

A Cultural Historical Activity Theoretical (CHAT) Framework
for Understanding the Construction of Inclusive Education
from Turkish Teachers' and Parents' Perspectives

by

Sultan Kilinc

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Graduate Supervisory Committee:

Angela Arzubiaga, Co-Chair
Elizabeth Kozleski, Co-Chair
Elizabeth Blue Swadener

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ABSTRACT

Inclusive education has become a global movement through the policies of the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (e.g., Salamanca Statement). These policies led many developing nations to adopt these policies in their national policy agendas. Turkey has developed inclusive education policies that deal with the education of students with disabilities (SwD). However, although SwD are the largest group who are marginalized and excluded from educational opportunities, there are other groups (e.g., cultural-linguistic minorities) who experience educational inequities in access and participation in learning opportunities and deal with enduring marginalization in education. This study examined a) Turkish teachers' and parents' conceptualizations of inclusive education for diverse groups of students, namely SwD, Kurdish students (KS), and girls, who experience educational inequities, b) how their construction of students' identities influenced students' educational experiences in relation to inclusive education, c) how their stories revealed identities, differences and power, and what role privilege played in marginalization, labeling, and exclusion of students within conceptualizations of inclusive education. I used cultural historical activity theory (Engeström, 1999) and figured worlds (Holland et al., 1998) to understand the teachers' and parents' interpretations and experiences about inclusive education. This qualitative study was conducted in four different schools in Maki, a small southwestern city in Turkey. A classroom photo, with a vignette written description, and a movie documentary were used as stimuli to generate focus group discussions and individual interviews. I conducted classroom observations to explore the context of schooling and how students were positioned within the classrooms. Classroom artifacts were additionally collected, and the

data were analyzed using a constant-comparative method. The study findings demonstrated that students had different equity struggles in access, meaningful participation, and having equal outcomes in their education. The education activity system was not inclusive, but rather was exclusive by serving only certain students. SwD and girls had difficulty accessing education due to cultural-historical practices and institutional culture. On the other hand, Turkish-only language policy and practices created tensions for KS to participate fully in education activity systems. Although stakeholders advocated girls' education, many of them constructed SwD's and KS' identities from deficit perspectives.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Inclusive education refers to ensuring equal access, participation, and outcomes for all students who are marginalized within education systems because of their differences, such as ability, gender, caste, race, ethnic identity, or socioeconomic status (Artiles, Kozleski, & Waitoller, 2011). Inclusive education has become a global movement across the world, which pressures many developing countries to adopt internationally defined inclusive education philosophies within their policy agendas. As these ideas on inclusive education travel across the world, the meaning(s) of inclusion becomes vulnerable to nations' biased interpretations due to their cultural and political boundaries. Thus, different nations conceptualize and practice inclusive education in different ways.

The meaning of inclusive education is also interpreted locally in regard to what stakeholders think about educational possibilities for their children, which is related to how certain identities and differences interact with power and privilege in culture. As a consequence, local interpretations may allow or constrain educational possibilities for children. In this vein, this study explored Turkish teachers' and parents' interpretations of inclusive education about educational possibilities for marginalized students in relation to the interaction between their identities and the dominant culture.

Exploring the Turkish context is important in terms of its strong interactions with Western ideologies and practices in education since the establishment of Turkey. On the other hand, it has deep historical roots in Eastern and Middle Eastern cultures. As a consequence, teachers' and parents' perspectives on inclusive education are embedded in

these cultural and historical complexities. Therefore, this study examined Turkish teachers' and parents' conceptualizations of inclusive education for diverse groups of students (i.e., students with disabilities, Kurdish students, and girls), who were marginalized due to their differences in ability, linguistic, or ethnic, and gender differences. Additionally, I explored the teachers' and parents' construction of students' identities in relation to inclusive education. Furthermore, I investigated how their stories revealed identities, differences, and power, and what role privilege played in marginalization, labeling, and exclusion of students within conceptualizations of inclusive education

Here, first, I present a brief history of the education of students with disabilities (SwD) in order to provide a context to show how the ideas of inclusive education have historically evolved. Second, I then describe the contemporary situation in inclusive education in an increasingly globalized world. Next, I illustrate the Turkish inclusive education context and I conclude the chapter with my conceptual framework, the purpose of the study, and research questions.

Historical Perspectives on the Education of Students with Disabilities

History dynamically evolves over time developing the roots of current ideologies and practices within specific contexts. Consequently, inclusive education has been constructed and reconstructed through complex discussions about the education of SwD and later, other marginalized groups. Thus, without examining the history of special education, our understanding of inclusive education falls short, because sociocultural and historical contexts set agendas on how actors within an education system experience education in current time and space.

In this section, I explore historical trajectories of the education of SwD in multiple contexts, the United States and some European countries, in order to explain how special education evolved to become inclusive education, how contexts shape peoples' local interpretations of educational possibilities for children and how power and privilege leak into the education system, leading to people's construction of students' differences, which may bring about marginalization, labeling or exclusion. Each country's contexts are grounded in their culture and history, and shape the intersection of dis/ability and views on educational opportunities.

While in agreement that inclusive education is not equal to special education (Emanuelsson, Haug, & Persson, 2005), I introduce the development of the policies and practices for the education of SwD in the United States and Europe due to their pioneering standpoint of inclusive education, which has influenced the Turkish inclusive education context.

The United States Story

The education of SwD is tied to how power and privileged ideologies construct differences and identities within sociocultural-historical practices. For centuries, SwD's identities and bodies were historically attached to certain labels, such as uneducable, incapable, or sick, which in turn led to their exclusion from education. Thus, the discourses on *who* should have access to education have been historically transformed in the United States. For instance, while some students have been served, students with moderate to profound mental disabilities were excluded from schools and placed in state-run residential institutions (Sands, Kozleksi, & French, 2000).

In the 1960s and early 1970s, parents of SwD became a key agent for answering the question of *who* should access education by advocating for their children and using the courts to compel states to ensure equal educational opportunities for their children (Yell, Rogers, & Rogers, 1998). White middle-class parents' power forced courts to acknowledge the rights of access to education for their children with disabilities. These bottom-up attempts were the leading points for the development of policies in the US, which was not the case for most other countries, including Turkey, where political or economic interest played a big part in their progress of educating children with disabilities.

In 1975, Public Law (P. L.) 94-142, the Education for All Handicapped Children Act (EAHCA), was signed into law. This law reflects the US values of egalitarianism and inclusion (Turnbull, 2005; Sands, Kozleksi, & French, 2000). P.L. 94-142 mandated a) access to free and appropriate public education b) the right to be educated in the LRE, c) nondiscriminatory testing, evaluation, and placement procedures, d) parental involvement e) procedural due process for all participants, and f) individualization of the educational program (IEP) (Sands, Kozleksi, & French, 2000; Yell, Rogers, & Rogers, 1998; Mitchiner, McCart, Kozleski, Sweeney, & Sailor, 2014; Turnbull, 1978). Thus, the policy was grounded in the US Civil Rights movement to provide equal opportunities and protection for SwD (Turnbull, 2005).

The EAHCA mostly responded to the question of *who* should access education—all children regardless of their differences. Then, another question was naturally engendered: *where* should children receive an education (Skrtic, 1991)? By this law and further reauthorizations, mainstreaming and integration was practiced with the effort to

place SwD in general classroom to the maximum extent possible (Least Restricted Environment) (LRE). However, different interpretations and practices of who should participate in LRE remained contested. As a consequence, when school professionals were challenged about providing support services or dealing with children's challenging behavior or disability, they tended to exclude them into more restrictive settings (Mitchiner et al., 2014). Furthermore, SwD mostly participated in nonacademic sections of classroom activities, such as music, art, or physical education, and spent most of their time in self-contained or special education classrooms, in which they frequently engaged with functional skills—sorting, matching, counting—in order for them to learn pre-vocational skills (Mitchiner et al., 2014). Physical participation in general classrooms was not enough to ensure the improvement of learning opportunities. Because teachers had not organized the learning environment to respond to the needs of these students, unfortunately, they continued to be marginal in the classroom waiting for help from special educators. Thus, they could be integrated with little or no support to be a member of the classroom learning community (Sands, Kozleksi, & French, 2000; Turnbull, Turnbull, Shank, Smith, & Leal, 2002; National Institute for Urban School Improvement, 2000).

These exclusionary practices brought about the first discussions about “full inclusion” in the late 1980s. Some parents, researchers, and advocates supported full inclusion by arguing that any separation of SwD from general education classrooms was inappropriate for their social and academic outcomes (Skrtic, 1991). It produced a debate about which educational setting would be most appropriate for children with severe

intellectual disabilities (Artiles, & Kozleski, 2007). These ideological contradictions supported the transformation of inclusive education.

In 1990, EAHCA was renamed as The Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA), which highlights the person first and involves reauthorization every five years to strengthen the rights and implementation of policy (Sands, Kozleksi, & French, 2000). Although further, IDEA's principles are a developed version of EAHCA, and the contextual changes facilitated that stakeholders' ideologies were geared towards the inclusion of SwD. Thus, the number of SwD increased from 8.3 % to 13.2% between the years of 1976-1977 and 1999-2000 (NCES 2012).

One of the important components of IDEA is to build a funding mechanism that is transferred from Congress to the Department of Education to support state and local school districts in providing appropriate services for SwD. Funding also supports research to develop the field by constructing new knowledge and professional development programs to train educators to work with SwD (Sands, Kozleksi, & French, 2000). The institution of funding mechanisms is important in that these support the progress of special education practices in the US. Furthermore, previously experienced challenges were also clarified in this framework. For example, there were disparities in the ways schools handled the discipline of students with and without disabilities who disobeyed the same rules. With this law, the suspension of students with disabilities could not exceed ten school days, and could suspend them up to 45 days only if they brought a weapon to schools (Sands, Kozleski, & French, 2000; Yell, Rogers, & Rogers, 1998). Thus, clarifications reduced arbitrary placement of SwD into more restricted settings, yet the controversies persist because decision-makers hold most of the power to define

“discipline” based on their cultural backgrounds, which undermines the complexities of different cultural understandings of the meaning of “discipline.” As a consequence, unequal power dynamics endure and perpetuate the historical marginalization of particular groups of students.

Conflicts emerged with the enactment and implementation of this policy. Although special education policy is grounded in civil rights and equity-based agenda (Turnbull, 2005), implementation usually takes place within the boundaries of the medical model that locates individuals at the center of the problem, so the aims still push individuals to be in line with certain “norms.” Thus, implementation of the medical model reveals itself in practices of labeling any difference as a way to receive supportive educational services. As a consequence, historically non-existent and socially constructed classifications were born into the field, such as learning disabilities (LD) and emotional disturbance (ED) (Connor & Ferri 2005). These labels meant different things to different groups and were implemented either to benefit or exclude children in relation to power and privilege in the US context. For instance, culturally privileged white middle-class parents used the LD category for their children, who had difficulties in academics in order to access support services without exclusion or being in the margins. On the other hand, LD, as a social construct, became an easy way to exclude historically marginalized and racially, ethnically, or linguistically different children (Connor & Ferri 2005). Therefore, socially, culturally, and historically constructed dynamics of power directly influence children’s educational experiences and opportunities.

The development of policies for the education of the SwD has increased their access to education since 1975. From 1975 to 2010-2011, the enrollment of SwD in

schools has increased from 8.3% (approx. 3,694) to 13% (approx. 6,419) (NCES, 2012). According to OSEP State Reports (2012), 6,535,838 SwD between the ages of 3 and 21 served under IDEA, 3,536,663 (<80%), 1,145,972 (40-79%), 813,232 (<40) of them spent their time in general education classrooms in fall 2011. Although these numbers reflect growing access to education of SwD, these numbers should be interrogated under the light of sociocultural-historical context in which all kinds of differences are constructed. For instance, Gibson's and Kozleski's (2010) analysis of the state data from 2009-2010 indicated that although 60% of SwD across the country spend four hours or more in LRE, the percentages of students accessing LRE ranged from 16% to 90% among states. Thus, there were different patterns in interpreting where SwD should receive education across states (Gibson, & Kozleski, 2010; Ferguson, 2008), which show how sociocultural and historical contexts influence current ideologies, practices, and interpretations.

Numbers neither narrate the full picture nor reveal students' experiences in those environments (Ferguson, 2008). Thus, who is represented by these numbers should be investigated in order to unpack privileged ideologies and power dynamics. For instance, Hispanics and African-Americans are overrepresented in special education categories and are more likely to be segregated from general education classrooms, which represents a dilemma in the construction of differences in the US (Connor & Ferri 2005). Their limited access to compelling general education curriculum reflects itself in unequal education outcomes, such as dropout rates, lower academic skills, or a high failure to get high school diplomas, for historically marginalized groups (Ferri & Connor, 2005).

In this vein, Ferri and Connor (2005) argued that “special education is used as a tool for racial resegregation” (p.453), which foregrounds the sociocultural-historical power dynamics and tension laden discourses on race and the influence on the construction of the notion of ability at present. Dis/ability¹ (Connor, 2013; Rogers & Swadener, 2001) becomes a politically and socially acceptable way of segregation, rather than historical practices of racial segregation. Thus, inclusive education should be understood by looking closely at the sociocultural context in which all kinds of differences are co-constructed through the interaction of power and privilege.

The European Stories

Each of Europe’s many small countries has their own education of SwD’s trajectory, based on their political, cultural, and historical legacies. However, their proximity and efforts to support each other have impacted their ideological development of education policies (Walton, Rosenqvist, & Sandling, 1989). Many of the countries shared similar historical paths with the US in terms of the evolution of their practices in regard to who should access education and where SwD should receive an education (Skrtic, 1991).

In the 1800s, many European countries, such as Sweden, Denmark, Finland, the Netherlands, and England provided education services for SwD in segregated schools and institutions (Walton, Emanuelsson, & Rosenqvist, 1990). The provision of services reflected politically and culturally grounded historical perspectives on disability, which

¹ I use the term dis/ability to note the dynamic nature of the social construction of ability.

perceived the problem within the individual by focusing on deficits. At the same time, Lippman (1972) noted that many of the small Scandinavian countries were more likely to accept people with disabilities as a member of the social group than the US. In a different context, in Rome, Italy, Maria Montessori (1879-1952) established a comprehensive program for SwD, which focused on childcare and teaching. Historically, Montessori's views on disability and learning were particularly important with respect to perceiving children with intellectual disabilities as learners in many areas, such as reading, writing, and manual skills (Befring, 1997; D'Alessio, 2011). The Montessori philosophy reflects the belief that sociocultural contexts shape the construction of abilities, which allows or constrains children's learning opportunities. Furthermore, the Reggio Emilia approach, grounded in Italy, practiced the philosophy of inclusive education even before Italy established inclusive education policy in 1971 (Palsha, 2002). The Reggio Emilia approach, borne out of resistance to facism and wanting to prevent it in future generations, aims to reach all children by valuing their individual differences and allowing them to express their learning in multiple ways, which is called the "100 Languages of Children" (Vekil, Freeman, & Swim, 2003). Thus, Italy can be considered one of the pioneers of the inclusive education movement.

After the 1960s, integration started to be practiced in Scandinavian countries, including Sweden, Denmark, and Finland. Scandinavian democratic socialist countries had strong cooperation with legal, economic, and social systems, which shaped their practices in educating SwD. For instance, Swedish and Danish special education policies are connected to general education law, and the municipalities are responsible for the education of SwD. The views of normalization and decentralization of education

encouraged the integration of SwD into general education classrooms (Walton, Emanuelsson, & Rosenqvist, 1990; Vislie, 2003). The construction of the European Union oriented countries' commitment to inclusive education (Durdy, & Kinsella, 2009). It forced Belgium, the Netherlands, Germany, and England to join in the conversation on the integration movement later due to their deep historical roots in segregated special education services (Vislie, 2003).

The integration wave impacted other European countries, such as Germany, the Netherlands, and England during the 1990s (Vislie, 2003; Alban-Metcalf, 1996). For instance, in England, the shift to integration movement occurred in the early 1990s (Alban-Metcalf, 1996), and after the Salamanca Statement, recently elected 'New' Labor (neoliberal) Tony Blair government aligned the English education system with the inclusive education movement. However, England has had no change in the percentages of students within segregated provisions for SwD between the years 1990-1996 (Vislie, 2003), and almost 60% of students who have "organic impairment" receive additional support services in special schools in the United Kingdom (Evans, 2004).

Furthermore, the German education system educates SwD in eight different types of special schools by clustering them based on disability category. It reveals the institutional practices in regard to trying to create homogenous learning groups, rather than a heterogeneous one (Löser, & Werning, 2011; Ellger-Rüttgardt, 1995). After World War II, Germany along with the Netherlands, Belgium, and Austria recruited workers from Turkey and other developing countries. Increasing cultural diversity became problematic in regard to the education of children who were perceived as different. The power of the dominant group's (Germans) interpretation of differences is more privileged

than other groups, which directs children's educational experiences. For instance, Turkish children are more likely to be labeled and enrolled in lower-track vocational schools than German students (Löser, & Werning, 2011). In another context, the Netherlands became more resistant to the transformation of integration due to the historical practices of the two-track system, regular and special, which propels exclusion for many reasons (i.e., to find available support services) (Emanuelsson, Haug, & Persson, 2005). Countries' sociocultural and historical contexts create power dynamics among groups, which influences the construction of abilities, identities, and educational opportunities for children.

From 1990 to 1996, the percentage of students in segregated settings has increased in Austria (from 2.6% to 2.8 %), Belgium (from 3.1% to 3.4 (FL)/3.2 (FR)%), Denmark (from 1.6%-1.7%), The Netherlands (from 3.6% to 4.9%), in contrast it has decreased in England and Wales (from 1.3%-1.2-1.3%), Finland (from 2.8%to 2.3 %), France (from 3.3% to 2.4%), and Sweden (from 1.0% to 0.8%) (Vislie, 2003). Furthermore, the percentage of students in general education classes was zero in Austria, Belgium, Germany, and the Netherlands in 1990; only Austria and Belgium increased the percentage from zero to 1.1 and 0.1, respectively, in 1996. On the other hand, the percentage of SwD in general education classrooms had increased from 1990 to 1996 in Denmark (from 11. 4% to 12-13%), Norway (from 5.3 % to 6.0%), Spain (from 1.0% to 1.4 %), and Sweden (from 0.6 to 0.9 %) (Vislie, 2003). The small growth in these countries represents political, cultural, and historical ideologies in terms of views on the education of SwD, which influences current inclusive education practices in providing appropriate education services.

Although European countries have proximity to each other, they have their own culture and history on the views of the education of SwD, which impacts their movement from exclusionary to inclusionary practices. As mentioned when discussing the US history, inclusive education is not the only concern for the education of SwD; instead, it targets all children's educational equity in participation, learning, and outcomes. In order to progress inclusive education practices, these statistical numbers should be examined in terms of which groups are represented and where they receive an education.

Power dynamics in the system shape special education practices; as it privileges some groups, it marginalizes or excludes other groups. Thus, the current conflict in special education implementation is that it becomes a space to segregate or label children in order to manage their differences (Ferri, & Connor, 2005). As these ideas cross the borders, inclusive education has become a global movement centered around developing policies and practices.

A Global Movement

Globalization has a significant impact on countries in many ways, such as developing new policies. It occurs as evolving processes of interaction among geographically remote places. Moreover, it has the following three facets: communication technologies, global markets, and im/migration. First, in this century, the world highly engages with new *communication technologies*, which build connections with unfolding events that may happen anywhere in the world. Second, *the emergence of global market forces* bypasses national borders that bring new global economic practices to different nations. Third, massive *immigration* of people and the patterns of globalization mutually influence each other (Suarez-Orozo, 2001).

The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) has contributed to the development of inclusive education at the international level. Many governments aim to reach certain target goals of literacy, educational access, completion rates, and gender equity after previous international actions, World Declaration on Education for All (EFA) (1990) and World Education Forum: The Dakar Framework for Action (2000). However, few governments have focused on the education of SwD. Thus, the Salamanca Statement and Framework for Action on Special Needs Education (UNESCO, 1994) tried to remedy the balance by expanding inclusive education philosophies to all children (Mitchell, 2005). Ninety-two governments and twenty-five international organizations adopted the Salamanca Statement, which has had a greater influence on many countries' educational policies. Vislie (2003) indicated that the Salamanca Statement linguistically shifted integration to inclusion as a global descriptor, and determined the inclusive education policy agenda on a global basis. The Salamanca Statement commits to inclusive education philosophy by proposing the followings:

- Every child has a fundamental right to education, and must be given the opportunity to achieve and maintain an acceptable level of learning;
- Every child has unique characteristics, interests, abilities, and learning needs;
- Education systems should be designed and educational programs implemented to take into account the wide diversity of these characteristics and needs;
- Those with special education needs must have access to regular schools, which should accommodate them with a child-centered pedagogy capable of meeting these needs.

- Regular schools with inclusive orientation are the most effective means of combating discriminatory attitudes, creating welcoming communities, building an inclusive society and achieving an education for all; moreover, they provide an effective education to the majority of children and improve the efficiency and ultimately the cost-effectiveness of the entire education system (UNESCO, 1994, p. viii-ix).

These principles are human rights-oriented and politically right across the world. Thus, the Salamanca Statement has placed pressure on governments who compete economically, socially, and culturally in an increasingly globalized world to adopt inclusive education policies. Adopting these policies is supportive for raising awareness of equity and justice towards historically marginalized groups and provides educational opportunities for all children. It can also open up new educational possibilities for nations, who are challenged with educational access and participation of certain groups, in terms of learning how different nations develop and practice educational provisions. On the other hand, harm may occur if Western knowledge and experiences are only copied, as predetermined packages, within developing nations without understanding the range of local variations (Vislie, 2003; Artiles, & Dyson, 2005).

The global movement of inclusive education captures the complexity of exclusionary processes by providing data from all over the world. It finds that SwD are one of the groups that is most often marginalized, yet there are other groups, such as females, racial and ethnic groups, or children in poverty, that experience enduring exclusion, resulting in children who cannot even access formal education. Therefore, countries should not limit inclusive education to the special education discourse anymore.

Instead, they need to examine, with a critical perspective, in their cultural, political, historical, and economic systems, which aspects directly influence and shape the educational experiences of children. Understanding the complexity of such systems sheds light on who is marginalized, excluded, or labeled and why this happens, which can better ground the construction of inclusive education discourses within their educational contexts.

In the 21st century, inclusive education is not a service delivery model of special education (Skric, 1996); instead, it ensures equity in participation, learning and outcomes in education for all students regardless of their differences—ability, gender, socioeconomic status, race, or linguistics. (Artiles, Kozleski, & Waitoller, 2011).

Differences are valued and respected within the philosophy of inclusive education, which decreases the emergence of unintended consequences. For instance, if access is considered a way to include students without respecting their unique differences, it may create a resistance of students, cause assimilation, or reduce their learning opportunities. On the other hand, valuing differences can open up new learning opportunities for all by maintaining cultural practices (Waitoller, 2010). Therefore, due to the complexities of constructing differences, inclusive education requires systemic change in multiple layers of the system in order to attain and sustain educational equity for all students (Ferguson, Kozleski, & Smith, 2003; Artiles, Kozleski, & Gonzalez, 2010).

Inclusive Education in an Increasingly Globalized World

Some groups of students around the world still continue to be marginalized, excluded, lag behind, or are perceived as unable to learn (Artiles, Kozleski, & Waitoller, 2011). Marginalization crystallizes the ways of thinking, interacting, or behaving in

relation to cultural, historical, economic, and political contexts that comprise dominant ideologies of whom and what is valued (Berhanu, 2010; Kozleski, Artiles, & Waitoller, 2014). Thus, every country across the world has several obstacles to ensuring equity for all students. According to EFA report (2012), 61 million children were out of school globally in 2010; in sixty countries, girls are one of the most disadvantaged groups in educational access—especially the Arab States, sub-Saharan Africa, and South and West Asia. Furthermore, 120 million children do not reach grade 4, and 130 million children fail to learn the basics. Many factors, such as historical and cultural legacies, limited recourses, or systemic conditions, create these unequal circumstances (Artiles, Kozleski, & Waitoller, 2011).

By the guidance of the international movement of inclusive education, countries have made efforts to increase educational parity among groups by pursuing the inclusive education movement, which proposes that SwD along with students who are marginalized due to their ethnic, racial, gender or socioeconomic differences, can participate in education in regular schools with supportive services. However, such efforts are mostly based on pullout of special education support (Artiles, Kozleski, & Gonzalez, 2011). Thus, it requires a comprehensive transformation at multiple layers of the system in order to embrace all students (Kozleski, & Smith, 2009; Kozleski, Thorius, & Smith, 2014; Ferguson, Kozleski, & Smith, 2003).

Despite the rising interest in inclusive education across the world, there are tensions, struggles, and difficulties in achieving education parity in each country. For instance, international pressures led countries to (unintentionally) neglect their complex historical and sociocultural contexts, which directly impacts their interpretations and

understandings of the development of the inclusive education agenda. Western Europe and the United States pursue comprehensive, inclusive education agenda, yet mandate top-down inclusive education policies, which has generated country-specific unintended issues and increased the gap between positive intention to develop inclusive education agenda and actual practices (Artiles, Kozleski, & Waitoller, 2011). On the other hand, developing countries—e.g., Latin American and, most of the Asian and Sub-Saharan countries—deal with financial, professional, or physical resources or ideological challenges (Fletcher, & Artiles, 2005; Peters, 2004) that constrain the progress of the inclusive education. For instance, Mexico conflicts with overcoming barriers of larger class sizes, lack of economic opportunities, and lacks well-equipped teachers (Fletcher, & Artiles, 2005); on the other hand, some Middle Eastern countries—e.g., Qatar, Bahrain, and Kuwait—experience obstacles to develop an inclusive education system due to traditional beliefs, practices, and values (i.e., fatalism, denial, shame, and family honor). While many developing nations have tried to decrease disparities in school access and high drop-out rates among groups, developed nations have discussed equity in participation and outcomes for all children (Artiles, Kozleski, & Waitoller, 2011; Artiles, & Kozleski, 2007).

Globalization has increased mass migration from developing to developed nations, in which differences among groups can be easily recognized. These differences are vulnerable to false interpretations of educators who may experience difficulties responding to cultural diversity. Although inclusive education asserts respecting diversity in order to construct cohesive cultures, students' differences are categorized—e.g., able/disabled, black/white, and ELL/English proficient—based on dominant cultural norms

and values which are related to political, social, and economic systems (Artiles & Kozleski, 2007, Gutiérrez, 2006; McDermott & Raley, 2009). Thus, labeling and identification of students become an easy way to manage differences (Armstrong, Armstrong, & Spandagou, 2011), yet unfortunately, children are sometimes inaccurately labeled (McDermott & Raley, 2009).

Inclusive education agenda should be examined in the light of cultural-historical contexts, which reveal differential opportunities for particular groups in a nation. However, it has been mostly under-examined by inclusive education scholarship (Artiles, & Kozleski, 2007). For instance, after World War II, Germany recruited immigrant workers from Turkey, Russia, and Poland in order to access cheap labor. The increase in immigration from these countries to Germany has generated difficulties in education and social contexts due to lack of understandings of these cultures. As a result, students from different backgrounds have been overrepresented in special needs categories and placed in vocational schools (Löser & Werning, 2011; Holdaway, Crul, & Roberts, 2009). Similarly, educators in the US have struggled with responding to students from diverse cultural and historical backgrounds. Latin@s, African Americans, and English language learners (ELLs) are disproportionality classified under various disability labels and are more likely to be placed in special education settings than their white counterparts who have the same disability identification (Artiles & Kozleski, 2007; Harry & Klingner, 2006). As a result, unfortunately, minority students cannot meaningfully engage in complex classroom activities in which learning opportunities can occur by supportive interactions between students and teachers (Artiles, & Kozleski, 2007). Therefore, while

some students have benefited from inclusive education practices, other groups continue to be segregated (Kozleski, Artiles, & Waitoller, 2014).

Artiles and Kozleski (2007) emphasized that the inclusive education movement has remained silent about critical equity questions, such as “Who benefits from inclusive education?,” “where are these students included?,” “what are the consequences of who benefits and where inclusion is enacted?” (p.352). Even though there has been increasingly observable access of SwD into schools after the Salamanca statement across the world, there are within-group differences among populations of disabled students when it comes to benefiting from special education opportunities. For instance, in the US minority students are overrepresented in special education in elementary and high schools; in contrast, they are underrepresented in post-secondary education. On the other hand, middle-class white SwD have higher admission and completion rates in post-secondary education (Reid, & Knight, 2006). Further, there are significant achievement gaps among disabled and non-disabled students. Therefore, previously noted critical questions should be examined in relation to societies’ culture and history, in which power, privilege, racism, classism, and sexism visibly or invisibly leak into each layer of a system.

Graham and Slee (2008) also proposed a critical question to think about inclusion: “*when we talk of including, into what do we seek to include?*” They argued that inclusion is a term, which implicitly and discursively privileges the normalized certain ways of being as including the “other” into a “prefabricated, naturalized space” (p. 278). Thus, inclusion may unintentionally lead to assimilation of students within predetermined

classroom practices. In this vein, Sapon-Shevin (2010, as cited in Sapon-Shevin, 2014) argued that full inclusion has six components:

1. A classroom marked by cooperation rather than competition.
2. Inclusion of all students; no one has to “earn” their ways into the community.
3. An atmosphere in which differences are valued and addressed openly.
4. A place that values the integrity of each person, that is, each person is valued in his or her wholeness with multiple identities.
5. A climate in which people are encouraged to display the courage to challenge oppression and exclusion (p.28).

Inclusive education expands the values of inclusion by ensuring education for all students regardless of their differences, whether it be —ability, gender, socioeconomic status, race, or linguistics. Furthermore, it aims to provide educational equity in access, participation, and learning outcomes for all groups of students (Artiles, Kozleski, & Waitoller, 2011). Differences are valued and respected in the philosophy of inclusive education, which decreases the emergence of unintended consequences. For instance, if access is considered as a way to include students without respecting their unique differences, it may create a resistance of students, cause assimilation, or reduce their learning opportunities. On the other hand, valuing differences can open up new learning opportunities for everybody by maintaining cultural practices (Waitoller, 2010). Fraser’s (1997, 2008) three-dimensional conceptualization of social justice in relation to inclusive education is explained by Waitoller (2010), Waitoller and Kozleski, (2013), and Waitoller and Artiles, (2013) as

(a) the redistribution of access to and participation in quality opportunities to learn (redistribution dimension); (b) the recognition and valuing of all student differences as reflected in content, pedagogy, and assessment tools (recognition dimension); and (c) the creation of more opportunities for nondominant groups to advance claims of educational exclusion and their respective solutions (representation dimension) (Waitoller & Artiles, 2013, p.4; Waitoller & Kozleski, 2013)

Constructing Turkish Inclusive Education Narrative

Marginalized/Disadvantaged Groups in Turkey

Educational policies represent historical legacies and cultural perspectives about how differences are treated in a nation. The narratives of policies illustrate educational, cultural, and historical inequalities among groups, highlight who is marginalized (i.e., SwD, ethnic minorities, or females), and represent the “who” and “what” of the inclusive education. Therefore, policies provide solutions (i.e., redistribute access, provide support services, recognize and value differences.) (Kozleski, Artiles, and Waitoller, 2014).

Turkish education policies also narrate inequities among groups. According to policies, SwD, children in rural, the Southeastern, and the Eastern regions, and girls are disadvantaged groups. On the other hand, due to the political boundaries, policies do not narrate ethnic and linguistic differences among children and their educational experiences. These inequities are not specifically part of inclusive education policy; rather they are examined under general education policy or considered part of social inclusion. Even though inclusive education is associated with SwD, one of the main aims of the Ninth Development Plan, which covers between 2007 and 2013, is to develop

social inclusion and equity by increasing access and equal educational opportunities for all children (MONE, 2008). The Ministry of National Education (MONE) (2008) explained, “inclusive education implementations in Turkey intensively focus on individuals who do not benefit from educational services in the poorest part of the society via social aids” (p.22). The target group of inclusive education is explained as including children or people who are or were out of the education system. People and their children who work temporarily in agricultural fields without social security cannot fully participate in education and are one of the disadvantaged groups who need to receive educational services (MONE, 2008). Therefore, poverty is perceived to be a main risk factor in regard to educational access. On the other hand, power dynamics among parents and school’s social and cultural predispositions and resources that are provided to schools do not guarantee children’s further school enrollment and use of their full potential.

Regional disparities are explicit in Turkey due to historical, geographical, and economic reasons, which unfortunately create regional educational inequities. According to Human Development Index, the East Marmara, the Aegean, and the West Marmara have higher development index values than South East, Central, and North East Anatolia, which also has the same Education Index (Unal, 2008). Children in rural areas, especially the Eastern and the Southeastern regions, are disadvantaged groups in terms of receiving equal educational opportunities (Ciyer, 2010). To increase the educational quality for children in rural areas with lower population, MONE initiated and funds “Busing in Primary Education Implementation.” With this project, children are bussed from their villages to the closest city for schooling. In the 2007-2008 academic year, 692,369 primary education students were bussed daily to 61,646 schools. Even though the project

has good intentions on providing educational opportunities for children in rural areas, there are challenges in including these students in regard to their lack of motivation, peer relations, and academic outcomes due to various reasons (Ari, 2003). Ari (2003) also found that teachers had lower expectations for children who are bussed to school, which may result in deficit views towards these children.

Gender disparities are experienced especially by girls in terms of accessing education at some regions due to cultural and economic reasons. MONE and UNICEF initiated campaigns—“Haydi Kizlar Okula!” (Girls, Let’s Go to School!)—in order to increase girls’ educational access (MONE, n.d). The campaign was aimed at girls, between 6 and 14 years of age, who drop out of schools or never attended. It started in 10 provinces, Agri, Batman, Bitlis, Diyarbakir, Hakkari, Mus, Siirt, Sanliurfa, Sirnak and Van, in 2003. These are the mountainous regions located in the Southeastern and Eastern Anatolia, where schooling of girls is lower than other regions. In 2003, despite a population of 1,555,600 children in these ten regions 263, 413 of these children had never attended school or had dropped out of school. Regarding enrollment of the school, 73.43% of girls and 25.56% of boys had not attended schools. The campaign expanded to 23 provinces in 2004, and 20 more provinces were included in 2005, and now includes 53 provinces concentrated where the schooling is lowest. From 2003 to 2009, approximately 350,000 girls had started primary school (Somuncu, 2006). In 2011 to 2012, the enrollment in primary school for boys was 98.77% and was 98.56% for girls; the enrollment in secondary school for boys was, 68.53% and 66.14% for girls; the enrollment in higher education for boys was 35.59% and 35.42% for girls (MONE, 2013). It is clear that girls’ school enrollment is less than boys, and decreases over the

years. These numbers represent the importance to understand the marginalization of girls in education from the views of teachers and parents about larger cultural and historical contexts.

Ethnic and linguistic differences do not take place in the general education policy because Turkish nationality is grounded in the principle of “jus sanguinis.” The Turkish constitution, Article 66 defined citizenship as “Everyone bound to the Turkish state through the bond of citizenship is a Turk.” It means ethnic differences are not part of the definition of citizenship. Turkey is ethnically diverse including Kurds, Abkhazians, Albanians, Arabs, Assyrians, Bosniaks, Circassians, Georgians, Hamshenis, Laz, Pomaks (Bulgarians), and Roma. Kurds are the largest ethnic group and are located in the Southeastern and Eastern part of Turkey. In 2003, the Kurdish population constituted 14.5% of Turkey, which means that approximately 10 million Kurds live in Turkey (Koc, Hancioglu, & Cavlin, 2008). The use of the Kurdish has been contested for many decades because the education system requires Turkish as an official language. Thus, languages other than Turkish have not been part of the education system until 2012. In 2012, the Kurdish language became an elective class, yet due to inadequate numbers of Kurdish teachers, anyone who knows Kurdish can become a Kurdish teacher. It is a small step for inclusion of the Kurdish language. However, culturally, historically, and politically grounded contested discourses of Kurds leaks into multiple layers of the system, which may lead to deficit-oriented or politically grounded interpretations of educators towards Kurdish children.

There is a lack of research about how teachers and parents interpret and treat differences within the Turkish context. Therefore, this study contributed to expanding

inclusive education conceptualizations for all students, specifically marginalized students due to their ability, linguistic, ethnic, and gender differences.

From Special to Inclusive Education in Turkey

Since the early 1900s, there have been positive attempts to ensure education for SwD by establishing schools and development of new policies. However, education has been provided within separate schools or institutions, which reflects the dominant ideologies of disability as an individual problem or sickness. (Kargin, 2004; Melekoglu, Cakiroglu, & Malmgren, 2009).

During the 1980s, Turkey took the first step to discuss comprehensive policies in regard to education of SwD by establishing the law of “Özel Egitime Muhtaç Çocuklar Kanunu” (Children with Special Education Need Law) (No. 2916) in 1983. This law states that precautions must be taken for children with special needs whose conditions and characteristics are appropriate to receive education at a regular school with their “normal” peers (MONE, 1983). Although the law mentions SwD access to regular schools, it did not clearly define what “conditions and characteristics” are and what “precautions” are needed (Diken & Batu, 2010; Kargin, 2004). In 1985, the regulation of Özel Egitim Okullari Yonetmeligi (The Regulation of Special Education Schools) noted that in conditions when special education classes would not be open for children with special needs, they could attend “normal” classrooms (Diken & Batu, 2010). Although some scholars interpreted this regulation as the first step for inclusion of SwD (Kargin, 2004), special education classes were actually considered more appropriate placement than regular classrooms for the education of children with special needs.

During the 1990s, especially after the Salamanca Statement, inclusive education was significantly addressed as part of the Turkish education context. In 1997, Turkey legislated new acts (571, 572, and 573) in order to provide quality services for people with special needs. Act 573 is related to the education of SwD, which mandates that SwD can receive free and appropriate special education services between the ages of 3 and 21, parental involvement, and the importance of early intervention.

“Kaynastırma/Butunleştirme” (Inclusive education) is defined in Act 573, in 1997; 2000, 2012 in Special Education Legislation, as

Special education applications that provide supportive educational services to individuals who are in need of special education, [and is] based on the principle that they continue their learning and education with peers who are not in need, throughout public and private preschool, primary, secondary schools and informal education (2012, Section 4, item 23)

Inclusive education is considered as an implementation of special education and targets SwD, which narrows the comprehensive constructs of inclusive education. Thus, the definition constructs inclusive education as a placement of SwD in regular classrooms by providing support services, yet it may not sufficient for meaningful participation in classroom activities.

This policy addresses “least restricted environment” under “yönlendirme” (guidance) and “yerleştirme” (placement) services, in which students with disabilities are desired to be educated. Guidance and Research Centers (GRC) (Rehberlik Arastırma Merkezi), under the Department of Special Education, Guidance and Counseling Services (Ozel Egitim ve Rehberlik Hizmetleri), are responsible for screening, evaluation and

assessment, placement, and supervision (MONE, 2005, 2009; Ciyer, 2010; Melekoglu, Cakiroglu, & Malmgren, 2009). Thus, GRC are responsible for referral of children, and consult parents about children's situation. Based on their guidance and parental approval, SwD can participate in regular classrooms in full-time or half-time basis. In the half-time inclusive education services, they receive supplemental activities either in or outside of the regular classrooms (MONE, 2012).

The policy requires supportive educational services for children with special needs, which mostly refers to special education programs, such as “destek eğitim odası” (resource room), “Bireyselleştirilmiş eğitim programı (BEP)” (individualized education program) (IEP), or provision of materials. SwD spend a maximum of 40% of their time in a resource room and receive educational supports that align with classroom contexts from special education, classroom or specialized teachers either individually or within a group (MONE, 2012; Kargin, 2004). IEP, led by school principals or school assistant principals, are prepared by classroom, special education, and guidance teachers, and parents, in order to support children's educational performance and needs. They work collaboratively in these processes (MONE; 2012). On the other hand, this policy does not specifically define materials, curriculum design, or pedagogies that can support children and teachers.

The population of inclusive kindergarten classrooms is designed to hold a maximum of 20 children if there is one child with a disability and ten if there are two. At the elementary and high school levels, this number increases to 25 teachers for every two SwD and 35 for one. Therefore, a maximum of two SwD will be included in classrooms (MONE, 2012). Decreasing classroom populations is an important way to support

teachers, yet this implementation separates classrooms as inclusive or regular. On the other hand, inclusive education philosophy entails that all classrooms be inclusive.

Categorization of disability is a contested topic around the world; in Turkey, disability categories are: visual, hearing, orthopedic, intellectual, multiple disabilities, speech and language difficulties, autism, learning difficulty, attention deficit and hyperactivity disorder, emotional and behavioral disorder, cerebral palsy, long-term illnesses, and policy also mentions gifted and talented students. Intellectual disabilities are rated as low, moderate, or high, and low and moderate levels are accepted in inclusive education classrooms. Students with long-term illnesses are considered unable to continue their education in inclusive classrooms due to their constant needs and care (Ciyer, 2010; MONE, 2012).

Statistics of Student with Disabilities in Turkey

Turkey, as many developing countries, utilized the World Health Organization's (WHO) statistical information on disabled people. The State Institute of Statistics and The Presidency of Administration on Disabled People examined the statistical data about people with disabilities. The 2002 findings showed that 12.29% of the Turkish population was disabled (approximately 8.5 million people). Orthopedics, visual, hearing, speech, and intellectually disabled people constituted 2.58% (approximately 1.8 million), and 1.54% of them were between the ages of 0-9 years, and the proportion of people with chronic illnesses was 9.70% (approximately 6.6 million) and 2.60% of them were between 0-9 years (ESCAP, 2009). Basbakanlik Özürlüler İdaresi Başkanlığı (2010) designated that the graduation rate of children with physical, visual, hearing, and speech disabilities was 41% for primary school (1st-5th grade), 5.64% for secondary school (6th-

8th grade), 6.90% for high school, and a mere 2.42% for higher education. These numbers desperately show that educational access decreases over time; the educational and social inequity can result in permanent unemployment (78% for SwD), social exclusion, and marginalization for the population. International awareness of education of people with disabilities led Turkish policies to develop education system to respond to the needs of people with disabilities.

The primary aim for SwD is to receive good quality education in order to be part of society and gain professional skills (MONE, 2008). There are a growing number of SwD who are included in regular classrooms. MONE (2005) noted, “in the 2004/2005 academic year, there were 21,239 students and 4,419 teachers in 972 special education institutions/classes, and 31,708 students received inclusive education in 7,506 schools” (p.30). There has been a growing number of students who can access regular classrooms; for example, while in 2006, 54,309 students were in inclusive primary and secondary school classrooms, in 2009 this number increased to 72,425 (MONE, 2005).

Undoubtedly, these numbers only represent educational access of SwD, which does not mean that they have equal opportunities to participate and learn in classrooms with their peers. Furthermore, lack of statistics on other demographic information about who is represented under these numbers restricts examinations about differences among groups.

UNESCO’s policies of inclusive education have positive effects on the development of inclusive education policies towards SwD in Turkey. Also, the Turkish education system has similarities with the U.S. special education system (i.e., individualized education plan, resource room). Furthermore, Turkey, as a candidate member for the European Union, is trying to develop socially, economically, and in

educational achievement to fulfill the European Union's requirements, which influences the adoption of policies without close examination of contexts. For instance, although inclusive education policy reflects an evidence of supportive and well-meaning intentions, there are challenges and struggles to provide educational equity for all children. The source of these tensions is multifaceted, including lack of teacher training, resources, and economic support, social and cultural beliefs and practices, and historical legacies (Ciyer, 2010; Mitchell, 2005). On the other hand, there is a lack of research, which uncovers how power dynamics act out as the construction of differences and identities in the inclusive education context.

The Purpose of the Study

An analysis of the historical development of inclusive education reveals that inclusive education is a politically right movement for many countries. Thus, ideas, practices, and policies travel across the world in order to increase educational equity for all learners. As these ideas cross borders, they are interpreted and practiced in relation to each society's cultural and historical legacies at the macro level, which sometimes conflicts with political, cultural, or economic contexts. Furthermore, at the local level, power dynamics among actors privilege certain practices and identities, and influence educational opportunities for children. Thus, macro and micro systems reciprocally interact with each other in the construction of identity and differences.

Turkish inclusive education policy targets SwD with a narrow conceptualization of inclusive education. Furthermore, differences other than ability are under-examined by inclusive education scholarship. Therefore, this study aimed to expand inclusive education conceptualization for all students by examining Turkish teachers' and parents'

conceptualization of inclusive education for diverse students, namely SwD, Kurdish students, and girls. Additionally, the influences of teachers' and parents' construction of students' identities on the students' educational experiences in relation to inclusive education. I closely focused on how power and privilege interact with identity differences in relation to how these dynamics influence children's educational opportunities and experiences and produce inclusion, exclusion, or labeling of students. Thus, the teachers and parents discourses revealed who benefited from this complex system and who did not.

Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework for this study (Figure 1) aimed to illustrate the relationships between the constructs and the problem space within multiple layers of social contexts.

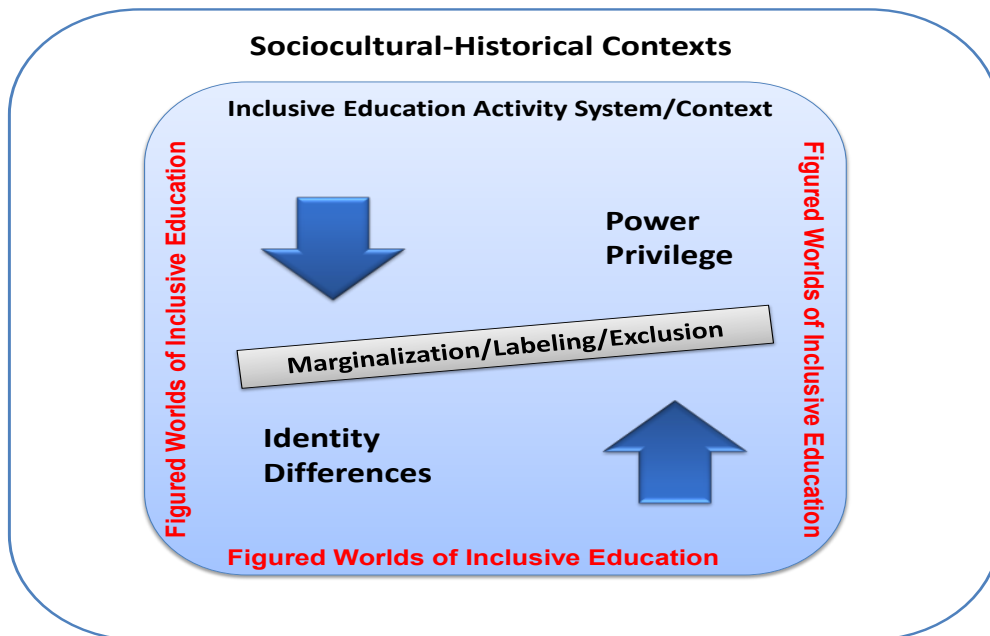


Figure 1. Conceptual framework of the study: The inherent tensions of stakeholders' conceptualization of inclusive education

The conceptual framework of the study included larger sociocultural-historical context, inclusive education context/institutional context, and the problem space. The study's purpose was to understand teachers' and parents' conceptualization of inclusive education with respect to the relationships between the construction of differences and identities and the influences of power and privilege within the Turkish culture. The center of Figure 1 illustrates the problem space of the study. In this diagram, power and privilege dynamically interacts with individuals' identities and differences. In a metaphorical way, identities collide with each other in micro and macro systems, in which power mostly privileges certain ways of being, practicing, or thinking. Thus, the way these interactions unfold, marginalization, exclusion, or labeling occurs in the education system. Thus, examining families', teachers', and children's relational identities and their positionality with respect to each other allowed or constrained educational opportunities of children.

Institutional culture privileges certain ways of being, acting, or thinking, which can be considered tools to powerfully, participate in the education system. Tension rises when some actors' identities are not perceived as right members of the education system. For instance, children who are coming from a different background or do not share similar institutional cultural practices may be perceived as deficit or incapable, which puts them on margins of the system and constrains their learning opportunities. In addition, their behaviors can be interpreted as well-behaved, smart, or off-task by teachers based on past experiences, school practices, and the influences of culture. Understanding these dynamic interactions is fundamental to transform the current educational practices into the inclusive education system.

Unpacking the dynamic interaction of power and privilege and actor's identities and differences revealed who benefited from these relational processes or were dragged into certain labels, excluded, or marginalized. Understanding figured worlds about inclusive education of local actors in the processes of competing power dynamics shaped educational opportunities of children. Their discourses and practices provided information about their figured worlds about inclusive education that was culturally and historically constituted, and context dependent.

Research Questions:

Research questions that will guide the study include the following:

1. What are the teachers' and parents' conceptualizations of inclusive education for diverse groups of students?
2. How do teachers' and parents' constructions of students' identities influence students' educational experiences in relation to inclusive education?
3. How do teachers' and parents' stories/experiences reveal identities, differences, and power, and what role does privilege play in marginalization, labeling, and exclusion of students within conceptualizations of inclusive education?

Cultural Historical Activity Theory

I used cultural historical activity theory (CHAT) to understand Turkish teachers' and parents' conceptualization of inclusive education for the diverse group of students. CHAT has developed over three generations starting from Vygotsky (first generation), continued by his student Leont'ev (second generation), and expanded by Engeström and his colleagues (third generation) (Engeström, 1999). Engeström depicted the current representation of CHAT as a complex triangle model (See Figure 2).

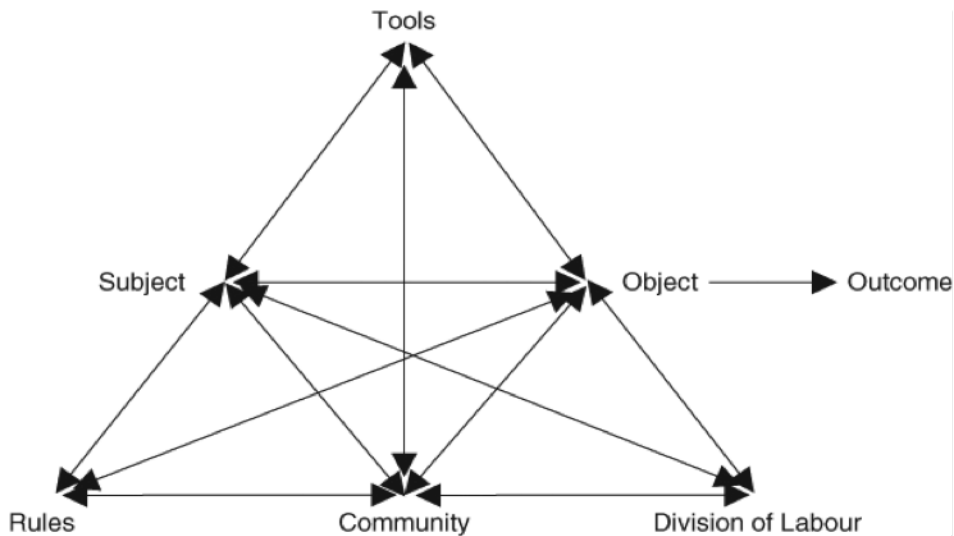


Figure 2. Cultural Historical Activity Theory

CHAT argued that every human action is object oriented and mediated by tools (i.e., material and conceptual), division of labor, rules, and community (Engeström, 1999). Subject refers to an individual or groups whose perspective taken into account for analysis. For instance, in this study, I depicted the education activity system from the point of views of the teachers and parents. Object refers to the ‘raw material’ ‘problem space’ at which the activity is directed (Engeström & Sannino, 2010, p. 6). Objects are also future oriented. In this study, the object of the classroom activity system was identified for SwD, Kurdish students, and girls as represented by the teachers and parents in relation to the interconnected larger education activity system. Tools are both material and conceptual mediates the accomplishment of the object (Cole, 1999). In the study, I investigated material and conceptual tools in order to understand how these tools mediated the educational experiences of students (i.e., inclusion or exclusion). Community refers to people who have a common object of the activity. Division of labor divides into horizontal division of labor, which refers to tasks of the people in an activity

system. Vertical division of labor includes power and status among members of the activity system. For instance, I identified the division of labor of teachers and students, which revealed roles and responsibilities of the teachers and students and also power dynamics among them. Rules regulate the activity system in explicit and implicit ways. I examined the rules that regulated the classroom activity systems in relation to inclusive education.

Furthermore, activity systems evolve over time and contradictions within and across systems rise through interaction (Engeström, 2001; Engeström & Sannino, 2010; Gutiérrez & Arzubiaga, 2012). Engeström and Sannino (2010) describe contradictions, (a) as emerging latent primary contradictions within each and any of the nodes of the activity system, (b) as openly manifest secondary contradictions between two or more nodes (e.g., between a new object and an old tool), (c) as tertiary contradictions between a newly established mode of activity and remnants of the previous mode of activity, or (d) as external quaternary contradictions between the newly reorganized activity and its neighboring activity systems (p. 7).

Therefore, I examined potential contradictions that were depicted by the teachers and parents for possible transformative processes towards inclusive education.

In short, in this study, I used CHAT to unpack and understand how the teachers and parents represent and figure the education activity system in regard to inclusive education. CHAT deals with complex, interconnected, and nested activity systems (Engeström & Sannino, 2010), which provided a comprehensive theoretical understanding about how context resulted in inclusive and exclusive outcomes for diverse students.

Figured Worlds

Figured worlds are socially and culturally constructed, collectively produced “as if” “realms of interpretation in which particular characters and actors are recognized, significance is assigned to certain acts, and particular outcomes are valued over others” (Holland, Lachicotte, Skinner, & Cain, 1998, p.52) (e.g., figured worlds of romance or smartness).

Gee (2007) described figured worlds as informal theories of people in a social context. According to Holland et al. (1998), “the production and reproduction of figured worlds involves both abstraction of significant regularities from everyday life into expectations about how particular types of events unfold and interpretation of the everyday according to these distillations of past experiences” (p.53). Thus, actors within a figured world narrate or theorize how certain events unfold and position anticipated identities of people. Figured worlds must be conceptualized as a process within a temporal space, rather than a static notion of practice.

Figured worlds mediate people’s actions within activities. For instance, Holland and Eisenhart (1990) found that women in an American college spent a great deal of time focusing on beautification of their physical appearance and body within the figured worlds of romance. Their attractiveness to a man, as a symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1977), privileges their social positioning in their social context.

Artifacts are an important mediator of people’s action and identities (Vygotsky, 1978, Holland et.al, 1998; Cole, 1996). Conceptual and material artifacts connect the past to the present and to an anticipated future, and these are embedded within figured worlds (Cole, 1996; Holland et al., 1998). An artifact brings its “developmental histories” (Cole,

1996 cited in Holland et. al 1998, p.61) to the present, which has also been called “heterochrony” by Lemke (2000). For instance, a violin is valued at the present time in relation to its age and historical owner, which is an essential factor to be purchased by a violinist. Artifacts also lead people’s thinking, feelings, and behaviors. Following the previous example of figured worlds of romance, wearing “sexy” clothes or talking in certain ways mediated attractiveness of women. Thus, tools also influence people’s understanding of themselves within a figured world.

Figured worlds are comprised of socio-culturally grounded dynamics of power and privilege about larger power structures. Holland et al. (1998) stated that “imagined acts, courses and places of action, actors, and even the whole of a figured world take on an element of rank and status according to relational hierarchy” (p.58). Power and privilege in a figured world are relational to a temporal time and space.

Identities are produced through participation in activities that are structured by figured worlds. Power and privilege in culturally formed activities form relational/positional and narrativized/figurative identities. Holland et al. (1998) indicated that

Positional identities have to do with the day-to-day and on-the-ground relations of power, deference and entitlement, social affiliation and distance—with the social- interactional, social-relational structures of the lived world. Narrativized or figurative identities, in contrast, have to do with the stories, acts, and characters that make the world a cultural world (p.127).

Indeed, relational and figurative identities co-construct each other. For instance, being a good woman in Nepal, India is narrated as a storyline from being an obedient

daughter in natal homes to being obedient and respectful wives to their husbands and in-laws, and even dying before their husbands do. It is observable that narrativized identities have deep cultural and historical roots of society. Thus, women hold less power against men in constructing relational identities within social interaction. On the other hand, individuals have the agency to accept, negotiate, or disposition inscribed identities upon themselves (Holland et al., 1998). In the study of Luttrell and Parker (2001), students constructed their identities through literacy practices in a figured world of school, work and family. Students' disposition were revealed by writing poems or their inner dialogs about their concern for going to college as opposed to school's lower-level positioning.

Some studies use the framework of figured worlds in classroom contexts. Hatt (2012) examined cultural construction of smartness in kindergarten classrooms. Within the classroom context, children were positioned and constructed their learning identities in regard to figured worlds of smartness, which functioned as a control system and social positioning certain identity status on children. In addition, classroom artifacts mediated who was smart or not. For instance, the *spotlight* practice, in which the children's car changed color from green to yellow and red in their perceived inappropriate behaviors, constructed the notion of smartness. It was also noted that race and class were a noticeable indicator in the process of constructing smartness. While middle-class children were more likely to keep their green light over a day, an African-American lower income background child had always been moving his car to red which was perceived "not smart" in the classroom context. Furthermore, children's prior knowledge about the topics that the teacher introduced was positioned as smart. It was observed that children

who were identified as smart had social power in terms of being desired to be a friend or sit together.

In another study of Hatt (2007), *Street Smarts vs. Book Smarts*, focused on the figured world of smartness from the views of marginalized urban youth. They reflected their understandings of the figured worlds of smartness in schools related to school artifacts, such as having good grades, getting higher scores in college preparatory exams and diplomas, in which the meanings of artifacts were historically constructed. In addition, they broadly figured smartness in regard to being a street smart, which was associated with survival in challenging circumstances (e.g., poverty).

In my study, I used figured worlds as a complementary conceptual tool to understand how teachers and parents figured the nested educational activity system, which is interconnected with other activity systems (e.g., political and economical). Additionally the teachers' and parents' figured worlds of inclusive education, embedded in their interpretation and meaning-makings, led their motives for action within activities. Power and privilege in relation to relational identities may consequence marginalization, labeling, or exclusion of children. Thus, their figured worlds mediate the practices of inclusive education and directly influenced children's experiences of education.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

Inclusive education philosophy and policies travel across the world with various interpretations and practices, which are grounded in larger cultural-historical contexts, political and educational structures, and economical resources. In micro systems, like schools, actors, such as teachers, parents, and students construct their ideologies of how things should be, work, or evolve, and position each other in certain ways, which privilege particular ways of being and behaving. Conceiving micro systems as a reflection of larger systems, cultural, historical, economic, political inequities towards some groups (e.g., cultural minorities, females, people with disabilities) mirror themselves within micro contexts such as schools. Thus, not all children benefit from education equally.

Inclusive education deals with transformation of education systems that ensures equal opportunities to access, participation, and learning for all children (Ferguson, Kozleski, & Smith, 2003). It recognizes and values all kinds of differences in curricular contents, practices, and pedagogies, and encourages all groups to represent themselves in decision-making processes (Waitoller & Kozleski, 2013; Waitoller & Artiles, 2013).

Understanding teachers' and parents' conceptualization of inclusive education is fundamental to dismantle the production of marginalization and exclusion as a result of the collision of power and privilege and identity differences. Thus, this study aimed to examine these complex constructions of inclusive education along with students' identities with respect to power and privilege. For this purpose, I synthesized and critiqued the inclusive education literature based on the topics of teachers' and parents'

understandings of inclusive education, the construction of children’s learning identities, and marginalization, exclusion, and labeling processes in relation to power and privilege and identity differences.

Methods

I searched for inclusive education studies with three major education search engines: EBSCO Academic Search Premier, Education Resources Information Center (ERIC), and Journal Storage (JSTOR), Google Scholar, Education Full Text-Wilson Web. I combined the terms “inclusive education” and/or “inclusion” and/or “teachers,” “parents” with a) “perceptions,” “beliefs,” “meaning-making,” “views,” “experiences” b) “identity,” “difference,” “positioning,” “power,” “privilege,” “oppression” c) “marginalization,” “labeling,” “exclusion.” I searched the literature by conducting all potential combinations of these key words. I found over 1500 articles. I selected relevant articles by following the study’s selection criteria:

Selection Criteria.

1. Participants: the study participants were parents or teachers who have or have taught children in primarily K-5 setting. I also included studies, which included participants from K-5 to K-12.
2. The study questions, purpose or hypothesis addressed *at least one* of the following aspects:
 - a) Teachers’ and/or parents’ experiences, perspectives, meaning-making, or views about inclusive education.
 - b) The construction of children’s identities in inclusive education context.
 - c) Using power or privilege as a construct in inclusive education context.

- d) Using marginalization, exclusion, or labeling in inclusive education context.
3. Source of publication: Studies or conceptual papers were published in peer-reviewed journals and book chapters.
4. Time range: the studies were published between 2003 and 2013.
5. Research methods: the articles or studies discussed were primary or secondary database studies in qualitative, quantitative, and mixed designs. I also included literature reviews and conceptual papers.

Based on these following selection criteria, I analyzed 33 articles related to teachers and parents conceptualizations of inclusive education.

Study Findings in the Literature

Teachers and Inclusive Education

This section examined how the field of inclusive education addresses teachers' conceptualizations and experiences of inclusive education. Here, I examined how the field defined its boundaries in regard to the construction of what inclusive education is and who should be in and out of it, which is grounded in policies, cultural, historical, and political structure, and local context's allowances and constraints. Although studies were conducted in various countries (e.g., United States, South Africa, Australia, Chile, or Hong-Kong), there were some patterns in teacher's thinking and talking about inclusive education, which can be understood without decontextualizing them.

What is Inclusive Education?

Teachers' construction of the meaning of inclusive education varied depending on personal and professional histories, current policies, cultural and political discourse, or economic affordances or constraints (Sikes, Lawson, & Parker, 2007; Phillipson &

Forlin, 2011; Ul Hassan et al., 2010). Inclusive education is historically associated with the education of SwD in general education classrooms to the maximum extent possible. It focuses on ability differences and limits the philosophy of inclusive education to only consider placement (Artiles & Kozleski, 2007).

Teachers' interpretations of inclusive education revealed placement of students with disabilities (SwD) into general education classrooms still dominated their views and practices (e.g., Frederickson, Dunsmuir, Lang, & Monsen, 2004; Heiman, 2004; Leung & Mak, 2010; Ntombela, 2011; Leatherman, 2007; Paliokoska & Blandford, 2010; Starczewska, Hodkinson, & Adams, 2012). Thus, their perceptions of inclusive education were grounded in including SwD in general education classrooms. Depending on their context (i.e., resources, constraints, or ideologies), they had positive or negative views about the placement of SwD.

Teachers, only in few studies, defined inclusive education broadly in relation to social justice and equity frameworks for all children (Lalvani, 2013), and associated inclusive education with diversity. Thus, teachers in these studies made the concept of inclusive education broader to include dimensions beyond physical access (MacGhie-Richmond, Irvine, Loreman, Cizman, & Lupar, 2013; Phillipson & Forlin, 2011; Lalvani, 2013). Furthermore, some teachers perceived inclusion as helping "children who were left behind" (Strogilos, 2012).

Who is in? And who is out?

Who is in and who is out is a primary focus to understand inclusionary and exclusionary practices. Who is in (e.g., SwD, English language learners, or females) was a contested topic among teachers. Teachers, in most of the studies, only discussed SwD

(e.g. Sikes, Lawson, & Parker, 2007; Ul Hassan, 2010) in terms of whether they should be in or out. However, only a small number of teachers supported the idea of full inclusion that embraced all SwD in inclusive classrooms (Heiman, 2004; MacGhie-Richmond et al., 2013). Thus, not all SwD were ideologically accepted in classrooms.

The majority of teachers believed that children with mild disabilities (e.g., learning disability, visual or hearing impairments, and physical disabilities) could be welcomed, whereas children with severe disabilities (e.g., moderate and severe intellectual disabilities and severe autism) could not be welcomed in general education classrooms (e.g., Hsieh & Hsieh, 2012; Hsieh, Hsieh, Ostrosky, & McCollum, 2012; Ul Hassan et al., 2010; Sikes, Lawson, & Parker, 2007; Leung & Mak, 2010; Starczewska et al., 2012; MacGhie-Richmond et al., 2013). Teachers were also more likely to exclude children with behavioral challenges such as hitting, making noises, or biting, and ADHD from classrooms (Downing & Peckham-Hardin, 2007). Furthermore, a small number of teachers rejected the idea of inclusion by arguing that SwD would be better accommodated in segregated classrooms (Heiman, 2004; Starczewska et al., 2012).

Many teachers asserted “Yes-But” prerequisites to accept SwD in their classrooms. In other words, they believed that they could respond to the needs of SwD in certain conditions which were mostly technical, such as smaller classes, with supportive teaching tools, enough preparation time, external professional support, and fewer SwD (e.g., Clough, & Nutbrown, 2004; Heiman, 2004; Hsien, et al., 2012; Sikes, Lawson, & Parker, 2007; Ul Hassan, 2010). “But” explanations also revealed that teachers did not have enough resources to feel confident enough to welcome SwD in their classrooms. Thus, the technical “but” answers stood as barriers to creating inclusive schools.

Technical Barriers/Constrains.

Technical barriers that the teachers identified can be categorized into three different levels—system, school, and micro levels (Paliokosta & Blandford, 2010). System-level barriers reveal themselves as inadequate infrastructure of schools, teaching training, economic and professional resources, and the general structure of education systems (Paliokosta & Blandford, 2010; Ul Hassan, 2010; Fletcher et al, 2010; Phillipson & Forlin, 2011; Fuchs, 2009-2010; Ntombela, 2011; MacGhie-Richmond et al., 2013). Many teachers perceived themselves as incapable of teaching SwD due to limited preparation on inclusive education practices in their teacher education programs. Thus, they demanded to be supported by professional development programs (e.g., MacGhie-Richmond et al., 2013; Heiman, 2004; Hsien et al., 2012; Fuchs, 2009-2010).

The second common systematic barrier that teachers raised was limited economic and professional support for schools and teachers. Since teachers narrowly defined inclusive education in regard to placement of SwD in general education classrooms, professional support was related to availability of special education teachers who can assist them in responding to the needs of SwD were perceived limited (e.g., Fletcher, et al., 2010; MacGhie-Richmond et al., 2013; Strogilos, 2012).

The general structure of the education systems in countries where education is centralized across a nation hindered teachers' flexibility to adapt, change, or accommodate different practices. For instance, Strogilos, (2012) examined teachers' perspectives on inclusion in relation to the Greek centralized education system that impeded the expansion of their thinking and responding to children's ability and cultural differences in inclusive education settings. Centralized education systems required

following a preset curriculum across a nation, which contained dominant values, such as the standardization of students' progress, individualism, and competition. Thus, teachers felt pressured to fulfill the expectations of education systems against practicing inclusive education (Phillipson & Forlin, 2011).

School level barriers were stated as having limited school resources and a lack of communication with and support of special education professionals and school administration. Teachers noted poor communication with special education teachers burdened them for designing learning environments for SwD. Teachers mentioned their loneliness in designing instructional activities and having more responsibility in accommodating children's needs due to perceived unequal power dynamics of the distribution of roles and responsibilities. Furthermore, administrative support for collaborating, planning, and organizing professional development training and workshops were some of the areas of needs that were mentioned by teachers. They also explained their frustration with time constraints to satisfy unrealistic expectations of school administration (e.g., Fuchs, 2009-2010; Fletcher et al., 2010; Machie-Richmond et al., 2013; Ul Hassan, 2010).

School resources and designs restricted certain inclusive practices. For instance, although many teachers advocated for the inclusion of children with physical disabilities, schools were mostly inaccessible to them. Moreover, schools were not equipped to respond to the needs of children with visual and hearing impairments (Starczewska et al., 2012).

Outcomes.

In many studies, teachers reflected on their perceptions about social and academic outcomes of inclusive education practices. Social outcomes were distinguished as more accomplishable than academic ones. Thus, social benefits of inclusive education were more apparent for all children by teachers. Teachers believed that inclusive education practices supported the positive construction of differences through recognizing and respecting differences, building empathy, collaborating with peers, and supporting each other (Downing & Peckham-Hardin, 2007; Heiman, 2004; Horne & Timmons, 2009; Starczewska et al., 2012). Further, they argued that SwD could develop self-esteem (Starczewska et al., 2012) and social skills (Heiman, 2004) and become more independent and happy (Downing & Peckham-Hardin, 2007).

Conversely, academic outcomes were the least mentioned by teachers. A small number of teachers shared their observations about how SwD developed their skills in reading, writing, and math (Downing & Peckham-Hardin, 2007; Fletcher et al., 2010). They claimed certain barriers, such as limited knowledge, time, or support constrained academic outcomes of SwD.

Starczewska et al. (2012) argued that teachers who held the medical model of disability, which considered problems in individuals rather than in the social context, followed mechanic or repetitive type of activities such as coloring, copying the blackboard, or joining the dots as an instructional content. These types of activities did not ensure meaningful participation in challenging classroom activities.

Parents and Inclusive Education

Parents are one of the primary stakeholders in inclusive education practices. In all of these studies, participants were parents of children with disabilities/special education

needs. Thus, the studies examined parents' perspectives and experiences of inclusive education only from the viewpoint of ability differences. Parents brought their insightful histories and became a bridge between school and home in the education of their children with disabilities, which were important factors to take into account in transforming schools.

Parents conceptualized inclusive education more broadly than teachers; parents were full of expectations and hopes. First of all, parents conceived inclusive education more than a place where children with disabilities are educated. Rather it was conceptualized as a set of practices that welcome, support, nurture, and encourage children to learn and to be a member of a school community. Furthermore, parents viewed that inclusive education occurred if children could meaningfully participate in learning environments through successfully engineered classroom activities that were responsive to diverse learners' needs (Kluth, Biklen, English-Sand, & Smukler, 2007). Therefore, parents believed that teaching pedagogies should be redesigned to welcome all learners.

For parents, inclusive education functioned as a changing mechanism through triggering the social and educational transformation. More specifically, it could dismantle the able and disable dichotomy by altering dominant ideologies, attitudes, or practices towards disability (Ypinazar & Pagliano, 2004).

Placement Decisions and Further Experiences.

Placement decisions of parents were grounded in their cultural background, personal histories, and previous experiences of their children's education. Power dynamics among actors were noticeable in all of the critical moments (e.g., placement,

pedagogies). School systems became more dominant upon parents in decision-making processes for children's educational experiences.

Inclusive education was the most preferred settings for parents, rather than segregated special education or institutional spaces (e.g., Kozleski et al., 2008; Chmiliar, 2009, Rogers, 2007, Runswick-Cole, 2008). They highly believed that their children with disabilities could gain knowledge, skills, and the feeling of being a valued member of society through successful inclusive practices (Ypinazar & Pagliano 2004). Furthermore, parents who highly advocated inclusive education were critical to social, cultural and education systems, skeptical about professional judgments about their child's ability, and preferred not to focus on labels or hold deficit views. Besides, without disregarding their child's disability, they did not conceive these challenges as a barrier to inclusion (Runswick-Cole, 2008).

In the schools where inclusive education philosophy was shared and practiced, parents and students experienced significant educational benefits. For instance, Chmiliar (2009) examined students', parents' and teachers' experiences of inclusive education by conducting five case studies. Parents' and students' stories revealed that the positive communication and constructive relationships with teachers, parents, and peers, additional in-class support, redesigning teaching pedagogies, administrative support, and valuing differences supported children's social and academic progress and emotional well-being, and reduced behavioral challenges (Chmiliar, 2009; Kozleski et al., 2008; Kluth, Biklen, English-Sand, & Smukler, 2007; Engelbrecht et al., 2005). Thus, effective inclusive education practices dismantled exclusion and marginalization in classrooms.

Besides successful experiences, many parents were highly challenged by dealing with exclusionary ideologies and practices of schooling. Developing countries did not have adequate infrastructure for inclusive education, which created reluctance in schools to accept children with disabilities in schools. Engelbrecht et al. (2005) found that parents had a hard time finding schools where their children with disabilities were welcomed. They also expressed in detailed that they had to knock on many doors to find an open one. Although access was obtained, unchanging school ideologies, pedagogies, or practices endured exclusionary challenges that parents and children encountered. Parents raised concerns about assimilative school systems, which attempted to fix their child or forced children to fit into classroom contexts. Although parents advocated for more academic instruction for their children, parents claimed teachers tended to have lower expectations by giving their children unchallenging instructive activities. Moreover, parents believed teachers had deficit views of children with disabilities by perceiving them as unable to learn and focused on what they could not do. Thus, families expressed that their children did not have a chance to participate meaningfully in classroom content and educational materials as a full member of the classroom community (Engelbrecht et al., 2005; Kluth et al., 2007).

These unequal educational opportunities evidenced that placement did not ensure the promises of inclusive education philosophies. Some parents resisted these practices by advocating for their children, carrying the burden of financial and emotional sacrifices, or trying to find ways to collaborate (Kozleski et al., 2008; Yssel, Engelbrecht, Oswald, Eloff, & Swart, 2007). If parents could not get responsive practices for their children's needs, depending on their commitment to inclusive education, they tended to

move to find responsive, inclusive schools or send their children to special education classrooms.

Kluth et al. (2007) examined the narratives of parents' of children with disabilities' who decided to move to seek inclusive education schools where their children were respected, valued and welcomed. They expressed feelings of guilt about leaving instead of fighting for changes to the system. At the same time, they worried about the possibility of their children being hurt during their advocacy for change. One parent stated, "even if we did, what would that mean? Nothing is going to change people's hearts" (p.50). Runswick-Cole (2008) also stressed that parents and children were aware of exclusionary ideologies and practices of schools. A child told his mother that "they don't want me here, mummy" (p.178) when she went school to pick him up. It reflected that although children were placed in regular classrooms, they endured staying at the margins due to exclusionary ideologies of teachers.

Some parents changed their initial placement decisions from inclusive to special education classes due to these problematic school experiences (Runswick-Cole, 2008; Chmiliar, 2009). They explained that their placement decision was not necessarily related to their changing ideologies of their child's abilities, but was rather driven by exclusionary experiences in classrooms.

Different from previous viewpoints, some parents wanted special education school before trying any inclusion settings. These parents mostly focused on professional knowledge and specialized interventions for their children's lives (Runswick-Cole, 2008).

Summary and Critique

Teachers' and parents' conceptualizations of inclusive education provided information about how larger policies and ideologies were interpreted and practiced in everyday livings. Teachers' conception of inclusive education was including children with disabilities in general education classrooms. It reflected that inclusive education was still associated with placement. Who can be in and who can be out arguments revealed dominant ideologies of education systems by constrained inclusive education possibilities. Children with disabilities were at the center of discussions, focusing on what kinds of disabilities can be in or out of classrooms. Teachers leaned towards having children with mild disabilities, rather than severe ones. Their ideologies hindered educational possibilities of children with disabilities by positioning them as not capable of learning.

Although children with disabilities are one of the marginalized groups in all the nations, there are other groups (e.g., racial, cultural, and linguistic minorities, females) who have been historically under threat of not having equal educational opportunities. Other marginalized groups were not conceived as part of inclusive education discourse by teachers. It can be a result of how research studies were designed both conceptually and methodologically. Many studies frame their studies from a policy perspective or defined inclusive education for all, yet they only focused on children with disabilities as a target group for inclusive education. Methodologies also limited a broader conceptualization of inclusive education. For instance, survey items led teachers to rate their perspective on Likert-type scale instruments. Thus, they could not provide deep insights of their meaning-making and practices.

Although access is fundamental to a starting point of education, what happens after access is obtained should be questioned by scholars (Artiles & Kozleski, 2016). On the other hand, teachers juxtaposed various barriers to the implementation of inclusive education. Parents acknowledged these barriers, yet viewed teachers' exclusionary ideologies as the biggest barrier to their children's education.

Inclusive education should ensure equal educational outcomes for all children. Teachers and parents explained their anticipated social and academic outcomes of inclusive education for their children. Noticeable differences among teachers and parents were in regard to academic outcomes, in which parents seek, whereas teachers lowered their expectations towards children's academic learning. The difference between teachers' and parents' construction of dis/abilities within their belief system created tensions in expectations and practices. Inclusive education requires a change in both larger system structures and at the micro level, e.g., classroom. Redesigning learning environments and teaching pedagogies are fundamental. These need to be modified to advance children's learning. These are technical components of changes in systems, yet from a critical viewpoint, the change should also touch on stakeholders' conceptualization of learning and ability, specifically who can learn or not, or who is able or not in what conditions and contexts. Thus, reconfiguring children's learning identities through taking into account critically larger cultural, historical, economic, and political discourses can allow new learning possibilities for all children.

Disparate power dynamics played a distinctive role in the educational trajectories of children. Children were mostly excluded from classrooms and even sometimes from schools. Parents who had financial and emotional resources moved from their

neighborhood, cities, even states to find an inclusive school in which their children were welcomed and recognized.

Chapter 3

Methods

In this study, I used a qualitative research design to examine the teachers' and parents' conceptualizations of inclusive education for diverse students (i.e., student with dis/abilities (SwD), Kurdish students (KS), and girls) and how their construction of students' identities influenced students' educational experiences. I also focused on their stories of marginalization, labeling, and exclusion processes as an outcome of the relationships between power dynamics and identity differences in multiple settings.

Setting

The research study was conducted in a small southwestern city, Maki² (see Figure 4), in the Mediterranean region of Turkey. Turkey has seven regions, the Marmara, the Black Sea, the Aegean, the Mediterranean, the Central Anatolia, the Eastern Anatolia, and the Southeastern Anatolia, which are determined by geographic, demographic, and economic purposes. It is located in both Europe and Asia, and has borders with Bulgaria, Greece, Syria, Iraq, Iran, Azerbaijan, Armenia, and Georgia. The population of Turkey is approximately 79,000,000. Turks are the largest ethnic group following with Kurds who constitute approximately 20% of the population. Other ethnic groups are Armenians, Greeks, Sephardic Jews, Circassians, Gypsies (Roma), Laz, and Syriacs. It is a predominantly Muslim country with a secular political system. Although the Turkish language is the official language, Kurdish, Ladino, Greek, and Laz are some of the other languages that are spoken in Turkey (Sunar & Fişek, 2005).

² The names of all the places and people in this study are pseudonyms, with the exception of when participants reference other cities.

Maki is culturally and historically diverse, including newly settled Somali refugees. It is a small sized city: approximately one-third of the population lives in the city, and the rest are settled in the rural areas. There are more than three hundred schools



Figure 3. Map of Turkey

with more than 3,000 teachers and 40,000 students. Indeed, more than 4,000 students are bussed from villages to closest schools located in cities and larger towns.

The study took place in four different schools, Portakal, Elma, Kiraz, and Nar, in Maki. Kiraz and Portakal Schools were located in the city, whereas Nar was located in a rural area. Elma primary school had around 800 students with 37 teachers. The Kiraz School had approximately 750 students and 30 teachers. The Portakal had approximately 250 students and 16 teachers. Nar included approximately 300 students and 24 teachers. Although there was not any information about the schools socioeconomic, ethnic, nor linguistic diversity from the participants’ comments, Elma and Kiraz primary schools

were considered middle and high socioeconomic status (SES) parents and were successful in standardized tests in comparison to other schools. Portakal School was described as having the lower-SES student body and was located in a small neighborhood far from downtown. Furthermore, Nar School was located in a rural area, 60 kilometers far from the city. In this school, there were students who were bussed from the closest villages.

Participants

The study participants were teachers and parents who worked at and had children in K-5 public schools. I used snowball sampling to recruit participants in four different schools. All teachers and parents were volunteers to participate in this study. However, I did not have information about other participant parents' children's schools. I used demographic information tool to gather the teachers' background (See Appendix A).

Twenty teachers participated in this study (See Table 1). Three of them taught kindergarten and seventeen of them were primary school teachers. Turkey has a looping system in primary school, which requires teachers to follow teaching the same students in all grades. For example, a teacher starts teaching first grade and continues teaching the same students in second, third, and fourth grades. After fourth grade, the students enroll in secondary schools. In this study, eleven teachers were female, and nine teachers were male. Eighteen teachers had undergraduate degree, and two teachers had masters degrees. Half of them either taught or had a relative with a disability; the other half did not have direct experience interacting with a person with a disability. Except Ozgur, all teachers identified themselves as Turkish. Ozgur identified himself as Kurdish, yet he explained that he was not proficient enough in Kurdish because he grew up in the Aegean region.

Table 1

Demographic Information of the Teachers

Teachers	Gender	Age	Education	Years of experience	Have you had experience working with SwD or do you have any relative with disability	School
Leyla	Female	27	Undergraduate	4	No	Portakal
Akdeniz	Male	48	Master	17	Yes-Students with mild learning disabilities	Portakal
Deren	Female	28	Undergraduate	5	Yes. None in family	Portakal
Kerem	Male	30	Undergraduate	7	Yes he worked with SwD and his has a cousin with intellectual disability	Portakal
Ali	Male	49	Undergraduate	30	No	Elma
Kenan	Male	53	Undergraduate	32	Yes	Elma
Canan	Female	45	Undergraduate	25	Yes	Elma
Orhan	Male	50	Undergraduate	31	No	Elma
Tekin	Male	55	Undergraduate	35	No	Elma
Sevki	Male	53	Master	32	No	Kiraz
Filiz	Female	47	Undergraduate	28	Yes	Kiraz
Idealist	Female	49	Undergraduate	30	Yes	Kiraz
Ece	Female	46	Undergraduate	26	Yes	Kiraz
Deniz	Female	40	Undergraduate	17	No	Nar
Fatma	Female	49	Undergraduate	29	No	Nar
Beril	Female	27	Undergraduate	5	No	Nar
Ahmet	Male	38	Undergraduate	14	Yes	Nar
Emine	Female	29	Undergraduate	8	No	Nar
Seyda	Female	37	Undergraduate	9	No	Nar
Ozgur	Male	29	Undergraduate	4	Yes	Nar

In addition to teachers, 14 parents participated in this study (See Table 2), and I used parents' demographic information form to gather their personal background (See Appendix B). Although seven parents' children's schools were the same schools in which

the participant teachers were teaching, other parents' children's schools were not determined. Four of the mothers were homemakers, one was a geological engineer, one was self-employed, and eight of them were nurses. Seven of the parents held an undergraduate degree; one had an associate degree; and four of them graduated from high school. All parents identified themselves as Turkish.

Table 2

Demographic Information of the Parents

Parents	Gender	Age	Education	Occupation	The number of Children	Schools where the parents' children attended
Emine	Female	34	High School	Homemaker	4	Elma
Suna	Female	40	Associate Degree	Homemaker	3	Elma
Öznur	Female	35	Undergraduate	Geological Engineer	1	Kiraz
Derya	Female	42	High School	Self-employment	3	Kiraz
Gulcicek	Female	42	Undergraduate	Nurse	2	Kiraz
Dunya	Female	43	Undergraduate	Nurse	2	N/A
Ayca	Female	40	Undergraduate	Nurse	3	N/A
Sude	Female	36	High School	Homemaker	2	Nar
Ecem	Female	41	High School	Homemaker	2	Nar
Zuhal	Female	44	Undergraduate	Nurse	2	N/A
Demet	Female	37	Undergraduate	Nurse	2	N/A
Beril	Female	37	Undergraduate	Nurse	2	N/A
Nil	Female	44	Undergraduate	Nurse	2	N/A
Aysu	Female	39	Undergraduate	Nurse	2	N/A

Data Collection

Data were collected via a photo elicitation and vignette approach. Photo elicitation can be used in different ways. For example, photographs can be taken or chosen by either participants or researchers about issues of interest, daily practices, or a

construct. Participants in response to the photographs share their thinking, perception, or the practices in detail via individual or focus group interviews (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007).

In this study, I chose a photo about a typical Turkish primary school classroom to generate focus group discussions. I wrote a vignette about the photo (See Appendix C) in order to gather and trigger their thinking about inclusive education philosophy and practice. The vignette, purposefully, included contradictory opinions about inclusion and exclusion about a student with autism. I aimed to gather the teachers' and parents' insights about inclusive education and their construction of SwD's identities in relation to their sociocultural-historical background. Participants shared their opinions and experiences on topics related to inclusive education, diversity, power, and the marginalization/labeling/exclusion processes.

To examine Kurdish students' experiences in relation to inclusive education, I used a documentary video, *Iki Dil Bir Bavul* (On the way to school), which was available on YouTube. The movie depicts a real life story about a newly graduated primary school teacher's experiences while working in a predominantly Kurdish-speaking village in the Southeastern region for a year. It shows the linguistic and cultural challenges that were experienced by the teacher and Kurdish students. He is the only teacher in the village. On the first day of school, there are no students who come to school. Then he goes to each house to find school-aged children. Due to limited resources, all children, who were in different grades, were in the same classroom. After the children come to the school, the language differences between the teacher and the students challenge their communication and classroom activities. The teacher bans talking in Kurdish to teach the Kurdish students (KS) Turkish. In short, the movie tells a unique story that triggers our thinking

about what inclusive education is and how inclusive education should look like for diverse student population.

The movie was not data; rather it functioned as a stimulus to generate focus group discussions with the teachers and parents. Given that Kurdish language usage is highly controversial in public and Kurdish identity has been stigmatized for generations, using a movie to talk about these critical issues was highly beneficial for me. Instead of asking the same questions, the movie created a safe space to discuss these critical issues. Thus, in my opinion, I did not feel participants felt any discomfort to express their point of views.

Focus Groups and Interviews.

I collected the data via focus group and individual interviews with the teachers and parents. Focus group interviews are designed to engender discussion among participants about an issue or a common interest in a permissive and safe environment. The primary purpose of the focus group interviews was to gather participant's opinions, attitudes, beliefs, or experiences from multiple points' of views. Interactive discussions are fundamental for a focus group discussion, which facilitates participants' thinking and sharing of their experiences. When researchers are successful facilitating focus group discussions, these can provide a high intensity of data (Krueger & Casey, 2000; Bogdan & Biklen, 2007).

One of the constraints of the focus groups can be that participants may not feel comfortable enough to share their experiences in the eyes of other people. Some of the participants may dominate the conversation and so others may not express enough of their opinion. Moreover, discussions may become disperse to areas unrelated to the study

focus. Thus, the facilitator needs to determine study goals beforehand in order not to have unexpected consequences (Krueger & Casey, 2000; Bogdan & Biklen, 2007).

Given the light of literature about how to facilitate focus group interviews, I conducted a total of ten focus group interviews: five with teachers and five with the parents. Each focus group lasted 30 minutes to two hours. There were two teachers in four focus groups due to their time restrictions and five teachers in one focus group. Additionally, there were two parents in three focus groups, three parents in one focus group, and five parents in one focus group. Furthermore, the data collected in the Turkish language, which is the native language of all the participants.

Interviews.

Furthermore, I conducted ten individual interviews with ten teachers and one with a parent. I conducted additional follow-up interviews with three teachers and one parent. I chose these participants because these three teachers had SwD that I wanted to explore further.

Focus Group and Interview Approach.

I initiated the focus group and individual interviews by first showing the photo to the participants and telling them the story about the photo. I used semi-structured questions (See Appendix C) to gather information. During the interview, the participants were able to tell other related experiences. When these experiences were relevant to inclusion, I requested participants, asking them to elaborate on them. For instance, the education of girls emerged from the teachers' narratives, and I further pursued the topic with other participants. The dis/ability vignette became a warm-up to discuss controversial topics (e.g., Kurdish). Thus, after the participants finished their stories, we

moved to other sections. The order of the focus group interview topics was not linear by design. The topics did not move, for example, from dis/ability topics, rather they followed an organic organization, which was more in line with both the topics that emerged and what I was learning about them prior meetings and interviews.

I showed segments of the movie to the participants and asked their opinions about the event they watched (e.g., the teacher's approach to teaching Turkish) by using semi-structured interview questions (See Appendix D). All the teachers who taught in the Eastern and Southeastern regions had watched the movie before and expressed that the movie was representative of their experiences.

Observations.

I conducted classroom observations (See Table 3) to explore the context of schooling and how students were positioned within the classrooms. Observations can distinguish between what is said and what is practiced within participants' contexts. However, observations were not the primary focus of my study; rather they were complementary data to understand and triangulate the participants' representation of the classroom activity with my observations. Thus, I only conducted 12 observations in eight teacher's classrooms. I conducted multiple observations in some classrooms.

Table 3

Classroom Observations

Teacher	Grade Level	The number of Observations	School
Deren	Kindergarten	2	Portakal
Ali	Second Grade	1	Elma
Tekin	Second Grade	1	Elma
Ece	Third Grade	2	Kiraz
Filiz	Fourth Grade	1	Kiraz
Emine	First Grade	2	Nar
Beril	Fourth Grade	1	Nar
Seyda	Kindergarten	2	Nar

Document Collection.

I collected many materials, such as books, arts, and activity sheets, to understand the social and cultural structures of the activities within Turkish classrooms, and how mediation resulted in the construction of inclusive education, children’s learning identities, and even the processes of marginalization, labeling, and exclusion. I took 88 photos of artifacts, including photos of the same artifact. Therefore, I did not have a total number of 88 artifacts. In this study, I used the ones that contributed or challenged meaningfully to the teachers’ sharing. Additionally, document collection supported data triangulation in terms of testing study findings and hypothesis.

Data Analysis

Qualitative research aims to understand people’s practices and meaning-making processes within particular social contexts through the use of naturalistic and interpretive approaches (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007; Denzin & Lincoln, 2003). Thus, it is concerned with the social construction of reality in a given cultural context (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003, p. 10). Therefore, for instance, in this study I assumed that teachers and parents

constructed the meaning of inclusive education in their everyday practices by interacting with others and through complex histories and cultural practices.

I analyzed the data by using a constant comparison method, (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) which deals with multi-data sources (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007). Data analysis started during initial interviews, as I realized that the participants repetitively shared certain topics. Thus, I wrote theoretical and analytical memos during the data collection and analysis. After I had collected all the data, I transcribed all the interviews. I used NVIVO 10 software to organize my coding during the data analysis process. I did not translate the entire transcripts; rather, I only translated the excerpts that I used in the findings. Thus, the data analysis process took place in Turkish. After I had translated the excerpts that I used in the findings section, another doctoral student at ASU, who is proficient in both Turkish and English checked the meaning of the translation to ensure accuracy.

The data analysis included multiple phases as a recursive cycle of discovery. During the first cycle of coding, I divided Dis/ability and Kurdish narratives in order for a closer examination of the each case, which had different sociocultural and historical trajectories. However, I also acknowledged, valued, and paid attention to intersectionality and interconnectedness of these two cases in relation to inclusive education.

In the first cycle of coding, I followed initial coding (open coding) as a way to reflect and make meaning of the data. During this initial coding process, I used specifically descriptive, in-vivo and value coding. According to Saldaña (2013), “descriptive coding summarizes in a word or short phrase-most often as a noun-the basic topic of a passage of qualitative inquiry” (p.88). For instance, I used “access” as a

descriptive code when participants described issues of access for SwD and girls. In Vivo coding refers to using participants' language in order to enhance my emic understanding of the data. For example, I coded "they [Kurdish people] are like a virus" as an actual statement of a parent to describe Kurdish people. Additionally, I used value coding to understand participants' beliefs, values, and attitudes about inclusive education for diverse students. Value code contains all three constructs (Saldaña, 2013). Saldaña (2013) defined "a value is the importance we attribute to oneself, another person, thing or idea...an attitude is the way we think and feel about ourselves, another person, thing, or idea...a belief is part of a system that includes our values and attitudes, plus our personal knowledge, experiences, opinions, prejudices, morals, and other interpretive perceptions of the social world" (p.111). For instance, I coded "SwD are problems" as an attitude, "the education of women was fundamental for societal change" as a value, and "Kurdish people are violent" as a belief. Moreover, I created categories related to my research questions (e.g., dis/ability, identity, and girls) and placed my related initial codes under these categories. I coded some sections in multiple ways and placed some of the codes in multiple categories.

After I had finished the first cycle of coding, I started the second cycle of coding to reorganize my initial codes. According to Saldaña (2013), the purpose of second cycle coding is "to develop a sense of categorical, thematic, conceptual, and/or theoretical organization from your array of First Cycle codes" (p.207). Thus, I read all my codes to reconfigure and reorganize my initial codes by creating another folder, titled as the second cycle of coding-teachers and the second cycle of coding-parents, in NVIVO. I followed using axial coding to "strategically reassemble data that were "split" or

“fractured” during the Initial Coding process (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p.124).

Additionally, I used theoretical coding (selective coding or conceptual coding), which systematically links with the central/core category.

Initially, I inductively engaged with the first and second cycle of coding. However, I also used a deductive approach to reorganizing my codes and categories about inclusive education. For instance, I created a “Who is in and who is out” theme which dealt with the codes related to teachers’ narratives about who can access their classrooms. Thus, my conceptualization of inclusive education which refers to ensure equal access, participation, and outcomes for all students who are marginalized within education systems because of their differences, such as ability, gender, caste, race, ethnic identity, or socioeconomic status (Artiles, Kozleski, & Waitoller, 2011) guided my decisions about creating the themes. Furthermore, my theoretical framework, CHAT, influenced my coding and reorganization of these (e.g., division of labor of students and teachers).

Researcher’s Positionality

Who I am influenced the choice of the topic of study, the data collection, and the data analysis process, in addition to my interpretation of the findings. I am a Turkish woman in my late twenties. I consider myself to have come from a privileged background. I am the daughter of two primary school teachers who worked in three different regions—Black Sea, Aeagon, and Mediterranean. Studying in these three different regions increased my understanding and awareness of how context influences the educational opportunities of students. For instance, I lived in a small village in the Mediterranean region where I observed girls who did not continue their education due to

early marriages. Additionally, I lived in the Aeagon region for over ten years. This region included a Kurdish population who migrated from the Eastern region. There were Kurdish neighborhoods in which I experienced deficit discourses about Kurdish identity.

During my doctoral studies in the US, I reflected on my past experiences living in Turkey and compared them with US and Europe. During these reflexive learning processes, I became interested in issues of educational inequities in order to expand opportunities for inclusive transformation.

I used snowball sampling to recruit participants. Initially, I approached my relatives who then introduced me as I am doing a study to finish my dissertation in the US to the teachers and parents. That is why participants perceived me as an insider to their community, which led them to share their beliefs and experiences openly with me. Additionally, my studying and living in the US also led them to connect their beliefs and interpretations of the vignette and the movie with my possible educational and life experiences (e.g., language differences, Turkish and English) in the US. During these data collection process, I aimed to understand their insights in relation to their sociocultural and historical background rather than being judgmental about what they were sharing. That is why we created a trustworthy relationship during the data collection processes. I perceived myself as both an insider and an outsider to the Turkish culture and history, which provided me emic and etic perspectives in interpreting their narratives.

Chapter 4

Findings

Who Is In and Who Is Out? Challenges to Access

Before challenging our minds with critical questions about what inclusive education is, how it should be practiced, and how it looks for diverse groups of students, the teachers discussed who could be in and who could be out of the general education (GE) classrooms. Through these narratives the roles and forms of participation within inclusive education figured worlds could be discerned. Additionally, I focused on how the teachers and parents figured the education activity systems in regard to inclusive education. Although current inclusive education (IE) movement pushes scholarship and practice towards a more comprehensive conceptualization of inclusive education, which includes all learners from the lens of equity and social justice (Artiles, Kozleski, & Waitoller, 2011), the question of who should have access to classrooms continue to be a dilemma for teachers. The teachers' perspectives on who is a valuable member of their GE classroom community are grounded in larger cultural, historical, economical, and political contexts by reciprocal interaction with micro (i.e., classroom) activity settings.

Through these narratives, the roles and what these imply in terms of form of participation of enactment(s) within inclusive education figured worlds could be recognized. For teachers and parents, the answer of who should be in and who should be out of the GE classrooms varied by different groups. Students with dis/abilities (SwD) and girls in certain regions were two groups who had difficulties accessing and continuing their education. However, the stories were different for each group. SwD had challenges in accessing GE classrooms due to the contradicting interrelationships

between micro and macro activity settings. On the other hand, some girls' educational experiences collided with socioculturally grounded narrativized identities of women and traditional beliefs and practices of families in certain geographic regions. The teachers' figured worlds of inclusive education were embedded within the activity systems.

SwD have been the largest groups of students who experience enduring exclusion from schools (UNESCO, 1994). Even though international policy initiatives have impacted the development of inclusive education policies in Turkey, these policies have failed to include all SwD, which was also reflected in many teachers' beliefs and practices.

After showing the first grade classroom photo and telling Nese's hypothetical vignette about autism, the teachers indicated that inclusion of SwD depended on dis/ability type and the degree of the dis/ability. Indeed, the most salient teacher expectation was whether or not a student was able to fit into the classroom context. Therefore, not all SwD were welcomed in their classrooms. Students with mild dis/abilities (i.e., learning dis/ability) were more likely to have access into the GE classrooms, but only if they could fit into the classroom contexts. On the other hand, students with moderate to high intellectual disabilities were considered to be justifiably excluded from the GE classes and placed in segregated settings.

Understanding inclusionary and exclusionary beliefs and practices of the teachers and parents required unpacking GE classroom activity settings in relation to other interconnected activity arenas (i.e., schools or MONE activity settings). CHAT provided a framework for a closer examination of tools, division of labor, tools, community, and subjects, which mediated determining who could access the GE classrooms (i.e., object)

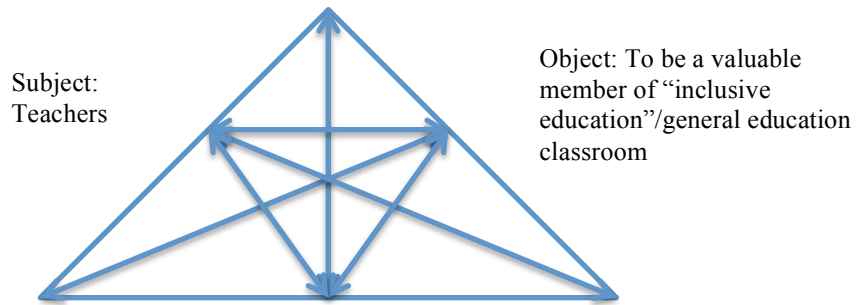
(See Figure 4). Figure 4 represents an overall activity system that was constructed by the teachers' talk and supported through my observations.

Both micro and macro education activity settings held the ideology of “ableism” (Goodley, 2001), “normal” (Baglieri, Bejoian, Broderick, Connor, & Valle, 2011), “norming” (McDermott, Edgar, & Scarloss, 2011), and the medical model of dis/ability (Linton, 1998). According to Slesaransky-Poe and Garcia, (2014)

Ableism holds the belief that disability in and of itself makes one in some way lesser—less deserving of respect, a good education, membership in the community, equal treatment, equality before the law, opportunities to prosper and live independently, and opportunities to have inclusive, self-fulfilling, and productive lives (p.76).

Historically, ableism defined what was considered “normal,” which became a norm in the classroom. These ideologies considered problems “within the child,” constrained recognition of other ways of being, and privileged sameness among students over their differences. This has created structural hierarchies among students' identities and abilities.

Material Tools: Books, Worksheet,
Language etc.
Conceptual Tools: Deficit views towards
SwD, Medical model of dis/ability,
Sameness over difference, Smartness,
the Ideology of ableism, Turkish-only
ideology, Culture-Blind ideology



Rules:
Students:

- Follow teachers' instructions
- Being Silent
- Sitting at their desk
- Turkish Language Practice

Community
Classroom

Division of Labor:

Students

- Able to follow teachers' instructions
- Being silent
- Sitting at desk during class period
- Learning in expected speed
- Not being disruptive
- Able to do own personal care
- Being passive about learning
- Speaking Turkish

Teachers

- Hold power/authority
- Manage learning
- Designing learning settings

Figure 4. The classroom activity system from the teachers' representation

Rules, division of labor of students, and both material and psychological/conceptual tools of the GE activity system mediated the teachers' decisions of including or excluding SwD. The teachers justified their beliefs about not welcoming SwD by asserting their lack of ability to follow rules and fulfill the roles they were expected to fill within their notions of division of labor. Conceptual tools related to the teachers' constructions of students identities and abilities, which directly influenced their

educational expectations. Parents, as implicit subjects of the classroom activity system, also impacted the evolution of the GE activity settings through their acceptance or complaints about SwD to the teacher.

Activity systems' rules and division of labor were revealed in teachers' talk in the form of "only if" statements. "Only if" statements established certain prerequisites; in a metaphorical way these functioned as a key to open a GE classroom door, for SwD. The first "only if" statement for SwD was related to not being disruptive in the classroom. In order to understand their conceptualization of being disruptive, I asked how SwD could disrupt a classroom.

Sultan: Ne sekilde bozabilir mesela sinifin duzenini?

Filiz: Ders anlatirken gurultu yapar, cocuklarin dikkatini dagitir, susmayi bilmez, tuhaf tuhaf sesler cikarabilir. Kendini kontrol edemeyecek sekilde bir durumu varsa yanlis ama 40 dk sinifta sesizce durabilmeyi basarabiliyorsa sakince bence kaynastirma okumasi lazim.

Sultan: In what ways s/he could disrupt the classroom system?

Filiz: While I am teaching, s/he could be noisy, disrupt other children's attention, not stay quiet, or make some weird noises. If s/he has a condition of not being able to control himself/herself, it [his/her placement in the classroom] is wrong. But, if s/he is able to stay silent for 40 minutes in a quiet way, s/he should be included in the inclusive classroom.

This excerpt distinctly revealed that "disruptive" behaviors were interpreted in relation to the classroom rules and the expected division of labor of students. The teacher, Filiz, positioned herself in the interview as an inclusive education advocate by accepting SwD into her classroom and was known in the city as a teacher who welcomed them. However, she, as well as other teachers in this study, expected students be silent for 40 minutes, a regular class period, in order to be in the classroom. From Filiz's description of the classroom activity, one of the classroom rules was being responsible of each

other's learning and the expected division of labor of students was not disrupting each other's learning and attention in the class. Although in general this rule and division of labor could be desired in any classroom, other mediational tools should be critically examined in order to position certain students as causing problems due to not having certain abilities to follow the rules. Without having a critical viewpoint, these beliefs not only disvalued individual differences, but also did not recognize the right to an education of SwD.

Similar to Filiz, Emine, the first grade teacher, also argued exclusion of SwD who were perceived as disruptive. She also shared the challenges that she had been experiencing with Huseyin, a student with a mild learning disability, related to his perceived misbehavior. Although students with mild learning disability were expected to be included in GE, his perceived misbehavior and ability caused his exclusion from the GE classroom.

Emine: Özel eğitim okuluna gidecek belirli günler. Haftada bir gün sanırım. Diğer günler de iste burdaki özel eğitimde olması gerekiyor. Sınıf ortamında hayatta olmaz, çünkü arkadaşlarına zarar veriyor. Bir türlü iki dakika yerinde oturtamıyorum. Verdiğim etkinliği yapmıyor ve sürekli dersim bolunuyor. Dersim bolununca da ben istediğim derecede ders işleyemiyorum. O da ister istemez, benim de performansımı etkiliyor. Basarımı etkiliyor. Hani çocukların basarisini daha doğrusu, sınıf basarisini etkiliyor ister istemez. Tabii ki olumsuz yonde etkiliyor bizi.

Emine: He will go to special education school for certain days. I guess only one day a week. On other days, he needs to be here in the special education classroom. There's no way he can be in the classroom environment, because he harms his friends. I cannot make him to sit in his seat for 2 minutes. He doesn't do the activities that I give to him, and my class is always interrupted. When my class is interrupted, I cannot do my lesson to the degree that I want to. And so willingly or unwillingly, this influences my performance, my success, or the other children's

success. One way or another, this influences on my class' success. Of course, this influences us negatively.

This excerpt came from the interview that I purposefully conducted with Emine to receive information about Huseyin, after I met with him in the special education (SE) class. The SE class was located in the basement of the school, along with a kindergarten class and school cafeteria, which gave me a feeling of isolation from the rest of the school. When I got into the SE class to meet with the SE teacher, Ozgur, Huseyin was, sitting on his seat, the only child in a middle-size quite empty classroom. My first impression about him was about his curiosity of what I was doing there by listening and getting closer to Ozgur and me. After I interviewed Ozgur, I learned that he had a complicated placement process due to teachers' perceptions of his ability and behavior.

Through Emine's representation of her classroom, a picture emerges where students are expected to sit silently in their seats and follow her instructions. This expectation regulated all classrooms, except one, in this study. Inability to follow these rules was an indicator of not being able to fit in the GE classrooms and perceived as disruptive and harmful for other students. Emine's challenges to make him sit in his seat led her to position him at the center of the classroom problems (e.g., decreasing her motivation and classroom success) without answering critical questions, such as what the activities were, how he could engage in them, and what his strengths were. Within the traditional education activity system, teachers historically hold power, which was noticeable in their division of labor.

Perceived disruptive behavior was not the only factor to determine who does and does not fit into a GE classroom. Some SwD, who were not seen as disruptive, were still

perceived as lacking the abilities to be in GE classroom. The teachers also indicated some SwD needed “special attention and care,” which challenged them responding SwD’s needs, while still trying to manage their classroom. For instance, Seyda, the kindergarten teacher, stated that

Seyda: Ugur ozel egitimde cok sikiliyor. Kaynastirma gibi olsun, haftanin iki gunu benim sinifima gelsin, 2 gun Deniz’in sinifina gitsin istedik. Ugur iste bir gun bizim sinifimiza misafir oldu. Ugur oyle cok zarar veren bir cocuk degildi ama Ugurla ayrica birebir ilgilenmek gerekiyor. Ugur’un mesela burnu akiyor, onun silinmesi gerekiyor. Kendisi yapamiyor onu, yapamiyor. Eline peceteyi veriyorsun, yap diyorsun, yapamiyor. Yani yapamiyor. Ondan sonra Ugur’un surekli gozlem, diger cocuklari birakip surekli Ugurla. Simdi ne yapacagi belli degil, surekli onu gozlemlemek gerekiyor. Mesela sanat etkinligini aldiginde masaya, ona da hamur veriyorsun. Ama Ugur bir sure sonra, onun dikkat suresi daha kisa bunlara gore, kalkiyor iste yapmak istemiyor. O kalkinca ona otur hadi soyle yapalim boyle yapalim, onla ilgilenirken, diger cocuklarla ilgilenemiyorsun. Onlarin dikkati dagiliyor. Yani ayni sinifta olmasi, butun cocuklarla ilgilenmek zor oluyor. Ona cunku ayri bir ilgi gerekiyor.

Seyda: Ugur gets bored a lot in the special education [classroom]. Deniz and I wanted him to join our classes, 2 days in my class and 2 days in Deniz’s class, like an inclusive practice. One day, Ugur joined our class as a guest. Ugur is not a disruptive child, but he needs one-on-one attention. For example, his nose runs. It needs to be wiped. He cannot do it by himself. You give him a Kleenex and tell him to wipe [his nose]. He cannot do it. You know he cannot do it. Moreover, Ugur needs constant watching. I need to leave other children to constantly watch Ugur. What he is going to do is uncertain, so he always needs to be watched. For example, when you take him to the desk to do an art activity, you also give him playdough. But, Ugur, after some point, because his attention span is shorter than other children, he stands up and doesn’t want to do it. When he stands, you tell him, “let’s do this, and let’s do that [trying to bring back to him],” while you are dealing with him, you cannot deal with other children. They become distracted. When he is in the same classroom, it is difficult to deal with all children, because, he needs special attention.

Ugur, a child with epilepsy, spent most of his time in SE class. The SE teacher, Ozgur, his mother, and the kindergarten teachers reported that he was getting bored in SE

class and wanted to be with other children who were in the kindergarten. For socialization purposes, the teachers were willing to include him equally into their classrooms. However, he joined the kindergarten as a guest who was conceived as someone who was in a trial period for permanent inclusion. Although he was not considered disruptive, he was still not perceived as a proper member of her classroom due to his needs related to individualized attention and care. Seyda focused on Ugur's weaknesses rather than strengths by juxtaposing what he could not do. His needs challenged her division of labor as a teacher because students were expected to be able to do their personal care. Furthermore, she shared her struggles with classroom management by explaining she had to both keep other children's attention while trying to bring Ugur into the activity. In this way, the teacher judged Ugur as lacking adequate abilities to be in the classroom without questioning other possible ways of designing activities that could welcome different learning styles and abilities. Although Seyda had good intentions about Ugur's inclusion possibilities in her kindergarten classroom, the presence of Ugur, who was different from other students, created contradictions in the kindergarten activity setting. In contrast, inclusive education policy (i.e., rule and tool) requires changes in each node of the old activity systems by recognizing current contradictions. In Seyda's classroom, other interconnected activity systems (e.g., teacher education) contradicted the micro classroom activity systems and did not support inclusionary practices.

Tools, material (e.g., books), and conceptual/psychological (e.g., construction of dis/ability), mediated the possibility of who can access GE classrooms. Conceptual tools highly influenced the educational possibilities of SwD. The medical model ideology of

disability (Linton, 1998), which aims to fix SwD by placing them in SE classroom for their perceived good, was common among teachers. Additionally, most of the teachers held deficit-views towards SwD, which created judgmental beliefs about not having adequate abilities to fit in the classroom context. Due to deficit views and thinking (Valencia, 1997; 2010), the teachers believed that education placement should be based on ability. For instance, Ozgur argued that Nese should receive her education in an autism school where specific professionals could provide a better education for her. He also reflected deficit views and medical model ideologies towards SwD.

Ozgur: Ayri bir sinif, ayri bir program uygulanmasi gerekiyor.

Sultan: Neden?

Ozgur: Cunku cocugun, o cocugun onlarla ilerlemesi, hem bilissel duzeyde olsun, diger becerilerde olsun, ayni duzeyde olmadigi icin, e cocugun algilama duzeyi de diger ogrencilere gore kisitli oldugu icin. O yuzden onlari ayri bir okulda, ayri bir egitici ogretici tarafindan, ayri program dahilinde egitim almasi gerekiyor.

Ozgur: A separate program has to be implemented in a separate classroom.

Sultan: Why?

Ozgur: Because of that child's progress with other children. He is not at the same level as other children, both in cognitive level, and in other skills, and also because his cognitive understanding is more limited than other children.

Therefore, they need to receive education from a separate educator through a separate program in a separate school.

In this excerpt, it was noticeable that the classroom activities were designed only for some groups of students, who were on similar ability levels. The teachers desired sameness over difference among students due to the perceived particular challenges in responding SwD's needs. This belief and practice stratified children based on their ability level. Some SwD were located below in this stratified ability structure due to perceived

cognitive deficits. Similar to Ozgur, Tekin also conceptualized SwD's identities through a deficit view.

Tekin: Ogretmenin dusuncelerine katiliyorum. Kaynastirma egitiminde bir alt yapı yok. Simdi o cocuklarin seviyesi farkli, bu tur cocuklarimizin seviyeleri farkli. Simdi kiminle calisacak. Hangileri hangisine uyum sagliyacak. Cogu ona mi o cogunluga mi? Bazi biliyorsunuz uzuvlarında da gelismeler olmadigi icin, diger normal cocuklarin yapabildigi etkinlikleri yapamiyor. E bu durumda ne yapacak, kendi kendinin kabuguna cekilecek. E ogretmen de bu konuda bir alt yapisi ya da egitimi yoksa, yapabilecegi pek fazla bir sey yok. O nedenle alt yapisi olan ona uygun ozel alt siniflari olan okullarda egitim gormesi daha yararli diye dusunuyorum. Cunku orda daha bilincli olarak egitim verilecek etkinlikler yaptirilacak. Uzuvlari gelistirecek. Ona uygun seyler yaptirabilecegi icin, ozel alt sinif dedigimiz oralarda egitim gormesinde bende yarar goruyorum. Ogretmenin dusuncelerine katiliyorum.

Tekin: I agree with the teacher's opinion. There is no infrastructure in inclusive education. Well, those children's levels of ability are different and these kinds of children's levels are different. Who works with whom? Who adapts with whom? Does the majority [adapt] to the [SwD] or does s/he [adapts] to the majority? As you know, because there is no development in some limbs, they cannot do some activities that other children can do. So what s/he is going to do? S/he retires into her shell. Well, if the teacher doesn't have any experience or training in that, there is not much she can do. Therefore, I think it is more beneficial for his/her to get an education in schools with the infrastructure to provide appropriate special education classrooms for her. Because, the education and the activities would be more aware, and his/her limbs will be developed. Because there will be activities that can be appropriate for her, I think it is more beneficial for him/her to receive an education at what we call special education classrooms. I agree with the teacher.

Tekin, in this excerpt, raised the question "who adapts with whom?" In order to answer this question, he differentiated who were majority and minority in relation to ability levels. For him, education had served and would continue to serve the majority of the students who were at similar ability levels. On the other hand, SwD were expected to fit into the majority, otherwise they would be excluded from GE classrooms. There was

no expectation from the majority to fit in with the minority nor did the teacher stretch to think about the possible other ways to adjust the classroom contexts in order to welcome all children. Deficit views towards SwD were noticeable in the teacher's words about juxtaposing what they could not do. Furthermore, Tekin claimed that SwD internalized these deficits by retiring into their shells, which revealed medical model ideologies. Matching students' abilities with schools was considered the best approach to provide that would allow the most educational benefits to SwD, thus creating ability-based hierarchies among children.

In contrast to previous excerpts, while the teachers were discussing Nese's case, they revealed their ideology of smartness/intelligence as a property (Leonardo & Broderick, 2011), which enabled access to GE classrooms. For instance, Deren and Kerem discussed that some students with autism could be very smart, which was considered a desirable student property.

Deren: Bazi otistik cocuklarin zeka seviyeleri cok yuksek oluyor.

Kerem: Tabiki olabilir.

Deren: Algilama duzeyleri cok yuksek oluyor. Oyle olunca da hani normal sinifta arkadaslariyla beraber sosyal cevrede olmasi daha faydali olabilir. Ailede buyuk ihtimalle bunu dusunuyor, cunku evde ogrenebiliyormus. Sikinti yok. Okulda da bence sinifta arkadaslariyla beraber daha iyi ogrenebilir ama aksi bir durum hani sinifta rahatsiz edici bir durum varsa diger cocuklari ogretmeni tabi oyle bir durumda muhakkat destek egitim sinifina alınmalı...

Kerem: Bazi otistik cocuklar da oyle zeki oluyor ki.

Deren: Kesfedilmeyi bekliyor yani.

Kerem: Zeki oluyor. Ogretmen mesela onunla daha ilerde ders isliyor. Oyle bir durum da var. Mesela Nese bu sekilde otistik mi? Otistigin binbir turlu cesiti var yani.

Deren: Some children with autism have a very high level of intelligence.

Kerem: Of course, it can be.

Deren: Their level of understanding is so high. When she is like that, being in a

normal school with her friends in a social environment can be more beneficial for her. The family most likely thinks this, because she could learn at home. You know, there are no issues. I think, she also could learn better with her friends in the classroom, but if there is an adverse situation in the classroom, such as any disruptiveness for the other children and the teacher. In this case, for sure she needs to be placed in a special education classroom...

Kerem: Some children with autism are very intelligent.

Deren: They are waiting to be discovered.

Kerem: She is intelligent. For example, a teacher can teach a more advanced class with her. There is this situation as well. For example, is Nese this kind of autistic?

There are many kinds of autism.

The answer of “is Nese this kind of autistic?” was a distinctive marker for teachers to decide whether Nese was an appropriate member of GE classrooms, in which she could learn with peers in a social environment. Smartness was a desirable property for the teachers, because it let them to be ahead of activities, which was an indicator of success both for the students and the teachers. Additionally, the statement, “they are waiting to be discovered,” positioned certain SwD as being exotic, and ignored other SwD (e.g., students with moderate or severe intellectual disabilities) who also needed to discover his/her abilities in a responsive learning environment.

Although smartness/intelligence was a distinctive marker to access the GE classrooms, some teachers explained that gifted students were also as challenging as certain SwD in terms of perceived disruptive behaviors. Therefore, some teachers stated that they also did not fit in GE classrooms. For instance, Kenan stated the following about gifted children

Kenan: Cok hareketliler. Basimin belalari. Cok zekiler. Cok basarililar. Ozellikle sinifin en simariklari, en hareketlileri. Mesela bir konu veriyorsun, konuyla ilgili etkinlik yapicaksin ya da konuyla ilgili bir soru soruyorsun, 5 cumle kurmasini istiyorsun. O cocuk onu 3 dakikada 5 dakikada kuruyor ama bir tanesi yarim saatte kuruyor. O once kurdugu icin bu sefer saga sola satasmaya basliyor.

Yetmiyor, yani program yetmiyor. Onlar için de özel bir sınıf ya da özel bir okul düşünmeli... Mesela bundan önce mezun ettiğimiz o engelli çocuk vardı, onun üzerine IQ'su yüksek olan, olulmuş ve yüksek olan çocuk vardı. Yani hem onla uğrasmak, hem de geri kalan 41 kişiyle uğrasmak...Birilerini mecburen aksatıyorsun yani. Suanda da mesela benim sınıfta o durumda öğrenci var ve çok hareketli, çok da kavgaya ediyor sürekli. Çünkü kurallara uymada sıkıntı çekiyor...Ustun zekalılarla da sorun yaşıyorsun yani kalabalık sınıflarda.

Kenan: They [gifted children] are very active. They are the bane of my life [positive meaning]. They are very smart. They are very successful. Especially, they are the most spoiled and active in the classroom. For example, when you give them a topic, and you do an activity about that topic or you ask a question about that topic. You want them to make 5 sentences. That child makes it in 3-5 minutes, but one of them makes it in 30 minutes. Because, s/he makes it earlier, s/he starts to tease around. The program is not enough, just not enough. A new classroom or school for them should be created. For example, in addition to him there was a child with a disability whom we graduated before him, and there was a child with high IQ. It was measured and it was high. Then it is hard to deal with both him and the other 41 students...You end up neglecting somebody. Now, there is also somebody who is in same condition in my classroom and s/he is very active, always fighting with somebody, because he has a hard time following the rules. So, You have issues with gifted children as well in crowded classrooms.

It was noticeable that the classroom, a reflection of a normal curve, served only for certain students who had more similarities than differences. Students, who were perceived below or above the “average,” had challenges to fit in the classroom context, both academically and socially. Kenan critiqued the inadequateness of the education program by stating, “the program is not enough.” Nationalized curriculum constrained teachers’ responses to the diverse needs of students. Curriculum limitations and large class sizes challenged teachers to keep gifted students’ attention for longer periods of time, which teachers argued led to misbehaviors in the classroom. Kenan raised his discomfort about what he was missing in order to respond gifted students’ needs.

Furthermore, another teacher, who was highly against labeling any children, advocated the inclusion of all SwD into classrooms and schools. However, he stated the possibility of segregating gifted students as he positioned them as “the future of the country.”

Akdeniz: Yani ayirmamak lazim. Ayirilacaksa, yani ayirilacaksa ustun zekali cocuklari ayirmak lazim siniflardan. Onun disindaki cocuklari asla. Ne olursa olsun, isterse sirtinda getirsin, veli oturtsun oraya veya tekerlekli sandalyeyle gelsin aksama kadar otursun isterse, onu ayirmamak lazim... Cunku yani dusundugunuz zaman tabii ki biz engelli dedigimiz kisileri egitmeliyiz topluma kazandirmaliyiz. Ayri bir sey, ama obur cocuklari dusunurseniz, obur cocuklar ulke gelecegi... Bunlari kaybettiginiz zaman, yarin iste ne bileyim cok seri katil de cikabilir o zeki insanlarin icinden. Ama zeka ozurlu bir insanin icinden oyle bir sey cikmaz.

Akdeniz: We should not exclude them [student with disabilities]. If there is a need for segregation, then, gifted children should be segregated from the classrooms. Other than those children [gifted children] [should] never [be excluded]. Whatever happens, even s/he [parents] brings him or her on his back, even parents get him or her sit over there, or even s/he comes with a wheel chair, and sits until night [by doing nothing] if s/he wants to. We shouldn't exclude them. Because, we need to provide education to those that we call individuals with disabilities, we need to integrate them into society, this is another thing, but if you think of the other [gifted] children, these children are the future of the country. If you lose them, well, I don't know, one day. One of them can become a serial killer. However, this [becoming a serial killer] cannot happen with an individual with intellectual disability.

Although he advocated the inclusion of SwD in any condition, which was disconfirming evidence in the data, he approached exclusion of gifted students from a pragmatist viewpoint by positioning them as “the future of the country.” Akdeniz, similar to other teachers, shared an overarching object of activity, within inclusive education. The object of the activity was to socialize SwD within society. On the other hand,

Akdeniz argued that government and educators had a mission to support gifted students to develop the country.

There were other activity arenas interconnected with classroom activity systems, which should be critically examined in detail to better understand the teachers' conceptions about inclusive education. Based on teachers' narratives, there were barriers to inclusive education, which appeared to influence the exclusion of SwD from the GE classrooms. For instance, lack of resources, professionals in special education, teacher training, time, large class size, and anxiety of success were some of the constraints that mediated the teachers' beliefs about who has access to their classrooms. For instance, Kenan and Ali discussed the school's lack of physical infrastructure to include children with physical disabilities.

Ali: Normal öğrencilere zaten fiziksel ortam uygun değil. Burada 760 öğrenci var. Hiçbir şeye yeterliliği yok.

Kenan: Engelli bir çocuk 3 ay nasıl gidecek şimdi. Burada bu okulda, hiçbir anlamı yok. Hiçbir alınmış önlem yok, hiçbir hizmet yok. Hiçbir şey yok. Engelli bir çocuk burada 3. kata çıkamaz.

Ali: Biraz önce Milli Eğitim anket düzenlemiş, anket doldurtturuyorlar. Milli Eğitimin başarısı nasıl? Ben 30 senedir bir şey görmedim, engelliler bakımından en azından.

...

Kenan: Caddeleri hazırlayamadık, daha ilk defa ben Maki'de engelliler için kaldırım gördüm. Yani, kaldırım taşı koydular... Onunla da araba park ediyorlar.

A: Nerede engellilerle ilgili, vardır alışveriş merkezlerinde onların parkı, hiçbir şey görür musunuz, yeter ki boş bulalım.

K: Toplumun bilinçlenmesi lazım, ailenin bilinçlendirilmesi lazım. Öğretmenin bakış açısıyla fiziksel şartların oluşması lazım.

Ali: The physical setting is not appropriate for even normal students. There are 760 students in here. There is no infrastructure.

Kenan: How could a child with disability be in here for 3 months? In here, in this school, there is no meaning of it. There are no precautions taken, there is no

service. There is nothing. A child with a [physical] disability cannot go to the 3rd floor.

Ali: A little while ago, the Ministry of Education prepared a survey, which they were giving to people to be filled out. I haven't seen anything for 30 years, at least for people with disabilities.

...

Kenan: We haven't prepared the streets. Lately, I have seen a sidewalk for people with disabilities for the first time in Maki. So, they put a paving stone... But they [people] also park [their cars] in front of it.

A: In where [there] is [something] for people with disabilities, [like] there are parking spots for them at malls. Would you care [if it is reserved for people with disabilities] as long it is empty?

K: Society should become conscious/aware. Families should be educated. Physical conditions should be developed along with the teachers' perspectives.

The teachers were aware of disabling social structures for people with physical disabilities. As a multi-layer structure, classrooms were embedded within schools, and schools were also connected to larger systems. They critiqued the Ministry of National Education for not providing adequate resources to develop infrastructure for the implementation of inclusive education policies for the past 30 years. Lack of infrastructure led the teachers to note a feeling of meaninglessness in regard to believing in inclusive education philosophy and practice. Meaninglessness was also revealed in the larger activity arenas. They indicated the exclusionary designs of physical spaces (e.g., ramps) for people with disabilities to participate in the social world. Furthermore, they noted the lack of societal awareness by referencing the common practice of using people with disabilities' physical spaces as a way to make them invisible in society.

Although, inclusive education classes have been provided in teacher education programs for approximately 10 years, the teachers raised the issue of inadequate focus on technical/practical aspects of implementation. Thus, senior teachers shared that they had

only been involved in two hours of in-service training about inclusive education; yet junior teachers critiqued their teacher education programs by mostly providing theoretical knowledge without giving weight to technical knowledge. For instance Leyla stated that

Leyla: Üniversiteden daha fazla biz kaynastırma öğrencisini ben bir stajda gördüm, o da haftada bir gün görüyorduk. O da çok zor olduğu için hoca genelde normal sınıfın öğretmeni çocukla ilgileniyordu, biz diğer şeylerle bu şekilde. Daha fazla üniversitede şey olursa uygulama ustune, teorik değil, teorikte bize her şeyi öğrettiler, işte şu hastalığın belirtileri sudur, şöyle olur su su su. Yani teorik olarak her şeyi verdiler ama suan hicbiri yok. Hani sınıfta eskiden Tuna öğrencim kaynastırma öğrencisiymiş suan çıkmış kaynastırmadan normal seviyeye ulaşmış. Diğer öğrencilerimle aynı ama mesela öyle bir çocuk olsaydı zorlanırdım yani. Volkan mıydı? Onun basvurduğu şeye yani yönlendirmeye çalışırdım belki de.

Leyla: I saw more inclusion children in my practicum than in my college, which was only one day in a week. Because that was very hard, the teacher, the normal classroom teacher, mostly spent her time on that child, [while] we were with other children. If there is more technical-practical knowledge at college, no theoretical, they taught us everything theoretical, for example, the symptoms of this sickness is this, that happens, that that that. So, they gave all information theoretically, but there is nothing now. My student, Tuna, was an inclusive child before, now he is at a normal level, he reached the normal level from an inclusive one. Now, he is the same as the other children but if there were a child like that I would struggle. Was he, Volkan? I would, maybe try to refer the child [to special education] like Volkan.

Teacher education programs in colleges had a role of constructing the teachers' professional identities, which in turn set the parameters of their practices and the identities of their students. Teachers' perspectives were shaped and reshaped through the philosophy of teacher education and their working experiences in the field. Teacher education programs should give weight to critical, theoretical, and technical/practical knowledge and experiences about inclusive education to better prepare teachers to be a key actor in inclusive practices. Leyla explained her lack of training about responding the

SwD within the GE classrooms. From her statements, disability was conceptualized as a sickness by providing information about the symptoms. Although the textbooks should be examined in order to argue whether or not the teacher education programs hold a medical model ideology of disability, which could be a topic of another study, the teacher recalled disability as sickness from what she called theoretical knowledge. Leyla reflected that she would also referred Nese to Volkan, the teacher in the vignette, due to her lack of technical knowledge about responding to her needs within the GE classroom.

The teachers raised the issue of lack of SE professionals in the field, which limited their access to adequate support. Although Turkish SE programs have been developing for decades, there is still an increasing need for some professionals to provide support services to GE teachers to better serve SwD. For instance, Ali stated that

Ali: En büyük şey ne olacak biliyor musun, hem devlet üzerine duseni yapacak, altyapi hazir olacak o tur kisiler icin ve onu egitecek kisinin de egitimini ona gore almasi gerekiyor. Bizde her şey yapmacik. Ozurluler okulunda hep sinif ogretmeni 1 ay 2 ay belge almış gitmiş.

Ali: Do you know what should happen, both government do their part, infrastructure should be ready for those kinds of people and people who educate them [SwD] should receive their education based on that. Everything is campy. Special education schools always employ primary school teachers who received a certificate [in special education] in a month or two.

Although Ali was differentiating teachers' professionalism based on students' abilities and held the idea that some teachers teach some students, the inadequate training of SE teachers limited teachers and SwD from receiving support within the GE classrooms. Additionally, the policies were designed and implemented with a mindset of saving the day as a short-term plan, rather than considering future oriented long-term plans. These short-terms policies have created skepticism towards the government for not

providing the required infrastructure for inclusive education. Without creating binaries between general and special education professionals, both professionals needed to work collaboratively to ensure learning for all children.

The possibility of inclusive education for SwD has been inhibited by various barriers (e.g., large class size and lack of support). In order to understand what the teachers think about these barriers in regard to inclusive education, I asked their opinions about the possibility of inclusive education for SwD if the barriers were dismantled and support services provided to them.

Sultan: Hikayede okul yönetimi destek oluyor öğretmene, yani her hangi bir destek sağlandığı durumunda ne düşünüyorsunuz? Sınıf mevcudunu düşürüyorlar ya da özel eğitim öğretmeni yardımcı olabileceğini soyluyor.

Fatma: Simdi, Sultan, bizim sınıflarımız zaten az. Bizim sınıflarımız 20-25 en fazla. Düşünebiliyor musun? O kadar. Ama ona rağmen engel oluyor. Yani bizim öyle bir şey olması lazım ki, yani belki 10'u geçmemesi lazım, ama gene de engel olur. Yani onların ayrı okuması, ama normal zamanlarda, mesela resim müzik beden gibi eğer bedensel engelli yoksa ama normal derslerde ağır geliyor. Çocuğa ağır geliyor yani.

Sultan: Başka düşüncesi olan var mı? Farklı? Bu konuyla ilgili.

Fatma: İstemeyiz yani sınıflarımızda...

Emine: Ben öğretmen olarak istemem.

Fatma: Öğretmen olarak istemeyiz, çünkü dediğimiz gibi, obur çocukların haklarına da engel olmuş oluyoruz, öğrenmelerini daha geciktiriyoruz programımıza göre düşünürsek. Çünkü isleyeceğin konuyu onun yüzünden isleyemiyorsun farz et. Obur şubeler senden öne geçiyor. Sen konuda geri kalıyorsun. O anlamda.

Sultan: In the story, the school administration supports teachers, so what would you think about it, if support were provided? For example, if they decrease the class size or the special education teacher came help.

Fatma: Well, Sultan. Our class size is already small. Our classes include at most 20-25 [students]. Can you imagine? That is it. Somehow s/he [a SwD] hinders. Well, it has got to be something that maybe the classroom shouldn't exceed 10 [students], but even so s/he [a SwD] hinders. Well, they should get education separately, but in normal times, for example like in art, music, or physical

education class if they don't have a physical disability, but normal classes are hard [for SwD]. Well, those [the classes] are hard for that child.

Sultan: Are there any other different opinions in relation to this topic?

Fatma: We don't want them [SwD] in our classrooms.

Emine: I don't want them as a teacher.

Fatma: We don't want them [SwD] as a teacher, because, as we mentioned earlier, we think they hinder other children's rights. We delay other children's learning according to our curriculum, because, let's assume that you cannot teach a lesson because of him/her. Other classes go ahead of you. You get behind with lessons.

Large class size and inadequate support services were some of the restricting barriers against inclusive education that the teachers conceived. However, interestingly, for teachers, imagining inclusive education was not possible even if these barriers would be dismantled. This highlighted the importance of having conceptual tools about what is possible and what is not possible in education. Deficit views towards SwD positioned them hindering other students' rights for learning and development in the classroom. On the other hand, the educational rights of SwD were not seen as important as those of other students.

The teachers interacted with complex systems to answer the question about "who is in and who is out?." The "Who is in?" question was related to answering who fits in classroom activity settings. The teachers held power about deciding who fits in their classroom context. The description of classroom activity systems was similar across all teachers. The system held the ideology of "ableism" and the medical model of disability from a deficit perspective. Due to these ideologies, students with moderate to severe disability, students who were perceived as disruptive, and students who needed special attention and care were not welcomed in GE classrooms. Furthermore, gifted students were positioned as "the future of the country," which shaped the teachers' beliefs about

the need to provide education in gifted schools. On the other hand, the teachers were aware of some disabling conditions for people with disabilities, which could be expanded by having them think critically about the exclusionary designs of classroom contexts.

What Happens After Placement?

The conceptualization of inclusive education has been historically associated with the placement of SwD into the GE classroom. Although placement could provide access to particular opportunities for students, examining what happens after placement shed light on the actual experiences of marginalized students. Through the teachers' reflections on their experiences and my classroom observations, it became clear that students had different equity struggles in terms of access, meaningful participation in activities, and having equal outcomes in their education due to the teachers' construction of students' identities and systemic inequities. For instance, SwD could not engage in meaningful activities, were intentionally or unintentionally marginalized and excluded within the classrooms, fell behind from the rest of the classroom, and were bullied by other children. On the other hand, Kurdish students (KS) experienced educational inequities due to linguistic differences. Furthermore, girls were challenged with socioculturally and historically constructed narrativized gender identities, which marginalized and excluded them within education activity systems. In the following section, I explain each group's unique experiences individually under the theme of what happens after placement.

Students with Dis/abilities.

The teachers shared their past and current experiences working with SwD in their classrooms. Understanding what happens after placement was crucial in terms of being aware of students' marginalization and/or exclusion processes within the classroom

contexts. There were specific cases related to SwD in the teachers' experiences. These children were Huseyin (a child with mild learning dis/ability), Maya (a child with unidentified/perceived Down Syndrome), Yigit (a child with autism), and Necla (a child with mild learning dis/ability). Although these students were included in GE classrooms, their experiences were not inclusive. Unfortunately, based on observations and the teachers' sharing, it became clear that SwD did not participate in meaningful learning activities, fell behind in the classrooms, experienced exclusion within classrooms, and were bullied by other children.

Non-participation in Meaningful Activities and Exclusion within Classrooms

The "Who is in" and "Who is out" theme illustrated some of the overall classroom activity settings through the teachers' representations of their classroom and some of my classroom observations. The teachers' expectations of students were that they fit in their classroom context, where mostly whole-class instruction was designed for the students who were on similar ability level, which did not recognize the unique abilities of all students. The practices of one-size-fits-all excluded SwD from participating in activities. For instance, Emine, the first grade teacher, shared her experiences with Huseyin, a child with mild learning dis/ability.

Emine: Huseyin'in durumuna gore sey yapiyorum. Hatta sesleri ben uzun sure biraktim artik Huseyin de, ikinci donem. Ilk donem surekli veriyordum, tekrar tekrar. En fazla "a" ya kadar mi geldim, t'ye kadar mi geldim ve tekrar basa dondum. Bir turlu t'den ileri gidemedim. Ilk dort harfi veriyorum, sonra tekrar basa donuyorum, cunku yok yani ilerleyemiyorum. Ama ikinci donem baya biraktim, cunku rehber ogretmenimiz, iste ozel egitim ogretmenimiz, daha sonra mudur bey falan birlikte konustugumuzda, hani denilen suydu "hocam hani cok sey yapmayin, demek ki bunu ogrenecek kapasitede degil. Hani o zaman birazcik ara verelim, bu sene demek ki yapamiyacak onu, baska seyler yapin. Iste boyama verin, iste resim yapsin falan. Bu tarz seylerle vakit gecirsin" denilen buydu,

“demek ki daha suan hazir degil onlara. Onlara hazir degil.” Ama dedigim gibi dun mesela dunku olaydan sonra ata inek demesi, koyun demesi, a’ya diyorum aaaat diyorum mesela, e demesi “i” demesi, ha demek ki bilincli bir sekilde yapiyor. Ve bunu ben dunmuydu bugunmuydu Ozgur hocayla konustum yine, dundu sanirim. Dun konustum evet. O da sey dedi, hocam dedi hani boyle ogrencilerin oyle yapmasi dedi, cok normal dedi.

Emine: I plan [the activities] based on Huseyin’s condition. Even, I gave up [doing] phonics with Huseyin for a long time ago, in the second semester. I was giving him [the activity] all the time, over and over again. I came until “a” or maybe I came until “t” and I returned to the beginning. In no way, I went forward from [the letter] “t.” I teach the first four letters, and then I return to the beginning, because I cannot progress. But, I gave up [doing it] in the second semester, because when we talked with our school counselor and special education teachers and later on our school principal, this was said to me, “well, don’t do too much [literacy activity], that is to say he didn’t have capacity to learn this. Well then, we give a little break, that is to say he could not do it in this year, do different things. Like give painting, like he does drawings. He will spend his time on these kinds of activities.” That is what was said. “That is to say he is not ready for these kinds of activities [literacy]. He is not ready.” But as I said, like after what happened yesterday that he confused cow and sheep with horse, for instance I said “aaaat” [horse] [making the sounds of the word of horse] to [the phonic of] “a,” and he said “e” or “i.” That is to say he was doing it consciously. I talked about it with the special education teacher, Ozgur, yesterday. He said that, it is normal that these kinds of students did that, very normal he said...

In this excerpt, Emine illustrated teaching reading and writing, which was practiced as a whole-group approach. She started teaching phonics to Huseyin, yet they could not progress and complete all the letters in the Turkish alphabet. She perceived Huseyin as a problem because of this unsuccessful result without questioning her literacy instruction, the learning needs of Huseyin, nor the classroom context. In Ozgur’s, the special education teacher, school counselor’s and the school principal’s statement, “well, don’t do too much [literacy activity], that is to say he didn’t have capacity to learn this,” reflected their medical model ideologies about Huseyin. Due to the medical model

ideologies, which consider the problem resides within the individual, Huseyin was positioned as a problem, not being capable of learning how to read and write. This led the stakeholders to make a decision of not continuing literacy practice, instead of offering unchallenging nonacademic activities, such as drawing and painting. These activities were just for him to spend his time in the school without supporting his learning needs and developing his abilities. Furthermore, she aimed to prove her argument by bringing up the incident, that I also observed, about his wrong answers as a response to the question of the initial letter of the words.

Due to the stakeholders' medical-model ideologies towards Huseyin, he was excluded from the GE classroom and placed in the SE classroom as an improvisational policy practice. By improvisational policy practice, I referred to the decisions of educational stakeholders (e.g., teachers, school principals, and special education teacher) related to placement, which did not have a policy equivalency. Thus, the stakeholders created their own policies for students' placement. He joined his first grade classroom on some afternoons as a result of this improvisational practice. When he was in the first grade in one of the afternoons, I conducted a classroom observation.

The classroom was a typical Turkish primary school classroom, in which two children shared a desk lined in rows facing the teacher's desk in the front of the classroom. Huseyin sat in the first row next to a boy. Emine, the teacher, separated Huseyin from the rest of the classroom by giving him a basic literacy activity on the first grade book (See Figure 5). The rest of the class was solving math problems in their math book. She was switching back and forth between Huseyin and the other children. The goal of the activity that was represented in the book was the recognition and the ways of

writing the small and the capital letter of “a.” There was a picture of a horse which is translated as “at” in Turkish. Emine approached him and asked “At! Neyle Basliyor? (Horse! What is the initial letter of it?)” She further stressed the initial letter of “at” by saying “AAAt,” and then she asked, “What is the initial letter of it?” He said, “it starts with e.” She showed the letter, “e,” and then said “e buymus, tamam mi? (The letter “e” is this one, ok?).” Then she switched the rest of the class and read the problem “7 yil once 11 yasindaydi simdi kac yasindadir? (If she is 11 years old seven years ago, how old is she now?)” A girl answered eleven plus seven is 18 as counting with her fingers. Then she moved to the next question by asking, “20’den 8’i cikarirsam kac bulurum? (If I subtract 8 from 20, what will I find?)” During this time, Huseyin was trying to organize the tablecloth of his desk and then he put his book under his desk. Emine realized he was off-task and approached him and strictly said, “Birak ortuyu! Cikar defterini! (Stop playing with the tablecloth! Take your notebook)” Then he said, “Aciktim. (I am hungry).” She surprisingly replied, “Yemek yemedin mi? (Haven’t you eaten anything?).” He answered, “Yemedim (I didn’t eat.)” She did not say anything and moved to the book by saying “Neymis? (What was that?),” and answered by herself, “AAA!!!”

In this incident, Huseyin did not have a chance to participate in meaningful learning activities and was even excluded from the rest of the class by doing the basic literacy activity. There were two overarching activity systems in the classroom. One was the literacy activity that Huseyin and the teacher were engaging in and the second was the math activity, in which the teacher was the subject of these two activity systems. Huseyin was engaged in interactions only with the teacher not with the other children. The object

of the activity, the recognition and the ways of writing the small and capital letter of “a,” was set by the teacher and mediated by the book (i.e., tool). Huseyin was disempowered within the activity by the teacher, who expected him to follow her instructions and answer her questions. He answered her questions incorrectly by saying the initial letter of “at (horse)” as “e.” Although there was not enough evidence of why he was saying the wrong answer, through my observations he looked like he was not interested or motivated about the activity. Moreover, he said that he had been hungry, which could be an explanation for his distraction and reason for his incorrect answers. However, there was restriction to a critical examination of the context by the teacher in terms of questioning her instructional strategies and the reasons why he gave the incorrect answers. Instead the teacher was blaming his lack of abilities and considering it as a conscious act. Similarly, he could have been giving incorrect answers consciously as a way of resistance to the teacher and the activity.

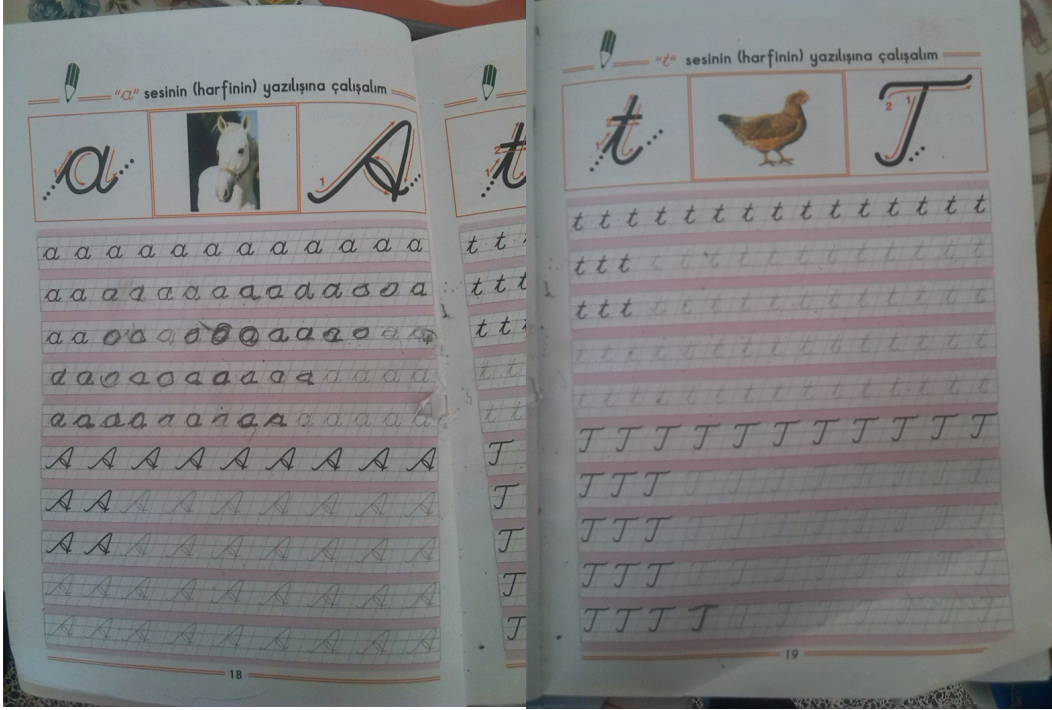


Figure 5. Literacy activity artifacts

Emine’s medical model ideologies and deficit views mediated her low-expectations of Huseyin, which led her to organize unchallenging activities for him. For instance, she explained further that

Emine: Onu dusunuyorum ama ama diger cocuklarla degil. Cunku digerleri biraz daha agir Huseyin’e gore, Huseyin’in bire bir ilgilenilmesi gerekiyor, ya sinif ortami asla! Diger cocuklari da etkiliyor, olumsuz yonden etkiliyor. Ogretmeni de etkiliyor ister istemez. Tabii bu kez kendisini de etkiler, cunku digerleri cunku hep derse katiliyor. Ben mesela cok uzuluyorum, hani onla birsey yaparken o orda bos bos oturunca, digerleriyle birseyler yapiyorum, birseyler veriyorum, ama o bos bos oturuyor, ona bir sey vermemek cok kotu bir sey, hani vicdanen rahatsizsin ama yapabilecegin bir sey yok. Cunku ne kadar ugrassan da ilerlemiyor gelismiyor. Hani birazcik gelisme gorsem devam edicem ama ilerleme yok, gelisme olmayınca da ister istemez senin de sevkini koreliyor. Bu kez digerlerine aferim diyorsun, bir seyler basariyorlar, goruyorlar, resimleri asiliyor, o da uzuluyordur, niye bana aferim demiyorlar, niye bana boyle guzel seyler soylemiyor diyordur mutlaka, uzuluyordur, ya da gerici uzulecek, uzulen birisi gibi gorunmuyor sinifta ama bilmiyorum.

Emine: I thought that but not with other children. Because, their disability is a little more severe than Huseyin, Huseyin needs to be taken care of one-on-one, no way in classroom environment. He affects other children negatively. Willingly or unwillingly, this affects the teacher as well. For sure, then it affects him, because others always participate in classroom. For example, I feel very upset, when I do something with others. He sits blankly there. It is very bad not to teach him anything. I am very uncomfortable conscientiously, but there is nothing I can do. Because even I deal with a lot, he doesn't improve. Well, if I see any small improvements, I will continue, but there is no improvement, when there is no improvement, willingly or unwillingly your motivation atrophies. This time, you say to the others "good job," they achieve something, they see it, their drawings are put on the wall, he probably feels sad, why they did not tell me "good job," why they do not tell me nice things, he would certainly feel sad, on the other hand, he does not look like a person who is or could be sad in the classroom. [He was perceived careless by the teacher].

For Emine, Huseyin's exclusion from GE classroom was related to his lack of abilities. However, for her, he did not completely fit in SE classroom either because the students in SE class were perceived as more severely disabled than him. Therefore, she believed that he needed one-on-one instruction in a different classroom. She justified the GE class was not good for him by arguing his lack of ability to participate adequately in comparison to other children. From her narrative, it was noticeable that Huseyin's abilities were not recognized and acknowledged in the classroom and perceived as deficit. She explained that he was sitting by doing nothing while she was doing activities with other children. She blamed Huseyin for decreasing her motivation due to his no improvement of learning within the activities. She recognized the abilities of other children by saying "good job" to them and acknowledged their work by putting their drawings on the wall. However, unfortunately, she revealed that she did not say "good job" to Huseyin because he could not fulfill her expectations.

In another school, my interview with Ece and observation in her third-grade classroom also revealed that Maya (a child with perceived Down Syndrome) and Yigit (a child with autism) did not also meaningfully participate in learning activities. The classroom was set traditionally, where students' desks were in a row, and each child was sitting at a desk. Maya was sitting at the first desk of the first line next to the classroom door of the class. Ozgur was sitting three rows behind Maya. Similar to Emine, Ece also practiced whole class instruction, which was a common instructional practice in Turkey, which constrained certain students' opportunities to learn. When I conducted the classroom observation in the third class, Ece came to her desk and printed one-page math worksheet (See Figure 6), simple additional questions, for Maya and Ozgur. The rest of the class was engaging in challenging and complex math problems. Similarly to Emine, Ece was also moving back and forth between Maya and Ozgur and the rest of the class. Noteworthy, is that my presence in the classroom might have influenced the time spent with Maya and Ozgur.

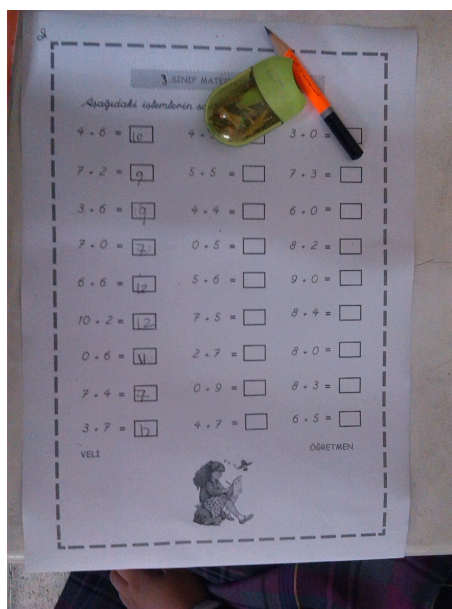


Figure 6. Math activity artifact

After she gave the addition worksheet questions to Maya and Yigit, a boy in front of Yigit helped him to do a question, and a boy behind him said to him, “don’t help him, he can do it by himself,” which could be a reflection of the teacher who could acknowledge Yigit’s abilities by telling the other students, “he can do it by himself.” During this time, Maya was trying to do an addition question by counting on her fingers. The teacher realized her actions and approached her to support her and then moved to Yigit to help him. However, the total time that she spent with them was not more than 5 minutes. During this time, the rest of the class was doing complex math problems in their book and one student solved each question on the blackboard. This was a way of recognition and acknowledgement of the students’ abilities, which led students to enact, embody, and develop a capable identity in the classroom. For instance, the teacher read a question, “yolun yarisi 23 km, yolun uc’te yedisini gidiyor. Neyi istiyor? Gidecegi kac km kalmis? (Half of the distance [between two locations] is 12 km, s/he has gone three-

sevenths of the distance. What does it [the question] want? How many kilometers will remain for him to go?” She drew a chart on the board (See Figure 7), which was a traditional way of explaining these kinds of problems.



Figure 7: The teacher’s depiction of the solution of the math problem

She scaffolded students by saying, “Butun verilmiş, kesri buluyoruz. Paydaya boluyoruz. (The whole was given, and we find the fraction. We divide it by denominator)” A student solved it as (See Figure 8)

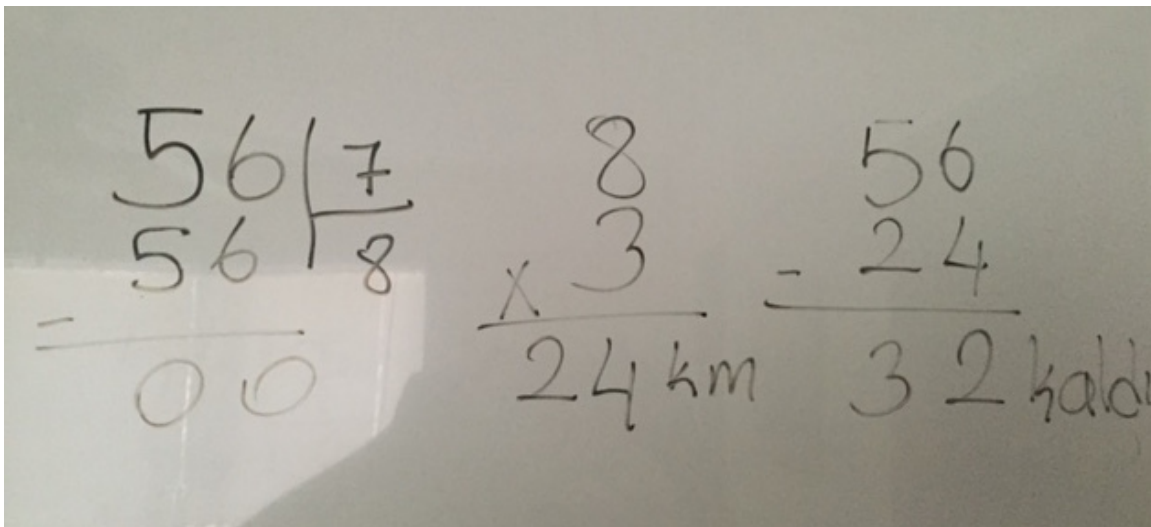


Figure 8. The student's solution of the math problem

During this time, Yigit put his head on the desk, which could be related to his boredom due to not being included in the larger activity or possibly he might have finished his worksheet. When other children moved to the next question, she first helped Maya and then Yigit in their questions.

Although even such her intentions came from a positive place by trying to differentiate the activities for them, she was excluding them from the rest of the class, which eventually pushed them to the margins of the classroom by not supporting them to enact, embody, and develop capable learning identities within the classroom. During the interview, she explained that both Maya's and Yigit's participation in classroom activities had been decreasing over time and got behind from the rest of the classroom due to their perceived lack of abilities. She reflected that their learning activities were simple and there was not any productivity for them in the whole group instruction.

Emine: Zaten nedir plan dort islemin ogretilmesi turunde seyler ama dedigim gibi grubunun geneline bir konu islerken orda hani ona veriyorsun ama basinda beklemeyince de verim alinmiyor. Illaki onunla ilgilenen birisinin olmasi gerekiyor. Tamam toplamayi ogrendi, yapiyor ama iste dedigim gibi orda farkli bir sey varken, yapmak istemiyor oturuyor, bos zaman geciriyor.

Emine: What the plan [IEP] is, well it is related to four operations, but as I said while you are giving a lecture to the whole group, ok you give them [an activity], but if you don't specifically watch him, he will not be productive. For sure, there should be somebody who takes care of them. Ok, s/he learned addition, s/he can do it, but as I said when you do something different over there, s/he does not want to do it and or just spends idle time.

In this excerpt, it was noticeable that the activities for Maya and Yigit were basic and unchallenging. Through my observation and also Ece's description of her instruction (i.e., if you don't watch him, there will be no productivity) was not meaningful, engaging, nor motivating for Maya and Yigit. Ece, as a teacher, was an authority figure in the classroom by setting and leading the activities and the activity goals for Maya and Yigit. Ece's and many other teachers' teaching instruction was teacher-oriented and same across groups, which constrained other ways of learning of students, their engagement and motivation to the activity. Therefore, when the teacher left the activity contexts, the

students did not have motivation to complete or continue the activity. Then, the students' time was not productive and beneficial for them. This situation decreased their participation in the classroom over time. Ece further stated,

Ece: Diger down sendromlu ogrencimle sadece aile ilgileniyor, zaten iletisim de kuramiyoruz biz onunla, cok az ses cikiyor, oku diyorum, ben duyamiyorum, ogrenciler duyamiyor, sinifta bir etkinlige katilmasi gittikce azaliyor. Birinci sinifta, ikinci sinifta katiliyordu iste bazi sorulara cevap veriyordu, ornegin hayat bilgisinden Turkce'den anladigi kadar ama artik zaman gectikce bu durumda azaliyor, daha az derse katiliyor ornegin...Arasi hani ucukum olmaya basladi artik diger ogrencilerle arasinda, daha az katiliyor, daha sessiz, onceden daha cok parmak kaldirirdi, simdi daha az kaldiriyor, cunku artik sey hani seviyesinin uzerinde olmaya basladi bazi seyler. O yuzden cok katilmiyor yani.

Ece: My other student with Down syndrome, only the family has taken care of him. Well we cannot communicate either, she speaks very quietly, I say, "read," I cannot hear. The other students cannot hear. Her participation is gradually decreasing in the classroom. She used to participate when she was in first and second grades: for example, she was answering some of the questions in social science and Turkish classes to the degree she understood, but as the time passes, it [her participation] is decreasing. She participates in activities less... A gap has started to exist between her and other children. She participates less, she is more silent, she used to raise her hand before more, but now she raises her hand less, because everything is getting more complex than her level.

In this excerpt, Ece explained Maya's decreasing participation in activities and an increasing gap had started to exist between them and the rest of the students. For the teacher, these were related to perceived lack of abilities of the students, which she referred as being silent, not raising hands, and speaking too softly. This situation was the same for Yigit.

Ece: Ha gidiyor. Otistikti mesela o [Yigit] ogrencim otistik simdi raporunu iptal etti, cunku okuma yazma guzel ogrendi iyicene okumayi, cunku birinci sinifa gelmeden once baslamis ozel ders almaya. Hatta ben ilk once farketmemistim bile o kadar guzel yapiyordu cizgi arastirmalarini olsun seyleri. Ama hani onun ogrendigi yere kadar gelip de biz geciverince artik yavasladi yani fark ortaya

cikti. Yazdan ona annesi ozel ders aldirmis, bazi harfleri sesleri ogrenerek geldigi icin, ilk basta ben hissetmemistim hani. Yapiyordu hani. Hani geriliyor oldugunu tamam, saymalari da yapiyordu. Oyle bir gerilik hissetmemistim ama hani bizim hani artik onunla daha onceden calismadigi seslere gecince biz, orda acilmaya basladi ara. Artik guzel okumasi yazmasi iyi ama o ozel destek aldi iste dedigim gibi ozel ogretmenden hala aliyor devam, ediyor.

Ece: He was a child with autism, but now he canceled his report, because he learned reading and writing very good thanks to the private lesson he took before attending the first grade. Even I wasn't aware of that before, he was doing the activities very good, but when we reached up to what he knows and passes, he got slower, and the gap appeared. Her mom took him to take some private classes before the summer, because he came to school by knowing certain phonics, I didn't feel it before. He could do it. Ok, he was getting behind. He could do the counting. I didn't feel that he was behind, but when we passed the phonics that he hadn't practiced, a gap appeared. Now, his reading and writing is good, but he received special support from a special teacher as I said, and still continues it.

In this excerpt, she explained that although Yigit canceled his report and could do the literacy activities at the beginning of the first grade, later a gap started to exist between Yigit and the rest of the class. This situation revealed that the activities were not inclusive to privilege all students' unique abilities. Additionally, it was noticeable that the activities were designed only for some groups of children and excluded others. This was more related to the teachers' conceptual tools in relation to students' identities. Medical model ideologies mediated the teachers' reasoning of increasing gap between students.

Ece stated,

Ece: Iste dedigim gibi bilmiyorum yeterli oluyormuyuz, dedigim gibi zaman olmuyor, ya da cocuklarin kendi baslarina calisma aliskanliklari olmadigi icin o iki ogrencimin, derste belli bir sureleri bosa geciyor. Hic bir sey yapmiyor mesela bosa geciyor. Okuma saatlerinde ben okutturuyorum. Ne bileyim hani ona uygun bir seyler cikarttigim zaman fotokopi veriyorum ve tek basina yapmasi mumkun olmuyor. Ya ben ilgilenmek zorundayim ya da basinda birinin olmasi onemli, hadi demem lazim cocuklarlarda anca o sekilde gidiyor, cunku kendi basina calisma aliskanligi yok. Yani yaptigi calisma sey. Hani kafadan atiyor,

matematikse yazmis tamam doldurmus ama sonuclar dogru degil. Bir takim seyleri yapabilir aslinda ama illaki birinin yardimina ihtiyac duyuyor.

Ece: As I said, I don't know if we are enough. As I said, there is no time or because these two students [Maya and Yigit] do not have the habit of studying themselves, their certain amount of time gets wasted. For example, s/he does not do anything. Their time gets wasted. In literacy time, I am getting them to read. I give them some copies of activities that appropriate for her [Maya] and it still is impossible for her to do it by herself. Either I need to take care of her or there should be somebody with her. I should encourage her; that's the only way I can help her progress because she does not have the habit of studying alone. OK, she does something but for example she makes up the results and put them in the worksheet. If it is math none of the answers is correct. She can actually succeed in activities but she needs help from somebody.

Although Ece questioned herself as a teacher who was not being adequate enough to support Maya's and Yigit's learning, she positioned them at the center of the problems by considering that they did not have the required abilities to be capable learners of the classroom. Moreover, she revealed her medical model ideologies by saying "these two students do not have the habit of studying by themselves." For her, they always needed someone in order to benefit from the activities. Although all students needed scaffolding in any activity to support their learning and development, her statement created a binary between Maya and Yigit and the rest of the class based on her perception of their lack of ability to study by themselves.

Another teacher, Tekin, shared his experiences working with SwD when he was a teacher in a small town.

Sultan: Sizin peki deneyiminiz oldu mu, herhangi bir?

Tekin: Koyde calisirken, boyle bir sey vardi, ama pek fazla bizim yapabilecegimiz bir sey yoktu. Diger cocuklarla birlikte, ama hic birsey yapmadan, verdigimi de yapmiyordu. Eee 1.sinifti cocuklar da ayni onlar gibi. Ilgilenemedik, nasil ilgilenemedik? Iste onune bisiler verdik, kesmeler yapistirmalar. Onun disinda yapabilecegimiz, cunku o konuda bir bilgimiz yok.

Sultan: O zaman o ogrencinin sikintisi neydi.

Tekin: Ya zaman zaman, sikildigini sik sik “tuvalete gidecem” demekle belli ediyordu. Izin veriyordum. Sinifta zorlamiyordum. Disarda bir dolasip geliyordu, sikiliyordu. O zaman pek fazla dikkati cekici hareketler yapmiyordu. Okul bahcesinde, tabii zaman zaman gorebiliyordum ne yapiyor diye. Sonra sinifa aliyordum, o zaman da pek sikinti yaratmiyordu. Ama sinifta da dedigim gibi her gun ayni seyleri yapmaktan da sikiliyordu.

Sultan: Kesme yapistirma?

Tekin: Kesme, resim, bizim verdigimiz kagitlardan sekiller olusturma kendine gore. Yap diyordum ama dedigim gibi koydesiniz hicbir arac gereciniz yok eldeki olanaklariniz da kisitli, ama yine de digerleriyle birlikte geldi gitti. Ama uyum mu hayir. Kaynasti mi hayir...ileri derecede ozurluydu. Olmadi tabii hicbir sey. Sadece ne oldu, benim isimi engelledi. Onun disinda hicbir sey olmadı yani.

Sultan: Have you ever had any experiences [working with SwD]?

Tekin: While I was working in the village, there was such a thing, but there was only so much we could do. He was with the other children, but [he] was not doing anything; he was not doing the things that I gave to him. Well, the other children were first grade just like him. We could not deal with him. How couldn't we deal with for him? Well we gave him something to do, cutting and pasting. We didn't have much to do other than that, because we didn't have the knowledge.

Sultan: What was the student's challenge, then?

Tekin: Time to time, when he was bored, he was showing his boredom saying, “I will go to the restroom.” I was giving permission. I was not pushing him hard in the classroom. He was going out for a walk and coming back. He was getting bored. Then he was not doing striking actions. I was able to see him when he was outside in the schoolyard. Then, I was taking him in the classroom; there he was not causing a lot of problems. But as I said, he was getting bored doing the same activities everyday.

Sultan: Cutting and pasting?

Tekin: Cutting, drawing, then making some figures of his own using the papers we give him. I said, “do it,” but as I said, you were in a village, no tools, you have limited resources, but even so he still came and left with other students. But, was it an adaptation? No. Was he included? No. He had severe disability. Nothing happened. What was the only thing happen? My work was obstructed. Other than that nothing happened.

In this excerpt, Tekin explained that he could not support his SwD's academic learning due to his lack of technical knowledge to support him and the time that he spent

on him and his perception of SwD's lack of abilities. These constrictions led him to provide unchallenging activities, such as cutting, pasting, and painting, for him, so as to keep him busy or entertained. Tekin revealed that his SwD was getting bored in the classroom, so that he wanted to go outside. Tekin's statement, "he was getting bored doing the same activities everyday," mirrored that he did not have a chance to engage in meaningful and challenging learning activities and opportunities to build a sense of belonging. From Tekin's reflections, it was noticeable that the child only occupied space physically, while his ways of being and abilities were not being recognized in the classroom context. Tekin reflected that his practice was not inclusive and his SwD did not become a valuable member of the classroom community. Unfortunately, he perceived him as a problem that obstructed his teaching in the classroom and did not believe his inclusion in the classroom benefited any parties or result learning outcomes for child.

SwD experience exclusionary practices within classroom and schools.

Unpacking students' relationships with each other was important in inclusive practices. Therefore, I asked how the SwD's relationships were with other children. Many teachers stated that working on other students' acceptance of SwD was important and took time. Unfortunately, the teachers' experiences revealed that SwD were bullied by other students in the classrooms and the schools. Ece described Yigit's and Maya's relationships with other students.

Ece: Mesela bu sene gelen ogrenciler var. Onlarla sorun yasiyoruz. Onlar surekli Yigit'i sikayete geliyor. Yani ben surekli bunu diyorum, onlari ozel bir durumu var, onlari oldugu gibi kabul edeceksiniz. Yani ama sonradan gelenler onu bir türlü anlatamadim. Iste telefon getirince oyun oynuyorlar diye ben telefonlarini aliyorum falan herseyde sikayet ediyorlar, telefonla oyun oynuyor da derste yapmiyor da defterini cikartmamis da. Yani bak birtakim seyleri ben bile hos goruyorum Yigit yapmadigi zaman, ya da Maya yapmadigi zaman. Onlari ozel

bir durumu var yani sikayet etme. Ya da derste sesler cikarip sikildigi zaman Yigit digerlerini rahatsiz ediyor. Guzel bir dilde soyleyin diyorum, “Yigit’e yapma bak dikkatim dagliyor” de. yani surekli ben arabulucu pozisyonundayim. Yani kabul ettirmek cok guc, ogretmek ayri bir sorumluluk istiyor, bir de onlari diger cocuklara kabullendirmek, ne bileyim oyunlara almak bir takim seylere mesela gucleri yetmiyor. Cocuklarin oynadigi oyunlar. Futbol oynamak istiyorlar, o cocuklar onlari idare ediyor, iste surda bekle burda bekle yada sey, ya da korkup oyuna girmek istemiyorlar, diger cocuklarin oynadigi. Ama bir kac arkadaslari var illaki sinifta. Onlarla daha cok vakit geciriyorlar teneffuslerde olsun. Cocuklar artik benim sinifim kabullenmis vaziyette ama diger cocuklar, diger okulun biz bir de bu sene geldik buraya burda baslamadigi icin o cocuklar mesela okulda bayagi bir sorun yasadilar, teneffuslerde.

Sultan: Ne gibi sorunlar yasadilar.

Ece: Iste dedigim gibi dalga gecenler... Birinci siniflardan ikinci siniflardan tuttuklarima anlatmaya calisiyordum artik onlarin ozel durumu var bakin iste rahatsızlıklarından oturu boyleler falan diye, ama butun okulun cocuguna da nasil yapabilirsin...

Ece: ...Maya cok fazla problem yasamiyor zaten ya da yasasa da anlatmiyor. Serviste, ben diger cocuklardan duyuyorum, Maya’nin hani iste kum attiklerini, basinda kumlar goruyorum mesela noldu Maya diyorum, cocuklar kum atmis, oylelikle oldu. Gelip kendisi sikayet etmiyor.

Ece: For example, there are students who came in this year. We have issues with them. They always complain about Yigit. I always tell them that they have a special situation. You need to accept them how they are. However, in no way, I couldn’t make the newcomers understand this. When they bring their cell phones, I take their phones when they play games, they complain about everything like “he plays a game, he doesn’t do the activities; he doesn’t take his notebook out.” I even tolerate certain kinds of things when Yigit doesn’t do it or Maya doesn’t do it. They have a special situation; so don’t complain. Or Yigit makes some noises when he gets bored; he disturbs others. I tell them to say it nicely, say: “Yigit, don’t do it, I get distracted.” I am always in a mediator position. Making them accept is very hard. Teaching requires another responsibility. At the same time making other students accept them. For example, they [SwD] don’t have enough power/strength to do certain things like to be included in the games. They want to play soccer. Other children try to manage them like wait in here or wait over there. Sometimes they [SwD] don’t want to participate in the games because they get scared. However, they have a couple friends in the classroom. They spend most of their time with them including the break times. Children in my classroom accept them now, but other children in the school, who came to this school this

year, those children, had a lot of issues during the breaks because they didn't start school in this school.

Sultan: What kinds of issues they have encountered?

Ece: As I said, there were children who teased them. I try to explain the first and second graders who I see saying, "they have a special situation, they are in this situation because of their illness/ailment." However, how could you do that for all children in the school?

Ece: ...Maya doesn't have many issues or even she does, she doesn't tell. In the schoolbus, I heard from other children like they throw sand to Maya. I see sand on her head. I asked, "what happened" to Maya. Children had thrown sand. She doesn't come by herself and complain about it.

Ece explained that she tried to make other students accept Yigit and Maya and that she had issues with new students who had just joined her classroom. This situation could provide information about the macro education context, in which other school contexts were not giving enough attention to inclusive practices for SwD. She revealed her discomfort and burden to make other students accept Yigit and Maya. She considered this an additional task in addition to teaching. Classrooms are nested within the schools activity system, which co-construct the experiences of SwD. The teachers' attempts to create inclusive classrooms, in which all children felt safe and welcomed, needed to be supported by the school culture. However, Yigit and Maya experienced bullying by other students in the school. Especially, Maya experienced bullying from other students through actions, such as sand being thrown at her. The teacher also perceived creating an inclusive school culture as a challenging process. Furthermore, she felt the responsibility to talk with other students to increase their awareness and acceptance towards Yigit and Maya. She mentioned that she talked with the school counselor to get support in this process. It was noticeable that Ece looked for support by using her network, instead of the school providing such support in a structured way.

Other teachers also mentioned, making other children accept SwD in their classrooms, as a hardship. They described other children as brutal. For example,

Orhan: Spastik vardi mesela bende, gene ozurlu vardi...O sinifta benim 33-34 kisilik, kalabalikti, sonra 3. Sinifta bakti gordu aile aldi yani. Ozurlulere aldi. Cunku sinif icersinde, soyle yani kendini kontrol edemiyordu. Yani mesela idrarini tutamiyordu...diger ogrenciler bu defa tepki gosteriyordu, kabullenmiyorlardı yani.

Canan: Asagiliyorlar cocuklar. Cocuklarda oluyor yani

Orhan: Cocuklar acimasiz yani

Canan: Cocuk oldugu icin

Orhan: Cocuklar cok acimasiz o konuda. Tabi o da rahatsiz oluyordu

Canan: Arkadas kurmak istemiyorlardir

Orhan: Digerleri zaten hicbiri oturmak istemiyordu, yani biz ne kadar soylesek de, gelin oturun desek. Oturmuyordu mesela, zorla oturtuyordum, ama mesela cocuk hep siranin en kenar disinda oturuyordu. Oyle cocukla oturdugu yapiyordu, donerli yapiyordum ben. Herkes birer gun otursun diye...

Orhan: For example, there was a spastic child and he had a disability. There are 33-34 people in that classroom. It was crowded. Later the parents realized it and took their children and placed in special education classroom because he could not control himself in the classroom. He could not control his urine. Then other children were reacting. They were not accepting him.

Canan: Kids humiliate. Well, it happens with the children.

Orhan: So children are brutal.

Canan: Because they are children.

Orhan: Children are very brutal in this case. Of course, he/she [SwD] was annoyed.

Canan: They don't want to be friends with him.

Orhan: Others did not want to sit with him, even how much we told them; let's come and sit together. They did not sit with him. I made them to sit together, but the child was always sitting the edge of the desk. He did that when he sat with him [SwD]. I was doing it as a loop to make everybody sit with him a day.

In this excerpt, Orhan told his experiences with a child with cerebral palsy who had issues in controlling his urine in the classroom. This resulted in other students' rejection of him by not wanting to sit with him and be friends with him. The teachers

conceptualized other children as brutal, which resulted in the exclusion of the SwD.

Orhan explained that he pushed other children to sit with him, yet it was not enough to create an inclusive classroom culture in the classroom. This finally led his parents to place their children in SE classroom.

Another primary school teacher, Sevki, also framed other children as brutal in how they related to SwD.

Sevki: Simdi bu cocugun normal egitim alabilmesi ordaki yas kapasitesine, zeka kapasitesine de bagli ama. Hakikaten cok kendi yeterlilik gosteremiyorsa, tuvalet ihtiyacini, gunluk bakim ihtiyacini karsilayamiyorsa, hic normal bir sinifta olmasi biraz sikintili. Hani diger cocuklar icin sikintili, diger aileler icin sikintili. Ama burda aileler bir sekilde ogretmenin yapicagi telkinlerle aileler bastirabilir de, kabul ettirilebilir ama cocuklari farkli bir cocugu kabul ettirmek zordur. Cocuklar cok acimasiz ve elestiricilerdir. Bu konudaki herseyde onlar en kotu sekilde elestiricektir.

Sevki: Well, this child's ability to get a normal education depends on his age and his mental/intelligence capacity. In fact, if he cannot have adequacy, [for example] his toilet needs, if he cannot do his need of everyday care, being in a normal classroom is a little troublesome. Well, it is troublesome for other children, for other parents. However, parents can be controlled by the teachers' suggestions, it could get accepted. However, making other children accept a different child is harder. Children are brutal and censorious. They would be criticizing everything in this issue as harsh as possible.

In this excerpt, Sevki conceptualized general education as “normal” and children in “normal” ability levels should be placed in general education classroom. In this way, he differentiated between “normal” and abnormal positioning SwD within the “abnormal” area. Being able to assume personal care was fundamental for placement in GE settings. Otherwise the SwD would be excluded and not accepted by their peers. Sevki also perceived other children as “brutal” and “censoring,” and as being the least likely to accept children who are different. This was an interesting positioning of children

given the fact that learning and acting were co-constructed in the social contexts, which included not only the children but also the teachers.

Kurdish Students.

Kurdish students (KS), especially those living in the Eastern and Southeastern regions, experienced educational inequities due to systemic inequities as a result of intersecting activity areas in educational, political, and economical arenas. Although these education systems are not fixed and evolve over time, these complex intersecting activity arenas influence the potential educational imaginary for KS both in micro and macro activity arenas. The micro classroom activity settings, in which most of the subjects were KS, had various primary, secondary, tertiary, and quaternary activity system contradictions. One of the main contradictions was related to language differences. The larger education activity system set Turkish-only policy both as a tool and as a rule, which mediated the object, active participation in education, being successful, or even pursuit of higher education.

Both groups of teachers reflected that the object of the general education activity system for all students was to be successful in education. Success was attained when students demonstrated that they were prepared to continue to higher levels (e.g., college). There appeared to be consensus that equal learning outcomes were antecedent to such success. However, the teachers approached this object in different ways in relation to use of their conceptual language. Turkish-only language policy as a conceptual tool led the teachers' language ideologies, which varied depending on their working experiences. Some teachers held the ideology of Turkish-only policy, whereas some teachers were

more open to the possibilities of dual language instruction or including Kurdish in their classrooms.

For some, the Turkish-only language ideologies and practices were conceptualized as best practices to achieve their object, which led the teachers to reject the idea of including any other languages (e.g., Kurdish) into their classrooms. They justified their ideology of Turkish-only policy and practices by arguing, which it was defined by laws (i.e., rule) and that the Turkish language was a key resource to actively participate in Turkish education and social and/or political systems. At the same time, the teachers did not perceive the Kurdish language as an equally important resource in education by criticizing the idea of including Kurdish into the classrooms. In one focus group, all teachers agreed with one of the teacher's statement that

Deniz: Anadilimiz Türkçe, Sultan.

Sultan: Evet.

Deniz: Kesinlikle, biz insanları ne Kürt, ne Türk, insanları bir öğretmen ayırması zaten hoş bir şey değil. Ama bizim anadilimiz anayasamızdaki Türkçedir. Sınıfta Türkçe konuşulur. Okuma-yazma dilimiz budur. Kanunlarla belirlenmiştir. Bunu bence ailesi bilinçlendirilecek, aslen ben sınıfta hani böyle ne bileyim, ben izin veremem, vermem. Benim dilim Türkçedir.

Deniz: Our native language is Turkish, Sultan.

Sultan: Yes.

Deniz: Certainly, for a teacher, it is not good to differentiate people as either Turks or Kurds, but our native language is Turkish according to our constitution. Turkish is spoken in classrooms. Our literacy is Turkish. This is identified by the law. I think this should be explained to her [the Kurdish child's] parents. I, in my classroom, I can't allow it. I won't allow it. My language is Turkish.

Although the teacher's attention to not differentiating people as Turks and Kurds could be interpreted as being tensions about not discriminating groups, this tension blinded the teachers towards responding to the cultural and linguistic needs of children.

The teacher's statement, "our native language is Turkish," revealed the political tension among Turkish and Kurdish languages. Additionally, the teachers stated the mediating role of laws (i.e., rules) in their language ideologies and practices. Although laws, as rules, regulated activity arenas, it set language boundaries in the teachers' mind and practices against inclusive education possibilities for culturally linguistically minority students.

Additionally, these teachers justified the Turkish-only language policy by arguing the need of Turkish, as a fundamental resource, in being successful in education. It led teachers to create language binaries between home and school. For instance,

Deniz: Türkiye'de üniversite okuyabilmesi için Türkçe eğitim görüp Türkçe olarak sınavlara katılıp, sınavları kazanıp, aynen, eğitimine devam etmesi lazım.
Fatma: Anadili Kürtçe'yi diyelim ki, aile içinde kullanılan dili evde devam ettirmeli o zaman, eğer eğitimine devam etmesini istiyorsa ileri seviyede, üniversite düzeninde, o zaman Türkçeyi de destekleyip eğitimini Türkçe olarak yapmasını sağlaması gerekiyor.

Deniz: In order to attend a college in Turkey, s/he needs to get an education in Turkish, participate in exams in Turkish, be successful in those exams in Turkish.
Fatma: Let's say his/her native language is Kurdish; s/he needs to use the language [Kurdish] that is spoken at home, at home. If s/he wants to continue his/her education in a higher level, like college, then s/he also needs to support Turkish and receive education in Turkish.

Similar to the "Who Is In and Who Is Out?" theme, the teachers pushed ideologically linguistically minority students to fit into the larger educational system as an oppressive practice, rather than changing the systems to fit the children's needs, as an inclusive practice. The teachers illustrated their activity settings as fixed in terms of language by setting certain rules for KS in order for them participate. The teacher's statement of if the child wanted to get a higher education, s/he needed to be exposed to

Turkish-only instruction, which could support his/her language skills that were necessary to be successful. This statement revealed the ideologically fixed activity settings, which held power by setting certain language prerequisites to the subjects (i.e., KS) in order for them to participate. These beliefs had created language binaries between home and school by differentiating the language instruction as “Kurdish at home” and “Turkish at school,” which limited students access to and use of all their resources to actively participate in learning settings.

However, some of the teachers were open to other possibilities about language instruction, such as dual language, which they believed could provide more resources to students. These teachers were aware of the disadvantages of KS due to language differences. Instead of providing their excerpts in this section, I explain their views about educational inequities that Kurdish children had been experiencing due to language differences, and their possible solutions to create inclusive classrooms that recognize and respond to student’s differences.

Educational Inequities.

To construct an inclusive-oriented education activity system, the questions like “What is exclusion? What does exclusion look like?, and Does exclusion need to be physical?” should be critically examined. Under the light of these questions, KS were the ones who were physically included in the education system, yet they were excluded from the overall education activity setting due to structured inequalities.

The teachers who taught in Eastern and Southeastern regions explained their reality by providing detailed information about their experiences working with KS. While they were watching the movie, “İki Dil, Bir Bavul,” they excitedly reflected that the

movie mirrored their experiences working in the predominantly Kurdish speaking towns. Kerem stated that “Su ogretmenin yasadiklarinin cogu vardir yani bende, azi yoktur. Telefon cekmez, elektrik yoktur, su yoktur.” (I had more things that this teacher went through, well nothing less. No connection, no phone, no electricity, no water).

From a CHAT perspective, the teachers’ prior reflections revealed that the object of their activity systems was to teach Turkish for Kurdish speaking students. This object was fundamental to provide the Turkish language as a resource to actively participate in the larger education activity system. However, focusing on only this object, teaching Turkish, did not provide enough resources to achieve the overall object of the larger education activity system, active participation and getting a higher education.

Similar to the movie, the teachers indicated that the language differences created barriers against an effective education for KS. The teachers and the KS were stuck in an educational paradox due to the linguistic differences. To teach Turkish, a cycle was described in the following way: a) find an older child as an interpreter, b) teach Turkish for the first semester, c) teach reading and writing in the second semester, d) summer time leads to forgetting Turkish, and then you e) start over. Both parties were experiencing this paradoxical storyline. In the beginning, all of the teachers stated that they found a child in a higher grade as an interpreter. For instance, Kerem, the teacher, stated that:

Kerem: Genelde hocam birinci sinifa gelen ogrencilerin hicbirisi Turkce bilmez.

Sultan: Koyde miydiniz?

Kerem: Mezradaydik. Koy bile degildi. Oyle olunca daha sikintili. Dedigim gibi ust siniflardan ogrenci getirip, onlara tercume seklinde yapardik. Dersleri falan. Daha dogrusu direktifleri mesela kitabi acin anlamazdi ogrenci o Kurtcesini soylerdi. Zaman, gun gectikce bizde biraz Kurtce ogrendik derken kitabi acinin

Kurtcesini bizde soylemeye basladik. Sonra Turkce derken, onlar da ogrendi. O sekilde 3,4 ay icinde ogreniyorlar.

Kerem: In general, none of the children who come to first grade speaks Turkish.

Sultan: Were you in a village?

Kerem: We are in “mezra” [smaller than a village]. It wasn’t even a village.

That’s why it was challenging. As I said, we brought children from older grades.

We were doing it [the class] through translation with them, like classes. To be more specific, the children didn’t understand the instructions such as “open the book,” so that student used to say the Kurdish expression of that. When times passed, we also learned Kurdish a little. We also started saying, “open the book” in Kurdish. They learned Turkish, too. They learned within 3-4 months.

In this excerpt, it was noticeable that the KS came to school without knowing Turkish, which constructed the teachers’ object of the activity system as teaching Turkish. Even before teaching Turkish, the teachers tried to find ways for communication. By discussing that KS did not understand basic instructions such as “open the book,” the teacher revealed his frustration and the need for an interpreter. As an improvisational practice, the teachers found a child in a higher grade as a translator to overcome the basic communication challenges. Although older students took on an empowering identity as interpreters, they were being pulled out of their classes, which decreased their participation in classroom activities. He stated that KS could learn Turkish within three to four months. I asked if he incorporated Kurdish in his classroom.

Sultan: Ogretmen genelde, mesela buradaki ogretmen Turkce ogrenmelerini istiyor. Kurtce konusmalarini istemiyor sinifta. Siz nasil yapıyorsunuz?

Ogretmene katiliyor musunuz, yoksa Kurtceyi de dahil ederek mi sinifta?

Kerem: Dahil ederek yaptım ben, çünkü birden kesmek hiçbir onlara fayda olacağını sanmıyordum. Ya da bu sorunu düşünmedim bile ben, direkt dahil ettim yani. Hatta ben bile öğrendim biraz, oyleşi daha kolay oldu. Dahil ederek yapmak. Çünkü birden kesip, bilmiyorum daha zor olurdu herhalde yani. Direkt kesmek öğrencilere, bu sefer tekrar özel eğitim öğrencisi gibi el kol işaretlerine geçirdim herhalde, çünkü birden kestigimiz zaman anlasamayız ki çocukla. Hiçbir şekilde

anlamayız yani. Onun için biz, diğer büyük sınıflardan Türkçe bilen öğrenci, hem Türkçe hem Kürtçe bilen öğrenciyi getirip tercüme ettirdik. İlk bir iki ay o şekilde yapıyorduk, genelde iki aydan sonra öğrenci gelmemeye başlıyordu. Çünkü az çok biz de öğreniyorduk bu temel şeyleri. Ondan sonra kendimiz derken çocuk dediğim gibi birinci dönemin sonuna kadar öğreniyordu zaten. Kendini ifade edecek kadar.

Sultan: For instance, this teacher does not want children to speak Kurdish in the classroom in order for them to learn Turkish. How did you do that? Did you agree with the teacher or do you incorporate Kurdish in your classroom?

Kerem: I incorporated Kurdish because I do not believe that abandoning Kurdish do not benefit them or I didn't even think of this question before. I just directly included it. So I learned a little bit, this way that [communication] became easier, by incorporating it. Because I don't know, abandoning directly, otherwise in this way I might go through using body language like I do with special education kids, because if we cut suddenly, we could not understand each other. No way we can understand each other. That is why we brought an older grader who speaks both Turkish and Kurdish to translate. We have done this in this way for two months. Usually, after the second month, the older grader started not to come, because we also learned these basic things. After that like I said the kids learned the basic things at the end of the semester. Up to express himself/herself.

Kerem, who had a direct experience of language barriers, revealed his language ideology, as a conceptual tool, of his openness to learning and using Kurdish in his classrooms. Although his attempts to learn Kurdish reflected his value of culture and language, Kurdish was not considered an educational resource for KS, but was rather a communicational tool that could be used at the beginning. He stated that KS learned Turkish within two months, and they did not need an interpreter; however, their language ability was limited to expressing themselves, rather than becoming proficient in Turkish in academics. He later continued the storyline as stating

Kerem: Okuma yazma zaten ikinci dönemden başlıyor. Sene sonuna kadar bir şekilde öğretiyorsun birazını, araya yaz tatili girdiği için ikinci sınıfta. En zor ikinci sınıf bana göre, yani öyle diyim. Çünkü çocuk az cat pat Türkçeyi biliyor. Sen ondan daha fazla şey istiyorsun. Araya yaz tatili girmiş sürekli Kürtçe

konusmus, okuma hic ders calismamis zaten. Tekrar geliyor, sifir, genelde ikinci sinifin basindaki, basindan tekrar ogretmeye basliyorsun. En zor sinif doguda bana gore ikinci sinif.

Kerem: Reading and writing start from the second semester. Somehow, you teach some of it by the end of the semester, in the second grade, because the summer interrupts. For me, the hardest one is the second grade, because the child speaks a little Turkish. You expect more from them. Summer came between [grades], [s/he] always spoke Kurdish, and never studied reading and writing. He comes again, [s/he is] zero. You often start teaching [Turkish] again at the beginning of the second grade. The hardest grade is the second grade, at the least for me.

Kerem represented this educational paradox, trying to teach Turkish, a feat that many teachers went through while working with KS in predominantly Kurdish speaking towns. The second semester, the teachers focused on teaching reading and writing, yet the teacher used the statement of “somehow” and “a little,” which mirrored their frustration about not feeling confident about their teaching approach. Additionally, it showed that the KS did not become competent neither in Turkish nor reading and writing. The summer decreased KS’ chances to practice Turkish, which, unfortunately, consequently led to losing what had been learned. Language differences became a barrier rather than resources in this paradoxical cycle. This paradox frustrated teachers even before they started teaching the first grade. Leyla shared that

Leyla: Birinci sinifi alacak ogretmen o yaz Allah baslar bu sene biri alacagim ne yapacagim ne yapacagim. Cunku gelen cocuk Kurtce gelir. Sen sesleri verirsin. Iyi sesi cikartir, daha sonra birlestir dersin birlestirir. Kelime olusturursun tamam. Ondan sonra mesela bu ne, omlet yazar cocuk, ama omletin ne oldugunu bilmez. Onun yani boyle surekli hocanin da yaptigi gibi resimlerle gosterme gerekiyor.

Leyla: The teacher who will teach the first grade starts from the summer thinking that “I will teach the first grade this year, what will I do?” because newcomers speak only Kurdish. You give the phonics; s/he can do the phonics, which is good. Later on you say, “connect the phonics,” s/he connects the phonics. You

say make words, ok. After that the child write omelet, “What is this?” The child writes omelet, but s/he doesn’t know what it means. You always need to show the pictures like how the teacher does in the movie.

This excerpt revealed the domino effect of the educational paradox in the lives of KS. This paradoxical cycle endured in other ways by constructing new objects without accomplishing the previous ones due to the systemic constraints (i.e., the teachers’ need to teach), which created another contradiction at the object level. Leyla explained that although KS learned a little bit of Turkish and reading and writing, they had struggles in understanding the meanings of words. She gave the omelet example to explain the challenges of comprehension, which led the teachers to create a new object, comprehension. Through the teachers’ descriptions, the literacy activity unfolded as an inductive way of teaching phonics of the words, connecting phonics with each other, constructing words, and later reading the words.

The inductive way (i.e., phonetic based method) of teaching reading and writing had been practiced in classrooms and teacher education programs since 2004 (Koc, 2012). This practice was nationalized in first grade classrooms across Turkey, which revealed that teacher education programs failed to recognize students’ differences, prepare teachers to teach for diverse students, and create new teaching tools to increase opportunities to learn for all. Unfortunately, this situation resulted in educational inequities for KS. She continued to explain these educational paradoxes and issues of comprehension.

Sultan: Koyde miydi?

Leyla: Beldede. Ilcenin bir beldesi. Orada yani zaten yazın gittiginde unuttur, cunku evde surekli Kurtce konusuluyor. Benim burda verdigimle kaliyor. Sonra yazın unuttur, sonra ikinci sinifin birinci donemi ayni birinci sinif gibi geceri,

tekrar sesleri verirsin, yani ilerlemek çok zordur, okudugunu anlama zaten çok düşük. Ya o yüzden ya orada böyle hani bilgiden ziyade, akademik bilgiden ziyade hep seydir, okudugunu anlama, okudugunu anlama. Matematikte de toplama çıkartma çarpma bölme, dört işlem. Dört işlem bitsin, okudugunu da anlatsın. İşte ite kaka okusun tamam.

Sultan: Was it in a village?

Leyla: It was a small town [a little bigger than a village]. Over there, s/he forgets it [language] over the summer, because Kurdish is spoken at home. It [language] stays how I taught. After that, s/he forgets it over the summer; later the first semester of the second grade passes like the first grade. You give the phonics again, so progressing is very hard. Comprehension is already very low. Over there, we focus on comprehension instead of academic knowledge. In math, four operations, addition, subtraction, multiplication and division. When four operations finish, s/he understands what s/he reads. S/he reads as rough and tumble, it is ok.

Leyla narrated this frustrating educational paradox. The teachers positioned Kurdish parents as dysfunctional to maintain their children's Turkish and what had been learned in school. For teachers, KS did not receive enough educational support from their families. Due to expected loss in summer time, the teachers started over teaching the first-grade curriculum in second grade. Her statement, "The progression is very hard," revealed the challenges of breaking the cycle of the paradox for KS to benefit from education. The contradiction of comprehension led teachers to focus more on overcoming this challenge, however she raised her discomfort about leaving academic knowledge behind. Unfortunately, teachers' expectations then become low. For instance just doing the basic math, four operations, and reading and writing described as "rough and tumble" were considered enough. On the other hand, these teachers argued that these children's circumstances led to such lower expectations. Like Leyla, the teachers who had

experiences working with KS were aware of systemic inequities. Kerem also raised the same issue of comprehension in a detailed way.

Kerem: Egitim, dil yok iste dedigim gibi. Yani iste cocuk dili besinci sinifa kadar ancak ogrenirse, besinci siniftan sonra tabi, simdi mesela ben matematik problemlerinde cok zorlanirdim. Cocuk tamam okumayi ogreniyor ama ne oldugunu anlamiyor ki, anlama yok. Yani kelimenin anlamini bilmiyor. Orda yazmis iste, matematik probleminden okuyor, gayet de guzel okuyor. En caliskan ogrenci dahil onu anlamiyor, anlamadigi icin de cozemiyor, cozedemedigi icin de basari dusuk oluyor. Bunun tek sebebi dil. Ben onun icin mesela ben o veli ikinci gittigimde surekli ailelere derdim ki, ogrenciniz okula gelmeden biraz Turckce pratik yapin derdim, hani biz zorlanmayalim. Bu senin cocugun icin onemli diye. Ama iste orda da bilincli aileler var bilincli olmayan aileler var. Ki bilincli olmayan ailelerin koyunu cocugundan daha degerli.

Kerem: Education, language is something they don't have. Well, if the child can learn it [Turkish] by the fifth grade, well maybe after the fifth grade. For example, I had a hard time in math problems. The children have just learned readings, but do not know what it means, no comprehension. So [s/he] doesn't know what it means. He reads the math problems very good. Including even the best student does not understand. Because [s/he] do not understand, s/he cannot solve [the problems]. Because [s/he] does not solve, his/her success is lower. The main reason of that is the language. So, I always told to parents, "before your child comes to school, just do some practice with him" But there are only so many conscious families. Unconscious families' sheep are more valuable than their children for them.

There appears to be a pattern for teachers in this region, marked by attempts they expect will lead to a cycle of frustration. The teachers recounted similar experiences. The struggles and challenges that they had were mostly the same. Kerem pointed out that the KS had not been proficient in Turkish during the primary school years. The fifth grade was the last grade of the primary school. Not being able to know Turkish kept KS behind and excluded them from being an active and competitive subject of the larger educational activity settings. Although this exclusion was not physical, it was systemic, which created

barriers to the recognition of differences, distribution of resources, representation, and participation against inclusion. Like dominos, one educational challenge fell on the next one without reaching an equitable solution. For instance, in this excerpt, KS could read, but not comprehend. When they could not comprehend, they would not be successful. One challenge created another one, and it also created a paradoxical cycle of barriers. Kerem, in this excerpt, also stated math problems were very challenging, even for the most hardworking child. The dysfunctional family conceptualization of the teachers was noticeable in this example, and the teacher's statement, "The families' sheep are more valuable than their children."

Ozgur also raised the issues of comprehension and educational injustice that KS had been experiencing due to language differences.

Ozgur: Tabii ki. Evet, simdi tamamen Turkceye yonelik oldugu icin cocuk algilayamiyor. Oyle problemler oluyor, gunluk konusmadan ziyade derslerde problem yasiyorsunuz. "Kapiyi kapat, defterini ac, kalemmini ac, sunu koy bunu getir gotur," bu tur boyle gunluk konusmalar sikinti olmuyor ama e cocuk herhangi bir soruya cevap verirken sikinti, sikiliyor yani. E bildigi bir soruya cevap veremiyor. Ve bu cocuga da haksizlik oluyor yani.

Ozgur: Cunku cocugun bir soruyu algilamasi, bir soruya bir dakida veriyoruz degil mi? Cocugun o soruyu algilamasi, onu yerlestirmesi, suzmesi, ozumsemesi, o 1 dakika'nin uzerinde oldugu icin, o cocugun buradaki bir cocukla ya da baska bir yerdeki cocukla... Ben soyle dusunuyorum: Ben simdi hic ingilizce bilmiyorum. Beni aldiniz goturdunuz, ingilizlerin sinifina koydunuz. Ben bu yasta bile affallarim yani. E simdi o birinci sinifa gelen cocuk da ayni degil mi yani. Bu ornekle paralel. O cocuk orada o sinifta gelisiyor. Ama iste dedigim gibi rehberlikle koyle vatanlasla bilen ogrencilerle o sikinti gideriliyor fakat gunluk beceriler duzeyinde. Yani akademik basari duzeyinde, cok fazla yol katedildigini dusunmuyorum.

Ozgur: Of course! Yes. For example, the child cannot understand [the questions in the exams] because they are tailored for Turkish. There are those kinds of problems. We have problems in the classrooms, rather than in daily conversation.

There are no issues in daily conversations, like “close the door, open your book, open your pencil, put that thing, bring it over,” but while the child is answering a question, it is a pain, so s/he gets bored. Well s/he cannot give answers to the problems that s/he understands. And so it is not fair for the kid.

Ozgur: Because for children to understand a problem, we give one minute to one question, right? Because during that one-minute, children need to understand the problem, place it, filter it, absorb it. That child [cannot compete] with the child in here or with the child in other place. I think about it in this way. For example, I don't speak any English. If you take me and put me in a British classroom, I will have struggles in this age. Well so isn't that child who comes in first grade similar [as the example]? It is parallel to this example. That child develops in that class. But like I said this challenge [language differences] is being overcome with the counseling teachers, villagers, citizens, students who speaks the [language], but it is only up to daily skills. So, I don't think there has been enough progress in terms of academic success.

One of the main issues that Ozgur raised was that “Well s/he cannot give answers to the problems that s/he understands. And so it is not fair for the kid.” Like other teachers, he also stressed the difference between academic and daily Turkish language skills. From his experiences, although the KS could communicate in Turkish in their daily practices, they had issues having an academic language of Turkish, which pushed them into margins of the education system and led to exclusion by not recognizing their abilities. He raised an important issue about assessment by saying, “they are tailored for Turkish” In this point, we could argue that the educational assessment did not measure what it was designed to measure. However, in this case, they measured the language abilities of KS. In national exams, the students were expected to answer one question within one minute, which was criticized by Ozgur. He stated that KS needed a little more time to understand and reflect on the questions to answer, which left them behind to “compete” with students in other areas. Therefore, Turkish-only language practices (i.e., rules) contradict with measurement tools (e.g. tools) within and across education activity

system. He illustrated this situation by building empathy as if he would get an education in a British classroom. By saying “I will struggle even in this age,” he stressed that KS went through these inequitable conditions in their early ages, which also might lead KS to construct an incompetent learning identity due to perceived lack of success and lack of recognition of their language and culture. This situation created another contradiction within the education system to ensure equal learning outcomes for all KS.

These teachers were more aware of educational inequalities for KS due to language differences, which led them to be more open about having other educational possibilities to construct more inclusive oriented systems. In contrast to the teachers who held Turkish-only language instruction, these teachers argued for an inclusionary role of languages, rather than an exclusionary one.

Kenan: O seyle alakalidir, biz o yuzden anadilde egitim diyoruz. Anadilde egitimi savunuyoruz. Anadilde egitimi ulkeyi boler moler diyorlar da, Dunya’da 6000 tane dil var. Suanda 3000’i unutulmus, 3000’i kullaniliyor. 200 tane devlet var, 3000 tane dil 200 tane devlette konusuluyor. Demek dil ukeleri bolmuyor yani. Yani anadilde egitimi o yuzden savunuyoruz biz, insan anadilinde daha basarili olur. Ha ihtiyac duydugu zaman diger dilleri de ogrenmek zorunda akademik dil olarak. Nasil inglizce ogrenip de is aradigimiz gibi. Onlar da oyle. Anadilde egitim, ayni deneyim vardi. Bir tane Mus’ta iste benim Pole ninem vardi. Kadinin ismi, yasli bir Kadin. Ben hocayi cok seviyorum, cok iyi bir insan diyordu. Ama ben bu yasta Turkce ogrenemem, o Kurtce ogrensin konusalim sohbet edelim cok istiyom falan diye bana tercuman araciligiyla soyluyordu. Yani diller aslinda birlestiricidir, ayirici olmaz diller. Birlestirici olmalı. Ama anadilde savunduk diye bize kapatma davasi bile actilar. Sendikaya kapatma davasi actilar. Seyde vardi mi, tuzugumuzde anadilde egitim var diye. Kapatma davasi actilar yani. Insanlar anasi, anadil nedir, 0 yasından 7 yasina kadar ogrendigin konustugun dildir yani. Burada egitim gorurse basarili olmaz mi cocuk. Yani 7-0 gec basliyor obur taraftaki cocuk, dogu anadoludaki cocuk, 7-0 yenik basliyor. 7 yasinda ilkokula basladiginda biri Turkce bilerek geliyor, o basliyor egitime. O da Turkce bilmedigi icin 7-0 dan basliyor.

Sultan: Turkiye’de basari oranina baktiginda Dogu...

Kenan: Basarisizligin sebebi o yuzden iste. 7-0 gec basliyorlar...biri kaplumbaga ile gidiyor, biri seyle gidiyor ucakla gidiyor, ondan sonra hepsini birden koyuyon yarisa. Ya da Cilekte ogrenim goren cocukla Sulukoyde ogrenim goren cocuk ayni sinava giriyor. Ayni sartlari var mi bunun, yok.

Kenan: We supported native language usage in education. They [people] say that native language usage divides the country. There are 6000 languages around the world. 3000 of them are forgotten now. 3000 of them are still in use. There are 200 countries. 3000 languages are spoken in 200 countries. So, languages do not divide countries. That's why we support native language usage in schools. People are more successful in their native languages...I had a grandma in Mus [Eastern city]. She told to me via getting help from an interpreter that she loved me and said I was a good man. But, she also told me that she was too old to learn Turkish now. She said that I learned Kurdish and we would have talked, and she really wanted to chat with me. So, the languages are really inclusive not exclusive. They should be inclusive... What is native language? Native language is the language you talk from zero to seven years old. If children get education in their native language, wouldn't they be successful? So, children in this part of Turkey start school seven years behind...When children start school at 7 years, one come to school by speaking Turkish, the other come without Turkish, that is why they [Kurdish children] start school 7 years behind.

Sultan: When you look at the achievement rates, the East part...

Kenan: That is the reason for underachievement. They start the game [soccer] 0-7 behind... One goes riding a turtle, and the other one uses a plane. Later, you put them in the same race or the children who go to Sulukoy take the same exam with the children who go to Cilek School. Do they have equal chances in education? No!

Kenan explained the educational inequity of KS in access and participation in meaningful activities and learning outcomes due to language differences. He used a game as a metaphor, in which two teams compete with each other, yet one team starts the game 7 points behind. In this case, the team of the Kurdish-speaking students needed to work more to catch the Turkish-speaking students. As an advocate of Kurdish-native-language usage in the classroom, he connected this systemic inequity within the larger macro discourse of cultural models about Turkish-only language policy. This cultural model

considered other languages as a potential threat that could lead to societal segregation. Therefore, Turkish was seen as an official language that could bring diverse people together cohesively. Thus, in this cultural model of language, the Kurdish language became a hot and a critical topic that some of the people felt as a segregation threat. On this point, understanding the socially constructed answers to these critical questions, “what is inclusion, exclusion, and segregation?” became important. On the other hand, Kenan expressed his disagreement about the cultural model of using the Kurdish language by claiming that many different languages were spoken in many countries; specifically, he stated that over 6000 languages were spoken in 200 countries. Therefore, he indicated that integrating different languages in classrooms was inclusive rather than exclusive.

He further indicated that using the same assessment tools regardless of children’s differences led to unequal learning outcomes. In this case, he used the metaphor of going the speed of a turtle or the speed of a plane to represent unequal learning outcomes. His last statement represented that educational inequity existed not only because of language differences, but also because of economic and sociocultural differences. He stressed that students did not have same educational opportunities to benefit from education in the same way.

Ozgur framed these educational inequalities as injustice towards KS due to lack of recognition of language differences within the educational activity system. He suggested looking from their perspectives to resolve contradictions within the education system.

Ozgur: ...Biraz onların penceresinden baktığınız zaman çocuk Kurtçe kendini çok iyi ifade edebiliyor. Buradaki bir öğrencinin o soruya, o etkinliğe vermiş olduğu cevaba belki daha iyi bir cevap veriyor, fakat bunu Kurtçe veriyor. O çocuğun

normalde Turkceye cevirdigin zaman cevabi dogru. O aslinda cocuk icin sikinti, ogretmenden ziyade o cocuk bence o cocuk daha sikinti cekiyor. Burada adeletsizlik oluyor bence. Cunku oz milliyetcilik yapiyoruz, hani boyle bir sey mi olur, tek dil, tek bayrak, tek vatan. Onlarda kimsenin suphesi yok ama onlara yonelik bir calismanin olmasi gerekiyor. Bu gec kalinmis bir adimdi, sonradan atildi fakat ben ordaki cocuklarin, cocuk 4. Sinifa gelmis hani dedik ya Huseyin ogrencimiz de de oyle dil gelismiyile bilissel gelism paralel ilerliyor. E cocuk dil gelismde sikinti yasiyorsa bilissel olarak da kendini o surece dahil edebiliyor. O yuzden bir basarisizlik oluyor. Iste sinavlarda Ardahan sifir cektii, sifirin altinda kaldii. Agri sifirin altinda kaldii. Ben o ogrencilerin sifirin altinda olduguna inanmiyorum. O ogrencilerin en buyuk problem dil problemi haa iletisim kurma acisindan kendini ifade edebiliyor, yani gunluk becerileri, sikinti yasamiyorsunuz, hani dedim ya az once iste birileri tercuman oluyor, birileri illaki hani bu teknolojik hani bu seyden televizyonlardan internetten bilgisayardan telefonlardan vs cocuklara Turkcesi eskisi gibi degil ama yine kendini ifade etmede, o becerilerini disa vuruk hale getirmede, problem oluyor.

Ozgur: If you walk in his/her shoes, the child can express himself/herself very well in Kurdish. S/he might even give a better answer to a question in an activity than a child in here, but s/he gives it in Kurdish. If you translate that child's answer into Turkish, his/her answer is correct. This is an issue for the child, rather than the teacher. I think the child lives the hardship/difficulty. This is just unfair for the child because we follow nationalism. One language, one flag, one nation. Is this possible? There is no doubt about that, but authorities should work on the issues of them [Kurdish children]. This is a late step. We said the child comes to the fourth grade; it is the same with Huseyin as well, like cognition develops in relation to language development. If a child had issues in language development, then s/he cannot include himself/herself in that process. That's why there is failure. For example, Ardahan got zero in the exams. They were below the zero in fact. I don't think that students are below zero. The biggest problem of those students is the language problem. In terms of communication, they can express themselves, so in daily skills you don't have any issues. Like I said a little earlier, there is always someone to interpret. Via technology, internet, computers, and phones etc., children can learn Turkish, not like before, but again it becomes an issue for them to express themselves, to express their abilities.

In this excerpt, he demonstrated empathy about KS' struggles and their experiences by saying, "if you walk in his/her shoes ...". He stressed that although KS

could express themselves and give correct answers to the questions in Kurdish, their abilities were not recognized in the larger educational system. For him, this situation caused more stress and hardship to the child than the teachers. He conceptualized this challenge as an injustice towards KS whose abilities were not recognized, which pushed them to the margins and exclusion from the system. Therefore, he pushed his audience [policy makers] to examine these experiences from the KS' perspectives.

After he had conceptualized these inequitable conditions as injustice, he felt the need to express himself in relation to the cultural model of Kurdish language, which he perceived to be positioned as doing self-nationalism by advocating the Kurdish language. He responded to the perceived audience as “boyle bir sey mi olur? (Does that be possible?)” and stressed that he valued “one language, one flag, and one nation.” However, he expressed tension about being positioned against the cultural model of Turkish language that did not consider including another language in education as safe. On the other hand, he stressed the lack of attempts to decrease the injustice towards KS.

He also stated that the development of language and cognition was interrelated by providing the example of Huseyin, the child with a mild learning disability. For him, KS were like Huseyin in terms of having language issues, which blocked their cognitive development. He represented this situation by saying Ardahan, a city in the Northeastern region, had zero points in national exams. He believed that the students in Ardahan were not below the zero, but instead had language barriers. He pointed out the difference between daily and academic language in being successful in education.

The object of the micro activity system, teaching Turkish, in the predominantly Kurdish speaking towns was contradicted with the object of the larger education activity

system, such as getting to higher education. According to CHAT, contradictions lead to transformation and change in the activity settings. However, without recognizing these contradictions within nested and interconnected activity systems, these contradictions create educational inequities for the KS.

Girls.

Girls who lived in mostly small villages experienced challenges to continue their education due to sociocultural beliefs and practices of their communities and the ecological constraints. Some teachers shared their experiences about advocating for girls' education. Although some of the senior teachers' experiences happened 20 years ago, their insights provided historical information about the educational activity systems that showed the relationship between narrativized gender identities and the education of girls. Junior teachers' narratives mirrors such gender inequity in education, confirming that it was still being experienced by girls in certain parts of the country. Based on the narratives, it appears that the teachers saw themselves and acted as change agents within these historically marginalizing activity systems that denied girls access to educational opportunities. Teachers sought ways to convince parents to send their daughters to school.

Idealist: Yil 1985, Sivas Yildizeli, gitmisim ilk ogretmenlik yilim. 5'leri vermisler. 5'lerde baktim ki kiz cocuklari yok. Nerde bunlar nerde bunlar? Ogretmenim muhtarin gelini, falanin gelini. Yani 5. Sinif cocugu gelin olacak. Israrla onlari cagirmaya calistik. Kiz cocuklari okur bakin. Kiz cocuklari okumaz dediler. Neden okumaz dedim ben. Okursa oylanlarla mektuplasir, sunu yapar bunu yapar. Yanlis seyler eder. Dedim "ben okudum, ben mektuplasiyor muyum?" "Hayir, gormedik" dediler. Hayir da demediler.

Sultan: O zaman bekardiniz?

Idealist: Bekardim. Gormedik dediler. Bak dedim yanlis bir sey yapmiyorum. Okumazsam yanlisi yaparim. Hatta dedim siz dedim affedersiniz tabiri caizse

bizde derler koy yerinde mektuplaşmaz ama okumazsa samanlıkta bulur. O zaman daha kotu olur dedim. Kustuler filan bana. Hatta bizim arkamdan 3 tane daha öğretmen arkadaş geldi. Bizlere evde kalık kızlar diyorlardı. Yani biz onlara göre 19-20 yaşında o kadar buyuyuz ki, evlenmek için çok çok çok geç kalmışız. Ama o çocukları getiremedik okula. Biz bir yıl kadar orda kaldık. Bir yıl sonra da küçük çocuklar gelin olmuşlar. Ama o zaman zarfı içerisinde kız çocuklarının mutlaka okuması gerektiğini anlatmaya çalıştık. Oğlan çocuğu dedim tarlada da çalışır, hamallık da yapar, işini gücünü yapar, ama kız çocuğunun yapması gereken en doğru iş okuyarak işleri çözmesidir. Ve dedim niye oyle düşünüyorsunuz, çocukları buyuten kişiler anneler, annenin bilinçli olması, gelecekteki ülkenin kalkınmasına faydadır. Onu anlatmaya çalıştık. Yani bilmiyorum ne derece başarılı olduk ama, Kayserideyken mesela o çocukları okula çekebilmişim.

Idealist: Year 1985, I went to Sivas, Yıldızeli in my first year of teaching. They [principals] assigned me to the fifth grade. There were not any girls in the fifth grade. “Where are they? Where are they?” “Teacher, she is the bride of the village headman, somebodies’ bride.” It means that a 5th grader will be a bride. We insistently try to call for them. Girls can study. They said, “Girls don’t study.” I said, “Why don’t they study?” If they study, they will exchange letters with boys. They do this and that. They do wrong things. I said, “I studied. Do I exchange letters?” “They said, “no, we didn’t see that.” But, they didn’t say no.

Sultan: You were single in that time, right?

Idealist: I was single. They said, “We didn’t see that.” I told them I was not doing anything wrong. If I did not get educated, I would have done the wrong thing. Even I told them “excuse me, so to speak, they tell that if they don’t exchange letters in the village or get an education, then they meet in a hayloft.” I said, “Then, it would be worse.” They were offended by me. Even three more teacher friends came after me. They called us spinsters. It means that we are too old to get married in the ages of 19-20. However, we could not bring those children to school. We stayed there for a year. After a year, those little children became brides. We tried to tell them during that time girls need to get an education. I told them that a boy could work in the field, could be a porter, and could do many things. However, I told them getting an education would be the honest way to make a living for the girls. And I told them “why do you think that way?” Mothers raise children. When mothers are conscious, it is beneficial for the country in the future. We tried to explain that. I don’t know how much we were successful, but I was able to get them in the school when I was working in Kayseri [a big city].

In this excerpt, the teacher, Idealist, explained her first-year experiences as a teacher working in the northeastern part of the Central Anatolia region in 1985. She explained that she was teaching the first grade, which she was surprised about not seeing any girls in both classrooms. She asked other children where the girls were, and they told her that they were brides of certain people in the village. Idealist recounted her attempts to convince parents to send their daughters to school. The local sociocultural contextual beliefs associated the education of girls to enabling their romantic liaisons. Reading and writing allowed girls to exchange love letters. Idealist used this belief to demonstrate that it was not the case for her. She positioned herself as a woman who studied and asked the parents whether they had seen her exchanging letters with a man. They said, “No, we didn’t see that.” She further stated, “but they didn’t say no.” The teacher’s statement reflected that although parents did not see her exchanging letters with a man, it did not mean that she was not doing it. She tried to convince them that she did not do anything unacceptable for their culture and argued that the possibility of doing an unaccepted behavior would be higher if they did not get an education. The villagers positioned her and other women teachers as “spinsters” because their age was old enough to get married. She explained that her attempts were unsuccessful and that girls were married within a year. She tried to challenge parents’ assumptions by arguing that boys could do various jobs, including agriculture, but getting an education would be the honest way to make a living for the girls. She said that she tried to tell families that mothers’ conscious acts raising children benefit the country’s development. This revealed that she positioned educated mothers as a key change agent in social transformation. Her last statement

reflected that she had the same issue in Kayseri, where she was more successful in helping girls gain an education.

Another teacher, Tekin shared similar experiences about advocating for girls' education while working in small towns.

Sultan: Kizlarin okula gonderilmesi konusunda herhangi bir sikinti varmiydi?
Tekin: ...Doguda calisirken vardi...O koyde hic kiz gondermiyorlardi, ev ev dolastim, 13 tane 14 tane kiz buldum. Nasil yaklastim yani, bunlar evlenicek, esi askere gidecek, peki, hic kendi ozelleri olmayacak mi yani. Kayinpederi siz mi okuyacaksınız, gelininizin mektubunu. Yani oglunuzdan gelen mektubu gelininize siz mi okuyacaksınız, hic bir sey demiyecek mi oglunuz dedigim anda, adamin soyliyecek bisiysi kalmiyordu yani. Tam damardan giriyordum. Ve ben bu cocuklarin da basarili olabileceklerini kanitlamak icin inanki, Cumartesi Pazar da calistim. Bunlari kasim aralikta aldim, nisanda hepsine okuma yazma ogrettim. Ondan sonra kizlari gondermemek, bu ogrenmez, bunu yapamaz mantigi bitti. Araplarda da vardi bu... Kurtlerde de vardi bu. Ama bunu devam ettirebilmek cok onemli, cunku insan somut seylere inanir, ne kadar siz anlatirsaniz anlatin, gormeli, yaptiginizi gormeden ona inandiramazsiniz. Yani gosterdik.

Sultan: Was there any issue for girls' access to schools?

Tekin: There was, when I was working in the eastern region. In that village, they did not send any girls to school. I visited every house. I found 13-14 girls. How I approached them was in relation to their future marriages. I stated that their husbands will go to do their military service and asked how they will have any private life. Will you, as a father in law, read your bride's letters? Well, will you read the letters that were sent by your son to your bride? When I asked, "Doesn't your son tell anything about it?" they had nothing to tell me. And in order to show that girls can be successful, believe me I worked both Saturdays and Sundays. I started teaching the girls around November or December, they all learned how to read and write by April. After that, the thought of girls unable to be successful or the belief that sending girls to school wasn't going to accomplish anything were over. This happened also with Arabs, this happened also with Kurds. However, it is important to sustain this, because people believe in concrete things. Regardless how many times you tell them, they need to see it. If they don't see it, you cannot convince them. So, we showed them.

Tekin explained his experiences working in a small town located in the Eastern region. In the beginning, he also revealed that girls had not been sent to school. He was able to find 13-14 girls by visiting each house of the girls. He approached the parents by elaborating on the possibility of a future time when their sons would have a private life with their future wives who might receive a letter from their son while he is doing his military service. He asked the parents, “Doesn’t your son tell anything about it?,” implying would you want to know what your son tells in private to his wife. This statement revealed the gender-related power differences in that village. Men held more power than women in regard to being able to tell their discomfort to their parents about their letters being read to their wives by their parents. The teacher did not ask the question as, “doesn’t your daughter tell anything about it?” Both teachers tried to explain the importance of reading and writing in everyday life. Unlike Idealist, his attempts at convincing parents to send their daughter to school were successful. The gender differences of the teachers, in which a male teacher was positioned more powerful than a female teacher, might have been influenced by parental decisions. He made tremendous efforts, even working on weekends to prove to parents that girls could be successful in school. In a short period, he taught reading and writing to girls. He reflected that this issue of gender discrimination in access to education decreased and even disappeared from that village after his successful results, because he argued that he proved his claims with concrete evidence, instead of abstract statements.

Eleven years later from the time that Idealist first attempted to intervene in the village, in 1996, Idealist advocated for another girl who was held from continuing her

education after compulsory education that was until 5th grade in that time. She narrated her experiences:

Idealist: benim buyuk kizimin sinif arkadasiydi, hatta kendi ilcemde, Altinyaylada. Kizimin ismi Deryaydi. Emin olun o kadar zeki bir cocuktu ki o donemler anadolu lisesi sinavleri 5. Sinifta yapiliyordu. Mufettisler sinifa geldigi zaman bana 4 tane isim verdi. Bu ogrencilerin hepsi anadolu lisesine girsin kazanacaklar diye, bir cocugun babasini ikna edemedim. Yani asiri derecede dindar, Osmanlidan gelen bir geleneksel kulturu yasatmaya calisiyor. Kiz cocugu babanin dedigini yapar, kocanin dedigini yapar. Etmeyin yapmayin, ısrarla, “sinava koyacak param yok” dedi. “Ben koyacam” dedim. “Sinav parasini ben yatiracam” dedim. “Ben nasil goturecem,” “ben goturecem!” Kendi kizimi goturecem onu da goturecem. Onundeki engelleri kaldirdim. Kiz cocugu da diyordu ki “ogretmenim nolur yardım edin, babami ikna edelim. Ne olur ben okumak istiyorum. Ogretmenin kizinin ismi koydugun yere beni de koyarsin dimi ogretmenim.” “Koyarim kizim” dedim. Butun engelleri kaldirdikca baba “hayir” dedi gondermiyecem, “evlat benim salmiyorum.” Kizi cagirdim. “Seni dedim bir yil sinifta biraksam seneye mecburi egitime 8 yillik egitime gecilecek, bir yil sinifta birakayim, diger ogretmen arkadasimla da konusacam sana hep destek olucak Derya kabul edermisin dedim.” “Birak Ogretmenim dedi, kalicam” dedi. “Ne yaparsin o donemde” dedim, “sen burdasin ya dedi, sen ne dersen onu yaparim” dedi. “Tamam” dedim. Anlastik. Senenin sonu baya yaklasti, basvuru donemlerini yaklasti. Babayi tekrar cagirdim. Kiz cocugu korkmus babadan soylemis cunku. “Sen beni gonderme var, ogretmenim beni sinifta birakacak. Ben o zaman 6. Sinifa gecicegim” diye “sikayet ederim seni” dedi. Kaymakam beyin kapisini caldim. Bana yardım edin, bu cocuga yardım edin bunu cikartmamiz lazim. Cocuk da istiyor. Babasini cagirdi etti, neler etti, neler etti. Sonra hoca hanim gel dedi, lanet olsun boyle babaya dedi. O kadar uzgunum ki dedi. Keske oyle bir cocuk benim cocugum olsaydi, ozur dilerim hic birsey yapamadim dedi. Sinifta birakmayi da kabul ettiremedik. Cocugun hirpaladi ya da korkuttu. Sonra geldi “ogretmenim sansima razi olayim. Yapacagim bisi kalmadi. Sen elimden tuttun ama” dedi. “Tamam kizim” dedim. Yapamadik yani, kaldı gitmedi. Aradan 4 yil gecti. Yani insanlari bu sekilde adlandiramiyorum ama bizim zorla okuma yazma ogrettigimiz itte kaka goturdugumuz insanlikten nasibini almamis biriyle evlendirdiler. Suanda koye gittigimde goruyorum, yani 40 yasindaki benden yasli bir insan olmus. Hani ulke kaybidir, beyin kaybidir. Cok uzuldum ama bir sey yapamadim.

Idealist: She was my older daughter's classmate living in my hometown, Altinyayla. My daughter's name is Derya [her student]. No doubt she was a very smart child. In that time students were taking the Anatolian High School³ exam just after the fifth grade. When the superintendent came to the classroom, s/he gave me four names; if these four students got into Anatolian High School exams they would be successful. I could convince everyone's parents except Derya's father. Well, he is strictly conservative...He follows the traditional culture that comes from Ottoman culture. Girls do what the father says, does what the husband tells...He said, "I don't have money for the exam." I told him, "I will pay for it." [He asked] "How do I take her [to the exam]?" [I answered] "I will take her [to the exam] I will take my own daughter and I will take her." I dismantled the obstacles. Derya said, "Please teacher help me, we should convince my father. Please I want to get an education. Teacher, do you put me in the same place that you put your daughter?" I said, "Yes, my daughter, I think of you the same way." As I removed the barriers, the dad said, "No, I will not send her." "She is my daughter, I don't let her." I called for her, and said, "If I flunk you this year, the compulsory education will be eight years next year. I flunk you one year, I will also talk with my teacher colleagues, and they will always support you. Will you accept Derya?" She said, "Yes, my teacher, flunk me. I will flunk." I asked, "What will you do in that process?" She said, "You are here, I will do as you say." I said, "Okay." We agreed. The end of the semester approached, the application period started. I called for the father again, because the girl was scared of him but told him [what we talked]. She said to him, "even though you don't send me [to the school], my teacher will flunk me. Then I will go to sixth grade [thanks to compulsory education becoming eight years]." He told me, "I will sue you." So, I contacted the district governor to seek for help. I told him, "Help me, help this child, we need to take her out of this. The child also wants this [to continue her education]." He called for his father. He did many things. Then he said to me, "damn to this father." He said, "I feel very sad. I wish I had a daughter like her" He said, "I am so sorry, there is nothing I could do to help." We also couldn't have him accept flunking. Then, he probably beat her up or scared her. Later she came, and said, "Teacher, I had to accept my faith. There is nothing I can do. You held my hand, but..." I said, "Ok, my daughter." We couldn't do it. She didn't go to school. Four years passed. I don't want to name people in this way, but they made her marry a man who we hardly taught reading and writing and who didn't have a moral compass. Now, I see her when I go to village. She became a 40-year-old lady who looks older than me. She is a big loss for this country. This is a loss of a brain. I was very upset, but there is nothing more I could do.

³ The admission to Anatolian High Schools requires students to take a standardized academic test that was made across Turkey. This exam had been conducted after fifth grade since 1998-1999.

In this excerpt, Idealist narrated her advocacy of Derya's education. She described Derya as a very smart girl who had a high desire to go a further in education, something the superintendent had also realized. She and the superintendent foresaw her being successful in the Anatolian High School entrance exam. However, her father was described as a man who wanted to follow the Ottomans' traditional culture regarding girls' positions in society. Girls' identities were narrated as ones who do what fathers say and do what husbands say. Unequal power dynamics between women and men were noticeable in the narrated storyline of an appropriate life of a woman. She explained that the father put various barriers against her daughter's education, which were a lack of finance and his inability to take her to the exam. She removed these barriers by being a volunteer, by paying the exam fee, and by taking her to the exam. Derya was agentive in her approach to Idealist by asking her support to change her dad's opinion and continue her education. In these purposeful agentive acts, she pushed her boundaries or resisted her inscribed identities that were placed by her dad about how to be a "good" girl in society. Due to her unsuccessful attempts at convincing her father, Idealist proposed an idea to her. The idea was that because of her willingness to be placed in the fifth grade in order to benefit from upcoming changes in the education policy (Kavak, 1997) that would extend the compulsory education⁴ from five years to eight years. Derya trusted her and accepted her suggestion about failing the fifth grade. However, Derya shared the plan with her father in protest at his lack of flexibility. The father then threatened to sue Idealist. However, Idealist advocated for Derya by visiting the district governor, who was

⁴ Compulsory education was expanded from five years to eight years in 1997, and eight to twelve in 2012.

a more powerful agent, to find other possible solutions. Unfortunately, the district governor's attempts at convincing the dad were unsuccessful. After these attempts, Derya sadly complied with her father's decision about her education. Derya shared that she was forced to get married to a man whom the teacher described as "inhuman." She was later described as looking more than 40 years old, which was attributed to having a difficult life, which she could not control. Idealist considered this situation as a loss for the country and a loss of a brain. Idealist eventually explained that the losses were the responsibility of the larger structure, which included various key stakeholders (e.g., policy-makers).

Gender inequality was perceived to occur mostly in Eastern and Southeastern regions of Turkey, yet the teachers challenged this taken for granted assumption by telling similar experiences in other regions that were considered more developed (e.g., Mediterranean). Traditional sociocultural practices (e.g., early marriage) constrained girls' education. For instance, Akdeniz explained that

Akdeniz: Buraya yakin 20 km beldemiz. 8 yillik egitim ciktimi zaman, tabi o zamanlar orda ikamet ediyordum o zaman. Kahvedeki soyledigi laf "artik kizlari da gelin edemiyecem." Kizlari da gelin edemiyecem dedigi cocuk 5. Siniftan 6. Sinifa gecen cocuk. Simdi ilkokulda bir problem yok, kiz olsa erkek olsa. Is ondan sonraki egitim surecinde. 8'e kadar geldi. Zorunlu mu? O zaman zorunluluk yoktu, lise yok. Universite de yok.

Akdeniz: There is a small town close to here, about 20 kilometers away. I was living there when the compulsory education had just got extended to eight years. What they [men] told in the coffee shop⁵, "we can no longer marry our girls off." The girls who they mention are the children who just finished fifth and are supposed to start the sixth grade. There are no problems in the primary school

⁵ Coffee shop tradition goes back to XVI century in Ottoman Empire times. Coffee shops design for men who get together to have a conversation by drinking tea, coffee, soft drinks, and playing games.

education now either for girls or boys. The important thing is the latter stages of education [compulsory education]. It was extended until the eight grade. Is it compulsory? In that time, there was not any obligation. Not for high school. Not for college.

Akdeniz's experiences reflected that not only in the East, but also in the West.

There were similar educational inequalities for girls in terms of access and opportunities to continue schooling. He explained that after the extension of compulsory education to eight years, men were complaining about fewer girls available for marriage. New educational practices conflicted with inscribed identities of women in the local context. Early marriage was a barrier towards girls' education.

Another teacher, Orhan, also argued that gender inequity in education also existed in the west (e.g., Mediterranean region), and parental traditional sociocultural values created barriers against girls' continuation in educational trajectories.

Orhan: Yani Dogu onemli degil yani. Surada Kaya'da calistim. En iyi kiz ogrencim vardi, daha okurdu da daha geride olan anasinifi ogretmeni oldu yani. Babasi sofordu, yalvardim yakardim, gel dedim bunu sinavlara sokalim, adam sinava dahi sokmadi yani Anadolu lisesi sinavlarina. Dedesine gittim evine kadar oturdum, gel dedim oglunu ikna et.

Canan: Basvurdum ben de. Fotograflarina kadar cektirdim.

Orhan: Ha yani, ama gitmedi yani. Ve 16 yasinda 17 yasinda evlendirdiler yani. O cocuk okuyacak bir ogrenci. Yalvariyorsunuz yakariyorsunuz ama sadece Dogu degil, bizim Bati surada iste. Aktas [turistlik bir tarihsel sehir] 6 km ilerisi koy.

Orhan: Well, this is not just a problem of east. I worked just here at Kaya. I had a girl who was my best student. Well, she will study further to become a preschool teacher but she could do much better. Her father was a driver. I begged him. I told, "come, we take her to the exam." He didn't even take her to the exams, the Anatolian high school exams. I went to her grandfather's house. I told, "come, let's convince your son."

Canan: I also applied. I get her [another student of Canan] photos taken.

Orhan: Yeah, but she didn't take the exam and they married her off when she was 16 or 17 years old. That child was the one who should have gotten an education.

You beg them, but this is not only happening in the East, but also happening in our West. It is over here. It is just 6 km away of Aktas [a touristic ancient city].

In this excerpt, Orhan described her student's identity as the best student who could potentially pursue higher education. He compared her with his other student whose level he perceived as lower, and yet she became a preschool teacher. Similar to other teachers, Orhan also tried to convince her father, who was a driver, by visiting their house. In a hierarchal social structure, the grandfathers had more power upon their sons. For that reason, Orhan approached her grandfather to use his power to change his son's decision about not allowing her to get an education. Canan added her similar advocacy for another girl by applying the Anatolian High School exams on behalf of her and even having her photos taken. Orhan agreed with her and continued their attempts, but were unsuccessful. He explained that her family married her off at around 16-17 years old. These contradictions challenged teachers' abilities and beliefs about being able to change their students' circumstances.

Senior teachers' experiences provided historical trajectories of gender inequities in education. Although policies (e.g., Let's girls go to school) were constituted to increase girls' access to education, junior teachers' reflections revealed that girls had still been experiencing issues in access and continuing their education in some localities. Intersectionality, as a theoretical framework, could provide a deeper understanding in terms of examining gender inequities in education. The teachers' experiences revealed that multiple ways of oppression forced girls to the margins of the educational system and even excluded them from the educational system. Junior teachers who worked in small towns in the Eastern and Southeastern regions shared that gender inequities intersected

with low-income, ethnicity (e.g., Kurdish), language, and geographical location, which excluded girls from the educational system. For instance, Ozgur stated, “dil probleminden ziyade kiz cocuklarinin okula gitme problemi benim icin orda daha cok problem oldu. (The problem of girls’ schooling was more problematic for me than the language problem).”

Given the fact that Ozgur identified himself as Kurdish, he explained that he did not experience issues in communication, yet he dealt with increasing girl’s access to education in 2010.

Ozgur: Simdi kiz cocuklarinin ne mesela 4. Siniftan sonra gondermiyorlar, pek sicak bakmiyorlar. Biz ev ev, kapi kapi dolasarak iste gonderseniz boyle olur. Artik imkanlar soyle yani bu olayi tirnak icerisinde “namus” seklinde dusunmemek gerekiyor. Cocugun iste burda ikinci kademe yok ben onu yatiliya gondercem...biz kiz cocugunu gondermeyiz vs gibisinden oyle bir intiba var. Halk nezninde, tabanda. Biz de onlara anlatip ve inaniniz 3 tane ogrenci 16 mi, 20 ye yakin kiz ogrencinin oldugu bir koyde 4. Siniftan sonra biz 3 tanesini yatiliya gondermeyi basardik. Bu da bizim buyuk bir basari oldu...

Sultan: Peki sadece koylerde mi yoksa?

Ozgur: Evet ilcelerde sikinti olmuyor...Iceride kendi akrabalarim var ondan bilirim, hepsi gonderiyorlar, gidiyorlar yani. Yani koyde de adam basinda durmak istiyor kizinin.

Sultan: Haydi kizlar okula kampanyasi duzenlendi.

Ozgur: Tabi o tur kampanyalar duzenlendi...Gene de oluyor. Ben cunku 2010 da ordaydim yani 2010 da dedim ya 3 tane ogrenci gonderebildik... Ama son donemde iste ceza geliyor. Iste para cezasi odersiniz artik.

Ozgur: They [Kurdish people] don’t send girls to school after fourth grade. They didn’t have a positive look for that. We visited every house saying things like “if you send them to school this will happen. Now, the resources are like this. This shouldn’t be seen as “namus (honesty)” There is no secondary level in here. I need to send her to boarding school... This is a girl; we cannot send her etc...in the public, at the bottom. We tell them and you believe me we were successful to send three girls after fourth grade in a village where there were about 16 to 20 girls. This is a big success for us.

Sultan: Was it only in villages?

Ozgur: Yes, it wasn't a problem in cities. I have relatives over there. I know it from them. All of them send [girls]. Well, in the small towns, men want to watch for their daughter.

Sultan: "Let girls to school" campaign was implemented.

Ozgur: Yes, there were those kinds of campaigns... This happens anyway, because, I was there in 2010 and as I said we could only send 3 students. But in recent period, there is a pecuniary punishment. Well, you have to pay the pecuniary punishment then.

This excerpt revealed that historical challenges were enduring in the 21st century regarding girls' schooling. From Ozgur's description, parents, who did not allow their daughters to continue their education, controlled their education. Like other teachers, Ozgur also visited the families at home to challenge their assumptions about associating education with a threat to "family honor"/ "decency." Inexistence of secondary schooling in the town compelled girls to move to the closest city to continue their education. This created other barriers, such as accommodation, adequate finance, and safety, against the education of girls. On the other hand, his statement of "we cannot send girls" revealed that there was gender discrimination towards girls and that the boys could continue their education. He advocated for girls' education, which created opportunities for only three girls to continue their education, which he perceived as a success. I asked if this issue only happened in small towns. Ozgur commented that educational access was not an issue in cities.

Kerem also shared similar experiences as Ozgur in regard to advocating and dismantling the barriers for the education of girls.

Deren: Kizlari okutuyorlar miydi? Gonderiyorlar mi universiteye filan?

Kerem: Iki tane velim gonderdi, onda cok israr ettim ben. Suanda iste orta sondadirlar her halde.

Sultan: Sehre gidiyorlar onun icin. Ilceye mi gidiyorlar.

Kerem: Ilceye. Ben baya ugrastim yurda falan verdim orda. Cunku imkanlari yok bu gidenlerin. Maddi durumlari kotuydu. Ikisinin de gittim yurt mudurleriyle konustum bunlarin, orda fakirlik belgesi diye bir belge var, ondan cikarttik, o sekilde yurttta [kaldilar]

Deren: Insallah okumuslardir.

Kerem: ...Suanda 7. Ya da 8. Sinifta olmalari lazim. Okuyorlarsa tabi!

Sultan: Digerleri gondermedi?

Kerem: Yok. Orada kizlar 15, 16 yasinda evlenir.

Deren: Ayy

Kerem: Ben kendim ogrencimin dugunune gittim yani. Ilkokul ogretmeniyiz.

Kendi ogrencimin dugunune gittim.

Deren: Cikkickik. Off

Sultan: Erken evlendiriyorlar...

Kerem: ... Benim ogrencim iste 16 yasinda evlendi.

Sultan: Erkeklere baktigin zaman nasil?

Kerem: Onu gonderiyorlar evet.

Sultan: Onlar genel ortaokula gidiyorlar. Okumalarini destekliyorlar.

Kerem: Evet. Destekliyorlar. Bazen mesela ailenin durumu fakirse, vardi yani, gecimler hayvancilik oldugu icin, cocugunu hani gondermiyor da, hayvanlari otlatsin diye. Bazen olabiliyor ama. Hani yuzdeye bulursan hani yuzde 90'i gonderiyor diyebilirim.

Deren: Do they [parents] let girls get an education? Do they send them [girls] to college?

Kerem: My two parents did send. I insisted a lot. As of now, they should probably be in the last grade of the secondary school.

Sultan: They will go to a city?

Kerem: They will go to a city. I made an effort; I put them in a dorm. Because, they did not have resources, their financial situation was bad. I went to dorms to talk with the principals of both of them. There is a poverty card. We applied and received that. In that way, they stayed at the dorms.

Deren: I hope they studied.

Kerem: As of now, they should be in seventh or eight grade, if they still continue their education!

Sultan: The other ones did not send girls to school?

Kerem: No. Girls get married when they are 15 or 16 years old there.

Deren: Ugh!

Kerem: I went to my student's wedding. We are primary school teachers. I went to my own student's wedding.

Deren: What a shame! Ugh!

Sultan: They married them off early...

Kerem: ...My student got married when she was 16 years old.

Sultan: What is the situation like for boys?

Kerem: They send them yes.

Sultan: They go to secondary school. They support their education, right?

Kerem: Yes. They support. Sometimes, if the parents are poor, for example, if they made a living doing livestock farming they don't send their children to make them feed the animals. Sometimes, it happens. Well, if I give percentages, 90% percent of them send their children to school.

In this excerpt, Deren, who had worked only in the Mediterranean region, was curious about the experiences of Kerem by asking specific questions about the family practices about girls' education. Kerem's attempts resulted in only two girls' continuation of their education in the closest city. Parents' limited social and cultural capital in educational practices led Kerem to act as the two girls' guardian by helping parents to have a poverty card. In this way, the girls could stay in the dorms. He did not track their education after he moved to another city. His statement of "if they are still at school, they should be in seventh or eighth grade" revealed the possibility that they may have dropped out of school. The rest of the families did not send their daughters to school, and he further stated, "Girls get married at the ages of 16 or 17." Deren's expressions of "Ugh" and "What a shame! Ugh!" revealed her disapproval of the families' cultural practices about early marriage. I asked if this would be the case for boys. According to him, ninety percent of boys were allowed to continue their education, and lack of economic recourses pushed some of them to stay in the village to help their families.

The government supported families economically if they would send their daughters to school. However, Kerem stated ironically that "Okula gelme konusunda sikinti yok, para aldiklari icin. (Coming to school is not an issue, because they [families]

receive money).” This reflected that receiving money became a driving motivation for families rather than the issue of placing a priority on education or providing education for their daughters. Therefore, the way of support that government provided to families should be comprehensive rather than only financial.

According to the teachers, families’ driving motivation for sending girls school varied. For instance, Canan said “Baki vardı mesela... birinci sınıf okuttum hiç unutmuyorum, yegeni vardı kız, birinci sınıfa başladı. 12 yaşındaydı. Onu gondermemisler okulda ama sirf onu, küçük yigeni, oğlan, onu korusun diye onu da gonderdiler. Onun sayesinde öğrendiler. (For example there was Baki... I have never forgotten. I taught him in first grade. He had a niece, who was a 12 years old girl. She enrolled in first grade. They [the girl’s parent] did not send her to school before, but they sent her to the school just to take care of him [Baki]).” Her experience revealed that the girl’s parents’ driving motivation of her education was to make her protect Baki in school. This reflected that the parents controlled their daughters’ education.

The narrativized identities of women in the sociocultural contexts in which these teachers worked mediated the parents’ beliefs and practices related to girls’ education. For Kerem, there was an obvious gender disparity towards women.

Deren: Cocuktan saymıyorlar değil mi kızları?

Kerem: Yok. Mesela, kızların şey hakkı yok. Miras hakkı yok. Orada... Erkeğe geçiyor.

Deren: Kac çocuğun dedikleri zaman, [kızları] atıyor.

Kerem: Kızlar sayılmaz.

Deren: Kızlar yok yani, 15 çocuğu varsa, 5’i kızsa, 10 çocuğum var deniyordum.

Kerem: Ama degistigine inanıyorum ben onun. Yavaş yavaş degisecek, caresi yok, degismeleri lazım. Ama var. ben 4 buçuk sene görev yaptım, 4 buçuk senede o esitsizliği gördüm. Kızlar pek nasıl denir pek adamdan saymazlar. Kızlar.

Deren: They [Families] don't consider girls as their children, right?

Kerem: Not. For example, girls don't inherit anything. They don't have a right to inherit at all. Over there... All the money goes to men.

Deren: When they ask how many children they have, they don't count girls.

Kerem: Girls are not counted.

Deren: Girls don't exist. If they have 15 children, and if five of them are girls, it is reported that they have ten children.

Kerem: But I believe it has changed. I had worked for four years and a half. I saw the inequity in those four years. Girls, how they say, they [people] don't treat girls as human.

Deren was curious about learning and examining her previous perceptions about the practices of families during the interview. She initiated the conversation by asking, "They [families] don't consider girls as their children, right?" Kerem confirmed her question and added that girls did not have right to have a right to have an inheritance, which directly benefited men. Deren further questioned her previous knowledge about not counting girls in the number of children people stated they had. Kerem affirmed this practice, yet argued that change was necessary for dealing with gender disparity in education and society. Further, he explained gender inequities in everyday life.

Kerem: Cogu mesela evde kesinlikle bir esitsizlik var. Yani butun isleri kizlara yaptirirlar, erkek pasadir. Mesela hasta olur kiz. Buna da cok sahit oldum. Kizi doktora goturmez ama erkek cocugunu goturur...Buna da cok sahit oldum yani. Hatta bir tane ogrencimi ben goturdum. Bunun icin bir problem yasar gibi olduk. Baba benim iznim olmadan, halbuki annesinden izin almistim ben. Benim iznim olmadan goturdun diye sikayet etmis beni. Ben de annesinden izin almistim dedim. Annesi de velisi oldugu icin imzali bir kagit almistim. onu gosterdim. Onu gosterince bir sikinti cikmadi.

Sultan: Ne olmustu kizda, ne hastaligi.

Kerem: 3 gun boyunca surekli atesliydi. Atesini dusuremememisti annesi.

Deren: Cickickik.

Kerem: Ben de goturdum. Neredeyse havale gecirecekmis yani cocuk. Ben goturdugumde 38 derecenin ustundaydi atesi. Serum filan taktilar, normale dondu kiz. Dediklerine gore, mal hastaligi diye bir hastalik varmis herhalde, surekli hayvanlarla... Ondan kaynaklandigini soylediler ama tam olarak teshisini

bilmiyorum. Ben sonra tekrar ben kız iyilesince geri getirdim ben. Oyle bir sorunumuz olacak gibiydi olmadı.

Sultan: Babası kız olduğu için mi hastaneye götürmüyor, yoksa genel mi erkek olsaydı da aynı şekilde mi?

Kerem: Biz oyle tahmin ediyoruz yani. Acıkcası oyle diyelim. Adamin icini okuyamayız, tabii bir de, sırf kız olduğu için mi götürmuyorsun diye de sorulmuyor...Hani ben oyle düşünüyorum acıkcası. Çünkü 3 gün boyunca kız yataklarda yatmış, annesi en son, gizli bir şekilde geliyor yani esinden. Bana söylüyor. Ben goturuyorum. Oyle bir durum olduğu için...

Kerem: There are inequities in many houses. Well, they [parents] get girls done all the work. Boys/men are pashas. For example, girls get sick. I witnessed this a lot. He does not take girls to a doctor, but takes his son...I witnessed this a lot. Even I took one of my students [to a doctor]. We kind of had a problem because of that. The father said, "without having my consent..." However, I took permission from her mother. He complained [somewhere] about me taking her daughter without his permission. I said, "I took permission from her mother." I took a consent letter from her mother, who is also her guardian." I presented that letter. When I presented it, there weren't any issues anymore. .

Sultan: What happened to that girl? What was her sickness?

Kerem: She had a fever for three days. Her mother couldn't lower her fever.

Deren: What a shame!

Kerem: I took her. She was almost having a convulsion. When I took her to the hospital, her fever was over 38 degrees [Celsius]. They [medical staff] gave her IV, then she turned back to normal. According to what they [doctors] said, there is a sickness called animal sickness...always with animals...they told us that the sickness caused because of that. But I don't know the exact diagnosis. I took her back home when she recovered. This was about to become a problem, but nothing happened at the end.

Sultan: Did her father not take her to the hospital because she was a girl or in general, if she were a boy, would it be the same?

Kerem: That is what we thought. Actually let's suppose it was really that way. We cannot read his mind, but of course we couldn't ask if he was not taking her because she was a girl...Well, I think in that way. Because, she was in bed for three days, her mom eventually came to me secretly without her husband knowing. She tells me. I take her. Because this was the situation...

In this excerpt, Kerem explained that gender disparities at home in which many responsibilities were given to girls and boys were treated as "Pasha." Historically, the

“pasha” title was given to the high rank Ottoman political and military leaders. For Kerem, families positioned their sons as “pasha” with more power than their daughters at home. He criticized that girls were not even taken to the hospital when they were sick. He explained that one of his student’s mothers came to him and asked him if he could take her daughter, who had been having a high fever for three days, to the hospital because her husband did not want to take her. Without taking consent from the father, he took her to the hospital. This situation led the father complaining about him, yet he took the consent letter from her mother, which solved possible issues. I asked if this situation occurred just because of gender identity and if would have happened if his son would get sick. Although he stated he was not completely sure, there was more evidence, such as the mother’s request, secretly avoiding her husband, who did not take her to the hospital due to her gender identity. Patriarchal culture empowers men over women, which led to this unequal treatment of girls within families, societies, and histories, influencing the education of girls.

Idealist provided two solutions in regard to societal transformation to ensure gender equity in education and society. She argued that fathers needed to be moved away from a patriarchal culture and women should access education.

Idealist: Babalari geleneksel yapıdan uzaklastirmek lazim, ve asil gene seye donuyor. Anneler pasam pasam diye oylan cocugu yetistirmeyecek. Kizlara sen kizsin demeyecek. Insan gozuyle, cinsiyet ayrimi olmaksizin insan gozuyle bakacak, cunku bugun pasa olan yarin da pasa olacagi icin, gucunu esinde cocugunda kullanacak. Yani cocuk olarak cinsiyet ayrimi yapmaksizin...insan olarak yetistirmek lazim. Oyle oylan cocugu bulasik yikamaz. Niye yikamasin canim eli var ayagi var. [Bu] kiz cocuguna tapulanmis bir sey mi? Degil. Erkek cocuklari, ben hani erkeklerin sadece dogum haricinde her seyi yapabilecegine inanan bir yapıdayim. Oyle dusunuyorum. Dogum haricinde her seyi yapabilir. Yapabilir kesinlikle yapabilir. Oyle yetistirmeliyiz ki...

Idealist: We should make the fathers change their mindset from this conservative way of thinking and it turns again to this. Mothers should not call their sons as my pasha, my pasha. They shouldn't say, "you are a girl" to girls. They should be seen as humans without any gender discrimination. Because the ones who are pashas today, they will also be pashas tomorrow. They will try their power on their wives and children. So, there is a need to raise children as human without discriminating by gender. Like, boys don't wash the dishes. Why don't they wash, they have arms and hands. Is this something deeded to the girls? No, it isn't. I believe men can do everything except giving birth. I think in this way. They can do everything except giving birth. They are capable. Definitely, they are capable. We need to raise them like that...

In this excerpt, she criticized patriarchal culture, which was perceived to be reproduced by women during child-rearing practices. She argued that child-rearing practices should not strengthen traditional gender roles, in which boys were treated as "Pasha" who would use their power and want the same kinds of treatment from their wives later on. Girls were mostly responsible for chores at home. Her statement, "she [the mother] should not say 'you are a girl' to the girls," mirrored that girls' ways of being and behaving were constrained within traditional childrearing practices. She believed that men could do everything that a woman could do except give birth to a child. Therefore, these socially constructed beliefs could change by changing the families' child rearing practices. She believed the education of women was fundamental for societal change.

I: ... Bir sulaleyi degistirmek istiyorsan...bir kadini okutacaksin. O kadar degistiriyor ki. Konusma degisiyor, iletisim degiriyor, evdeki duzen degisiyor. Sofradaki pisen yemek degisiyor. Temizlik degisiyor... kadinlarin egitilmesi lazim degisimin olmasi icin. Her alanda kadinin egitilmesi lazim diyorum.

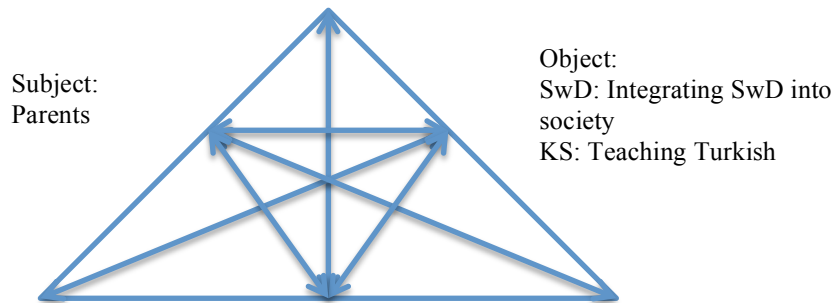
I: ...If you want to change an extended family... You need to educate one woman. This changes so much. Conversation changes, communication changes, order at home changes, food changes, and hygiene changes. In order for a change to happen, women should be educated. I say women should be educated in all areas.

In this excerpt, for her, an educated woman became an agent for change, which organically occurred. According to her, through education, many practices of families, such as food, hygiene, and communication, had positively led to change at home. That is why she advocated for the education of women in any field.

Parents' Conceptualization and Experiences of Inclusive Education

Parents were also subjects of the classroom activity systems (see Figure 9). Their involvement co-constructed and mediated the evolvement of the classroom activity settings in regard to how inclusive education was conceptualized and practiced for diverse groups of students, namely SwD and Kurdish students (KS). Parents' representations and projections of their children's classroom activity systems revealed that not all students benefited from education in equal ways.

Material Tools: Books, Worksheet,
Language...etc
Psychological Tools: Deficit views
towards SwD, Medical model of
Dis/ability, Ableism, Sameness over
difference. Turkish-only ideology,
Culture Blind Ideology



Rules:
Students:

- Follow teachers' instructions
- Being Silent
- Sitting at their desk
- Turkish Language Practice
- Turkish Language

Classroom

Division of Labor:

Students

- Able to follow teachers' instructions
- Being silent
- Learning in expected speed
- Not being disruptive and aggressive
- Speaking Turkish

Teachers

- Hold power/authority
- Manage learning
- Designing learning settings
- Instruct activities as a whole group
- Speaking Turkish

Figure 9. The classroom activity system from the parents' representation

Students with Dis/abilities.

Similar to the teachers' beliefs about who should be in and who should be out of the classroom, the parents conceptualized inclusive education as placement for SwD, with the larger objective of social integration, increased awareness of other children's attitudes towards SwD, and the disruption of prejudices. For instance, Oznur stated that

Oznur: Bence olumlu olabilir. O otistik olmayan cocuklari goruyor, onlardan farkli seyler öğrenebiliyor bence.

Oznur: I think it [inclusive education] can be. S/he observes children who don't have autism. She can learn different things from them.

In this excerpt, Oznur explained inclusive education could provide reciprocal opportunities for SwD and other children through understanding and learning from each other. Other parents also mentioned that inclusive education could raise the lack of social awareness and other children's acceptance towards people with disabilities. However, although parents believed that inclusive education could benefit SwD socially, they did not discuss academic objectives for SwD.

Gulcicek: Şimdi tembel olan ya da bu tür olan çocuklarda da hani, hep geri planda kalıyormuş gibi oluyor. Zaten öğretmen diğerlerinin seviyesine göre bir şeyleri verdiği için o çocuk çok bişey alamıyor. Bu çocuğun bu sınıfa gelmesindeki amaç, çok basit şeyleri öğrenebilmesi ve davranış sağlayabilmesi. Diğer çocuklar açısından ne yararı olur? Eeee, ilerde de bu tür şeylerde... Kabullenebilmelerini...

Dunya: Bakış açısı...

Gulcicek: Sağlıyor. Yoksa çocuklar yolda bile gördüklerinde uzaklaşarak bakıyorlar. Ama bu tür çocuklar yanlarında olduğu sürece...

Ayca: Tabii.

Dunya: Toplumdaki bazı önyargılar yıkılabilir.

...

Gulcicek: Asıl, şeyi kabul etmek lazım...

Ayca: Zaten onların seviyesine gelmesi beklenmiyor ama...

Gulcicek: Topluma kazandırmak lazım.

Dunya: Kazandırılmalı. Bence de.

Gulcicek: Well, children who are lazy or these kinds of children [children with disabilities] are kind of getting behind. Besides, the teacher gives things [learning activities] for other children's level, that child cannot comprehend many things. The goal of this child to come to this class is to learn the basic things and adapt his/her behaviors. What is the benefit for the other children? In the future, in these kinds of things...to be able to accept...

Dunya: Point of view...

Gulcicek: Provides [point of view]. Otherwise, when children see people with disabilities on a street, they walk away from them, but if these children [SwD] are with them...

Ayca: Of course!

Dunya: The prejudice in the society could be overcome.

...

Gulcicek: Actually, we need to accept ...

Ayca: In fact, it is not expected from them to reach their [other children] level.

Gulcicek: We should integrate them into society.

Dunya: I also think that we should integrate them into society.

Gulcicek reflected that teachers organized classroom activity context for the majority, which led SwD and “lazy” students to fall behind in classrooms. She conceptualized the object of the inclusive education activity for SwD was to “learn basic things and behavior” and to increase awareness and acceptance for other children for a pragmatic purpose their future integration in society. Dunya added on to her statement of object by saying that inclusive education could provide a different point of view for other children. Gulcicek’s statement, “when children see people with disabilities on a street, they walked away from them” revealed the lack of awareness of disability in society and the exclusion of SwD from society. Thus, the parents believed that inclusive education could disrupt societal prejudices. However, parents held deficit perspectives toward SwD, which was noticeable in their statement, “Gulcicek: We need to accept that...Ayca: In fact, it is not expected from them to reach their [other children’s] level.” Thus, they did not imagine academic learning for SwD in a GE classroom activity context.

Parents’ deficit views as conceptual tools of the activity system mediated their conceptualization of inclusive education, mostly related to placement, for SwD. Deficit views for SwD crystallized along the lines of SwD’s inadequate abilities to fit within the classroom activity systems. These views in turn shaped and led to parents’ beliefs that

SwD could benefit from special education classrooms where they could receive one-on-one instruction from a specialized teacher.

Through the dis/ability vignette, similar to the teachers, the parents discussed inclusive education in relation to placement (i.e., who should be in and who should be out) for SwD. Many of the parents' conceptualizations of a classroom activity did not consider SwD valuable members who could contribute to the classroom activities.

Parents provided possible reasons about Volkan's, the teacher in the vignette, decision to exclude Nese from his first grade classroom and move her to a special education classroom. They approached the placement decisions from multiple perspectives—SwD's, Nese's, other children's, and the teacher's perspectives. However, Nese's identities were constructed from a deficit view within these multiple perspectives. For instance, Dunya argued that

Dunya: Ahengi bozacağını. Bir çocuğu kurtaracağım derken diğer çocuklara zarar vereceğini düşünmüştür. Yoksa ona yardım etmeyi düşünmediğinden değildir muhtemelen. Başka bir yerde bence onun eğitim almasını istemiştir. Degil mi?

...

Gülçiçek: On beş yıllık çünkü... tecrübeli bir öğretmen sonuçta... sınıfın düzenini bozmak istememiş olabilir.

Dunya: He thought she would destroy the harmony of the classroom. In order to save one child, he could think that she could harm other students. Otherwise, probably it wasn't because he didn't think of helping her. He might have thought that she should get an education but in another place. Right?

...

Gulcicek: Because he had 15 years experience. He might have thought not to destroy classroom structure/harmony.

In this excerpt, Nese was positioned as the problem; she was constructed as the cause of classroom disruption or disruption of perceived classroom harmony. Parents raised possible challenges, such as the idea of losing other children while trying to save

one child (i.e., SwD). This statement showed that, for them, the presence of Nese was potentially harmful to other students' learning in the GE classroom. Although parents might have good desires and intentions about an education for Nese, they implied educational opportunities should be in another place. The teacher's teaching history led parents to trust his rationalizations for positioning Nese as disruptive to the classroom structure. They further continued,

Gülçiçek: Diğer çocukların onunla dalga geçip onunla... ona bi yararı olmayacağını da düşünmüş olabilir öğretmen.

Dunya: Bence normal çocukların içine dahil edilmemeli, kendi seviyesindeki hani... Ona uzman bi kişi ayarlayıp onlar için özel sınıflar açılması gerekiyor diye düşünüyom. Hem bu çocuk bunları öğrendikçe komplekse girer muhtemelen. Onun daha çok kötü olacağını düşünüyom. Hem de bu çocuklar ya ödev yapmadan gelip gidiyor, biz ödev niye yapıyoruz. Motivasyonlarını bozabilir. Yoksa ben de onlara yardım eli uzatılmasını düşünüyom. Olmalı ama...

Gülçiçek: He might have thought that other children would bully her... The teacher might have thought that it [inclusion] would not be beneficial for her.

Dunya: I think she should not being included within normal children... She should be with the students in the same level. I think that there should be a special classroom for them with a person who has expertise on them. And as this child learns these things, probably she would feel insecure. I think she would be much worse. Also, these children will come to school without doing their homework, [other children would think] why do we do homework? She could disrupt their motivation. Otherwise, I also think that a helping hand should be lent to them. It should be, but...

They also considered exclusion as a way of protecting Nese from possible bullying and not maintained the GE classroom could not be helpful for Nese. They did not think that SwD should be included with "normal" children, because, for them, they needed to get an education from a specialized teacher in a separate classroom in which they were with students who were on similar ability levels. They believed that a GE classroom environment influenced SwD's emotions badly and increased their

insecurities. At the same time, from their perspectives, other students' academic motivation could decrease because SwD did not do homework. Dunya's statement, "Otherwise, I also think that a helping hand should be given to them. It should be, but" "but" revealed that dis/ability was associated with charity and inclusion of SwD was considered as helping them. In her last incomplete sentence, "it should be, but," "but" constituted micro and larger conceptual subjects' tools contradictions between and among activity systems (e.g., education, economy, politics), historical practices of education in regard to SwD, and/or resources. In order to understand what "but" contains, there would be a need to unpack parental views on the activity systems, their construction of SwD's identities, and other interconnected activity systems.

Similar to the teachers, the parents' placement decisions appeared as only-if statements, which they considered prerequisites to be a member of a GE classroom. These only-if statements were related to disability type, the degree of the disability, and behaviors, which influenced their willingness to accept SwD in their children's classrooms.

Sultan: Bazi aileler de istemiyor Nese'yi sinifta.

Derya: Su an bilmiyorum istemeyebilirdim.

Sultan: İstemeyebilirdim dediniz ya, ne gibi durumlarda?

Derya: Yani çocuğumun psikolojik olarak etkilenebileceğini düşünebilirdim. Çok hassas bir yapısı var. Onun için istemeyebilirdim.

...

Sultan: Peki disaridan baktiginizda nerde olması gerekiyor.

Derya: Disaridan baktigimde sonuçta herkes kendi cocugunu oncelikli düşünecek, yani dediğim gibi istemeyebilirdim belki. O an ne tepki verirdim bilmiyorum.

Hani derecesini bilmediğimiz için otistiğin.

Sultan: Hafif olması durumunda mi katılabiliyor?

Derya: Evet. Ağır olması durumunda herhalde tepkim benim de diğer aileler gibi özel eğitimde olurdu.

Sultan: Some of the families do not want Nese in the classroom.

Derya: I don't know now. I might have not wanted her.

Sultan: In what conditions you would not have wanted her?

Derya: Well, I could have thought that my child's psychology would be affected negatively.

...

Sultan: So, if you look at from outside where should she be?

Derya: If I look at it from outside, eventually everybody would primarily think of his/her children. Well, as I said I might have not wanted her, perhaps. I don't know what would be my reaction in that time, because we don't know the degree of autism.

Sultan: Should they include when it is mild?

Derya: Yes. In severe circumstances, my reaction would be special education placement like other parents.

Derya raised the possibility of not being willing to accept Nese in her daughter's classroom. I asked under what conditions would you not have wanted her. Then, she expressed that Nese could have negatively affected her daughter's psychology sensitivity. Nese's dis/ability identity was constructed as harmful for other students. For her, isolation/exclusion of SwD became a way to protect other students' psyches instead of perceiving disability as diversity and a contribution to classroom activity systems. I asked her opinion to consider these circumstances as an outsider. Her statement, "If I look at it from outside, eventually everybody would primarily think of his/her children. Well, as I said I might have not wanted her, perhaps." revealed that parents were conceived as having a right of primarily thinking about their children's education even if it meant exclusion of other children who had the same education rights. Regardless of any circumstances, she believed that students with severe disabilities should be placed in special education classrooms and schools.

Other parents also used the same statement, "thinking primarily (about) their children," which was perceived as a natural instinctual behavior.

Sude: Ama normal sınıf değil ki otizmlilerin okulları var. Ailesi onlara yönlendirebilirdi. Daha iyi eğitim görebilirdi.

Ecem: Hani derler ya kurunun yanında yas da yanar. Olan obur çocuklara oluyor yani. Şimdi onun yüzünden biraz daha altan alınıyor. Ben kendi çocuğumu düşünürüm.

Sude: But, it is not a normal classroom. There are schools for children with autism. Her parents could have led her to those ones. She could have had a better education.

Ecem: As people said, “*damp wood, too, will burn alongside the dry.*” It [inclusive education] negatively impacts other children. Well, because of her the learning activities are done slower. I think of my children.

In this excerpt, similar to other parents, Sude defined general education (GE) classroom as “normal” and differentiated “normal” classrooms with special education schools (i.e., autism school). These special schools were designed based on disability type and were seen to be more beneficial for SwD. Ecem used a Turkish proverb, *damp wood, too, will burn alongside the dry*, to express that inclusion of SwD would negatively affect other children, who were positioned as innocent (i.e., damp wood). Parents positioned SwD as someone who slowed down other students learning by decreasing the learning speed of the classroom. Thus, Ecem stated that she prioritized her own child’s education over the SwD.

Through discussion of the dis/ability vignette, the parents also thought that other parents’ pressure on the teacher, Volkan - their worries in regard to SwD’s perceived negative influence on their children’s learning - led the teacher to exclude Nese from his classroom. Ayca explained that

Ayca: ...Öğretmen iyi niyetle o çocuğa bişeyler katabilir hani topluma girsin. Çünkü çocuk sosyalleştikçe şey hani, yan etkiler azalıyor. Ya da davranış bozuklukları, şeyler, olumsuz etkiler azalıyor. Yani, öğretmen onu iyi niyetle kabul etmiştir ama bence baskılardan dolayı... Çoğu insan olumsuz düşünüyor.

“Benim çocuđum geri mi kalcak?” “Benim çocuđum ona göre mi ayarlanacak her şeyi falan?” ... Öyle degil aslında. Tamamen o çocuđun ortama katılması... hani genel, topluma, sokađa çıkabilmesi.

Gulcicek: Ama seviyesi çok yüksek bir sınıfsa, dediđiniz gibi, aileler hani “çocuklarımız etkileniyor” gibi bişey düşünebilir.

Ayca: ... A teacher with good intentions teach that child, well to integrate her into the society. Because the more the child gets socialized, the more side effects will decrease. Or behavioral disturbances or negative effects decrease. Well, he probably has accepted her with good intentions, but I think just because of the pressure... Many people think negatively. “Will my child get behind?” “Does my child need to appropriate things based on him/her [SwD]?” ... Actually, it is not like that. It is completely about that child’s participation in that context...in general, [her/his participation] in the society, [her/his ability to] go out.

Gulcicek: However, if it is a class with higher success, as you said, parents could think, “our children get affected.”

In this excerpt, Ayca shared her thought about the positive outcomes of inclusion of SwD for SwD, specifically socialization and decreasing behavioral disturbances. For her, when SwD were socialized, negative “side effects’ of [disability] decreased. For her, the object of inclusive education activity for SwD was related to the socialization of SwD. She assumed that the teacher accepted her with good intentions, yet the other parents’ positioning of SwD as decreasing learning of other children pressured the teacher to refer Nese to the special education classroom. After Ayca showed her disagreement about the parental worries, Gulcicek, whose children were attending schools in which the success level was higher, argued that the high probability of parental refusal of SwD could be expected in schools with high-success level. Dunya further continued that

Dunya: Bence yüzde doksanı istemez.

Gulcicek: Muhtemelen.

Dunya: Kendi çocuđunun zarar göreceđini hani... Koruma içgüdüsünden ama. Mantıken düşündüğün zaman aslında bir zararı olmaz herhalde.

Dunya: I believe ninety percent of them [parents] would not want them.

Gulcicek: Probably.

Dunya: [Thinking] That their children would be harmed...but due to instinctive protection. If you think logically, probably it [inclusive education] would not be harmful.

Their reflection revealed that including SwD in GE classroom was challenging due to other parents' positioning of SwD's identities as harmful for their children. Dunya considered parental worries as an instinctive protection of their children, yet, for her rationally; it could have not been harmful for other children.

Later on, Gulcicek differentiated schools with high success from village schools or schools in small neighborhoods in terms of accepting SwD. She argued that people in small communities knew each other, which could increase their acceptance of SwD in GE classroom.

Gulcicek: Ama eğer burası bir köy okuluysa, ya da hep aynı mahalleden birbirini tanıyan çocuklar buraya gidiyor ve o çocuk da orda yaşıyorsa, bence çocuğu zaten önceden de gördükleri için kabullenip, sesleri çıkmayabilir, yani, kabul edebilirler. Hani, eğer aileyi tanıyorlarsa, çocuğu daha önceden tanıyorlarsa, çocuğun zarar verici bir davranışı da yoksa. Mutlaka ailelerden izin alınmıştır, ya da ailelere soruluyordur. Eğer çocuğu tanıyorlarsa ya da bir köy okuluysa bence daha çabuk kabullenirler gibi geliyor...

Gulcicek: If this is a school in a village, or if these are children who have known each other from the neighborhood go to that school and if that child [SwD] is one them then they might accept him/her. I think because they knew that child before, they would accept, could have not raise their voice, so they could accept. They would if they [parents] know the family [parents of SwD], if that child doesn't have any harmful behaviors. Probably permission was taken from the parents or it [inclusion of SwD] was at least discussed with the parents. If they know the child or if it is a village school, I think they accept him/her more quickly.

Gulcicek raised the importance of living in a community, in which people could have prior knowledge and experiences with SwD who could have been included in their children's classroom. However, she also stated, "they would accept, could have not raise their voice, so they could accept," which might reflect that the acceptance of SwD was only related to knowing them before, rather than being open to welcoming students' differences. Furthermore, her thought about receiving permission from other parents before including SwD in GE classroom revealed that SwD's access to classrooms was not considered an educational right.

Parents' placement decisions were also based on disability. For instance, Dunya stated that

Dunya: Şimdi zihinsel olanların öğrenme güçlüğü olduğu için özel rehabilitasyon eğitimi almasını düşünüyorum ama fiziksel, eli yok, kolu yok... Ne bileyim gözü yok... Onlar belki birazcık daha şanslı olabilir çünkü beyinle ilgili bir sorun olmadığı için algıları açık, öğrenme daha hızlı olacağı için, sınıfa daha hızlı herhalde uyum sağlar... diye düşündüm ama... tabii bilmiyorum. Onun da tabii mutlaka dereceleri farklıdır.

Dunya: Well, because the ones with intellectual disabilities have learning difficulties, I think they should receive special rehabilitation services. However, physical, no hand, no arms... I don't know, no eye. They could be a little lucky because there is no problems related to the brain, their senses are open. I think because learning will be faster; they can fit in classroom faster. But I don't know. For sure, it [disability] also has different degrees.

In this excerpt, Dunya differentiated dis/abilities in relation to placement.

Disabilities related to intellectual functioning were seen as a challenge to deal with in GE classrooms. In contrast, physical disabilities or visual or hearing impairments were considered "lucky" in placement processes. For her, intellectual functioning was an

important indicator to fit in GE contexts although there could be differences in the degree of the disabilities.

Parts of “only-if” statements reflected that SwD, who were positioned as well behaved and able to learn, were considered appropriate actors within the GE classroom.

For instance, Sude reflected that

Sultan: Ayri sınıfta olmasını istemiyor ailesi.

Sude: Ama şimdi çocuğun gözlemleri nasıl, yani arkadaşlarına zarar veriyor mu, dersi sürekli kaynatıyor mu, uysal bir çocuksa, olabilir yani.

Emine: O da var yani.

Sultan: Veysel mesela uysal gibi duruyor.

Sude: Uysal gibi duruyor, bazen kaynatabiliyormuş yani, arkadaşının dediğine göre de. İşte ne kadar yani. Ona öğretmen ve ailesi gözleyecek yani.

Sultan: Siz peki kendi çocuğunuzun sınıfta olmasını istermiydiniz.

Sude: ...O konuda ben çocuğuma bakarım, ... yani arkadaşlarına zarar veriyorsa, sınıfta sürekli dersi kaynatacak şeyler, onlar için ayrı bir sınıf olabileceğini düşünebilirim yani.

Sultan: The parents don't want Nese to be in a different classroom.

Sude: But, how are the observations of the child? Well, does she harm her friends? Is she disrupting the classroom? If she is a well-behaved child, yes, it can be possible.

Emine: Yes, there is that.

Sultan: Veysel looks like a well-behaved child?

Sude: He looks well behaved. According to his friends, he sometimes is disrupting the classroom. Well, how much is that? The teacher and the parents will observe him.

Sultan: Do you want him in your child's classroom?

Sude: In that point, I will think about my child, if he [SwD] harms his friends, if he does things that disrupt the classroom, I would think that there should be another classroom for them.

In this excerpt, I initiated the conversation by telling them Nese's parents did not want her to be placed in special education. Then, Sude started her statement by saying, “but” which mirrored their figured worlds of education in terms of the actors' roles and

responsibilities (i.e., division of labor) and characteristics. Sude stressed that SwD should be observed closely in terms of whether they were harmful to other students and well behaved in the classroom. If Nese was a well-behaved child, then, for Sude and other participants, she could stay in the GE classroom. I asked if they wanted Veysel, a child with autism in the fourth grade, in their children's classroom. Although Sude seemingly agreed with my assumption about positioning Veysel as a well-behaved child, she might have hidden her actual thoughts about Veysel because she stated that other students positioned him as disruptive. She prioritized her child's education by saying, "I will think at my child" over SwDs.

Ayca shared her experiences of inclusion of a child with a disability in her daughter's kindergarten classroom. She reflected that she and other parents were caring and supportive towards her, which was considered a positive inclusive environment. She expressed

Ayca: Hani benim gibi olan insanlara rastgelmiş demek ki çocuk. Kimse itiraz etmedi hani onun varlığından kimse rahatsız olmadı, tam tersine hepimiz onu aramıza alalım, o çocuk o dört kıtalık şiiri okuduğu zaman bile biz çok hepimiz mutlu olduk, hepimiz duygulandık, gözlerimiz yaşardı. Hani kendi çocuğumuz gibi... Herkes çok aşırı ılımlı olduğundan değil, o çocuk hakkında olumlu düşünüp, normalde problemlili çocuklar da vardı, hani bunu istemiyoruz dediğimiz çocuk da vardı.

Gulcicek: İşte çocuğun davranışlarına göre... Eğer saldırgansa...Cocukları rahatsız edici, ya da derste uyumu çok bozucu bir şey yoksa...

Ayca: ...Aynen.

Gulcicek: ...Kabullenilebiliyordur...

Ayca: ...Dereceye göre.

Gulcicek: ...Cocuğun davranışına göre o otistik derecesine göre bence birazcık da kabullenip kabullenilmemesi.

Ayca: Well, she probably came across people like me. Nobody dispute about it, nobody worried about her existence. In contrast, everybody wanted to integrate

her. Even, when that child read four stanzas of poetry, we were very happy, we were emotional, our eyes mourned. Like as if she was our child...It wasn't because everybody were so hospitable thinking positive about that child, normally, there were also some other problematic children, like children who we openly did not want.

Gulcicek: You see, it is about the child's behavior...if s/he aggressive... if there is no behavior to disrupt other children or the harmony of the classroom.

Ayca: Exactly

Gulcicek: S/he might have been accepted.

Ayca: Depends on the degree of disability

Gulcicek: Acceptance or non-acceptance is related to the child's behavior, related to his/her degree of disability.

After she told about her experiences with inclusive education, Gulcicek tied this context with that of SwD's behavior. The parents agreed on that if SwD's did not have any disruptive behaviors in a GE classroom, then s/he could have been accepted by the teachers, parents, and children. Thus, she thought that acceptance or non-acceptance was related to SwD's behaviors and degree of the disability, which was also discussed in other focus groups. Derya,

Derya: Engel turune gore. Down sendromlu bir çocuk sinifa daha cabuk ayak uydurabilir bence.

Oznur: Ama down sendromunun da dereceleri var değil mi? Yüksek derece şiddet uygulayan ya da iste yine ailenin eğitimi var mesela goruyorum ben hani saldırgan olabiliyorlar. Onlar bence ayri bir eğitim almalı.

Derya: Depends on disability type. I think a child with Down syndrome can easily fit into classroom.

Oznur: But, Down syndrome has degrees, right? They could be aggressive and violent even if his/her families were educated. They should get a separate education.

In this excerpt, Derya also associated placement decisions with type of disability and aggressiveness. Although she considered a Down syndrome child's fit in GE classroom easier, Oznur raised different degrees of Down syndrome. For parents, SwD

who were perceived as violent and aggressive should get a separate education. Further, she stated that,

Gulcicek: Şimdi bütün okullarda mutlaka bi özürlü çocuk sınıflara vermeye çalışıyorlar. Şimdi otizmin derecesi ne? Çok şey olanları [agir] tabii ki özel rehabilitasyona gönderiyorlar. Ama öğrenebilecek kapasitedeyse...Çok öğrenemeyen bi çocuksa onu zaten, yani okul bile kabul etmiyor. Ama, bişeyleri öğrenebiliyorsa, çocuğun burada öğrenmesi bunların seviyesine gelecek anlamında olmuyor zaten. O çocuk...ne öğrenebilirse artık...ufak... Birkaç davranış bile öğrenebilse.

Ayca: Müfredat takip etmesi şey değil yani. Hani sene sonunda da çıkıp dört kıtalık bir şiiri okuyabilmesi hani müsamerede. Annesinin mutluluğu, çocuğun mutluluğu, hani çocuğun katılımı... Çok şey kattı.

Dunya: Evet.

Gulcicek: Now, they [administrators] try to assign at least one SwD to each classroom. Well, what is the degree of autism? Of course, they will send the ones who are more [severe] to rehabilitation. However, if they have a capacity to learn...if the child is not able to learn that much, as a matter of fact, the school doesn't accept them. However, if s/he is able to learn, this child's [SwD] learning in here [GE classroom] doesn't mean s/he [SwD] reach these children's [other children] level. What s/he can learn anymore...little...even s/he can learn some behaviors.

Ayca: It doesn't mean following the curriculum. It is like being able to read four stanzas of a poem at the end of a semester ceremony. The mother's happiness, the child's happiness, well that child's participation... s/he contributed on many things.

Dunya: Yes.

In this excerpt, Gulcicek raised a shared opinion about SwD's "capacity to learn," which weighed on their inclusion within or exclusion from classroom activity systems. The question of "who decides? Whose capacity is considered to be enough?" could be raised. The answer to these questions mirrored the expected division of labor and roles in figured worlds of education to be a member of the GE classrooms, which were related to how power was operationalized in the classroom activity systems. Parental low-

expectations of SwD were noticeable in Gulcicek statement, “this child’s [SwD] learning in here [GE classroom] doesn’t mean s/he [SwD] reach these children’s [other children] level.” Ayca’s reflection on her previous experiences about a SwD’s reading a poem at the end of the school ceremony limited inclusive education conceptualization to happiness of the mother and child.

Pitying of SwD appeared in the parents’ talk. For example, Ecem stated that “Yani zarar vermediği surece, o da bir seylerden öğrensin sonuçta. Yazık o cocugun da hakki sonuçta. Ama dediği gibi problem ciktiği surece de ayri sinif olabilir. (Well, as long as s/he doesn’t harm, ultimately s/he also learn from things [activities]. What a pity, education is a right of that child too. However, as long as there are problems, a separate classroom can be possible).” The right of education of SwD’s was connected with parents’ emotions related to pitying. This emotional explanation mirrored that SwD’s access to education was perceived as a treat rather than a right.

Parents’ histories of education influenced their imagination of the possibility of inclusive education. For instance, Sude’s previous negative experiences of inclusion of a deaf student in the classroom shaped her thinking about lack of infrastructure, lack of teacher training, and lack of awareness of other students towards difference.

Sude: Yani once var ya bizim temelimiz yok. Once ogretmenler o konuda bilinçli olsa, öğrencileri de eğitir hepsini. Ama ogretmenlerimiz ne derece bilinçli bu konuda. Once ogretmenleri eğitsinler o zaman. Ben bilmiyorum, çocuklar katilmasin ama, ben çocuklar acisindan kotu olacagini düşünüyorum. Cunku ogretmenler eğitimli değil. Çocuklar da oyle. Bu gerçek yani bizim ülkemizde. Benim yasadigim köyde bir tane komsumuzun oglu dogustan duymuyordu. 7 yasinda ameliyat oldu çocuk kulaktan, iste alet filan takildi. Duymaya basladi. Ama bu ilk duyduğu anda onu okula göndersen ne derece saglikli. Tabii onu eğitim merkezlerine gönderdiler, once cunku çocuk konusmayi bilmiyordu. Once konusmayi öğrendi. Mesela aynanın karsisina geçiyordu. Cunku agzindan cikanla

duyduđu sey cok deđiřik geliyordu ona. Cunku hareketleri tuhaf oluyordu. Hadi sen bu cocugu o okulun iine koy, e ođrenciler mecbur onunla dalga gecekler yani. Kacinilmaz bir son... Sonra iste konusmayi ođrenince okula yazdirdilar...ve o nasıl bir sorunla karřılařtı biliyor musun... Ogretmeni buna vurmuř. Tokat atmis ocuk yaramazlık yapmis galiba, bak ogretmen ne kadar eđitimsiz bu konuda. Ve ameliyatli kulagina denk gelmiř.

Sultan: Aaa sınıf ođretmeni?

Sude: Evet.

Sude: Well, first, we don't have an infrastructure. First, if the teachers were conscious about that [inclusion], then they would educate other children and everybody else. However, how much are our teachers conscious about it? First, they should educate the teachers. I don't know, but the children [SwD] don't participate in [GE classroom], I think it [inclusive education] will be bad for them, because teachers are not educated on that, thus the children. This is the reality in our country. In my town where I was living, one of our neighbor's sons wasn't able to hear by birth. He had a surgery when he was at 7 years old. A [hearing] tool was implanted. He started to hear. Then, of course, they sent her to an [special] education center. At first, he didn't know how to talk. He sat in front of the mirror, because his talk was different for him when he heard it, because his movements were weird. Let's put him to a school, then for sure students bully him. This is inevitable... After he learned talking, they sent him to a school. And do you know what kind of problem he faced? His teacher hit him. The teacher hit his face. I guess he misbehaved. See, how much uneducated the teacher was about this. And the hit came to his ear.

Sultan: The primary school teacher?

Sude: Yes.

Herein, Sude's histories of education in regard to the abusive experiences of a deaf student in fifth grade led her to not believe in inclusive education practices for SwD. In her narrative, the fifth grade teacher's physical abuse to her friend's son who had surgery for hearing made her think about the lack of teacher training for inclusion of SwD. Additionally, she believed that SwD could be bullied by other students who had perceived to have lack of awareness towards SwD. She described these situations as the reality of Turkey. Thus, she argued that SwD should not have been included in GE

classroom, which would negatively affect SwD. She generalized this negative experience across Turkey, which constrained imagining the possibility of inclusive education.

Although parents set certain prerequisites for SwD to fit into GE classrooms, they also believed that the teacher had some prejudices towards Nese, the child with autism in the vignette. For instance, after I asked about what they thought about the teacher, Volkan, Derya, and Oznur discussed

Sultan: Öğretmen hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz?

Oznur: Öğretmen bence onyargılı davranmış.

Derya: Evet onyargılı davranmış.

Oznur: Daha destekleyici, daha pozitif...

Derya: Biraz daha cabalasıydı. Cabalaması gerekirdi daha doğrusu bence.

Sultan: Ne yapabiliirdi mesela cabalarken öğretmen?

Derya: Ona daha fazla vakit ayırabiliirdi boş zamanlarında birebir...

Oznur: Yani etkileyeceği çocuklar var, ama bu bence öğretmenin anlatarak çocuklara bilinçlendirmesi onları, iste bilinçlenirse o çocuğun daha çok destek olacağını düşünüyorum. Pat diye bir otistik çocuğun hani sınıfa girip de çocuklar bir anda ne olduğunu anlamayabilir dalga geçebilir ama bunun en öğretmenin empoze etmesi diye düşünüyorum.

Oznur: Ama çocuklar burada mutlu gibi. Yani oyle çok şeyi yok gibi. Bu sadece öğretmenin kendine zor geldiği için de olabilir. Ama fedakârlık yapıp bir iki saat de kendisi birebir eğitim verebilir diye düşünüyorum.

Derya: Ama sadece okulda bitmiyor ki. Aileden de etkileniyor sonuçta diğer çocuklar.

Sultan: What do you think about the teacher?

Oznur: I think the teacher behaved with prejudice.

Derya: Yes, the teacher behaved with prejudice.

Oznur: [He should have been] more supportive, more positive...

Derya: He should have tried a little more. I think he should have tried more.

Sultan: What kinds of things could the teacher have done while he was trying?

Derya: He could have spent more time to him, in his spare time, one-on-one.

Oznur: Well, there are children to be affected, but I think the teacher should have other children gotten conscious, if they had, I think they would support him more. All of a sudden, if a child with autism participates in the classroom, other children

might not understand what is happening, they might bully him. However, the teacher can impose that [consciousness]

Oznur: However, the children look happy in here. Well, it looks he doesn't have many problems. That might have happened just because it was hard for the teacher. However, I think he could teach him one-on-one by sacrificing one or two hours.

Derya: It doesn't end at school. Children are also influenced by their parents.

In this conversation, the parents thought that the teacher's decision of referring Nese to special education was a premature, which could reflect his prejudices. This thought was guided by their interpretation of the photo in which they perceived the students as happy. Instead, they argued teachers had the power to create an inclusive environment by getting other children's acceptance of SwD and by providing extra time to support her learning.

Parents on Kurdish Students' Experiences.

Parents in two focus groups discussed the educational experiences of Kurdish students (KS) while reflecting on the video. Their narratives were related to their construction of Kurdish identity and the inherent tensions of using Turkish and Kurdish language as a tool within the education context. Parents, who lived in the Eastern region, reflected that the movie was representative of their experiences. For instance, Ecem,

Ecem: Bizler de Dogu'ya gittiğimiz için tam bizleri yansitiyor. Erzincan'a filan gittik de çok berbat yerler varmış, arkadaşlar diyor ev bile bulamıyoruz bazen ahirdan inekleri cikartip ev yaptığımız olduğu da oluyor diyor.

Ecem: It [the movie] reflects us very well as we also went to the East. We went to Erzincan but there are worse places. Our friends tell that they could not find a house; they tell that they even had to take off cows from a barn to make it a house.

Ecem referred to social and economic constraints in rural areas in the Eastern region, in which even finding a house could be hard. These parents had direct experiences with the sociocultural context.

As they were watching the video, parents' initial reactions mirrored the lack of awareness and knowledge about KS' experiences and sociocultural historical and ecological differences. The parents created a binary between us versus them. For instance, Dunya stated, "Başka bir ülkede öğretmenlik yapıyor gibi di mi? (Isn't he looks like he is a teacher in another country?)." Her surprise showed the lack of awareness and knowledge about the educational practices in predominantly Kurdish-speaking towns.

Sude, asked,

Ecem: [video sac tarama sahnesi]. Su yok. Sabun yok. Keçe gibi sac.

Sude: Bu ne zamanki. Yeni mi?

Sultan: Yeni. Sanırım 2010 olabilir.

Ecem: Yazık ya, bu çocuklara da yazık.

Ecem: [a scene about a mother combs her daughter's hair harshly]. There is no water. No soap. Hair is like a felt.

Sude: Well, when did that happened? Recently?

Sultan: Yes. I guess it was in 2010.

Ecem: What a pity, what a pity for these children.

The movie's depiction of sociocultural-ecological constraints of the town made Sude wonder about the year of the movie. The current date of events led parents to pity the KC. Gulcicek also raised social and ecological inequities in her reflection.

Gulcicek: E yani şimdi aynı ülkede yaşıyoruz diye düşünüyorsun tabii ki. Aynı şartlarda değilsin bir kere. Onun da farkı var. Aynı şartlarda değilsin, ama öğretmen özveriyle bir şeyler öğretmeye çalışıyor...Doğal olarak da aynı şartlarda değiliz.

Gulcicek: Obviously, you wonder if you live in the same country. First, you are not [living] in the same conditions. That also makes a difference. You are not [living] in the same conditions, but the teacher tries to teach something with devotion. Naturally, we are not in the same conditions.

By questioning whose experiences reflected Turkish living conditions, Gulcicek stressed social and ecological inequities among them and Kurdish people. By saying their surrounding natural habitat was different, she referred to ecological constraints that were caused by mountainous geography. For her, although there are social and ecological inequities, the teacher was conceived as devoted to teaching KS.

The movie depicted language challenges between the teacher and Kurdish students. Turkish-only language policy, as a tool and rule, mediated the parents' language ideologies and beliefs about expected language practices within classroom activity systems. Except one parent, Dunya, all other parents supported the teacher's language practices in the movie, which reflected their Turkish-only language ideologies. Dunya's opinions about Kurdish language usage in classroom created tensions among participants. Power dynamics among languages privileged Turkish language practices over the Kurdish language. While they were watching the scene when the teacher was telling the students to speak only Turkish, Dunya stated, "Ayy! Esniyolar ama bu yaklaşım yanlış. Onun da bence Kürtçe öğrenmesi lazım, de mi? Çocukları anlaması lazım. (Ugh! They are yawning, but this approach is wrong. He also needs to learn Kurdish, right? He needs to understand the children.)" Gulcicek and Ayca opposed her opinion by arguing using another language was not practical, the requirement of the Turkish-only policy, and expressing that the use of another language led to social segregation.

Gulcicek: Ya ama o zaman Somalideki çocuk geldiğinde Somalice mi öğrenecek öğretmen?

Dunya: Ama o ayrı eğitim alacak ya...
Gulcicek: Ama öğretmen devletin öğretmeni.
Ayca: Yani...
Dunya: Evet!
Gulcicek: Öğrenmeyecek bence.
Ayca: ...Lazca eğitim veren, Çerkezce, 36 etnik dilde eğitim veren öğretmen yetiştirmen lazım.
Dunya: Hayır, hayır. O anlamda değil. Bir iki kelime de olsa çocukları anlayabilecek bir seviyeye gelmesi gerekmiyor mu?

Gulcicek: But then when a Somalian child comes, will the teacher learn Somali?
Dunya: But s/he gets a separate education.
Gulcicek: But the teacher is a state teacher.
Ayca: Well...
Dunya: Yes!
Gulcicek: I think s/he will not learn it [Kurdish]
Ayca: ... Then, you need to train teachers who can teach in Laz and Circassian, can teach in 36 different ethnic languages.
Dunya: No, no. Not in that way. Doesn't he need to know one or two [basic] sentences to understand the children?

Dunya disclosed her opinion about her disagreement with the teacher's approach to using only Turkish. However, Gulcicek opposed her position by arguing about the impracticality of using other languages and the impossibility of training teachers to become competent to teach other languages. By saying, "*but the teacher is a state teacher,*" she disclosed the underlying regulative reason of the state laws about Turkish-only policy. For parents, teachers were expected to follow the state rules. Although parents were judgmental about many educational state laws, if their conceptual tools or ideologies aligned with state, they would propose the laws as a regulative tool for what should be practiced in classrooms. The power dynamics between Dunya and Gulcicek was noticeable in their positions. While Dunya was waiting for approval from them by stating her opinion as questions, Gulcicek dominated the conversation by asserting the

state rules and impossibility and impracticality of learning other languages. The discussion followed:

Gulcicek: O zaten oraya öğretmen olarak gidiyorsa, kendisi onlara benzemeyecek...

Ayca: Ya sen İngilizce dersine girersin de İngilizce öğretmeni Türkçe konuşmaz ya...

Dunya: Hayır! Siz yanlış anladınız. Türkçe eğitim vercek. Ama öğretmen de şu çocukları anlamıyor. İsmi bile anlamıyor.

Gulcicek: Ama işte...

Dunya: Bu da gene sistemin yanlışlığını göstermiyor mu?

Gulcicek: Ama çocuklar eğer onun öyle Kürtçe konuştuğunu öğrenirlerse zaten Kürtçe konuşmaya devam edecekler

Ayca: Bu dili [Kürtçe] öğrenmeye kalkarsa, hiç uğraşmazlar.

Gulcicek: Öğretmen hiç o çizgiden kopmadan hep Türkçe konuşması lazım ki çocuklar Türkçe öğrensün.

Ayca: Aynen. Aynı bizim İngilizce öğretmenlerimiz gibi...

Dunya: Ama burada eğitim veremez öğretmen ona... Yarım yamalak olur. Anlamı olmaz...

Gulcicek: ...Çünkü resmi dil Türkçe ve sen orda devletin öğretmenisin ve oraya Türkçe dilde eğitim vermek için gidiyorsun.

Gulcicek: If he is going there as a teacher, he will not be like them.

Ayca: It is like when you take an English class teacher doesn't speak Turkish [at all].

Dunya: No! You misunderstood me. He teaches in Turkish, but the teacher doesn't understand the children. He doesn't even understand their names...doesn't that also show the fault of the system?

Gulcicek: But if the children learn that he speaks Kurdish, then they will continue to speak Kurdish.

Ayca: If he tries to learn this language [Kurdish] they [students] will not try [to learn Turkish]

Gulcicek: The teacher needs to speak Turkish without changing his approach in order for children to learn Turkish.

Ayca: Exactly, like our English teachers...

Dunya: However, a teacher cannot teach them here. That would be a slipshod job. There is no meaning.

Gulcicek: ...because the official language is Turkish, and you are a state teacher, and you are going there to teach them in the Turkish language.

Gulcicek's statement, "If he is going there as a teacher, he will not be like them," showed us the binary between Turkish and Kurdish - an us versus them dichotomy. It also signaled Kurdish identity as undesirable. Ayca justified the teachers' Turkish-only approach by arguing a traditional approach to teaching English as a second language, in which English teachers usually ban talking Turkish to push students to talk in English. Dunya felt that she was misunderstood, as if she suggested not using Turkish so that she stressed again that she also thought that the teacher should teach in Turkish. However, she also brought up the issue of communication between the teachers and the students. Then, she criticized systemic inequities by raising a question, "doesn't that also show the fault of the system?" Without considering her question, Gulcicek and Ayca argued that the students would not try to learn Turkish if they knew the teacher could speak Kurdish. They continued to assert that the teacher should use a Turkish-only approach to support KS' Turkish language proficiency. Dunya complicated their conceptual tools of Turkish-only practice, which she conceived as meaningless within this education activity system. For this activity system contradiction occurred between tools (e.g., Turkish only ideology and practice) and the object (e.g., teaching Turkish). However, the parents proposed the larger interconnected education and political activity systems that set Turkish as an official language and a rule for Turkish language practice, which mediated micro classroom activity systems. This belief privileged the Turkish language over the Kurdish language and disempowered Dunya's argument from the point of view of Gulcicek and Ayca.

Parents in another focus group also agreed with the teachers' approach of banning talking Kurdish (i.e., rule) in the classroom to teach Turkish (i.e., object).

Sude: E tabi artik biliyorlar neticede Kurtceyi. Herseyi biliyorlar. "Adin ne? Bu ne?" diyor. Kurtce olarak biliyorlar. Ikinci sey olarak Turkce öğretiyor ne güzel. Nasil biz Ingilizceyi öğrenelim diye ikinci dil olarak hevesleniyorsak öğretmenin de yaptigi cok güzel sey. İyi de yasaklamis. Öğrensinler cunku. İyi yani bence öğretmenin yaptigi...Bir yere gittiği zaman bir Dogu'da var Kurtce, ama çocuklar buyuyunce sürekli disari cikacak yani. Konuşacak edecek. Mesela haberlerde olsun bir röportaj yaptiklarında yaslılarla Turkce bilmiyorlar yani. Ama simdiki geleceğin bilmesi daha iyi.

Sude: Sure, they speak Kurdish now. They know everything. He asks, "What is your name? What is this?" They know [them] in Kurdish. He teaches Turkish as a second language, how nice! Just like how we get motivated to learn English as a second language, what the teacher does is very good. That is good that he banned it [Kurdish] because they should learn [Turkish]. I think what the teacher does is good. When s/he goes to somewhere [else] [s\he is going to notice that] Kurdish is only in the East, but s\he will go outside [of the East] constantly when they get older. They speak [Turkish]. For example, when reporters interview the elderly on the news, they don't speak Turkish. However, it is better that this generation speaks [Turkish].

Parents conceived the Turkish language as a resource, a key tool, to be able to participate in education activity systems. It set the primary object of the activity as teaching Turkish for Kurdish-speaking children. Parents assumed that Kurdish children eventually knew Kurdish, and naturally they continued to speak Kurdish. However, parents asserted that practicing Turkish was challenging due to lack of Turkish speaking people in the town. They associated KS experiences about learning Turkish with their experiences of learning English as a second language. Thus, parents believed that banning native language (e.g., Turkish or Kurdish] was a good approach to learning a second language (e.g., English or Turkish). However, like teachers, parents did not consider Kurdish as a resource for success. This situation might vary ecologically. For

instance, although the parents and the teachers believed that KS continued to maintain their Kurdish eventually, the experiences of KS living in the west might be different in terms of language maintenance. Mexican parents who lived in Mexican-Arizona border preferred English-only language instruction for their children, because ecologically children were able to practice and maintain their Spanish in a predominantly Spanish-speaking community (Arzubiaga & Adair, 2010; Tobin, Arzubiaga, & Adair, 2013).

Gulcicek and Dunya continued to discuss the teacher's language approach in relation to the rules (e.g., Turkish-only language policy) in education activity system.

Gulcicek: Ama senin anadilin Türkçeyse, burada Türkçe eğitim veriyorsan, bence öğretmen Türkçe öğretmeli.

Dunya: Türkçe eğitim verilsin. Onu demiyorum ben. O eğitimi anlayabilmesi için o çocuğun o dili öğrenmesi lazım.

Gulcicek: Ama burda bir kere çocuk birinci sınıfta ve aynı ülke sınırları içerisinde yaşıyorsan

Dunya: Ama bilmiyor Türkçe

Gulcicek: Ama bu çocuğun bildiği düşünülüyor iste.

Dunya: Ama bak düşünölmek yanlış bir şey. O çocuk Türkçe bilmiyor. Bu çocuk Türkçe adın nedir diye sorulduğunda cevap veremiyor. Bu eğitimden bir fayda bekleyemezsin... Oraya boşuna kurup boşuna öğretmen gönderiyorsun. Bir anlamı yok. Göstermelik kâğıt üstünde bizim o okullarımız

Gulcicek: But if your native language is Turkish if you give education in Turkish, I think the teacher should teach in Turkish.

Dunya: Education is given in Turkish. In order for him/her [student] to benefit from the education, that child should learn that language.

Gulcicek: ... However if a child, who is in first grade, if you live within same country's border...

Dunya: But s/he doesn't speak Turkish

Gulcicek: But it is assumed that that child speaks it [Turkish].

Dunya: But, look, this assumption is wrong. That child doesn't speak Turkish. That child cannot answer when what your name is asked to him/her. You cannot expect any value from this education...

In this discussion, Gulcicek one more time unpacked the rules (e.g., Turkish-only policy) of the education activity system, which the teacher expected to follow. She stressed the native language of Turkey was Turkish, which she believed it should be practiced in the education system. Dunya did not oppose their belief about Turkish was the language of education, yet she tried to dismantle the reality of KS, who did not know Turkish. Gulcicek's statement of living within same country's border reflected that subjects (e.g., people who live in Turkey regardless of their ethnicity) should follow the rules that regulate the education activity system. By saying "but s/he doesn't speak Turkish," Dunya raised contradictions in the system, which did not include all people who lived within Turkish border. In response to Dunya's contradiction, Gulcicek stated that it was assumed by the activity system that Kurdish children knew Turkish. Then, Gulcicek framed this practice as wrong, and claimed it did not support KS' education. Thus, given that Dunya agreed on the language of education should be the official language, Turkish, she further clarified her opinion, "...Hayır öğretmen bak Kürtçe eğitim versin demiyorum. Türkçeyi o çocuklara öğretmek lazım ilk etapta. bir yıl, uc ay, ya da bes ay, Turkce egitim verilmeli. (*No, Look I don't say that the teacher gives education in Kurdish. In the first place, there is a need to teach Turkish to those children. Turkish should be given for one year, three months, or five months.*) Dunya suggested a Turkish preparation period to support KS' Turkish language as a fundamental mediating tool to be able to participate fully in education activity system.

Gulcicek and Ayca indicated that European countries (e.g., Austria, Germany) and the United States, which were perceived as developed countries, also privileged and

practiced their official language regardless of immigrant people's native language (e.g., Turkish).

Ayca: Benim yegenim okula basladi Avusturyada. Benim yegenim Almanca bilmiyor. Yazik bu çocuk Almanca bilmiyor Turk cocugu deyip de buna Turkce öğreterek ise baslamiyorlar.

Gulcicek: Evet, direk Almanca.

Ayca: Benim yegenim Almanca öğreniyor okulda. Hem okulunda, okuma yazmayı öğreniyor, hem okulda o dili öğreniyor çünkü evde de Türkçe konuşuluyor. Hem Almancayı öğreniyor, hem okul mufredatını öğreniyor aynı anda yapabiliyor. Çünkü o yastaki çocuk kapmaya çok müsait. Aynı anda iki dil bile öğretebilirsin.

Dunya: Ha eğitim yapılırken o dili öğrenir mi diyorsun. Ayri bir cabaya gerek yok mu diyorsun.

Ayca: Tabii ki.

Dunya: O zaman tamamdır. Benim demek istediğim oydu zaten.

Gulcicek: Söyle düşün, aynı ülkenin içerisinde, televizyonda bile bazı şeyleri görünce bir yatkınlık var. Çocuk sehre bile inse yazıların hepsi Türkçe mi? "Hayir." "Türkçe" "Türkçe konuşan yok mu?" "Var." Zaten bir kulak dolgunluğu bir şey var. Çünkü bu ülke sınırları içerisinde. Onun Türkçe bilmediğini düşünmemek lazım.

Ayca: Babası Türkçe biliyor [filmdeki]

Gulcicek: Ama Somaliden gelen çocuk zaten hiçbir şey bilmiyor. Sen buradaki sisteme dahil edeceksen tabii ki ona Türkçeyi vereceksin...

Ayca: My nephew started school at Austria. My nephew doesn't speak German. They don't teach in Turkish by saying what a pity that this Turkish child doesn't speak Turkish.

Gulcicek: Yes, directly German.

Ayca: My nephew studies [in] German at school. He learns both reading and writing and that language [German] at school because Turkish is spoken at home. He both learns German and school curriculum.

Dunya: Then do you claim that s/he learns that language during this education? Do you mean that no extra support needed?

Ayca: Of course!

Dunya: Then it is ok. That was what I wanted to say.

Gulcicek: Think this way. You are in the same country. There is a predisposition when you see things on television. When a child go to the city, are all the writings

Kurdish? No. Turkish. Language is acquired by listening because you are within this country's borders. We shouldn't think that they don't speak Turkish.

Ayca: His dad speaks Turkish [in the movie]

Gulcicek: However, children who came from Somalia don't know anything for sure. When you include him/her into the system, of course, you teach him/her Turkish.

In this excerpt, parents proposed other countries' educational practices with immigrants to justify their beliefs about Turkish-only language practice. Ayca provided her nephew's language experiences in Austria, in which a binary was created between home and school language practices. Most of the Western practices, especially in education, were perceived as developed and idealized by participants. Additionally, similarities that the parents described in the approach to different languages between German and Turkish education systems might have led parents to acknowledge Austrian practices.

Parents also differentiated Somali and KS' language experiences. While Somalian children were perceived as outsiders to the Turkish culture and language, Kurdish children were considered as insiders in terms of being exposed to the Turkish language in everyday life. Kurdish children's Turkish citizenship also led parents to argue that the system could assume Kurdish children knew Turkish. Furthermore, they elaborated it was not practical to use another language (e.g., Kurdish) throughout the education system.

Ayca indicated that:

Ayca: ...Orta okulda tarih öğretmeni Kurtce bilecek, iste lisede matematik öğretmeni Kurtce bilecek.

Gulcicek: Tabii ki. O zaman zaten o insani tamamen ayirmis olursun.

Ayca: Üniversitede Kurtce eğitim alması gerekecek... Zaten Kurdoloji diye bir bölüm var yani üniversitelerin bir cogunda var. Kendi isterse öğreniyorsun.

Gulcicek: Nasıl bu oraya gidince o dili öğrenmek zorunda. Nasıl senin kardeşin Almanyaya gittiginde Almanyayı öğrendi. Onlar Türkçe mi öğrendiler.

Dunya: O kadar kalabilmek için sinava girdi.

Gulcicek: E orda o kadar Turk yasamasina, Turkce bilmesine rağmen. Adamlar sana sey mi yaptılar? “Hayir.” Sen özel okul kurarsın, özel okulda onu okutursun. Kürtçe okumasini istiyorsan cocugun, Kurtce okutursun degil mi...

Gulcicek: Soyle düşünebilirsin. O ogretmen o Turkce bilen çocuktan Kurtce olarak adin neyi öğrenebilirdi. Ve çocuklara oyle hitap edebilirdi ama o çocuklar o zaman hep oyle isteyeceklerdi. Turkce öğrenemezler o zaman. Hep öğretmenlerden Kürtçe sormasini isteyecekler. O öğretmen onu bence bilinçli olarak yapıyor. Bir adin neyi öğrenemez mi Kürtçe olarak. İnterneti acar, sözlüğü acar, birisine sorar gene öğrenir. Onu bilinçli olarak bence hep Türkçe soruyor. İzledigimiz sey boyunca hic Kurtce konuşmayacak bence bu ogretmen...Anlamadığını anladıkça konuşmazsa onu öğrenecek o çocuk. Bizimkiler gibi takir takir okumayacak tabii ki.

[video]

Dunya: Bir bizim çocukların eğitimine bak, bir de bunların.

Ayca: ...History teacher should speak Kurdish in a secondary school; math teacher should speak Kurdish in a high school.

Gulcicek: Of course! Otherwise you exclude that person completely.

Ayca: S/he needs to get an education in Kurdish in college... There already is a department called *Kurdologie* in many colleges. If you want to learn, you learn.

Gulcicek: How she [the researcher] goes over there [United States], she had to learn that language [English] your brother learned German when he went to Germany. Did they learn Turkish?

Dunya: He took an exam [German language exam] to stay over there [in Germany].

Gulcicek: Although there are many Turkish [people] living there, did they do something for you? “No.” You open a private school, you send him/her in that school. If you want your child to get an education in Kurdish, you send him to a school [teaches] in Kurdish.

Gulcicek: You can think in this way. A teacher can learn what is your name in Kurdish from a child who speaks Turkish. Moreover, he can address the children in that way, but then, children would always expect that. They cannot learn Turkish. They would always want the teacher to ask questions in Kurdish. I think that teacher does this consciously. Can't he learn “what is your name” in Kurdish? He can search the Internet, look at a dictionary, or ask someone. Then, he can learn. I think he consciously asks questions in Turkish. As we watch this movie, I don't think he will speak Kurdish.

Gulcicek: When that child understands that he cannot understand and speak, he can learn it [Turkish]. Of course s/he cannot read with ease like ours [our children]

[video]

Dunya: Look at our children's education and look at their education.

In this excerpt, Ayca found if Kurdish was incorporated in education activity system, then it should be integrated into further grades, which required other specialized teachers (e.g., history and math) to speak Kurdish. For them, these practices were not only impractical but also excluded KS from education by treating them differently. Thus, inclusive education could be conceptualized as being equal in practices or using the same practices across Turkey, rather than appropriating education for and responding to students' needs. Furthermore, maintaining and learning Kurdish was considered an individual responsibility such as attending the *Kurdologie* department, which was established in 2011 (<http://kurddili.artuklu.edu.tr>). In order for Dunya to compare language practices of Germany and Turkey, Gulcicek reminded her how he could go to Germany. Dunya said that his brother took a language exam to stay in Germany, which led Gulcicek to further state Germans did not learn Turkish to support his brother's education. She argued that parents could choose private schools if they wanted their children to get an education in Kurdish. However, there were no private schools that privilege the Kurdish language. Moreover, Gulcicek asserted that the teacher purposefully chose to use Turkish to improve Kurdish students' Turkish although he could learn and use some basic Kurdish. For her, using the Kurdish language could demotivate KS from practicing Turkish, but rather they should be pushed to use Turkish in order to communicate with the teacher. Gulcicek's final statement, "Of course s/he cannot read with ease like ours [our children]" revealed low-expectations of Kurdish

children due to language differences and other constraints. This statement could be interpreted as ironic given their argument of equal treatment [e.g., using Turkish-only practice] led KS to be able to participate in education activity system. On the other hand, Dunya's reflection on the video by telling, "look at our children's education, and look at their education," mirrored educational inequities between their children's education and KS education. Gulcicek connected these educational inequities to the lower level of the Turkish welfare system

Gulcicek: ...Egitim eşitlenebilir mi? Bu şekilde eğitim eşitlenmez. Nasıl bizim köydekiyle şehirdekimiz arasında fark varsa hala... Oraya da standart bir eğitim götürülmeli aslında.

Dunya: İhtiyaca göre.

Gulcicek: Maki'de standart bir eğitim yok. Makideki eğitim bakarsan aynı, ama seviye aynı değil. Seviye aynı olmadığı için hiç bir yerde standart bir eğitim yok. Ben çocuğumu Maki'de özel okulda okutabiliyor muyum. Okutamıyorum. Bazı şeyleri disardan takviye ediyorum. Bunu başka illerde onu da yapamıyorlar ya da o bizim burdaki eğitimi de yakalayamıyorlar. Ama bir büyük şehirdeki, ekonomik düzeyi çok iyi olanlar, her yerde her imkanı kullanabiliyorlar. Bu biraz ülkenin refah düzeyininin yükselmesinden ailelerin de seviyesinin hani hem ekonomik olarak hem kültürel olarak yükselmesinden geçiyor bence. Yoksa.

Gulcicek: ...Can education be equalized? Education cannot be equalized in this way. Just like how there still is a difference between our villages and cities...They [the government] should provide equal educational resources over there.

Dunya: Based on the needs.

Gulcicek: There is no standard education in Maki. If you look at education in Maki, it looks like the same, but the quality is not the same. Because the quality is not same, there is no standard education anywhere. Can I send my children to a private school in Maki? No, I cannot. I support him/her with other things from outside [extra-curricular activities]. Other cities cannot even do this or they cannot even find the education system as in here. However, people who are financially powerful and live in big cities can find all kinds of opportunities everywhere. That is related to both the country's welfare and the parents' socio-economical level.

In this excerpt, parents questioned the possibility of educational equity, which they perceived a challenge due to limited resources related to the lower level of the Turkish welfare system. Gulcicek indicated that educational inequities existed between East and West, small towns and cities, and small and big cities in terms of ecological affordances and constraints. Although parents believed that there should be a standard education and the government should provide equal resources for everyone, they did not consider the reality of Turkey to ensure equity in education. They asserted that there was a direct correlation between the economical system and education system in terms of ensuring equity for all. However, parents considered all students as a unit and ignored differences among groups and differences within groups. Ignoring these critical perspectives led parents to hinder the discussion on the kinds of resources needed for diverse student populations.

Kurdish Identity

Parents constructed Kurdish identity (e.g., conceptual tool) in relation to education and social life in their cultural worlds. Parents were positioned as dysfunctional when they could not support their children's education as opportunistic because of their use of government resources. Ayca, who lived in Eastern region, argued that government provided equal amount of resources for Kurdish families, yet they benefited from those resources in a bad way.

Ayca: Bence ayni imkânlar onlara da veriliyor. Ayni elektrik onlara da götürülüyor. Yolu inkâr etmek, elektriği kaçak kullanmak kesilmesine sebep olmak... Kesinlikle ayni imkanlar onlara da veriliyor. Çocuk yardımı burda yok, orda var. 5 cocugun olursa asgari ucret gibi bir ucret eline geçiyor. Cocugunu asiya goturuyorsun, ya da bir izlemeye goturuyorsun para aliyorsun devletten. Asi basina.

Gulcicek: Evet sen elektrik faturani bir ay yatirmedin mi burda elektriğini keserler.

Ayca: Benim elektrik faturam yâri yariya dustu buraya geldiğimizden beri

Gulcicek: Onlar orada kullanıyorlar sen burda oduyorsun...sen hic diyor musun, bir sey olduğunda devlet nerde? Kac defa dedin?

Ayca: O kadar cocugun olsa sen de bakamazsin.

Gulcicek: Ama onlar bir basliyorlar bu devlet nerde [diye].

Ayca: ... 3 cocuk istiyorlar 2 cocuga bakamiyorlar.

Dunya: Devletin ben oraya imkan goturmedigini de düşünmüyorum. Goturuyor, ama onlar almak istemediği için almıyorlar ve faturasini bu çocuklar çekiyorlar.

Ayca: I think the same resources are given to them [Kurdish people]. Same electricity is provided for them. Denying the roads [that are provided], causing the electricity cuts due to using it illegally...absolutely, the same resources are also provided to them. Child support doesn't exist here, but it is provided over there. If you have five children, you are likely to receive a minimum wage. When you take your child for vaccination or health monitoring, you get money from the government. [You get it] for each vaccination.

Gulcicek: If you don't pay your electricity bill for a month here, they [electricity staff] will cut it.

Ayca: My electricity bill has almost been cut in half since I moved to here.

Gulcicek: They use it over there, and you pay in here...Have you ever asked, when something happened, where the government was? How many times have you asked that?

Ayca: If you have that many children, you cannot take care of them.

Gulcicek: but they start asking that where the government is.

Ayca: ...They want three children, but they cannot take care of two.

Dunya: I don't think the government does not provide resources over there. They [the government] provide, but because they don't want to get benefit from those resources, they do not get it and children pay the price.

In this excerpt, the parents asserted that social and economic disparities of the Eastern region were not government dependent, yet the government equally allocated resources among regions. Ayca stated that Kurdish people (KP) were denied certain resources (e.g., roads), used electricity illegally, and go benefits from governmental child support. KP were positioned as opportunistic because they used these resources for their

benefit, which centered them the cause of problems. Furthermore, for parents, KP consistently blamed the government on any issue even for some that were related to KP's responsibility (e.g., having more children). Dunya constituted KS' identities as vulnerable; they were recipients of their parents' irresponsible actions. These positioned identities were also representative in another focus group. Ecem, for instance, stated that

Ecem: Biraz da kendileri de yapıyor. Orneğin bizler ya bir ya iki çocuk yapıyoruz. Bunlar herseyi devletten bekliyor. Adam 8-9 tane doğuruyor. Ne gereği var. İş imkanın yok, durumun yok yani. Yalan mi. Ondan sonra bir adam 2-3 tane kadınla evli yani. Biraz kendileri de yapıyor. Çok uyanıklar akıllılar yani. ... Yani düşünsene 9 çocukla devletten biz yardım bekliyoruz diyorlar. Devlet ne yapsın sizin 9-10 cocuga. Bir de maşallah okudular mi yani, ya milletvekili baya iyi bir sey oluyorlar yani. Akılli adamlar, Uyanıklar bence yani.

Ecem: They [Kurdish people] do that to themselves a little. For example, we have one or two children. They expect everything from the government. They have nine to ten children. Is that necessary? You don't have a job opportunity. You don't have the resources. Right? Also, he is married to two-three women. They do this to themselves a little. They are very smart and crafty... Imagine that they want help from the government for their nine children. What can the government do for your nine-ten children? When they get an education, they become a senator or more. Smart people. I think they are crafty.

In this excerpt, Ecem constituted us versus them binary with regard to the number of children they have and condemning their blaming of the government for not providing enough resources for them. For her, KP had nine or ten children without adequately planning economic, educational, and social resources. Furthermore, KP was positioned as irresponsible for their actions by blaming the government in terms of not adequately allocating resources. Moreover, she stated that if KP got an education, they had a higher status in society such as being able to become senators. Thus, she conceived them as "having their eyes open" and "smart." Ayca further stated,

Ayca: Mesela meslek lisesi öğrencisi 270 aylık burada alıyor mu? Orada alıyor

Gulcicek: Görmedik yani.

Ayca: Orada alıyor. Kizimi okula gönderiyorum diyor. Para alıyor.

Dunya: Devlet yanlis yapıyor o zaman degil mi. Cifte standart yapıyor.

Ayca: 270, 280 milyon alıyor.

Gulcicek: Onlar o magdurluklarini kullanarak bir ok seyden yararlanıyorlar aslinda. Onlarin bu isine geliyor.

Dunya: Cok çocuk doğurmak isine geliyor. Eğitim alip almadigi aileyi etkilemiyor.

Ayca: For example, does a vocational high school student get 270 Turkish Liras (TL) per month here? S/he [a Kurdish student] gets it over there.

Gulcicek: We haven't seen it.

Ayca: S/he [a Kurdish student] gets it over there. He [A Kurdish father] says, "I send my daughter to school," and [he] gets money.

Dunya: Then the government makes a mistake, right? They [the governors] apply double standards.

Ayca: They [Kurdish students] get 270 TL or 280 TL.

Gulcicek: Really, they use their victimhood to benefit from many things. It serves their purpose.

Dunya: Giving birth to many children serves their purpose. Whether their children get an education or not doesn't interest a family.

In this excerpt, Ayca explained that the government's financial support of the Eastern region was intended to increase educational access. This differentiated treatment/support was perceived as a bad practice, which created double standards. Parents conceived KP who positioned themselves as vulnerable getting benefits from government's differential treatment. They also positioned Kurdish families as dysfunctional/irresponsible for their children's education. Gulcicek positioned parents as unaware of their children's education.

Gulcicek: Cocuklarin degil, ailelerin bilinçli olmasi lazim. Aile bunu istemiyor. Sen oraya o okulu goturuyorsun. O öğretmeni veriyorsun ama o cocuklarin Turkceyi bildigini düşünerek obur çocuklarla ayni seviyede olduğunu düşünerek veriyorsun. Yani bu çocuklar evde Kurtce konuşup, nasıl Selin Almanya da Almanca öğretiyor çocuğuna...

Gulcicek: Not the children but the families should be conscious. The family doesn't want it. You take bring that school to there. You assign them to a teacher assuming that children speak Turkish and are at the same level with other children. If those children speak Kurdish at home like how Selin teaches her child German in Germany...

In this excerpt, Gulcicek perceived families as unaware of their children's education. She asserted that education was provided assuming there were no differences, such as linguistic and ability, among students across Turkey. Thus, the education activity system held culture blind beliefs and practices towards individual differences. Culture-blind ideology ignores the relationship between cultural differences and educational practices by treating each student as equal. Arzubiaga et al. (2008) defined culture blindness as "*ideology, (which) assumes that equity in a democratic society is achieved by ignoring cultural differences and that culture and cultural differences are inconsequential*" (p. 311). Therefore, parents created a binary between home and school arguing native language maintenance at home (e.g., Kurdish) was a parental responsibility and learning a new language (e.g., Turkish) at school should be practiced through a Turkish-only approach. By acknowledging Selin, who taught Turkish to her children at home, parents argued that Kurdish parents should also follow this binary between home and school linguistic practices. Further, Gulcicek raised educational inequities interconnected with the other systems, such as health disparities.

Gulcicek: Yani sadece eğitim sorunu olarak değil. Ülke genelinde refah seviyesi çok yüksek olmadığı için, bu sağlıkta eğitimde her şeyde yani her şey birbiriyle bağlantılı oluyor sonuçta. Ülkenin seviyesi yüksek olmadığı için de ordaki de bir şekilde eşit olmuyor yani eğitim olarak da eşit olmuyor yani. O çocukların hakkı var mı? Var. Ama devlet onu oraya göndermiş. ...Senin mesela esinin annesi babası çok mu okumuş insanlardı. Devlet sana o imkanı sundu. Gitti okudu. Burada da veriyor. Okumak isteyen aslında aileler, biraz iste ailelerin eğitilmesi.

Gulcicek: Well, this is not only an educational issue. Because the welfare level is not high across the country, this is interconnected with health and everything [other systems]. Because the welfare level of the country is not high, over there [Eastern part] is not equal in education. Do these children have rights? Yes. However, the government has [already] provided that over there... For example, are your husband's mother and his father highly educated people? The government provided that opportunity to him. He got the education. It [The government] provided it [same opportunities] here [Eastern region]. Families who want to get educated, it [benefiting opportunities] is [related to] a little bit educating the parents.

Gulcicek raised the complexity of the “educational issues,” which she conceived the lower level of Turkish welfare system as an underlying reason for these “educational issues.” She correlated welfare level of Turkey with educational inequity that was experienced by many people including KS. She argued that individuals should be responsible for benefiting from the opportunities that were provided equally by the Turkish government. However, the parents did not critically discuss whether equal treatment or providing equal resources ensure educational equity for diverse students. Thus, Kurdish parents were positioned as irresponsible/dysfunctional by not using these opportunities that were provided equally by the government. Later in the discussion, I asked for ways to be more inclusive in education. Dunya suggested building boarding schools for KS to support their education.

Dunya: Bence ne yapılabilir biliyor musun? Bu çocukları alıp burda eğitilmeli. Ailelerden koparılmalı. Çocuk aileye gittiğinde hazır öğrendiğini unutuyor. Çok kötü örnek var. Hani bizden hep, mesela ailenizin yanından gidip yatılı okul okumadınız mı. Bu çocuklar alıp rehabilite edilebilir. Buralarda eğitilebilir.

Gulcicek: Ama aile çocukları zaten kullanıyor. Aile o çocukları göndermez.

Dunya: Ama devlet yaptırım yapamaz mı?

Ayca: Mayıs 15'ten sonra çocuklar okula gelmiyor.

Dunya: Fakat, bu çocuk istismari. Cocuğu işçi olarak kullanıyor ya. Devlet o cocuğu alıp okulunda yemesini içmesini yatmasını sağlarsa, eğitim verirse, sorun çözülür ya.

Gulcicek: Ulkenin refah seviyesi o kadar yüksek olacak ki, senin dediğin gibi çok büyük paraları bu sisteme yatirabilecek.

Dunya: In my opinion, do you know what can be done? The [Kurdish] children should be taken and educated in here. They should be taken from the families. When children go to their families, they forget what they had already learned. There are many bad experiences/modeling. For example, didn't you leave your families and study at a boarding school? These children can be taken and rehabilitated. They can be educated here.

Ayca: But families are already using their children. A family would not allow their children to leave.

Dunya: Cannot the government enforce it?

Ayca: Children don't come to school after May 15th.

Dunya: But, this is a child abuse. They use children as laborers. If the government provides food, accommodation at the school, I think the problem would be solved.

Gulcicek: In order for the government to provide that much financial resources to this system, the country's welfare level should be high.

Here, parents discussed boarding schools as a way to support KS' education.

However, Dunya's reflections on boarding schools disclosed deficit views towards Kurdish parents who were positioned as irresponsible in regard to their children's education. Furthermore, the Kurdish parents were perceived as harmful to their children's learning by not reinforcing school practices. Thus, she believed that boarding schools could rehabilitate children by providing an appropriate education in an isolated way. Although her statement was from a deficit perspective, Dunya, Gulcicek, and Ayca had histories of boarding schooling, starting from secondary school, which they considered beneficial for their current occupation (i.e., nurse). Therefore, through their useful experiences of boarding schooling, their thoughts could be interpreted as having good intentions to provide opportunities for Kurdish children. Parents indicated that the Kurdish families did not send their children to boarding school because they got benefits from their labor and that the children did not continue attending school by May 15th. For

parents, the practice of child labor was considered child abuse. Thus, the Kurdish parents were positioned as “abusers” of their children, who were perceived as vulnerable and passive in these processes. Although Kurdish parents’ cultural, historical, and economic context, in other words, ecocultural context, needed to be considered, parents were trapped within deficit views towards Kurdish parents. Without denying the boarding school suggestion of Dunya, Gulcicek indicated the impossibility of this approach due to lack of welfare level of the country.

At the same time, however, parents differentiated between educated and uneducated Kurdish people. They argued that “educated” Kurdish people’s practices were similar to their own. A teacher, Fatma, who participated in this study, was also present in Gulcicek’s, Dunya’s and Ayca’s focus group discussion. She reflected that

Fatma: Simdi doğudan gelip yerleşenler var. Okumuşlar var. Onlar niye 1 tane 2 tane çocuk yapıyor? Fazladan yapmıyor.

Gulcicek: Niye 10 tane yapmıyor, dimi?

Fatma: Pamuk’da [Batidaki bir şehir] bir suru Kurt vardı mesela doğudan gelen insanlar var

Gulcicek: Kurt olduğunu anlamazsin.

Fatma: Well, there are people, who migrated from the East [to the West]. Why do they have one or two children? Why don’t they have more?

Gulcicek: Why don’t they have ten [children], right?

Fatma: There are many Kurds in Pamuk [pseudonym of a city in Aeagon region]. There are many people, who came from the East.

Gulcicek: You can’t even realize that they are Kurds.

With these words, the teacher shared that educated Kurds only had one or two children and were different from uneducated Kurds who had approximately nine to ten children. Gulcicek’s statement, “you don’t realize that they are Kurds” reflected typical Kurdish identity as uneducated and undesirable. Therefore, assimilation towards being

Turkish and having Turkish practices were privileged over Kurdish ones in the system, which revealed that the system was exclusive rather than inclusive in its non-acceptance and acknowledgement of ethnic and linguistic differences. Dunya shared her “educated” friend’s attention about using grammatically correct Turkish in her talk.

Dunya: Benim arkadasim var. Turkce dil dersine gitti. Kurt bayan. Ya dedi ben Turkiyede yasiyorsam Turkce’yi mukemmel konusup ogrenmem lazim

Gulcicek: Oyle olmasi lazim

Dunya: Ve ben mesela Maki’ye yerlestim, Makilice konusuyorum ya, bana diyor ki niye duzgün kullanmiyorsun. Niye net kullanmiyorsun. Uyarıyor.

Dunya: I have a friend. She participated in a Turkish language class. That lady is Kurdish. She told me “if I live in Turkey, I need to learn and speak excellent Turkish.

Gulcicek: It should be like that.

Dunya: For example, I settled down in Maki. I speak in Maki’s dialect. She asked me why don’t I use the language properly. Why don’t you speak the language clearly? She warns me.

In this excerpt, Dunya cited her friend’s attention to learn and use Turkish appropriately by even taking a Turkish language class. Gulcicek also supported Dunya’s friend’s attempts. Dunya was even criticized and warned by her friend about not using appropriate Turkish. Therefore, using Turkish appropriately and privileging Turkish practices were expected by the parents.

Parents talked about Kurdish neighborhood in the Western regions, in which Kurdish identities were also associated with being violent and dangerous. Ecem used a metaphor, which equated Kurds with a virus.

Sude: Bursa’da iki tane mahalleye girilmiyor.

Ecem: Girilmez tabii diyorum ya nasıl gireceksin. Onlar Turkleri sevmiyorlar ki.

Sude: Hele bir çantanla git hemen çantan calinir anında.

Ecem: Bizim orda da oyle bir yer var. Oraya da ayni diyorlar.

Sude: Hani böyle bir lüks bir çanta al eline diyorlar is cantasi gibi hemen anında seni orada yok ederler diyorlar.

Ecem: Virüs gibiler. Her yerdeler. Ornegin bir kavga mi olucak, o ona diyor, didisina, emmisinin ne bileyim neyi geliyor. O kavgaya ne bileyim neyi geliyor. Sen ornegin bir Turk olarak 1 kisi gidiyorsun onlar orda 30 kisi toplaniyor. Ornegin Antalya'da Turk pazarcılara yer vermiyormis. Her tarafta Kurt. Haydi bir git de yap bir sey sat. Hadi bir domates sat satabiliyorsan erkeksen. Çok uyanik gözleri de acik. O yüzden yeter onlara. Bosver. Fazlasi zarar cunku bizlere zarari oluyor.

Sude: Benim kardeşimin oğlu mesela bir kavga etmiş. Abla diyor hepsi toplandılar diyor, hemen kavgaya geldiler yani diyormus, düşün yani. Hemen girdik içeri sesimizi cikartmadik diyor. Gecen gün internette baktim Olay gazetesi var benim seyde gene iki çocuk kavga etmişler o Dogulu diye koca bir mahalle toplanmışlar polisler gelmiş, olay karismis.

Sultan: Çocuklar küçük mu?

Sultan: Küçük küçük

Ecem: Farketmiyor. Küçük büyük adamlar taaa kundakta yetişiyor. İlmini alıyor.

Sude: You cannot get in two neighborhoods in Bursa.

Ecem: Sure, you cannot get in, how can you get in? They [Kurdish people] don't like Turks.

Sude: Especially if you go there with your purse, it will immediately be stolen.

Ecem: There is a place in our city. They [public] also tell the same things for there.

Sude: It has been told that if you go there with your expensive purse you would be vanished immediately.

Ecem: They are like viruses. They are everywhere. For example, let's say there is a fight. S/he tells many people. Related or unrelated people come for him/her. For example, you go there [fight] just by yourself as a Turk they come with 30 people. For instance, they [Kurdish] do not allow bazaar places for Turkish merchants. Kurds are everywhere. Sell something; sell tomato. Sell, if you can! They are very crafty, so these things [existing resources] are enough for them. Never mind. Giving more is harmful for us.

Sude: For example, my sister's son had a fight. She said, "They all got together" They immediately came to the fight, imagine it. She said, "We got inside immediately and kept silence." Last day, I saw online, there is a newspaper called "Olay." Two kids had a fight. Because that person was Eastern, they [Kurdish people] got together as a neighborhood. The cops came, and the situation got complicated.

Sultan: Are the kids young?

Sude: They are young.

Ecem: That doesn't make a difference. They [Kurdish people] are grown [like this] since babyhood. They learn the science for it [fight].

In this excerpt, parents' reflections on their experiences and the stories that they heard from other people about Kurdish neighborhoods disclosed the tension between Turkish and Kurdish identities. The us versus them dichotomy was created in the statement of Ecem, "they [Kurdish people] don't like us." The parents explained that getting into these neighborhoods was almost impossible because of the danger they associated with place and the tension among groups (i.e., Turkish and Kurdish). Therefore, parents constructed Kurdish people's identities as violent, criminal, supporting each other, and being like "virus." For them, Kurdish people were conceived as supporting each other in "fights" and "work" (e.g., merchant in a bazaar). The statement that, "they [Kurdish people] have grown [like this] since babyhood," revealed parents' deficit views towards Kurdish people, their parenting and more broadly their culture.

Chapter 5

Discussion

Inclusive education conceptualizations take various forms at the local, national, and international levels. UNESCO's international level policies have impacted development of inclusive education policies in many developing countries. Turkey, as a developing nation, has been influenced by these internationally defined policies (e.g., Salamanca Statement) and has given attention to the education of students with disabilities (SwD). Although historically, inclusive education has been associated with the education of SwD, growing research on inclusive education has expanded the conceptualization of inclusive education for all students by giving weight to students who are marginalized and excluded from educational opportunities due to their perceived differences (Artiles, Kozleski, & Waitoller, 2011). However, there is a lack of research focusing on the broader conceptualization of inclusive education from the lens of equity and social justice (Artiles, Harris-Murri, & Rostenberg, 2006). Furthermore, critical examination of the dynamic relationship between identity differences, power, and privilege in inclusive education scholarship has not been fully explored in many nations (e.g., Turkey). Therefore, this study aimed to examine a) Turkish teachers' and parents' conceptualization of inclusive education for diverse groups of students (i.e., SwD, Kurdish students (KS), and girls), b) the influences of the teachers' and parents' construction of students' identities on the students' educational experiences in relation to inclusive education, c) how the teachers' and parents' stories reveal identities, differences, and power, and what role privilege plays in marginalization, labeling, and exclusion of students within conceptualizations of inclusive education.

Inclusive Education Conceptualization for Diverse Students

This study found that teachers' and parents' conceptualizations of inclusive education differed for SwD, KS and girls. Participants' conceptualizations were grounded in larger cultural, historical, economical, and political contexts within reciprocal interaction in micro activity settings (i.e., classroom). Therefore, Cultural Historical Activity Theory (CHAT) provided a comprehensive framework to understand how sociocultural contexts (e.g., tools, division of labor, rules, community, and objects) mediated students' educational experiences in relation to inclusive education.

Additionally, I used figured worlds as a complementary conceptual tool to understand how the teachers and parents figured the nested educational activity systems, which is interconnected with other activity systems (e.g., political and economical). Moreover, figured worlds assigned certain roles to actors who were expected to be and act in certain ways (Holland et al., 1998). In this study, the teachers and parents illustrated the education activity systems (e.g., classroom and national), in which each subject (e.g., teachers, parents, students) was expected to play a part within certain division of labor parameters (e.g., being silent) and behave under explicit and implicit rules (e.g., following teacher's instruction, speaking Turkish). Additionally, material (e.g., books) and conceptual (e.g., deficit views towards SwD or Turkish-only ideology) tools mediated who had access to the classroom, benefited from educational opportunities, and developed capable identities.

Dichotomy: Normalcy and Ableism

The teachers' and parent's representation of the classroom activity systems held the ideology of "normalcy" and "ableism" (Baglieri et al., 2011), which determined

norms for the classroom. This normative design and practices privileged certain students' abilities and identities over others. Therefore, access became a challenge for many SwD, who were perceived as not having certain abilities to fulfill the expected division of labor and to follow the rules in order to be a competent member of the classroom activity setting. The teachers and parents expected SwD to fit in the classroom activity system, in which the teachers taught in the same ways to all students, and students were expected to learn at the same rates and speed and were expected to perform learning in the same ways (Baglieri et al., 2011). The normative practices limited the teachers' and parents' ability to imagine and enact other educational possibilities that welcomed diverse ways of being and behaving. This led the stakeholders to propose exclusion as a way of supporting SwD's education. Thus, the educational stakeholders' conceptions and practices were assimilative in terms of not willing to accommodate, adapt, or welcome diverse abilities of the students.

The teachers and parents set certain prerequisites reflected as "only if" statements (e.g., disability type and degree of disability), in order to choose students who were closest to these normative standards. The study findings revealed that while students with mild disabilities who were perceived as well behaved and did not disturb the classroom dynamics were more likely to be accepted in classrooms, students with moderate to severe disabilities were excluded without even thinking through possible opportunities. Inclusion of students with mild dis/abilities (e.g., learning disability) intersected with whether they had behavioral challenges. However, which behaviors counted as challenges was interpretive and depended on the teachers. Therefore, for instance, Huseyin (i.e., the child with learning disability) was excluded from the general education

classroom and placed in special education classroom due to perceived behavioral challenges as an improvisational policy practice.

This belief of inclusive education for some of the students was also found in other studies (e.g., Downing & Peckham-Hardin, 2007; Hsieh & Hsieh, 2012; Ul Hassan et al., 2010; Sikes, Lawson, & Parker, 2007; Leung & Mak, 2010; Starczewska et al., 2012; MacGhie-Richmond et al., 2013). These findings also suggested that setting academic goals for SwD was not in mind; rather if SwD did not disturb others, they could be admitted without consideration about how these students might or might not benefit from the classroom context.

The study findings showed that the classroom activity system served students who were the “majority” in terms of ability levels and were considered as “average” or “normal.” This context marginalized SwD within the classroom and excluded them to special education classes or special education schools. In this sense, inclusive education functioned as assimilation to general education classrooms.

Ideology of Smartness

Additionally, smartness was considered a property (Leonardo & Broderick, 2011) to access classrooms. Leonardo and Broderick (2011) argued, “Smartness functions as a form of property that its ‘owners’ exercise to their enjoyment and privilege” (p. 2221). Moreover, they indicated that

The ideology of smartness is inextricably intertwined in the creation of Smart people (as an identity)... We understand smartness to be a performative, cultural ideological system that operates in the service of constructing the normative center of schools and of societies, an ideological system that is nonetheless

materialist not in any biological or neurological way, but rather in that developing an identity as either “smart” or “not-so-smart” is to have very real material consequences vis-à-vis one’s access and sense of entitlement (or not) to opportunities, privileges, and myriad forms of cultural capital—to smartness as property (Leonardo & Broderick, 2011, p. 2227)

The ideology of smartness functioned as a conceptual tool that mediated the teachers’ and parents’ conceptualizations of inclusive education in terms of placement. Smartness was discussed for SwD, who were able to learn, so that it fit into the classroom context. As Baglieri et al. (2011) discussed, the classrooms served for the “average” students; at the same time, some of the teachers positioned that “gifted students” also could not fit into classroom context. Furthermore, participants asserted that “gifted students” needed to be served separately to better enhance their skills, as they were perceived as the “future of the country.” Therefore, in a hierarchical way, these students were considered “desirable” citizens (Baglieri et al., 2011).

Conceptualization and Classroom Practices Reproduced Broader Social Systems

Additionally, classroom activity systems interconnected with larger educational activity systems, which mediated the teachers’ conceptualization of inclusive education in terms of access. They indicated a lack of infrastructure about implementing inclusive education for SwD. They reflected on constraints about lack of teacher training, professionals in special education, large class sizes, and anxiety surrounding classroom success. The anxiety stemmed from the contradictions inherent in holding a professional identity, which was associated with an inclusive education philosophy, which advocated for access and participation in educational opportunities and equal outcomes for all

students. At the same time, the infrastructure needed for implementation of inclusive education policies, was not in place. In this way, participants could, in theory, negotiate and become change agents but under systemic constraints. These findings were considered to be barriers to inclusive education in other studies (e.g., Heiman, 2004; Hsien, et al., 2012; Sikes, Lawson, & Parker, 2007; Ul Hassan, 2010; Paliokosta & Blandford, 2010; Phillipson & Forlin, 2011; Fuchs, 2009-2010; Ntombela, 2011; MacGhie-Richmond et al., 2013; Fletcher, et al, 2010; Strogilos, 2012).

Inclusive Education is Beyond Placement

Although, historically, inclusive education is associated with placement of SwD in general education classrooms, inclusive education scholarship has recently moved beyond placement by propounding an examination of what happens after placement for diverse students (Artiles & Kozleski, 2007). Study findings indicated that SwD and KS could not meaningfully participate in classroom activities, were marginalized within the classroom, and pushed to the margins of the larger education activity system. Within Fraser's social justice framework (i.e., redistribution, recognition, and representation), the study revealed that the classroom contexts did not recognize students' various ability levels, linguistic and cultural differences of KS. Additionally, the contexts did not represent the voices of SwD and KS in terms of their possible solutions to the issues that influenced them. Girls experienced challenges to access and further continued education due to sociocultural beliefs and practices and the way their identities were constructed in their local settings. Therefore, each group of students had unique challenges to participate and continue their education due to the different historical, cultural, and political trajectory of Turkey.

Study findings called for an attention to conceptualizing inclusive education in broader ways in research, educational policies, and practices to increase educational equity for all students. Given that the studies had narrow conceptualizations of inclusive education in the Turkish context, future research studies should embrace multiple methodologies and tools to capture complexity of forces that lead to marginalization and exclusion of students whose abilities and differences were different.

Inclusive Education Purpose is Socialization

In this study, SwD were marginalized within the classroom and excluded from meaningful educational activities. The teachers and parents illustrated that the object of the inclusive education for SwD was related to social outcomes, such as integration of the society, yet academic outcomes were not seen as an object. Thus, academic learning was not a teacher focus. The whole class instruction, as an instructional approach, was mostly practiced in Turkish primary school classrooms. This approach targeted the “average” students’ learning and did so by excluding the other learners. SwD were one of the groups who engaged in basic curriculum activities, such as recognition of the words as a basic literacy activity and doing four operations as a basic math activity, individually, while the rest of the group was doing another activity together. Although the teachers thought that they differentiated instruction based on the students’ needs, SwD could not interact with their peers, the teacher, nor engage with competitive curricular materials. Additionally, these practices reflected the teachers’ low expectations towards SwD, which is also found in other studies. For example, Peček, Čuk, and Lesar (2008) found that the teachers approached students with disabilities with leniency, which they interpreted as having lower expectations in terms of knowledge and assessment. Bulgren

et al. (2006) also found that teachers focused on basic skills for SwD by having a deficit perspective and lower expectations, whereas they engaged in more competitive content knowledge and practice for the student without disabilities. On the other hand, literature on parents of SwD's narratives showed that parents desired to have more competitive academic activities for their children (Engelbrecht et al., 2005; Kluth et al., 2007).

Although social outcomes were important for all students, not setting challenging activities that could increase academic outcomes for SwD was a result of the teachers' and parents' lower expectations of SwD and their deficit views towards SwD.

Participants focused on weaknesses of SwD by narrating what they could not do in classrooms instead of valuing their strengths. There is a need for stakeholders to consider SwDs' strengths rather than weaknesses. This can open up spaces for SwD to enhance their abilities by forming competent learning identities.

Teacher Led Activities

In classroom activity systems, the teachers held power by designing, managing learning, and giving activity instruction, which disempowered students' division of labor and positioned them as passive recipient of orders. Therefore, if a SwD (e.g., Huseyin) disturbed the activity system dynamics, exclusion became inevitable for him/her. In these circumstances, rather than critically examining the classroom context, education stakeholders (i.e., teacher and parents) perceived problems within SwD (e.g., medical model) they were viewed as lacking adequate abilities to fit in the classroom-learning environment. Moreover, deficit constructions of SwD identities were thickened by positioning them as problems in multiple contexts by multiple education stakeholders. This positioning leads students to internalize these deficit identity constructions and do

not position themselves as capable as their peers (Franquiz, Salazar, & DeNicolo, 2011; McKenzie & Scheurich, 2004). Whereas, other students' abilities were recognized and acknowledged by certain actions, such as putting their painting on the wall or answering a question on the board, which supported their enactment of capable learning identities, SwD's abilities were unrecognized. This finding was similar to the Peček, Čuk, and Lesar (2008) study, which showed that the teachers expected SwD to adjust to the classroom environment, in which they were perceived as incapable of following the lessons without paying attention to the unresponsive classroom context.

The study findings revealed the importance of redistributing power among teachers' and students' division of labor in classroom activity systems. When all students' division of labor is empowered within classroom systems, students can develop their identities in more competent ways and find space to enact those identities. Given that classroom activity systems connected with teacher education activity systems, future teachers should engage in these kinds of conversations throughout their teacher education programs.

Expanding the Conceptualization of Inclusive Education: Kurdish Students

What inclusive education is, how inclusive education looks like for diverse students, and how it should be practiced has challenged inclusive education scholars, education stakeholders, and policy makers in local, national, and international contexts. The educational experiences of marginalized students are important to examine in inclusive education scholarship. This study contributes to expanding inclusive education discourse by adding KS' experience. KS are one of the marginalized groups of students in Turkey, who have access to education, yet their sociocultural and linguistic

background goes hardly recognized within Turkish educational activity systems.

Unpacking KS experiences using CHAT revealed that the education system was not inclusive, but was rather exclusive in not recognizing their linguistic, ethnic, and sociocultural abilities.

The teachers were separated into two groups in terms of reflecting on educational experiences of KS about language and ethnic. Their narratives disclosed contradictions within and across activity systems. Most of the junior teachers and some senior teachers who had direct experiences working with KS narrated educational inequities due to linguistic and sociocultural differences. In contrast, the other group of teachers argued the Turkish-only language policy and practice without imagining other educational possibilities that could be more inclusive, responsive, and supportive for KS. Experience and exposure with KS appears to impact perceptions and expectations for KS.

Turkish-only language policy and practice as a tool and a rule in educational activity system mediated the experiences of KS and also created contradictions within and between nested educational activity systems. Historical trajectories of Turkish-only language policy and practices led the teachers and parents to construct the use of Turkish as a norm in education. Given that KS did not know Turkish, the object of the education activity system was constructed as teaching Turkish. Through the teachers' narratives a paradox existed in the educational lives of the KS. This paradox made KS' educational experiences not meaningful by circling similar practices each year due to linguistic differences and ecological constraints. Although this paradox created contradictions within and between activity systems, lack of recognition of these paradoxes produced constraints and little educational transformation.

The symbolic power (Bourdieu, 1991) between Turkish and Kurdish languages was noticeable in the teachers' and parents' narratives. While the Turkish language was considered a resource (Ruiz, 1984), the Kurdish language was not perceived as a useful resource in educational practices. The teachers' and parents' language ideologies were grounded in Turkish history in terms of the statuses of languages and its practice and its political constructions and practices. Historically, Kurdish language and identity was stigmatized, through banning of Kurdish, limiting the usage of the Kurdish language in public spaces and even in Kurdish households from 1923 to 1991 (Skutnabb-Kangas & Bucak, 1994). It is argued that Turkish identity and language function as a unifier for the country, which constructs the beliefs and practices of Turkish nationalism. Therefore, racial, ethnic, and linguistic differences go unrecognized by considering everyone, who lives within the borders of Turkey. Furthermore, given that the belief of Turkish identity and language constructed the unity among people, to recognize these differences is perceived as a threat to social cohesion and viewed as potentially leading to border changes. Although there are changes in policies, such as the establishment of a government-run Kurdish channel, the provision of elective Kurdish classes, the establishment of a Kurdish language and literature department at Artuklu University, and the permission to private schools to use the Kurdish language, the social stigma towards Kurdish people still continues.

Given the historical and practical importance of the Turkish language, the teachers created the object of the education activity teaching as Turkish for KS. The teachers argued KS needed to learn Turkish, which is the primary and official language that they needed in every context. Therefore, the teachers and parents conceived that

banning the use of Kurdish, similar to the teacher's practices in the movie, as the best approach to teaching Turkish. It created a binary between home and school language practices, which did not recognize KS linguistic abilities within classrooms.

Nonrecognition of KS cultural and linguistic differences causes educational inequities in various ways. There is a growing literature that raised the importance of integrating students' sociocultural, linguistic, and historical background into school practices in order to create responsive and inclusive learning settings for all students. For instance, bringing in students' funds of knowledge, which is defined as the "historically accumulated and culturally developed bodies of knowledge and skills essential for household or individual functioning and well-being" (González, Moll, & Amanti, 2005, p. 72), increased opportunities to learn. Unfortunately, KS cultural and linguistic background was not valued in education activity system, which decreased their opportunities to learn and to enhance their abilities. Moreover, not recognizing KS linguistic and cultural differences may lead them to construct deficit identities for themselves and their cultural background. Additionally, this may result in internalized racism, in which oppressed groups (e.g., Kurdish people) accept social stigmas and oppressor's negative messaging towards their racial, ethnic, and cultural groups that lead to self-devaluation (Linsky, 1987; Harper, 2006).

On the other hand, some teachers, especially those who worked with KS in the eastern region, were aware of educational inequities due to linguistic and cultural differences. They challenged dominant sociocultural and historical discourse of Turkish-only policies and practices by arguing that recognizing linguistic differences would be inclusive, rather than exclusive, as a response to the perceived threats of societal

segregation. Through an inclusive point of view, not only recognition but also the representation dimension of Fraser's social justice framework is important (Fraser, 1997, 2008). Thus, Kurdish parents should be part of decision-making processes by providing solutions to the issues that affect their children's education.

There is a lack of research in the education field about the experiences of KS due to culture blind beliefs and practices. In a recent dissertation about KS' educational and linguistic experiences Gokalp (2015) showed language hierarchies between Turkish and Kurdish and language policies (Turkish-only) influenced linguistic practices of KS. She found that learning Turkish was a fundamental skill to be able to have a job and status in society. Even having a Kurdish accent in Turkish was associated with being uneducated, which decreased job opportunities. Because of this, teachers and Kurdish parents valued Turkish over Kurdish in their school practices. However, Kurdish parents practiced Kurdish at home in order for their children to connect to their ethnic and cultural roots. In contrast, some Kurdish parents were ashamed of their linguistic differences and focused on learning and using appropriate Turkish. These practices might be considered "internalized racism," in which Kurdish parents may not want to pass their cultural and linguistic practices to their children. Gokalp concluded that although the Kurdish language did not endanger given the population of Kurdish people, it loses power, in the long run, threatens the existence of the Kurdish language.

Socioculturally and historically constructed social stigma towards Kurdish identity was noticeable in the teachers and parents talk. For instance, one parent used "virus" as a metaphor to represent the Kurdish identity. "Virus" is defined as "the causative agent of an infectious disease" and

any of a large group of submicroscopic infective agents that are regarded either as extremely simple microorganisms or as extremely complex molecules, that typically contain a protein coat surrounding an RNA or DNA core of genetic material but no semipermeable membrane, that are capable of growth and multiplication only in living cells, and that cause various important diseases in humans, lower animals, or plants” in Merriam-Webster dictionary (retrieved from <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/virus>)

From this definition, in a metaphoric way, Turkey was represented by a properly functioning human body, and Kurdish people were seen as an uncontrollable grown virus that created a disease, which destroyed Turkey. This interpretation was supported by the data, in which the parents were positioned as having more children without considering their financial well-being and their educational life. In cities where a high Kurdish migrant population existed, they were seen as violent, criminals, and supporting each other in fights. As parents, they were perceived as dysfunctional and irresponsible for their children’s education. Moreover, they were considered as using government’s financial supports for their children’s education in an opportunistic way. Thus, the parents differentiated Kurds as educated and uneducated. While educated Kurds’ practices were seen as similar to Turkish people’s practices, which were stated, as “you don’t even realize that they are Kurds,” uneducated Kurdish identity was undesirable and these Kurds were considered as more typically being in rural areas.

Due to these deficit identity constructions, one parent suggested boarding school to educate and “rehabilitate” KS by removing them from their families. This idea reflected that education was assimilative by privileging Turkish practices. This comment

raised the importance of cross-cultural studies, which can expand knowledge by providing critical historical experiences of each country. For instance, Native American experiences in boarding schools in U.S. were a tool to assimilate them into Eurocentric American and Christian beliefs and practices. Given that the parents thought similarly to Native American experiences, international dialogues can be constructed in order to find ways of increasing inclusivity in education and social life for all people, which could expand our understandings, possible solutions, and imagining for the future.

The findings of KS raised the importance of expanding inclusive education conceptualizations within educational policies and practices and research to increase educational equity for all. Additionally, it showed that inclusive education was more than a placement. Therefore, inclusive education policies should not only attempt to address SwD's needs, but in addition they should consider KS' needs. In fact, inclusive education policies need to encompass all students' differences (e.g., race, ethnicity, and linguistic) in their policy agendas.

Teacher education programs should embrace interdisciplinary frameworks in order to be aware of and respond to the needs of students, whose backgrounds are not recognized and their voices are not currently represented in education systems. Thus, interdisciplinary focused teacher education programs should not only privilege teacher education classes but also provide courses in other departments (e.g., sociology, anthropology, and political science) that can offer comprehensive information about issues related to equity and social justice. Moreover, teacher education programs can require various classes (e.g., multicultural education and anti-bias pedagogies, and

practices), which can expand current knowledge and practices for responding to students who have various disadvantages due to their perceived differences.

Girls

Girls were another group that was marginalized and excluded from educational opportunities in some of the rural regions due to some sociocultural and historical beliefs and practices. Additionally, gender identities including the roles and expectations of the society, influenced the educational experiences of girls. Historically, girls had challenges to access and further continue their education. The educational experiences of girls emerged from the focus and individual interviews with the teachers.

Senior teachers' experiences revealed that narrativized identities of women in society created gender roles and expectations. In Sunar's and Fişek's (2005) conceptual paper about Turkish families, in which gender dynamics were also explained, Turkey has deep roots of patriarchy, which gives power to men in society rather than to women. Additionally, although there are variations in gender roles and expectations, historically, girls were raised as obedient, less assertive, passive, and subservient especially in rural areas, whereas boys were reared as assertive, rambunctious, and combative (e.g., pasha metaphor in the findings). Furthermore, Turkey is predominantly Muslim, which influences gender roles and responsibilities in society. One of the traditional and religious values is "namus" or "honor," which requires a woman to not have illegitimate sexual contact with a man. Sexual behaviour or chastity of women is perceived as family honor and family, especially men in the family, were assumed to be responsible for women's acts by having them under surveillance (Sunar & Fişek, 2005).

The senior teachers' narratives reflected the historical trajectories of women in society, which influenced their educational experiences. They recounted that girls were not sent to schools by families and made them get married at early ages. According to the senior teachers' representations, the parents' concern about protecting family honor by not sending them to school, where a threat for possible sexual contact existed. Thus, girls either could not access or continue their education. The teachers advocated the girls' education by finding ways to challenge families' traditional beliefs and practices that influenced girls' education.

There was an assumption in the public that these gender disparities only happened in the Eastern and Southeastern regions in Turkey. The teachers criticized this assumption by proposing their similar experiences that had occurred in the Mediterranean region. Intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1991) is an important framework to understand and examine the education of girls. For instance, in the teachers talk, being a girl and living in a rural area constrained educational and family resources, which resulted in discontinuity of the girls' education. Given that the teachers mostly criticized traditional beliefs and practices that controlled and limited girls' agency to decide their educational life, parents' concerns (e.g., limited resources or sending their daughters to young age away from home) needs to be taken into account in order to encompass the whole picture. Otherwise, we could reproduce deficit perspectives towards families. Thus, this study provided a one-sided perspective on the educational inequities towards girls, which is the limitation of the study.

Contradictions for Inclusive Transformation

According to the study findings, there were contradictions within and across activity systems for diverse groups of students. For instance, the macro level education activity system required Turkish-only policy as a rule, which created contradictions in micro classroom level activity system for Kurdish-speaking children. For SwD, there were various contradictions were observable. For example, division of labor (e.g., sitting for 40 minutes) contradicted with the object of inclusive education (e.g., SwD's social and academic learning). Moreover, for girls, families' cultural practices as another activity system contradicted with the education activity system. The overall education activity system contradicted the philosophy of inclusive education in many ways. It serves only for certain students (Turkish middle and upper class), and is exclusive of diverse students who have multiple disadvantages in participating in education activity systems. Given that inclusive education discourses have still been associated with placement of SwD, the educational experiences of other children (e.g., Kurdish) were not considered under inclusive education policy and practices. Furthermore, the education system was described as assimilative, which desired diverse student bodies to fit in the existing system without embracing their unique sociocultural, historical, and linguistic differences. By recognizing students' differences inclusive cultures can be created, in which "multiple languages, perspectives, and histories converge" (Kozleski, Thorius, & Smith, 2014, p13).

Contradictions are transformative and lead to change within and across a system (Engeström & Sannino, 2010). Given that people are agentive to engage in change processes, these systemic contradictions need to be also recognized by certain actors in order for change to happen. According to Kozleski, Thorius, and Smith (2014) systemic

transformation of education system is complex and requires “interconnected network of activity arenas” (p.15) work together by bringing various actors together to expand knowledge and practices. Additionally, they argued the importance of dismantling power dynamics, which privilege some while marginalizes other groups (Artiles and Kozleski, 2007). Thus, redistributing these power dynamics expand opportunities that allow inclusive practices for all students (Kozleski, Thorius, & Smith, 2014). Thus, these findings can create opportunities for change by providing unique insights of systemic contradictions.

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APPENDIX A
DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION OF TEACHERS

ID/Pseudonym:

Gender: Female Male

Age:

Level of Education:

Bachelors Masters PhD

Years of Experience:

Name the cities that you worked at:

Describe, if any, experiences of disability within family and/or teaching:

Where are you from?

Village Town City

Religion:

Tell me about your experiences in working with different cultural and linguistic groups:

APPENDIX B
DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION OF PARENTS

ID/Pseudonym:

Gender: Female Male

Age:

Level of Education:

None Primary Education Secondary Education

High School Bachelors Masters PhD

Occupation:

Native Language:

Family Type

- Family
- Nuclear
- Single Parent
- Extended family

Where are you from?

Village Town City

Number of years that you live in this city?

Neighborhood that you live in:

Demographic Information of your children

Number of Children:

Age/s:

Gender: Female Male

Your children's education

Describe, if any, experiences of disability within family and/or teaching:

APPENDIX C

DATA COLLECTION TOOL: STUDENTS WITH DISABILITIES IN ENGLISH



Characters	Vignette	Questions for Teachers	Questions for Parents
<p><u>Teacher:</u> Volkan- 15 years of experience</p> <p><u>Student:</u> Neşe, student with autism.</p> <p><u>Parents:</u> Her parents believe that Neşe can learn and advocate for her children's education.</p>	<p>Volkan has 15 years of experience as a teacher. This year is different from previous years. Neşe, a child with autism, has participated in his classroom. Turkish policy supports children with disabilities' access to general education classrooms. To support this practice, the classroom population decreases from 25 to 20. Besides, the school principal is supportive providing professional and material resources to Volkan. Additionally, a</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. What do you think about the story? 2. What do you think about the teacher, Volkan? 3. What do you think having children with disabilities in your classroom? <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. What do you think about possible academic and social outcomes for including children with disabilities? 4. What do you think about the teacher's perception about Neşe's learning? <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. Why do you think he thinks Neşe cannot learn in the general education classroom? b. Tell me what you do if you 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. What do you think about the story? 2. What do you think about the teacher, Volkan? 3. What do you think having children with disabilities in your child's classroom? <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. What do you think about possible academic and social outcomes for including children with disabilities? 4. If parents have experience: What are your and your child's experiences of education/inclusive education? OR what are your and your child's experiences of having a child with a disability in your child's classroom. <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. What do you

	<p>special education teacher is also available to support him in a collaborative manner. However, he does not think that Neşe can learn in his classroom because the activities are hard for her. On the other hand, Neşe's parents believe that their child should be in general education classroom. Besides, they claim that if she can learn at home, she can also learn at school. However, Volkan has currently referred Neşe to RAM to be in special education class where he thinks she can benefit from education more.</p>	<p>were Volkan?</p> <p>5. What do you think about the teacher's approach about Neşe's special education placement?</p> <p>a. Tell me what you do if you were Volkan?</p> <p>b. Tell me what you think where Neşe can benefit from education?</p> <p>6. What do you think about the student, Neşe?</p> <p>7. What do you think about Neşe's parents'? (Claim she can learn at school)</p> <p>8. Tell me if you have similar experience in having children with disabilities in your classroom?</p> <p>a. What do you think about their learning?</p> <p>9. <i>There is an idea called, inclusive education, which claims that education should ensure educational equity in access, participation (quality learning opportunities/activities), and learning outcomes for all children regardless of their differences, such as ability, gender, socioeconomic, race, or linguistics. Additionally, it argues that student differences should be recognized and valued in content, pedagogy, and assessment tools,</i></p>	<p>think about possible academic and social outcomes for including children with disabilities?</p> <p>5. What do you think about the teacher's perception about Neşe's learning?</p> <p>a. Why do you think he thinks Neşe cannot learn in the general education classroom?</p> <p>b. Tell me what you do if you were Neşe's parent?</p> <p>6. What do you think about the teacher's approach about Erkan's special education placement?</p> <p>7. Tell me what you think where Neşe can benefit from education?</p> <p><i>There is an idea called, inclusive education, which claims that education should ensure educational equity in access, participation (quality learning opportunities/activities), and learning outcomes for all children regardless of their differences, such as ability, gender, socioeconomic, race, or linguistics. Additionally, it argues that student differences should be recognized and valued in content, pedagogy, and assessment tools, and their voices of problem solutions should be listened by professionals. This is called inclusive</i></p>
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		<p><i>and their voices of problem solutions should be listened by professionals. This is called inclusive education.</i> What do you think about this idea? In what ways has your child had an inclusive school experience?</p>	<p><i>education.</i> What do you think about this idea? In what ways has your child had an inclusive school experience?</p>
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APPENDIX C

DATA COLLECTION TOOL: STUDENTS WITH DISABILITIES IN TURKISH



Karakterler	Hikaye	Ogretmenler için Sorular	Aileler için Sorular
<p>Ogretmen: Volkan-15 yıllık deneyimi var</p> <p>Ogrenci: Nese, Otizimli bir öğrenci</p> <p>Aile: Nese'nin ailesi çocuklarının ogrenebileceklerini düşünuyorlar ve onun eğitimini savunuyorlar.</p>	<p>Volkan 15 yıllık deneyimi olan bir öğretmendir. Bu yıl diğer yıllardan farklı olarak, Neşe adında otizimli bir çocuk sınıfına katılır. Yönetmelik engelli çocukların genel eğitim sınıflarına erişimi desteklemek için sınıf mevcudu 25'ten 20'ye düşürülür. Ayrıca okul müdürü profesyonel uzman ve materyal kaynaklarına ulaşım konusunda destek sağlamaktadır. Ek olarak, özel eğitim öğretmeni işbirliği içinde Volkan'a destek sağlamak için bulunur. Fakat Volkan</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Hikaye hakkına düşünüyorsunuz? 2. Volkan öğretmen hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz? 3. Engelli çocukların sınıfınızda olması hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz? <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. Engelli çocuklar sınıfa dahil etmenin sosyal ve akademik sonuçları hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz? 4. Öğretmenin Nese'nin öğrenmesi konusundaki görüşleri hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz? <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. Öğretmenin Nese'nin sınıfında öğrenemeyeceğini düşündür. Bu konuda ne düşünüyorsunuz? b. Eğer Volkan'ın yerinde olsaydınız ne yapardınız? 5. Öğretmenin Neşe'nin özel eğitim yerleşimi konusundaki yaklaşımı 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Hikaye hakkında düşünüyorsunuz? 2. Volkan öğretmen hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz? 3. Engelli çocukların çocuğunuzun sınıfınızda olması hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz? 4. Eğer deneyiminiz varsa: Sizin ev çocuğunuzun kapsayıcı eğitim hakkındaki deneyimleri nelerdir. Ya da çocuğunuzun ve sizin engelli öğrencilerin sınıfınızda olması konusunda ne düşünüyorsunuz? 5. Öğretmenin Nese'nin öğrenmesi konusundaki görüşleri hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz? <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. Öğretmenin Nese'nin sınıfında öğrenemeyeceğini düşündür. Bu konuda ne düşünüyorsunuz? b. Eğer Volkan'ın yerinde olsaydınız ne yapardınız?

	<p>etkinliklerin Neşe için zor olduğunu düşündüğünden Neşe'nin sınıfında öğrenebileceğini düşünmez. Diğer taraftan Neşe'nin ailesi onun genel eğitim sınıfında olması gerektiğine inanır. Ayrıca Neşe'nin evde öğrenebildiğini, bu yüzden okulda da öğrenebileceğini iddia ederler. Fakat Volkan Neşe'nin genel eğitim sınıfından daha çok faydalanabileceğini düşündüğünden RAM'a yönlendirir.</p>	<p>hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. Volkan'ın yerinde olsaydınız ne yapardınız? b. Nese'nin eğitimden nerde faydalanacağı faydalanacağı ne düşünüyorsunuz? <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 6. Nese hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz? 7. Nesenin ailesi hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz? 8. Engelli çocukların sınıfınıza dahil edilmesi konusunda bir deneyimimiz varsa anlatınız? <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. Onların öğrenmesi konusunda ne düşünüyorsunuz anlatınız? 9. Kapsayıcı eğitim (inclusive education) adındaki bir yaklaşıma yetenek, dil, ırk, cinsiyet, sosyal ekonomik durum gibi bireysel farklılıkları gözlemledikleriniz eğitimde tüm çocuklar için erişim katılım (nitelikli öğrenme etkinlikleri), ve öğrenme çıktıları bakımından eşitliğin sağlanması gerektiğini iddia eder. Bireysel farklılıklar içerik, pedagoji ve değerlendirme araçları çerçevesinde tanınmalı ve değer verilmelidir. Ayrıca aile ve çocukların sorunlarının çözümü konusunda görüş ve öneriler uzmanlar tarafından dinlenmelidir. Bu görüş hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz? 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 6. Öğretmenin Neşe'nin özel eğitim yerleşimi konusundaki yaklaşımı hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz? 7. Nese hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz? 8. Nesenin ailesi hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz? 9. Kapsayıcı eğitim (inclusive education) adındaki bir yaklaşıma yetenek, dil, ırk, cinsiyet, sosyal ekonomik durum gibi bireysel farklılıkları gözlemledikleriniz eğitimde tüm çocuklar için erişim katılım (nitelikli öğrenme etkinlikleri), ve öğrenme çıktıları bakımından eşitliğin sağlanması gerektiğini iddia eder. Bireysel farklılıklar içerik, pedagoji ve değerlendirme araçları çerçevesinde tanınmalı ve değer verilmelidir. Ayrıca aile ve çocukların sorunlarının çözümü konusunda görüş ve öneriler uzmanlar tarafından dinlenmelidir. Bu görüş hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz?
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APPENDIX D

IKI DİL BİR BAVUL: ON THE WAY TO SCHOOL: SEMI STRUCTURED
INTERVIEW QUESTIONS IN ENGLISH

“İki Dil bir Bavul” (On the way to School)	Questions for Teachers	Questions for Parents
	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. What do you think about the movie? 2. What do you think about the teacher? 3. What do you think about the teacher’s decisions? 4. What do you think about the teachers approach about Kurdish? 5. Tell me your experiences if you have any children whose linguistic background in different? 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. What do you think about the movie? 2. What do you think about the teacher? 3. What do you think about the teacher’s decisions? 4. What do you think about the teachers approach about Kurdish? 5. Tell me your experiences if any children has different linguistic background you’re yours participated in your children’s classroom?

APPENDIX D

IKI DIL BIR BAVUL: ON THE WAY TO SCHOOL: SEMI STRUCTURED
INTERVIEW QUESTIONS IN TURKISH

“İki Dil Bir Bavul”	Ogretmenler için Sorular	Aileler için Sorular
	<ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Video hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz?2. Siz ogretmenin yerinde olsaydiniz ne yapardiniz?3. Aileler hakkında ne dusunuyorsunuz?4. Ogretmenin kararlarlari hakkında ne dusunuyorsunuz?5. Ogretmenin dile yaklasimi konusunda ne dusunuyorsunuz?6. Ogretmelik yasantinizda benzer bir deneyiminiz olduysa paylasiniz?	<ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Video hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz?2. Siz ogretmenin yerinde olsaydiniz ne yapardiniz?3. Aileler hakkında ne dusunuyorsunuz?4. Ogretmenin kararlarlari hakkında ne dusunuyorsunuz?5. Ogretmenin dile yaklasimi konusunda ne dusunuyorsunuz?6. Baska dillerdeki cocuklarla ilgili bir deneyiminiz olduysa paylasiniz?