

Evaluation of Managing Practices of Primary and Secondary School Principals with the Perspective of Banking Concept of Educationⁱ

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Abstract

According to Paulo Freire's Banking Concept of Education schools are reproduction areas of oppression and being oppressed relationship. Banking Concept of Education is an education mentality of giving roles to people, prohibiting quitting the roles, being far away from freedom, and filling information in students' brains. By this way, students grow without critical awareness. School principals, who are responsible from everything in schools, have a critical role about schools' and students' identity. In this study, daily practices of school principals during school management process are evaluated with the perspective of Banking Concept of Education. The study was designed as a qualitative work and interviews were done with 11 school principals. Principals were asked about setting objectives, planning, school rules, supervising, and economy, From the answers, themes were created.. As result, school principals are very centralized. In some occasions, principals can't make decisions; instead they just apply central decisions. When school principals made some decisions, they have to act according to central administration. With these steps, schools become reproduction centers of dominant political ideology. School principals are just the implementers of central ideological decisions.

Keywords: *Paulo Freire, Banking concept of education, critical pedagogy, school principals*

Introduction

What is education and could it be unbiased? Possible answers to this basic question about education can be classified dyadically. According to the commonest practice that can be defined as traditional education, schools are institutions where individuals get qualified for a job to make their livings as well as learning the basic knowledge and skills which they may need in their routines. Regarding schools, alternative education opinions which criticize traditional education are mostly defined as “critical pedagogy”. Critical pedagogues state that the basic function of schools is not only providing students individual and social benefits but also guiding them politically and ideologically. Jaime-Diaz and Mendez-Negrete (2017) claim that teachers ethnical and social class background affect the students. If teachers cannot create constructive dialogues with students that have been marginalized in the culture of schooling students continue to be marginalized. If teachers can create an atmosphere of respect, the mutual trust occurs. So that It can be said that teachers' attitudes towards students affect students' upbringing and personalities and determine what kind of individuals they will be in the future.

In his *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Freire, (2013) states that, education is a political instrument that separates society as the oppressor and the oppressed. According to Feire (2013) who describes traditional education as “the Banking Concept of Education”, knowledge is an investment object. Teachers deposit knowledge into the students’ minds just as they bank their money to use it when they need to. Students are viewed as empty vessels whom have nothing to contribute to the learning process, thus they acquire knowledge through rote memorization and regurgitation. At the school time, deposited students are

passive objects and they are busy with stockpiling the knowledge they have gained. Students who are busy with this become distanced from critical thinking which they could change the world with. On the other hand, the banking concept of education gives certain roles to everybody and being out of these roles is not a matter of discussion. While teachers stand as an absolute source of information, students are expected to benefit from this source. Therefore, this personal passivity condition will spread to every part of life, and students will become reproducers of social conditions for the benefit of the dominant class.

Banking education is an ideological formation process whereby how much one can know in shaping the social world. In this respect, even though educational models, programs, learning objectives and processes alter, the main purpose is to socially legitimize any social status in which the certain class society can be sustained. In schools influenced with neo-liberal policies, individuals are educated who are passivized ideologically in accordance with the dominant class' will, who contribute to the consumer society and make an effort for world's reproducing instead of interrogating power relations and changing the world (Giroux, 2009; Inal, 2008). With the governance reform under the name of "localization and school-based management" and the policies of support and encouragement of private schooling led to neo-liberal transformation in of education. According to Sayilan (2006) public education investments have decreased significantly all over the world, except for OECD countries. At the same time, due to the inequalities against the poor in the general indicators of the economy, it also caused regressions in education. As a result, both the schooling rates of children and young people have decreased significantly, and the quality of education has also decreased. At this point, it is possible to say that schools with neoliberal axis affect students in different ways. According to Kökten (2020), neoliberalism makes people less free to make decisions that shape their lives. Therefore, beyond a perspective on human nature, it tends

towards and acts on people in line with the pedagogical values created by the market economy. In the neoliberal understanding of education, beyond conformity with human nature, there is a departure from the essence of human nature, especially with the understanding of raising competitive individuals in schools. Because the individual is forced to live in a constant competitive environment. Thus, the characteristics of individuals are ignored.

Jaime-Diaz, Ramos, and Mendez-Negrete (2020) talk about individuals whose personal characteristics are ignored. In this case, teachers' previous experiences and pedagogical views that are not suitable for the educator are effective. It has been determined that teachers who have experiences and thoughts that are not suitable for teaching have problems with students who have different characteristics from the dominant culture. This situation leads to the alienation of students from school, their marginalization and exclusion from society. From this point of view, it is possible to say that schools under the influence of neoliberalism are not suitable for human nature.

In banking education model, knowledge that is under the control of the ruling class is presented as a gift to people who are thought to be ignorant through education. Freire accepts claiming that a person is ignorant as one of the characteristics of oppression ideology, and thus he states that education's actually being a search for knowledge has been denied (Mayo,2012).

According to Freire (2013) in banking education teachers' and students' roles include contradictions Educational study should start with analyzing this contradiction, its poles should be merged in such a way that each side of the contradiction become both a student and a teacher at the same time. This solution is not included in banking education. On the contrary, banking education sustains this contradiction and even incites it with these behavior examples reflecting the oppressors as a whole:

- a) the teacher teaches and the students are taught;
- b) the teacher knows everything and the students know nothing;
- c) the teacher thinks and the students are thought about;
- d) the teacher talks and the students listen—meekly;
- e) the teacher disciplines and the students are disciplined;
- f) the teacher chooses and enforces his choice, and the students comply;
- g) the teacher acts and the students have the illusion of acting through the action of the teacher;
- h) the teacher chooses the program content, and the students (who were not consulted) adapt to it;
- i) the teacher confuses the authority of knowledge with his or her own professional authority, which she and he sets in opposition to the freedom of the students;
- j) the teacher is the subject of the learning process, while the pupils are mere objects. (Freire, 2013).

Freire remarks that students, while stockpiling the information they are stored, are kept away from the critical consciousness by which they could change the world. The better students play this passive role forced on them, the easier it is for them to admit the so-called reality. Then again, they lack the power to change the world. All in all, banking education discourages students' creativity and increases their inadequacy. This serves the oppressors who do not want the world changing.

Freire (2013) suggests, as majority obey the rules, the dominant minority act courageously when establishing rules. According to Macedo (1993), individuals are taught not to object in schools. Moreover, what students learn in school are not about real life's truth, just lies. Thanks to these lies, it is aimed to prevent the students gain critical awareness. Banking education model serves effectively to this purpose. Students' class hours, take-home assignments, assessments and

evaluations, teacher-student distance, and bench marks for passing the class all work for stopping one's reasoning and thinking. According to Anyon (1980) The social background of schools is very effective in the development of students. Students studying in schools in low socioeconomic environments are expected to do mechanical work and obey. On the other hand, in schools in high socio-economic environments, students are expected to think at a higher level, discuss and act freely.

In this study, collecting data about how banking education model has been reproduced in schools is planned. With the intent to observe the principals' behaviors in schools, educational leadership affair has been benefited. Although educational leadership affair is not directly relevant to the main topic, it is used in this study to explain the principals' behaviors, for it offers them extensive authority. Findings have been interpreted in a criticizing manner.

Aim of the study

The purpose of this study aimed to analyze principals' daily administrative practice within the scope of Banking Education Model as it applies to their professional practices. According to Collins (2009), reproduction in schools occurs in three different ways: economic, cultural and linguistic. This theory has been discussed since the 1960s. In this study, it was investigated how reproduction takes place through the daily practices of administrators in schools. Because the administrators, both under the control of central management and working under pressure of academic success determine the educational goals, plan the educational process, manage the school budget and cope with the decision process. So their daily administrative practice is thought to be help us to understand reproduction in schools.

Sub objectives

1. What are school principals' opinions and implementations when deciding the schools' purposes?
2. What are school principals' opinions and implementations when planning the education system?

Method

This study is informed through qualitative research methods as such approach is oriented towards understand the nature of social events and facts. Therefore, it differs from positivist paradigms. Methods relied on positivist paradigms explain the reality in cause and effect relation, and approach it statistically (Yıldırım and Şimşek, 2012). In contrast, interpretive approaches based on qualitative research method, sees the reality as an ever-changing and complicated fact that happens in social environment (Thorne, 2014). By extension, this research, which we ask school principals to tell us about themselves, through a phenomenological research approach which is a sub-dimension of qualitative research methods. Phenomenology researchers are focused on the facts that we are aware of but we do not profoundly understand. It aims to investigate the facts that are familiar but cannot be comprehended thoroughly. (Creswell, 2013)

By interviewing school principals, the study aimed to reveal what has been done regarding Banking Education implementations while meeting the expectations of both hierarchically superiors and the society. School principals' behaviors have been perceptibly indicated with the help of the Educational Leadership Affairs. Educational Leadership Affairs calls for authorization of school principals in every respect and expects to see them gaining dominance. The questions centered about educational leadership affairs.

Study Group

The research has been conducted at eleven state schools with their principals in Mersin. Ten male and one female principals were involved in the study. The schools where five of these principals' work belong to upper stages of social economic class due to their location. The others belong to the middle and lower social economic class. Four of the principals are assistant principals and seven of them are headmasters.

Data Collection Method

Gathering data for the study has been settled by interviewing. Techniques such as interviewing, observation, and analysis of documents are used in qualitative researches to integrate the topic and go deeper in it. Which one of those is to be used is determined within the topic of research and its conditions (Glesne, 2013). Interview is described as a reciprocal and conversational communication process including asking and answering predetermined, purposeful questions addressing to the participants. Researches get various advantages by interviewing. Among these, such advantages as flexibility, non-verbal acts, control over the environment, the order of the questions, the verification of the data source, accuracy and in-depth information can be assumed. (Yıldırım and Şimşek, 2013).

Data Analysis

Recordings taken during the interview have been transcribed onto paper. Questions have been sorted out with respect to research headings. While analyzing answers which can be categorized under themes? Codes for each topic have been made. Themes are made on the basis of coding. Such approach determined how many principals each theme is expressed by through a frequency of themes. Sub-categories are also adjusted beneath the themes, in

tables. After, giving information about what is said during interviews and with direct quotations a better understanding of topic is provided. Thereafter, interpretations and explanations have been made about the topic.

Findings and Discussion

1. Setting Objectives:

Such questions regarding setting the objectives of a school as “What is the objective of schools?” ‘How are they determined?’ ‘How do you decide on these objectives?’” and, so as to determine the image of an educated ideal student according to these objectives, questions like “What is an ideal student in your opinion?” ‘What should an ideal student's academic success, appearance and attitude be like?’” are asked. The principals stated that Ministry of National Education is the only authority about setting school objectives. Regardless of the location of the schools, a concurrence with this subject is built. About the issue, a draft plan by the Ministry of National Education is mentioned. None of the principals have asserted that they may act out of this frame made by Ministry of National Education. Written rules, made within this frame, have been emphasized. These written rules direct the principals to use the plan, the program and the educational syllabus prepared by the ministry. In order to support the schools' routine works, the contributions from teachers, students and parents are accepted but these contributions never cause controversy over the frame by the ministry. Some of the principals’ opinions regarding this topic are below:

We follow the objectives that Ministry of National Education has prepared.” Apart from the objectives set by the ministry, we decide on some objectives considering the environmental factors and activities around the school and apply them accordingly.” However, we can not digress from Ministry of National Education's regulations and planning. P7

“We follow and apply the regulations within the frame by Ministry of National Education. Of course we cannot go out of the regulations on primary education institutions.” P5

“Our priority is to train good people and educate good students for the next education institution in accordance with general objectives designed by the ministry of National Education.” “We cannot digress from those regulations and principles, which define the objectives, so we follow them. P3

As the narratives demonstrate, the ministry of National Education stipulates the rules and regulations along with the principles to be followed at schools. These written rules the principals have to comply with keep the schools under a centralized controlling system. From the very first step to set objectives, schools are regulated by a central authority. Hence, what schools serve is determined in the beginning of the semester. Plans, programs and curricula delivered to the schools are unquestioningly carried into effect. As such, no complaint or negative comment from the principals about this matter can be submitted which shows that they all adhere to such practices?. Therefore, we can speak of a system passivizing even the school principals, starting with defining the school objectives How human passivation, one of the basic characteristics of Banking Education and a way to blunt thoughts are used on the school principals is seen here.

1.1 Ideal student

Regarding the main objective of schools to produce good people, the ideal student image for school principals is a successful, respectful, self-confident and one with good manners and characteristics. Although the general attitude on the subject is positive towards raising individuals, it can be said that this attitude is still within the framework of laws and rules. Moreover, success has been given a greater importance about the issue. Along with this, having engaging, self-

confident and respectful personality traits have been cited. Finally, those subjects are considered according to the frame drawn by aforementioned regulations. Opinions about the academic success are intertwined with positive attitude. Most of the principals think that reaching success goes hand in hand with positive characteristics. The ideas about this topic the principals have are the following:

It is important that schools train/educate students to be caring and respectful of their surroundings, the senior citizens and their little friends. Success comes after this by itself. We should first focus our attention to raise individuals with high national awareness who question themselves and the world. Academic success comes along with that. P10

Although students differ from each other, to describe the ideal student profile, we all agree that ideal students should come to school regularly, be good-looking and also be a role-model also the participation into the lessons, and their work and success. P1

In addition, principals, who follow the formal regulation believe that self-improvement should be considered within the frame of the laws. This is emphasized as follows:

Education is our priority, so we follow the rules and regulations as we have to. Everybody including me should follow the rules within the school border. P5

We basically want to educate students with high national awareness who love their country, Atatürk and his nation and who can pass this onto the next generations as we are doing now. Then academic success can be achieved. To illustrate, imagine a bird. It has two wings without either of which the bird cannot fly. P9

When we look at the ideal student profile based on goals and goals in schools, it is seen that administrators are far from acting freely. None of the principals we met, have an intention of denying the rules and regulations set by the ministry. At schools, students are educated according to the state policies rather than being educated to be independent beings as it is seen through the common

school manager profiles as these ones. Students are encouraged to obey the law from the early childhood. Therefore, taking a deprecatory stance is prevented. From this point of view, it can be thought that principals tend to raise students within certain patterns, which is interpretable as banking education model's effect on principals' behaviors.

1.2 Success

These questions; "What do you do to make students successful?" "*How do you monitor their success?*" "*Do you set a role model for students to foster their success?*" "How do you give feedback to the students about their failures and success?" are asked to principals about success topic.

Two key issues has aroused interest accordingly. Studies on Central Exams and Rewarding. Success in central exams called as PPES (Passing from Primary Education to Secondary-Exam-), in the present day: Success in central exam called as PPES (Passing from Primary Education to Secondary-Exam-), in the present day, is an important criterion for success. Studies have been done on the purpose of increasing success in PPES. On rewarding subject, there are two types of rewarding; tangible and moral rewards, relying on the position of the schools. While some schools in upper socio-economic environments can provide tangible rewards such as quarter gold coin, bicycle, tablet, others in lower socio-economic environments use moral ones like saying "well done" or "bravo".

School managers put a substantial deal of effort into achieving success in the central exams. The eleven principals interviewed in this study, most of whom give great attention to the central exams, consider the central examination as the main criterion in defining students' success. Schools in upper socio-economic environment are also functioning as private teaching institutions. Principals in those schools, desire to achieve a great success and so create a competitive

atmosphere for students like private institutions. Opinions of a principal working in upper socio-economic environment are as below:

We assess our students monthly with pilot tests, made by teachers, and observe their progress. We reward our successful students and execute coaching system. High ranking students in achievement groups are guided by a specific teacher. "You are responsible even for his toothache" we say to the teacher within coaching system and make sure those students are well-supervised. P3

"Yes." Our teachers are really successful. We make achievement grouping, that is, in each class there are groups according to literacy, comprehension, expressing opinions and high achievement. We prepare the students with high achievement for the central exams. This achievement grouping is used at courses. Parents ask us to place their children in the high-achieving group, which is a common problem, and yet we have no intent to concede. P8

As it is seen through the examples, these two schools, known as making their students rank higher in the exams, are running like private teaching institutions to make students successful in central exams. Unfortunately, raising the success scale consistently and creating competitive students are the main purpose of the current system.

Other schools focus on the central exams to catch up with the successful ones. Views about this subject are the following:

We make some pilot tests, and we supervise our students with the results and their teachers' feedback. Students are guided by the teachers regarding their scores in the tests. Moreover, ministry have started a weekend courses this year, it goes on at schools. P1

As a matter of fact that private teaching institutions are closed, we are obligated to open courses by the ministry. We provide our students with those supplementary courses after class-time, four times a week" P6

As understood from the examples, principals highly engage in the activities to increase the success rate in central exams. These activities are done regardless of

the socio economic class. After private teaching institutions are closed, schools have taken on their roles in the education system. Therefore, the responsibility of principals has increased. They have started to take roles as they work in a private school. Thus, all schools are like private teaching institutions and all principals, like a private sector employee, are obligated to improve the values of products and performance. The fact that this request is made by the Ministry of National Education is a matter of importance.

While the schools with good economic conditions do not avoid expenses in motivating students to success, the administrators in schools with economic difficulties try to motivate students verbally. This case is a reflection of social injustice, and it is thought-provoking that this case is even seen at state schools. Quarter gold coins, bicycles, tablet computers are included in the rewards given perceptibly. Some examples of this is as below:

Of course we reward them. After students achieve success in any sports, city or province-wide, cultural activities or at any projects by Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey, we reward them with plaques, quarter gold coins or certificate of achievement for moral and tangible support, for example we have given six golden coins today. P8

My school is like a private school of the state. Our parents and students are fine. They all know our school's reputation before they choose us. As you mentioned, students who are not successful take action after they see the successful ones getting rewarded. Our purpose is to make them all successful. P10

We practice pilot tests as I said and we give successful students, considering their scores in these tests, rewards in front of their friends P2

Principals want to keep their students active in this competitive environment with giving them rewards. Students, who take action after seeing their friends getting rewards, feel motivated. While students from the upper socioeconomic classes in society are motivated to do better, the situation is quite different in the lower socioeconomic classes. Managers often try to keep children in school and

include them in this race, by talking, appreciating those who are successful.

Some abstract rewarding examples on the subject are as follows:

It is important to give them rewards. We can do it by means of schools' potential. We should not consider these as materially rewarding. Moral support done by announcing students' success in ceremonies also motivates them. P1

We do our best to make our students love with the help of sports and arts to ensure students' attendance and participation into the school work. We should increase the number of these social activities. When students feel valuable, their success level increases. We do not directly judge students as parents do, because, if we do so, students stop coming to school" P4

Two deductions can be made in the evaluation of moral and material rewarding, provided by principals. Firstly, economically strong groups are more likely to be successful. Economically strong groups are being promoted to stay privileged. Students motivated by a variety of rewards try hard to keep their place in the competition. Those without this opportunity fall behind their peers in the community. Considering the fact that the general success is defined by the exam scores, students from low socio-economic background are more likely to fail in their academic lives. Secondly, as Freire stated, children who get involved in this competitive environment at schools are educated lacking the awareness to change the world and they only follow the path they have been put on, which is easily seen at schools. Students are not the ones who learn; yet they become an object in learning process. Those holding more knowledge will go further. Almost every school is designed in such way. These situations can be said to be relevant with the reproducing of socio-economic inequalities and students' being educated to accept these inequalities.

2. Planning

How do you make schedules for managers in schools? What specific points do you make plans of? Which ones are being scheduled apart from you? The questions of ‘‘In which situations do you do interfere the annual plans and groups?’’ have been posed. Central planning and groups themes have been composed from the answers. In the central planning theme, the administrators stated that the plans came from the center (Ministry of National Education), most of them were implemented in the same way, textbooks and guidebooks were ready, and they were applied compulsorily. In the theme of groups, some administrators stated that they interfered with the groups in various ways, while others did not. Moreover, two principals have mentioned about regional groups. It is expressed that regional groups are drastic to prevent differentiating schools. Subjects which are about central planning are detected by the ministry and have been sent to schools and schools have been applying these. Principals at school are not entitled to prepare plans or are not responsible for that. Principals are supposed to apply the content plans. Principals’ views on this matter contain reciprocal dialog in terms of being informative.

‘‘We designate our plans with the schedule provided by the ministry. I have to follow that content schedule and syllabus. We plan according to those.

Researcher: Alright. Are there any subjects that you have taken initiative? While I am planning I take initiative about certain things. Do you have any suggestions on any of the plans?

We do not need to change such things, because it has already been prepared and conceived.

Researcher: I understand. This has happened beyond your authority, which has already been planned by our superiors.

Of course, this has already been planned by specialists and are sent us after being checked up in pilot schools.’’ P5

We can't take initiatives once. Syllabus have already been designated. Of course, there are some points that we can take initiatives on the plan that the ministry gives us. That's rare. However, I must follow the syllabus, because it is followed throughout Turkey. Are we supposed to be given more initiatives? I think so. For example, I should be able to arrange the recess times. P9

Teaching plans are in the direction of the purposes that are detected by the ministry. Annual plans are already ready. Our teachers have guidebooks that include all the details. P4

As you know, the system that the ministry apply is like that: textbooks are published and distributed to us and at the beginning of each year printed books - prepared by ministry- are distributed to us, teachers as examples. P7

Ministry has already a frame schedule. We follow more of it. Except this, as our teacher's deciding, he/she touches some tiny points up by taking environmental facilities into consideration. But what matters is the general plan and program that the ministry drafts.P3

And the second principal has the ability to make their own schedule in accordance with the central exams. They have the freedom to adjust the plans in a way that will be suitable with their preferences.

"First of all, I am highly sensitive on the subject of updating the plan. If you reside in Mersin, the annual plan in Mersin is supposed to be adapted to conditions in Mersin. You cannot speak of stockbreeding here. You cannot talk about a hazelnut producer. you cannot explain hazelnut producing here. That's what exactly I am talking about. I have high sensitivity about it is supposed to be up-to-date in terms of region, the present day, the city and even the neighborhood." P10

"Well, we draw the planning forth in the direction of the codes of National Education. Sometimes we postpone some subjects. We make these decisions in seminars and group teacher meetings at the beginning of the year. To illustrate, we finished all the subjects of eighth grades in March and classified TEOG (The System of passing from Basic education to Secondary education) studies in groups. They are composed of teaching and explanation primarily to the groups that are gathered according to their groups. The secondary step is doing tests, test

techniques and more than 60% of it is doing tests rapidly and preparation for the exam.” P8

When the opinions in the planning theme were examined, it's seen that central leadership structure is fairly powerful. The plans that are distributed suddenly and unexpectedly, tools such as syllabus, guide books have the only voice about what to teach and how to teach. School principals and teachers make small interventions to such plans. However, they do not even desire to change them. In this situation that is an exact manifestation of Banking Education people are encouraged not to think. It is forbidden to question the content of the plan, the way of teaching, and to change it in a way that would change the system. As in only two examples, schools that can make a sound in the central exams can change their planning in accordance with the central exam. In our society, where the country and the education world are so dependent on central examinations, changes made only to serve central examinations are accepted.

Conclusion

The research will lead us to the implementations in banking education model due to restrictions, obligations, and hierarchical duties, inappropriate for educational leadership affairs. Because, even though educational leadership gives the opportunity to act independently to the administrators, our hierarchical educational system which is constructed by a centralist structure makes it impossible to act independently.

In the research that investigates the implementation of principals on education management, according to banking education, it is observed that principals generally implement and strongly defend the current education system. It is inferred that in primary and secondary schools where students leave their parents for the first time and start to improve their characters significantly,

everything has been established according to the steps of hierarchical system. It is observed that principals give priority to execute the implementations specified by central decision-making units in administrative process and actions.

McLaren's (2011) identification of education as not an objective practice but a political one is proven by the fact that principals are appointed by political organizations to guarantee the directives in schools. This hierarchical decision making process and passivation of local units in the process of educational service which excludes them from the construction of the process, clearly reveals the nature of banking education.

During the meetings on the objective of the schools, it was uttered that principals have no role in determining the basic objectives of schools. Principals only implement the system in schools' objectives of which are determined by MNE in laws and regulations. The implementation of all kind educational objective, material, tool and process is under the authority of principals. The exclusion of principals from determining the educational objective of schools is the best indicator of the centralized management concept in education.

Principals accept and exactly implement the objectives determined by the center. Principals are not in the intention of objecting to this situation, moreover they seem to have adopted and accepted it. There have been no principals that indicates the opposite. Thus it is not possible to determine other objectives except from those of MNE's. In schools, principals have no authorization to determine or review the objectives.

Principals use most their time and effort to increase the academic success of the students. Today, capitalist system which is shaped by neoliberal policies requires individuals that is competitive, open for any kind of rivalry and productive in order to carry its profit to the top. Educational systems are also regulated according to this system now. With central exams it is aimed to create an elimination system which evaluates individuals, in accordance with the social

hierarchical status, with their ability, capacity, interest and talent. Students are preparing for an unending competition since their young ages. As for the principals' job, with their own words, it is to whip the students. The whipped students would waste their childhood and youth with memorizing the unnecessary information which would make no use for the rest of their life just in order to get a well-paid job. Their teachers are their biggest supporters in this subject. Teachers have transformed into exam-oriented "test technicians". The better they prepare students for exam the more successful the schools are. The focus of success in schools are indexed in exams. Information is commodified. Just like Yıldız (2014) has specified the sense of education is "test, question and score". Students are busy with memorizing whatever information is given to them as it is described in banking education. Those students are far away from liberation practice.

In this regard socio-economic differences also effect the schools. Another negative aspect of central exams are that economically disadvantageous classes are left behind. The interviewed schools actually show the situation in Turkey. The schools of upper socio-economic community are far more successful than those of lower socio-economic community. Because students from upper class are provided with any opportunity to success in the exam while the exact opposite occurs in lower class schools. Children in rich places are raised in a high level social capital starting from the family, meanwhile for the other children maybe success in school is the least need thing in their life. Even though private teaching institutions have been shut down it is knowing that they keep operating under different names and formats because central exams require so. The privileged children get a second lead over the other in the private teaching institutions. Moreover, the concept of private lesson has become prevalent. The same things apply to private lessons as private teaching institutions. Also it is observed that some schools work as if they are private

teaching institutions. There are some schools which give rewards to students such as quarter gold coin, bicycle, tablet PC.

Of course there are some examples which display the opposite, still children from upper socio-economic get higher level education while those from lower class keeps being in lower class. The findings support the opinion of McLaren (2011) on the subject: when educational policy is changed, children suffer from it. Poor kids are raised to lose from their young ages. They are doomed to an unending poverty cycle which has been created by a population obsessed with success and prosperity.

Another subject which principals are excluded is education program and course planning. Syllabus and planning which is one of the basic instrument of centralist administration are implemented in schools by a single center. MNE decides what to teach and how to teach from the center and uses education programs and guide books as tools. Principals or teachers have no opportunity to determine of change the educational content. Teachers are obliged to teach the content given to them. This situation brings up the quality of the content. In this research educational planning and program are regarded as a political instrument just like education itself. In other words, the dominant political ideology and world perspective is taught to students via education. Inal (2010) identifies course books as educational instruments which contains information and moral values that each government compile or make up according to their own ideology and understanding of truth. In fact, it would be weird to expect such important political instruments to be left up to individuals' own preferences. In schools, which are the best instruments to raise people thinking just like the system wants, the most important duty of principals and teachers is to implement the instructions of hierarchy. The implementations of principals in school cannot go beyond arranging daily routine and administration of school.

As a result, we can say that school administrators are not free while performing their duties, on the contrary, they are under the strict control of the centralized structure. School administrators are actually obliged to apply certain rules. Schools are also designed to train individuals who can adapt to the existing system rather than raising free-thinking individuals.

In order to change this situation, del Carmen – Salazar (2013) offers humanizing pedagogy that depends on Freire's opinions. According to Salazar, situations such as an education system where the student is centered, teachers and administrators raise students' critical awareness, mutual trust between teacher and student, and challenging inequalities are very important for humanizing pedagogy.

Notes

ⁱThis article has been derived from a master's thesis conducted under the supervision of the second author.

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