

Those Who Have No Chains to Lose: Precarious Paid Teachers and Master Instructors

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Abstract: The term "precariat" refers to a group of employees who work in non-permanent jobs and do not have a steady source of income. According to the literature, the situation of paid teachers and master trainers working in public formal and non-formal education institutions was investigated in this study. The research was conducted with ten paid instructors and ten master instructors who worked for hourly salaries in Istanbul's schools and public education centers. The content analysis method, which is one of the qualitative research methods, was used to conduct the research. The information was gathered using a semi-structured interview form and a face-to-face interview technique. As a result of the data analysis, it was found that paid teachers and master instructors acted as denizen citizens. Personnel and trade union rights were the most prominent themes among the participants. When the research findings are considered, it is possible to conclude that eliminating low-wage occupations and security concerns will increase the quality of paid teachers and master instructors, as well as the educational system as a whole.

Key Words: Precariat, paid teacher, master instructor

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Introduction

The globalization process, which spread rapidly with the striking effect of neo-liberal policies after the 1980s, has exposed many fields from politics to economy and technology to education. This influence has brought quite new dimensions to class discussions. The concept of "precariat" introduced by the British economist Guy Standing was also included in the literature in this period. Standing's concept of the precariat, which he introduced with the language of the "child of globalization," is actually based on the concept of "précarité," which means "insecurity" in Turkish. The term "precarité," coined by a group of French social scientists, was first used to describe temporary and seasonal workers (Standing, 2020). Etymologically, the word's origin is based on the Latin word "precor," which means "to pray." In this respect, the word refers to people whose situations involve desperation and uncertainty and who feel they need to pray (Barbier, 2011). Sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, who was the first to use this concept in his working life, used *précarité* in his research on the working conditions of workers in Algeria in 1963 to emphasize the difference between the living standards of workers working in regular and irregular jobs. Agnès Pitrou also used *précarité* in her 1978 study to describe the insecure living conditions of families who could not benefit from the social assistance provided by the state and their future concerns for their children (Barbier, 2011). By emphasizing that "precarity is everywhere," Bourdieu established the concept of the uncertainties in working and living conditions. It is seen that the main characteristics of precariats are being in temporary or short-term jobs. They do not have any forms of labor and wage security gained during the welfare state periods and continue their lives by making relatively less and unstable earnings (Akkus- Guvendi, 2019).

According to Standing (2020), the precariat is a new term formed by the combination of "precarious," which means precarious, and "proletariat," which expresses the proletarian class. The precariat is defined as citizens who do not have any salary, status, or personal rights and have an insecure, identityless, and unimportant existence. These citizens do not have any status/identity based on their jobs. Being precariat means being crushed under the pressures that lead to the continuation of life in a precarious existence and living with these experiences. There is no sense of a secure identity or development gained through occupation or lifestyle (Standing, 2020).

The closely related concepts of "flexibility" and "insecurity" should be understood well to understand the concept of precariat better. Flexibility, which is based on employees' freedom to work when they want, for as long as they want, and in whatever way they want, is achieved through a variety of employment forms such as part-time, short-term, contracted, temporary, seasonal, and irregular work, as well as labor market deregulation and division (Cerkezoglu & Goztepe, 2010). Insecurity means being deprived of job security and social rights and living with a constant concern for the future. Therefore, this concept is defined by the state of uncertainty for working conditions and life in general. At the same time, precarious workers are forced to accept very different jobs, whether or not they are related to their expertise. This situation causes the personal

integrity of individuals to be destroyed along with the devaluation of their labor power (Oguz, 2011). In this context, precariat means the liberation of the mind and the development of common consciousness of insecurity (Standing, 2020).

According to Standing (2018), the precariat can be defined today in three aspects, namely, "its peculiar relations of production (labor and work patterns), peculiar distribution relations (social sources of income), and relations peculiar to the state (loss of citizenship rights)." As a result of such an evaluation, a unique "consciousness" of the desired reforms and the social policies expected to be implemented may emerge. The precariat cannot be defined as a class for itself in Marxist terms due to its internal division with relatively different senses of deprivation and consciousness shows that it can be considered a class in the making (Standing, 2018). The distinction Marx tried to make with the concepts of "class in itself" and "class for itself" refers to the process of the working class becoming a political subject from a social subject. When the proletariat can grasp its current position and position against the bourgeoisie, it will "be able to transform from a class in itself to a class for itself" (Sunar, 2018). With this formation emphasis for the precariat, which is expressed as a class in formation, creates the impression of an understanding following the theory of Marxism; instead, it is completely different from the Marxist class criteria as it is a class hierarchy in which different labor groups in society are included. This hierarchy and its classes (elite, professional, salaried, core working class/proletariat, precariat, unemployed, and lumpen-precariat) have emerged from a class analysis that can be expressed as neo-Weberian (Kutlu, 2018).

According to Standing (2020), the precariat is defined as "those who are cut off from working-class communities and families; immigrants, Roma, ethnic minorities, asylum seekers, etc.", and it consists of educated individuals as a constantly growing group who suffer the most in exercising their basic rights. A large part of those who break away from the group with a fixed income/salary are also included in this group. Standing argues that the educated segments of the precariat will have a leading role in the struggle of the precariat (2020). He associates this view with the fact that educated people have the potential to benefit from communication technologies much more.

After all these criticisms, Standing lists the precariat's reaching a fixed income at the top of his recommendations to solve the problem. The only way for the precariat to have a more hopeful outlook is to allocate a guaranteed monthly basic wage (Standing, 2017).

The most important criticism brought to the concept of precariat was the evaluation of the working people under a single category even though their position in the production process and socio-economic needs are quite different from each other (Neilson & Rossiter, 2008). Demands like "assured flexibility" and "basic citizenship income" stems from the fact that "precariat" is defined as a different class "main proletariat," which is thought to be the opposite of or to replace the "proletariat" formed by industrial workers with employment security that is thought to be weakening gradually (Standing, 2020). The industrial proletariat is portrayed as a homogeneous group protected by trade unions, with comparatively much better working conditions and higher wages. Compared to the sheltered proletariat, this view sees the precariat as the "main victims"

class thrown into the recycling bin of the precarious labor market, constantly struggling to be reprocessed and used (Bora, 2010).

The main reason why there is no expectation of a political engagement and a collective action from the precariat is that precarization causes a “character erosion,” as stated by Sennett. According to Sennett, the production relations of the post-industrial flexible capitalist system erode the attachment and continuation mechanisms in individual and social relations, eroding the reference points where the individual can build their character, which is their social self. The understanding that there is “no long term” causes the individual’s behavior to deviate in the long run, damages the relations of trust and loyalty, and breaks the ties between will and behavior (Sennett, 2008). Under these circumstances, the precariat is seen as lacking some of the fundamental qualities necessary by social movements, such as a long-term sense of duty towards the world and society, will, and the acumen to translate this will into behavior (Vatansever, 2013). Studies on the concept of precariat appear to have risen in recent years in Turkey (Akin & Duman, 2021; Akyel, 2021; Atar & Ulusoy, 2020; Gunerigok & Ogur, 2018; Karaoz & Tandacgunes Kahraman, 2020); and all over the world (Duda, et al. 2022; Gray, et al. 2021; Jonsson, et al.) When these studies are examined, it is seen that there is research on the employees working in production and various branches of the service sector. However, it is seen that the concept of the precariat has not been studied sufficiently for those working in public educational institutions. To address the demand for teachers and master instructors in public formal and non-formal educational institutions, the Ministry of National Education hires teachers and master instructors in exchange for course fees. The 89th article of Law No. 657 establishes the working principles for Turkish civil officials. “When teachers or instructors are not available in educational and training institutions of all degrees, universities, and academies (including military academies), schools, courses, or institutions offering non-formal education, and similar institutions, additional course assignments may be given to faculty members, other civil servants, or those who become vacant,” the document states..” These employees are not offered a fixed wage and a fixed working time. Therefore, this study aims to examine the situation of paid teachers and master instructors working in public formal and non-formal education institutions from the perspective of the concept of the precariat.

Method

Research Design

This study is designed with a phenomenology pattern to determine the status of paid teachers and master instructors working in public formal and non-formal education institutions within the scope of work and social security. The phenomenology design is used for studies designed to examine unfamiliar phenomena, frequently encountered daily, that we cannot fully grasp the meaning of, constituting a suitable ground for these studies (Yildirim & Simsek, 2016). Phenomenology describes the basic meanings and

experiences (essence) of understandings created through a phenomenon on which common experience has been provided. A more precise meaning is given to the word “experience” within phenomenology. The end goal of phenomenology research (Patton, 2018, Creswell, 2020) is the essence, which is the part that describes people's experiences and talks about what they mean. **Participants**

The study group composed of 10 paid teachers working in public schools in two districts of Istanbul during the 2021-2022 academic year, and 10 paid master instructors working in public education centers in the same districts. The participants were determined using the purposeful random sampling method. This method is the purposeful classification of systematic and randomly selected case samples according to the research purpose (Marshall & Rossman, 2014). This sampling method is preferred to reach much richer data and increase the reliability of the research compared to the cases determined by the random sampling method (Flick, 2014). The researcher first determines a sample group using random methods and then selects a small subgroup from this group that they believe will contribute the most to the research (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2010). In this context, paid teachers and master instructors working at the determined institutions for at least five years were preferred. This way, it is thought that much richer data will be reached.

In purposive sampling methods, the sample size is determined by the situations encountered by the researcher during data collection and the first-level informative evaluations for the research. If the information is aimed to be maximized, the inclusion process is stopped when the saturation point is reached; that is when no new information is coming from the new sample units. In this respect, the first criterion is the repetition of information (Shenton, 2004). Whether the sample size is one ($N=1$), fifty ($N=50$), or one hundred ($N=100$) in qualitative research, the basic rule for an ideal sample size is the repetition cycle that occurs when the information is satisfied. After a point, all individuals in the new sample group for which data is being collected will repeat the data obtained from the individuals belonging to the sample group in the previous parts of the research (Morgan & Morgan, 2008). When this study was designed, the original plan was to interview 30 participants; however, when the replication of the data began, the number of participants was limited to 20. Some characteristics of the interviewed participants are presented in Table 1 below.

Table 1.

Characteristics Interviewed Participants

Participant Number	Gender	Branch	Type of Institution	Duty Seniority
K1	Female	Turkish (T)	Middle School	6
K2	Female	Social Studies (SS)	Middle School	5
K3	Male	Science (S)	Middle School	6
K4	Female	English (E)	Middle School	7
K5	Male	Music (M)	Middle School	9
K6	Female	Geography (G)	High School	8
K7	Male	Biology (B)	High School	8
K8	Male	Religious Education (RE)	High School	5

K9	Female	Physical Education (PE)	High School	6
K10	Male	Art (A)	High School	7
K11	Female	Glass Processing (GP)	Public Education Center	12
K12	Female	Turkish Sign Language (TSL)	Public Education Center	7
K13	Female	Hairdressing (H)	Public Education Center	9
K14	Male	Wood Painting (WP)	Public Education Center	14
K15	Female	Ebru (E)	Public Education Center	8
K16	Male	Beekeeping (B)	Public Education Center	5
K17	Female	Hand and Machine Embroidery (HME)	Public Education Center	23
K18	Female	Jewelry Design (JD)	Public Education Center	11
K19	Female	Needle and Crochet Knitting (NCK)	Public Education Center	21
K20	Male	Ceramic (C)	Public Education Center	13

In-depth interview codes were given to all participants interviewed based on some of their characteristics. For example, the participants were coded as follows:

Rank No - Gender - Branch - Type of Institution - Term of Duty = 15FEP8 (15th place - Female - Ebru Teacher - Public Education Center - 8 years)

Data Collection

Paid teachers and master instructors working in public schools and Public Education Centers were interviewed with the institutions' administrators to collect the research data. The names of the paid teachers and master instructors who worked for at least five years were asked. It has been observed that master instructors working in Public Education Centers have much longer working hours than paid teachers working in schools. After receiving the names from the school administrations, one-on-one interviews were done with the paid teachers and master instructors working in the institutions. The research purpose and the request for an interview were conveyed to them. Face-to-face interviews were conducted by the researcher using a semi-structured interview form based on the seven basic indicators of precarization stated by Standing (2020). The interviews were conducted at the schools with paid teachers who accepted this request and at the Public Education Centers, where they also work with master instructors. Each interview lasted for about half an hour and was recorded with a recorder after obtaining the participants' consent. After deciphering the audio recordings, it was stated that the transcripts of the interviews could be delivered to the participants, and they could be checked; this way, the reliability of the data was ensured.

Data Analysis

The data obtained within the scope of the research were subjected to content analysis. Similar data are brought together and interpreted in content analysis with defined concepts and themes (Buyukozturk et al., 2011). In analyzing and interpreting the collected data, the opinions of paid teachers and master instructors on the subject were taken. Seven headings that constitute the main distinction between the proletariat and the precariat in the precariat literature were determined as the interview categories. The

data collected through the interview forms prepared in the light of these categories were categorized. The MAXQDA 2020 Program was used for data analysis. Classifying the large volumes of data collected from the participants under the determined categories has become easier.

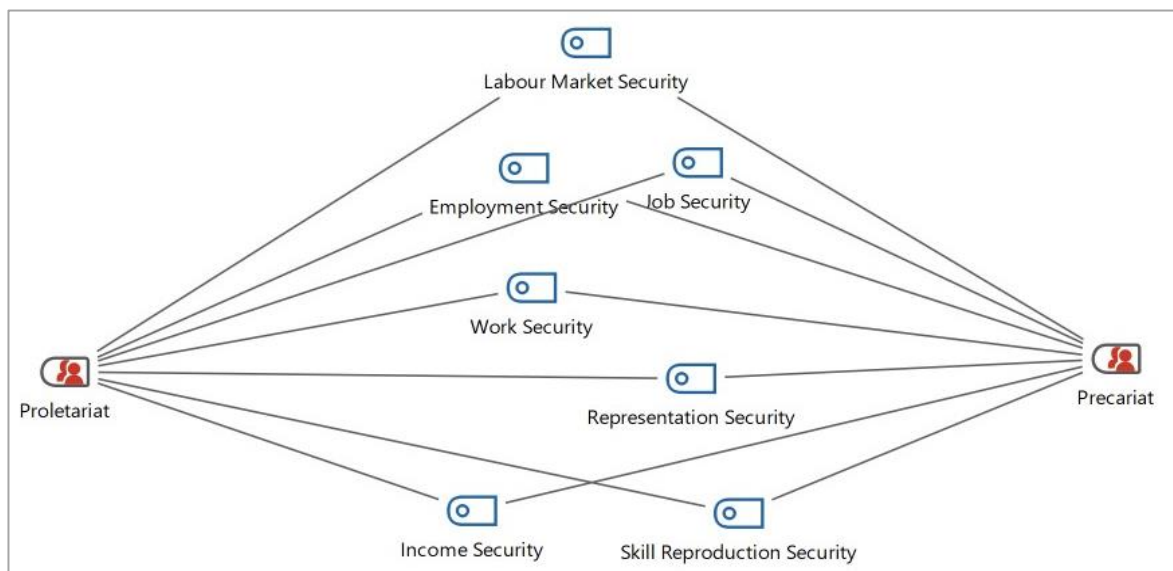
Findings

The obtained findings were discussed regarding the characteristics of the precariat. Standing (2020) put forward seven types of deprivation of security regarding labor, which is within his policy for the industrial proletariat. These features are:

- 1- *Labour Market Security*: Adequate income-generating opportunities at a macro level dependent on full employment
- 2- *Employment Security*: Protection against arbitrary layoffs
- 3- *Job Security*: Opportunity to obtain a certain position in employment, opportunities to provide upward mobility in terms of income
- 4- *Work Security*: Regulations made in health and safety
- 5- *Skill Reproduction Security*: Opportunities to acquire skills and use skills of the worker
- 6- *Income Security*: Ensuring an adequate fixed income
- 7- *Representation Security*: Independent unions and the right to strike.

Figure 1.

Basic Ownership/Deprivation of Labor between Proletariat and Precariat



Labour Market Security: Adequate Income-Generating Opportunities at a Macro-Level Dependent on Full Employment

Undoubtedly, one of the most basic elements of the precariat is the lack of a regular job opportunity to earn enough income to maintain a certain standard of living. In this case, Standing's (2020) examination of how people come to engage in precarious forms of labor with no possibility of constructing a desirable identity or career for themselves is an important way to understand the precariat. Weber, used the profession to describe the specialization and personalization of an individual's functions that constitute a source of permanent income and livelihood (2011). Individuals in countries like Turkey, which rank low in terms of economic welfare, are more likely to choose professions that appeal to the aspirations of those working at state levels, such as doctors, nurses, and teachers, which are referred to as "guaranteed professions" in terms of sustaining their livelihood and ensuring certain living standards. Therefore, in their university preferences, it can be considered that the reasons individuals choose departments related to teaching are the hope of starting a job immediately after graduation.

"I am the child of a retired father who worked in the coal mine for years in Karaman. My father scarcely supported our family and educated my sister and me. The reason I chose to be a teacher and my sister to be a nurse is completely related to the hope of getting a job in the government and getting a salary as soon as I graduate and to make our family a bit more economically comfortable. My sister has achieved this goal, but unfortunately, I have not been appointed yet, and this situation devastates me." (3MSMS6)

"If you look at the majority of those who choose to become teachers today, I think they are thinking of being taken into government service as soon as possible after graduation to make their lives a little more secure. I mean, of course, there are some exceptions, but I think most of them study teaching for this reason. For example, I loved to paint, and I had a talent. But I thought I could be appointed much easier if I studied Turkish Language Teaching. Although we couldn't do that either (laughs)." (1FTMS6)

If we accept wealth and poverty as a ladder, a relationship between social mobility and the transition between these steps can be established. Such mobility refers to the transition of an individual, social object, or value from one social position to another (Sorokin, 1959). Class structures based on economic capital ownership generally reflect, reproduce, and legitimize class differences parallel with cultural capital ownership, closely related to economic capital (Bourdieu & Passeron, 2014). It is possible for people who have received a relatively advanced degree of education but must work to obtain the income and status appropriate for their acquired skills (Standing, 2020). Suppose the individual is born into a relatively low socio-economic and cultural level family. In that case, they can gain the opportunity to accumulate economic and cultural capital and make up for their deficiencies thanks to a qualified education (Yagan & Ozgenel, 2021). Participants who prefer to be teachers are from family structures with limited socio-economic levels, revealing that they see the teaching profession as the shortest way to increase their economic capital-based social capital, which they carry from their families. The cultural capital accumulation that the individual inherits from their family increases through the cultural capital they gain at school (Swartz, 2011).

Income Security: Ensuring an Adequate Fixed Income

One of the main distinguishing elements of the precariat is the classification of income and the intense perception of income inequality. Standing (2020) states that the precariat is not part of the working class or the proletariat. A society with long-term, stable, fixed-time, forward-looking jobs where it is clear how far and how the worker can progress, unionization, and collective agreements are made are visualized when the proletariat is mentioned. Therefore, the most frequently mentioned subject in the discourses of paid teachers and master instructors, who are the subject of the research, is the discomfort caused by the inequality between the permanent teachers. Since they work together and carry out similar business activities, the discomfort arises from the inequality of wages and personal rights.

"A permanent teacher working at the Public Education Center where I work today must attend 15 hours a week. Yes, it is enough to receive a salary when you attend the class for 15 hours, and the average salary is 7.000 TL. If they enter for more than 15 hours, their monthly income can go up to 9-10 thousand TL. I'm doing the same job, but even if I do 40 hours a week, most master instructors don't have the opportunity to find that many lessons, but the money I get is between 4500-5000 TL. Can you imagine that I can only get half of their salary even though I work almost three times more than a permanent teacher doing the same job? Income inequality shouldn't be this big." (18FJDP11)

"As a paid teacher, I attend classes for 22 hours a week this term and receive a monthly salary of around 2,500 TL. In other words, it is almost half of the minimum wage with the latest hikes. What a funny amount of money, isn't it?" (10MAHS7)

Adam Smith suggests that routine becomes harmful at a certain point because people lose control over their effort. Losing control over working time means mental death. Smith thought that capitalism in his time had come to this crossroad. In the new order, when it is said that "those who put the most effort are content with the least" (Smith, 2010), this emphasizes the human dimension of the work rather than wages. According to Standing (2017), the only way for the precariat to look to the future with hope is "if the state moves towards paying a basic monthly income with basic security to every person with a guaranteed residence permit. Without such a claim, insecurity, debt-ridden, and social inequality will continue to grow". In the eyes of paid teachers and master instructors, the fact that they are separated from permanent teachers in some unforeseen situations and the income inequality already revealed in practice deepens their weariness.

"There's also a ridiculous thing. It snowed, and schools were suspended. The permanent teacher takes everything up to the additional tuition fee as if they entered the class, but they cut the money for that day when it comes to us. Am I not coming in arbitrarily? You are not deducting the salary of permanent teachers for the snow holiday that you decided on, but you cut it from me. Shame!" (13FHDP9)

"Permanent staff is paid their wages during the official holiday, but not the paid teachers. It'll snow, there will be a storm, and schools will be suspended; again, the permanent staff

is paid their wages but not the paid teachers. Don't do it; this is too much discrimination." (8MREHS5)

1- Employment Security: Protection against Arbitrary Layoffs

Feeling safe in employment should be one of the most basic rights provided to employees. However, the concepts of "ontological security" by Giddens (1994), "risk society" by Beck (2011), and "fluid modernity" by Bauman (2000) emphasize the fact that precarity is inherent in modernity. Contemporary neoliberal societies now manage social insecurity as an internal mechanism, turning into a rapid normalization process (Lorey, 2011; Lorey, 2015). In this new structure, which he describes as administrative precarization, the dominant administration combines the social bonds, structures, relationships, and dynamics in the society with a constant fear of insecurity instilled in individuals. This, in turn, leads to the constant generation of a valid sense of insecurity. It is seen that while paid teachers and master instructors deplore the uncertainty of their fate in educational institutions, they also take this situation for granted, meaning that they always keep their feelings of anxiety about their future in the corner of their memory. So much so that the precariat knows that the future has no shadow because what they do has no future (Standing, 2020).

"Let's not be idle until we get through the KPSS scourge and wait to be appointed as permanent staff, we do paid teaching to make a small financial contribution to our family, but our ear is always waiting to get news from the school principal. They can call you in the middle of the term and say, "Teacher, our permanent teacher has arrived in the branch you have attended; you can terminate your duty immediately." (8MREHS5)

"They called me from a school in September. They said that their permanent teacher was giving birth and would not come because she was on unpaid leave for a year. I got into some debts because I thought I would be working for nine months until June. What happened next, three months passed, and they said that the teacher changed her mind and petitioned for the cancellation of her leave. I lost my job. Not to mention the debts I have entered upon trusting the wages." (2FSSMS5)

"Say they opened a course in Public Education lasting 120 hours, for example. How long does this course take, about three months? Will a new course be opened when this course is over? Here we don't know. This uncertainty is really tiring for us master instructors." (13FHDP14)

While Sennet (2008) discusses the issue of commitment and loyalty, he states that the slogan "no long term" is a principle that erodes trust, loyalty, and mutual commitment. Confidence is initially a purely formal matter, as is often the case with trusting others on the team in a business deal or playing a game by the rules. However, situations that require much more intense trust experiences, such as getting to know people who can be trusted when a difficult task is undertaken during the process, are generally not based on formality. The slogan "there is no long term" gives the individual the message of "let go," "devote," and "make a sacrifice" (Sennet, 2008). Contrary to salaried workers, those included in the precariat have the lowest trust-based relations with the state or capital owners. Nor does the precariat have the contractual social relations that the

proletariat has. In the case of the proletariat, the worker is expected to obey the guarantees provided in return for the labor given (Standing, 2020). It is seen that paid teachers and master instructors do not develop any sense of belonging to the institutions they work with and have uncertainties about job security. Since paid teachers and master instructors do not feel a sense of belonging, they leave their duties at the first opportunity they find more suitable working conditions, regardless of the disruption of the functioning of the schools and courses. Not feeling belonging to the institution they work for should be evaluated as a factor that reduces work efficiency.

"To be honest, my immediate surroundings and I constantly seek a job. I'll leave school without thinking twice if I get news about a regular job today. After all, the same is true for the other party too, right? After all, I know they will say a permanent teacher has been appointed and put me in front of the door." (9FPEHS6)

"Now, in the institutions we work for, the administrators tell us that we are a family and to do our best for the institution. Those are good words, but frankly, many expert teachers leave their duties when they find a job with a steady income. As a result, since the institution cannot provide us with a regular job and income opportunity, working in the Public Education Center is seen as an opportunity to earn some pocket money; at least, we will not be idle until we find a job." (20MCP13)

What is essential about the human character is its focus on the long-term dimension of emotional experiences. Character manifests in loyalty and interdependence, striving for a long-term goal or delaying some present rewards for a future goal (Sennet, 2008). The fact that the relations of the employees in educational institutions with the institution cannot be established on a long-term basis should be considered a situation against both sides. While paid teachers' precarious living conditions prevent them from building their institutional and non-institutional lives according to their desires, it should be assessed that educational institutions cannot obtain the efficiency they desire from their teachers in this situation, given that education is more than a set of activities carried out in school buildings. Precarization is a threat and danger that affects business life and all areas of life (Lorey, 2016).

Job Security: Opportunity to Obtain a Certain Position in Employment, Opportunities to Provide Upward Mobility in Terms of Income

Schelsky said that family and work are two major elements that make individuals feel safe in modernity. According to him, this sense of security is realized through an individual's family and work's "internal stability." Considering that occupations shape individuals' social activities, it can be said that they design their tiny/unique worlds. In this respect, work (just like family) guarantees basic social experiences (Schelsky, 1954). Standing (2020) also argues that when the proletariat is mentioned, a long-term, stable, fixed-term, and forward-looking class determines how workers can progress. Still, these features do not exist in the precariat. They do not know what they are employing or how many people will be employed next year. They do not have a fixed or predictable salary or various benefits. Having a precarious existence, these people have no guarantee of

how long this ephemerality will last. Therefore, it causes paid teachers and expert teachers to be unable to plan their lives.

"All the same duties are expected from permanent teachers in schools, and we, as paid teachers, try to do this as much as we can. However, despite the fact that we work together, the teachers' pay increase in accordance with their degree/level, while our revenue, which is already three cents, does not.." (7MBHS8)

"We participate in science fairs with the projects we prepare. We have received degrees many times in these fairs. While the permanent teachers we worked together in the projects were honored with various certificates of achievement and awards, I was given nothing. Even that, believe me, is so hurtful." (3MSMS6)

"I have been teaching for 14 years. I must do my job well for them to continue working with me for many years. But those who work in their first year are paid the same course hours as those who work 10+ years like me. Now is that fair?" (14MWPP14)

The search for revolt and flexibility against the bureaucratic routine produced new structures of power and control instead of creating the conditions that would liberate us (Sennet, 2008). Neoliberal governmentality systematically and categorically reproduces the condition of precarity through the relations of economic, social, and legal inequality through "body" and "culture." This process, which brings about "self-precariation," continues not as those who are forced to become precarious, but as "those who choose their precarious living conditions with their free will" (Lorey, 2011). According to Lorey (2011), this situation which has spread to all areas of life, especially the relations between the rulers and the ruled, is normalizing day by day, constantly reproducing itself as a form of domination and in coordination with social relations with fear occupies a place in the center. This insecurity of paid teachers also compels them to submit to the unfair demands of school administrations.

"While remuneration is being made, we are told emphatically that the fee is paid over the course hours attended. Then, logically, we should not have a duty other than entering the classroom and teaching, but is that possible? The desires of the school administrations never end, and they even impose on us the tasks that they cannot get the permanent teachers to do. Why is that? Because if they do not want us from the National Education Directorate every semester, we will have to look for a school." (6FGHS8)

"At the institution I work for, the administrators want me to prepare at least two souvenirs each year with my trainees and deliver them to the administration. Supposedly, higher authorities demand it from time to time. I know that I do not have such an obligation, but I must accept it so that the school administration does not cause me trouble when opening courses every semester." (18FJDP11)

"Every year, for example, we prepare souvenirs to be given to institutions and protocols. Most of the time, their expenses are out of my pocket and the trainees." (11FGPP12)

Work Security: Regulations Made in Health and Safety

Giddens (1994) stated that insecurity and fear stem from globalization, a natural consequence of modernity that spreads risk rather than increasing it. With criteria such as globalization of risk, globalization of random risk, and widespread risk information, it is stated that fear arises from the spread of risk rather than the increase in risk. It turns out that the interviewed participants felt insecurities in their working life at very different stages of their lives and experienced the manifestations of this unequal situation at very different points. The participants also stated that they experienced inequality benefiting from health services and paying insurance premiums that root back to the feelings of inequality regarding wages with permanent teachers.

"This system is such that a permanent teacher has the right to give birth and have children. The state gives paid leave to the teacher who gave birth; as if it is not enough, they extend their leave. If I say that I am pregnant and will give birth, it will immediately put me in front of the door. Well, they say they have at least three or five children (Laughs)." (2FSSMS5)

"Come on, even though we do the same job, the wage we get is much less, but I don't understand why our insurance is low; if anyone knows the logic, please tell me." (3MSMS6)

"Well, frankly, what upset me the most, more than the fee, was learning that our insurance was not fully paid. I did a lot of research on this for a semester, the total course hours you attend per month is divided by eight; according to that, insurance is paid. So, if you teach 30 hours a week, it's 120 hours a month. They're dividing it by eight, and it's ridiculous that it's like an insurance for about 15 days." (15FEP8)

Skill Reproduction Security: Opportunities to Acquire Skills and Use Skills of the Worker

Those included in the precariat cannot become professionals because these people cannot specialize. The members of the precariat are faced with serious uncertainty regardless of the field of work they work in, and their hopes for upward social mobility are low (Standing, 2020). For this reason, it is seen that paid teachers and master instructors do not show as much interest in postgraduate education as permanent teachers. Although there are improvements in career steps such as specialist teachers, headteachers, and additional course fees for postgraduates, the absence of this situation in paid teachers and master instructors can be shown as the biggest factor. Being included in the precariat meets a status that does not have a career goal or a sense of professional belonging (Standing, 2020).

"Unfortunately, the system is always based on permanent teachers. Now there is a new law for them, the professional law. They climb the career ladder as specialist teachers and headteachers. Of course, it should not be misunderstood, but shouldn't any improvement be made to us paid teachers? I also studied at the faculty of education, and I teach at school. Now that these career steps have come, all the permanent teachers at my school are working to do postgraduate education. I have an expert's degree, but what difference does it make? None." (4FEMS7)

"It is very nice that the Ministry encourages teachers to do postgraduate education. Frankly, I would love to do my expert doctorate. But we only earn three cents. Now, at this age, while I am still living with the financial support of my father, how can I say to him that I want an expert degree and I will have such expenses?" (7MBHS8)

"I was a very successful student who graduated from the conservatory with a degree. If I could be appointed, I had big dreams, but right now, I don't feel like doing anything other than going in and out of class. I mean, what will it change when I work hard and do something different?" (5MMMS9)

Flexibility has many different dimensions, such as wage flexibility (wages reduction), employment flexibility (dismissal), job flexibility (transfer to different areas within the organization), and flexibility in qualifications. Flexibility in qualifications meant an easy adjustment of workers' qualifications (Standing, 2020). This situation causes paid teachers and master instructors working in educational institutions to be employed in fields that do not comply with their basic qualifications. It is noteworthy that some participants stated that they teach in different branches besides the branches they studied at the undergraduate level.

"I graduated from Turkish Language Teaching. But the Sultanbeyli District Directorate of National Education, which I applied for the first two years after graduation, said that they did not need a paid teacher in Turkish. Still, they could offer me a job if I wanted to be a classroom teacher. So, I accepted what I had to do and worked as a paid classroom teacher in primary school for two years. So, think about it." (1FTMS6)

"One year, a branch manager said to me that there is a shortage of Turkish teachers. They said you are an English teacher, but both are language lessons, so can you teach the Turkish lessons too? I then gave Turkish lessons in a secondary school." (4FEMS7)

Standing describes the members of the precariat with the concept of denizen (partial citizen). This concept is used to meet individuals with more limited rights than normal citizens, even if the reasons are different. The partial citizen concept can also be used for working life. In return for a salary, employees have the right to participate in decisions and vote within the institution they work for, albeit to a limited extent. However, those who work with a temporary status are restricted from these rights (Standing, 2020). It is seen that the interviewed teachers feel excluded because they are not included in the process, especially the decision-making mechanisms within the institution.

"Our name is a teacher when it comes to words, but mountains and hills emerge between teachers and us when it comes to action. I do not have any of the rights the permanent teachers that I sit in the same school and sit in the same teachers' room have. We do everything together, but frankly, we do not have a say in anything" (6FGHS8)

"So, they always say that the decisions of the teachers' board are the constitution of the school. Well, I don't remember attending one teachers' board meeting for all these years" (15FEP8)

Representation Security: Independent Unions and the Right to Strike

In the Communist Manifesto, Marx & Engels (2017) suggested that workers would begin to form permanent associations, unions, or unions against the bourgeoisie to ensure wage stability and prepare for possible revolts. A different formation of proletarianization is precarization, which has been emphasized recently in the literature (Kalleberg & Vallas, 2017; Lorey, 2015; Styhre, 2017). Professionals with “cognitive labor,” “immaterial labor,” and “creative labor” are faced with de-unionization and insecurity with a noticeable increase in recent years. Under the new flexploitation regime (Bourdieu, 1998), the entire cost of uncertainty and risk is placed on the shoulders of the individual. A character erosion, which even members of the most powerful professions are exposed to, has become central to working life (Sennett, 2008). Although many teachers work in educational institutions, since they do not have the right to be union members compared to their permanent colleagues, it stands out as a fundamental deficiency they see for themselves in their search for rights.

“Sometimes, representatives of different unions come to the school where I work and chat in the teachers’ room. They answer their members’ questions and ask if they have any problems. We look and listen like an orphan in a corner (Laughs).” (7MBHS8)

“We are experiencing so many problems, but we do not have the platforms to voice our wishes and make our voices heard. Since we cannot become members, the unions probably don’t pay attention to us; they pass it off by saying that they are conveying our demands.” (18FJDP11)

“Aren’t unions supposed to be established to defend the rights of education workers? Then two questions come to mind. First, aren’t we education workers? Second, if we are, why can’t we join a union? Come and see how we are marginalized even from here.” (11FGPP12)

Results and Discussions

It is seen that adult individuals who live in society often have their professions at the center of the activities they organize so that they can healthily continue their life adventures. Therefore, professional life, which has an important place in the activity of self-identification in society, is important in planning the course of individuals’ lives. Ulrich Beck states that individuals often describe themselves in society not by their hobbies, religious beliefs, or physical characteristics but by the line of work they earn their living. In this way, it is thought that if the profession of the addressee is known, they can be recognized. The job functions as a common identity pattern; with its help, personal needs, abilities, and economic and social position are determined. In a society where people’s lives continue within the framework of their profession, a person’s job will give certain main information about them such as income, status, linguistic abilities, possible interests, and social relations (Beck, 2011). While young individuals go to education faculties, they see teaching as a “guaranteed profession” and dream of being appointed as soon as possible and having a fixed income profession. However, teaching is seen as an income alternative for teacher candidates who cannot be permanently

appointed until they become appointed. It is stated that there are serious differences in terms of the job description, income status, and personal rights with permanent teachers, in which paid teachers and master instructors carry out similar jobs in the same places during this period.

One of the issues paid teachers and master instructors focus on the most is that they do not have the security of working in educational institutions. They believe that one day they will suddenly be dismissed by school administration for reasons such as "the teacher returned to their position as a permanent teacher" or "a new course could not be opened" In this case, teachers who become precariat will have serious worries about the future, will lose their sense of belonging to the institution they work for and to their profession, and will experience an alienation from their profession due to the inherent nature of helplessness, since the precariat does not see itself as part of a working community based on solidarity. This causes alienation and instrumentality in whatever they must do. The precariat knows that there is no shadow of the future because their work has no future (Standing, 2020). In his article "A Theory of Human Motivation," published in 1943, Abraham Maslow symbolized the basic needs of human beings with the likeness of a five-step pyramid. After meeting the individual's physiological needs to survive, Maslow states a feeling of security in the newly emerging needs group. The next step for the individual who feels safe is the need for belonging and love. The respect one has for themselves and their environment is very valuable at this stage. In the last stage of the hierarchy of needs, the person progresses in the area where they are talented and inclined (Maslow, 1943). The status of having a profession certainly plays a leading role in realizing all the steps in Maslow's hierarchy of needs. Paid teachers and master instructors indicate that they do not feel comfortable in precarious employment, do not develop a sense of belonging to their profession and institution, and need a fixed basic income to maintain their physiological continuity. This situation also undermines the self-esteem of paid teachers and master instructors and significantly hinders their career goals. Paid teachers and master instructors seem to be forced to submit to a precarious habitus in Bourdieuan terms (Gunerigok & Ogur, 2018). Each year, when paid teachers and master instructors cannot be appointed as permanent staff, their faith in their profession will decrease, and their dreams of building a career in this field will fade.

On top of the desperation of individuals working as paid teachers and master instructors in educational institutions for not being able to fulfill their profession as they want, the attitudes contrary to the egalitarian practices they encounter also trigger the state of intimidation and anger in them. The gap in security areas such as wages and insurance will cause them to feel much more enthusiastic about seeing themselves as a denizen citizen. They claim to do a job that is similar to that of permanent teachers, if not more. Fear and blockade will grip a group that sees no future in terms of security and identity. These emotions may induce the precariat to react angrily to the real or imagined causes of their precarious condition (Standing, 2020). Paid teachers and master instructors are also not allowed to voice their grievances against this situation, which they describe as unequal, by being members of non-governmental organizations such as legally

institutionalized unions. This situation may cause paid teachers and master instructors to feel helpless and unattended under all these conditions.

Eliminating the basic wage employment and security concerns of many paid teachers and master instructors working in formal and non-formal education institutions in Turkey will increase their quality and thus the quality of the education system considering the role of teacher quality in the quality of education systems. In this respect, it can be considered to carry out legal studies on basic fixed income regulation and social security to eliminate the great differences between permanent and non-permanent teachers. At the point of being a self-actualized individual, it can be said that paid teachers and master instructors should be given much more say in the functioning of educational institutions, and their participation in union activities should be ensured.

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