripts as the basis for analysis and benefited from the other forms when necessary.

Distribution and the Characteristics of the Sample

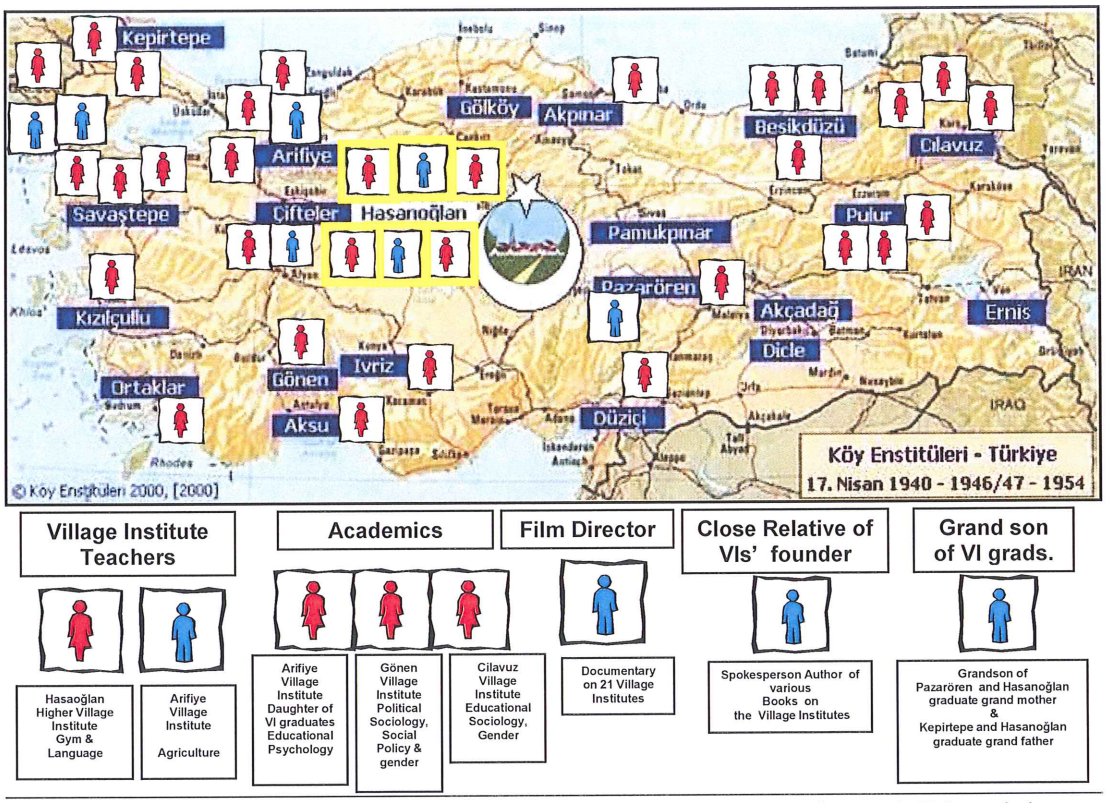
In total, I conducted forty in-depth interviews with twenty-seven female graduates, five male graduates, two VI teachers, three academics, one film director who shoot a documentary film on twenty-one VIs, one relative (grand son) of higher VI's woman graduate and one close relative of the founder of the VIs (see Table 5.).

The interviewees were from eleven cities, majority was from Istanbul mainly due to the place of residence of the available Village Institute (VI) graduates, and the other respondents (see Table 5). I should note that, due to the advanced age of the VI graduates, health and memory based availability was the main selection criteria. Below given table shows the distribution of the respondents according to the place of residence.

Table 5. Distribution of the Interviewees

Cities	Total Number of Interviewees	VIs' Female Graduates	VIs' Male Graduates	VIs' Teachers	Academics	Film Director	Others (Relative of the founder and VIs' graduates)
Istanbul	23	16	2	2	1	1	1
Ankara	4	3	-	-	1	-	-
İzmir	4	3	1	-	-	-	-
Manisa	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Mersin	1	1	-	-	-	-	-
Eskişehir	1	1	-	-	-	-	-
Isparta	2	1	-	-	1	-	-
Kayseri	1	1	-	-	-	-	-
Kırklareli	1	-	1	-	-	-	-
Sakarya	1	-	1	-	-	-	-
Yalova	1	1	-	-	-	-	-
Total interviews:	40	27	5	2	3	1	1

Interviewed graduates received education in sixteen of the total twenty-one VIs, during the mixed boarding education period: 1940-1950, mainly from 1940-1946 term of establishment. Among thirty-two VI graduates, six of them (four females, two males) were higher VI graduates as well (see Map 1.and Table 5.). Following map and the table shows the distribution of the respondents according to the graduated VIs and the areas of specialization of the teachers, academics, film director and the relatives.



Map 1. Distribution of the graduates according to the Village Institutes (VIs) and the distribution of the other interviewees according to the areas of specialization

Table 6. Distribution of the Graduates According to Village Institutes

Village Institutes	Number of VI graduates	Female Graduates	Male Graduates
Akpınar-Ladik / Samsun	1	1	-
Aksu / Antalya	1	1	-
Arifiye / Sakarya	4	3	1
Beşikdüzü / Trabzon	3	3	-

Cılavuz / Kars	3	3	-
Çifteler / Eskişehir	2	1	1
Düziçi / Adana	1	1	-
Gönen / Isparta	1	1	-
Hasanoğlan / Ankara (higher VI) *	6	4	2
İvriz / Konya	1	1	-
Kepirtepe / Kırklareli	5	3	2
Kızılçullu / İzmir	1	1	-
Ortaklar / Aydın	1	1	-
Pazarören / Kayseri	2	1	1
Pulur / Erzurum	3	3	-
Savaştepe / Balıkesir	3	3	-
TOTAL	38	31	7
Base	32	27	5

Among interviewees, majority of the VI graduates were married with their schoolmates. Twenty of total twenty-seven female graduates and three of total five male graduates were married with a VI graduate. Among the twenty-seven women graduates, only one of them never got married. Three of the total twenty-seven women graduates were divorced and two of the ex-husbands were VI graduates as well. Between two VI teachers, one of them was married with a VI student. Fourteen of married women graduates and one of the male graduates had lost their spouses.

Interviewed academics, who researched the VIs, were from the fields of educational sociology and gender, educational psychology, social policy and political sociology. Among three academicians, each published a book on a different institute: one was on Sakarya / Arifiye based on memoirs of her mother who was a VI graduate as well, one was on Kars / Cılavuz VI and one was on Isparta / Gönen VI.

The film director shot a documentary with the graduates of twenty-one VIs. Close relative of VIs' founder, who published books on the VIs as well, provided first hand insights and the grandson of VI graduate grandparents shared his observations and life experiences of his higher VI graduate deceased grandmother (see Map 1.).

This chapter outlined the methodology of thesis research and covered the applied research methods (qualitative, semi-structured in-depth interview method, snowball sampling), structure of the fieldwork, distribution and the characterstics of the research sample. I pointed out that thesis research based on forty semi-structured in-depth interviews among- predominantly- female graduates and other VI-related respondents, including male graduates, VI teachers, expert academics and other contributors from eleven cities. Following chapter will shed light on the case of VIs in Tukey by identifying 1940s' village conditions, lifecycle and characteristics of the VIs, the nature of VIs' education and its contribution to women graduates.

CHAPTER IV

THE CASE OF VILLAGE INSTITUTES IN TURKEY

This chapter consists of three major parts: First part aims to shed light on the nature of the society prior to women's access to the Village Institutes (VIs) education in rural Turkey. Second part seeks to provide empirical background on the Village Institutes in Turkey and includes brief information on its lifecycle, establishing aim, student selection, gender profile and geographical distribution. Third and the last part of this chapter aims to identify the nature of VIs' education and its contribution to women by analyzing VIs' differentiating features and components which include VIs' founder and his pedagogy, academic program, methods and the system (style of education, discipline, relations, functioning and management) and their contribution to the progress of its women graduates.

In this chapter, I will benefit from both existing literature and the interviewees' experiences (and observations) to draw a clear picture of the rural society and its barriers against women' education, VIs' establishment, differentiating constituents of VIs' education and its contribution to its female students prior to the empowerment analysis which will be the subject of the next chapter.

Nature of Society

This section aims to answer following questions; what were the conditions of the rural areas? Why village people did not want to send village girls to school? What kind of disincentives village girls faced with, and left behind prior to access to the VIs' education?

Village Conditions

During the early Republican period, majority of population lived in rural areas and 30,000 out of 35,000 villages did not have any school. The scattered nature of the rural population made primary schooling difficult (Arayıcı, 1987). Literacy rate was very low. While male literacy was 11 percent, only 4.5 percent of females were literate (Çitçi, 1982: 122). Mahmut Makal, who was VI graduate author and the pioneer in Village Literature, described the striking reality of the village conditions, daily life and the village people, in his book "Bizim Köy" ("A Village in Anatolia") by revealing the hardship, backwardness, ignorance, illiteracy and neglected circumstances of rural Turkey (Makal, 1991). Makal's portrayal from "Bizim Köy" reveals village reality and the perception of women in village society (Makal, 1991: 13, 15, 18, 72)

> Here is the center of Anatolia. Neither houses nor clothes protect us from cold. Villagers use cowpat to get warm as they never saw neither wood nor coal. God provided winter but told villagers to find the necessities of winter by themselves. Whatever you save in fall you use it untill the next spring.Within poverty we have simple and limited food.... Men and women, in family, eat separetley. Woman shows respect to men but her fear from man is much more than her respect. Man does not esteem women. However,

> woman serves her man as if she is a slave. She totally obeys man. Woman neither shows her face nor looks at others' faces. She cannot talk spontaneously. She keeps her silence (Makal, 1991: 13, 15, 18, 72).

Another VI graduate writer Fakir Baykurt also portrayed Turkish villagers and village reality not from a distance but from the first hand by including his own experiences. Following quote from his book "Benli Yazılar" exemplifies the nature of villages and villagers from his state of mind (Baykurt, 1998: 11 in Andaç, 2000: 18).

> I am from Akçaköy, which was one of many neglected villages for centuries. My family was poor. Neither my father nor my mother knew how to read and write. The primary school in our village, which started quite late, had only three classes. There was not even a single book in our home. Republic took me to the Village Institute, which was opened for us, and educated me, made me a teacher, gave me a pen and counted me as an author. Now I am thinking, I am coming from hardship (Baykurt, 1998: 11 in Andaç, 2000: 18).

Interviewees also emphasized economic and geographical challenges of rural Turkey in early 1940's. While former disallowed living, the latter caused absence of schooling in rural areas. There were cases where fathers went out of villages to earn a living for the family and mothers stayed in the villages with eight or nine children struggled to survive. Available schools were either far away or not affordable.

Barriers against Women's Access to Education

According to the interviewees, village girls' education did not gain recognition easily not only because of compelling living conditions but also because of neighborhood pressure

(imam and village *aga*'s[11] influence in particular) as well as conservative and patriarchal mindset which advocated females' subordinate, domestic and dependent position. Therefore, the life of village women and younger village girls were limited to the confined space. Overall, respondents' experiences and observations indicated that the major reasons behind the social pressure against village girls' education were based on chastity, and work power of village girls as well as, religious norms, traditional beliefs and values. Following quotes will draw attention to these commonly emphasized aspects respectively.

> The village people valued the patriarchal opinions of *ağa* and *imam* on village girls' education. With the pressure of fanaticism, nobody would send their daughters to school. Therefore, villagers did dot accept girls' education so readily (Ayfer-women graduate).
>
> In those days, prevailing opinion was that girls do not go to school and *their place is home* (Huban-women graduate).
>
> Life conditions were so bad. Even dreaming school was a luxury for us (Aliye-women graduate).

According to the interviewees, women, were associated with chastity. Conservative mind was against women's education and their reasoning was that if women get education they loose their chastity.

> Our community was conservative and not educated. Common belief was if girls go to school, they write letters, they make love and dishonor themselves (loose their chastity) (Huriye-women graduate).
>
> People believed that, if girls go to school, they come back as pregnant (Türkan-women graduate).

---

[11] Ağa refers to village property owner who exhibits wealthy, strong and forceful personality and has the ability to control over the peasants' decisions, attitudes on many aspects.

> In the age of 11-12, my father taught me the importance of chastity and gave me permission to attend VIs under the condition of being attentive and not to embarrass them. I never forget this (Hale -women graduate).

According to interviewees' evaluation, religion and faith were the inarguable means of social pressure on inhibiting village girls' education. In line with low level of education, people in rural areas based their decisions on religious emotions and fallacies.

> Most of the villagers were uneducated religionist people. It was easier to persuade and suppress them against village girls' education by exploiting religion and faith related emotions. Thus, people did not want to send their daughters to school (Refik-male graduate).

> My mother and her surroundings did not want to send me to the Village Institutes and told me that it is 'shame and sin' for girls to go to school' (Belma-women graduate).

Children in villages were the work force and equated as working animals on farms hence, starting from early ages children learned to work (Aydoğan, 1997: 65). According to the respondents, girls were the helping hands of their mothers on housework and used as the means of production as well. Following quotes indicate that another reason for not sending the village girls to school was exploiting their work power.

> Parents did not send village children (both girls and boys) to school to use them as a workforce in the field (Kevser-women graduate).

> If they send village girls to school who would plough and farm? They were the production vehicles (Metin-male graduate).

In the villages, the disciple of the children were given by the family and the close circles (Aydoğan, 1997: 65). Children learned patriarchal values starting from early ages. As Arat (1989) emphasized, males have been perceived as the dominant authority in Turkish society (Arat, 1989: 41-43), the interviewees also pointed out that in their early

childhood, man was thought to be the authority and the decision maker in the family and mothers' duty was to raise the children and maintain a household. Respondents indicated that, as a common practice, fathers made their daughters to marry off in early ages rather than sending them to school. Mothers kept their daughters at home not only to benefit from their capacity but also to train and prepare them for traditional gender roles and duties. They also taught their daughters to obey their husbands. Following quotes are examples of these attitudes.

> I grew up with traditional values. When I was young, my mother taught me that woman obeys her husband and listens to his advices. Domestic work is the duty of woman not the man (Mahire-women graduate).

> Mothers treated their daughters as potential brides and mothers. Therefore, rather than sending their daughters to school, they made them stay at home and learn necessary work and duties (Refik-male graduate).

> Family structuring was male dominant. We could not talk in front of our fathers. Fathers would marry their daughters off in early ages. According to patriarchal perspective, when girls start to belly dance in village weddings, it was time for girls to get married off (Nakiye-women graduate).

Some of the respondents linked patriarchal nature of men with violence against women by emphasizing that man was free to beat women as the means of discipline and suppression in conservative village society. Following quote addressed this issue.

> During 1940's, according to patriarchal norms and habits of society, beating woman (without an excuse) was normal to oppress and control them as the patriarch. However, sending them to school was not normal. My two sisters died by getting beat up by their husbands (Metin-male graduate).

According to the interviewees, due to the traditional structure and the pressure of the society, it was not easy to convince parents to send their daughters to the VIs in 1940's. The institutes were far away from the villages but most importantly they were

mixed boarding schools which were unfamiliar and against the accustomed conservative mentality of the patriarchal society. Therefore, the VIs came in for criticism with accusations like; schools training communists, schools treat students as slaves, schools permitting prostitution. As following quotes exemplifies:

> Patriarchal society was against girls' education. Sending village girls to mixed boarding schools (VIs) were even unacceptable. Therefore, people who were against girls' education calumniated the VIs (Metin-male graduate).
>
> Society's aim was to separate men and women as if men would take advantage of women if they get closer. Therefore, the idea of girls' education in mixed boarding school was out of question (Neşe-woman graduate).
>
> Conservative circles blamed the VIs with communism, slaving and prostitution due to the coed boarding education and its production-based unusual education system. The reason behind those accusations was the intention of inhibiting village girls' education. I had a friend, Hamiyet, whose father was an imam in a village mosque and he lost his job due to sending his daughter to the VIs (Ayfer-woman graduate).
>
> Due to the pressure of conservative circles against female education, the VIs became the scapegoats for the opponents (Gülşen-expert academician).

On the other hand, as exemplified by respondents' quotes, the ones who sent their daughters to the VIs voluntarily were either educated people (e.g. village educators) or open minded well off people (or civil servants). There were few cases where parents of crowded and poor families sent their daughters to the VIs to get rid of the economical burden of their daughters with the hope that their daughters could find a husband in the VIs. Having relatives / or acquaintances in the VIs eased the persuasion of the dissidents but, still the number of the village girls who were sent to the VIs were very limited.

> Traditional and conservative nature of rural Turkey limited girls' education opportunity in the VIs. The ones, who had the opportunity of studying in these institutes, were usually the daughters of the educated minority, officials or tradesmen (Gülşen- expert academician).
>
> My family was poor and very crowded. I was an unhealthy girl and I was not able to work neither on the field nor at home. Therefore, my parents sent me to the VIs to economize and to find a good match (Aliye-woman graduate).
>
> Although my mother and people around her did not want to send me to the VIs, my father and my brothers stood against them and sent me. Because, my father was a village educator and my brothers were also attending the VIs. I was lucky! (Belma-woman graduate).

As emphasized by the interviewees, particularly in Central and Eastern Anatolia, villagers did not want to send their daughters to the VIs due to the above-mentioned barriers. On the other hand, there were many cases where bad economic conditions and limited number of public schools in the villages, made VIs' free public education appealing for village boys as well as their families. Accordingly, number of male students, who applied for VI education, increased in time. As part of the enrollment and student's selection procedure, VIs implemented various unusual practices to increase the number of female students which, I will draw attention to in the next section under the title of 'student selecting criteria' in detail.

As the following quotes indicate, there were cases where village girls strove against parental and societal obstacles to benefit from VIs' education. Some other examples showed how village girls absconded from home to attend VIs. Although the fathers were the authority and decision maker in the family, mothers had a voice in issues like their daughters' education. When fathers gave permission against rejection of the mothers, then support of the third parties (people from VIs, notables of the community or surrounding) contributed to girls' entrance to the VIs.

> After the primary school, I wanted to continue my education. However, there was no high school in Ordu. My teacher told my mother about the Village Institute in Trabzon. However, my mother did not want to send me, although my father gave his permission. In order to convince my mother, I climbed on top of a tree and I did not come down until my mother gave her consent (Kadriye-woman graduate).
>
> My friend told me about Savaştepe Village Institute. When I mentioned to my mother, she got angry and said *girls do not go to school*. She tried to inhibit my education. My father was more open-minded. I stood against my mother with the help of my father. However, my mother resented me and did not see me off (Hasibe-woman graduate).
>
> I always wanted to be a teacher as I aspired to my own teacher. Without telling my father, I entered the exam by myself (Nadide-woman graduate).
>
> My father did not want to send me to the VIs. In secret, I took my ID card from the drawer. My mother helped me to pack. The education manager (*maarif müdürü*) took me there and finally I enrolled to the VIs against the rejection of my father (Zarife-woman graduate).

In summary, female students shared their own stories and education journey. Some of them were lucky that they had parental consent. However, some others had to struggle against patriarchal mindset, and conservative taboos opposing female education. As this section outlined, common barriers for their ability to attend VIs were; concerns on chastity, need for work power of village girls, religious norms, traditional beliefs and values, which limited females' mobility and education opportunity. After all, as village girls, the interviewees (women graduates) were able to enroll and study in the VIs to become teachers. Although, there were few female students in the VIs, the number increased incrementally, in time.

Village Institutes in Turkey

This section aims to to provide background information and briefly goes through the VIs' lifecycle, foundation aim, students' selection, gender profile and geographical distribution.

Brief Lifecycle of the Village Institutes

In 1930's, by considering the village conditions and the status of education in rural Turkey, village education gained importance. "As of the 1930's İsmail Hakkı Tonguç, who was a pioneer in liberatory education (Özsoy, 2009: 256) and 'known for his peasantist leanings' (Karaömerlioğlu, 1998: 54) dedicated all his labor to analyzing and solving the problems of peasants" (Özsoy, 2009: 256). He developed the essentials of Village Institute education as the solution for educational problems of rural Turkey. Although he emphasized that "the VIs were the outcome of a collective attempt", he was known as the founding father and the driving force of the VIs project in Turkey (Özsoy, 2009: 250, 256). He leaded the project between 1935 and 1946 when he was the head of Primary Education (Carpenter, 2009: 25).

The idea of establishing Village Institutes (VIs) emerged in 1937 "to transform economically underdeveloped and poverty-stricken Turkish countryside by mobilizing the children of villagers" (Gök, 2011: 93). The experimental stage began in October 1937 in Eskişehir (Çifteler) and İzmir (Kızılçullu). The VIs started legally on 17 April 1940 (Law No.3803) by the Ministry of National Education. However, due to various

criticism, and attacks from conservative circles, the VIs was reshaped after 1946, by dissenting from the establishing management (İsmail Hakkı Tonguç and Hasan Ali Yücel), ideas, and the curriculum. "The post-1946 practices of the VIs did not represent the targeted objectives declared during the foundation of the institutes" (Kirby 2010: 6 in Karaömerlioğlu, 1998: 2). The VIs turned into classical teacher-training schools prior to shut down in January 1954 by Democrat Party (Bakkal, 1999: 89 in Toprak, 2008: 87; Dündar, 2000; Gök, 2011:98; Altunya, 2010: 5; Kirby, 1962: 6). Higher VI had shorter life and served as training and researching center of the VIs between 1942 and 1947. The VIs gave its first graduates in 1942 (the ones started in experimental stage in 1937). Until the end of its lifecycle, VIs raised 17.341 village teachers and 8675 village educators. Among VI graduate teachers 1.398 of them were women graduates and among VI graduate educators, 29 of them were women graduate village educators (Çetin and Gülseren, 2003; Altunya, 2010: 244; Gedikoğlu, 1971: 231; Table A, appendix).

During its lifecycle, VIs raised many well-known (and award-winning) intellectuals and authors, such as Mahmut Makal, Fakir Baykurt, Talip Apaydın, Mehmet Başaran, Dursun Akçam, Adnan Binyazar (and many others) who contributed not only to the "Village Literature" (Çankaya, 2013) but also occupied important place in the Turkish literature. However, vast majority of VI graduate authors composed of male graduates. As the women graduate, only Pakize Türkoğlu took place among them in the literature. On the other hand, limited number of women graduates either personally or indirectly (by other authors) published their memoirs (e.g. Hatun Birsen Başaran ("Can Evimde Mor Isırgan"), Naciye Makal ("Bindim Tütün Küfesine"), Nahide Kahraman ("Yarım Kalan Mucize"), Huriye Saraç ("Öğretmen Benisa") and

Ayşe Baysal ("Silbiçli Beşik")). Following quote from thesis research indicates why there is not many women graduate authors in Turkish literature:

> Despite the fact that VIs' women graduates had important abilities and superiorities, such as the writing ability, they almost concealed it and preferred to remain in the background. Instead, they brought their husbands into the forefront and supported them in every opportunity. I am not sure whether this kind of behavior stemmed from self-sacrifice or previously engraved traditional / familial value judgements (Erol-others).

VIs received significant criticism both during its lifecycle and after its closure. Criticim towards VIs came from different sources such as academia as well as political and intellectual circles. In his book "Bozkırdaki Çekirdek", novelist Kemal Tahir accused VIs for being fascistic institutions and pointed out that they were established by people with socialist tendencies with the aim of spreading the ideology of single party regime. He also blamed VIs for the "cruel exploitation of the peasant students in the most difficult tasks and by making them endure the worst economic and social conditions" (E.Tonguç, 1970: 532; Tahir, 1972 in Karaömerlioğlu, 1998: 61). According to Gök, "VIs were accused of inculcating 'undesirable ideologies', namely communism, socialism, and anti-Islamism"(Gök, 2011: 94). While the right wing criticism towards VIs concentrated on being "communist", left wing critiques, on the other hand, based on VIs' primary emphasis to "education" for development, "keeping the villagers in the village" and "preventing their mobility and participation to workforce in cities". Başgöz emphasized that the single party government expected social transformation from education without changing primitive production techniques and methods. For him "education by itself is not a sufficient tool to change social structure" (Başgöz, 1962: 9, 22 in Tonguç, 1970: 498). Karaömerlioğlu also discussed these issues from critical perspective and concluded that, "VIs became the victim of single party period", its

ideology, implementations and the "organic relationship of RPP elite with the ruling class paved the way for the failure of the Village Institutes" in Turkey (Karaömerlioğlu, 1998:55-84).

Aim of the Village Institutes

Establishment aim of the VIs was to educate the rural youth as "well-equipped teachers" to send them back to the villages to educate people (Canboğa, 1980: 31, 34) to serve their communities not only as teachers but also as agricultural specialists, health officers, midwives, carpenters and other experts (Stone, 1973; Aktaş, 1985; Arayıcı, 1999).

For Kirby, VIs aimed to serve as central agents to achieve rural development to fulfill economical development in Turkey (Kirby, 1961: 278, 284). The core idea was to revitalize the rural Turkey through education (Kirby, 1962: 78). Development of rural Turkey was the key for the development of the whole country and there were many expectations from the VIs to achieve this task. Modernizing the social relations, alleviating the poverty and ignorance among peasants, creating peasant intellectuals, increasing agricultural productivity and disseminating Kemalist revolutions were some them (Karaömerlioğlu, 1998: 2). Creating awareness among village people, establishing values of new lifestyle, bringing dynamism to the villages through education and combining life with school activities were important expectations from the VIs (Gologlu, 1974: 74-75). Tonguç stated that, the aim was not only to educate but also to create "leaders for the villages from the villages" (Tonguç, 1990: 9, 10).

Preventing possible migration through development of underdeveloped rural areas was another aim of the VIs' project (Dündar, 2001:22). Sending educated villagers to their own villages aimed to prevent class struggle as well as potential migration from rural to urban areas (Timur, 2001: 210-211).

According to the interviewees, the aim of the VIs was to improve and change the living conditions of the villagers by bringing civilization to the villages through education. In other words, the purpose was to produce urban life conditions within the villages by the villagers so that, the distance between urban and rural areas disappeared through education. Following quote addressed this aim:

> VIs' education targeted to bring civilization of cities to the villages without sending villagers to the cities. The idea was to develop and transform their circumstances via education. In this way, the villages would reach at the level of civilized cities both physically and intellectually (Bala-VI Teacher).

Respondents emphasized that, as part of Republic's education project, VIs' education also aimed to strengthen national values, spread and establish Republic's (Atatürk's) principles on Turkish modernization (modernization of Turkish women in particular) and raise responsible, modern, civilized citizens with equal rights through modern, scientific and secular education.

> Another function of VIs' education was to reinforce national values and convey Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's principles to rural areas to change subordinate position of Turkish women and transform them to modern citizens through equal rights and equal education opportunity for the creation of modern and healthy society. VIs' modern, secular, scientific mixed education aimed to serve this purpose (Tahir-male graduate).

> VIs' education was the rural part of Turkish Modernization and Development Project. Women's education (via modern, secular, scientific

and mixed education system) was the cornerstone of this project (Faika-expert academician)

Among 21Village Institutes, there was only one higher Village Institute, founded within the structure of Hasanoğlan Village Institute in Ankara, in 1942 with the aim of providing pre and in service training for the teaching staff, including teachers, inspectors and mobile directors, and doing research for improvement of the VIs (Altunya, 2002; Arayıcı, 1999). For Tonguç, higher VI was 'the brain and the heart' of the institute system (Tonguç, 1970).

Student Selecting Criteria for the Village Institutes

VIs' education was available only for successful and healthy village students who completed five years of elementary school education in a village school, located in rural areas nearby the neighboring provinces (Şeren, 2008: 214 in Girgin, 2011: 36). Entrance exam was another necessary condition to get acceptance for the VIs. However, due to the limited number of female application, village girls enrolled regardless of entrance exam to increase the number of females in the VIs. On the other hand, for male students, entrance exam was obligatory. The only exception for males to exempt from entrance exam was to bring at least one female student to the VIs. The option of exemption from entrance exam motivated village boys and their families to convince the parents of village girls in the neighborhood on sending their daughters to the VIs. According to the interview with Prof. Baysal, issued in VIs' journal, this practice was a positive discrimination in favor of female students. On the other hand, she evaluated this practice as the milestone, which changed the direction of her life (Pektaş, 2001). There were

various cases similar to Prof. Baysal's experience and the following quote exemplifies one of them:

> In those days due to the conservative pressure, nobody wanted to send his daughter to the institutes. VIs' management developed the idea of enrolling village boys without taking an entrance exam when each male student brought a village girl from his village with him. That was how I had the opportunity of education, otherwise I could not go to school (Aliye-woman graduate).

According to Prof. Baysal, the practice of positive discrimination in favor of village girls served the purpose of increasing the number of females to equate male/female distribution in the VIs, and contributed the increasing trend incrementally (Pektaş, 2001).

According to the respondents, selecting criteria for higher VI, based on teachers' recommendation as well as students' success both in the VIs and on the entrance examination. In other words, teachers selected successful and special graduates of the VIs, to take a competitive entrance exam to enroll for Hasanoğlan higher VI. The duration of the higher education was three years. Interviewees emphasized that the entrance exam for higher VI was compulsory for both male and female students. However, not only the teachers but also the managers and the senior management (Ismail Hakkı Tonguç and Hasan Ali Yücel in particular) of the VIs showed a maximum effort for females' entrance to Hasanoğlan higher VI.

Gender Profile

There were more male students than females in total. Although the number of female students increased between 1937 and 1946, 90 per cent of the students were males whereas only 10 per cent of them were females (Altunya, 2010: 244). As the reflection of the gender distribution of regular VIs, Hasanoğlan higher VI exhibited male dominant profile as well (Türkoğlu, 2012). Although the number of female students increased incrementally (particularly during the foundational period of 1940-46), VIs project was not successful in achieving male / female equality in quantity (as numeric distribution).

On the other hand, the founder and his colleagues had gender equality ideal when establishing VIs and they showed extraordinary effort to provide equal education opportunity by operationalizing coeducation system in the VIs. However, the implementations (during both enrollment and the education processes) indicated that in practice equality ideals remained at the level of egalitarian discourse but could not lead to gender equality in practice.

Teachers' Profile

Although there were pre-defined statutory qualifications for VIs teachers, diploma was not sufficient. As emphasized by the interviewees, more than knowledge and expertise, good will, determination, diligence and suitable attitude of mind (appropriate for the VIs system and its philosophy) were necessary aspects of the VIs' teachers.

> Productive education was a new system. Therefore, not only diploma but, also, eagerness, devotion and stability were important selection criteria when recruiting teachers for the VIs (Hale-woman graduate).

Distribution of the Village Institutes

According to the establishment law (Law No. 3803), VIs were located according to the closeness to the neighboring provinces and the main roads for easy transportation, accessibility to water resources, sufficiency and suitability of land for school buildings, vocational and agricultural activities as well. Majority of the land was the property of the treasury. However, in some regions the institutes purchased lands from the villagers as well (Evren, 1998: 30 in Girgin, 2011: 33). Due to the geographical and financial unavailability, fulfillment of these requirements differed among the VIs (Şeren, 2008: 213 in Girgin, 2011: 35). In total, there were 21 VIs (20 VIs, and a higher VI) which were located on lands far away from the city centers. Geographical distribution of the VI displayed a "map of equal opportunity" for everyone (Türkoğlu, 1997: 185 in Girgin, 2011: 38).

Nature of Village Institutes' Education and its Contribution to Women

This section aims to identify the nature of VIs' education and its impact on women graduates' development process. I will evaluate differentiating characteristics and components together with perceived contribution and deficiencies under the titles of founder, academic program, methods and the VIs' system (education, discipline,

relations, functioning and management). Evaluation will be based on interviewees' own perception.

Overall, this section will be the guiding source of the empowerment analysis, which will be the subject of the next chapter. I will argue that, the educational components of academic program (curriculum and activities); methods and the VIs' system (education, discipline, relations, functioning and management) were designed to serve the founding philosophy and the core aim of the VIs project, which was reviving the villages through education. Therefore, it is important to identify the peculiar features and the contribution of each component to identify the nature of VIs' education and its contribution to women.

I will start by examining the founder, İsmail Hakkı Tonguç, due to his strong connection with the VIs project. Tonguç's inspiration, vision, philosophy, pedagogy and the underlying ideas reflected the nature and the characteristics of the VIs' education. Therefore, understanding the nature of Tonguç is pivotal to evaluate and comprehend the nature of VIs' education and its contribution to women. Then, I will continue by identifying the other important components of the VIs' education which were the program (curriculum and other activities), methods ("learning by doing" and "*imece*"-cooperation) and the system (style of education, management and functioning, discipline, relations).

The Founder and his Contribution to Women: İsmail Hakkı Tonguç's Inspiration, Vision, Philosophy and Pedagogy

This section will identify the founding personality by shedding light on his inspirers, his own way of approaching education and the constructive ideas behind the foundation of the VIs. As I mentioned earlier (under the title of brief lifecycle of the VIs), İsmail Hakkı Tonguç, who worked as the General Director of Primary Education between 1935 and 1946, was the acknowledged founder and the leader of the VIs project in Turkey (Carpenter, 2009).

Inspiring Pioneers for İsmail Hakkı Tonguç

Prior to establishment of the VIs, educational approaches of pioneering pedagogues and educators like Pestalozzi[12], Kerschensteiner[13], Dewey[14], and Ethem Nejat[15] inspired

---

[12] Pestalozzi, in the nineteenth century, established school for children with the aim of natural development of the individual child and advocated the importance of encouraging children to find answers by themselves (Silber, 1965: 140). His child-centered pedagogical approach based on the motto of "learning by head, hand and heart". In his method, teachers respect individuality and use discipline based upon love. Gymnastics and music were part of moral and emotional training and education was combined with work to develop skills and abilities of children (Thompson, 1934: 46; Aytaç, 1980: 261).

[13] Kerschensteiner recognized that skilled work processes reinforce and create capacities to learn, to discover, to research, and to mobilize. He emphasized that practical implications and laboratory studies in education not only eased learning but also contributed personality development, formation of the individual, gaining self-confidence, practice and viewpoint (Röhrs, 1991). His success based on building up vocational education and linking education with life (Röhrs, 1991:1).

[14] Dewey, as the father of the progressive education, saw "education as an evolving and experiential process in which one would learn by doing". He believed that students should be involved in real-life tasks and challenges. He rejected authoritarian teaching methods. He linked education with democracy by emphasizing that education was the key to democracy. He pointed out that one had to be educated to be a good citizen and competent actor in democratic life (Dewey, 1938).

İsmail Hakkı Tonguç (Özsoy, 2009: 260). However, rather than accepting their methods as they were, Tonguç synthesized their ideas and methods to develop his own approach (Özsoy, 2009: 260). Tonguç went beyond these educators and, as himself, became an important pioneer in the history of pedagogy (Yalçın, 2006: 64-66).

Tonguç's Vision

Tonguç's vision based on the belief that one should understand the reality from within not from a distance (Altunya, 2009: 59). Therefore, prior to the establishment of the VIs, Tonguç visited all over Turkey. His research covered 61 cities, 305 provinces and 9159 villages (Tonguç, 1938: 682). He witnessed daily challenges and gained first-hand experience about the needs and expectations of the villagers to formulate solutions for educational problem of rural Turkey (Tonguç, 1938: 46, 547 in Gümüşoğlu, 2012: 14-15). Tonguç realized the differences between urban and rural population and their lifestyle. He suggested applying vocational training into village life (practice) which suited the working culture and living conditions of rural population (Tonguç, 1938:165 in Özsoy, 2009: 265).

---

[15] Ethem Nejat (1882-1921), was a pedagogue, worked on education during the Second Constitutional Era of the Ottoman Empire, is one of the earliest Marxists of Turkey. Tonguç inspired by his educational thoughts and allocated a chapter in his *Canlandırılacak Köy* on Ethem Nejat (Özsoy, 2009:274).

Tonguç's Philosophy: Founding Philosophy of the Village Institutes

Tonguç's philosophy in education reflected the essence of VIs' founding philosophy. Therefore, both Tonguç's philosophy and the founding philosophy of the VIs intertwined in this evaluation. Tonguç's philosophy rested upon his educational utopia that he developed for the revival of the villages, aiming to transform circumstances of oppressed (peasants) into agents who could change their own destinies (Özsoy, 2009: 273). In Tonguç's educational utopia, liberation of individuals was necessary for the liberation of the society (Özsoy, 2009: 254).

According to the evaluation of the interviewees, Tonguç gave priority to female education to change the life conditions and oppressed position of village girls and prepare them for life as confident, versatile and self-sufficient individuals through VIs' education.

> Tonguç aimed to educate females as full skilled and well-developed individuals who would exist in the society with strong personality and self-sustaining occupation (Başak-expert academician).

As exemplified by the following quote, Tonguç aimed to increase the number of female students by convincing villagers to send their daughters to the VIs.

> My story is the example of Tonguç's deterministic attitude towards female education. Although my mother did not want to send me to the higher VI, Tonguç came to our village to convince my mother personally. Despite his efforts, she did not give permission. However, Tonguç did not give up and put up a struggle until I go to the higher VI (Nebile-woman graduate).

According to the interviewees, founding philosophy of the VIs based on the idea of developing and uplifting the villages from inside by linking production to education through the application of "learning by doing" method and vocational training in which knowledge became useful and more valuable. Tonguç emphasized the importance of useful knowledge, internalized through practice and advocated the approach of "education through work within the work" (Tonguç, 1998). As the following quotes indicate, the logic behind the VIs' (and Tonguç's) philosophy was to place education in work (production) and in life to provide useful (practical) knowledge (theory) through joint work of mind and hands (learning by doing).

> We were producing while we were learning and learning while we were producing (Rahime-woman graduate).
>
> In the VIs, hands and mind worked together. In cultural courses, our minds worked and in vocational training and agriculture, our hands worked. In this way, theory incorporated with practice and knowledge became useful (Hale-woman graduate).
>
> We learned each lesson through experiences. We never memorized (Sadiye-woman graduate).
>
> In line with VIs' philosophy, we taught students to transform theory into life immediately. School was the life itself (Safa -VI teacher)

Following the evaluation of Tonguç's pedagogy, I will go through his method (and the motto) of "learning by doing" under the subtitle of methods (under the title of the Nature of Village Institutes' Education and its Contribution to Women).

Tonguç's Education Pedagogy

While traditional approaches defended more disciplinary and theory based education, in Tonguç's pedagogy, theory is necessary for practice and education serves as a tool to create consciousness through practice "to turn the oppressed (peasants) into agents of transforming their realities" (Özsoy, 2009: 251; Tonguç, 1938: 547 in Gümüşoğlu, 2012: 15). Therefore, his education pedagogy was different from "traditional pedagogy" of urban education system (Canboga, 1980 in Zabitgil, 2010: 22).

Tonguç's perception of education required specific methods and principles, aiming to fulfill the function of creating consciousness, knowledge and action within the process of production. In this way, education penetrated into life and developed the ability of solving problems in the process of production. Thus, the knowledge served a purpose and became practical (Tonguç, 1938: 166 in Özsoy, 2009: 269). Although Tonguç developed his approach in late 1930s, from many perspectives, his vision was in parallel to Freire's[16](1970) pedagogy of oppressed (his empowerment theory in education) as both aimed to improve, change and transform the circumstances of

[16] Freire's pedagogy of the oppressed (1970), involved a consciousness-raising (*conscientizacao*), allowed to engage in dialogue with teachers, and to fully participate in the educational process which help individuals better themselves and create a better life through social transformation and empowerment. He rejected the idea of conforming to dominant views and values. Pedagogy of the oppressed based on freedom, praxis and balance between theory and practice in education. Freire adopted Marx's notion of a 'polytechnic education', advocating the strong relationship between education and production. He rejected dominant views and values of traditional education. His pedagogy emancipates and starts social transformation, which has been vital for the education of revolutionary societies (Freire, 1996).

oppressed (empowering peasants-particularly village girls- in Tonguç's case) through production oriented continuous education in which theory became useful through practice. Both were against "schools that destroy creativity, teach submissiveness and discourage skeptical mind which derives its ideology from tradition" (Tonguç, 1939: 543 in Gümüşoğlu, 2012: 16).

Tonguç's educational approach, for the revival of the villages required understanding, empathy, communication, conscious generating and problem solving (action developing) abilities to train teachers as role models and exemplary citizens (Gümüşoğlu, 2012: 15-16). According to the respondents, affirmative (and loving) attitude, believing in, giving responsibility and praising the achievements were the important aspects of Tonguç's education pedagogy. The following quote exemplifies how Tonguç approached female students to conduce desired change in their qualifications and circumstances through VIs' education.

> When Tonguç visited our VI, he always gave us responsibilities and made us believe that we could do it. His trust on me and his appreciative manner were the reasons behind my confidence, courage and power. He would talk to us about everything to prepare us life. I realized later that these were pre-planned actions for our development (Hale-woman graduate).

My deduction from both interviewees' experiences and existing literature was that, Tonguç's education pedagogy displayed the characteristics of student-centered, critical, empowering education, which paid attention to interests, abilities as well as active participation in learning, motivation, division of responsibility and assessment to promote learning and personal growth. Formation of self-confidence, internal democracy, sense of equality, solidarity and productivity as well as development of autonomous perspective and critical thinking were the determining factors in Tonguç's

pedagogy. Peculiar features of Tonguç's education pedagogy and his supportive approach established a ground for the empowerment process of VIs' female students.

Tonguç aimed to show that village girls' circumstances and oppressed position could change through VIs' education, which aimed to prepare them for life as well-equipped individuals with strong personality, occupation and economical independence. His pedagogy, together with the method of combining theory with practice within work ("learning by doing" method, which I will explain in the following section) provided clues for women's empowerment through education.

Overall, Tonguç's vision, philosophy and pedagogy reflected the nature of the VIs' education and became a guideline for the working of the VIs. On the other hand, the components (program, methods and the system) of VIs education, served as tools for realizing founding aims of VIs, which were in line with Tonguç's educational approach. Now I will evaluate the nature of VIs' education by analyzing each component's differentiating features and contribution to women graduates to identify the impact of VIs' education on women.

Program:
Curriculum and Other Activities in the Village Institutes

Academic program of the VIs included both rich curriculum (three-legged) and variety of additional activities. Overall, variety of courses and activities served the founding philosophy (Tonguç's philosophy) and the education pedagogy to fulfill establishing aims of the VIs.

Curriculum

Including the experimental stage, VIs implemented four different curricula during its life cycle (between 1937 and 1954): experiential curriculum (1937-1940), first academic curriculum (1943 curriculum), 1947 curriculum and 1953 curriculum. Establishment curriculum (1943 curriculum) was the genuine one, which represented the founding philosophy and the principles of the original stage (Bakkal, 1999: 73 in Toprak, 2008: 82). Following 1947 and 1953 curriculums contradicted with the founding philosophy and the constitution of the Village Institutes (Binbaşıoğlu, 1993: 54 in Toprak, 2008: 85; Boybeyi, 1998: 68 in Toprak, 2008: 86). Therefore, in this section, the focus will be on the curriculum of the original phase (1943 curriculum).

First academic curriculum (1943) had daily, weekly, seasonal and annual extents and applied in all of the VIs regularly. According to the program, daily studies continued from 8 a.m. to 10 p.m. (Şeren, 2008: 204), (See Table 2, Appendix). According to the description of the interviewees, there were three types of courses: cultural (50 per cent of the total curriculum), vocational training / technical (25 percent) and agriculture (25 per cent). Overall aim of this rich curriculum was to raise well-skilled teachers who would go to their own villages to educate villagers and to fulfill the major purpose of reconstructing rural Turkey from inside.

> Our duty was to educate and rebuild (revitalize) underdeveloped villages. They trained us as "ideal teachers" (Kadriye-woman graduate).

Cultural courses (such as math, literature, history, geography, etc.) were in line with the schedule of the other schools applying classical education. However, VIs' education differentiated with its vocational training (technical) and agricultural courses. According to the evaluations of the respondents, depending on the physiological properties and traditional qualifications, vocational training courses were determined by gender roles in general. For instance, carpentry, ironworking, construction, stonework, fishing, and plowing were the courses for male students. Whereas, sewing / tailoring, embroidery, knitting, weaving (rug, towel, linen, etc), cheese making, pickling, health / hygiene, child care, etiquette, harvesting, beekeeping and poultry rearing were for female students. On the other hand, abilities and interests were also important on selection of vocational courses. There were cases where male students took part in sewing or weaving type of classes due to their ability and interest. However, there were other cases where male students who were in sewing class attempted to drop out due to the ingrained gender roles.

Interviewees also mentioned about the joint classes where both males and females learned how to clean and repair machinery (sewing machine, bicycle, and motorcycle), how to drive, how to shoot (soldiery course) and how to play a musical instrument. There were some regional courses, which differed according to the geographical characteristics of the region (e.g. fishing, skiing etc).

Women graduates pointed out that, as the result of democratic and egalitarian structure in the VIs, if any female wanted to learn or do any male job, she could do it. The opposite was also possible. There were few exceptional cases that male students learned sewing, beekeeping and weaving, and females learned how to construct walls.

> One-day girl students went to see the school principle to ask him the reason why girls do not join the construction class. When they gave the reasoning that construction of a chicken coop would be their responsibility in the villages, the school principle sent girls to the construction class. That is how I learned laying up bricks. (Ayfer-woman graduate)

On the other hand, some other interviewees, who researched the VIs, pointed out that, female students received more attention and care than male students did. Indirectly they drew attention to inequality in practice. Following quote exemplifies this issue:

> Although women graduates emphasized equal treatment all the time, I never heard about any female student who worked in the whole construction process. They told me about carrying bricks, mortar, etc. However, that was all. Therefore, in my opinion people cherished female students more than males (Asım-others).

Women graduates pointed out that, sewing was one the most beneficial course for the female students. They sewed the bedclothes of the VIs, shirts and pajamas for both themselves and for male students. They were responsible of washing their own garments as well. However, there were washerwomen to wash the clothes of males. Women graduates rationalized it by emphasizing the number of male students and said that, they did not mind doing this kind of work. This example showed that, egalitarian and democratic principles of the VIs' education did not always work as they were planned. Various examples on this issue, identifies that it was not easy to remove and reject internalized gender roles and responsibilities, engraved females' subconscious during the childhood. Beside cultural, vocational and agricultural courses, there were other activities and additional courses as well.

Other Activities in the Curriculum

Regular morning exercises, music, free reading, critical weekend meetings and Saturday entertainments were the other activities in the curriculum (see Table 2, Appendix). For Tonguç, education would not fulfill its mission without taking the advantage of music and the other cultural activities (Gümüşoğlu, 2012: 18). In other words, the role and the place of other activities in education (in life) were just as important as the contribution of cultural, vocational and agricultural courses of VIs' education.

In the VIs, morning exercise was the first activity of the day, which consisted of national folk dances (*milli oyunlar*) and physical education. Free daily reading hour followed physical activity prior to the breakfast. As part of VIs' curriculum, students read books, newspapers, etc. everyday, regularly, to gain the habit of reading (Binbaşıoğlu, 1997: 37) by benefiting from VIs' own libraries. Students were responsible of reading at least 20 classical books in a year (Gümüşoğlu, 2012: 18). Interviewees emphasized that students were also responsible of analyzing each book according to the characters, main idea and wrote down these aspects in their notebooks with a brief summary to have an in-depth understanding and to present in the class for evaluation and discussion in regular book presentation days.

Music and cultural activities were indispensable part of VIs' education. Each student had to learn how to play at least one musical instrument such as mandolin, violin or piano (Gümüşoğlu, 2012: 18). Social and cultural trips were also important tools of education. As emphasized by the interviewees, there were cases where students went to see historical places to learn history in situ. Critical weekend (Saturday) meetings and

Saturday entertainments aimed to strengthen relationship among students, teachers and the administration to develop personal (self-expression, confidence, etc.) qualifications and the communication skills. Weekend meetings aimed to teach students expressing their opinions in front of others freely, criticizing / praising students, teachers or management when necessary. Evening entertainments, on the other hand, gave students the opportunity of displaying their performances (e.g. concerts, plays, dances, etc.) in front of others (people from the VIs, neighborhood, and official authorities) as well as socializing and enjoying together (Özsoy, 1997: 64; Gümüşoğlu, 2012: 18; Binbaşıoğlu, 1997: 37).

According to the women graduates, female teachers' (e.g. sewing teacher) private lessons for female students (weekly /once in fifteen days) were part of the academic program as well (informally). They emphasized that, these lessons / conversations served to multiple purposes of protecting female students by warning them against male-female intimacy or any possible threat from outside, establishing personal care and hygiene habits as well as preparing them for gender responsibilities and the modern lifestyle that the nation state expected from Republican women. Women graduates also added that, some of the female teachers slept in girls' dormitories with female students for control and protection reasons.

Respondents indicated that, VIs' rich curriculum and other activities provided variety of skills and values, which contributed female students' personal, social and relational development. As pointed out by the respondents, both the curriculum and the activities like Saturday meetings (critical assessment meetings), book presentations and weekend shows enabled students (females in particular) to express their opinions freely,

to manage and organize their own time, to develop critical thinking, questioning, solution generating and activation abilities. They also mentioned that morning exercises, folk dances and sportive activities (volleyball, etc.) fulfilled the physical expectations, whereas, reading, weekend shows and musical activities (singing in choir, playing an instrument in the orchestra, etc.) met cultural needs. While the military course taught them self-defense, Saturday meetings for critique and book presentations encouraged them for self-advocacy. Women graduates also emphasized that, female teachers' private conversations and recommendations on housekeeping and motherhood (cooking, cleaning, childcare, nutrition, etc.) served to traditional gender roles / responsibilities, whereas private talks on modern-life (clothing, table manners, decoration, etc.) and personal care (hygiene, hair cutting, etc.) taught them civilized way of living. All these skills and abilities contributed to personal development.

According to the interviewees, curriculum and the activities contributed their development by enhancing courage, confidence, democratic and egalitarian thinking. They also emphasized that the academic program developed the sense of responsibility, freedom and autonomy, positive thinking and morality. Respondents added that educational program reinforced critical thinking, constructive criticism, productivity, problem solving and acting ability. Women graduates underlined that, VIs' academic program developed social and relational abilities and values like communication and negotiation, collaboration and cooperation as well as social sensitivity, dignity and team spirit, socialization and networking, which prepared the base for personal, social (collective) and relational development.

Although, majority of the women graduates thought that VIs' curriculum and activities were beyond their expectations, there were cases where women graduates complained about the deficiency of courses like family planning and family relations (e.g. lack of discussion on sexuality). In general, women graduates defined themselves as; well equipped teachers with respected occupation, values and personality. They also added that some courses in the curriculum (e.g. beekeeping, chicken raising, etc.) even gave them the opportunity of doing side jobs when there was a need for it.

In the next chapter- in empowerment analysis-, I will discuss how these skills and values contributed to the process of empowerment in personal, collective and relational levels. Beside its academic program, VIs' education varied with its specific methods as well. Therefore, in the following section, I will evaluate two distinctive methods of the VIs' education: "learning by doing" and "*imece*" by benefiting from the respondents' experiences and observations.

Methods: "Learning by Doing", "*İmece*"

In this section, I argue that, the method of "learning by doing", which was the driving force and the key supportive component of VIs' education, contributed the development of skills and values in the process of production. This method enabled students to gain and enhance the sense of productivity, self-sufficiency as well as reasoning and problem-solving ability. The method of "imece", on the other hand, promoted values like solidarity, sharing, humaneness, confidence, and self-respect via education within

work and within life. As a method, *"imece"* undertook a supportive role-as well- and became indispensable part of VIs' education mentality as well. Through the process of education, both methods promoted the development of personal, social (collective) and relational skills and the key values which were necessary for improvement and strengthening of female students.

"Learning by Doing" Method

"Learning by doing" method, which was the basing idea behind VIs' philosophy, combined theory with practice and enabled students to learn within the process of production (work). At the end of the production (and learning) process, the theory (knowledge) became useful (practical) for life. Therefore, "education for production" was the key encouraging idea behind the "learning by doing" method (Karaömerlioğlu, 1998: 57). As emphasized by the interviewees, this method also helped students to develop reasoning and problem solving ability. Students learned while working to solve problems (Anzai and Simon, 1979) in life. As exemplified by the following quotes, the interviewees pointed out that through the implementation of "learning by doing" method, the VIs became productive and self-sufficient economic units.

> In the VIs, through "learning by doing" and vocational training, production takes the lead, education becomes useful and no longer a luxury rather, a cheaper service available for everybody (Azize-woman graduate).

> We did not only consume what we produced. We also sold some of them and in this way; we contributed to the economy (Rahime-woman graduate).

According to Türkoğlu, "learning by doing" method, aimed to contribute dual purposes; skill building through knowledge and practice, and reducing the government's financial burden on building and maintaining institutes (economical value generating) through continuous production (Türkoğlu, 1996: 217-218).

Overall, students constructed their own buildings (school, workshops, dormitories, teacher houses, refectory, library etc.), sewed their curtains, sheets and uniforms, planted trees, farmed their land, brought electricity, water, raised their animals, repaired their cars and bicycles...etc. They did all necessary work and construction by themselves by using the method of "learning by doing".

"*İmece*" Method: Cooperation, Peer Support

"İmece" method had a supportive role on the implementation of each component / tool of VIs' education. Here, I will argue the method of "*imece*" and its contribution to education process by emphasizing cooperation and peer support. In the following section, on the other hand, I will point out *"imece*'s*"* role on functioning and management process of the VIs.

"İmece" method based on traditional and cultural habit of collaboration in which people help each other to complete a work or any duty. In the VIs' education process, "*imece*" method became useful tool for teaching and learning. According to the interviewees, through *"imece"*, students learned to share, communicate and corporate with each other. "*Imece"* method also helped students to develop empathy, team spirit as

well as time and energy saving. During the establishment period of the VIs, there were cases where VIs' students went to other VIs as groups to construct their buildings and to teach them folk songs / dances of their own region to exchange cultural values. There were other cases where VIs' students bound up wounds of natural disasters and displayed the examples of solidarity and social responsibility. Interviewees emphasized that after the earthquake of Ladik, in 1943, groups of VIs students went to Samsun, Ladik to support the villagers by rebuilding their villages through "*imece*".

Peer support was another way of using *"imece"* method in education process of the VIs and based on supportive contribution of experienced and successful students (*abiler / ablalar*) by getting the responsibility of certain number of new comers to show them around, to explain the system, rules, etc. and help them whenever there was a need for it. There were cases where supporting peers *(ablalar*) helped shy girls to gain courage and confidence. There were other cases where peer support of older friends (*abiler / ablalar)* contributed to the development and progress of skills and knowledge (e.g. playing musical instrument, improving grades, etc.). Following quote exemplifies contribution of peer support:

> I was shy to ask questions on personal matters like menstruation. My older friend (*abla*), in the VIs, taught me everything about it. She also showed me how to sew a cloth pad, how to use and wash it. The more she helped me the more I felt comfortable and confident (Leyla-woman graduate).

Peer support in education process strengthened the sense of cooperation, solidarity and confidence. It also eased learning process, prevented shyness on personal / private matters (e.g. personal hygiene, menstruating) and aroused a feeling of not being alone. Peer support was very important for female students-in particular- as they were

few in number. Overall, both "learning by doing" and "*imece*" methods served to fulfill the aim of equipping students with skills and values to change their circumstances and make them leading agents (teacher and / other experts) who will educate others and work for the revival of the villages.

Village Institute System: Style of Education, Relations, Functioning and Management, Discipline

The aim of this sub-section is to reveal the nature of the Village Institute System by evaluating each component separately. Differentiating components of the VIs System were its specific style of education, relations, management, functioning, and the discipline, which based on and served to the philosophy and the pedagogy of Tonguç (VIs' founding philosophy and pedagogy).

Overall, VIs, were centrally controlled mixed vocational boarding schools, provided five years of secondary education in mixed classes with continuous education mentality. As part of the system, following the completion of the institute education, the graduates went back to their villages mainly as village teachers but also as "village trainers, health technicians, mechanics or carpenters" to revive their villages through education. According to the foundational principles, duration of compulsory service was twenty years (Şeren, 2008 in Girgin, 2011: 37). Differentiating factors of the VIs' system interoperated with each other as well as with the other components of the VIs' education and served to the development of personal, social (collective) and relational skills and values which contributed female students' development and change.

Style of Education:

"Equality of opportunity" and "coed education" was the backbone of Republic's education project. However, the opposing views of conservative mindset promoted reverse situation in practice (Arat, 1999; Özsoy, 2004a; Tan, 1994; Ünal & Özsoy, 1999 in Özsoy, 2009: 1928). Despite all counter views and efforts, VIs adopted coed, boarding, free public education style with modern, secular and scientific stance, which differentiated VIs from other public schools.

From the interviewees angle, in 1940's, coed boarding education in rural Turkey was almost a revolutionary action, as it conflicted with traditional and conservative way of thinking. As emphasized by the respondents, this specific education style did not only enable the education of villagers, more importantly, it provided village girls the opportunity of education and possibility of improvement to change their conditions (oppressed). As I mentioned earlier, this was the reason behind Tonguç's special emphasis on female education (and gender equality).

Interviewees pointed out that, co-ed boarding vocational public education with modern, secular and scientific approach enabled VIs' students to follow the route of science instead of unscientific fallacies and superstitious beliefs. They also underlined that, VIs' system aimed to enhance moral values for personality development rather than providing religious education. According to the women graduates, there was neither enforcement nor interference on religion (between 1940 and1946 in particular). They also added that they received religious education from their families. According to the

evaluation of the respondents, modern, secular and scientific approach of VIs' system promoted rational thinking, raised consciousness and contributed to the enhancement of personality.

Coed boarding vocational free public education style was important from many aspects. As pointed out by the women graduates, it changed the direction of their life by providing them the only chance of education, creating awareness of equality and democracy, introducing them to the secular and modern way of living, developing variety of skills and contributing their personality development by strengthening self-confidence. Following quotes exemplifies the contribution of coeducation to female students:

> Through VIs' mixed education, we realized that we are as equal, as important and as valuable as males. It taught us that we have equal rights, we should not be scared of them and, we should not see them out weighted. We are all valuable! (Azize-woman graduate).

> As a village girl, Village Institutes introduced me to the modern lifestyle from personal care and tidiness to table manners, from tailoring and clothing to communication. They taught me the value of knowledge and the beauty of life. This education totally changed my life! (Mine-woman graduate).

According to the interviewees, VIs' coeducational boarding system satisfied social and emotional requirements as well as physical and educational (intellectual) needs of the VIs' students. They emphasized that excluding the separate dormitories of males and females, education took place together, which enabled and reinforced the sense of belonging, team spirit, cooperation and self-discipline. Majority of the interviewees advocated that the coed boarding education style developed communication between male and female students and normalized male-female relations. However,

there were indicators in other quotes, which I will discuss in detail in the next section under the title of "male-female relations", that these were not the case in practice.

In the next chapter (Empowerment Analysis), I will mention the impact of coed boarding education style on the empowerment process of the women graduates. I will emphasize its contribution on self-development and confidence by raising consciousness on gender equality (in general), and by promoting the ability of self-expression in front of others (male students in particular).

Coed boarding education in -1940s- rural Turkey drew attention of conservative circles and raised discussion on male-female relations, which had an effect on the attitudes towards female students as well as male-female relationship in the VIs. Following section will draw attention to the style of relations, which was differentiating-but somewhat problematic- component of the VIs' system.

Style of Relations: Male- Female Relations, Attitudes towards Female Students

This section will identify the nature of relations in practice by evaluating male-female interaction and the way of approaching female students within the VIs' education system.

Male-Female Relations

From the lenses of academician (expert) interviewees, male-female relations, in the 1940s, passed for taboo and limited in confined sphere. As the reflection of this conservative structure, there was a significant objection towards the VIs due to its coed boarding education. Therefore, as a defense mechanism, disciplined, democratic and egalitarian education system was tied up with sisterhood / brotherhood discourse. Accordingly, managers and teachers encouraged collective relations, teamwork, cooperation and solidarity.

Some of the male respondents rationalized sisterhood / brotherhood discourse with humanistic approach of the VIs, where students lived together by treating each other as human beings rather than perceiving them as sex objects.

> Rather than seeing each other as erotic objects, they became brothers and sisters via humanistic education. Starting from early ages, they learned how to live together (Erol-others).

On the other hand, women graduates emphasized that female teachers (e.g. sewing teacher) talked to female students privately about how to behave (e.g. advising female students to be careful and protect themselves against possible disturbing behavior of opposite sex, etc.). Interviewees also pointed out that, when they went out of the borders of the VIs, male students always behaved like the protectors of the female students as if females were unable to protect themselves. Although the women graduates took this kind of behavior as natural, protective attitude towards female students seemed conflicting with the egalitarian and gender-neutral principles of the VIs.

> We were all equal we were like brothers and sisters. Male students treated us like our brothers or fathers....they always protected us. There was a family atmosphere and no difference between male and female students in class. We were always together (Fasıla-woman graduate).

All these efforts resulted in sexless (school) territory in which male-female intimacy became taboo. Therefore, without an exception each respondent described male-female relations as "being like brothers and sisters / family". Additionally, instead of using their names, when they talk to each other they used the addressing form of "my friend (*arkadaşım*)".

> We never saw male students as opposite sex. We were like brothers and sisters and the VIs was our family (Nakiye-woman graduate).

Interviewees' comments showed that, in general women graduates verbalized gender equality and the sense of "sisterhood / brotherhood" in the same sentence as if they were prerequisite for each other ("we were all equal, we were like brothers and sisters"). Without an exception, all women graduates used the same statement, as if they memorized it. Besides, they emphasized democratic, egalitarian and gender-neutral aspects of the VIs' education repeatedly. However, on gender equality in particular, there was a contrariety between their comments and experiences as exemplified in the following quotes:

> There was not any difference between male and female students. There was equality, democracy and no gender discrimination. However, we were not aloud to walk on the garden or go to a hidden place as couples / pair wise. Teachers always encouraged friendship within the collective territory (Kadriye-woman graduate).

> Once a female student was talking with a male student privately and teachers saw them. The next day we heard that they expelled the female student (not the male student) although she did not do anything wrong. They told her that Erzurum was a conservative community and rumors would disturb both herself and her family if she would stay in the Village

Institute. Teachers and managers always scared of bad reputation (Nadide-woman graduate).

There were cases where women graduates criticized unisex (odd looking) working uniforms and boots. There were some other cases where women graduates complained about strict discipline against male-female relationship or restrictions on female students' external appearance (e.g. obligation of cutting hair short, restrictions on beauty related treatments). From an objective point of view, all complaints revolved around the restraints on male-female relations (sisterhood/brotherhood), and sexless territory, which had a negative influence on the implementation of gender equality principle. In fact, this was the area where the VIs' education needed improvement. I will argue, in the next chapter, in the section of personal empowerment-under inhibiting factors-, that these limitations were, indeed, precautions against the obstacle of patriarchal pressure on women.

On the other hand, as emphasized by the interviewees, in 1940s, the only way of accepting and approving intimacy in male-female relationship was the condition of marriage. According to the respondents, the reason behind this approach was the pressure and counter propaganda of conservative circles against the VIs. Therefore, management, managers and teachers developed family like collective environment and disciplinary approach to promote collective relations and to prevent intimate male-female relations. Thus, male-female relationship became unpronounceable issue until the year of graduation. There were cases where institute managers verbalized and even encouraged marriage between male and female graduates prior to graduation. The interviewees rationalized this behavior with the difficulty of sending women graduates to villages alone due to the conservative nature of the society. Another underlined point

was the difficulty of finding mentally appropriate match among the villagers. However, majority pointed out that there was neither insistence nor imposition but encouragement on the marriage of VIs' graduates for the common good. Following quotes exemplify the above stated issues on marriage of the VIs' graduates:

> Just before the graduation, we heard that in some of the VIs, managers encouraged marriage among the VI graduates to induct them to the same district (Nakiye-woman graduate).
>
> After graduation, it was difficult for females to get married with villagers due to the difference between their worldviews, habits and attitudes. The aim was to establish strong family model for the villages (for common good: building well developed modern nation). Hence, their marriage would be meaningful. Therefore, in some of the VIs, managers encouraged marriage among VIs' graduates to share a common fate. However, there was absolutely no enforcement (Faika-expert academician).
>
> There was not an encouragement but, if there were any students who already decided to marry, then, mangers and teacher would help them on wedding preparations and setting up a home (Erol-others).

I will argue, in the next chapter, in the section of empowerment within close relationship, that such treatments (limiting one to one male-female relations via sisterhood / brotherhood discourse, father like protective / patriarchal attitude of male students, etc.) were in fact contributing to disempowerment (or lower level of empowerment in some cases) of women graduates within close relationships.

Attitudes towards Female Students

As I mentioned earlier due to the uneven male/ female distribution in the VIs, Tonguç and his colleagues' showed a maximum effort to increase the number of female students

in the VIs. Interviewees pointed out that, starting from the first day the attitudes towards female students, were very positive in general. Majority of the female students used the metaphor of "heaven" to describe their feelings when they first encountered the VIs. According to them, the reason behind this positive impression was not only the education opportunity but also the warm, kindly and cherishingly welcoming as exemplified by the following quote:

> I felt like I was in heaven. They welcomed me with care, respect and sincerity. Students expect recognition that is one of the reason I define the place as "heaven" (Azize-woman graduate).

The interviewees pointed out that the management, managers and teachers cherished and protected female students and prepared occasions to make them feel successful and confident. There were exemplary cases where female students took place in classes with less clever males (purposely), which made them realize and believe in their own power, helped them experience the sense of achievement, feel valuable and esteemed. Women graduates emphasized that such treatments made them feel as equal, as clever and as successful as male students, thus, enhanced the sense of equality. Similar to the previous example of female students' exemption from entrance exam, this cherishing application was also contradicting with egalitarian principle of the VIs, despite the underlying reason was to develop their personality and the sense of equality.

Overall, the interviewees seemed that they were aware of relational and attitudinal deficiencies. However, they preferred to blame the limited lifecycle of the VIs or outside forces (conservative society and its pressure) instead of accusing VIs' education mainly due to their gratitude towards this education opportunity. They all wished that these institutes would last longer.

In the next chapter, under the section of empowerment within close relationship, I will argue that, VIs' education, taught students communal life rather than developing and normalizing male-female relations. I will also discuss that female students' relatively passive stance- both in the VIs and in life- was adversely affected from limited / fraternal male-female relations, which influenced the realization degree of empowerment (disempowerment or limited empowerment) in close relationship level. Besides the style of education and the style of relations, functioning and management style was another differentiating component of the VIs' education system.

Functioning and Management Style:

VIs' management style was non-hierarchic and based on democracy and equality. From this aspect, VIs' management differentiated from the traditional schools. In the VIs, beside the school directors, teachers and students became active player of management process (Şeren, 2008: 205). Management principles based on participation and democracy ("*Katılım ve Demokrasi"*), organization ("*Örgütlülük*"), solidarity ("*Dayanışma*"), expressing opinion and evaluation ("*Değerlendirme*") (Altunya, 2010: 86-88).

Participation and Democracy

The VIs system aimed to teach and demonstrate the fundamental elements of democratic systems. Students were encouraged to be actively involved in the whole process by taking responsibilities and working together with the teachers and managers hand in hand. That was how students learned and internalized the principles of democracy (Şeren, 2008: 218 in Girgin, 2011: 39).

According to the interviewees, functioning and management style of the VIs system displayed democratic, egalitarian and non-hierarchical nature. Students were free to criticize institute manager, teachers and other students or even important visitors (e.g. İsmet İnönü). Thus, as many interviewees emphasized, the students learned and experienced emancipating management style in the VIs. However, there were also some other cases where few institute managers and teachers displayed authoritative attitude. The ones who could not keep up with this structure did not stay longer.

Organization

The VIs' organization consisted of management, managers, head of education, board of teachers, student management: group leader and expert students (leading variety of works: "head of construction", "head of water sports and fishing", etc.), disciplinary board and financial commissions (Altunya, 2010: 91; Girgin, 2011: 39-40). According to the respondents, organized structure of the VIs enhanced organization and management skills of the women graduates.

Solidarity and Division of Responsibility

As I already evaluated "*imece*" method and its contribution to women graduates (under the title of "methods"), here, I will briefly discuss, how "*imece*" reflected to functioning and management style of the VIs. As emphasized in the following quote, functioning and management style of the VIs based on solidarity and division of responsibility between institute manager, teachers and students, who lived, worked, learned, discussed, evaluated, and shared together.

> In the VIs, we did everything together with managers, teachers, educators and students. By this way, we learned to share responsibility, help and communicate with each other (Refik-male graduate)

VIs, hired limited number of service employees (cook, scullion and launderer). Therefore, students took and shared responsibility to do necessary work in shifts (Binbaşıoğlu, 1997: 37 in Girgin, 2011: 40). According to the interviewees, within VIs' system, women graduates gained the habit of self-sufficiency by doing these type of work as well.

Expressing opinion and evaluation

In the VIs system, management, managers and teachers encouraged students to stand and express themselves freely and teachers helped them to improve their verbal skills to speak well in front of others (Gümüşoğlu, 2012: 17). Gaining courage was extremely important and it was teachers' duty to train students as courageous people who could participate in activities, give speeches in conferences and take part in competitions

(Gümüşoğlu, 2012: 18). Saturday meetings –as mentioned in the section of other activities in the curriculum- served to this aim. In these meetings, students learned how to make "constructive criticism" as well (Gümüşoğlu, 2012: 18). Women graduates also underlined that, within VIs' system they developed the ability of self-expression and criticism.

Style of Discipline:

According to the interviewees, the nature of the discipline in the VIs was student-centered, humanitarian and constructive rather than humiliating and destructive, which was in line with Tonguç's education pedagogy. The respondents emphasized that, appreciating the value of people (*insan harcamamak*) was the key approach in VIs' education, which reflected to its discipline as well.

According to Tonguç (VIs' education), violence, like slapping or beating, was a primitive way of act. Therefore, using force / violence as punishment was disallowable in the VIs. When dealing with problems, Tonguç's suggestion was to learn to stay calm, to develop empathy, to be compassionate and kind. For him, these were the important aspects of a VIs' graduates-village teachers (Gümüşoğlu, 2012: 18). Interviewees also emphasized Tonguç's approach on punishment and violence by giving the example of his declaration of students' rights, which he sent to managers, teachers, educators and students to prevent any possible exploitation of the VIs' students.

According to the interviewees, there was neither direct (declared) punishment nor reward in the VIs system (during foundational period-1940-1946- in particular). Respondents emphasized that, motivation; encouragement and appreciation were the indirect rewards (i.e. announcing successful students in VIs' daily newspaper or in weekend meetings). There were cases where students earned rewards like sightseeing trips or books as well. However, majority pointed out that appraisals were more valuable than physical rewards.

> In Saturday meetings, we always congratulated and applauded successful students. Once they gave me a book for managing the canteen successfully. I preferred appraisals, which made me feel proud (Nakiye-woman graduate).
>
> In Hasanoğlan higher VI, once İsmet İnönü gave me a book as a reward of overachievement (Metin-male graduate)

On the other hand, when undesired behavior occurred, management used the method of making students understand and learn lessons from their own mistakes through private conversations. Interviewees pointed out that, managers and teachers evaluated failure or mistakes individually but, praised success and achievements in front of others. They also underlined that although, managers and teacher, in general, avoided humiliating mistreatment in front of others, there were exceptional cases as well. Some of the interviewees mentioned about authoritative tone of voice of the institute managers. According to the respondents, the worst punishment was expelling from school, which mostly related with the attitudes against patriarchal norms and religious beliefs (e.g. male-female intimacy in the VIs etc.) Overall, interviewees displayed protectionist attitude towards the VIs and avoided direct criticism. Instead, shared their

experiences / or speculations as exemplary cases. Following quotes exemplifies above issues:

> When we did something wrong, institute manager or teachers would talk to us individually with influential words to convince and make us understand our own mistakes. They would not talk in public in order not to embarrass us in front of others (Hale-woman graduate).
>
> If they proved any private relation between male and female students (e.g. exchanging intimate letters, etc.) they would get 21 days of suspension from lessons (Zeliha-woman graduate).
>
> I heard about two expelling cases in the VIs. One was the result of using gun for love affair /conservative jealousy. The other one was about homosexuality of two male students (Mahire-woman graduate).

According to the respondents, VIs' discipline style (between 1940 and 1946 in particular) contained the elements of students-centered pedagogy. Therefore, understanding, empathy, communication, problem solving, conscious raising, motivation and appraisal were the indispensable tools of VIs' discipline. From this perspective, the disciplinary approach enabled students (females in particular) gain consciousness (by learning from their own mistakes), courage, confidence, self- respect (through encouragement and appraisals), self-advocacy (via communication and awareness of their own rights). Interviewees also emphasized that, as well as the constructive nature of the discipline style, feeling the support of Tonguç, contributed them, developing the core values, which were necessary for enhancing personality and gaining strength.

In this comprehensive section (Nature of Village Institutes' Education and its Contribution to Women), I evaluated the differentiating components of the VIs' education and their contribution to women under four sections. These parts identified the founder (inspiration, vision, philosophy and pedagogy of Tonguç), academic program

(curriculum and other activities), methods ("learning by doing" and "*imece*") and the system (style of education, style of relations, functioning and management style and style of disciple) of the VIs' education. Following quote summarizes this section:

> Through "learning by doing", female students learned in the process of production. The more they produced the more they felt productive and valuable. Management, managers and teachers motivated, trusted and appraised them. They studied in mixed classes equally and became like a family. They gained so many skills, values and occupation, which made them confident, autonomous and strong. They cooperated, showed love and respect to each other. They all took responsibilities, gave reports, contributed the management process and made decisions together, that was how they understood the principles of democracy. They supported each other, criticized and encouraged one another. VIs satisfied their physical, psychological, social and intellectual needs. The more their needs were satisfied the more they became healthy, happy and developed individuals (Başak-expert academician).

Prior to the empowerment analysis (next chapter), I will sum up the nature of VIs' education and its contribution to women, which was the most comprehensive section and the backbone of chapter four.

Summary: Nature of Village Institutes' Education and its Contribution to Women Graduates

Following tables will summarize the differentiating aspects of VIs' educational tools / components (founder, program, method and the system) to be a guideline for the empowerment analysis.

Table 7. Summary: The Founder and his Contribution to Women

İsmail Hakkı Tonguç was the founder, driving force and the guide for the VIs' education. He realized urban/ rural difference and suggested to link production to education, which suited the working culture and the living conditions of rural population. He aimed to transform the circumstances of oppressed (villagers) into agents and gave priority to female education to change oppressed village girls' circumstances.

Tonguç's pedagogy (= VIs' education pedagogy) based on student-centered education, which pays attention on interests and abilities, reinforces active participation in (work / production based) learning, conscious generation, communication, socialization, undertaking (responsibility), problem solving and activating. It promotes internal democracy, sense of equality, solidarity and productivity, as well as critical thinking, autonomy and personal growth. It also supports students through motivation / encouragement, affirmative (and affectionate) attitude (positive thinking), believing in (trust), giving responsibility, assessing and appraising the achievements

-Tonguç's pedagogy, which was the guideline for the VIs' education, displayed the essence of student-centered, critical empowering education.

-His pedagogy incorporated in each component of VIs education to fulfill the aim of raising conscious, full skilled and well-developed individuals with strong personality and self-sustaining occupation (teacher) to change their circumstances and become leading agents (teacher and / other experts) who will educate others and work for the revival of the villages.

Table 8. Summary: Program-Curriculum and Other Activities

VIs' academic program (curriculum and other activities) suited the founding philosophy and education pedagogy of VIs (Tonguç's pedagogy).

Curriculum consisted of cultural (%50), vocational training (%25) and agricultural courses (%25). Cultural courses were in line with the other classical schools, vocational training / technical courses and agricultural courses were the differentiating content of the VIs' curriculum.

Other Activities included morning exercises, free reading hour and book presentations, music and cultural activities, social and cultural trips, Saturday meetings (for critique), weekend entertainment and female teachers' private conversations with female students (on housekeeping, motherhood, modern-life and personal care).

Skills gained: VIs' rich curriculum and other activities developed manual and cognitive skills; home based feminine skills; modern life skills as well as skills for personal, social and cultural development.

Values gained: students developed variety of humanitarian values (solidarity, sharing, toleration, honesty, love, etc.) and the values necessary for personality development (e.g. courage, confidence, responsibility, etc.).

Overall, the academic program enhanced versatility, productivity, autonomy, developed the

habit of reading, critical thinking, constructive criticism and time management as well as the ability of problem solving and taking action.

VIs' academic program raised students (females in particular) as full skilled teachers with strong values and personality who could stand on their own feet with their self-sustaining occupation.

Table 9. Summary: Methods- "Learning By Doing" and "*İmece*" (cooperation and support)

"Learning By Doing" method was the backbone of the VIs education (as well as Tonguç's philosophy) which supported the whole process and incorporated in each component of VIs education. The idea was to connect education with production to make knowledge (theory) useful (practical). It based on developing skills and values in the process of production, within work and within life. The method enabled students to gain and develop the sense of productivity, self-sufficiency as well as reasoning and problem-solving ability.

"*İmece*" (cooperation, peer support) method rested upon traditional and cultural habit of collaboration within work and within life. It promoted values like cooperation, sharing, humaneness, confidence, and self-respect and contributed to develop empathy, team spirit as well as time and energy saving. "İmece" also enabled exchange of cultural values, supported social responsibility and solidarity.

Peer support was another way of applying "*imece*" method to VIs' education. It based on the idea of getting support of older and experienced students to help the new comers. It contributed to develop courage, confidence and to enhance knowledge and skills. It eased learning process and aroused the feeling of not being alone as well.

"*İmece*" method incorporated in all components of VIs' education and became one of the key principles of management process.

Both methods were supportive tools (for teaching and learning) and served the whole education process to fulfill the foundational aim of the VIs.

Table 10. Summary: VIs System-Style of Education, Functioning and Management, Discipline, Relations

Style of Education: Coed boarding vocational free public education with modern, secular and scientific stance

Coeducation provided the opportunity of education and the possibility of improvement for village girls. It created awareness of (gender) equality and democracy, promoted the ability of self-expression in front of others. It also contributed personality development by strengthening self-confidence of females.

Boarding education reinforced the sense of belonging, team spirit, cooperation and self-discipline and taught communal life and communitarian spirit.

Vocational education developed variety of skills

Modern, Secular, Scientific education promoted rational thinking, raised consciousness and contributed to the enhancement of personality. It also introduced females the secular and modern way of living,

Style of Relations: Male-female relations, attitudes towards females

Male-Female Relations

VIs' education system was not free from patriarchal pressure, which restrained male-female relationship, based *on* sisterhood / brotherhood discourse and communitarian relations. It encouraged family like, sexless school environment and promoted protective attitude towards female students on male-female intimacy (taboo).
Female teachers, in the VIs, served as edifiers who always kept an eye on female students
Management, managers and teachers encouraged marriage between male and female graduates prior to graduation for the common good.
Restrictions and implementations on male-female relations were the areas of discussion.

Attitudes Towards Females
Management, managers and teachers displayed positive, cherishing and protective attitude towards female students, which made them feel successful, valuable and esteemed. Positive discrimination and its conflict with egalitarian and gender neutral principles was the point of discussion.

Functioning and Management Style : Democratic, Egalitarian and Non-Hierarchic

VIs' education based on democratic, egalitarian, non-hierarchic and emancipating functioning and management style which promoted active participation in management by taking responsibilities and encouraged organization, solidarity, freedom of expression, constructive criticism, and assessment.

Style of Discipline: Rules, Punishment and Reward

VIs' discipline style promoted empathy, compassion and kindness and prohibited any kind of force or violence.

Rewarding based on motivation, encouragement and appraisal.

Punishment rested upon the understanding of learning from one's own mistakes.
Expelling from school was the worst punishment and applied when there were attitudes against patriarchal norms and religious beliefs (e.g. male-female intimacy in the VIs etc.).

Overall, style of discipline contributed to gain consciousness, courage, confidence, self- respect and the ability of self-advocacy.

Chapter four highlighted the case of VIs in terms of the nature of society, foundation of VIs, the nature of VIs' education and its contribution to women graduates by answering the questions of which features (and components) of VIs' education were differentiating and empowering when compared to traditional highschool education. Did these components and their peculiar features prepare a base for women's empowerment?

In what ways VIs' education contributed to the development of its women graduates? In the next chapter, by benefiting from Rowlands' three-dimensional theoretical framework, empowerment analysis aims to answer the questions of; did VIs' contribution (educational attainments) lead to women's empowerment? In which levels VIs' education empowered /or in which levels this education could not sufficiently empower its women graduates against pressure and obstacles of patriarchal society?

CHAPTER V

EMPOWERMENT ANALYSIS:

EMPIRICAL FINDINGS ON WOMEN'S EMPOWERMENT

In this study, I examine the empowering impact of VIs' education on its women graduates by using Rowlands' (1997) model, which provided core values, indicators, encouraging and inhibiting factors (Rowlands, 1997: 112-113) to measure women's empowerment by identifying progress and change in three levels: personal, collective (social) and within close relationships. Core values were the key measures of empowerment whereas; indicators represent the causes of change. Encouraging and inhibiting factors, on the other hand, stand for the circumstances, which encourage or inhibit the process of empowerment.

In the case of VIs, values represent the significant gains of VI education. Indicators, on the other hand, stand for the causes of these values which were skills and abilities obtained through VIs' education. Encouraging factors are the, reinforcing elements of this contribution whereas, the inhibiting factors are the conditions or realities limiting females' education as well as its contribution to females.

In this chapter, I will argue that although the VIs' education contributed its women graduates' development and empowerment process, the degree and the nature of empowerment differed in personal, collective (social) and close relationship levels. These differences are based on inhibiting factors (barriers) and the way women

graduates coped with these inhibitors as well as the encouraging factors (VIs' educational components / tools) and the way they benefited from these encouragers to gain skills and abilities (indicators) which reinforced women's empowerment.

First, I define common inhibiting factors (in personal, collective and within close relationship levels). Then, I evaluate encouraging factors, indicators and core values of each level one by one-separately-to identify the influence of VIs' education on women graduates' empowerment in each level. Following diagram (figure 2.) summarizes the flow of empowerment analysis:

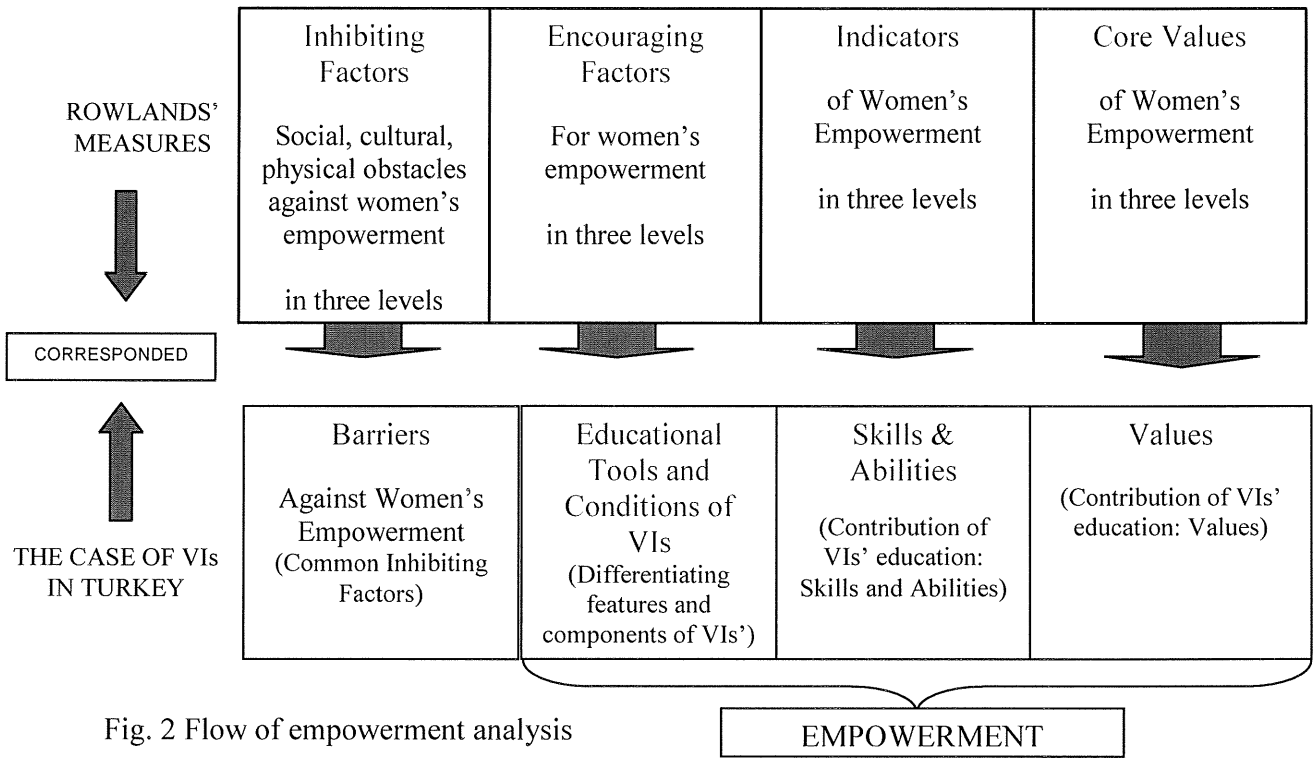


Fig. 2 Flow of empowerment analysis

Common Inhibiting Factors

Following table (Table 11) indicates that the barriers against women's empowerment, which came out from the thesis research (left hand side of the table-VIs) corresponded to the Rowlands' inhibiting factors.

Table 11. Common Inhibiting Factors (VIs versus Rowlands' Model)

Common Inhibiting Factors (Barriers) (VIs) (Personal / Collective (Social) / Within Close Relationship Levels)	Inhibiting Factors of Rowlands' Model (Personal /Collective/ Within Close Relationship Levels)
•Religion, conservatism and traditional culture	•Fatalism •Conservative (culture and) forces within religious institutions •Dependency (traditional and conservative culture of women's subordination)
•Patriarchal pressure on women	•Machismo •"Internalized oppression" reinforced from outside
•Opposing / commanding / jealous / aggressive / drinking husband	•Active opposition by partner •Active opposition •Male violence •Alcohol consumption by partner
•Male control over family income / budget (and property)	•Male control over income •Lack of control over land (property or financial sources)
• Traditional obligations of women / Expectations from women	•Constant child bearing / lack of control over fertility •Child care obligations •Patient care (Health problems) •Economical obligations to family and parents (Poverty) •Conservative culture of obedience (conservative force of men over women) •Cultural expectations of (/ from) women
•Political scene and unsteady political conditions	•Unstable local politics (inhibiting factor in collective level)

Table 11 summarized the common inhibiting factors against women's empowerment in, personal, collective and within relationship levels. Now, I will explain each inhibitor (common inhibiting factors) one by one to identify barriers against women graduates' empowerment.

Religion, Conservatism and Traditional Culture: Fatalism / Conservative (culture and) Forces within Religious Institutions / Dependency

According to the Rowlands' model, religion and forces within religious institutions (like Catholic Church) influence / control women's identities. Therefore, any educational effort, supporting women's development, was a threat for the Church (Rowlands, 1995: 89-91). Unprogressive views of conservative circles, which promoted dependency of women, inhibited women's empowerment in all dimensions.

In the case of VIs, on the other hand, religious beliefs as well as conservative, traditional and cultural norms (and beliefs) promoted women's dependent / subordinate position in society, which set off social pressure against women's progress. As I mentioned earlier, (in the beginning of the previous chapter, under the title of *nature of society*), religion and faith as well as traditional and conservative norms (and beliefs) were the barriers against village girls' education. Although limited number of village girls managed to access and graduated from the VIs, religion, conservatism and traditional culture continued to influence women graduates' lives by limiting their behaviors and mobility and therefore became obstacles against women's

empowerment. The following quotes exemplify inhibiting influence of religion, conservatism and traditional culture.

> Religion and conventional beliefs limited women graduates' attitudes in society. Due to religious pressure, female students could not take active roles, did not act as organizing leaders / entrepreneurs, instead displayed relatively passive stance in life (Refik-male graduate).

> Our families taught us to give primacy to our husbands as the requirement of our religion and traditional culture. They emphasized that, if woman goes ahead of her husband, her marriage falls apart. It is not easy to get over teachings of the family and the society (Fasıla-woman graduate).

Similar to above quotes, there were many cases where traditional and cultural values inhibited women graduates from becoming frontrunners, instead, made them act as the invisible power behind their spouses. According to the respondents' evaluation, religious circles / official authorities with religious connections criticized VIs due to its coed boarding education system as well as its modern, secular and scientific stance. Women graduates emphasized that, the VIs' education raised awareness by promoting scientific thought, moral values and positive morality instead of imposing any religious belief or fatalism through religious education. Thereby, women graduates of the VIs came in for criticism and accused of being faithless and / communist which limited their opportunities in life. Following quote exemplifies the negative influence of religion-related barriers against women's progress:

> After graduating from Hasanoğlan VI, which was the early period of Democrat Party government, I had applied for United Nations' (UN) 5000 dollars scholarship for personal and economical needs. My qualifications were even above the expectations. However, they gave the scholarship to someone else with lower qualifications. I went to Ankara to search for it. They told me that the related minister did not approve my application due to my educational background in the VIs by blaming me for being faithless / communist (Azize-woman graduate).

Patriarchal Pressure on Women: Machismo / "Internalized Oppression" Reinforced from Outside

Machismo, which stands for "extreme masculinity" and supports women's domination by the masculine (including women's dependency to men), was the key inhibitor of Rowlands' model, which limited women's empowerment in all levels (personal, collective, within close relationship).

In the case of VIs, machismo appeared as the patriarchal pressure on women, which supported traditional gender roles and conservative norms (e.g. chastity) to limit females' opportunities for improvement, change and mobility in life. As I mentioned earlier, under the title of "male-female relations", restrictions against male-female friendship / intimacy and the implementation of sisterhood / brotherhood type of relations were, in fact, the precautions of VIs' against the obstacle of patriarchal pressure on women. However, these applications did not free women graduates from patriarchal oppression, instead, caused internalization of patriarchal pressure ("'internalized oppression' reinforced from outside") (Rowlands, 1997: 116). According to the male graduates' evaluation, the pressure of patriarchal society limited women graduates with traditional roles and teaching identity rather than canalizing them to bigger ideals, which male graduates experienced (e.g. leadership, social / political activism, entrepreneurship, writing, etc.).

Some of the male graduates justified the pressure and inhibiting attitute of spouses towards women with changes in lifestyle, stemming from political instability.

According to this view, VIs' foundational aim of placing the graduates as village teachers-for twenty years-to fulfill the pre-planned mission ("revitalizing rural Turkey") failed. Moving to cities influenced their lifestyle, goals and relations. As the following quote indicates, after moving to the cities, some of the husbands inhibited women's mobility, active participation to social / collective actions, which caused conflict within close relations. As a solution, women preferred to support their husbands instead of taking active roles personally for the sake of peaceof the family.

> Following the transition from single-party to multi-party regime, "imagined life style" for the VI graduates failed. In the beginning, the intention was to revive villages together by working as ideal village teachers for twenty years to create "imagined community" for the common good. However, due to the political instabilities, they moved to cities although they prepared themselves to live in the villages.Lifestyle change (city life) influenced their relations within marriage as well. I personally observed that some of the VI graduate husbands inhibited their wife's leading position in society, which limited women graduates'collective action and made them to give primacy to their husbands (Refik-male graduate).

On the other hand, academician interviewees' remarks indicated that, VIs' efforts/precautions against social pressure could not remove patriarchal mentality of male graduates, instead triggered "internalized patriarchy". Some of the male graduates also admitted that, males' patriarchal position did not change in parallel to the level of education (Refik and Tahir-male graduates). Despite benefiting from equal education opportunity with female students, males became more dominant, active and in the forefront whereas, females displayed relatively passive stance in life. Having an occupation did not reduce females' responsibilities at home. On the contrary, together with the traditional roles (motherhood and wifedom) their workload increased even more, which limited their ability to interact outside and taking active roles in the forefront as well.

Opposing / Commanding / Jealous / Aggressive / Drinking husband:
Active opposition by Partner / Male violence / Alcohol Consumption by Partner

Women graduates' experiences indicated that, males' selfishness and jealousy started prior to marriage which impeded women graduates' progress. There were many cases where potential husbands changed the destiny of women graduates by inhibiting their higher education opportunity. Following quote exemplifies how selfishness and jealousy of a husband candidate became an obstacle against women's development:

> I was playing the violin as the leader violinist in the orchestra of Beşikdüzü VI. My music teacher encouraged me to continue my education at Hasanoğlan higher VI. My gymnastic teacher wanted to marry me. I liked him as well. However, my aim was to go to Hasanoğlan VI first. All of a sudden, my entrance to Hasanoğlan was precluded. I did not understand the reason why. We got married three years after graduation. After so many years, I learned that my gymnastic teacher, who became my husband later, inhibited my higher education because of his jealousy and worry of loosing track of me. When I heard about it, I became very upset. He changed my destiny without asking my opinion (Kadriye-woman graduate).

Although most of the women graduates married male graduates of the VIs, they faced the obstacle of husband's (and in laws') opposition and commanding behavior when it came to women's progress and success. Women graduates' comments indicated that jealousy was the "cover" word to define spouses' intolerant attitude towards women's success and strength. According to the interviewees, males were jealous of successful women. Similar to the previous example, there were cases where married women graduates wanted to continue their higher education after marriage, for better career opportunities, where husbands showed resistance by opposing, commanding or even using violence. Following quote exemplifies one of these cases:

> Although my husband graduated from the VIs, he could not stand strong and successful woman. In every opportunity, with the influence of his mother, he would criticize me. Despite his criticism and resistance (sometimes ended with beating), I continued my education in "Çapa Eğitim Fakültesi". When I graduated, I was pregnant for my third child. The day I received my diploma, my four-year-old son stood in between us and said, "You can not achieve it" as if he was imitating his father. Still and all, I did it! (Mine-woman graduate).

There were also other cases where VI graduate husbands, seek refuge in drink when their wives became more successful in teaching and in social life. Divorced women graduates also complained about husbands' jealousy, intolerance (towards women's success and strength), opposition, apathy and violence, which were the reasons behind divorce.

> My ex-husband was very jealous of me. He could not stand my success and others appreciative attitude towards my success. He would blame me for the things he could not achieve. If I would not have VIs' education, I could not find the power and courage to get divorced (Sadiye-woman graduate)

Among the women graduates whose spouses displayed jealousy, opposition, aggression and heavy drinking, only few of them managed to divorce. Finding the strength to get divorced and continue to live, as divorced women were actually the signs of empowerment. In other words, divorce, by itself, was an empowering action against inhibiting spouses. Among divorced women graduates, none of them remarried.

These attitudes (of males) indicated that after graduation and marriage, males' patriarchal mindset in other words their internalized patriarchy continued to rule in the form of opposing / commanding / jealous / aggressive / drinking husband, which were in line with Rowlands' inhibitors of "active opposition by partner", "male violence" and "alcohol consumption by partner" and impeded women's empowerment in all levels.

Male Control over Family Income /Budget (and Property):
Male Control over Income / Lack of Control over Land (Property or Financial Sources)

Another form of males' patriarchal mindset appeared in husband's control over family income, budget (and property). Although in Rowlands' model the inhibitor of "male control over income" implied single income families (in general), in our case, on the other hand, both parties earned salary and husbands controlled both salaries in the name of common family budget. According to the women graduates, husband's control over common family income was the sign of equality and it was for the good of family as well (for saving and investment). Women graduates pretended that, husbands' control over income (and property in some cases) was women's choice. Almost everyone used the same expression of; "we were equal, we never divided our budget. I never new how much I earned. Whenever I needed, my husband would give money anyway". However, there were cases where women graduates could not even make a claim to their own salaries for personal use. That was how "male control over income (and property)" became an inhibiting factor against women's empowerment.

Traditional Obligations of Women / Expectations from Women:
Constant Child Bearing / Childcare Obligations / Health problems / Poverty /
Conservative Culture of Obedience / Cultural Expectations of (/ from) Women

Although women graduates worked as teachers and earned money, their traditional responsibilities continued. Beside the gender roles and duties (childbearing, childcare), cultural expectations of obedience, and taking care of health problems in the family were

on their shoulders as well. They also took care of their parents and relatives' economic problems. As part of the traditional obligations of women graduates, there were few cases-as distinct from previous inhibitor- where women also had to be in charge of financial issues, where husbands did not care or had more important things to do (e.g. as author, as active agents in unions / political parties, etc.).

As I mentioned in the previous chapter, women graduates complained about the deficiency of family planning courses in the VIs, which made them learn by trial. According to women graduates' comments, most of the husbands did not involve in family planning, on the contrary, there were cases where husbands rejected abortion and women graduates got pregnant constantly. There were other cases where women graduates used primitive methods to limit the number of children even by putting their lives in danger. Most of them had at least two or more children, which increased women's burden (workload), and limited their mobility by disabling them to go out and improve themselves. Therefore, traditional expectation of childbearing inhibited women graduates in all levels.

Males' patriarchal mindset continued to rule in children related issues as well. According to the interviewees, although husbands were the decision makers on children related issues, they never participated in childcare or children's education where women undertook the sole responsibility by themselves. Therefore, motherhood obligations limited women graduates' lives and became barrier against women's empowerment. Women graduates' double burden (gender roles and teaching) disabled them to spend time for personal interests or development. Although they could plan and control use of

time, they could not spend private time for themselves due to the heavy workload. Following quotes exemplifies above issue:

> I do not live for myself. I always think of my children, my husband. I do not spend time for myself. I live for others (Nakiye-woman graduate)

> When I was in the VI, I used to write poems. However, after graduation and marriage, I became a mother. I raised three children. I devoted all my time to them. Unfortunately, I could not spend time for myself (Nadide-woman graduate).

There were few cases where spouses' health problems became obstacles against women graduates' personal development as well as their mobility and interaction within society. Following quote exemplifies one of these cases:

> As women, I could be more interactive with my surroundings to participate in activities to help others, etc. However, my husband had heart problem and I had to take care of him (Kadriye-woman graduate).

There were also other cases where women graduates experienced serious health problems (like cancer) which limited their interaction and mobility.

In Rowlands' model, poverty was an inhibitor due to the difficulty of finding jobs for women. However, in our case, poverty was an obstacle against females' education. Following the access to the VIs, female students graduated with an occupation and started to work right after graduation. As emphasized by the interviewees, all the women graduates worked as teachers (until they retired), which provided them moderate salary for living. On the other hand, their families in the villages faced with poverty, which made women graduates carry economical responsibility of their families (and relatives) by sending them money regularly or by bearing the educational expenses of their sisters / brothers, etc. Although, the sense of

supporting parents and relatives economically gave them inner satisfaction and made them feel strong, additional economical burden of family limited their spending for personal, social or relational development.

Political Scene and Unsteady Political Conditions: Unstable Local Politics

According to Rowlands' model, the unstable local politics was the inhibitor in close relationship level. However, in the case of VIs, as emphasized by the interviewees, unsteady political conditions influenced the VIs and its women graduates negatively in all levels. They also added that, during mid 1940s, Turkish political scene has started to change with the transition from single party (RPP[17]) to multi-party regime in which a new political party (DP[18]) gained strength with a critical approach towards VIs and its coeducation system. According to women graduates, these changes in the political conditions affected their life after graduation by limiting the implementation of the foundational aims as well as the utilization of their educational attainment.

Overall, I evaluated common inhibitors against women's empowerment. Despite the negative influence of social, cultural, economical and relational inhibitors, educational tools / components of VIs' education provided its women graduates necessary, skills, abilities and values, which helped them to overcome / or manage these

[17] RPP: Republican People's Party (Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi) was the first political party of the Turkish Republic and ruled between 1923 and 1950 (single party period).

[18] DP: Democratic Party (Demokrat Parti) was formed to oppose RPP, in 1946 by Celal Bayar, Adnan Menderes, Fuat Köprülü and Refki Koraltan. DP came to power in 1950 (VanderLippe, John M, 2005: 135-137).

obstacles to achieve progress and change in personal, collective and close relationship levels. However, interviewees' experiences and observations indicated that women graduates' coping ability against these inhibitors differed in each level, which influenced realization degree of empowerment in personal, collective, relational level.

In order to identify the influence of VIs' education on women graduates' empowerment, I will evaluate encouraging factors, indicators and core values in each level separately by following the diagram (Figure.2), which summarized the flow of empowerment analysis in the beginning of this chapter. I will start with personal level of empowerment. Afterwards, I will continue with empowerment analysis in collective and close relationship levels.

Personal Empowerment

Personal empowerment is the first dimension of the three dimensional model of Rowlands (1995, 1997). According to the logic of Rowlands' model, in personal level, cultural, social or physical obstacles (inhibiting factors) reduce the possibility of development and change in the circumstances of oppressed individual (woman). On the other hand, education-educational tools-(encouraging factors) provide the opportunity to gain variety of skills and abilities (indicators) and important values (core values). Among these values, increase in self-confidence and self-esteem makes oppressed individual (woman) to think that she is valuable and she deserves to be valued by others (dignity). She gains awareness of her capacity to move out traditionally assigned gender roles (sense of "self"), and develops the ability to interact with others to set forward

things to occur (sense of "agency") which helps her to manage /overcome the obstacles to remove the effects of "internalized oppression". In this process achievement of progress and change in individuals' circumstances lead to personal empowerment.

Previous chapter identified the peculiar features of VIs' educational components and their contribution to the women graduates' lives. Following analysis will identify whether the contribution (educational attainments) of VIs' education empowered its women graduates in personal level. In order to compare empirical findings with Rowlands' measures, Table 12 combined the results of VIs' personal contribution and the measurement criteria of Rowlands' model in personal level (Table 1) to provide benchmark for measuring empowerment in personal level.

Table 12. VIs' Contribution in Personal Level and Components of Rowlands' Model in Personal Level

Personal Values gained through VIs' Education (Values of VIs' education) & Core Values of Personal Empowerment (Rowlands' Model) *All of these values set the base for the development of core values of Rowlands	Indicators of VIs' Contribution in Personal Level (Skills and Abilities gained through VIs' education) & Indicators of Personal Empowerment (Rowlands' Model)	Encouraging Factors of VIs' education in Personal Level (Educational Tools and Conditions of VIs) & Encouraging Factors for Personal Empowerment (Rowlands' Model)	Inhibiting Factors in Personal Level (VIs) (Barriers against women's empowerment-VIs) & Inhibiting Factors (obstacles) for Personal Empowerment (Rowlands' Model)
•Courage (and confidence) •Self-confidence, self-esteem, sense of "self", dignity, sense of "agency" •Responsibility •Self-confidence, self-esteem, sense of "agency", dignity •Sense of Equality	•Self-Expression Skills (verbal & written) : •Ability to formulate and express ideas and opinions •Democratic and Egalitarian mindset •Ability to participate in and influence new	• Social, Cultural and Sportive Activities: •Activity outside the home; travel • Rich Library and regular free reading hour •Development of literacy skills; time for self	•Religion, conservatism and traditional culture: •Fatalism •Dependency •Patriarchal pressure on women: •Machismo •Opposing / commanding /

•Self-confidence, self esteem, sense of "agency", sense of "self", dignity •Internal Democracy •Self-confidence, self esteem, sense of "agency", sense of "self", dignity •Autonomy •Self-confidence, sense of "agency", sense of "self", dignity •Freedom (including the sense of economic freedom): •Self -confidence, self esteem, sense of "self", dignity •Constructive Criticism •Self confidence, self esteem, sense of "agency", sense of "self", dignity •Sociability •Self-confidence, self esteem, sense of "self", dignity • Productivity •Self -confidence, self esteem, sense of "self", dignity •Activation ability •Self -confidence, self esteem, dignity, sense of self", ,sense of "agency" " •Positive Morality (and its values: solidarity, sharing, toleration, honesty, respect, modesty, sympathy, love, humaneness, etc.) •Self -confidence, self esteem, sense of "self", dignity	spaces •Cognitive Skills (critical thinking, questioning, problem solving, activation): •Ability to learn, analyze and act •Positive ness (optimistic view) •Sense that things are possible •Time management and Organizational skills (division of responsibly) •Ability organize own time • Occupation and Versatility (variety of skills): •Ability to obtain and control resources •Mobility (as provided by occupation and versatility) •Ability to interact outside the home	•Family Atmosphere and associable environment / group (VIs) : •Being part of a group and participating in its activities; Ending isolation; Wider friendship • "İmece" (cooperation and support) and "learning by doing" (interaction, sharing and support within the production): •Sharing of problems / support	jealous / aggressive / drinking husband: • Active opposition by partner •Male control over family income / budget (and property): • Male control over income •Traditional obligations of women / Expectations from women: •Constant child bearing / lack of control over fertility •Child care obligations •Patient care (Heath problems) •Economical obligations to family and parents (Poverty) •Conservative culture of obedience (conservative force of men over women) •Cultural expectations of (/ from) women

Source: VIs' personal contribution and the measurement criteria of Rowlands' model in personal level (Table 1.; Rowlands, 1997: 112-113)

Above summary table reveals that, despite the social, cultural or physical obstacles (inhibiting factors), through educational tools and motivating conditions (encouraging factors) of VIs, women graduates gained variety of personal skills (indicators) and

important values (core values), in line with personal empowerment criteria of Rowlands' model. Hence, VIs' education empowered its women graduates in personal level.

I will identify VIs' contribution under the personal empowerment criteria of Rowlands' model one by one to show how women graduates empowered in personal level. As I started my analysis with the evaluation of common inhibiting factors, following evaluation will only cover the analysis of encouraging factors, indicators and core values. I will start with encouraging factors then continue with the indicators and the core values to show how VIs educational tools (encouraging factors) promoted skills and abilities (indicators) to gain key values (core values) for achieving personal empowerment.

Encouraging Factors for Personal Empowerment

Following factors (Table 13) identifies that, VIs' activities, facilities and methods corresponded to the encouraging factors of Rowlands' model in personal level.

Table13. Encouraging Factors for Personal Empowerment (VIs versus Rowlands' Model)

VIs-Encouraging Factors (educational tools and conditions) for Personal Empowerment	Rowlands' Model-Encouraging Factors for Personal Empowerment
•Social, cultural and sportive activities	•Activity outside, travel
•Rich library and regular free reading hour	•Development of literacy skills, time for self
•Family atmosphere and associable environment / group	•Being part of a group and participating in its activities (and works); ending isolation; wider friendship
• "İmece"(cooperation and support) and	

"Learning by doing" methods	•Sharing of problems / support

Social, Cultural and Sportive Activities: Activity Outside, Travel

According to the respondents, social (e.g. school trips for visiting historical palaces and for "*imece*" purposes), cultural (e.g. musical activities like choir, concerts and folk dances) and sportive activities (e.g. volleyball and basketball tournaments, competitions) enabled female students to travel and join outside activities, thus, contributed female students' personal development.

Rich library and Regular Free Reading Hour: Development of Literacy Skills, Time for Self

VIs were famous with their rich libraries which contained variety of classical books (as mentioned in previous chapter under the title of 'curriculum and other activities') and free reading hour gave them the opportunity of benefiting this library to gain regular reading habit. As emphasized by the interviewees, rich library and the free reading hour contributed the development of literacy skills and taught them to spend time for themselves. As emphasized by the respondents, women graduates continued to read (at least daily newspapers) after graduation. However, due to their workload (gender roles and teaching), they could not spend much time for themselves.

Family Atmosphere and Associable Environment / Group: Being Part of a Group and Participating in its Activities (and Works); Ending Isolation; Wider Friendship

Women graduates emphasized that starting from the access to the VIs, family like environment, warm welcoming, kind, assuring and cherishing treatment made them feel that they were part of the group, which promoted wider friendship thereby, ended isolation. Women graduates pointed out that, after graduation, their friendship continued. Therefore, they never felt / stayed alone and they became loyal members of the VIs' community.

"İmece" (Cooperation and Support) and "Learning by Doing" Methods: Sharing of Problems / Support

Respondents put emphasis on the positive influence of "*imece*" mentality, which reinforced collaborative and cooperative attitudes, basing on sharing and supporting each other. They added that, "learning by doing" method, on the other hand, enabled interaction, support, sharing and solving problems within the process of production. According to the respondents, throughout their lives, women graduates continued the habit of collaboration, support and sharing. They also utilized the problem solving ability.

Indicators of Personal Empowerment

Indicators of Rowlands' model corresponded to the skills and abilities obtained through the VIs' education. Following evaluation indicates VIs' educational tools / components (encouraging factors) contributed to the development of these skills and abilities (indicators), which were necessary for personal empowerment.

Table 14. Indicators of Personal Empowerment (VIs versus Rowlands' Model)

VIs-Indicators for Personal Empowerment	⇨	Rowlands' Model-Indicators for Personal Empowerment
•Self- expression skills		•Ability to formulate and express ideas/opinions
•Democratic and egalitarian mindset		•Ability to participate in and influence new spaces
•Cognitive skills (questioning, problem solving)		•Ability to learn, analyze and act
•Positive ness (optimistic view)		•Sense that things are possible
•Time management and organizational skills		•Ability to organize own time
•Occupation and Versatility		•Ability to obtain and control resources
•Mobility		•Ability to interact outside home

Self- Expression Skills: Ability to Formulate and Express Ideas and Opinions

Interviewees emphasized that, among the VIs' educational tools, cultural courses, free reading hour and book presentations, Saturday assessment meetings and the weekend

entertainments enhanced verbal and written skills and enabled female students to gain the ability to formulate and express their opinions and ideas in front of others.

> They taught us to express our opinions freely. Every Saturday we had meetings to discuss and evaluate the works. Besides, we also experienced writing. We developed the habit of reading and presented what we read in front of our friends in book presentations. That was how we improved our eloquence (Refik-male graduate).

Women graduates underlined that, after graduation they utilized these skills. Hence, they easily formulated and expressed their opinions in anywhere, any occasions.

Democratic and Egalitarian Mindset: Ability to Participate in and Influence New Spaces

Interviewees underlined that, coeducation developed the sense of equality and the functioning and management of the VIs, which based on democratic participation, election, division of responsibility, control and assessment, formed the basis of democratic and egalitarian thinking and enhanced the ability to participate in and influence new spaces in life.

Cognitive Skills (Questioning, Problem Solving): Ability to Learn, Analyze and Act

As emphasized by the interviewees, "learning by doing" method, vocational training, free reading and book presentations as well as the critical weekend meetings promoted critical thinking, questioning, developing solutions and taking action for solving the

problems. Therefore, VIs' education developed the ability to learn, analyze and act. Women graduates pointed out that they benefited from these skills in every area of life.

> All the courses, activities and methods (like learning by doing) developed our abilities. Through VIs' education, we learned to think, question, analyze, bring solutions to problems and take actions, which were important and necessary contribution for our own development and success in life (Neşe-woman graduate).

Positiveness (Optimistic View): Sense that Things are Possible

All the women graduates pointed out that VIs' education based on constructive and optimistic approach, which promoted motivation, affirmative attitude, believing in, giving responsibility, assessment and appraisal of achievements, which gave them the sense that things are possible and they can achieve anything.

> Everybody in the VIs made us believe that we could achieve anything. We never heard any negative word. They always encouraged and appraised our work by saying well done! (Sadiye-woman graduate).

According to the women graduates, VIs' optimism became their view of life. Hence, they continued to display positive attitude after graduation.

Time Management and Organizational Skills: Ability to Organize Own Time

According to the respondents, functioning and management style of VIs education based on division of responsibility and required organization of time which promoted the

ability of organizing own time. Women graduates underlined that time management and organization became integral part of their lives.

> In the VIs, they taught us to organize and manage our own time through division of work and taking part in management. If I promise to do any thing, I always do it on time. I always planned my own time. Therefore, I never wasted my time (Hale-woman graduate).

Occupation and Versatility: Ability to Obtain and Control Resources

Women graduates pointed out that, vocational, agricultural and cultural courses provided them variety of skills and occupation (teaching) and the method of "learning by doing" promoted productivity to generate resources for living. They also pointed out that they learned how to economize as well as earning money. Following quote exemplifies how a woman graduate gained the ability of obtaining and controlling resources through occupation and versatility:

> I did floor covering of our flat with tiles. I also painted the house all by myself. I did it perfectly well by using skills that I gained through VIs' productive education. I became all-rounded woman. Through my skills and occupation, I learned to earn and save as well. I can survive in any condition (Nakiye-woman graduate).

According the respondents, women graduates continued to benefit from their occupation and skills to generate resources for themselves and for others.

Mobility: Ability to Interact Outside Home

According to the interviewees, through variety of courses, activities and interactive work (production), women graduates developed skills and abilities, which enabled them to interact outside home. However, after graduation and marriage, multiple duties and responsibilities limited their mobility.Overall, above quotes and evaluations on skills and abilities (indicators) showed that VIs' educational tools and conditions helped its women graduates to develop and enhance their skills and abilities for building key values, which were necessary to gain power in personal level.

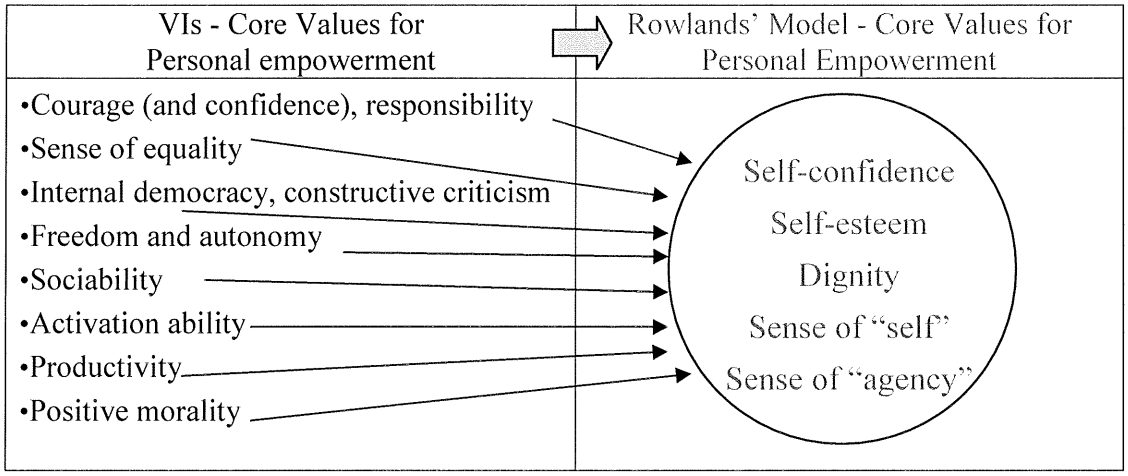
Core Values of Personal Empowerment

Respondents' experiences and observations indicate that, VIs' education constructed the core values of personal empowerment through its differentiating components (curriculum, activities, "learning by doing" and "imece" methods and the system: specific style of education, relations, discipline, functioning and management).

According to the interviewees, coeducation, democratic, egalitarian and non-hierarchic functioning and management style as well as its methods and motivating attitudes towards female students promoted the values of courage (and confidence), responsibility, sense of equality, internal democracy, freedom and autonomy. They also pointed out that the VIs' education reinforced the values of constructive criticism, sociability, activation ability, productivity and positive morality.

As table 15 exhibits, all of the personal values, which were acquired through VIs' education, prepared the ground for gaining self-confidence; self-esteem; dignity; sense of "self" and sense of "agency", which were the core values of Rowlands' model.

Table 15. Core values of Personal Empowerment (VIs versus Rowlands' Model)



I will start by analyzing personal core values that women graduates enhanced through VIs' education. At the end of this analysis, I will provide respondents' quotes, which summarized how women graduates internalized these core values and how these values contributed them to achieve empowerment in personal level.

Courage (and Confidence), Responsibility

Following quotes indicates that, combining student-centered constructive approach with authorization enhanced the sense of responsibility and developed courage and confidence.

> One day, Hasan Ali Yücel gave me the responsibility of directing the choir. I conducted it like an orchestra chief and we receive a big applause from the audience. Then I told to myself; if I did this in front of important people, I can do everything, everywhere! His trust gave me courage and confidence (Hale-woman graduate).
>
> Taking role on weekend plays and getting applause from the audience gave me courage and confidence (Türkan-woman graduate).

Women graduates' experiences indicated that, VIs' responsibility and courage-building education enhanced their personality and empowered them in personal level.

Sense of Equality

Most of the women graduates pointed out that they were unfamiliar with the notion of equality when they were village girls and they always compared egalitarian approach of VIs' education with their inferior position / the inferior treatment in the villages. According to the women graduates, availability of equal opportunities and the emphasis on egalitarian education enhanced the sense of equality among female students. As emphasized by the respondents, feeling equal with males gave females (extra) courage.

> We learned how to drive a motor cycle and how to use gun together. We carried bricks, and mixed mortar together. If our physical capabilities permitted, we could do other things as well because they treated us equally and emphasized equality. Since then, there was nothing that I cannot do (Rahime-woman graduate).
>
> I got equal responsibilities, saw equal treatment, and had equal citizenship rights and opportunities in the VIs, which made me free from previous inferiority complex and established the sense of equality. As a village girl, I even became the top student of the school. This was the result of equality. After graduation, I continued my education and I became a successful professor (Aliye-woman graduate).

Although, there were conflicting implication (see chapter four: "student selecting criteria in the VIs" and "style of relations") on "equality", all interviewees agreed that coeducation and egalitarian approach of the VIs' system, in general, established the sense of equality which shaped women graduates' personality and contributed their empowerment in personal level.

Internal Democracy, Constructive Criticism

According to the interviewees, functioning and management style of VIs, promoted democratic elections, division of responsibility, equal participation, control and assessment of the work. On the other hand, curriculum and its activities encouraged active participation, critical thinking, freedom of expression and respect to student rights. These implementations enabled female students to internalize democracy and gain the habit of constructive criticism. Following quotes exemplifies how internalization of democracy and criticism lead to women's empowerment in personal level:

> Once, the Prime Minister İsmet İnönü visited our institute. He ate lunch with us but out of the ordinary, he had a special dish. In our discussion day, we asked the school principle the reason why for this special treatment. School principle explained that, İnönü had diabetes. All my life, I never hesitated to criticize if I believed I was right (Rahime-woman graduate).

> I was the first elected female student president in Kepirtepe. We had democratic, egalitarian and non-hierarchic management. That was how I learned the functioning of democracy. Through weekly assessment meetings, we gained the habit of making criticism as well. Democratic and critical thinking strengthened my personality (Fasıla-woman graduate).

> If you are right, you can even go and talk to the President. They thought us to stand against injustice in Hasanoğlan VI. There was even student rights declaration to protect us against exploitation. We always put a brave face on unfairness and inequality. I learned this through critical weekend meetings where everyone could stand up, talk and criticize freely (Hale-woman graduate).

Above quotes indicate that democratic and critical approach of VIs' education developed female students' personality and empowered them in personal level.

Freedom and Autonomy

VIs' comprehensive education promoted freedom and autonomy as well. As pointed out by the respondents, activities like book presentations, critical weekend meetings and weekend gatherings promoted freedom of thought and freedom of expression whereas, rich curriculum provided female students with occupation, which enabled economic freedom and autonomy.

> VIs' education introduced me to the concept of "freedom" through Saturday meetings where everyone was free to talk, criticize or appraise the work, people or functioning (Nadide-woman graduate).

> Through VIs' education, I became a teacher with a regular income, which made me feel powerful and autonomous women. I can stand on my own feet and manage my life without depending on anybody. Despite my old age, (now) I am still autonomous (Leyla-woman graduate).

According to the women graduates, sense of freedom and autonomy made females more courageous and confident, strengthened their personality and contributed their personal empowerment. However, respondents' experiences and observations- also-indicated that, after graduation and marriage patriarchal pressure and traditional expectations from women limited women's freedom and autonomy in social life as well as in private

sphere which I will discuss under the titles of collective and relational (within close relationship) empowerment .

Sociability

Respondents' comments indicated that, VIs' education introduced female students to social world through cultural and social activities, which enhanced their sociability.

> I gained the habit of going concerts, opera, theatre, cinema, etc. with friends, in Hasanaoğlan VI through social and cultural activities, like school trips, weekend shows. I became socially active after graduation as well. I joined social gatherings and traveled with friends (Nakiye-woman graduate).

Sociability was another value that women graduates gained through VIs' education, which also contributed to their personal development. However, after graduation, multiple responsibilities (double burden) inhibited the implementation of this value, which I will discuss when I evaluate women's empowerment in collective and relational dimensions.

Activation ability

As emphasized by the interviewees, VIs' constructive approach promoted solution-oriented actions and reinforced achievement motive, which all together, enhanced activation ability of the women graduates. Activation ability (put it differently sense of

"agency") contained within itself courage, self-confidence, self-esteem, dignity and sense of "self" as well.

> They taught us how to solve problems and how to make them real. After graduation, I went to my own village to teach and revive my village. There was no electricity, no road in the village. There was not even a midwife. I invited the governor Fahrettin Kerim Gökay to my village and hosted him as a village teacher. I explained the needs of my village and convinced him to bring electricity to the village, to blaze a trail and to bring a midwife for the village clinic. I was able to do this because VIs provided achievement motivation (Rahime-woman graduate).

According to the interviewees, VIs' education provided women graduates motive force to interact and enable change, which strengthened them individually.

Productivity

According to the respondents, VIs' education (and its method of "learning by doing") combined education with production, which developed the habit of productivity and enabled women graduates to incorporate production in every area of life. Being productive made them feel useful and valuable. Following quotes exemplifies how women graduates benefited from the attainment of productivity:

> VIs education taught us to be productive. I never saw any women graduate who was idle. We always produced something. I still produced my own parsley, tomato, etc. I knit table clothes. They taught us knowledge while we work and produce (Ayfer-woman graduate).

> In addition to teaching, I produced honey in the village. I also taught villagers beekeeping. VIs' education taught me productivity because, production was part of education and I taught the villagers to be productive as well (Rahime-woman graduate).

Overall, the aspect of productivity strengthened women graduates' personality by increasing courage, confidence, self-respect as well as dignity and sense of "agency" thus, contributed their empowerment in personal level. Respondents' comments indicated that women graduates benefited from the value of productivity throughout their life.

Positive morality

Interviewees pointed out that, as a whole, VIs' education, promoted constructive and motivational attitudes as well as humanitarian values, which enhanced positive morality.

> We did not have religious education. Instead, they taught us humanitarian values like love, toleration, cooperation, honesty, respect etc. Through encouraging, collaborative and constructive attitudes, I learned to love, trust and respect, help, understand and forgive others (Huriye-woman graduate).

> In the VIs, the discipline aimed to develop moral values and take lessons from mistakes. Once, a student stole a wallet. Institute manager called the student and told him; I know that you have an economic difficulty, as your family could not send you money. So, please accept this money as a present. Afterwards, student confessed and gave the wallet back. That was how they taught us to be honest and ethical (Metin-male graduate).

All of the above values and related quotes identified that VIs' education enhanced self-confidence, self-esteem, dignity, sense of "self" and sense of agency which were the core values of Rowlands' model to achieve empowerment in personal level.

As emphasized by the respondents, women graduates gained self-confidence, self-respect, learned to appreciate their own value and believed that they deserved

others' appreciation as well. Following quote exemplifies how VIs' educational tools provided these values:

> Every Saturday, following the assessment meeting, we had entertainment where we participated in; sang in choir, played musical instrument in the orchestra, read poems, acted in plays, performed folk dances, etc. That was how we improved our skills, discovered our talents, experienced achievement and joy of appreciation, learned to be proud of ourselves, gained courage and confidence to interact with others and cause change (Sadiye-woman graduate).

As the following quote indicated, women graduates discovered themselves, gained self-awareness and developed decision-making ability through differentiating components / tools of VIs' education.

> By breaking with tradition, I learned to make my own decisions and to implement them as well. VIs' democratic, egalitarian, production based critical education system, provided sense of responsibility, freedom and independence. That was how I found myself (Zeliha-woman graduate).

Interviewees' experiences and observations indicated that, women graduates worked with idealist spirit and acted as responsible modern role model teachers (as Turkish modernization project required from Republican women) who showed effort to modernize and change the life of the villagers and the villages. They organized and activated women to bring civilization to the villages. Following quote exemplifies how VIs' education developed the sense of "agency":

> After graduation, I went to my village with my husband where there was no water, no road. People used to wear chador and pantalets (*şalvar*). Health personnel was lacking as well. VIs' education equipped us with skills, gave us courage, confidence and prepared us to bring solutions to problems. We changed the scene of the village by bringing water fountain, blazing a trail, changing the apparels, giving health support and teaching the new way of doing agriculture. We civilized the villages (Mahire-woman graduate).

> When the women graduates went to villages as village teachers, they did not adapt the backward and unhealthy conditions of villages. Instead, they tried to transform villages by displaying modern role model teacher identity and by teaching villagers modern and civilized way of living both physically and intellectually although there was a resistance towards modernization in rural areas (Faika-expert academician).

Overall, above quotes and evaluations identified that, VIs' education and its differentiating tools enhanced its women graduates' qualifications by equipping them with key values, necessary for personal empowerment. Consequently, women graduates gained empowerment in personal level.

Summary-Personal Empowerment

According to the Rowlands' model, development and change (transformation) in individual's (women) capacity, courage, conditions and removing the effects of "internalized oppression" was the key principle to achieve personal empowerment (Rowlands, 1997: 15). Although each woman has her own way of manifesting change and development, feeling and experiencing this change were necessary. The signs of change and transformation appeared as an "increase in ability to formulate and express ideas/opinions, ability to participate in and influence new space, to learn analyze and act", ability to develop "a sense that more things are possible" which lead to "increased ability to organize their time, obtain resources and interact outside home" (Rowlands, 1997: 114-115).

Interviewees' experiences and observations indicated that, VIs constructive approach, student-centered, critical coeducation and specific educational tools (and

conditions) provided its women graduates variety of skills and values to sense, experience and display development and change in their personality, ability and qualifications. They learned to express their opinions freely. They joined activities, took responsibilities, cooperated and helped others. They learned critical thinking, analyzing, and taking actions. They also developed optimistic view and believed that they can organize and manage their time, generate income, socialize and interact with others. On the other hand, religious, patriarchal and traditional norms and expectations (inhibitors) put pressure on women graduates' lives and limited their attitudes.

VIs' education constructed the values of courage, responsibility, sense of equality, internal democracy, constructive criticism, sociability, freedom and autonomy, activation ability, productivity and positive morality, which formed the base for the development of self-confidence, self esteem, dignity, sense of "self" and sense of "agency" (personal core values). Women graduates-a certain extent- achieved sense of "agency" (interacting with others and causing things to happen) and sense of "self" (moving out of gender roles) only through their identity as teachers. However, after graduation, traditional gender roles did not disappear but accompanied to the new "teacher" role of women graduates.

Overall, all these values, skills and abilities were necessary to cope with the inhibiting factors (barriers) and to achieve change (transformation) in the circumstances of its women graduates and consequently to empower them in personal level. According to the interviewees, women graduates were able to benefit from most of these personal skills and values in their life when fulfilling multiple roles and responsibilities (as ideal role model teachers, devoted mothers and supportive wives).

VIs' foundational aim of raising well-skilled individuals with strong personality led to personal empowerment. In other words, personal empowerment was already part of VIs' mission and VIs' education formed the basis for personal empowerment of its women graduates. Depending on the utilization level of VIs' educational attainments as well as, personality traits and coping skills, women graduates gained empowerment in personal level. Although more complicated model was necessary to identify the differences between these multiple variables, detailed measures of Rowlands' model were sufficient to indicate whether women graduates' educational attainments (together with other factors-as a whole) met the requirements of personal empowerment. Among the three-dimensions of Rowlands' model, women graduates achieved the highest degree of empowerment in personal level.

Collective Empowerment

Collective Empowerment is the second dimension of three-dimensional Rowlands' model (1997) and base on collective work and action to achieve more comprehensive impact than individuals could do alone. There is an interrelation between collective and personal dimensions. Personal empowerment is the prerequisite for the development of collective empowerment. "Since without empowerment at a personal level it is very hard for the individual to be active collectively" and group participation may contribute personal empowerment, as well as personally empowered individuals may become more active and effective collectively (Rowlands, 1997: 115). Rowlands' model provides core

values, indicators, encouraging and inhibiting factors to measure empowerment in collective level as well (Rowlands, 1997: 116).

According to Rowlands' model, improvement and change in individuals' communication and negotiation ability, social relations and recognition within society, were the signs of alteration in collective level. In this way, individuals gain the ability to interact and cooperate with others (people, organizations etc.), learn to organize and manage their own conditions to generate (access to) resources, to get support and to take collective actions, within society, which lead to empowerment in collective level.

Table 16 combines the results of VIs' contribution (achievement of women graduates) and the criteria of Rowlands' model to measure empowerment in collective level. Following analysis will indicate that, VIs' educational attainments were in line with the essence of Rowlands' framework, and the differentiating aspects of VIs' educational components contributed to form the basis for collective empowerment. Although, high level of personal empowerment influenced collective dimension, a certain extent, inhibiting factors as well as some educational deficiencies-with regards to female students- reduced the actualization level of women graduates' collective (social) empowerment. However, depending on their personality traits and coping skills women graduates achieved collective (social) empowerment. In order to identify these issues, I will evaluate each component of Table 16.

Table 16. VIs' Contribution in Collective (Social) Level and Components of Rowlands' Model in Collective Level

Collective (Social) Values gained through VIs'	Indicators of VIs' Contribution	Encouraging Factors of VIs' education in	Inhibiting Factors in Collective (Social)

Education (Values of VIs' education) & Core Values of Collective Empowerment (Rowlands' Model) * Personal values served to the development of collective(social) values as well	in Collective (Social) Level (Skills and Abilities gained through VIs) & Indicators of Collective Empowerment (Rowlands' Model)	Collective (Social) Level (Educational Tools and Conditions of VIs) & Encouraging Factors for Collective Empowerment (Rowlands' Model)	Level (VIs) (Barriers against women's empowerment VIs) & Inhibiting Factors (obstacles) for Collective Empowerment (Rowlands' Model)
•Respectability / Social Recognition: •Group dignity •Team spirit and sense of solidarity: •Developing group identity •Social awareness: •Sense of collective agency •Resistance against injustice: •Sense of collective agency •Sense of responsibility for spreading modernity: •Sense of collective agency •Self-determination and organization: •Self organization and management	•Communication and Negotiation skills: •Ability to negotiate with other organizations / officials •Organizational Skills (for personal and collective needs): •Ability to organize around own needs • Collaborative / Cooperative Skills (interactive support): •Recognition by outsiders and ability to generate external support •Socializing and Networking Skills: •Ability to join and start new networks of organizations • Ability to defend rights / ability to react democratically: • Ability to respond collectively to events outside group •Versatility and occupation: •Access to resources	•Tonguç and his colleagues' supportive approach: • Support from key individuals • "Learning by doing" and the discipline method of respecting student rights and learning from one's own mistakes: •Methodology of respect and learning from experience •Weekend entertainment and shows: •Animators within groups •Awareness raising (own needs and conditions): •Identification of own needs; Analysis of own context •Problem solving approach: •Tackling the conflict • "Autonomy" approach: • "Autonomy" •Active participation, interaction and networking: •Links/networking with other organizations • Emphasis on "role model teacher" ideals: •Development of leadership • Productive, versatile and organizing education: •Organizing small income generating activities •Ethics and Moral values:	•Religion, conservatism and traditional culture: •Conservative (culture and) forces within religious institutions •Dependency on "key" individuals (traditional and conservative culture of women's subordination) •Patriarchal pressure on women: •Machismo; •"Internalized oppression" reinforced from outside •Opposing / commanding / jealous / aggressive / drinking husband: •Active opposition •Male control over family income / budget (and property): •Lack of control over land (property or financial sources) •Traditional obligations of women / Expectations from women: •Conservative culture of obedience (conservative force of men over women) •Political scene and unsteady political conditions: •Unstable local politics •Lack of appropriate technical support *

		•Spiritual base (philosophy / liberation / theology) •Private conversations with female teachers and peers: •Discussion of sexuality	•Lack of control over use of time * •In cohesive local community * (*) Exists in Rowlands' model but, did not come out in thesis research. Therefore, only corresponding features are bold face.

Source: VIs' contribution and the measurement criteria of Rowlands' model in collective level (Table 2.; Rowlands, 1997: 116)

Before starting to analyze VIs' contribution to women graduates under the measures of Rowlands' model, I need to emphasize that, perception and effectuation of collective empowerment in the case of VIs were different from Rowlands' model. Collective empowerment in Rowlands' model came to mean; organizing, working and acting collectively as a group (in general) to gain social, economic, and political power to achieve extensive change. However, in the case of VIs, collective empowerment meant; organizing, working and acting in society as an idealist / role model individual (teacher) or as a supportive member of existing organization (charity, unions, etc.), rather than being an activist or collective agent. In other words, in the case of VIs, women graduates worked and acted as individual "change agents" in society rather than being collective agents. Therefore, in the case of VIs, "collective empowerment" stood for empowerment in social level, which I denominated as "social empowerment".

I will discuss VIs' contribution under the collective empowerment criteria of Rowlands' model. Following analysis will cover encouraging factors, indicators and core values in collective (social) level. As I already discussed the common inhibitors in the beginning of this chapter, I will not go through again. However, summary list of

collective inhibitors are available in Table 15. I will start with encouraging factors then continue with the indicators and the core values to show how VIs' educational tools (encouraging factors) enhanced skills and abilities (indicators), provided key values (core values) and so formed the basis for collective / social empowerment. During the analysis, I will also underline influential factors or any deficiency of VIs' education which limited (or inhibited) the actualization of women graduates' collective (social) empowerment

Encouraging Factors for Collective Empowerment

Following elements indicate that, VIs' educational tools and their differentiating aspects corresponded to the encouraging factors of Rowlands' model in collective level. In order to prevent any duplication, I will briefly explain how the tools and conditions of VIs' education encouraged women graduates for collective empowerment.

Table 17. Encouraging Factors for Collective Empowerment (VIs versus Rowlands'Model)

VIs-encouraging factors (educational tools and conditions) for collective(social) empowerment ⇨	Rowlands' model- encouraging factors for collective empowerment
•Tonguç and his colleagues' supportive approach	•Support from key individuals
• "Learning by doing" and the discipline method of respecting student rights and learning from one's own mistakes	•Methodology of respect and learning from experience
•Weekend entertainment and shows	•Animators within groups
•Awareness raising approach (own needs	•Identification of own needs; Analysis of

and conditions)	own context
•Problem solving approach	•Tackling the conflict
• "Autonomy" approach	• "Autonomy"
•Active participation, interaction and networking	•Links/networking with other organizations
•Emphasis on "role model teacher" ideals	•Development of leadership
•Productive, versatile and organizing education	•Organizing small income generating activities
•Ethics and Moral values	•Spiritual base (philosophy / liberation / theology)
•Private conversations with female teachers and peers	•Discussion of sexuality

Tonguç and his Colleagues' Supportive Approach: Support from Key Individuals

According to Rowlands' model, support from key individuals (e.g. priest) encouraged the development of core collective values, which were necessary to achieve empowerment in collective level. In the case of VIs, as emphasized by the women graduates, student-centered, constructive and supportive approach of Tonguç and his colleagues (Hasan Ali Yücel, Sabahattin Eyüboğlu, etc.) gave women graduates confidence in group environment (as well) and encouraged them to participate in the whole process, including courses, activities, functioning and management. Therefore, support from pioneering individuals strengthened women graduates in collective (social) level and formed the basis of empowerment in collective (social) level.

"Learning by doing" and the Discipline Method of Respecting Student Rights and Learning from One's Own Mistakes: Methodology of Respect and Learning from Experience

According to the respondents, "learning by doing" method, which was the backbone of VIs' education, promoted learning by experiencing within the process of production (within work). They also added that, VIs' discipline method prohibited any kind of force or violence and instead, reinforced conscious development, respect to student rights and the perception of learning from mistakes (experiences) which strengthened personality and enhanced collective values as well. Therefore, the method of "learning by doing" and the discipline method of VIs' education were in line with the collective encourager of Rowlands' model: methodology of respect and learning from experience.

Most of the women graduates pointed out that, after becoming a teacher, they always showed respect to their students and encouraged them to learn from their experiences (and mistakes) which made them respected teachers as well. They gained dignity within school and within community as reputable teachers

Weekend Entertainment and Shows: Animators within Groups

As emphasized by the women graduates, VIs' weekend entertainments and shows encouraged female students to participate in and display their talents in front of others, which reinforced confidence within group environment and contributed to empowerment process in collective (social) level as well as personal level. Taking responsibilities in

weekend entertainment and shows empowered women graduates personally by developing personal values of courage, self-confidence, self-esteem, dignity and sense of agency. Hence, personal empowerment enhanced female students' self-organization and management skills, group identity, sense of collective agency and group dignity, which paved the way for collective (social) empowerment. Each individual alternately undertook animator role within the VIs.

Awareness Raising Approach (Own Needs and Conditions): Identification of Own Needs; Analysis of Own Context

Interviewees put emphasis on awareness raising purpose of VIs' education, which required identification of existing conditions and the needs of individuals (female students) to achieve progress and change through education not only in personal level but in other dimensions as well.

> I knew myself. I became aware of my surroundings and its conditions. I gained self-consciousness through VIs' education. That was how I gained strength (Huban-woman graduate).

> The essence of VIs' education was to raise consciousness. Education was a tool of raising consciousness-of female students in particular-to change their circumstances (Faika- expert academician).

Above quotes indicate that, implementation of awareness raising approach in VIs' education enabled women graduates to identify their own needs and to analyze their own context, which corresponded with Rowlands' model' s encouraging factors in collective level. According to the women graduates, the ability of identification of own

needs and analysis of own context raised self-consciousness thus, became useful after graduation.

Problem Solving Approach: Tackling the Conflict

According to women graduates, rather than teaching ready-made solutions, VIs' education promoted and implemented problem-solving approach for their development in all aspects. The idea based on learning within work, within life while generating solutions (tackling) to problems (conflict). Therefore, ability of problem solving (tacking the conflict) was another encouraging factor for achieving empowerment in collective level as well. As emphasized by the interviewees, after graduation, women graduates utilized and internalized problem-solving approach of VIs' education. In every area of life, they tried to tackle the conflict through the problem solving ability, which also developed solution-generating ability.

"Autonomy" Approach: "Autonomy"

According to the Rowlands' model, gaining "autonomy" collectively (as group) increased confidence and encouraged individuals to achieve progress and change collectively. On the other hand, VIs' academic program, methods, education, functioning, management and discipline style based on "autonomy" which developed the sense of freedom by giving the opportunity of making decisions, expressing opinions and governing actions freely within group / society. Women graduates pointed out that,

through democratic participation, elections and division of responsibility, they developed the sense of freedom and autonomy, which gave them courage, self-confidence and strengthened their social relations within society as well. They also added that autonomy and freedom in society depended on individuals' own autonomy and freedom. Therefore, autonomy approach of VIs' education contributed empowerment process both in personal and collective levels as there was an interrelation between personal and collective dimensions.

Active Participation, Interaction and Networking: Links / Networking with Other Organizations

According to the interviewees, as emphasized earlier, VIs' education based on division of responsibility and promoted active participation in courses, functioning and management, which reinforced interactive relations as well. Women graduates pointed out that these aspects of VIs' education enabled them to get over shyness and to make friends, to develop communication with different people (and organizations) not only in the VIs but also in society after graduation.

Emphasis on "Role Model Teacher" Ideals: Development of Leadership

In Rowlands' model, leadership skills were important for collective empowerment and development of leadership was an encouraging factor in collective level. Although Tonguç defined, the aim of VIs' education as creating "leaders for the villages from the

villages" (Tonguç, 1990: 9, 10), women graduates admitted that VIs' education raised them as ideal role model teachers rather than active "leaders". Academician interviewees also mentioned that, VIs' education developed necessary leadership values however, did not sufficiently emphasize the ideals of active leadership for female students. However, development and implementation of leadership skill was important both for personal and collective (social) empowerment.

According to the women graduates, VIs' education gave them pioneering role to change village women's position through education. Thereby, the women graduates served as role model ideal teachers in small villages to educate and modernize villagers (village women in particular). However, after coming to big cities-for their children's higher education- women graduates backed out and gave priority to their spouses by becoming their backseat supporters. Hence, their leadership based on limited teaching activities (e.g. organizing choir, mandolin courses at school, etc.) or philanthropic and social responsibility organizations (for only few women graduates). I will come back to this issue when I discuss the core vale of "collective agency".

Productive, Versatile and Organizing Education: Organizing Small Income Generating Activities

Interviewees emphasized that VIs' education taught them the notion of productivity, and provided them variety of skills and abilities (versatility), which enabled women graduates to organize or participate in income generating activities for social aid purposes. According to the respondents, some of the women graduates supported income-

generating activities by producing variety of hand made articles (by using their skills and abilities) and few of them were able to organize these kinds of activities by themselves by benefiting from their organization and management skills. Capability of organizing small income generating activities did not only serve social responsibility purposes but also contributed socialization and empowerment process of women graduates.

Ethics and Moral Values: Spiritual Base (Philosophy / Liberation / Theology)

Women graduates mentioned that VIs' education taught them to be ethical by providing variety of moral values, which established spiritual base of their personality and gave them inner power to deal with any kind of interaction in collective level as well as in personal and relational levels.

Private Conversations with Female Teachers and Peers: Discussion of Sexuality

As emphasized by the women graduates, although talking about sexuality was not a common practice (rather taboo) in the VIs, female teachers (and managers' wives) would make private conversations with female students on issues like menstruation, personal hygiene, etc. Peers would also help each other on this kind of issues. However, these private conversations could not sufficiently reduce female's shyness (on private issues and relations) stemming from taboos of patriarchal society. Overall, above educational tools and conditions (encouraging factors) of VIs' education enabled female students to gain variety of skills and abilities, which were the indicators of collective empowerment.

Indicators of Collective Empowerment

As I mentioned earlier, collective empowerment in Rowlands' model based on group achievement in which individuals come together and act collectively to create extensive impact (change). However, in the case of VIs, collective (social) empowerment based on individuals' (women graduates') efforts and interaction with others to improve and change the conditions of (themselves and) others in society. Even so, collective indicators of Rowlands' model were in line with skills and abilities (indicators) that, women graduates developed through VIs' education.

Table 18. Indicators of Collective Empowerment (VIs versus Rowlands' Model)

VIs-Indicators of Collective (Social) Empowerment	⇨	Rowlands' model-Indicators of Collective Empowerment
•Communication and Negotiation skills		•Ability to negotiate with other organizations / officials
•Organizational Skills (for personal and collective needs)		•Ability to organize around own needs
•Collaborative / Cooperative Skills (interactive support)		•Recognition by outsiders and ability to generate external support
•Socializing and Networking Skills		•Ability to join and start new networks of organizations
• Ability to defend rights / ability to react democratically		•Ability to respond collectively to events outside group
•Versatility and occupation		•Access to resources

I will evaluate each indicator (skill / ability) of collective (social) empowerment to identify how and to what extent VIs' educational attainments (skills and abilities) enabled women graduates to achieve change in collective (social) level.

Communication and Negotiation Skills: Ability to Negotiate with Other Organizations / Officials

According to the interviewees, differentiating tools and peculiar features of VIs' education (e.g. book presentations, critical weekend meetings, weekend entertainments, music and cultural activities, etc.) promoted interaction between management, manager, teachers, educators and students, which developed women graduates' communication skills. On the other hand, division of responsibility and participating in management enhanced negotiation skills within collective environment. As a whole, VI's education prepared the ground for developing the ability to negotiate with organizations / officials, which was one of the collective indicators of Rowlands' model.

> Through VIs' education, I was able to develop the ability of social interaction and communication, which brought me closer to people. That was how I developed close links and learned to communicate and negotiate with any kind of people (Sevgi-woman graduate).

> Every week we had assessment meetings where, we learned to express our opinions, to develop interaction and communication. We also participated in institutes' management by taking responsibilities. That was how we learned to communicate and negotiate with others. In this way, we were able to solve problems. After graduation, I benefited from these skills as well. For instance, when we had social organizations, I made necessary bargaining with related officials (Mine-woman graduate).

There were cases where women graduates contacted with municipalities / officials to negotiate and coordinate free transportation service for social gatherings or negotiating for financial support for the social responsibility projects. These cases indicate that VIs' education developed the ability to negotiate with other organizations / officials. According to the respondents, utilization of communication and negotiation

skills differed from person to person depending on personality traits as well as inhibiting factors, coping skills and the strength of personal empowerment.

Organizational Skills (for Personal and Collective Needs): Ability to Organize around Own Needs

Prior to taking collective (social) actions, it is important to start with organizing needs which requires organizational skills. Interviewees pointed out that, women graduates developed the abilities of planning, organization, interaction, team management and taking action by participating in management and production process through VIs' education. Gaining the ability of organizing needs (both personal and collective needs) contributed to empowerment in social (collective) level as well. There were cases where women graduates organized needs, did necessary coordination to collect and distribute clothes, etc. for children or organized charity sales for social responsibility purposes. Overall, VI's education provided organizational skills, which formed basis for gaining ability to organize around (own) needs, which was another collective indicator of Rowlands' model.

Collaborative / Cooperative Skills (Interactive Support): Recognition by Outsiders and Ability to Generate External Support

As emphasized by the respondents, VIs' methods of "learning by doing" and *"İmece"* (cooperation, peer support) based on interaction for solidarity which developed collaborative and cooperative skills and helped women graduates to gain recognition by

outsiders and to generate external support for social (collective) purposes. Interviewees' comments indicated that, by developing collaborative / cooperative skills, VI's education, did not only contribute personal improvement of female students but also supported their social relations and established a ground to achive empowerment in collective level. After graduation, women graduates utilized collaborative and cooperative skills. There were cases where women graduates contacted with municipalities / officials to get support to open literacy courses for women in conservative areas (e.g. Fatih) where women graduates also gave support by working as volunteer teachers in these types of projects.

Socializing and Networking Skills: Ability to Join and Start New Networks of Organizations

Another collective indicator of Rowlands' model was the ability to join and start new networks of organizations, which required development of socializing and networking skills. According to the interviewees, VIs' educational tools like school trips, musical activities, weekend entertainment and its preparation process promoted social interaction and developed social relations of women graduates. They also pointed out that, functioning and management system enhanced the ability of joining teams or developing new networks to fulfill required work in best way.

> Through VIs' courses, activities, methods and functioning, I learned to developed interactive relations with organizations (e.g., Lions club, Çağdaş Yaşamı Destekleme Derneği, etc.). By using these contacts, I entered various communities and joined different associations to generate support for children's education, aid campaigns, etc. (Rahime-woman graduate).

Thereby, VIs' education developed socializing and networking skills, hence, women graduates enhanced their ability to join and start new networks of organizations. However, after graduation and marriage, some of the women graduates who faced with limitations / obstacles could not benefit from these skills whereas, the ones who displayed more outgoing personality and developed better coping ability, utilized socializing and networking skills in life.

Ability to Defend Rights / Ability to React Democratically: Ability to Respond Collectively to Events Outside Group

According to the Rowlands' model, ability to respond collectively to events outside was one of the key indicators of collective empowerment. On the other hand, VIs' education taught its women graduates to defend rights and react to injustice or inequalities democratically, which formed the basis of collective empowerment.

Although, VIs' education developed awareness towards social / political events outside, majority of married women graduates could not work as active agents of existing social / political organizations due to the multiple responsibilities (motherhood, wifedom and house works, teaching). On the other hand, the ones whose husbands took active roles in those organizations became members as the supporters of spouses (e.g. TÖB-DER, TÖS, etc.).

> I joined 'May 1 demonstrations' with my husband. I helped him on lining up women and controlling them to prevent sneaking any weapon to Taksim (demonstration area). I never gave speeches. However, my husband always did in TÖS' meetings and demonstrations. I did not have time because I had

> to take care of the children as well as teaching at school (Fasıla-woman graduate).

There were few cases where divorced/single and high-educated women graduates participated in social/ political organizations (e.g. TÖS, Tüm Öğretim Üyeleri Derneği, etc.) as active members.

> I worked in TÖS, actively, with Fakir Baykurt. I visited villages many times to carry out works of TÖS. I also performed as the president of Faculty Members Association (Tüm Öğretim Üyeleri Derneği) in Ankara (Aliye-woman graduate).

Although the numbers were limited to make bold generalizations, above examples indicate that marital status and the level of education influence the activity level as well as the ability to respond collectively to events outside.

Versatility and Occupation: Access to Resources

According to Rowlands' model, accessing resources was another sign of collective empowerment. On the other hand, interviewees pointed out that, vocational, agricultural and cultural courses provided women graduates with occupation and variety of skills (versatility) which enabled them to generate their own resources / income for both personal and collective needs and made them strong, self-sufficient individuals in society.

In sum, through VIs' educational tools, women graduates gained the ability to communicate and negotiate with others, which also helped them to join and start new networks of organization, and they learned to organize around own needs. Through

enhancement of collaborative and cooperative skills, they were able to get recognition and support of outsiders. Although the VIs' education reinforced the ability to defend rights and react democratically, after graduation, they could not actively respond outside events due to their multiple responsibilities. Versatility and occupation helped them to generate resources (to a certain extend). Hence, through VIs' education they gained skills and abilities (indicators) which were necessary for collective empowerment. However, women graduates managed to utilize some of these abilities after graduation, marriage and starting to work.

Core Values of Collective Empowerment

Interviewees' experiences and observations showed that, through VIs' education, women graduates enhanced important values for collective (social) development as well. These values corresponded to the core values of collective (social) empowerment, which Rowlands model provided.

Table 19. Core Values of Collective Empowerment

VIs-Core Values of Collective(Social) Empowerment	⇨ Rowlands' Model- Core Values of Collective Empowerment
•Respectability / Social recognition	•Group dignity
•Team spirit and sense of solidarity	•Developing group identity
•Social awareness; Resistance against injustice; Sense of responsibility for spreading modernity	•Sense of collective agency
•Self-determination and organization	•Self-organization and management

Respectability / Social Recognition: Group Dignity

While the curriculum provided variety of skills and occupation (teaching) to women graduates, other activities, VIs' system and the method of "learning by doing" supported them to internalize these skills, and enhanced their qualifications. As the result of VIs' education, women graduates became well-equipped ideal role model teachers. As the following quotes indicate, both in the VIs and in the outside world, they gained social recognition, saw respect from others and became valuable members of their own community, and society through their teaching identity, versatility and personality. Thereby, they developed group dignity.

> VIs' education made a difference in my life. Everybody, including my family, my students and their parents, village people, and other people in society respected me (Neşe-woman graduate).
>
> I went to the VIs as a village girl and through its extraordinary courses, activities, and methods I became full-skilled and beloved teacher. I raised thousands of children. All my life, I saw respect, dignity in society (Rahime-woman graduate).
>
> I became role model for others with my teaching identity, skills and attitudes, which VIs' education provided me. People, in the village, always admired me because of my appearance, behavior, etc. I became an ideal teacher and important personality in the village. I always saw respect and dignity in my community (Huban-woman graduate).

Team Spirit and Sense of Solidarity: Developing Group Identity

VIs' curriculum, activities, methods ('learning by doing' and "*imece*"), functioning and management based on teamwork, solidarity and cooperative interaction. As the

following quote exemplifies, VIs' education enhanced the sense of cooperation and the team spirit, which developed the sense of group identity.

> I made myself accepted in every community with my hard work, productive, cooperative and benevolent personality. VIs' education provided me many qualifications including collaboration and the sense of solidarity. I have been working voluntarily for various institutions' social responsibility projects for 33 years (Rahime-woman graduate).

According to the interviewees, VIs' education was successful in establishing high degree of loyalty and group identity among female graduates. They also added that they were proud of being the member of the VIs.

Social awareness; Resistance against Injustice; Sense of Responsibility for Spreading Modernity: Sense of Collective Agency

According to the Rowlands model, "sense of collective agency" necessitates interaction, leading the change and the ability of taking collective actions to create extensive impact (change) in collective level (in society). Interviewees pointed out that, VIs' training enriched women graduates in a way that they became sensitive in social issues, learned to stand against unfairness in society and felt responsible of spreading Turkish modernization. Interviewees' experiences and observations indicated that, the seeds of "agency" formation were planted through debates and discussions as well as modern, democratic and collaborative functioning and management system of VIs' education. However, according to the respondents' comments, women graduates could not reveal equal performance on pioneering the change and taking collective actions.

Depending on their capabilities and circumstances, some of the women graduates performed as active agents (after moving to cities). There were cases where women graduates took the lead in organizing literacy courses in poor districts against illiteracy and joined social organizations like ÇYDD[19], ADD[20], Lions Club, etc. to work voluntarily on income-generating activities for girls' education, etc. There were few cases where women graduates organized others to join protests against unfair treatments. Following quote exemplifies one of these extreme cases:

> As a higher VI graduate, once, I organized 70 teachers not to enter classes to attend TÖS[21]'s organization of teachers' demonstration and marching for teachers' rights. Although the ministry of education sent circular letter to prevent this demonstration, I did not give up. I gain the spirit of striving through VIs' education (Hale-woman graduate).

Some others' collective action remained limited with their teaching identity in a confined space, around village community. There were moderate cases where women graduates opened sewing class for village women or collected clothes to help needy families in the villages, etc. Following quotes exemplify these kind of-limited-collective actions:

> I was an idealist teacher. I was the doctor, I was the tailor, and I was the teacher of the villagers. I sewed the school uniforms of all my students. I opened sewing courses for village women. I organized village women to get together every Wednesday to visit houses, to see living conditions, to raise awareness on children's diseases, to teach them hygiene rules, etc. (Nadide-woman graduate).

> My grandmother who was the graduate of both Pazarören VI and Hasanoğlan higher VI, opened vocational courses for village women, published wall newspaper in the village and opened a reading room at

---

[19] ÇYDD: Çağdaş Yaşamı Destekleme Derneği (The Association Supporting for Contemporary Life)
[20] ADD: Atatürkçü Düşünce Derneği (The Association of Kemalist Thought)
[21] TÖS: Türkiye Öğretmenler Sendikası (Turkish Teachers' Union)

> village school. On her own, she served as public education center of her village (Bulut-others)

Another way of acting as collective agency was to spread modernity in the villages. According to the interviewees, all the women graduates gained the sense of internal modernity through modern, secular and scientific approach of VIs' coeducation system and they felt responsible for dissemination of Turkish modernization. They emphasized that they were the representatives of modern Republican woman and the role model teacher (of the modern nation-state) and it was their duty to spread civilization and modernization to the villages. Depending on their conditions and capabilities, they took actions to spread modernity.

> I became role model teacher to explain and spread Turkish modernization and revolution in the villages (Neşe-woman graduate).

> I taught how to read and write to illiterate village women. I opened courses where I taught sewing, modern clothing, cleaning, etc. It was our duty to modernize and civilize villagers through education (Türkan-woman graduate).

> In the social structure of the rural areas, woman became the symbol and the basic indicator of modernization. Overall expectation was the transformation of rural structure and the patriarchy through woman's modernization and the VIs' coeducation system served this aim. VIs' women graduates acted as role model, ideal teachers who showed maximum effort to modernize village women by teaching them the modern way of living. They managed to change the village women's apparel and created civilization in the villages (Gülşen-expert academician).

Developing the sense of collective agency –also-required leadership skills and ideals, which remained limited with teaching ideals for female students. However, interviewees emphasized that, although VIs' educational tools enhanced leadership skills, women graduates did not prefer to undertake leading positions-as collective agents- due to their double burden (teaching and gender responsibilities). Instead, their

spouses became active players by taking responsible positions in TÖS[22], TÖB-DER[23] kind of unions or political parties to work as collective agents.

> I did not like to be a leader. Instead, I preferred my husband to take the lead on the areas where he could become more successful than I do. My husband became the founding president of TÖS. Although I was not active, I joined its meeting to support my husband (Nakiye-woman graduate).
>
> My husband became the president of TÖB-DER's Istanbul branch office. I could not participate in because, I had responsibilities at home (Fevziye-woman graduate).

Overall, through VIs' educational tools, women graduates gained social awareness, learned to show resistance against injustice/ inequalities and acquired sense of responsibility for spreading modernization in the villages, which formed the basis of collective agency. However, multiple responsibilities (double burden) inhibited them to take leading roles as collective agents. Still, educational attainments enabled women graduates to be agents of change (as exemplary teachers) in the villages.

Self-Determination and Organization: Self-Organization and Management

According to the interviewees, VIs' functioning and management based on division of responsibility, which taught women graduates how to plan, organize and manage work starting from studentship days. In fact, development of self-organization and

---

[22] TÖS: Türkiye Öğretmenler Sendikası (Turkish Teachers' Union)
[23] TÖB-DER: Tüm Öğretmenler Birleşme ve Dayanışma Derneği (Teachers' Association for Unity and Solidarity)

management skills were the signs of personal empowerment, which reinforced the other core values and formed the basis of empowerment in social (collective) level as well. VI's education encouraged its women graduates to influence others to create social (collective) change by using their self-organization and management skills. They benefited from these skills to create change in the villages, right after graduation. However, later on, they used these skills for planning and executing social organizations or activities rather than acting as agents of change

Interviewees' remarks indicated that, VIs' education developed group identity, group dignity, sense of collective agency as well as self-organization and management ability, which were the core values to achieve collective (social) empowerment. Hence, VIs' education prepared the ground for collective empowerment. Depending on educational attainments as well as women graduates' own capabilities, circumstances and personality traits, they achieved certain degree of collective (social) empowerment through their teaching identity, versatility and personality.

Summary-Collective Empowerment

According to Rowlands' model, collective empowerment, necessitate certain degree of personal empowerment as the base to build on. In Rowlands' framework, women-as groups-take responsibility and develop identity which enable them to work and act as groups of people in wider community (in the world) to achieve more extensive change collectively (Rowlands, 1997).

In the case of VIs, differently from Rowlands' collective empowerment, women graduates worked and acted as individual "change agents" in society, rather than acting collectively (as groups). According to the respondents, through VIs' education, women graduates developed skills, abilities and values for social /collective enhancement and change as well. VIs' education contributed to women graduates on developing communication and negotiation, organization, cooperation, socializing and networking skills (collective indicators). They also gained the core values of dignity, identity, self-organization and management ability and sense of agency in social /collective level. However, as emphasized by the interviewees, VIs' education could not sufficiently emphasize equal leadership roles for female students. They rather, put more emphasis on ideal, role model teaching identity by considering gender roles as well.

According to the interviewees, women graduates did not take place at the forefront and displayed relatively passive stance in collective actions. Instead, in line with the direction of VIs' education, they appeared in society as socially active, cooperative, ideal role model teachers who showed efforts to spread modernization and create social change in villages (e.g. change in village women's apparel, literacy, etc.). On the other hand, VIs' foundational aim of placing the graduates as village teachers-for twenty years- fall short of the goal due to the political developments which changed their "imagined lifestyle" and the mission of revitalizing villages.

When women graduates moved to cities (with their families), they continued to these efforts by organizing courses and activities (e.g. literacy course). Some of them participated in organizations, in cities, to contribute social responsibility or charity type of activities by using the skills and abilities that VIs provided them. Some others joined

social and political organizations as members, where their husbands took active roles as collective agents. Few of them responded collectively to events outside and displayed leadership skills occasionally. Overall, they continued to exhibit ideal, role model teaching identity together with devoted mother and supportive wife roles.

According to the interviewees, VIs' education formed the basis for collective empowerment. Women graduates' experiences indicated that, the ones who achieved higher level of collective (social) empowerment displayed more extraverted and empowered personality. They were among the ones who utilized communication and negotiation, cooperation, organization, management, leadership and coping skills better than the ones who gained lower level of collective empowerment (quasi-empowerment). In general, depending on educational attainments as well as personality traits, responsibilities, inhibitors and coping ability, women graduates achieved limited / a certain degree of collective (social) empowerment -mostly-through their identity as teachers.

Empowerment within Close Relationships

Relational empowerment (within close relationships) is the third and last dimension of the three dimensional model of Rowlands (1997). According to Rowlands' model, in close relationship level, the key criterion for empowerment was the capability of influencing and changing the direction of close relationship through better communication and negotiation, interaction, decision making and self-defense ability of women. Empowerment in this dimension involves changes in the behavior of others

(spouse, close family members, etc.) as well as women's own behavior (Rowlands, 1997: 125).

There is a direct relationship between empowerment within close relationship and personal empowerment. In other words, in order to achieve empowerment in close relationships, one needs to have sufficient level of self-confidence, self-esteem and the notion of being an "agent" with dignity who is able to negotiate, communicate, defend herself / her rights and ask for support when needed (Rowlands, 1997: 119). Positive development and changes, exercised in personal relations lead to more cooperative and communicative relations with others (spouse, family members, friends and neighbors) (Rowlands, 1997: 120). Research results indicated that there is also link between collective (social) and close relationships levels. Freedom, autonomy, better communication and understanding in close relationships eased mobility, socialization and collective (social) relations of women graduates within society.

Following analysis will identify whether the educational attainments of women graduates were in line with the essence of Rowlands' framework in close relationship level and whether VIs' education (and its educational tools) empowered its women graduates within close relationships. Table 20 combined the results of VIs' contribution and the measuring criteria of Rowlands' model (Table 3.) in close relationship level. Then, I will evaluate each element of Table 20.

Table 20. VIs' Contribution in Relational Level and Components of Rowlands' Model within Close Relationships

Relational Values gained through VIs' Education (Values of VIs' education) & Core Values of Empowerment within Close Relationships (Rowlands' Model) * Personal values served to the development of relational values as well	Indicators of VIs' Contribution in Relational Level (Skills and Abilities gained through VIs) & Indicators of Empowerment within Close Relationships (Rowlands' Model)	Encouraging Factors of VIs' Education in Relational Level (Educational Tools and Conditions of VIs) & Encouraging Factors for Empowerment within Close Relationships (Rowlands' Model)	Inhibiting Factors in Relational Level (VIs) (Barriers against women's empowerment-VIs) & Inhibiting Factors (obstacles) for Empowerment within Close Relationships (Rowlands' Model)
•Communication ability: •Ability to communicate • Negotiation ability: •Ability to negotiate •Cooperation and solidarity: •Ability to get support •Self-advocacy / assertion: •Ability to defend self/rights •Conservancy of own personality: •Sense of "self" in relationship • Dignity: •Dignity	•Ability to develop sense of respect in relationship: •Self-respect and respect from others •Decision making ability in relationship: •Capacity to make own choices •Time managing ability: •Control over time use •Income management skills through home economics: •Control over income •Freedom of action: •Control over mobility •Socializing ability: •Ability to attend meetings •Ability to limit childbearing (childcare and children's education): •Control over childbearing	•Coeducation and "student rights" declaration: •Concept of "women's rights" •Knowledge of women's rights" •Egalitarian and critical approach: •Perception of inequalities as "wrong" •Constructive approach / family atmosphere / activities: •Ending isolation •Division of responsibility and equal participation: •Participation in groups •"Imece" (cooperation, and peer support) and "learning by doing" (interaction within production): •Sharing problems with other women •Peer pressure / support •Social and cultural trips: • "Travel"	•Religion, conservatism and traditional culture: •Cultural expectations of women •Dependency of women (traditional and conservative culture of women's subordination) •Patriarchal pressure on women: •Machismo •"Internalized oppression" reinforced from outside •Opposing / commanding / jealous / aggressive / drinking husband: •Male violence (strong culture of violence) • Alcohol consumption by partner •Male control over family income / budget (and property): • Male control over income • Traditional obligations of women / Expectations from women: •Cultural expectations of (/ from) women

Source: VIs' contribution, the measurement criteria of Rowlands' model within close relationships level (Table 3.; Rowlands, 1997: 110-128).

Among the women graduates, majority were married with VIs' male graduates. According to these women, similar educational background, mutual acquaintance and sharing the common fate were the reasons behind their choices. There were few women graduates, who made late arranged marriage with outsiders. Among the interviewees, there were three divorced women graduates: one of them had a late marriage with an outsider and two of them had VI graduate husbands, but got divorced due to lack of harmony, jealousy and intolerance towards wives' success. There was only one woman graduate (of higher VI) who never got married, but did not want to share the reason for it.

Among women graduate respondents, the ones (several women) who saw private sphere as an untouchable area did not share any experience about close relationships, instead, they preferred to talk more about relations in public sphere where they experienced appreciation and respect with their teaching identity. The ones who lost their husbands earlier also avoided talking about close relationships.

On the other hand, married majority tended to idealize their relations and made an effort to display happy family portrait in earlier stage of the interview. However, as time progressed, some of them (considerable amount of them) unburdened themselves when they talked about the nature of family relations, including the type of decisions made, responsibilities taken, relations and interaction continued among spouses (and others) within the family. Beside these married women graduates, divorced ones also shared their experiences with ex-husbands openly. In general, shared experiences and observations of the respondents revealed the nature of close relationships.

In the following analysis, I will discuss the impact of VIs' education on relational dimension by focusing on women graduates' close relationships. More specifically, I will identify how and in what ways VIs' education contributed or remained inadequate to empower its women graduates within close relationships. As I started my analysis with the evaluation of common inhibiting factors, following analysis will only cover encouraging factors, indicators and core values of relational empowerment. However, I will refer to those inhibitors during the evaluation of cases where disempowerment occurred. I will start with encouraging factors then continue with the indicators and the core values of relational empowerment. I will also emphasize the areas where VIs' education was insufficient and how it reflected to women graduates' lives and influenced their close relationships in particular.

Encouraging Factors for Empowerment within Close Relationships

Some of the encouraging factors in personal level apply to relational level as well. In order to prevent any duplication, I will put more emphasis on encouragers, which made difference. Then, I will briefly go through the others to identify how these factors encouraged women graduates and contributed them in close relationships level.

Table 21. Encouraging Factors for Empowerment within Close Relationships (VIs versus Rowlands' Model)

VIs-Encouraging Factors for Empowerment within Close Relationships	Rowlands' Model-Encouraging Factors for Empowerment within Close R.
•Coeducation and "Student rights" declaration	•Concept of "Women's Rights"/ Knowledge of "Women's Rights"

•Egalitarian and critical approach •Constructive approach / family atmosphere / activities •Division of responsibility and equal participation • "İmece" (cooperation, and peer support) and "learning by doing" (interaction within production) •Social and cultural trips	•Perception of inequalities as "wrong" •Ending isolation •Participation in groups •Sharing problems with other women / Peer pressure / support • "Travel"

Coeducation and "Student rights" declaration: Concept of "Women's Rights"/ Knowledge of "Women's Rights"

According to the interviewees, coeducation formed the basis for women's rights by providing female students equal opportunities (rights) in education. They also added that, nobody neither knew nor pronounced "women's rights" verbally. However, they presumed that they all had equal rights with males as everybody treated them equally.

> We did not know anything about women's rights or men's rights. One thing we knew that we were equal and we assumed that everybody was equal (Sadiye-woman graduate).

> In the VIs, managers and teachers never talked about women's rights. However, they emphasized it through their attitudes. Nobody discriminated us for being females, never! (Neşe-woman graduate).

Interviewees also put emphasis on "students' rights" which was a written declaration of Tonguç who sent to institute managers to inform students. According to the respondents, the aim of this notice was to raise awareness about students' rights and to prevent possible exploitation of students by others. There were cases where female students

stood against teachers who wanted to benefit from their handwork (e.g. sewing bed cloths) for personal needs.

However, as expert-academician interviewees pointed out, "women's rights" was a new concept for the era and talking about women's rights or highlighting women issue would get reactions. Therefore, VIs' education developed the notion of "women's rights" indirectly through coeducation and "students' rights" which encouraged women graduates to defend self-rights during the course of life. Following quote exemplifies how VIs' coeducation and "students' rights" encouraged a woman graduate to defend herself against the inhibiting attitude of her husband:

> Although my husband was a VI graduate and we both benefited from the democratic and egalitarian coeducation in the VIs, he did not implement it in our marriage. He always emphasized inequality between men and women. He could not stand women's success and economic freedom. Therefore, he always looked down on me. Although, we both gained awareness of equal rights (self-rights), in our marriage, I experienced inequality, opposition, pressure and even violence. However, through VIs' education I was able to take a stand against him (Mine-woman graduate).

Although women graduates differ from one another, above quote indicates how VIs' educational tools and conditions (encouraging factors) contributed to women graduates by strengthening them within close relationship level.

Egalitarian and Critical Approach: Perception of Inequalities as "Wrong"

All women graduates agreed that VIs' education promoted the perception of inequalities as "wrong". As I mentioned earlier, in the personal level, democratic, egalitarian and nonhierarchical functioning, active participation in management and the habit of

constructive criticism reinforced egalitarian and critical approach, which encouraged women graduates to have an attitude towards inequalities in every area of life including close relationships.

Constructive Approach / Family Atmosphere / Activities: Ending Isolation

Overall, VIs' warm environment, activities and the constructive attitude encouraged female students to develop interaction. Women graduates pointed out that, through VIs' activities (morning exercises, weekend entertainment, and other activates), they came out of their shell, learned to make friends thus ended isolation. They added that in the course of life they never stayed alone.

Division of Responsibility and Equal Participation: Participation in Groups

VIs' education system-as a whole- based on division of responsibility and equal participation, which promoted teamwork and participation in groups. According to the respondents, ability to participate in groups contributed to women graduates on developing communication, negotiation and cooperation skills, which encouraged them to express themselves in family and within close relationships.

"İmece" (Cooperation, and Peer Support) and "Learning by Doing" (Interaction within Production): Sharing Problems with Other Women / Peer Pressure / Support

Respondents emphasized that, VIs' methods of "imece" and "learning by doing" enhanced cooperation, peer support and interaction, which enabled women graduates to support each other and share their problems whenever they needed. Some of the women graduates underlined that they preferred to share their problems with their own children rather than outsiders. Ability to share problems with others-in though times- encouraged women graduates to maintain the relationship.

Social and Cultural trips: "Travel"

Women graduates gained the habit of traveling through social and cultural trips, which were part of the curriculum and the activities of VIs' education. Depending on their economical conditions, they continued to travel after forming their family. Most of them (including the divorced ones) admitted that, after raising their children they started to travel more often. Overall, VIs' educational tools (encouraging factors) enhanced women graduates' ability of negotiation, communication and interaction with their spouses (and others in close circles) and contributed to the close relations however, could not sufficiently change the nature of relations and the decisions within the relationship. Through VIs' educational tools and conditions (encouragers) most of the women graduates learned to defend self / rights and gained dignity within the relationship. However, they could not sufficiently go out of traditional gender roles

within the close relationships and therefore sense of "self" in relationship was poorly developed only through teaching identity.

Indicators of Empowerment within Close Relationships

Indicators of relational empowerment represent skills and abilities that, women graduates developed through VIs' education, which influenced their close relationships.

Table 22. Indicators of Empowerment within Close Relationships (VIs versus Rowlands' Model)

VIs-Indicators of Empowerment within Close Relationships	Rowlands' Model- Indicators of Empowerment within Close Relationships
•Ability to develop sense of respect in relationship	•Self-respect and respect from others
•Decision making ability in relationship	•Capacity to make own choices
•Time managing ability	•Control over time use
•Income management skills through home economics	•Control over income
•Freedom of action / Socializing ability	•Control over mobility / Ability to attend meetings

Ability to Develop Sense of Respect in Relationship: Self-Respect and Respect from Others

Constructive pedagogy of VIs' education reinforced toleration, empathy, love, patience, and respect based interaction and women graduates utilized these qualifications after graduation as well. When women graduates talked about "respect" in relationship, they

tended to share their teaching experiences rather than close relationships. They underlined that, raising so many students in a best way made them proud of themselves. That was how they enhanced self-respect. They also added that, their classes always set an example with their order and success, which raised respect from others. Following quote indicates that, most of the time they gained respect through their teaching identity, and versatility.

> VIs' education educated me as an ideal teacher. I always trained my students as; well organized, responsible, and hardworking children. My classes became exemplary for others. I became well skilled, successful and respected teacher. I always developed good relations with parents and got respect from them. I still keep in touch with my students and their parents (Fevziye-woman graduate).

Women graduates pointed out that, in order to prepare them for life after graduation, VIs' female teachers (or manager's wife) made private conversations with female students regularly and taught them the importance of respect in male-female relationship. Following quotes provides examples on this issue:

> In the VIs' our sewing teacher and manager's wife talked to us privately and told us the way to treat our husbands. That was how I learned to show respect in relationship. I think I became a good wife (Kadriye-woman graduate).

> My husband could not support me due to his work in unions and in political parties. For instance, when my daughter died at the age of 8.5, my husband was far away. However, I never complained, I never argued. VIs' education taught me to respect (unconditionally). The more I showed respect the more I got respect. We both showed respect to each other (Nadide-woman graduate).

Respondents' comments also indicated that respect in relationship meant displaying understanding, patience, tolerance and devotion towards husbands'

expectations and attitudes. As the following quote exemplifies, silence, instead of reaction, was another way of showing respect.

> Although my husband was a VIs' graduate, he was conservative and jealous of me. Rather than quarreling, I always kept silent. I always displayed the view of respectful wife (Rahime-woman graduate).

Above quotes clarifies that, showing respect (as husbands expected) was a way of getting respect, and dealing with husbands'restrictive behavior (e.g. jealousy, pressure, opposition, etc.). Although, most of the women graduates could not create significant change in spouses' attitudes, they developed methods of handling them, which was an instance of empowerment (at a minimum), rather than absolute disempowerment as they generated solutions against obstacles instead of obeying without questioning. However, still, the level of empowerment within close relationships was not strong enough to be entitled as empowerment. Therefore, I denominated this situation as "quasi-empowerment".

There were few cases where women graduates handled their spouses with respect but could not develop happy relationship within marriage and therefore, took active roles in society (as social agents) as a way of escape, self-actualization and to get appreciation and respect from others with their teaching identity. In some cases, developing sense of respect within relationship promoted self-respect and respect of others as well and contributed to women's empowerment process within close relationships. However, it was not sufficient to empower them significantly, which I would say is quasi-empowerment.

Decision Making Ability in Relationship: Capacity to Make Own Choices

Interviewees underlined that VIs' education help them develop ability for making their own choices. However, in family, within close relationships, depending on the husbands' character some of the women graduates faced with spouses interference or opposition which influenced women graduates' decisions on personal, social, and familial issues. There were cases where husbands limited women graduates' decisions on personal care, like prohibition of wearing make up, or wearing modern apparel. Some others limited women's choices on driving car or even implementing religious beliefs. There were examples of forbidding social activities like taking part in community choir or participating in political or social organizations. On the other hand, there were other cases where husbands did not pay attention on women's decisions as long as they were not bothered.

Interviewees' experiences indicated that sometimes, married women graduates had to make self-sacrifice on own choices to handle the relationship. However, there were other cases where married women graduates made their own choices on continuing higher education or joining social activities outside despite the opposition of husbands, which was the sign of empowerment within close relationship.

On the other hand, divorced women graduates emphasized that, husbands' interference / opposition on their own choices was one of the reasons behind getting divorced. The ones who lost their husbands in early ages made free decisions without any interference of other family members.

"Autonomy" approach in student-centered pedagogy of VIs, developed the ability to make own choices, which was the indicator of Rowlands' model within close relationships level. However, husbands' interference inhibited the realization of empowerment among some of the married women graduates (quasi-empowerment). Although these women graduates had the capacity and freedom of decision-making on so many issues (personal, social, political, familial, etc.) they chose to sacrifice from some of them- with their own free will- for the sake of tranquility of their relationship by giving priority to their husbands' decisions. This was a way of handling their spouses' inhibiting attitudes rather than obeying husbands' choices (slavishly), which was an instance of "quasi-empowerment" in many cases.

Time Managing Ability: Control over Time Use

Women graduates' experiences indicated that, in the VIs, participating in functioning and management enhanced the ability of a necessity due to heavy workload of planning and managing time properly. After graduation, they continued to organize and manage their own time, which became women. According to the respondents, women graduates did not have a major problem on having control over time use within close relationships (family life). However, they had a difficulty on finding time for themselves due to multiple responsibilities.

Income Management Skills through Home Economics: Control over Income

In the beginning of this chapter, I already mentioned about males' control over income, which was a common inhibitor against women's empowerment. In short, the interviewees underlined that VIs' rich curriculum contained the course of home economics, which taught female students how to manage household including kitchen work, income management and economizing. However, within close relationships, married women graduates took the responsibility of spending the family budget economically rather than having control over income. Most of them pretended that, this was their own choice rather than enforcement of the husbands. There were few cases where women had control over income due to the husbands' neglect. Males' control over income was the sign of disempowerment. On the other hand, divorced or single (widow) women graduates took the responsibility of living and had the control over income by themselves without depending on their children or other family members.

Freedom of Action / Socializing Ability: Control over Mobility / Ability to Attend Meetings

Interviewees pointed out that, VIs' education promoted freedom of action and socialization of female students through the functioning, management and activities. However, after graduation, double burden of women (teaching and gender roles) and the "husband's" opposition limited married women graduates' mobility as well as the ability

to attend meetings and activities. Although, they developed the notion of mobility and the ability to attend meetings, they could not put into practice within close relationship level, at least until they raised their children. On the other hand, divorced women graduates, single woman or the ones who lost their husbands early, displayed more independent attitude. However, their workload still influenced the frequency of their mobility. Some of the male graduates also admitted that marriage and the attitudes of spouses limited women's mobility and interaction within the society.

Ability to Limit Childbearing (Childcare and Children's Education): Control over Childbearing

Respondents' comments indicated that, VIs' education was weak in emphasizing family planning and discussing about sexuality, which were taboo subjects. However, women graduates learned / developed methods of limiting childbearing by themselves. There were cases where husbands opposed limiting childbearing however, overall, women graduates managed to control over childbearing. Excluding one women graduate who could not have children- but adopted her niece-, others had 2-3 children on the average.

Majority of the women graduates pointed out that they generally made family and children related decisions (e.g. number of children to have, children's education, etc.) together and associated this with VIs' democratic and egalitarian education. However, their experiences showed the opposite: while husbands were the authority on key decisions, women were the ones who did all the running, which included childcare and children related responsibilities such as children's education.

> My husband was an authoritative father. However, he always trusted me on children related issues. As he was very busy with his writing work, I was the one who always went to parent-teacher meetings. I took the responsibility of our children by myself (Hale-woman graduate).

Women graduates placed special emphasis on the education of their children and pointed out that, they raised their children according to VIs' system as well. There were cases where women graduates stood against their husbands to provide better educational opportunities for their children. There were other cases where children's education and preparation for life became the reason to continue marriage and gave women graduates the power of tolerability and patience. Interviewees' comments indicated that, all the children received good education and VIs' education did not only contribute to women graduates but also to their children as well.

Although women graduates gained the ability to control over childbearing, childcare and children's education, they could not (sufficiently) change the nature of supposes' attitudes and patriarchal mindset which resulted in inequality on taking responsibility. However, majority of the women graduates were able to withstand and handle their spouses on children related issues by implementing their coping strategy of empathizing, toleration and patience, which did not weaken them within close relationships (most of the time) instead, empowered at a certain level (quasi-empowerment).

Core Values of Empowerment within Close Relationships

According to the Rowlands' model, development and change in personal level contributes to other levels as well. Hence, there is an interrelation between personal, collective and relational dimensions. For instance, the ability to communicate, negotiate, get support and dignity were the intersecting skills and values of collective and close relationship levels whereas, ability to manage and control over time, share problems, get support, mobility and "travel" were the common aspects of both personal and close relationship dimensions.

On the other hand, the utilization of these values, and abilities differ in each dimension (personal/collective/ within close relationship). Therefore, it is important to differentiate whether women graduates were able to develop and implement these values and abilities within close relationship level , whether they managed to overcome the inhibiting factors through these values and abilities which VIs' education provided them and whether this process lead to women's empowerment within close relationships. Accordingly, different from other dimensions, in close relationship level, I will evaluate all core values together.

Table 23. Core Values of Empowerment within Close Relationships (VIs versus Rowlands' Model)

VIs – Core Values for Empowerment within Close Relationships ⇨	Rowlands' model - Core Values for Empowerment within Close Relationships
•Communication ability:	•Ability to communicate
•Negotiation ability	•Ability to negotiate
•Self-advocacy / assertion	•Ability to defend self/rights
•Conservancy of own personality	•Sense of "self" in relationship
•Dignity	•Dignity

Overall, VIs' education equipped its women graduates with skills and abilities to prepare them for life. By this way, women graduates learned to communicate, negotiate, defend self / rights, demonstrate "self" and gained dignity, which were necessary qualifications for achieving empowerment, particularly within close relationship level. However, women graduates could not always effectively utilize these values within close relationships.

As interviewees' remarks indicated, close relationship was the most problematic area where married women graduates predominantly (with a few exceptions) experienced the inhibiting influence of husbands. Although most of the husbands were also VIs' graduates, they reflected the characteristics of common inhibiting factors (see Table 11) within close relationships. According to male graduates' evaluation, this was due to the continuation of traditional and patriarchal mindset. They added that, although VIs' education attached importance to the necessities of modern lifestyle, it could not sufficiently emphasize modern way of thinking and modern identity for male graduates. Therefore, in the private sphere, male graduates continued to display the characteristics of patriarchal and conservative cast of mind, which was the reflection of "internalized patriarchy". However, in the public sphere, they showed effort to orient themselves to the modern way of living, which exposed conflicting behavior.

On the other hand, women graduates- in the public sphere- exhibited modern, Western outlook and idealist, role model teaching identity, suiting the requirements of Republican modernization project, that VIs' education emphasized it specifically for female students. At this point, my deduction from the interviewees' remarks was that, VIs' education was successful in changing and transforming uneducated village girls to

modern, role model, ideal teachers. However, by itself, VIs' education was insufficient in eliminating the impact of patriarchal mindset ("internalized patriarchy" and its reflexion as a pressure on women) and infusing the modern way of thinking into women graduates (as well as male graduates). Nevertheless, respondents' experiences and observations gave the impression that women graduates benefited from VIs' education more than males. That was how they managed to overcome multiple roles and responsibilities without getting any support.

Interviewees' experiences and observations indicated that, excluding few exceptions, most of the married women graduates suffered from spouses' (or in laws') oppositions or pressures which disabled communication or negotiation within close relationships. They neither obeyed, nor complained or asked for external support against these kinds of approaches. Instead, through VIs' educational attainments, "the problem solving ability" and "the sense of respect" in particular, women graduates developed their own methods of communication; negotiation; assertion as well as conserving own personality and dignity.

Interviewees' remarks indicated that, women graduates developed the habit (method) of displaying thoughtful, tolerating, balancing and patient attitude as a way of communication and negotiation. According to the comments of women graduates, when there was a problem / disagreement within close relationships, married women graduates kept silence as a way of resistance, which did not mean abidance, rather meant silent reaction. Following quote exemplifies one of these cases:

> My mother-in law was jealous of me due to my qualifications and economical freedom. In every opportunity, she influenced my husband

> against me. In our marriage, with the influence of his mother, my husband always criticized, humiliated, shouted and even beat me. I put a brave face on his behavior but rather than shouting back, I displayed my reaction by keeping silent. I always showed understanding, toleration and patience towards my husband and tried to develop (silent) communication for the sake of my family and children. One day when he raised his hand to beat me again, I said; stop! He knew that, if he would not stop, I would leave the house and finish the marriage. I gained this power through VIs' education (Mine-woman graduate).

From a distance, women's method of keeping silent as well as showing patience and toleration towards inhibiting behavior of spouses might give the impression of disempowerment. However, from another perspective, it was a way of showing reaction (silent reaction), dealing with problems (overcoming inhibitors), generating solutions for the tranquility of family, and continuity of children's education. Therefore, I will call it "silent empowerment"-as a way of "quasi-empowerment"- which arises (in the absence of mutual dialogue) as the result of coping strategy (empathy, patience, toleration and keeping silent) and problem solving ability of women against inhibiting attitude of husbands. Hence, women graduates-at the least- gain certain degree of empowerment within close relationship level.

Women graduates' own preference of giving the priority to husbands (staying a step behind) and attaching more importance to husbands' skills, although they had similar abilities, might give the impression of disempowerment again. However, as emphasized by the women graduates, they hardly spend time for themselves mainly due to their multiple responsibilities, which disenabled them to be active in the front line. According to the interviewees' remarks, women graduates realized that they could not change their spouses' patriarchal habits to help them reducing their burden. Therefore,

rather than complaining, in most cases, they chose to support their husbands to take responsible positions in social, political or intellectual fields.

> Through VIs' awareness raising education, I was able to analyze my husband's character. I knew that he would not change his patriarchal habits and he would never become a househusband. Instead, with his leadership abilities, he became successful leader in social and political areas, which brought him dignity. I always supported him in his activities. That was how I gained his respect. We always showed respect to each other (Nadide-woman graduate).

On the other hand, as emphasized by the interviewees, the ability of shouldering multiple responsibilities required organization, planning, and time management skills as well as courage, confidence and strength. Therefore, married women graduates always gained respect from others by coping with multiple responsibilities, which attached them the identities of role model teacher, devoted mother, and tolerant and supportive wife. Following quote exemplifies how women graduates gained dignity and power through capableness of multiple responsibilities:

> My husband was involved in politics and writing and he never showed interest to household or children related issues. I knew that he would not change. Therefore, I made sacrifice and took in charge of everything which did not weaken my position in the family or in the society instead, gave me strength and provided me dignity. People always admired my ability of handling motherhood, wifedom and teaching responsibilities together (Pervin-woman graduate).

Thus, women graduates' altruistic approach, their problem solving ability and coping skills within close relationships lead to "quasi-empowerment" rather than causing –utterly-disempowerment. However, empowerment performance of each woman graduate differed depending on other variables (personality, familial background, etc.) as well as their ability of utilizing VIs' educational attainments.

Divorced and single women graduates on the other hand, displayed stronger, viable and independent characteristics. However, it might be misleading to generalize their attitudes, as they were few in number. Yet still, their behavioral differences are worth mentioning. Divorcing ability-as well as the ability to stay single and not to remarry after husbands' death (for the generation of 1930s) - was the sign of empowerment, as it required courage and strength to resist against husband's opposition as well as the pressure of patriarchal and traditional society. Following quote exemplifies how few women graduates were empowered through divorce:

> Until I divorced, I suffered from my ex-husband's habit of drinking and gambling. He took my money and used violence although he graduated from the VIs. This education gave me the courage and confidence to finish my marriage. I never thought about marrying again as I could stand on my own feet through VIs's education (Huban-woman graduate)

Divorced and single women graduates gained dignity as successful teachers and strong women (and devoted mothers). Divorced women graduates, did not only display empowered personality, but also experienced high level of violence, jealousy, oppression, opposition and other ill treatment (stemming from drinking, gambling, cheating, etc.) from their ex-husbands which forced them divorce. The decision and implementation of divorce empowered them in relational level as well.

For the generation of 1930s, rather than divorce, continuation of marriage was a common practice. Therefore, majority of women graduates showed effort to endure their marriage. Self-sacrificing, undertaking multiple responsibilities and developing coping strategy against inhibiting behavior of husbands were the methods of enduring marriage, which made women graduates feel strong but at the same time limited their mobility and the level of empowerment within close relationships.

Summary-Empowerment within Close Relationship

According to Rowlands' model, empowerment in relationship depends on personal empowerment as well. In close relationship level, one needs to "develop the ability to negotiate and influence the nature of relationship and decisions made within it" (Rowlands, 1997: 15). However, achievement of-high level of- personal empowerment does not lead to the same level of empowerment within close relationships mainly due to the effect of multiple variables in relation to each other (e.g. strength of inhibiting factors, women's personality, spouses' character, influence of other family members, economic conditions, etc.)

According to the comments of the interviewees, VIs' educational constituents (encouraging factors) increased women graduates' awareness on equality and self-rights, encouraged interaction, participation, sharing, supporting, and established the habit of traveling. On the other hand, through VIs' education, women graduates gained self-respect as well as the respect of others. They developed the ability of decision-making, time managing and home economics, income management and economizing skills. They also gained the notion of freedom and mobility as well as the ability to communicate, negotiate, and defend themselves and their rights. Female teachers' private conversations (e.g. how to behave husbands, importance of respect in relationship, etc.) and gender specific courses (e.g. sewing, childcare, etc.) strengthened awareness on gender responsibilities which inhibited going out of gender roles to develop the sense of "self" in relationship sufficiently.

Overall, respondents' remarks indicated that, VIs education established a ground to build on. However, after graduation–depending on their own circumstances- women graduates faced with difficulties on utilizing / implementing these skills, values and abilities within family and close relationships. Research results indicated that, most of the time, marriage, its multiple responsibilities and spouses' inhibiting attitudes limited women graduates' empowerment within close relationships level.

Based on the interviewees' experiences, I argue that type of male-female relations (e.g. emphasis on sister / brother type of relations: sexless territory, taboos on male-female intimacy, etc.) and unpreventable influence of patriarchal pressure ("internalized patriarchy"), very likely, affected relational qualifications of both male and female graduates within close relationships level. Although women graduates experienced problems /conflicts within close relationships level, through VIs' contribution of problem solving and solution generating ability, coping skills and altruistic approach, majority of women graduates gained strength to overcome obstacles within close relationships and managed to continue their marriage for more than half century. On the other hand, few of the women graduates divorced and continued their life as single women who stood on their own feet and managed to overcome social pressure thus, empowered within close relationships.

Utilization of educational attainments, personality characteristics, coping ability and the other external factors influenced the degree of women's empowerment in each level. Therefore, each woman graduate experienced her own process of empowerment. However, among three dimensions of Rowlands' model, close relationship was the dimension where women graduates gained comparatively the lowest degree of

empowerment (in some cases even disempowerment). Nevertheless, by considering their generation (1930's), achievements (the point arrived at) and the efforts on handling their situation through VIs' attainments, I evaluated women graduates' situation in close relationships as "quasi-empowerment" rather than disempowerment.

Summary of Empowerment Analysis

Table 24. Summary of Empowerment Analysis

Core Values of Personal Empowerment	Indicators of Personal Empowerment	Core Values of Collective Empowerment	Indicators of Collective Empowerment	Core Values of Empowerment within Close Relationship	Indicators of Empowerment within Close Relationship (C.R.)
High PERSONAL EMPOWERMENT		Moderate / Low / Quasi Empowerment COLLECTIVE EMPOWERMENT		Low Quasi-Emp. / Disempowerment EMPOWERMENT WITHIN C.R	
• Self-confidence • Self-esteem / self-respect • Dignity • Sense of "agency" (through teaching identity) ◦ Sense of "self" (being able to move out of the gender roles)	• Ability to formulate and express ideas and opinions • Ability to participate in and influence new spaces • Ability to learn, analyze and act • Sense that things are possible • Ability to organize own time • Ability to obtain / control resources • Ability to interact outside the home	• Developing group identity ◦ Sense of collective agency • Group Dignity • Self organization and management	• Ability to negotiate with others (organizations, officials etc.) • Ability to organize around own needs • Recognition by outsiders and ability to generate external support • Ability to join and start new networks of organizations ◦ Ability to respond collectively to events outside group • Access to resources	• Ability to communicate • Ability to negotiate ◦ Ability to get support • Ability to defend self/rights • Sense of "self" in relationship • Dignity	• Self-respect and respect from others ◦ Capacity to make own choices • Control over time use ◦ Control over income ◦ Control over mobility ◦ Ability to attend meetings • Control over childbearing

Source: Rowlands, 1997: 116

According to Table 24, dark-colored features (attainments) represent the areas where women graduates gained strength through VIs' education, whereas others stand for less distinct aspects. Overall, VIs' education contributed its women graduates' personal empowerment by developing self-confidence, self-esteem / self-respect and dignity. It also provided the base for establishing sense of "agency" ("interacting with others and causing things to happen" (Rowlands, 1997)) by providing variety of personal skills, values and occupation ("teacher"). Although some of the courses (e.g. construction, soldiery, motor, etc.) and all of the activities were gender neutral, some other gender-based courses, conversations and attitudes indicated that VIs' education was not entirely free from the pressure of patriarchal society on gender roles in particular. As the reflection of this approach women graduates could not totally move out from traditional gender roles but gained the capacity to manage multiple roles. Overall, VIs' education and its differentiating characteristics contributed personal development of its women graduates and substantially empowered them in personal level prominently when compared to their previous status in the villages (high level of personal empowerment).

Although there was an interrelation between personal and collective dimensions high level of personal empowerment did not directly lead to the same level of collective empowerment as there were multiple variables (other people, social, cultural, traditional expectations and obstacles, etc.) which influenced and limited actualization of empowerment in collective (social) level. VIs' education prepared the ground for collective empowerment by developing self-organization and management skills, group identity and dignity. However, it could not sufficiently emphasize leadership roles for

the female students, which might be one of the factors influencing the development of "sense of collective agency" to a certain degree. On the other hand, marriage and multiple responsibilities (teaching, gender roles and relations) limited married women graduates' mobility outside home. Still-a certain extent-they were able to empower collectively (socially) with their "teacher" identity (due to the limited nature I call it as "quasi-empowerment" in collective/social level)

VIs' education enhanced ability to defend self/rights, to communicate and to negotiate, which were necessary but not sufficient for relational empowerment. Close relationship was the most problematic level as it concerned private sphere and other factors (spouses'/close family members' attitudes, gender roles, other responsibilities, personality, family, etc.). Marriage, double burden (teaching and gender responsibilities), the spouses' interference and opposition limited /or totally inhibited married women graduates' mobility and activity. Although they could not totally change husbands' behavior, they were able to influence the nature of relation through problem solving and solution generating ability, coping skills and altruistic approach and achieved "quasi-empowerment" (in some cases). Divorced women graduates managed to continue their life as single women. Married women graduates gained comparatively the lowest degree of empowerment / or disempowerment within close relationship. Divorced / widow / single ones empowered relatively more than married women. Overall, women graduates experienced low / quasi-empowerment or disempowerment within close relationships.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

Summary of Findings

By taking the case of Village Institutes' (VIs) foundational period (1940-1946) in Turkey, when the Turkish modernization project, women's emancipation and education were in the foreground of the political sphere, this research inquired into empowering impact of VIs' education on its women graduates. Under the guidance of Rowlands' theoretical framework and from the angle of interviewees' own perception, this qualitative study aimed to answer following questions: Did VIs' education contribute to its women graduates' empowerment process by challenging unequal gender roles conservative norms and pressure of 1940s patriarchal society, in rural Turkey. Did this education empower its women graduates in personal, collective and relational levels? In which levels VIs' educational attainment was sufficient to empower / in which level this education remained insufficient to empower these women graduates against the obstacles of patriarchal society?

Existing literature on the VIs lacks a discussion on its women graduates' experiences in relation to women's empowerment through education. Therefore, these unstudied questions motivated me to shed light on the gender dimension of education and empowerment by taking the case of VIs and by using Rowlands' qualitative model for measuring and analyzing empowerment in personal, collective and close relationship levels. In this context, I believe that, measuring the empowering impact of VIs'

education on its women graduates will be a contribution to the literature. On the other hand, as the Turkish modernization project overlapped with the foundational period of VIs (1940-46), sheding light on the experiences of VIs' women graduates was also important to show how modernization project was practiced via VIs' coed boarding public education in rural Turkey and how women's emancipation and education affected women graduates' daily lives in different dimensions.

There were limitations both in terms of the model and in tems of findings. Rowlands' model (1997) had some analytical limitations on differentiating the impact of previous experiences (e.g. personality traits, familial factors) and external interventions (e.g. social, political, economical and famillal factors) from the influence of VIs' education and reflecting the complex interactions/interrelations between three dimensions. On the other hand, the model provided a range of qualitative measures (core values, indicators, encouraging and inhibiting factors) for each dimension (personal, collective and within close relationships), which also served as a checklist to specify the essentials of empowerment and measure women's empowerment in each level qualitatively.

Along with the literature review, my research identified nature of society, nature of VIs, its education and contribution to its women graduates. Following the in-depth evaluation of the VIs' case, this thesis shed light on women's empowerment (empowerment analysis), which identified the inhibiting factors against women's empowerment as well as the empowerment of women graduates in personal, collective and relational levels.

The interviews revealed that the 1940s rural Turkey displayed conservative and patriarchal characteristics. In these conditions, the interviewees stated that concerns on chastity, need for work power of village girls, religious norms, traditional beliefs and values were barriers against females' education. As a solution to illiteracy and underdevelopment of rural Turkey, the idea of founding VIs emerged in 1937. VIs were legally established on April 17, 1940 (Law No.3803) as mixed, vocational, productive boarding schools, with the aim of educating rural youth to send them back to the villages as teachers to educate village people for the development of both rural Turkey and-consequently-the whole country. Founding aim of VIs also served the education policy of Turkish modernization project as the project gave special emphasis to education for social transformation and development. VIs were reshaped after 1946 and were turned into classical teacher training schools prior to being shut down in 1954 by Democrat Party government. During its lifecycle, there were twenty-one VIs in total. Although VIs provided the only education opportunity for village girls, religious and traditional norms together with the objection and pressure of patriarchal society restricted the number of female students in the VIs.

In order to increase the number of females, founding father İsmail Hakkı Tonguç and his colleagues made a great effort-including positive discrimination in favor of female students-during the acceptance and enrollment process of the VIs. The idea was to provide equal opportunity for female students. Tonguç believed that women's education was vital to achieve the rural revitalization and reconstruction aim of the VIs, which was also in parallel to the Republican modernization project. VIs implemented positive discrimination in favor of females during the enrollment process (Pektaş, 2001).

However, despite all efforts, number of female students could not reach above ten percent of the total students (see Table A in the Appendix). During its lifecycle, VIs raised many well-known intellectuals and authors (e.g. Mahmut Makal, Fakir Baykurt, Mehmet Başaran, Pakize Türkoğlu and many others). However in line with VIs' male / female distribution, vast majority of VI graduate authors were male graduates.

Research results indicated that VIs' education had differentiating aspects, which stemmed from its pedagogy, program, methods and the system. Student-centered and constructive pedagogy, rich curriculum, uncommon activities (e.g. critical weekend meetings, etc.), production based "learning by doing" and cooperation based "*imece*" methods and the VIs system (consisting of mixed, modern, secular, scientific and critical education; constructive discipline; democratic, egalitarian and autonomous approach in functioning and management), were pointed out as the differentiating aspects and components of VIs' education.

On the other hand, VIs' education came in for significant criticism both during its lifecycle and after its closure. These institutes were accused of "inculcating communism, socialism, and anti-Islamism"(Gök, 2011: 94), "cruel exploitation of the peasant students in the most difficult tasks and by making them endure the worst economic and social conditions" (Tahir, 1972) as well as "keeping the villagers in the village", "preventing their mobility and participation to workforce in cities" and for emphasizing "education" as the primary tool for social transformation and development (Başgöz, 1962: 9). Counter argument against education's transformative role was that "education by itself is not a sufficient tool to change social structure" (Başgöz, 1962: 9, 22 in Tonguç, 1970: 498).

My main argument was that, VIs' education provided its women graduates education opportunity (with coeducation system) and its educational tools contributed to their personal development by enhancing skills and capacity to make their decisions and to help others' development, which led to personal empowerment. However, VIs' empowering education was not enough by itself in challenging gender norms, patriarchal obstacles and pressure of society, which limited women graduates' collective empowerment and inhibited empowerment within close relationship level.

VIs' education was not free from societal pressure. Therefore, family-like relations, sisterhood / brotherhood discourse, asexual environment, strict control and restrictions on one to one male-female relationship (intimacy) were the precautions against patriarchal pressure. In fact, modernization literature showed that, this was the reflection of political ideology of the era. As subject matters of modernization project were defined according to women's body (Sirman, 2002), women's appearance in public sphere depended on displaying an "asexual" image mainly due to the conservative and patriarchal nature of society (Kandiyoti, 1995:315). Protection of women's sexuality was the honor of nation in the public sphere (Nagel, 1998:254-256). Therefore, patriarchal morality required modest and respectful attitude from women in the public sphere (Durakbaşa, 1998:147). All these restrictions and expectations related to females' appearance, attitudes and relations manifested a conflict between the discourse and the implication of gender equality both in the VIs and in the public sphere during the process of modernization and nation building. Despite the fact that Tonguç and his colleagues had gender equality ideal when establishing VIs, interviewees' experiencies

and observations indicated that, it remained at the level of discourse rather than gender equality in practice.

Based on experiences and the remarks of the interviewees, although VIs' coeducation and the system provided equal education opportunity to its female students, its education did not totally disregard gender roles within its process. In addition to the gender neutral work sharing (e.g. working in the construction, repairing motor together, etc.) and the new 'role model teacher' identity, gender roles continued to be emphasized (indirectly) via female teachers' conversations, gender-based vocational courses (e.g. sewing, cheese making, home-economics, etc.) and distribution of work (e.g. sewing male students' shirts, pajamas, etc.). This situation manifested that equal education opportunity (coeducation) did not-always-lead to gender-equality in practice.

Personal empowerment stood for "developing a sense of self, individual confidence and capacity and undoing the effects of internalized oppression" (Rowlands, 1997: 15). Although VIs' education could not disregard traditional gender roles totally, this education developed variety of skills, values, capacity, and reinforced confidence, enhanced personality and provided new status and occupation (teacher identity), which changed the lives of its women graduates. Hence, VIs' education contributed to women graduates' personal development. Ultimately, the personal changes achieved by the women graduates were quite noticeable which led to high level of personal empowerment.

Educational attainment, which contributed to personal empowerment, also affected empowerment in collective and close relationship levels due to the interrelation

between the three dimensions. However, empowerment in each level differed depending on the changing influence of multiple variables (e.g. inhibiting factors, personality traits, utility of educational attainment, coping ability in different conditions, etc.), which formed individuals' stance in different areas of life.

Collective empowerment in Rowlands' model came to mean organizing, working and acting collectively as a group to gain social, economic, and political power to achieve extensive change. However, in the case of VIs, collective empowerment meant; organizing, working and acting in society as an idealist role model individual (teacher) "change agent" rather than acting together as "collective agents". Therefore, in the case of VIs, "collective empowerment" stood for individuals' empowerment in social level.

Collective (social) empowerment differed from person to person depending on the utility of VIs' education in the areas of developing communication, cooperation, organization and leadership skills as well as coping skills against social, cultural, economical and familial obstacles. Personality traits (including the rooted patriarchal beliefs: "internalized patriarchy") and marital status influenced the intensity of collective empowerment as well.

Research results indicated that, women graduates' new "teacher" identity and economic contribution to family, neither reduced their traditional gender responsibilities (motherhood and wifedom) nor changed unequal work sharing within family, which (overall) limited women's mobility and collective action possibility outside home. Although VIs' education promoted active participation, cooperation and the teamwork,

due to these barriers, women graduates displayed realtively passive stance in collective (social) actions in society.

At a moderate / or limited level, with their 'teacher' identity, some of the women graduates achieved collective(social) empowerment by fulfilling the duty of reviving the villages through education, spreading Republican reforms via changing the clothing (appearance), enhancing skills/abilities and bringing civilization to the villages (e.g. water, electricity, roads, etc.). According to the remarks of the interviewees, some of the women graduates carried out education based activities and philanthropic organizations in a confined space (both in villages and in cities) as ideal, role model teachers rather than taking the lead to stir up the society as collective agents. Therefore, I defined their empowerment in collective (social) level as "quasi-empowerment" (to emphasize limited actualization of empowerment).

For empowerment within close relationships sufficient level of personal empowerment was necessary to develop communication and negotiation ability to influence and change the direction of close relationship and the decisions made within that relationship (Rowlands, 1997). Empowerment in close relationships (in private sphere) was not as visible as empowerment in other levels (in public sphere) (Rowlands, 1997).

Majority of the women graduates, in the sample, were married with VI graduates. Three of them were divorced (two from VI graduate husbands and one from an outsider). There was only one women graduate (higher VI graduate) who never got married. While few women graduates totally rejected to talk about close relationships,

others opened their private sphere and talked about their close relationships after establishing trust.

VIs' education enhanced self-advocacy, interaction, communication and negotiation skills, which were necessary for relational empowerment. However, beside the key barrier of patriarchal structure and its pressure, type of male-female relations in the VIs and the difference between the discourse and the implementation of gender equality might be among the factors which had a negative impact on women graduates' close relationships. As research material indicated, women graduates had difficulty in the areas of moving out of gender roles (sense of 'self'), making own choices (on familial issues), mobility, sociability and control over income. On the other hand, individual's own acquisitions and personal strength could not directly trigger empowerment within close relationships due to the influence of other variables.

Marriage and the spouses' (and close relatives') attitudes influenced women graduates' empowerment in all three dimensions but in close relationship level in particular. Majority of the married women graduates suffered from their spouses' envious, oppressive, inconsiderate and patriarchal attitudes, despite the fact that, large majority of the spouses availed themselves of the same democratic and egalitarian values (discourse) that VIs' education put emphasis on. Divorced women graduates evaluated this situation as the intolerance of males towards women's acceptance and success in public sphere.

Within close relationships, married women graduates took husbands' leading position as natural and they voluntarily gave the forefront to their spouses by displaying

thoughtful, tolerant and supportive wife and devoted mother image whereas in public sphere they exhibited modern, idealist, role model Republican women and respected teacher image.

Based on research findings, patient, tolerating and empathizing stance of women graduates in private sphere was the sign of their coping ability towards inhibiting / opposing attitudes and the patriarchal mindset of spouses rather than the weakness of women graduates (in most occasions). Women graduates developed their own way of negotiation with their spouses through VIs' conscious raising education. There were cases where women graduates stood against insulting attitudes of husbands (and mother in-laws). However, in most cases females could not change spouses' behavior but managed to handle them.

Overall, based on the interview material, I argued that, VIs' education taught its students the modern way of dressing, eating, reading, and living rather than modern, democratic and equal way of thinking and removing the impact of "internalized patriarchy". Although VIs' coed boarding education, in 1940s rural Turkey, was an extraordinary implementation, VIs, by itself, could not go further to challenge patriarchal structure and counter patriarchal pressure of society.

Divorced and single women graduates on the other hand, displayed more autonomous, independent and stronger characteristics. However, their gender roles (as a mother, divorced family head) and responsibilities continued. Having the courage for divorce and maintaining their lives as single women empowered them more than others. However, among the three dimensions, within close relationships, women graduates

experienced the lowest level of empowerment / disempowerment in most of the cases and quasi-empowerment in some cases.

However, strength in personal dimension could not directly trigger collective and relational empowerment due to the multiple variables and complex interaction among them. Insufficient leadership skills, marriage, continuation of gender responsibilities, additional "teaching" role and spouse's patriarchal attitude / opposition limited women graduates mobility and activity in public sphere. Through the "role model teacher" identity women graduates gained respectful status in society. Due to the limitations and inhibiting factors they were able to achieve "quasi- empowerment" (limited) in collective (social) level. On the other hand, empowerment within close relationships was the most problematic area mainly due to the inhibiting influence of patriarchal pressure within the family. The VIs did not challenge this patriarchy to a great extent as the contradictions and unintended consequences outlined in the remainder of this section reveals.

Research material, based on respondents' own perception and articulation of experiences, provided a variety of examples that revealed there were some contradictions between the discourse and the implementation of equality. Although, the VIs implemented mixed sex (co)education and defended egalitarian principles, interviewees' experiences identified that VIs' education encouraged sexless environment and implemented strict discipline against male-female intimacy (e.g. expelling female students from school as a way of discipline for chastity reasons, when they were seen with male students as couples). According to the respondents' remarks VIs' education also brought restrictions on females' external appearance (e.g. obligation of short

haircut, prohibition of beauty related applications, etc.) and applied protective and cherishing attitude towards female students, although these implications based on good intention.

While the women graduates frequently emphasized how they were all equal brothers and sisters to point out equality principle of VIs' education, some of their experiences also reflected the contradictions between the discourse and the implication of gender equality in practice. For instance, they emphasized how they washed their own laundry while the lounderer washed male students' dirty clothes. They also pointed out-with pride - how they sewed all the shirts, pyjamas and underwears of male students beside their own clothes. When going outside of the VIs, male students behaved like the patriarchal protectors of the female students as if females were unable to protect themselves. They also underlined female teachers' and the managements' protective attitude towards them and female teachers' private conversations with them on gender roles / duties (including showing respect to future husbands) as well as the necessities of modern lifestyle. Although women graduates took this kind of behavior as natural and they developed justification for each implementation to protect VIs against any criticism, still these practices were conflicting with the egalitarian and gender-neutral principles of the VIs.

On the other hand, while all the women graduates put special emphasis on sister / brother type of relations to underline the egalitarian and democratic principles of VIs system, majority of them were married with these (brother like) male graduates. As a justification, they stressed on commonalities as they shared not only the same (egalitarian) education but also the mutual fate with the hope to get along well. After

graduation, despite some of the females were chosen by the VI teachers for higher education, future husbands' (some of them were VIs' male students and some others were VI teachers) opposition, jealousy and inhibiton changed the direction of their lives. Therefore, limited number of women graduates received higher education in Hasanoğlan VI (and Çapa Eğitim Fakültesi later on). Starting from the graduation year female students learned to make sacrifice.

Despite, male-female relationship was almost taboo during education periods in the year of graduation managers verbalized (and encouraged in some cases) it under the condition of marriage to send them as married couples (family model) to the villages for the common good. The Interviewees' remarks indicated that, the experienced contradictions between the discourse and the implementation of equality (during VIs' education), reflected VI graduates' lives and influenced their (both females and males) attitudes, relations and stance in life after graduation and marriage. Almost all the married women graduates suffered from their husbands' unequal treatment (including dominance / authoritative attitude, opposion, jealousy (and even violence)). Divorced minority (only three of the women graduates) also saw similar treatment from their spouses and managed to divorce to change their undesired circumstances. The ones who lost their husbands earlier or the ones who divorced, experienced freedom and autonomy more than the married women graduates although these were the important aspects of VIs' education.

Another contradiction was the difference between the image the women graduates displayed in the public sphere and the reality they experienced in the private sphere. While they exhibited ideal teacher image and happy family portrait in the public sphere,

they developed coping methods of tolerance, patience and silence to deal with husbands' jealousy, opposition, inhibition (and drinking, gambling or even violence rarely in few cases) within family by benefiting from the problem solving ability that VIs education taught them. Although VIs' education developed their self-expressing, criticizing and self-advocacy skills, it could not remove the teachings of childhood and the norms of patriarchal society (e.g. giving husband primacy, showing respect to husband, not talking back to husband, not going ahead of husband, etc.), which had an impact on their toleration, patience and silence against husbands' inhibiting behavior. Women graduates also discovered and improved their talents through VIs' education. Although some of them were as good as their author husbands they sacrificed from writing and instead gave primacy to their spouses.

In terms of unintended consequences, VIs' foundational aim of placing the VIs' graduates as village teachers-for twenty years- failed due to the political developments following the transition from single-party to multi-party period- after Democrat Party's election victory- which changed VI graduates' "imagined lifestyle" and the mission of "revitalizing rural Turkey" by educating villagers. After graduating from VIs, women graduates worked as village teachers together with their husbands and tried to implement the learnings of VI education as much as possible. The ones who were not married immediately after graduation went to the villages with senior members of their families to fulfill their teaching duty. However, political instabilities influenced their working conditions in the villages. When their children needed secondary school education, they moved to cities for the education of their own children.

Changing political conditions also influenced other peoples' attitudes towards women graduates. Due to the critics and accusations towards VIs, teachers from regular teacher-training schools, looked down on women graduates of VIs and criticized them for having limited knowledge and for being communists. There were cases where women graduates missed opportunities like scholaraships, occupational positions, etc., stemming from their VI graduate identity.

Although city conditions provided women graduates new opportunities for development and empowerment, spouses' jealousy and opposition inhibited their improvement opportunities in general. However, few women graduates stood against their husbands' opposition and continued their higher education. Some others, on the other hand, contributed to others' development in the public sphere through their teacher identity by organizing literacy courses, philanthropic activities, etc. In general, women graduates gained mobility and got respect from others through their teacher identity.

Women's empowerment required development of consciousness to be aware of own circumstances, to control one's own life, including the ability to make decisions, to gain mobility, to act, to react and influence decisions of others. Through VIs' education, women graduates gained useful knowledge, variety of skills, abilities and values within work, which in total provided them with occupation, developed their personality by enhancing consciousness, self-confidence, self-esteem, decision making ability, determination to succeed and self-advocacy. Although VIs' education transformed women graduates' life chances as well as their families, it could not remove the impact of patriarchal value judgements and the pressure of patriarchal society, which remained

in (both women and male graduates') minds as "internalized patriarchy" and limited women's freedom, autonomy and mobility both in public and private spheres.

Implications of Findings

In terms of "power"-as the root concept of empowerment- VIs' education, established "power-from-within" which emphasized consciousness that women graduates developed to understand and challenge inequality in their family, community and rural Turkey. This was in line with Freire's approach to education as a means for conscious generation and challenging social inequality (Freire, 1973). Women graduates gained self-awareness, self-confidence and self-esteem via VIs' education, which met the requirements of "power-from-within" as Rowlands and Oxaal and Baden defined (Rowlands, 1997:13; Oxaal and Baden, 1997:3). They also gained "power-to" by developing decision-making, implementing and problem solving abilities, which was in line with Kabeer's approach to gender empowerment (Kabeer, 2001: 21).

In line with VIs' foundational aims, female students graduated as full equipped responsible, self managed, problem solver and creative individuals with occupation and economic freedom which were in line with the educational policy of Turkish modernization project and the discourse of political ideology. In other words, VIs experience displayed how Turkish modernization project was practiced through women's emancipation and participation to education in rural Turkey. However, as pointed out by the interviewees, VIs education could not sufficiently emphasize equal

roles and equal leadership identity for female students, which contrasted with egalitarian discourse of both VIs and the modernization project.

Within the boarders of the VIs, its education also provided "power-with" (group power) to female students via cooperation and solidarity based methods, as well as participation oriented functioning. However, in contrast to feminists' approach to empowerment, VIs' education could not inspire women graduates for political action to challenge men's domination- "'power-over' to people and resources" - in both private and public spheres (Shirin, 2007: 5, 6). Instead, as the reseach material indicated, this education strengthened male graduates' collective action capacity as well as "power-over" ability much more than females.

VIs' student-centered education and its peculiar features corresponded to the educational approach of Dewey, Freire, Shor and many other advocators of progressive / critical / empowering education when compared to teacher-centered, authoritarian traditional education, which promoted obedience, restrictions, memorizing, and passive learning Freire, 1991: 47 in Gümüşoğlu, 2012: 16; Shor, 1992:17). VIs' experience proved that the nature of education played significant role on personal development and personal empowerment of its female students.

Although VIs' empowering education strengthened women graduates in personal level, by itself it was not enough to change the impact of social, economical, political and familial obstacles and directly empower its women graduates in collective and close relationship levels, mainly due to the complex nature of empowerment process. As Page, Czuba, Peterson, Lowe, Aquilino & Schnider also emphasized, empowerment is multi-

dimensional, multi-level and dynamic social process and occurs in relation to others. It requires education, which enhances knowledge and skills for physical and intellectual development (Page and Czuba, 1999; Peterson, Lowe, Aquilino & Schnider, 2005 in Hyung Hur, 2006: 524). Although education was essential, it was not sufficient to achieve complex and multi dimensional process of empowerment, in collective and relational levels in particular.

Research results indicated that women's disempowerment related to patriarchal structure and barriers stemming from conservative norms, beliefs, traditional culture of religion and unjust gender roles, which were in line with feminists' view and Rowlands' approach to patriarchy. They saw inequal social structure of patriarchy (unbalanced power relations) and patriarchal control over women as an obstacle against women's empowerment (Kamarae, 1992; Rowlands, 1997; Stacey, 1993). Empowerment of women, on the other hand required positive change (transformation) in women's circumstances including gaining rights, education opportunity, skills, knowledge and capabilities, which played central role in modernization and nation building processes as well. In other words, gaining power necessitated social transformation (Wolf, 1999:4-8).

VIs' education transformed village girls into self-confident, full skilled and self-sufficient women graduates with new "teacher" identity. They displayed hardworking, productive, honorable, asexual comrade (idealist teacher) image in society. However, VIs' education did not divert its female students from traditionally assigned gender roles, could not remove the effects of patriarchal pressure ("internalized patriarchy") and could not change patriarchal mindset. Women graduates exhibited self-sacrificing, modest and compassionate mother and wife image within close relationships which were

in line with the image of ideal Turkish women of 1930s and 1940s as emphasized in modernization and nation building literature (Arat, 1994; Kadıoğlu, 1998, Toska, 1998).

Feminists' concern of "internalized oppression" and its role in keeping gender inequality (Shirin, 2007: 12) was partially solved (mostly in personal level and rarely in collective level) through VIs' skill building, critical education tools, equal education opportunity (coeducation), democratic and egalitarian discourse as well as the new "role model teacher" identity. However, prevailing patriarchal structure and gender norms of society restricted / inhibited women graduates' empowerment process in general but within close relationships in particular.

As Levine emphasized, education of females does not only contribute to individual's transformation but also has the potential of transforming their future families, and the society in which they live (Levine, 2006). Women graduates' VI experience was in line with Levine's argument in terms of education's contribution to themselves as well as to their children's (and even grand children's) lives. However, changing patriarchal structure and mentality of society is a difficult task to be fulfilled only through females' education.

On the other hand, the son of VIs' founder, who was one of the interviewees, emphasized that if the VIs would continue without undergoing radical changes (as in the foundational period of 1940-46), Tonguç had plans of increasing the number of female students substantially, implementing in-service training as well as continuous control, follow-up and enhancement in different areas of life. Overall, interviewees' experiences and remarks also showed that, empowerment in collective (social) and close relationship

levels depended on interrelated and interacting multiple variables including consistency and support of political ideology, continuity in education after graduation and sufficient timing to make necessary revisions as well as personality traits, social, economical, political and famillial factors as well as VIs' empowering education.

Interviewees' experiences and remarks identified that, patriarchal mindset of males and the teachings of childhood did not evenly change in parallel to the level of education. Therefore, the patriarchal structure continued to prevail in the private sphere. Research findings were in line with the modernization literature as both indicated that women's recognition in public sphere did not significantly influence male-female relationship in the private sphere (Durakbaşa, 1998). On the other hand, VIs experience displayed how modernization project was practiced through women's inclusion into education and how student-centered, critical, empowering education contributed to women's personal empowerment in rural Turkey.

Despite all, in six years (foundational-original- period of 1940-1946, which this thesis was concentrated on), VIs implemented an empowering education (to a large extent) which had a major impact on personal empowerment. Through VIs' education and its differentiating features, those village girls transformed into well-equipped self-sufficient, confident individuals with strong personality and occupation who could stand on their own feet and contribute others' development and change as well.

However, existing patriarchal structure, its pressure as well as traditionally emphasized norms and gender responsibilites limited /or completely inhibited women graduates' empowerment in collective and relational dimensions. VIs' education was not

enough, by itself, for challenging the inhibiting influence of patriarchal society and promoting women's empowerment in collective and relational levels (in particular). As emphasized by all the respondents, its lifecycle (1940-1954) was too short, patriarchal pressure was too strong and political conditions were unstable for making necessary enhancements.

APPENDIX

Tables

Table A. Number of Students According to Gender and Educational Terms & Graduates

Table B. Sample Daily Course Plan

Table C. Weekly Education Program of the Village Institutes

Interview Schedules

A. Interview Schedule: Female Version

B. Interview Schedule: Male Version

C. Interview Schedule: Teacher Version -VI Teacher

D. Interview Schedule: Expert Version-Academists

Tables

Table A. Number of Students According to Gender and Educational Terms & Graduates

EDUCATIONAL TERMS YEAR	NUMBER OF MALE STUDENTS	NUMBER OF FEMALE STUDENTS	TOTAL STUDENTS
1937-1938	128 (%100)	-	128
1938-1939	325 (%95)	16 (%5)	341
1939-1940	1.074 (%91)	107 (%9)	1.181
1940-1941	4.933 (%92)	438 (%8)	5.371
1941-1942	6.987 (%91)	705 (%9)	7.692
1942-1943	8.834 (%91)	837 (%8)	9.671
1943-1944	11.563 (%90)	1.276 (%10)	12.839
1944-1945	12.761 (%90)	1.475 (%10)	14.236
1945-1946	13.068 (%90)	1.396 (%10)	14.464
1946-1947	12.822 (%91)	1.336 (%9)	14.158
1947-1948	11.814 (%92)	1.078 (% 8)	12.892
1948-1949	11.244 (%93)	773 (%7)	12.017
1949-1950	13.251 (%95)	721 (%5)	13.972
1950-1951	13.322 (%95)	773 (%5)	14.095
1951-1952	12.647 (%96)	706 (%4)	13.353
TOTAL	**134.773 (% 92)**	**11.637 (% 8)**	**146.410**
VILLAGE INSTITUTE GRADUATES	**WOMEN GRADUATE**	**MALE GRADUATE**	**TOTAL GRADUATE**
TEACHER	1.398	15.943	**17.341**
EDUCATOR	29	8.646	**8.675**
TOTAL	**1.427**	**24.589**	**26.016**

Source: Niyazi Altunya, 2010 Köy Enstitüsü Sistemine Toplu Bakış, p.244 and Şevket Gedikoğlu.1971.Evreler, Getirdikleri ve Yankılarıyla Köy Enstitüleri p.231

Table B. Sample Daily Course Plan

DAILY COURSES
IN THE MORNING
Waking-up, cleaning and ordering the bed
Gymnastic
Breakfast
Getting together
Opinions and Comments
Courses
Work
Lunch
AFTERNOON
Choir and Orchestra
Getting together
Courses
Work
Dinner
Folk Dance and Sport
Break
Free Reading
Break
Opinions and Comments
Cleaning and Getting ready for the bed
Sleeping

Source: Süleyman Edip Balkır, 1971 Dipten Gelen Ses: Arifiye Köy Enstitüsü: 1940-41.Istanbul: Hür Yayınevi

Table C. Weekly Education Program of the Village Institutes

Class Name	Hours
A-GENERAL STUDIES	22
Turkish History Geography Citizenship Mathematics Physics Chemistry Health Education Foreign Language Handwriting Painting Physical Education Music	
B-AGRICULTURAL STUDIES Farming Gardening Industrial Farming Animal Breeding Poultry Honey Bee Science Fishery	11
C- ARTISAN STUDIES (MALE STUDENTS) (ONE OF THE FOLLOWING)	11
(i) Ironworking (ii) Woodworking (iii) Construction	
C- ARTISAN STUDIES (FEMALE STUDENTS) (ONE OF THE FOLLOWING)	11
(i) Needlework (ii) Weaving and Textile (iii) Agricultural Studies	

Source: State of Education, 1943. "The Village Institute education program" in Şimşek, 2006:7

Interview Schedules

A. Interview Schedule: Female Version (60-90 minutes)

Merhaba,
Benim ismim Çiğdem..... Size telefonda bahsettiğim gibi master tezim için bir araştırma yapıyorum. Bana vakit ayırıp beni evinize kabul ettiğiniz için size çok teşekkür ederim. Sizi kısaca tanımak istiyorum.(demografik bilgiler de yer alan sorular doldurulacak-syf:3)

I-Genel tanisma (10 dakika) :

Arastirmacinin kisaca kendini tanitmasindan sonra gorusulen kisinin kendisini tanıtması (yas /meslek / medeni durum / mezun oldugu koy enstitusunun adi & yeri / baslangıç ve mezuniyet yılı / kaç kişi vardı? kaçı kadındı?

II-Koy Enstitulerindeki Egitim Hakkinda Genel Bilgiler (15 -20 dakika):

Bu gün konumuz Köy Enstitüleri . Öncelikle, Köy Enstitülerinden mezun bir Türk Kadını olarak Koy enstitulerinden bahsedip orada aldığınız eğitimi değerlendirmenizi rica edeceğim.

* Egitim gördüğünüz Koy Enstitusu nasil bir yerdi (mekan & imkanlar & ortam& kapasite & +/- leri nelerdi ?) Kısaca bahsedebilir misiniz?
* Bu eğitime başlamadan önce nasıl bir beklentiniz vardi ? (Ne umdunuz?)
* Sınıflar kac kişilikti? kadın / erkek dagilimi nasildi?
* Gunluk egitim ne kadar suruyordu ?(Teorik / pratik dersler)
* Hangi dersleri aldiniz ? hepsi zorunlu muydu secme imkanı var miydi? Cinsiyete göre farklılaşan dersler var mıydı?(Kız / erkek dersleri / ortak dersler)
* Kız öğrenciler erkek derslerine katılmak isterlerse ne olurdu? Ya da tam tersi?
* Kız öğrencilere ozel dersler var miydi? nelerdi? nasıl ögretiliyordu?
* Size farklı gelen dersler var mıydı? En sevdiğiniz dersler hangileriydi ?
* Ne tür derslerin size katkısı fazla oldu ? hangi yonuyle?

III- Koy Enstitulerindeki Egitimin algılanan katkıları (25-30 dakika):

Şimdi de okuduğunuz Koy Enstitüsünde aldığınız egitimin size katkısı üzerinde duracak olursak:
* Bu egitim size neler kazandırdı? Neler kattı? Nasıl bir katkısı oldu?
-Bu eğitime başlarken (biraz önce belirttiğiniz) baştaki beklentilerinizi karşıladı mı?(ne umdunuz ne buldunuz?)
-Hangi yönleriyle karşıladı ? hangi yönleriyle karşılamadı?
* Köy enstitusu eğitimi almış olmak / mezunu olmak hayatınızı nasıl etkiledi? Hayatınızı değiştirdi mi? Hangi yönleriyle ? hangi alanlarda ? nasıl? (bu eğitim hayatınızı nasıl değiştirdi?)
* Köy enstitusu eğitimi almasaydınız / mezunu olmasaydınız hayatınız nasıl olurdu ? hangi yönlerden farklı olurdu? Hangi yönlerden aynı olurdu? (FARK YARATAN KATKILAR)
Kadın olarak Köy enstitusu eğitimi alıp köy enstitüsünden mezunu olmasaydınız / eğitim almasaydınız kisilik olarak , is yasaminda, aile yasaminda veya sosyal iliskilerde nasil bir fark olurdu hayatinizda ?
* Koy enstitulerinin-kadın mezun olarak- size en buyuk katkısı ne oldu ? size en buyuk katkısı hangi yönde ?

-Kendinizde en çok farkettiginiz degisim / gelisim hangi yonde oldu?
-kişilik olarak .....kişiliğinizi nasıl etkiledi? Neler kattı ? neler değiştirdi?köy enstitüsü eğitimi kşiliğinizde ne tür değişikliklere yol açtı?
-iş yaşamında.....iş/ekonomik yaşamda sizi nasıl etkiledi?(çalışma/gelirini kullanma)
-Aile yaşamında yaşamında sizi nasıl etkiledi?(ailenin oturacağı yer / ailesiyle görüşme / çocukların eğitimi/ giyim şekli/...vb konusunda söz sahibi olma)
-ailenin oturacağı yere kim karar verdi?
-kendi ailenizle görüşme konusunda eşinizin tutumu / tavrı nasıldı?
-Aile ilişkilerinde ne tür kararları özgürce verdiniz ne tür kararlarda eşinize sorma ve izin alma ihtiyacı hissettiniz?
-Siz çocuklarınızı yetiştirirken ne kadar özgürdünüz? Örneğin çocuklarınız bir izin gerekse size sorar mıydı? Izin mercii kimdi? (kız / erkek çocuğa yönelik tutumlarınız farklı mıydı?)
Bu tür ailevi konularda köy enstitüsü eğitimi almış olmak sizi nasıl etkiledi?
-sosyal ilişkilerde.....sosyal yaşamda sizi nasıl etkiledi? (arkadaş seçimi/aktiviteler...)
-ikili / özel (eş-karı koca) ilişkilerinde..eşinizle ilişkilerinizi nasıl etkiledi?(kararları özgürce alma/ baskı / karışma- müdahale/ çocuk sayısı/....)
-eşiniz (ya da ailesi) çalışmanıza karıştı mı? Çalışmamamızı evde oturmanızı istedi mi?
-eşiniz maaşınız / kazandığınız para konusunda nasıl bir tutum sergiledi? Kontrol kimdeydi?
-çocuk sahibi olma-çocuk sayısı (ve gereken doğum kontrolü) konusunda kararı kim verdi?
-seçim zamanı kime oy verileceği konusunda kim karar verirdi? Görüşleriniz farklı olur muydu?
-sizin bir derneğe ya da gruba üye olmanız ..vb konularda eşiniz nasıl bir tutum sergiledi?
-sizin nasıl giyineceğiniz/ etek boyu..vb konusunda eşinizin bir müdahelesi oldu mu?
-eşiniz (ya da ilesi) dini ibadetinize..vb karıştı mı?
-eşiniz (ya da ailesi) sizin kimlerle arkadaşlık edeceğinize karıştı mı?
Peki bütün bunlara sizin tutumunuz ve tavrınız nasıl oldu?
Bu tür konularda köy enstitüsü eğitimi almış olmak size ne fayda sağladı?
*Köy Enstitülerinde eğitim görme ve mezun olma konusuna kadın ya da erkek olmak sizce bir fark yaratır mı? Evet ise Nasıl? Hangi yönlerden farklı?(Acaba cinsiyete gore farklı bir tavır /anlayış var mıydı? sorusuna bir yanıt almak icin)
* Kadın olarak Köy enstitusunde eğitim almanız /mezunu olmanız dışarıdan nasıl algılandı?(aileniz / akrabalar / konu komşu)
Başkaları sizin köy enstitüsü mezunu olmanız hakkında neler düşündü? Ne hissetti? Ne söyledi?
* Kadın olarak Koy enstitulerinin katkısı olmadıgı / zayıf kaldıgı konular, alanlar oldu mu ? hangi alanlarda ? nelerdi? kadınlar acısından gelismesi gereken yonleri var mıyıdı ? nelerdi?

IV- Koy Enstitulerindeki Egitim Sonrası Hayat (15-20 dakika):

*.....Köy Enstitüsünden.....yılında mezun olduktan sonra neler yaptınız? Bir kadın mezun olarak hayatınızda neler oldu? (iş / aile / sosyal hayat/ özel hayat....)
*Köy enstitüsünden eğitim almış / mezun bir kadın olarak; HAYATINIZI GÖZÜNÜZDE CANLANDIRDIĞINIZDA
-İs hayatı: Çalıştınız mı? Nerede? Ne kadar zaman ? ne tür görevlerde?
-Aile Hayatı: Ailenizin tepkisi, katkısı.... nasıl oldu?Aileniz sizde bir değişim gördü mü;? Nasıl bir değişim? Sizin ailenize yaklaşımınız değişti mi?
-Sosyal hayat / Sosyal aktiviteler: Sosyal hayatta neler yaptınız? Ne tür roller üstlendiniz? Sosyal çevreniz sizde bir değişim gördü mü;? Nasıl bir değişim?
-Özel hayat :İkili ilşkilerde/kendi ailenizi kurma yolunda bu gitimin bir katkısı oldu mu? Nasil?
-Iletişim & İlişkiler: Eşiniz / çocuklarınız / torunlarınız / aile ve arkadaş çevreniz

B. Interview Schedule: Male Version (60-90 minutes)

Merhaba,
Benim ismim Çiğdem..... Size telefonda bahsettiğim gibi master tezim için bir araştırma yapıyorum. Bana vakit ayırıp beni evinize kabul ettiğiniz için size çok teşekkür ederim. Sizi kısaca tanımak istiyorum.(demografik bilgiler de yer alan sorular doldurulacak-syf:4)

I-Genel tanisma (10 dakika):

Arastirmacinin kisaca kendini tanitmasindan sonra gorusulen kisinin kendisini tanitmasi (yas /meslek / medeni durum / mezun oldugu koy enstitusunun adi & yeri / baslangic & mezuniyet yili –toplam kaç yıl eğitim aldınız/ Egitim gördüğünüz Koy Enstitusune gittiğinizde kaç yaşındaydınız? / kac kisi vardi? kaci kadindi?

II-Koy Enstitulerindeki Egitim Hakkinda Genel Bilgiler (15 -20 dakika):

Bu gün konumuz Köy Enstitüleri . İlk olarak, Köy Enstitülerinde eğitim almış bir köy enstitüsü mezunu olarak Koy enstitulerinden bahsedip orada aldığınız eğitimi değerlendirmenizi rica edeceğim.

* Egitim gördüğünüz Koy Enstitusu nasil bir yerdi (mekan & imkanlar & ortam& kapasite & +/- leri nelerdi ?) Kısaca bahsedebilir misiniz?
* Sınıflar kac kişilikti? Kaç kız kaç erkek vardı? (sizce kızlarin sayısı niye bu kadar azdı? Gelen kız öğrenciler nasıl / ne şartlardan gelmişlerdi? kızlarla ilgili genel bilgisi)
*Sizce ne tür derslerin size katkisi fazla oldu ? hangi yonuyle?
*Ne tür tutum ve yaklaşımların size katkisi fazla oldu ?
*Bu eğitime başlamadan önce nasıl bir beklentiniz vardi ? (Ne umdunuz?)
*Siz o günkü Türkiye koşullarında kız öğrencilerin de karma, yatılı eğitimden yararlanması fikrine nasıl bakıyordunuz? (Kız öğrencilerle aynı okulda, aynı sınıflarda eğitim görmek nasıldı?)
* Hangi konularda egitim veriliyordu, günlük eğitim ne kadar sürüyordu? (hangi dersleri aldiniz ?) hepsi zorunlu muydu secme imkani var miydi? Kız-erkek dersleri ayrı mıydı? Ortak dersler &kız-erkek ayrılan dersler hangileriydi?
*Dersler işlenirken öğretmenlerin kız / erkek öğrencilere yönelik tutum ve davranışları farklılık gösteriyor muydu?
*Peki İsmail Hakkı Tonguç'un ve diğer yöneticilerin kız öğrencilere yönelik yaklaşımları nasıldı? Farklı hedefler gözetilmiş miydi? Beklentileri ?...(kız /erkek farklı yaklaşım ve uygulama hissettiniz mi?/deneyimlediniz mi?)
* Sadece kız öğrencilere / sadece erkek öğrencilere ozel dersler var miydi? nelerdi? (fark var dediyse sizce bu farkın nedenleri nelerdi?)
*Ne tür derslerin kız arkadaşlarınıza daha fazla katkısı oldu?
*Ne tür tutum ve yaklaşımların kız arkadaşlarınıza katkısı fazla oldu ?

III- Koy Enstitulerindeki Egitimin algılanan katkıları (25-30 dakika):

Şimdi de .....Koy Enstitüsünde aldığınız egitimin size katkısı üzerinde duracak olursak:

Kişinin kazanımlarını sadece eğitim aldığı kuruma bağlamak doğru olmayabilir. Aileden, çevreden gelen ya da genetik olarak sahip olunan özellikler de gelişimde etkilidir ancak ben sizden Köy enstitüsü eğitiminin katkısının bulunduğu alanları ve özellikleri ayrıştırmanızı rica

ediyorum. (Şu vasıfları bana köy enstitüsü eğitimi kazandırdı diyebileceğiniz özellikleri ortaya çıkartmak istiyorum)

ERKEK ICIN (cok kısacas-Önemli olan kız öğrencilerle ilgili bölüm)

* Bu egitim size neler kazandırdı? Neler kattı?
  -kişilik/kişisel olarak kazandırdığı özellikler.....
  -sosyal ilişkilerde / toplum ilişkilerinde kazandırdığı özellikler .....
  -iş yaşamında kazandırdığı özellikler.....
  -aile yaşamında kazandırdığı özellikler.....
  -ikili ilşkilerde(karı-koca ilişkisinde) kazandırdığı özellikler.....

-Bu eğitim beklentilerinizi karşıladı mı?(ne umdunuz ne buldunuz?) Hangi yönleriyle karşıladı ? hangi yönleriyle karşılamadı?

* Köy enstitusu eğitimi almış olmak / mezunu olmak hayatınızı nasıl etkiledi? Hayatınızı değiştirdi mi? Hangi yönleriyle ? hangi alanlarda ? nasıl?

* Köy enstitusu eğitimi almasaydınız / mezunu olmasaydınız hayatınız nasıl olurdu ? hangi yönlerden farklı olurdu? Hangi yönlerden aynı olurdu? (FARK YARATAN KATKILAR)

* Koy enstitulerinin size en buyuk katkısı ne oldu ? hangi yönde ?

*Kız öğrencilerle erkek öğrencilerin kazanımı, değişimi ve gelişimi aynı düzeyde miydi? Köy enstitülü bir erkek öğrenci olarak sizin bu konudaki görüşünüzü öğrenmek istiyorum.

*Köy Enstitülerinde eğitim görme ve mezun olma konusuna kadın ya da erkek olmak sizce bir fark yarattı mı? Evet ise Nasıl? Hangi yönlerden farklı?(Acaba cinsiyete gore farkli bir tavir /anlayis var miydi?)

ŞİMDİ DE KÖY ENSTİTÜSÜNDEKİ KIZ ÖĞRENCİLERİ / KIZ ARKADAŞLARINIZI DÜŞÜNEREK BU SORULARI YANITLAMANIZI RİCA EDİYORUM:

KIZ İÇİN

*Sizce Köy enstitüsü eğitimi kız öğrencilerin yaşamını nasıl etkiledi? (okuldayken ve mezuniyet sonrası görüşmelerinizde fark ettiğiniz –gözlemleyebildiğiniz değişimleri paylaşaşabilir misiniz?)

-Kız öğrencilerde / arkadaşlarınızda en çok farkettiginiz degisim / gelisim hangi yonde/ yönlerde oldu?
  -kişilik olarak /kişisel olarak kazandırdığı özellikler.....
  -sosyal ilişkilerde / toplum içindeki ilişkilerde kazandırdığı özellikler .....
  -iş yaşamında kazandırdığı özellikler.....
  -aile yaşamında kazandırdığı özellikler.....
  -ikili ilşkilerde(karı-koca ilişkisinde) kazandırdığı özellikler.....
  (fazla şahsi olacağı için buna yanit veremeyebilir)

* Sizce Kız öğrencilerin köy enstitülerinde eğitim almış olmaları dışarıdan nasıl algılandı? (aileniz / akrabalar / konu komşu)

*Başkaları sizin köy enstitüsü mezunu olmanız hakkında neler düşündü? Ne hissetti? Ne söyledi?

*Koy enstitulerinin size (ve kız öğrencilere) katkısı olmadıgı / zayıf kaldıgı konular, alanlar oldu mu?(kisilik olarak , is yasaminda, aile yasaminda veya sosyal iliskiler gibi alanların herhangi birinde ya da bir kaçında katkısı olmadığını / zayıf kaldığını düşündünüz mü?)
*Köy Enstitüleri devam etseydi gelismesi gereken yonleri var mıyıdı ? nelerdi?

IV- Koy Enstitulerindeki Egitim Sonrası Hayat (15-20 dakika):

(Bu bölümde önemli olan erkek mezunların kendi deneyimlerinden çok kadın mezunlar hakkındaki görüşlerini almak ve bunu kendi deneyimlerini de paylaşırken anlatmalarını sağlamak)

*.....Köy Enstitüsünden .....yılında mezun olduktan sonra neler yaptınız?
(iş / aile / sosyal hayat....) (eğer eşi köy enstitüsü mezunu ise ona yönelik sorulacak)

*Köy enstitüsünden eğitim almış biri olarak;

-İs hayatı: Çalıştınız mı? Nerede? Ne kadar zaman ? ne tür görevlerde?

-Aile Hayatı: Ailenizin tepkisi, katkısı.... nasıl oldu?Aileniz sizde bir değişim gördü mü;? Nasıl bir değişim? Sizin ailenize yaklaşımınız değişti mi?

-Sosyal hayat / Sosyal aktiviteler: Sosyal hayatta neler yaptınız? Ne tür roller üstlendiniz? Sosyal çevreniz sizde bir değişim gördü mü;? Nasıl bir değişim?

-Özel hayat :İkili ilşkilerde/kendi ailenizi kurma yolunda bu gitimin bir katkısı oldu mu? Nasil?
-Iletişim & İlişkiler: Eşiniz / çocuklarınız / torunlarınız / aile ve arkadaş çevreniz

*Köy enstitülü arkadaşlarınızla görüştünüz mü;? Görüşüyor musunuz? Kız arkadaşlarınızla ?

*.....Köy Enstitüsünden .....yılında mezun olduktan sonra (eşi köy enstitülü ise onun yanı sıra) görüştüğünüz kız arkadaşalarınızı düşünecek olursanız onların iş / aile / sosyal hayat larında nasıl bir gelişme ve değişim yaşandı? Gözlemlerinizi öğrenmek isterim

*Köy enstitülülerin birbirleriyle evlendiklerini görüyorum sizce bu köy enstitüsü eğitiminde teşvik edildi mi? Neden böyle oldu? Sonuçlarını nasıl görüyorsunuz?

C. Interview Schedule: Teacher Version -VI Teacher (60-90 minutes)

Merhaba,
Benim ismim Çiğdem..... Size telefonda bahsettiğim gibi master tezim için bir araştırma yapıyorum. Bana vakit ayırıp beni kabul ettiğiniz için size çok teşekkür ederim. Sizi kısaca tanımak istiyorum.(demografik bilgiler de yer alan sorular doldurulacak-syf:4).

I-Genel tanisma (10 dakika):

Arastirmacinin kisaca kendini tanitmasindan sonra gorusulen kisinin kendisini tanıtması yas /meslek / medeni durum / köy enstitüleri konusundaki deneyimi.

II-Koy Enstitulerindeki Egitim Hakkında Genel Bilgiler (15 -20 dakika):

Bu gün Köy Enstitüleri ile ilgili yürttüğüm araştırma için sizin Köy Enstitüleri ile ilgili deneyiminizden yararlanmak görüş ve önerilerinizi(kaynaklar dahil) öğrenmek isterim.

*Nasıl Köy Enstitüsü öğretmeni oldunuz? Kim seçti ? ne tür kriterlere göre seçildiniz? Köy enstitüsü öğretmeni olmak için ne gerekiyordu?
*Hangi köy enstitülerinde görev aldınız? Öğretmenliğin yanı sıra başka görevleriniz oldu mu ensstitülerde?
*Hangi konularda ders verdiniz?
*Kaç yıl enstitü öğretmenliği yaptınız? Hangi yıllarda nerede öğretmenlik yaptınız?
*Köy Enstitülerinin eğitim felsefesini nasıl tanımlarsınız?
* Ismail HakkıTonguç'un eğitim yöntemi /pedagojisinin sizce öne çıkan özellikleri nelerdi? Hasan Ali Yücel'in? (ve diğerleri?
*Tonguç'un ve diğer eğtimcilerin kız öğrenciler yönelik görüşler, hedefleri nelerdi? (okuduğunuz / araştırdığınız kaynaklardan bu konuda bir çıkarımınız oldu mu?)
*Karma eğitim ile ilgili görüşler, yaklaşımlar nasıldı?
*Siz o günkü Türkiye koşullarında kız öğrencilerin de karma, yatılı eğitimden yararlanması fikrine nasıl bakıyorsunuz?
*Sizce kızlarin sayısı niye bu kadar azdı? Gelen kız öğrenciler nasıl / ne şartlardan gelmişlerdi? (Ataerkil anlayışın etkisi ?)
*Dersler işlenirken öğretmenlerin kız / erkek öğrencilere yönelik tutum ve davranışları farklılık gösteriyor muydu? Bir öğretmen olarak sizin tutumunuz nasıldı?
*Peki İsmail Hakkı Tonguç'un ve diğer yöneticilerin ve öğretmenlerin kız öğrencilere yönelik yaklaşımları nasıldı? Farklı hedefler gözetilmiş miydi? Beklentileri ?...(kız /erkek farklı yaklaşım ve uygulama hissettiniz mi?)
*Erkek ogrencilerin kız ogrencilere tutumu ve yaklasımı nasıldı?
*Kurallar..vb de kız-erkek farklılıkları var mıydı? Kızlarin davranıslari konusunda getirilen kurallar / uygulamalar var miydi? kurallara uymayan kızlara nasıl bir tavır alınıyordu? (ceza..vb) odul ve ceza yontemleri?
*Enstitülerde kız-erkek iliskisi nasildı?
* Derslerde sadece kız öğrencilere / sadece erkek öğrencilere ozel dersler var miydi? nelerdi?niye?
*Ne tür derslerin kız öğrencilere daha fazla katkısı oldu?
*Ne tür tutum ve yaklaşımlar (Köy enstitülerindeki uygulamaların) kız öğrencilere katkısı daha fazla olmuştur ?

III- Koy Enstitulerindeki Egitimin algılanan katkıları (25-30 dakika):

Koy Enstitüsü Eğitiminin kız öğrencilerin güçlenme sürecine nasıl katkı sağladığını hangi tutum, davranış ve metodların bu konuya daha çok hizmet ettiğini ortaya koymak istiyorum.

Öğretmen olarak deneyimlerinize dayanarak sizce

*Bu eğitime başlarken kız öğrencilerin beklentileri neydi?
*Kızlar okula geldiklerinde nasıldılar, mezun olduklarinda nasildilar? nasil bir degisim ve gelisim gosterdiler?

* Köy enstitüsü eğitimi özellikle kız öğrencilere:

Neler kazandırdı? Neler kattı? Nasıl bir katkısı oldu? (KAZANIMLAR)
Sizce Köy enstitüsü eğitimi kız öğrencilerin yaşamını nasıl etkiledi?
*Kız öğrencilerde en çok farkettiginiz degisim / gelisim hangi yonde/ yönlerde oldu?
-kişilik olarak /kişisel olarak kazandırdığı özellikler.....
-sosyal ilişkilerde / toplum içindeki ilişkilerde kazandırdığı özellikler .....
-iş yaşamında kazandırdığı özellikler.....
-aile yaşamında kazandırdığı özellikler.....
-ikili ilşkilerde(karı-koca ilişkisinde) kazandırdığı özellikler.....
*Sizce Kız öğrencilerin köy enstitülerinde eğitim almış olmaları dışarıdan nasıl algılandı?
*Koy enstitulerinin öğrencilerine (özellikle kız öğrencilere) katkısı olmadıgı / zayıf kaldıgı konular, alanlar oldu mu sizce?(kisilik olarak , is yasaminda, aile yasaminda veya sosyal iliskiler gibi alanların herhangi birinde ya da bir kaçında katkısı olmadığını / zayıf kaldığını düşündünüz mü?)
*Köy Enstitüleri devam etseydi gelismesi gereken yonleri var mıyıdı ? nelerdi?
*Köy enstitüsü eğitimi öğrencilerin beklentilerini hangi yönleriyle karşıladı ? hangi yönleriyle karşılamadı?
*Köy enstitusu eğitimi almış olmak öğrencilerin hayatını nasıl etkiledi? hayatlarını değiştirdi mi? Hangi yönleriyle ? hangi alanlarda ? nasıl?
*Bu öğrenciler Köy enstitusu eğitimi almasaydı hayatları nasıl olurdu ? hangi yönlerden farklı olurdu? Hangi yönlerden aynı olurdu? (FARK YARATAN KATKILAR)
*Sizce Koy enstitulerinineğitiminin en buyuk katkısı ne olmuştur ? hangi yönde ?
*Sizce Kız öğrencilerle erkek öğrencilerin kazanımı, değişimi ve gelişimi aynı düzeyde miydi?
*Köy Enstitülerinde eğitim görme ve mezun olma konusuna kadın ya da erkek olmak sizce bir fark yaratmış mıdır? Evet ise Nasıl? Hangi yönlerden farklı?Acaba cinsiyete gore farkli bir tavir /anlayis var miydi?

IV- Koy Enstitulerindeki Egitim Sonrası Hayat (15-20 dakika):

*Enstitü öğretmenliğinden ayrıldıktan sonra enstitülü kız öğrencilerle görüştünüz mü? Haberleştiniz mi? Ya da onlardan haber aldınız mı?
*Köy Enstitüsünden mezun olan öğrencilerin mezun olduktan sonra neler yaptıkları konusunda okudugunuz kaynaklardan, görüşmelerinizden edindiğiniz izlenimi öğrenmek isterim: (iş / aile / sosyal hayat....)
*Köy Enstitüsünün kadın mezunlarının hayatları nasıl gelişti ve değişti?
-Eğitim hayatı devam etti mi?
-İs hayatı: iş hayatına nasıl bir katkı sağladı? Çalişti mı? (bu konuda bir engelle karşılaştı mı?)

-Aile Hayatı: katkısı nasıl oldu?Aile ilişkileri üzerinde etkisi nasıl oldu?
-Sosyal hayat / Sosyal aktiviteler: Sosyal hayatta etkisi katkısı nasıl oldu? Ne tür roller üstlenildi, sosyal çevre nasıl değişti?
-Özel hayat :İkili ilşkilerde/ aile kurma yolunda bu eğitimin bir katkısı oldu mu? Nasil?
-Iletişim & İlişkiler: Eş / çocuklar/ torunlar / aile ve arkadaş çevresi ile ilişkilerde bu eğitimin rolü ne oldu?
Köy Enstitüsünden mezun olduktan sonra kızlar ve erkeklerin hayatlarındaki değişim ve gelişim farklılaşmış mıdır?
*Köy enstitülülerin birbirleriyle evlendiklerini görüyorum sizce bu köy enstitüsü eğitiminde teşvik edildi mi? Neden böyle oldu? Sonuçlarını nasıl görüyorsunuz?
ÖZETLEYECEK OLURSANIZ:
Köy enstitüsü eğitimi kadın mezunlarını hangi alanlarda güçlendirdi?1940-46 donemi egitim anlayisi kadın mezunlara neler kattı ?
(kisisel gelisim / sosyal hayatta /ıs hayatında /aile hayatında /ikili ilskilerde (esi ile))

İlave olarak:
*Koy Enstituleri Egitimi Türkiyenin modernleşme ve kalkınma projesinde hedeflenen yeni Türk kadınının yaratlmasına ne dereced katkıda bulunmuştur? (bu konuda da görüş alınabilir)
*Kız öğrencilere yönelik önereceğiniz kaynak / kişi (görüşebileceğim) var mı?

D. Interview Schedule: Expert Version-Academists (60-90 minutes)

Merhaba,
Benim ismim Çiğdem..... Size telefonda bahsettiğim gibi master tezim için bir araştırma yapıyorum. Bana vakit ayırıp beni kabul ettiğiniz için size çok teşekkür ederim. Sizi kısaca tanımak istiyorum.(demografik bilgiler de yer alan sorular doldurulacak-syf:4).

I-Genel tanisma (10 dakika) :

Arastirmacinin kisaca kendini tanitmasindan sonra gorusulen kisinin kendisini tanıtması yas /meslek / medeni durum / köy enstitüleri konusundaki deneyimi.

II-Koy Enstitulerindeki Egitim Hakkında Genel Bilgiler (15 -20 dakika):

Bu gün Köy Enstitüleri ile ilgili yürttüğüm araştırma için sizin Köy Enstitüleri ile ilgili deneyiminizden yararlanmak görüş ve önerilerinizi(kaynaklar dahil) öğrenmek isterim.

*Köy Enstitüleri ile ilgili olarak bu güne kadar hangi konularda araştırma yaptınız?
*Hangi köy enstitülerini , hangi yönleriyle araştırdınız?
*Araştırmalarınıza göre Tonguç'un eğitim yöntemi /pedagojisinin sizce öne çıkan özellikleri nelerdi? Hasan Ali Yücel'in? (ve diğerleri?)
*Tonguç'un ve diğer eğtimcilerin kız öğrenciler yönelik görüşler, hedefleri nelerdi? (okuduğunuz / araştırdığınız kaynaklardan bu konuda bir çıkarımınız oldu mu?)
*Karma eğitim ile ilgili görüşler, yaklaşımlar nasıldı?
*Siz o günkü Türkiye koşullarında kız öğrencilerin de karma, yatılı eğitimden yararlanması fikrine nasıl bakıyorsunuz?
*Sizce kızlarin sayısı niye bu kadar azdı? Gelen kız öğrenciler nasıl / ne şartlardan gelmişlerdi?
* Kız-erkek dersleri ayrı mıydı? Ortak dersler & kız-erkek ayrılan dersler hangileriydi?
*Dersler işlenirken öğretmenlerin kız / erkek öğrencilere yönelik tutum ve davranışları farklılık gösteriyor muydu?
*Peki İsmail Hakkı Tonguç'un ve diğer yöneticilerin kız öğrencilere yönelik yaklaşımları nasıldı? Farklı hedefler gözetilmiş miydi? Beklentileri ?...(kız /erkek farklı yaklaşım ve uygulama hissettiniz mi?)
*Sadece kız öğrencilere / sadece erkek öğrencilere ozel dersler var miydi? nelerdi?
*Ne tür derslerin kız öğrencilere daha fazla katkısı oldu?
*Ne tür tutum ve yaklaşımlar (Köy enstitülerindeki uygulamaların) kız öğrencilere katkısı daha fazla olmuştur ?

III- Koy Enstitulerindeki Egitimin algılanan katkıları (25-30 dakika):

Koy Enstitüsü Eğitiminin kız öğrencilerin güçlenme sürecine nasıl katkı sağladığını hangi tutum, davranış ve metodların bu konuya daha çok hizmet ettiğini ortaya koymak istiyorum. Kişinin kazanımlarını sadece eğitim aldığı kuruma bağlamak doğru olmayabilir. Aileden, çevreden gelen ya da genetik olarak sahip olunan özellikler de gelişimde etkilidir ancak ben sizden Köy enstitüsü eğitiminin katkısının bulunduğu alanları ve özellikleri ayrıştırmanızı rica ediyorum.
Araştırmalarınız ve deneyimlerinize dayanarak sizce bu eğitim genel olarak tüm öğrencilere:

* Neler kazandırdı? Neler kattı? Nasıl bir katkısı oldu? (KAZANIMLAR)
-kişilik olarak /kişisel olarak kazandırdığı özellikler.....

-sosyal ilişkilerde / toplum içindeki ilişkilerde kazandırdığı özellikler .....
-iş yaşamında kazandırdığı özellikler.....
-aile yaşamında kazandırdığı özellikler.....
-ikili ilşkilerde(karı-koca ilişkisinde) kazandırdığı özellikler.....

-Bu eğitime başlarken öğrencilerin beklentileri neydi?
-Bu beklentileri Köy enstitüsü eğitimi hangi yönleriyle karşıladı ? hangi yönleriyle karşılamadı?
* Köy enstitusu eğitimi almış olmak öğrencilerin hayatını nasıl etkiledi? hayatlarını değiştirdi mi? Hangi yönleriyle ? hangi alanlarda ? nasıl?
*Bu öğrenciler Köy enstitusu eğitimi almasaydı hayatları nasıl olurdu ? hangi yönlerden farklı olurdu? Hangi yönlerden aynı olurdu? (FARK YARATAN KATKILAR)
* Sizce Koy enstitulerininеğitiminin en buyuk katkısı ne olmuştur ? hangi yönde ?
*Sizce Kız öğrencilerle erkek öğrencilerin kazanımı, değişimi ve gelişimi aynı düzeyde miydi?
*Köy Enstitülerinde eğitim görme ve mezun olma konusuna kadın ya da erkek olmak sizce bir fark yaratmış mıdır?(araştırmalarınızda böyle bir bilgiye ulaştınız mı? Evet ise Nasıl? Hangi yönlerden farklı?Acaba cinsiyete gore farkli bir tavir /anlayis var miydi?

ŞİMDİ DE KÖY ENSTİTÜSÜNDEKİ KIZ ÖĞRENCİLERİ DÜŞÜNEREK BU SORULARI YANITLAMANIZI RİCA EDİYORUM:

*Sizce Köy enstitüsü eğitimi kız öğrencilerin yaşamını nasıl etkiledi?
*Köy enstitusu eğitimi sizce kız öğrencileri nasil etkiledi ? (arştırmalarınızda fark ettiğiniz değişimler)
-Kız öğrencilerde / arkadaşlarınızda en çok farkettiginiz degisim / gelisim hangi yonde/ yönlerde oldu?
-kişilik olarak /kişisel olarak kazandırdığı özellikler.....
-sosyal ilişkilerde / toplum içindeki ilişkilerde kazandırdığı özellikler .....
-iş yaşamında kazandırdığı özellikler.....
-aile yaşamında kazandırdığı özellikler.....
-ikili ilşkilerde(karı-koca ilişkisinde) kazandırdığı özellikler.....
* Sizce Kız öğrencilerin köy enstitülerinde eğitim almış olmaları dışarıdan nasıl algılandı?
*Koy enstitulerinin öğrencilerine (özellikle kız öğrencilere) katkısı olmadıgı / zayıf kaldıgı konular, alanlar oldu mu sizce?(kisilik olarak , is yasaminda, aile yasaminda veya sosyal iliskiler gibi alanların herhangi birinde ya da bir kaçında katkısı olmadığını / zayıf kaldığını düşündünüz mü?)
*Köy Enstitüleri devam etseydi gelismesi gereken yonleri var mıyıdı ? nelerdi?

IV- Koy Enstitulerindeki Egitim Sonrası Hayat (15-20 dakika):

*Köy Enstitüsünden mezun olan öğrencilerin mezun olduktan sonra neler yaptıkları konusunda okudugunuz kaynaklardan, görüşmelrinizden ve araştırmalarınızdan edindiğiniz izlenimi öğrenmek isterim:
(iş / aile / sosyal hayat....)
*Köy Enstitüsünün kadın mezunlarının hayatları nasıl gelişti ve değişti?
-Eğitim hayatı devam etti mi?
-İs hayatı: iş hayatına nasıl bir katkı sağladı? Çalişti mı? (bu konuda bir engelle karşılaştı mı?)
-Aile Hayatı: katkısı nasıl oldu?Aile ilişkileri üzerinde etkisi nasıl oldu?
-Sosyal hayat / Sosyal aktiviteler: Sosyal hayatta etkisi katkısı nasıl oldu? Ne tür roller üstlenildi, sosyal çevre nasıl değişti?
-Özel hayat :İkili ilşkilerde/ aile kurma yolunda bu eğitimin bir katkısı oldu mu? Nasil?

-Iletişim & İlişkiler: Eş / çocuklar/ torunlar / aile ve arkadaş çevresi ile ilişkilerde bu eğitimin rolü ne oldu?

*Köy Enstitüsünden mezun olduktan sonra kızlar ve erkeklerin hayatlarındaki değişim ve gelişim farklılaşmış mıdır?
*Köy enstitülülerin birbirleriyle evlendiklerini görüyorum sizce bu köy enstitüsü eğitiminde teşvik edildi mi? Neden böyle oldu? Sonuçlarını nasıl görüyorsunuz?

İlave olarak:
*Koy Enstituleri Egitimi Türkiyenin modernleşme ve kalkınma projesinde hedeflenen yeni Türk kadınının yaratlmasına ne dereced katkıda bulunmuştur? (bu konuda da görüş alınabilir)
*Kız öğrencilere yönelik önereceğiniz kaynak / kişi (görüşebileceğim) var mı?

KENDİ DEGERLENDİRMEM İÇİN:

(BU BÖLÜMDEKİ TÜM SORULAR; GÖRÜŞME SONRASI TARAFIMDAN DOLDURULACAK)

Görüşme Tarihi ve Yeri:.....

-Adı Soyadı: .....

-Telefon:.....

Adres:.....

Demografik Bilgiler:

-Yas (doğum tarihi).....

-Eğitim Durumu.....

- Okul / Bölüm / Uzmanlık Alanı.....

MEZUN OLUNAN (Mezunlar) / ÖĞRETMENLİK YAPILAN (Öğretmenler) / ARAŞTIRMASI YAPILAN (Akademisyenler ve Diğer Görüşmeciler) KÖY ENSTİTÜSÜ / KÖY ENSTİTÜLERİ

	Ad/Bulunduğu İl	Kuruluş Tarihi	1946'ya Kadar Çalışan Müdürlerin Adı
( )	Akçadağ / Malatya	1940	Şinasi Tamer, Şerif Tekben
( )	Akpınar-Ladik/ Samsun	1940	Nurettin Biriz, Enver Kartekin
( )	Aksu / Antalya	1940	Talat Ersoy, Halil Öztürk
( )	Arifiye / Sakarya	1940	Süleyman Edip Balkır
( )	Beşikdüzü / Trabzon	1940	Hürrem Arman, Osman Ülküman
( )	Cılavuz / Kars	1940	Halit Ağanoğlu
( )	Çifteler / Eskişehir	1939	Remzi Özyürek, M. Rauf İnan, Osman Ülkümen
( )	Dicle / Diyarbakır	1944	Nazif Evren
( )	Düziçi / Adana	1940	Lütfi Dağlar
( )	Erciş / Van	1948	İbrahim Oymak
( )	Gölköy / Kastamonu	1939	Ali Doğan Toran
( )	Gönen / Isparta	1940	Ömer Uzgil
( )	Hasanoğlan / Ankara	1941	Lütfi Engin, Hürrem Arman, M. Rauf İnan
( )	İvriz / Konya	1941	Recep Gürel, İ. Safa Güner
( )	Kepirtepe / Kırklareli	1939	Nejat İdil, İhsan Kalabay
( )	Kızılçullu / İzmir	1939	Emin Soysal, Hamdi Akman, Talat Ersoy
( )	Ortaklar / Aydın	1944	Hayri Çakaloz
( )	Pamukpınar / Sivas	1941	Şinasi Tamer, Hüseyin Civanoğlu
( )	Pazarören / Kayseri	1940	Sabri Kolçak, Şevket Gedikoğlu
( )	Pulur / Erzurum	1942	Ahmet Korkut, Aydın Arıkök
( )	Savaştepe / Balıkesir	1940	Sıtkı Akkay

Empowerment Ölçümü:

Kişisel olarak güçlenme	**5**	**4**	**3**	**2**	**1**	**0**
Öz güvenin artması (ÖZGÜVEN)	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Öz saygının artması (ÖZSAYGI)	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Saygın, itibarlı bir birey olma hissi (İTİBAR)	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Öz gelişim-Bilgi ve beceri kazanma(ÖZ GELİŞİM)	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Korkmadan, cesaretle bir işe girişebilme (CESARET)	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Okur yazarlık/dil ile ilgili gelişim (EĞİTİME /DİLE KATKI)	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Kendini rahatça ifade edebilme, fikrini söyleyebilme(İFADE)	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Görev/sorumluluk alabilme/Katılma (SORUMLULUK ALMA)	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Görev aldığı alanlarda sözünü dinletme (SÖZÜNÜ DİNLETMEK)	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Öğrenme,analiz etme ve harekete geçme(ÖĞRENME/ANALIZ/HAREKET)	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Mümkün oldğuna inanmak(POZİTİF BAKIŞ)	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Kendi zamanını planlayabilme(ZAMAN YÖNETİMİ)	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Para kazanma/kazancının kontrolünü elinde tutma (GELİR KONTROLÜ)	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Ev dışında iletişim kurabilmek ve etkileşim (EV DIŞI İLETİŞİM)	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Birey olarak ev dışı grup aktivitelerine katılma(AKTİVİTELERE KATILMA)	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Okur yazarlık /dil ile ilgili bilgi/ becerilerin gelişimi (EĞİTİME /DİLE KATKI)	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Yanlız kalmama / kendini toplumdan soyutlamama (İZOLE OLMAMA)	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Geniş arkadaş çevresine sahip olma(GENİŞ ÇEVRE KAZANMA)	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Kendine zaman ayırabilmek (KENDİNE ZAMAN AYIRMA)	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Problemlerini paylaşıp destek alabilmek (PAYLAŞMA / DESTEK ALMA)	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Seyahat edebilmek (SEYAHAT EDEBİLMEK)	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Kişisel Düzeyde Engelleyici Kişisel Faktörler						
Maçoluk / kadına hükmeden bir çevrede bulunmak (MAÇOLUK)	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Kadercilik /Tevekkülün hakim olduğu bir çevre(KADERCİLİK)	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Sürekli muhalefet eden/karşı çıkan bir eş (MUHALİF EŞ)	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Sağlık problemleri yaşamak(SAĞLIK PROBLEMLERİ)	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Maddi problemler / yoksulluk (YOKSULLUK)	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Birilerine Bağımlı olmak (BAĞIMLILIK)	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Zamanının kullanımının kendi kontrolünde olmaması (ZAMANINI KENDİ KONTROL EDEMEME)	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Sürekli çocuk doğurma/doğum kontrolü yapamama (SÜREKLİ DOĞUM)	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Çocuk bakımı/büyütme zorunluluğu(ÇOCUK BÜYÜTME YÜKÜMLÜLÜĞÜ)	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Erkeğin aile gelirinin kontrolünü elinde tutması (ERKEĞİN GELİR ÜZERİNDEKİ KONTROLÜ)	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )

Müşterek/ kollektif / Topluluk içinde güclenme	**5**	**4**	**3**	**2**	**1**	**0**
Toplumun/grubun parçası olma-ait olma-Kendini Kabul ettirme(GRUP AİDİYETİ/ KABUL)	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Toplum / topluluk / grup icerisinde saygı ve itibar görme(TOPLULUK -SAYGINLIK /İTİBAR)	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Toplum / topluluk / grup icerisinde görev alan temsilci /aktor olmak (GÖREV ALAN TEMSİLCİ)	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Kişisel organizasyon- yönetim becerileri kazanma/ uygulayabilme (GÖREV ALAN TEMSİLCİ)	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Kişisel organizasyon- yönetim becerileri kazanma/ uygulayabilme (ORGANİZASYON VE YÖNETİM)	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Toplum/grup icerisinde kendini rahatça ifade edebilme gucu (İFADE)	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Toplum icerisinde önderlik etme, lider olma gücü (LİDERLİK)	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Kişi/kurumlarla müzakere- pazarlık etme kabiliyeti (PAZARLIK)	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Kendi ihtiyaçları konusunda organize olabilme(ORGANIZE OLMA)	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Toplumun parçası olma-ait olma/kendini kabul ettirme(KABUL GÖRME)	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Toplum içerisinde dış destek sağlama becerisi(DESTEK SAĞLAMA)	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Toplum icerisinde saygı ve itibar görme (SAYGINLIK /İTİBAR)	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Dışarıdaki toplumsal olaylaragrup olarak tepki gösterebilme(TEPKİ)	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
İmkanlara,gelir ve parasal kaynaklara erişim (KAYNAK LARA ERİŞİM)	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Toplumda yeni iletişim kanalları bulma,başlatma, sürdürme(İLETİŞİM)	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Geniş arkadaş çevresine sahip olma (GENİŞ ÇEVRE KAZANMA)	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Toplumdaki öncü kişilerin teşviki-desteği(TEŞVİK)	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Kendi ihtiyaçlarını saptama/ belirleyebilme(İHTİYAÇ BELİRLEME)	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Liderlik özelliğinin gelişimi(LİDERLİK)	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Diğer kurum ve kuruluşlarla bağlantı kurabilme (BAĞLANTI)	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Kendi çevresini, koşulları analiz edebilme(ÇEVRE ANALİZİ)	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Toplum yararına gelir getiren aktiviteleri organizetme,kaynak yaratma ve katılma (KAYNAK YARATMA SOSYAL SORUMLULUK)	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Fikir ayrılıkları, anlaşmazlık ve çatışma ile mücadele edebilme(ÇATIŞMA İLE MÜCADELE)	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Cinsellikle ilgili konularda konuşabilme, tartışabilme(CİNSELLİK ÜZERİNE KONUŞMA)	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Saygı duyarak deneyimden öğrenme yöntemini benimseme(DENEYİME SAYGI)	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Kendi kendini yönetebilme, bağımsız olabilme (ÖZERKLİK)	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Yenilik, deneyim, bilgi kazanacak eğitici öğrenme egzersizi yapabilme, eğitime devam etme (ÖĞRENMEYE DEVAM)	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Manevi (dini, ruhsal, özgürleştirici, felsefi) temele sahip olmak (MANEVİYAT)	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Paylaşma, yardımlaşma/Yararlı olma(YARDIMLAŞMA / İMECE)	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Kollektif Düzeyde Engelleyici Kolektif Faktörler	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Maçoluk / kadına hükmeden bir çevrede bulunmak (MAÇOLUK)	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Birbirine fazla bağlı olmayan yöre halkı/yakın çevre(YEREL KOPUKLUK)	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Yeterli, uygun teknolojik desteğin bulunmaması(TEKNİK DESTEK EKSİKLİĞİ)	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Dışardan gelen –benimsenmiş-baskı (DIŞ BASKI)	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Önemli kişilere bağımlı olmak(BİRİLERİNE BAĞIMLILIK)	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Karşı çıkan / etkili mualiflerin-karşıtların- bulunması(ETKİN MUALEFET)	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Tutucu tutum&davranışların hakim olduğu kültür (TUTUCU YAKLAŞIM)	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Tutarsız ve değişken yerel politika (TUTARSIZ YEREL POLİTİKA)	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )

Yakın (ikili) ilişkilerde güçlenme / yetkin olma	5	4	3	2	1	0
Müzakerede bulunma & pazarlık etme gücü (MÜZAKERE/PAZARLIK)	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Iyi ileşim kurabilme gücü (İLETİŞİM)	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Destek alabilme /destek sağlama becerisi (DESTEK SAĞLAMA)	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Kendini ve haklarını korumak ve karşıdakine savunabilme becerisi (HAKKINI SAVUNMA)	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
İlişkilerde "benlik bilinici"ni ve saygınlığını koruyabilme gücü (KENDİNİ EZDİRMEME)	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Yakın ilişkilerde saygı ve itibar görme(SAYGINLIK /İTİBAR)	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Kendi kazancı /gelirini /aile bütçesini kontroletme, söz sahibi olma (GELİR KONTROLÜ)	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Çocuk sahibi olma/çocuk sayısı, çocukla ilgili konularda söz sahibi olmak (ÇOCUKLARIN KONTROLÜ)	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Ev dışına çıkabilme, istediği yere gidebilme özgürlüğüne sahip olma (SERBEST HAREKET)	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Zamanını dilediği gibi kullanma Özgürlüğüne sahip olma (ZAMAN KONTROLÜ)	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Toplantılara/aktivitelere dilediğince Katılma Özgürlüğüne sahip olma(AKTIVITELERE KATILMA)	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Kendine saygı duyma & eş ve aileden saygı görme (ÖZ SAYGI & SAYGI GÖRME)	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Kendi seçim ve tercihlerini yapabilme kapasitesine sahip olma (KENDİ TERCİHLERİNİ YAPMA)	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Eş(aile ile) ile iyi ileşim kurabilme gücü. (YAKINLARLA İLETİŞİM)	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Kadın Hakları kavramı ve içeriğinden haberdar olma (KADIN HAKLARI)	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Eşitsizliklerin "yanlış" olduğu algısına sahip olma (EŞİTSİZLİKLERE KARŞI OLMA)	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Seyahat edebilme özgürlüğüne sahip olma (SEYAHAT EDEBİLME)	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Grup / topluluklara katılma (GRUPLARA KATILIM)	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Yakın İlişki Düzeyinde Engelleyici Faktörler						
Maçoluk / kadına hükmeden bir muamele görmek (MAÇOLUK)	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Eşinin alkol tüketimi (ALKOL TÜKETEN EŞ)	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Erkeğin şiddet uygulaması/şiddet kültürü (ŞİDDET UYGULAYAN ERKEK)	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Kadına yönelik Geleneksel/ Kültürel bekletiler(KADINDAN BEKLETİLER)	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Erkeğin aile gelirinin kontrolünü elinde tutması (ERKEĞİN GELİR ÜZERİNDEKİ KONTROLÜ)	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Kadının başkalarına bağımlı olması(KADININ BAĞIMLILIĞI-BAĞIMLILIK)	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Kadına yönelik -içselleştirilmiş baskı (İÇSELLEŞTİRİLMİŞ BASKI)	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Ahlak bozulması ve diğer bozulmalar(KÖTÜLÜK VE BOZUKLUKLAR)	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abadan-Unat, N. (1974). "Major Challenges faced by Turkish Women: Legal emancipation, urbanization, industrialization". *Milletlerarası münasebetler Türk Yıllığı* (Anakara), 14, 1974, Retreived from http://www.politics.ankara.edu.tr/dergi/tybook/14/Nermin_Abadan_Unat.pdf

Abu-Lughod, L. (1998). "Feminist Longings and Postcolonial Conditions." Pp.3-31 in Remaking Women; Feminism and Modernity in Middle East Edited by Lila Abu-Lughod. Princeton

Adato, M. & Mindek, D. (2000). *PROGRESA and Women's Empowerment: Evidence from Six Mexican States.* International Food Policy Research Institute, Washington, DC

Alexander, A. C. & Welzel, C. (2007). "Empowering Women: Four Theories Tested on Four Different Aspects of Gender Equality" Paper Presented at the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL Retrieved May 7,2014, from http://www.democracy.uci.edu/files/democracy/docs/conferences/grad/alexander.pdf

Altunya, N. (2002). *Köy Enstitüleri.* Bilim ve Aklın Aydınlığında Eğitim Dergisi, 3, 26, Nisan 2002, 1-4

Altunya, N.(2009). *Köy Enstitüleri Sistemine Toplu Bir Bakış*, KAVEG, İstanbul

Altunya, N.(2010). *Köy Enstitü Sistemi:Toplu Bakış.* İstanbul: Cumhuriyet Kitapları.

Andaç, F. (2000). Anadolu Aydınlanmacısı: Fakir Baykurt. İstanbul: Evrensel Basım Yayın

Anzai, Y. & Simon, A. H. (1979). *The Theory of Learning by Doing.* Pittsburgh, PA: Carnegie Mellon University. The American Psychological Association, 1979.

Arat, Y. (1989). *The Patriarchal Paradox: Women Politicians in Turkey.* London and Toronto: Associated University Press. Pp.41-43

Arat, Y. (1997). The Project of Modernity and Women in Turkey, in S. Bozdoğan and R. Kasaba (eds.) *Rethinking Modernity and National Identity in Turkey.* Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 95-112.

Arayıcı, A. (1987). *Les Instituts de village en Turquie (1937-1952)* [*Village institutes in Turkey (1937-52)*]. Paris, PUF, p. 61-63; 169-76.

Arayıcı, A. (1999). *Village institutes in Turkey* in Prospects June 1999, Volume 29, Issue 2, pp 267-280.

Arayıcı, A.(1999). *Kemalist Dönem Türkiyesi'nde Eğitim Politikaları ve Köy Enstitüleri.* Ağustos 1999. Ceylan Yayınları

Aydoğan, M. (ed.) .(1997). *İ.Hakkı Tonguç: Kitaplaşmamış Yazılar.* Cilt I. Ankara: Köy Enstitüleri ve Çağdaş Eğitim Vakfı.

Başgöz, İ. (Tokgöz, T.). (1962). Yarının Köy Enstitüleri. Yön Dergisi, S.9, 22 Ağustos1962, s.36.

Batliwala, S. (1994). The Meaning of Women's Empowerment: New Concepts from Action, in Gita Sen, Adrienne Germain and Lincoln C. Chen (eds.), *PopulationPolicies Reconsidered: Health, Empowerment, and Rights*, Boston: Harvard University Press, 127-138.

Baykurt, F. (1998). *Benli Yazılar.* İstanbul: Papirüs Yayınevi

Binbaşıoğlu, C. (1997). *Çağdaş Eğitim ve Köy Enstitüleri: Tarihsel Bir Çerçeve.* [*Modern Education and Village Institutes: A Historical Framework*]. İzmir: Dikili Belediyesi Kültür Yayınları.

Canboğa, E. (1980). *Rural Education in Turkey: The village Institute System (1937-54)*, Unpublished MA Thesis (Long Beach: California State University, 1980), p.31, 34

Çankaya, E. (2013). Köy Edebiyatı ve Türk Edebiyatında Köye 'İçerden' Bakış, Doğuşu, Etkileri, Sonuçları. *Turkish Studies- International Periodical for the Languages, Literature and History of Turkish or Turkic* Volume 8/4 spring 2013, p. 473-488, Ankara- Turkey

Çetin, K. & Gülseren, H. Ö. (2003). Cumhuriyet Dönemi Eğitim Stratejileri. *Milli Eğitim Dergisi*, Sayı 160, Güz 2003 Retreived March 14, 2014 from, http://dhgm.meb.gov.tr/yayimlar/dergiler/Milli_Egitim_Dergisi/160/cetin-gulseren.htm

Çitçi, O. (1982). *Kadın Sorunu ve Türkiye'de Kamu Görevlisi Kadınlar*, Ankara: Türkiye ve Orta Doğu Amme İdaresi Enstitüsü Yayınları, p.122.

Davis, N. Y. (2003). *Cinsiyet ve Millet*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları

Dündar, C. (2001). *Köy Enstitüleri*, Ankara: İmge.

Dewey, J. (1938). 500 Word Summary of Dewey's Experience & Education, Macmillan in Neill, James.2005. *John Dewey, Introduction to John Dewey's Philosophy of Education and the Modern Father of Experiential Education* Retreived from http://www.wilderdom.com/experiential/JohnDeweyPhilosophyEducation.html

Evren, N. (1998). *Köy Enstitüleri Neydi Ne Değildi? [What were Village Institutes and What Were They not?]*. Ankara: Güldikeni Yayınları.

Fabricant, S. (1954). *Economic Progress and Economic Change*

Gage, A. J. (1995). *Women's socioeconomic position and contraceptive behavior in Togo.* Studies in Family Planning 26(5):264-277.

Gedikoğlu, Ş. (1971). *Evreleri, Getirdikleri ve Yankılarıyla Köy Enstituleri,* Ankara: İş Matbaacılık ve Ticaret.

Gelgeç Gürpınar, A. (2006). *Women in the twentieth century: Modernity, Feminism and Islam in Turkey (The University of Texas at Arlington)* Retrieved April 9, 2014, from dspace.uta.edu/bitstream/handle/10106/37/uta-etd-1038.pdf

Gologlu, M. (1974), *Milli Sef Dönemi (1939-1945)*, Ankara: Kalite Matbaası.

Gök, F. (1999). 75 Yılda İnsan Yetiştirme, Eğitim ve Devlet in Fatma Gök (ed.). *75 Yılda Eğitim*, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları.

Gök, F. (2007). The History and Development of Turkish Education (Appendix 1) in *Education in 'Multicultural' Societies – Turkish and Swedish Perspectives,* eds. Marie Carlson, Annika Rabo and Fatma Gök, Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul, Transactions, vol. 18 (Stockholm 2007), pp. 247-255.

Gök, F. (2011). *Çok Kültürlü Toplumlarda Eğitim: Türkiye ve İsveç'ten Örnekler*, eds. Marie Carlson, Annika Rabo and Fatma Gök, Istanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları 332 Eğitim 6 (Mart, 2011), İstanbul: Bilgi İletişim Grubu Yayıncılık Müzik Yapım ve Haber Ajansı Ltd. Şti.

Gök, F. (2011). *Education in 'Multicultural' Societies – Turkish and Swedish Perspectives,* eds. Marie Carlson, Annika Rabo and Fatma Gök, Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul, Transactions, vol. 18 (Stockholm 2007), pp. 93-105.

Göksel, B. (1993). *Çağlar Boyunca Türk Kadını ve Atatürk,* Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, p.150.

Gümüşoğlu, F. (2012). A Pioneer in the Critical Pedagogical Approach: İsmail Hakkı Tonguç (1893-1960) in *Journal of International Scientific Publications:*

Educational Alternatives, Vol. 10, Part 3, pp.12-20. Retrieved March 28, 2014, from http:// www.scientific-publications.net

Gürol, P. (2003). *Building for Women's education during the Early Republican Period in Turkey: İsmet Paşa Girls' Institute in Ankara in the 1930s (Middle East Technical University)* Retrieved March 21, 2014, from http://etd.lib.metu.edu.tr/upload/1268689/index.pdf

Harrison, D. (1988). *The Sociology of Modernization and Development*. London: Unwin Hyman.

Hashemi, S. M., Schuler, S. R. & Riley, A. P. (1996).Rural Credit Programs and Women's Empowerment in Bangladesh. *World Development* 24 (4), 635-653.

Inglehart, R. & Welzel, C. (2008) The Role of Ordinary people in Democratization. *Journal of Democracy,* 19: 126-40

Inglehart, R.& Welzel, C. (2009) How Development Leads to Democracy in *Foreign Affairs* Mar/Apr2009, Vol. 88 Issue 2, pp 33-48

Jejeebhoy, S. J. (1995). *Women's Education, Autonomy, and Reproductive Behaviour: Experience from Four Developing Countries.* International Studies in Demography, IUSSP. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Inkeles, A. & Smith, D.H. (1974). *Becoming Modern – Individual Change in Six Developing Countries*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Kabeer, N. (2001). Resources, Agency, Achievements: Reflections on the Measurement of Women's Empowerment, in *Discussing Women's Empowerment: Theory and Practice* (SIDA Studies, No: 3), Stockholm: SIDA, 17-57.

Kadıoğlu, A. (1998). Cinselligin İnkarı: Buyuk Toplumsal Projelerin Nesnesi Olarak Turk Kadınları. Pp. 89-101 in *75 Yilda Kadinlar ve Erkekler*, edited by Ayse Berktay Hacimirzaoglu. Istanbul: Tarih Vakfi Yayinlari.

Karaömerlioğlu, A. M. (1998). The Village Institutes Experience in Turkey. *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol.25, Issue 1. (May 1998), pp.47-73, JSTOR (May 7, 2002)

Karaömerlioğlu, A.M. (1998). Köy Enstitüleri Üzerine Düşünceler. *Toplum ve Bilim*, S. 76 Bahar, 1998. pp. 55-84.

Keyder, Ç. (1997). Whither the Project of Modernity? Turkey in the 1990s, in S.Bozdoğan and R. Kasaba (eds.) *Rethinking Modernity and National Identity in Turkey*. Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 37-51.

Kışlalı, A. T. (1991). Niçin Kemalist'im, *Yıllık: Nermin Abadan Unat'a Armağan*, Ankara, Ankara Üniversitesi Basımevi, 1991, s.IX-X.

Kincheloe, J. & Steinburg, S. (1997). *Changing Multiculturalism*.Bristol, PA: Open University Press. p. 24.

Kirby, F. (1961), *Türkiye'de Köy Enstitüleri,* Ankara: İmece.

Kirby, F. (1962). *Türkiye'de Köy Enstitüleri.* Ankara: Rüzgarlı Matbaa.

Koloğlu, O. (2002). *Cumhuriyetin İlk On Beş Yılı (1923-1938)*, İstanbul:Boyut Kitapları

Kramarae, C. (1992) The condition of Patriarchy in Kramarae Cheris and Spender Dale (eds.) *The Knowledge Explosion: Generation of Feminist Scholarship.* Athen Series, Teachers College Press, London.

Lerner, M. (1986). *Surplus powerlessness.* Oakland, CA: Institute for Labor and Mental Health.

Lord, J. and Hutchison, P. (1993). The Process of Empowerment: Implications for Theory and Practice. *Canadian Journal of Community Mental Health* 12:1, spring, 1993, Pages 5-22.

Makal, M. (1991). *Bizim Köy.* İstanbul: Çağdaş Yayınları.

Moghadam, V. M. (1993). *Modernizing Women, Gender and Social Change in the Middle East,* Boulder, CO: L. Rienner.

Mosedale, S. (2005). Assessing women's empowerment: toward conceptual framework. *Journal of International Development*, 17, 243–257. DOI: 10.1002/jid.1212. Retreived from http://www.interscience.wiley.com

Nagel, J. (1998). Masculinity and nationalism: gender and sexuality in the making of nations, in *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 21: 2, 242 — 269

Oxaal, Z. & Baden, S. (1997). *Gender and Empowerment: Definitions, Approaches and Implications for Policy* (Briefing prepared for the Swedish International Development Office – SIDA), SIDA report No. 40.

Özbay, F. (1986). *The Study of Women in Turkey: An Anthology.* UNESCO in collaboration with Turkish Social Science Association. Pp.1-16.

Özsoy, S. (2004). Esitlikçi Bir Egitim Deneyimi Olarak Köy Enstitüleri. *Egitim Bilim Toplum*, 4-25

Özsoy, S. (2009). A Utopian Educator from Turkey: İsmail Hakkı Tonguç (1893-1960) in *Journal for Critical Education Policy Studies,* vol.7. No.2 pp.249-278 (November 2009).

Özsoy, S. (2009). Turkish Modernization, Democracy, and Education: An Analysis from Dewey's Perspective. *Educational Sciences: Theory & Practice, 9* (4), 1925-1931

Pektaş, Hasip.(2001). Prof. Dr. Ayşe Baysal ile bir söyleşi: Köy Enstitüleri. *Ögretmen Dünyası Dergisi.* Ankara, Şubat 2001, Sayı: 254, Sayfa: 19-22.

Rowlands, J. (1995). *Empowerment examined: an exploration of the concept and practice of women's empowerment in Honduras.* Durham theses, Durham University. Retrieved February 20, 2014, from Durham E-Theses Online: http://etheses.dur.ac.uk/1424/

Rowlands, J. (1995). Empowerment Examined. *Development in Practice* 5 (2) 101-107

Rowlands, J. (1997). *Questioning Empowerment: Working with Women in Honduras*, Oxford: Oxfam, p.15, 110-128

Saktanber, A. (2001). Kemalist Kadın Hakları Söylemi, in Ahmet İnsel (ed.).*Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce: Kemalizm*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, pp.323-333.

Sen, A. (1999). *Development as Freedom*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.56

Shirin M. R. (2007, May). (Re) defining empowerment, Measuring Survival, Paper presented (with Jane Parpart and Kathleen Staudt) in *Workshop on Empowerment: Obstacles, Flaws, Acheivements,* 3-5 May 2007, Carleton University, Ottowa, Canada Retrieved June 20, 2014, from http://www.ethicsofempowerment.org/papers/RaiEmpowerment.pdf

Sirman, N. (2002). Kadınların Milliyeti, in Tanıl Bora (ed.). *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce: Milliyetçilik,* İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, pp.226-244.

Smith, A. (1991). *National Identity,* London: Penguin Books.

Stacey, J. (1993) Untangling Feminist theory, in Richardson D. and Robinson V. (eds.) *Introducing women's Studies: Feminist Theory and Practice*. Macmillan, London.

Stone, F. A. (1973). The evolution of contemporary Turkish educational thought. *History of Education Quarterly*, *13*(2), 145-161.

Stone, F.A. (1974). Rural revitalization and the village institutes in Turkey: Sponsors and critics. *Comparative Education Review, 18*(3), 419-429.

Şeren, M. (2008). Köye Öğretmen Yetiştirme Yönüyle Köy Enstitüleri [Village Institutes in Terms of Teacher Training]. *Gazi Eğitim Fakültesi Dergisi [Journal of Gazi's Faculty of Education]* , *28* (1), 203-226.

Tahir, K. (1972). *Bozkırdaki Çekirdek.* Ankara: Bilgi Yayınevi

Taşlı, K. (2007). *A conceptual framework to gender and development studies: from welfare to empowerment*, (Doctoral dissertation, Vienna University of Economics and Business, 2007) Retreived January 23, 2014, from http://www.oefse.at/Downloads/publikationen/foren/Forum32.pdf

Toprak, G. (2008). *Cumhuriyetin ilk Döneminde Türk Eğitim Sistemi ve Köy Enstitüleri.* Yüksek Lisans Tezi. Afyonkarahisar, Afyon Kocatepe Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü (Mayıs, 2008).

Tonguç, İ. H. (1938). *Köyde eğitim.* İstanbul: Kültür Bakanlığı İlkokul Öğretmen Kılavuzları, No:8.

Tonguç, İ. H. (1939). *Canlandırılacak Köy*, Istanbul: Remzi Publication

Tonguç, E. (1970), *Devrim Açısından Köy Enstitüleri ve Tonguç,* Ankara: Ant Yayınları

Tonguç, İ. H. (1998). *Kitaplaşmamış yazıları Cilt I* (2nd ed.). Ankara: Köy Enstitüleri ve Çağdaş Eğitim Vakfı Yayınları.

Türkoğlu, P. (1997). *Tonguç ve Enstitüleri* [*Tonguç and His Institutes*]. İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları.

Tzannatos, Z. (1999). Women and labor market changes in the global economy: Growth helps, inequalities hurt and public policy matters. *World Development* 27(3):551-569.

VanderLippe, J. M. (2005). *The Politics of Turkish Democracy: Ismet Inonu and the Formation of the Multi-Party System, 1938-1950*, Albany: State University of New York Press

Welzel, C. (2013). *Freedom Rising: Human Empowerment and the Quest for Emancipation.* Cambridge University Press, p. 6

Wolf, E. (1999). *Envisioning power: Ideologies of dominance and crisis.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Yeğenoğlu, M. (2006). *Gendering the Individual and the Population: Patriarchal production of Gendered Subjectivities in Political Thought in Early Republican Turkey (Middle East Technical University)*, Retrieved March 12, 2014, from http://etd.lib.metu.edu.tr/upload/12608300/index.pdf