

Teaching and Learning about Gender  
in a Turkish University:  
Boundary Work in a Polarised Society

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PhD Thesis



# Author's Declaration

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Signed:

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<sup>1</sup> Brook, and all study participants, are pseudonyms.

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For Elena, Lucy and Noa Joy





## Abstract

This study explores how staff and students taught and learnt about gender in a prestigious Turkish university, in a polarised context in which gender relations had increasingly come to mark political and religious boundaries. It conceives of the institution as an academic borderland, both part of, and separate from, wider Turkish society. It considers both explicit and implicit engagement with gender relations in pedagogical relationships, curricula, values, and teaching methods. This teaching and learning is seen as intersectional boundary work, shaping and changing conceptual and social boundaries – both those relating to gender and to other forms of difference.

The study draws on ethnographic work involving interviews and observations in six departments, conducted over five months before the July 2016 coup attempt. It shows how the university's approach to gender reflected its other political and educational commitments, situating it distinctively within a divided Turkish society.

Institutional boundaries shaped departmental approaches to gender in different ways. The study shows that explicit engagement with gender in classes in various departments was reported to change some students' understandings of gender boundaries. Pedagogical approaches in other departments, while explicitly addressing gender to only a limited extent, both reinforced and challenged the departments' associations with particular forms of masculinity.

The study shows how, in a political context in which gender relations were accorded heightened significance, academic engagement with gender sometimes served to reinforce or intensify boundaries between groups. At the same time the way gender was addressed in some classes served to soften other boundaries, most notably enabling some students to see as human those they had previously rejected. Taken together these processes highlighted that engagement with gender in the university's classrooms had implications not simply for gender boundaries, but for wider dynamics of inclusion and exclusion both within and beyond the borders of the university.



## Impact statement

This thesis has potential for impact on a number of fronts. Methodologically its exploration of engagements with gender in terms of institutional policy and governance, staff curricular and pedagogical choices, and students' interactions and learning is innovative in higher education studies. It affords understanding of the interconnections between processes which are often explored separately. Conceptually, the thesis' work bringing the notions of borderlands and boundary work to bear on studies of gender in higher education opens a rich vein for exploring the situated complexity of different forms of teaching and learning about gender. Contextually the thesis offers valuable insights in light of its attention to the standpoints of different groups, particularly those with varying degrees of religious commitment. Its empirical findings on the consequences of teaching and learning about gender for relations between groups have important implications, especially for classrooms in polarised contexts. They point particularly to the importance of providing space for nuanced consideration of alternate and conflicting perspectives.

I shall seek to support these potential impacts in a number of different ways, relating to different geographies. I am in the process of preparing a report providing a summary of findings for distribution to senior administrators at Brook and to those who participated in the project. I have started making arrangements to present this report at a seminar at Brook, which, in light of COVID-19, might need to be done remotely. I hope that it will be a helpful resource for ongoing reflections on how best to include gender in academic curricula, and a stimulus to consider further the intersectional implications of doing so in different ways.

While at the present moment the Turkish government, and the *Yükseköğretim Kurulu* (Higher Education Council), are not receptive to specific pursuit of gender equality, many of the study's findings are relevant regardless of the normative perspective on gender one takes. I am preparing a policy note outlining implications of the research for Turkish universities more generally, seeking to frame it suitably for audiences in government and different university administrations. I shall circulate this with the help of Turkish

colleagues, and some of the study participants, who are involved in debates about gender equality in higher education at the Turkish national level.

For wider dissemination of the study's methodological, conceptual and contextual insights I am preparing a series of papers for publication. One will be oriented to the field of gender and education. It will address the importance of approaching teaching and learning about gender as intersectional boundary work, while also considering the borderland nature of specific universities and the consequent implications of such teaching for relations between different sociopolitical groups. I will aim to publish other papers in the journals of specific disciplines, linked to the departments studied, in order to be able to reach academics and decision makers who might not regularly attend to the literature on gender studies. By these various means I hope that the thesis' own boundary work will support both gender equality and inclusion.

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## List of Abbreviations

AKP .....	<i>Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi</i> (Justice and Development Party)
CE .....	Civil Engineering
CHP.....	<i>Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi</i> (Republican People's Party)
EU .....	European Union
EC .....	European Commission
GWS.....	Gender and Women's Studies
HEC.....	Higher Education Council of the Turkish Republic ( <i>Yükseköğretim Kurulu</i> )
SSPC.....	Student Selection & Placement Centre ( <i>Ölçme, Seçme ve Yerleştirme Merkezi</i> )
TSI.....	Turkish Statistical Institute ( <i>Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu</i> )

## Glossary

<i>Fitrat</i> .....	Nature, creation
<i>Hani</i> .....	So. Discourse marker
<i>Yani</i> .....	So. Discourse marker

# 1 Introduction

## Rationale – the neat version ...

Higher education institutions can reproduce or challenge wider society's gendered boundaries and associated hierarchies – the inequalities, norms, understandings and divisions relating to gender (Loots and Walker, 2015). Teaching – in lectures and seminars – with its associated assignments and assessments forms part of the process by which such reproductions and challenges take place (Cuesta and Witt, 2014; Ersöz, 2012; Esen, 2013; Flood, 2011; Markowitz, 2005). Such teaching is itself related to the patterns of gender relations within a wider institution (Morley, 2007; Grünberg, 2011; Molla and Cuthbert, 2014). The ways in which teaching and learning contribute to these processes of reproduction or challenge are complex and contextually specific. This study aims to contribute to understanding them better in a Turkish setting, in order that universities might better be able to challenge, rather than reinforce, such inequalities.

At the same time these concerns with gender need to be considered intersectionally (McCall, 2008; Collins and Chepp, 2013), not least because gender relations are frequently deployed to mark the boundaries of different – particularly national, ethnic and religious – groups (Kandiyoti, 1991; Anthias and Yuval-Davis, 1992; Al-Ali and Pratt, 2009). A substantial part of the literature looking at gender and women's studies considers also intersections with for instance class and race, and the need to address exclusion at different levels (Ringrose, 2007; Danowitz and Tuitt, 2011). There are fewer studies, however, of the implications of teaching and learning about gender in university classes in terms of wider sociopolitical divisions (cf. Duemmler et al., 2010; Yang, 2010). Given the theoretical potential for education which seeks to advance inclusion in relation to gender to thereby reinforce exclusion in other ways, these relationships merit further exploration.

The Turkish context, and the situation of the university which became the location for this study, were particularly pertinent settings for the exploration of such intersectional relationships. Turkish society has become increasingly polarised (Cagaptay, 2018; Uzer, 2015) – reaching a crisis point around the time of the study in

2016 – with gender relations having increasing prominence as boundary markers for other social divisions (Güneş-Ayata and Doğangün, 2017; Kandiyoti, 2016, 2015; Mutluer, 2019). It was also apparent from before I began my research that the case study institution, was by no means typical of Turkish universities and that, while necessarily connected with wider Turkish society, it was also in some senses separated from it. A prestigious, secular-inclined, left leaning state-funded Turkish university, it is, at least according to many of its members, at odds with the direction of contemporary political and social changes in the country.

Conceiving of the case study institution as a borderland (Anzaldúa, 1987; Newman, 2003) focused attention on some of the university's, and specific departments', other boundaries – whether geographic, political, religious or classed – when considering how gender was addressed. It also underscored that anything which acts to change or influence one set of boundaries – which I refer to in this study as boundary work – including those associated with gender, might have implications in terms of other boundaries. While it is possible that challenge to gendered boundaries and hierarchies might lead to challenge to other boundaries, potentially softening the divisions between people, the converse might also be true.

The rationale for this study, as implied in the foregoing brief discussion, and expanded in the rest of this chapter, is twofold. Firstly, it aims to increase understanding of the ways classroom engagement with gender is shaped by institutional and departmental boundaries and involved in reproducing and challenging gender boundaries. This will hopefully give insights which can enable universities, and academic courses within them, to better support education which fosters understandings and practices of gender equality, both in Turkey and more broadly. Secondly it will consider the implications of this work on gender boundaries for other relationships of inclusion and exclusion, particularly with respect to differences of religious commitment, political affiliation and sexuality. This analysis will help to further understanding of how higher education can foster gender equality while limiting other forms of separation and anticipating and navigating them where necessary. As such it relates to reflection on the wider role of universities in times of increasing social division – how they can pursue particular values, while enhancing, rather than diminishing, mutual understanding.

### ... and the messy version

The foregoing explanation of why this study is important and what it sets out to do is somewhat misleading. It speaks of a deliberate, linear process, based purely in a prior recognition of the scope for helpful development in the literature, and the value of an enquiry in a particular context. It is an accurate, and in my view compelling, rational argument for the merits of the research. It disguises, however, the process by which the research was arrived at. While at every stage involving reasoned reflection on the literature and possible research directions, the framing of the problem was as much something that happened to me over the course of the research as something I thoughtfully pursued. In several respects the research was forced upon me, not by a sense of scientific merit, but by the heavy hand of pragmatism. Rather than presenting a fabricated logic of enquiry, the rest of this chapter explains how the study developed, in order to better convey both its strengths and limitations.

Certainly there is precedent for this approach. Theorists of naturalistic enquiry emphasise its difference from positivist science, and the need for flexibility with research questions (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). Grounded theorists encourage an emergent, iterative approach to the developing research direction (Charmaz, 2006; Gibson and Hartman, 2013). Anthropologists have historically enquired into those aspects of the lives of their research participants which seemed to present the richest veins to pursue (Geertz, 1973; Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007; O'Reilly, 2009; Troman, 2002). The literature on ethnography in education emphasises the messiness of such enquiry (Ball et al., 2012); it still tends, however, to require a clear rationale and research question (Mills and Morton, 2013). In this study the rationale and research question only reached their final form rather late in the research process.

The ethnographic literature has at times described the researcher as a research instrument, indeed the 'research instrument par excellence' (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007, p. 17; Brockmann, 2011). I shall develop this metaphor to present the development of the enquiry. Invoking a more stereotypical image of scientific instruments, I would have you imagine me as a microscope. Perhaps by the end you will see why I have in mind a rather battered handheld type, rather than a transmission

electron variety. With me as the instrument, I shall present the selection of the processes under investigation (the focus), the – entirely unenclosed in glass slides – subjects of enquiry (the location, research site and unit of analysis) and the lenses (the ways of looking at the processes in the site).

### **My own history with gender and gender equality**

The focus – topic or area – of my research has remained relatively constant. It is that of gender and gender equality in higher education. I explore theoretical accounts of gender and gender equality in more detail in chapter two, acknowledging the challenges of defining gender (Henderson, 2015). I see gender as referring to the relationship of social processes to representations of the reproductive and sexual differences between peoples' bodies; it encompasses those sets of roles, relations, norms and practices which are in some sense seen to relate to these differences (Anthias, 2013, 1991; Connell, 2005).

I wanted to explore higher education relating to gender and gender equality because I myself had greatly appreciated my own experience of such education. I recognised that it was possible for higher education to bring about change in relation to gender, in my case cognitively, affectively and, at least in part, in terms of practice. I wanted, as a result, to understand how higher education could better support positive change in these respects.

My first explicit academic engagement with gender that I recall was on a Master's degree in Education and International Development at the Institute of Education in 2010. I was working as a schoolteacher and wanting to build skills to enable me to work in education in Central Asia. The Gender, Education and Development module<sup>2</sup>, which I took at the suggestion of a couple of friends, was revelatory. The readings and seminars encouraged me to think, beyond gender, about power relations in ways I had not previously considered. I was struck that, viewing inequality in terms of simplified binaries, I was at the top of them all. I was male, white, western, educated, comfortably off, cis-gendered and heterosexual. I was challenged to reflect on how I should live with

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<sup>2</sup> Examined insightfully by Henderson (2015)

such positional privilege. At the same time some theorists asserted that the privileged (including men) would never relinquish power, that it had to be grasped (Longwe, 1998). I believe in a God, however, who gave up all his power, in a saviour

‘who, though he was in the form of God,  
did not regard equality with God as something to be exploited,  
but emptied himself, taking the form of a slave.’

(Philippians 2:6-7, New Revised Standard Version Bible)

While this notion of Christian servanthood has been problematically emphasised in relation to women (Phiri, 2002), reinforcing patriarchal hierarchies, I felt it as a call to respond myself. I ended up doing research for the master’s dissertation in a South African seminary. I was looking at whether and how the education that they had could be an education for gender justice. It appeared that contingently their education could serve such a role, that it already was for some students, and that for some of them it had been transformative (Walton, 2013). I wanted to explore similar dynamics further in my doctoral studies.

### **Academic engagement with gender in higher education**

There are a variety of ways in which the wider literature addresses the ways in which higher education promotes gender (in)equality or fosters understandings and practices of gender that are consonant with gender (in)equality. Studies suggest that gendered inequalities within higher education institutions will influence the understandings and practices of their constituent members, both staff and students (Morley, 2007, 2014; Unterhalter and Carpentier, 2010; Loots and Walker, 2015). Internationally gender inequalities in higher education have been viewed in different ways, paying attention to numerical disparities, structural power inequalities, rights and opportunities, and discursive processes of marginalisation (Unterhalter, 2005, 2010; McArthur, 2010). These inequalities relate to the wider gendered organisation of higher education institutions including the division of labour, institutional power relations and differences in representation in decision making, and gendered differences in both policies and

interpersonal interactions (Acker, 1990; Connell, 2006; Peto and Dezso, 2011; Molla and Cuthbert, 2014).

The place of academic engagement with gender is the particular area on which I wanted to focus. Academic engagement in gender and women's studies courses has been widely researched, particularly in the USA and the UK (George, 1992; Coate, 2006; Stake, 2006; Currier and Carlson, 2009; Pleasants, 2011; Brown, 2011; Kirkup et al., 2015). This literature has highlighted the relative pedagogic merits and limits of conscientisation, critical pedagogy and linguistic deconstruction (Orner, 1992; Luke and Gore, 1992). These reflections also relate to a literature considering the wider role of higher education, and the broader significance of different types of pedagogy, and their implications for the ways in which students view themselves and other people (Unterhalter, 2010; Walker, 2010). This literature highlights that curriculum and pedagogy need not have an explicit focus on gender to have implications for students' approaches to gender (Walker and Wilson-Strydom, 2017).

There is a long if somewhat sporadic history of research addressing the inclusion of gender in the curriculum outside gender and women's studies. This literature has been particularly focused in the United States (Aerni et al., 1999; Gappa and Pearce, 1980; Ackerly and Mügge, 2016), though it has also been considered in the United Kingdom (Blundell, 2009; Foster et al., 2013), and parts of Europe (Verdonk et al., 2009; Grünberg, 2011; Verge et al., 2018; Larrondo and Rivero, 2019). This research shows that, unsurprisingly, certain disciplines are far more likely to incorporate gender in the curricula than others. It also shows that, in line with the wider gender mainstreaming literature (Unterhalter and North, 2010), gender is frequently included as a result of individual action rather than as a broader corporate endeavour (Gappa and Pearce, 1980; Gruberg, 1994; Larrondo and Rivero, 2019; Slavova, 2011). Feminist pedagogies seek to resist classroom hierarchies, draw on students' own experiences, and bring about transformations in students' perspectives (Henderson, 2013). It is hard, however, to find studies exploring the inclusion of feminist pedagogies outside gender focused courses, though there are studies which highlight the difficulties associated with the absence of such pedagogies (Burke et al., 2013).

In terms of student responses there are again a wide range of courses looking at the impact of gender and women's studies courses on students. These show the way that students' understandings of gender and views of gender equality change through their experience of such courses (Kirkup et al., 2015; Stake, 2006; Senn et al., 2015), though they also point to a gap between cognitive and behavioural change (Flood, 2011). Some studies have explored the impact of academic engagement outside gender and women's studies on students' understandings and practices of gender; a study in the United States pointed to the differential impact of different disciplines (Sallee, 2011), while a study in the UK emphasised how gendered antagonisms were not impacted by academic courses in general (Burke et al., 2013). Wider studies of student experience emphasise the significance of the broader higher education process for students developing gender identities, and emphasise the interrelationship with other forms of social difference (Edwards and Jones, 2009; Harris, 2010).

Together, the literature demonstrates the potential significance of academic engagement with gender for students' gendered conceptions, practices and identities, while also highlighting the importance of considering this in relation to the gender dynamics of the wider institution and wider society. It suggests that there is more to be understood about the influence of engagement with gender in courses outside gender and women's studies. The literature also points to the importance of considering these interrelationships intersectionally with other forms of social difference. It suggests that in some ways higher education does offer indeterminate spaces for reflection, within which change is possible (Barnett, 2007; Marginson, 2011; Walker and Wilson-Strydom, 2017), while also highlighting the myriad ways in which educational spaces are determined by their social and institutional context and pedagogic and curricular approaches (cf. Unterhalter and North, 2010). It points to the value of understanding educational contexts in their specificity in order to see how the educational space can be kept as open as possible. Altogether the literature appeared to afford both space, and warrant, for further enquiry into the work university classes could do in support of gender equality.



## Research location: where I wanted to research ...

I did not want to continue my research in South Africa. I wanted to work in Afghanistan. I do not myself fully know why. I had lived in Uzbekistan after I left university, working with a Christian NGO producing education materials for children. We were one hundred and fifty miles from the Afghan border and when I left Uzbekistan I spent a summer visiting various parts of North Afghanistan. If possible I wanted to go back and live and work there, perceiving – in a way I recognised raised post-colonial questions (Abu-Lughod, 2002; Kwok, 2002; Spivak, 1988) – that there might be scope for me to make a useful contribution to its developing education systems. As a place about which discourses around gender inequality had become well established in the literature (Abirafeh, 2005; Zulfacar, 2006; Kandiyoti, 2009), and where research into men's engagement with gender was almost non-existent (Schmeidl 2009) it seemed to be a good fit for the type of research that I wanted to do. Further, at that time (in 2011), there was a broad tide of development goodwill connected with hopes for peace. Consequently, when it came to planning my PhD application exploring how education could support the transformation of men towards an embrace of gender justice, I wanted to look at that in Afghanistan.

I pursued the project with enthusiasm: six months' work on the application; a further year of a compulsory Master's degree focused wherever possible on my research topic and location; language learning; a semester and a half of literature review, statistical analysis on higher education in Afghanistan, and preparation for a pilot study. Then came the ethics review.

And suddenly I could not go. It was too dangerous. Even the north, selected because it was relatively peaceful as well as for linguistic reasons, would be off limits to me. I should have seen it. I had been warned once by a co-supervisor but had misunderstood his advice. I had simply (in retrospect foolishly) not anticipated this prevention. I doggedly pushed back, questioning the decision and seeking clarification, but without success.

Consequently, two semesters into my PhD study, and a further year and a half into the overall research process, I had to find somewhere else to conduct my research.

I explored doing research with Afghans in the United Kingdom, which is, in retrospect, probably what I should have done. I had wanted, however, to do research in my participants' mother tongue, did not myself speak sufficient Dari, and would not be able to find sufficient Uzbek-speaking Afghans in the UK. So, I tried to find an alternative research site. I looked at each of Afghanistan's near neighbours, focusing on Tajikistan as one possible place, but the arrest of a PhD student in the city I was looking at closed that option after a month or two. Still hoping to leverage my Uzbek I looked at Turkic speaking countries and in the end it was a choice between Turkey and Kyrgyzstan. My supervisor felt more confident with the former, and that is where I directed my attention.

### ... and where I did – Turkey

So I turned, and this account returns, after some circumnavigation, to Turkey. Both wider gender relations in Turkey and its higher education system are vastly different from my originally intended location. However, as became increasingly apparent through the research period, Turkey is also, though in different ways to Afghanistan, a highly divided country, with gender relations being both socially and politically contentious (Kandiyoti 2016, 2011) and with higher education acting as an important stage for some of the associated debates in recent years (Seggie, 2011, 2015). I outline aspects of all three of these in the following sections, though it was only incrementally that I appreciated their full significance for the research I was undertaking.

Though the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923 established the geographic borders of the new Turkish Republic (Zürcher, 2004) many of its other symbolic and social boundaries – whether cultural, political, ethnic – remained inchoate. In order to establish the new country, and generate a collective identity among the country's disparate and heterogeneous population, its leaders needed to establish boundaries relative to those outside the Republic, both in temporal and spatial terms (Ahmad, 1993). Mustafa Kemal (in Kuzmanovic, 2008, p. 45), designated Atatürk<sup>3</sup>, had a vision for the country which sought to distinguish it from its Ottoman past, orient it to the 'level of contemporary civilisation' represented by the West, and ground it in the Turkish nationalism which had

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<sup>3</sup> 'Father Turk' – an honorific surname bestowed by the Turkish Parliament in 1934 (Rustow, 1968)

emerged in the last decades of the empire (Zürcher 2004). Rather than discerning a resultant unity, however, many commentators focus on the enduring divisions in Turkish society (Özbudun, 2013; White, 2013; Cagaptay, 2018), often drawing on Şerif Mardin's (1973) analysis of relations between a central urban elite and a rural periphery, which could be traced back to the Ottoman period. Even those who resist the simplicity of narratives based on Mardin's paradigm (Kandiyoti, 2012; Turam, 2012), nevertheless pay close attention to the interconnections across Turkey's interwoven sociopolitical boundaries (Kandiyoti, 1997).

The establishment of new boundaries, and the internal tensions this created, were perhaps most evident in relation to the Republic's embrace of secularism. The overthrow of the vestiges of the empire involved a disestablishment of the Islamic institutions with which it was interwoven (Arat, 2005). The state was set above religion, rather than the other way round. The Caliphate was abolished in 1924, as was the Ottomans' highest Muslim authority, the Şeyh-ül-Islam. The 1926 Civil Code, adopted broadly from Switzerland, removed any legal influence of the shariah (Al-Ali, 2002). Secularism – *laiklik* – was set constitutionally as a mark of the Republic, ostensibly involving the separation of religion and state and the exclusion of religion from public life (Zürcher, 2004).<sup>4</sup>

The attempted displacement of Islam as a communal identity left fissures which cut through the Republic. Islam lay at the heart of life for the vast majority of the population. Mardin (1973) and Sunar and Toprak (1984) also describe Islam's role as mediator between centre and periphery in the Ottoman empire. Under the new secularism this connection was ostensibly severed, though scholars like Gürbey (2012) show how political parties and the Republican state have consistently, and increasingly over past decades, incorporated and employed religion to their own ends. An associated divide between those termed secularists and Islamists is often presented as the key

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<sup>4</sup> This was a gradual process. Article 2 of the 1924 Constitution specified Islam as the Republic's religion, but this was deleted in a 1928 amendment, and laicism installed in the constitution in a 1937 amendment (Öztürk and Gözaydın, 2017). *Laiklik* differed from both Anglo-Saxon secularism, in that it was not aimed clearly at maintaining freedom of religion, and from French *laïcité*, as the Turkish state remained closely involved in overseeing and providing religious services (Çelik, 2018; Gürbey, 2012).

political division in contemporary Turkey (Yavuz, 2009). Demiralp (2012) and Kandiyoti (2012) emphasise that this purported ideological boundary in fact masks a wider and more complex set of structural distinctions and suggests that such labels have been employed by elites as a conscious process of othering throughout Turkish history to buttress their own positions of power.

This disjuncture between purported and actual boundaries was evident also at the level of ethnicity. Altınay (2004), in her book on Turkish militarism, highlights that at the Grand National Assembly in Ankara 1920, near the start of the War of Independence, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk spoke of the assembly as representing a wide range of Muslim groups – Turks, Çerkes, Kurds and Laz<sup>5</sup>. It was only later that the War was reinscribed as one of Turkish independence. Turkish nationalism, which drew strongly on the work of the sociologist Ziya Gökalp (1876-1924) (White, 2013), thus led increasingly to the subsumption and marginalisation of non-Turkish minorities within the Turkish state, accelerating after the failed Kurdish rebellion under Sheikh Said in 1925 (Yadirgi, 2017). The consequences of this marginalisation of non-Turkish minorities (Mutluer, 2011), including within the field of education (Çapar, 2011; Coskun, 2011), have had significant and sometimes devastating consequences, seen most clearly in the ongoing war in the country's East (Yadirgi, 2017).

The country's purported unity also masked significant differences relating to class and geography. The impact of Atatürk's reforms was much more pronounced among the republic's small urban population. Zürcher (2004) argues that the villagers who constituted the vast majority of the population would have noticed little change. Government emphases on the importance of teaching and schooling – for adults as well as children – as a vehicle for modernisation, including among the rural population in Village Institutes and People's Houses, served to reinforce distinctions between the educated and the uneducated, even while seeking to overcome them (Hale, 1981; Cin, 2017). Divisions between rural and urban, and Eastern and Western, parts of Turkey,

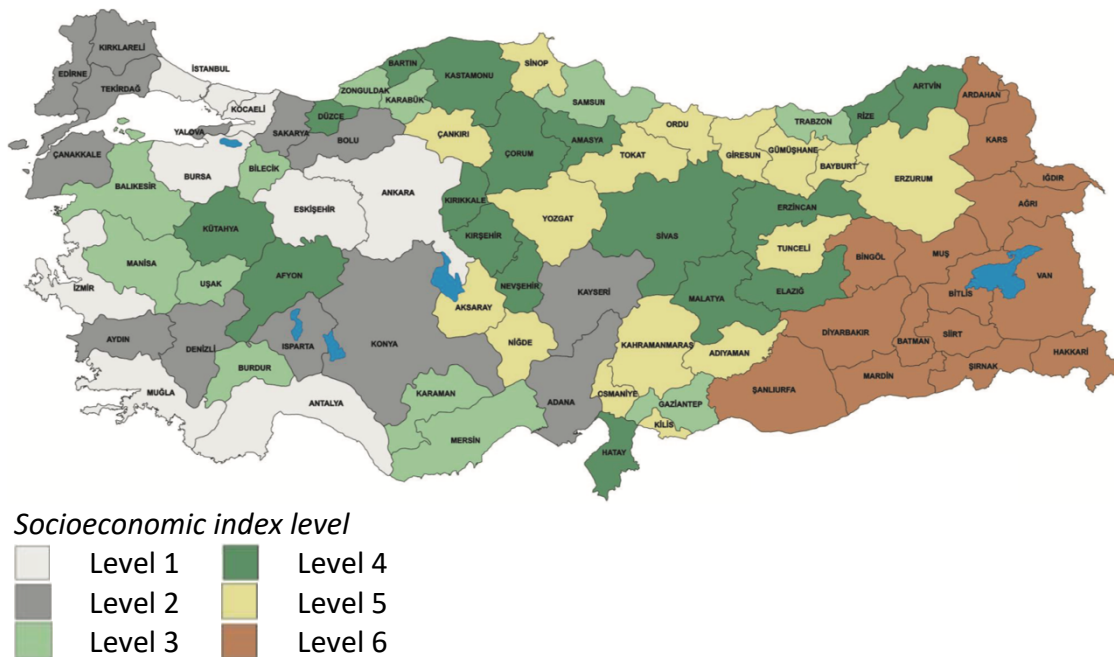
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<sup>5</sup> Already the Christian population, which had been 20% in 1912, was excluded from the emerging nation. By 1927 it had been reduced to 2.64% (Nohl, 2008, p. 25).

and migration between them, continued to play crucial roles in Turkish politics up to the present period (Hale and Özbudun, 2010).

There are stark contrasts between different parts of Turkey in terms of socioeconomic development. Provincial GDP is highly regionalised, with the richest provinces in the northwest and the poorest in the southeast (TSI, 2020a). The disparity between the provinces is also significant, with the GDP of the top ten per cent of provinces being almost five times that of the bottom ten per cent of provinces. In a comparison of OECD countries using 2016 data, only Mexico had a higher ratio than this (OECD, 2018). A broader socioeconomic development index, produced by the Turkish government (DGRDSA, 2013) also illustrates the highly regionalised nature of such development, with Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia being markedly less developed than the rest of the country (See Figure 1). These disparities also relate to ethnic differences, with the least developed areas being those with the highest populations of Kurds. Yadirgi (2017) argues that this is due to a deliberate policy of ‘de-development’, which began with the ethno-nationalism of the Young Turks in 1915.

*Figure 1. Map illustrating the Socioeconomic Development Index of Turkish provinces (Adapted from DGRDSA 2013)*



In the early years of government (2002-2011) by the currently ruling *Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi* (Justice and Development Party, AKP) it looked like there might be

some change or rapprochement across some of these divisions (Özkazanç, 2020). It was an ostensibly moderate successor to the Islamist Welfare and Virtue parties which were closed by Turkey's Constitutional Court for violating the constitution's commitment to secularism in 1998 and 2001 respectively (Zürcher 2004). Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, the AKP's leader, framed the party as democratic conservative on coming to power, to distinguish it from its Islamic heritage, and committed himself to secular republican principles (Hale and Özbudun, 2010). The party presided over a period of significant, if fragile, economic growth (2002-2018), with relatively high levels of redistribution to poorer segments of society (Öniş, 2012; Subaşat, 2014), and was immensely popular in its first few elections, winning almost half the national vote share in 2007 and 2011 (Kemahlioğlu, 2015). With support primarily in the periphery, the AKP increasingly resisted challenges from the establishment, undermining the 'tutelary' role of the military through a series of major, if significantly flawed, trials, dismissing and reshuffling members of the judiciary, and securing the presidency for its own candidate Abdullah Gül in 2007 (Esen and Gumuscu, 2016, p. 1585; Tezcur, 2011; Ciddi, 2014). It appeared to favour some form of peaceful settlement of the Kurdish question, initiating a faltering 'Kurdish opening' in 2009, which it pursued to varying degrees in the ensuing years (Gunter, 2013). Since 2013, however, the government, and particularly Erdoğan its current President, has pursued divisive policies in increasingly authoritarian fashion. It responded with occasionally brutal force to the protests that arose around the planned destruction of Gezi park in Istanbul in 2013, and by widespread dismissals of both police and judiciary to the corruption allegations the same year (Esen and Gumuscu, 2016).

Even so, when I selected Turkey for my third attempt at a research location in late 2014 it was relatively peaceful. Since then the government has become embroiled in escalating conflicts against both Kurdish forces and ISIS in eastern Turkey and Syria (Resch, 2017), and in July 2016 against an attempted coup by members of its own military which it blamed on its former ally Fethullah Gülen and his followers (Jenkins, 2016). These conflicts spilled over from the previous battlegrounds of eastern Turkey to all its major cities which in 2015-2016 faced increasingly regular terrorist attacks against civilians. Beyond its military operations the government responded with inflammatory rhetoric and widespread arrests and dismissals of its opponents, whether politicians,

journalists, members of the police or judiciary, academics or other civil servants (Ozkan, 2017). From mid-2015 Erdoğan sought to take advantage of the turbulence to justify constitutional changes granting the President significantly wider executive powers<sup>6</sup>. At each stage the government managed to retain and strengthen the support among its followers, who view Erdoğan as a necessary strong man and protector of conservative values (Cagaptay, 2018). In parallel the government's opponents became increasingly entrenched in their opposition (with the exception of some like the nationalist *Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi*<sup>7</sup> apparently for political convenience). The whole period of my time in Turkey (April 2015 – June 2016) was thus one of increasing polarisation.

### Gender as boundary marker in Turkey

Boundaries relating to gender were involved in marking and demonstrating the wider boundaries of the nationalist project (Kandiyoti, 1991; cf. Nagel, 1998). In some respects this was the case for masculinity. The traditional Turkish *fez* was banned in favour of the modern hat or *şapka*, as a way of marking the Republic's entry into modernity (Kandiyoti, 1997). Altınay (2004, p. 1) also documents in detail the creation of the myth of Turkey as a 'military-nation', in which men's willingness to die for their country, itself represented as the female *anavatan*<sup>8</sup> (White, 2013), defines the imbricated ethnic-gender boundary of their Turkish masculinity (Bilgin, 2004; Kaplan, 2006). Much of the boundary work related, however, to the position of women in society.

Gender equality was presented as a mark of Turkey's modernity. This continued the position of reformers – both male and female – during the nineteenth century Tanzimat era who had argued that the (limited) emancipation of women was crucial to the development, or strengthening, of Ottoman civilisation (Sirman, 1989; Arat, 1998). At the same time Ziya Gökalp presented male-female equality as a feature of a 'pre-Islamic Turkish past' (Arat, 2005, p. 16). Atatürk discouraged segregation and seclusion, and the adoption of the Swiss Civil Code in 1926 outlawed polygamy and gave equal rights of divorce and child custody to both partners in a marriage (Al-Ali, 2002). The

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<sup>6</sup> He was ultimately successful, in a referendum in April 2017 (Öztürk and Gözaydın, 2017)

<sup>7</sup> Nationalist Movement Party

<sup>8</sup> Motherland

headscarf was discouraged, and – demonstrating the class divisions in the Turkish reforms – uncovered women presented as ‘a role model for ... “traditional”, rural, “backward”, “ignorant” women’ (Kejanlioğlu and Taş, 2009, p. 427). Women were encouraged to pursue education and professional employment, releasing them to pursue roles other than motherhood (Acar, 1993; Cin, 2017).

While instituted to demarcate the position of the Republic, many of these changes initially applied in practice to only a fraction of Turkey’s women. Generally only women of the small urban middle and upper classes, many of whom were daughters or wives of government bureaucrats, were able to take advantage of the employment opportunities because of the limited spread of educational facilities, especially beyond the primary level<sup>9</sup>. It was these women who also responded to the call to shun the veil. For the majority of women in rural areas little had changed (Al-Ali, 2002; Kandiyoti, 1987), though Cin (2017) records the emancipatory effects that educational opportunities provided for some village girls from the 1930s onwards. Nevertheless, those symbolic boundaries of the Republic which were associated with gender served to reinforce, and become new markers for, classed and urban / provincial boundaries. The freedoms women in Turkey enjoy continue to vary greatly, with significant differences across rural / urban, East / West and educational divides (Acar, 2006).

These changes to gender boundaries were also pursued to a large degree instrumentally. Many were adopted in order to meet the challenge of the country’s poor state of socioeconomic development (Al-Ali, 2002). Arat (2005) notes of the decisions to grant women the vote in local and national elections in 1930 and 1934 respectively, that Atatürk himself saw women’s public participation and suffrage as a crucial part of establishing Turkey’s legitimacy as a modern, democratic country. Political pursuit of women’s rights and emancipation for its own sake was suppressed. The first women’s party was banned, and the Turkish Women’s Organisation dissolved in 1935, apparently embracing the government’s contention that Kemalism had brought gender equality and that the crucial fight was for secularism and republicanism (Tekeli, 1992). Attention

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<sup>9</sup> In 1930, for instance, the number of female graduates from high schools, vocational schools and higher education institutions were respectively 121, 348 and 40 (TSI, 2013).



to inequalities across gender boundaries was thus displaced, and women's interests were accorded a marginal role within other political movements for the next four decades (Al-Ali, 2002).

The discourse of gender equality began to be disentangled from Kemalism, and again accorded significance as a symbolic boundary in its own right, with the emergence of an independent women's movement in the late 1970s and 1980s. This grew in response to international attention to the place of 'women in development' (Kandiyoti, 2010, p. 168), exposure to second wave feminist literature from, and organising in, Europe and North America and a changed political landscape following the 1980 coup in Turkey, which challenged the dominance of left-wing orthodoxy among anti-state groups (Sirman, 1989; Acar and Altunok, 2012). Arat (1997) records that some dared to suggest that Kemalism had not in fact emancipated women, arguing for instance that it demanded that women sacrifice their individuality for the sake of the collective. They drew attention to the persistence of patriarchy in the private realm, and women's role as the key provider of domestic labour (Kandiyoti, 1987; Arat, 2005), and to the repression of female sexuality in contrast to 'immoral and loose' Westernised women (White, 2013, p. 156). They highlighted the continued inequalities under the civil code, which acknowledged the husband as head of the family, able to choose the place of residence and with responsibility to provide for the family (Arat, 1997).

The 1980s and 1990s also saw an emerging women's movement among religiously observant women, often gathering under the auspices of wider Islamic groups and parties (Arat, 2005). They were in their own way critical of the state's restrictions on women's freedom. A key focus was on women's right to wear the headscarf in public buildings (including universities). Previously either traditional or a symbol of private piety, the headscarf had begun to emerge as a political symbol in the 1960s (Saktanber and Çorbacioğlu, 2008). It was for this reason banned in public buildings, including universities, following the military coup in 1980, though its potency as a symbol only thereby increased (Kejanlioğlu and Taş, 2009).

Interviews from the 1990s onwards with women from these Islamic movements, and women who have chosen to cover their heads, have highlighted variation and

complexity in their approach to gender boundaries (Arat, 2005; Turam, 2008; White, 2013; Okuyan and Curtin, 2018). Some women shared many of the aims of secular feminists, arguing for instance for women's right to self-determination and employment outside the home (Arat, 2005; Jelen, 2011; Seggie, 2011). Others were content with complementarian understandings of male and female roles, while still affirming equality of value, and actively pursuing political roles (Acar and Altunok, 2012). Acar and Altunok (2012) emphasise that secular and Islamic feminists successfully worked together to pursue some critical legal reforms, most notably of the Civil and Penal Codes in 2001 and 2004 respectively, and Arat's (2016) analyses of conservative female journalists highlights their possibilities for finding common cause.

In a context of rising tensions around the place of religion in the republic, partly related to the growing success of Islamic parties in the 1990s, a shared interest in women's self-assertion in its different guises was, however, insufficient to challenge the boundary between women on different sides of the secular / Islamic divide (Arat, 2005; Turam, 2008). White (2013) thus emphasises that, despite the structures of women's lives on either side of this divide often revealing broad similarities – with similarly low levels of women's labour force participation, and unequal divisions of domestic labour (Memiş et al., 2012; Toksöz, 2012) – the discourse of sexual equality continues to be associated with secularism.

This boundary marking role of gender equality has become all the more significant with the rise of the ruling AKP. Despite the AKP's ostensibly liberal commitments in the early years of its rule, there were still causes for concern among feminists. Buğra (2012) for instance reflected on how the increasing role of the family (and hence women) in social welfare was incompatible with aims to increase women's labour force participation. Yeşim Arat (2010) noted the freedom given for the spread of Islamic values encouraging restrictive roles for women, through the Directorate of Religious Affairs, in religious knowledge textbooks which encouraged wearing the headscarf, and in the increasing number of religious *Imam Hatip* high schools. Gender relations became a focus of President Erdoğan's increasingly polarising rhetoric (Uzer, 2015). In 2010 Erdoğan stated at a meeting with women's NGOs that he did not believe in gender equality, but rather complementarity (*mütemmim*) holding that women's primary role

should be motherhood in accordance with their divinely given nature (*fitrat*) (Acar and Altunok, 2013; Kandiyoti, 2010). He has repeated such assertions at numerous points since (Kandiyoti, 2016), also denying feminists a place in 'our religion, our civilisation' (Al Jazeera, 2015). Feminists also perceive a dismantling of institutions of equality, with the General Directorate for women becoming the Ministry for Family, and women's rights organisations being coopted by government organised non-government organisations (Kandiyoti, 2015). The AKP also managed, after a series of reverses, to overturn the headscarf ban in 2013 (Seggie, 2015). Turkey's own government has thus employed perspectives on gender equality as a key boundary marker in the contested political landscape it has been trying to both create and exploit.

When I embarked on my fieldwork this boundary work appeared broadly to have succeeded. Turam (2008, p.475) described, following interviews with both secular and pious women in leadership positions in Turkey, how the latter had increasingly turned 'to a non-confrontational mode of non-response' in their engagement with debates around the place of the headscarf in public life and related issues. More pointedly Acar and Altunok (2012, p.45), two secular feminist scholars, report how conservative women had moved from opposition to 'docile and content wives of political and public leaders'. Okuyan and Curtin (2018, p.488) show how this apparently unconcerned silence can in fact arise from being caught 'in-between' the pressures of their conservative community and the suspicion of secular women. Nevertheless Turam (2008, p.484) notes of the secular feminist leaders the fear they had of Islam, their refusal to accept that the headscarf could be freely chosen, and a sense of responsibility to resist Islamist control, which they feared was already having negative consequences for women; one commented, 'Everything solid that we accomplished feels like [it is] evaporating into the air'. She records that the perceived silence of pious women in the face of the government's rhetoric and policies compounds secular feminists' sense that gender equality is indeed only to be found on the secular side of the boundary. Many secular feminists too thus appeared to have accepted the role that perceptions of gender and gender equality have as marker of boundaries across some of Turkish society's most significant social divisions, a mark of distinction imbricated with a broader set of commitments and social positioning. While my awareness of some of these

dynamics helped me to appreciate that research into gender in Turkey was important and politically contentious, it was nevertheless only during and after the fieldwork that I appreciated that the inter-relationship between gender and other boundaries needed to be a key focus of the study.

## Higher education in Turkey

Turkish higher education was also employed as a unifying force in the Republican project. Ottoman governments had sought to draw on Western education – both in terms of its educational models and knowledge – for at least a century and a half. The Ottoman army established a medical school in 1827, and later an academy in 1834 (Nohl, 2008). In the Tanzimat era (1839-1871) a new three-level education system was introduced and a university on Western lines, the Darülfünun, established in 1863 (Zürcher, 2004). Fortna (2002, p. 9), in his study of Ottoman education under the reign of Abdulhamid II, characterises the approach in the Tanzimat era as being almost a ‘wholesale’ import of the French educational model. In contrast he highlights that the Hamidian state (1876-1908) sought to adapt, rather than adopt, European education, moulding it to suit the empire’s needs, and indeed to help the state resist Western intrusion. Despite the first state schools for girls being founded that century, higher education remained an exclusively male preserve. Under the waning power of the Sultan in the second constitutional period (1908-1920), the Committee for Union and Progress increased educational access for girls, making primary education for girls theoretically compulsory in 1913, providing access to teacher training colleges, and opening up courses at the Darülfünun (Nohl, 2008).

The Kemalist approach in the new Turkish Republic was different again. Both Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and Ziya Gökalp had looked to the West as scientific leaders (Gümüç, 2008). The Republican regime sought both to Westernise the education system, as seen in the introduction of the Latin alphabet in 1928, and to employ such an education to undergird a new national unity (Kaplan 2006). Higher education was a key part of these processes.<sup>10</sup> Mizikaci (2006, p. 15) records that when the Ottoman-era

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<sup>10</sup> Since the 1930s university students have taken a legally mandated course, now entitled the Principles of Atatürk and the History of the Turkish Revolution, which aims ‘to provide adequate information about

Darülfünun was converted to being Istanbul University, the first in the Republic, in 1933, its Senate proclaimed 'its main purpose was to maintain a Western-style higher education institution'.

The pace of growth in higher education was initially gradual. The Higher School of Engineering became Istanbul Technical University in 1944 (SSPC, 1990), while Istanbul University faculties in Ankara joined to form Ankara University in 1946. In the decades after the war a few new universities were established, meaning that by 1983 there were twenty-seven universities (Gunay and Gunay, 2011). Following the military coup of 1980 the government made higher education a significant priority and began to found new universities with increasing speed. The new 1982 constitution also allowed universities to be established by private foundations (Önal, 2012). By 2016 there were 103 state universities and 72 foundation universities<sup>11</sup> (HEC, 2016). As the graph below (Figure 2) shows, the Gross Enrolment Ratio increased substantially from 5.76% in 1982 to 94.7% in 2015. Nevertheless, by 2018, still only one third of 25-34 year olds had completed any form of tertiary education (OECD, 2019).

While universities were previously in principle autonomous (Gökbel and Seggie, 2015), after the 1980 coup the government established the *Yükseköğretim Kurulu* – Higher Education Council (HEC) – and gave it control over all higher education institutions in the country. While nominally independent, appointments to the HEC are subject to government approval, and the HEC has recently shown itself susceptible to government pressure (Değirmencioğlu, 2016). The HEC determines staff numbers, sets the minimum requirements for appointments, oversees tenure and promotion decisions, determines student quotas for each course, sets salaries and university budgets, and issues guidelines on course content (HEC, 1981; Önal, 2012). The HEC president is the superior to each university's rector, recommends candidates for the rectorate (on the basis of voting by faculty) for the President of the Republic to appoint and must approve the appointment of faculty deans for all public universities. Further,

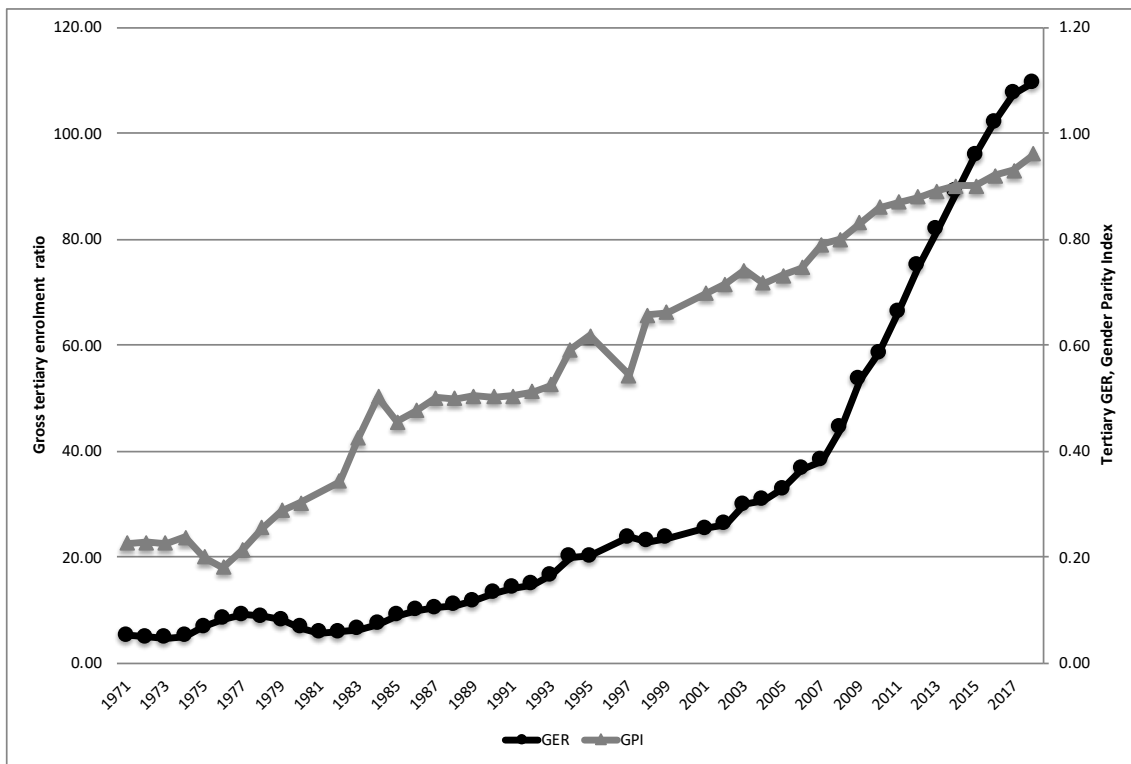
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the Turkish War of Independence, the Turkish Republic, and Atatürk's reforms and ideas; to give accurate information about threats to reforms and to the regime; to unite the Turkish nation; and to educate Turkish youth based on the principles of Atatürk.' (Barlas and Köksal, 2011, p.533)

<sup>11</sup> The percentage of students in private institutions was still only 5.94% of total enrolment at the time of research (HEC, 2016)

the state owns all public university's assets and buildings and employs all staff, academic staff's conditions of employment are determined by the 1965 *Civil Servants' Act No. 657* and undergraduate students are allocated centrally according to their results in the university entrance exam by a government agency, the Student Selection and Placement Centre (SSPC) (Mizikaci, 2006). While public universities have a senate which makes decisions for the university, and curricula, teaching methods and grading are all decided by universities and individual instructors, institutions' independence and autonomy are thus very limited.

Figure 2. Turkey Tertiary Gross Enrolment Ratio and GER, Gender Parity Index 1971-2018 (Sources: TSI, 2020; UIS, 2014)<sup>12</sup>



Provision of and access to higher education is very uneven. Demand for higher education significantly outstrips supply, with less than half of applicants successfully securing a place in higher education in the study year, 2015-16 (Bülbül, 2017). Students from larger cities, with wealthier families, fewer siblings and better educated parents are more likely to be successful in applying to university (Caner and Okten, 2013). Access

<sup>12</sup> The tertiary Gross Enrolment Ratio is the total enrolment in tertiary education, regardless of age, expressed as a percentage of the total population of the five-year age group following on from secondary school leaving. Its GPI is the ratio of the female to the male figure.

to university at all is significantly helped for those whose families have the disposable income to pay for extra tuition (Okçabol, 2008; Bülbül, 2017). There are related geographic inequalities<sup>13</sup>, with income varying according to region, and private universities being overwhelmingly focused in the two metropolitan areas of Istanbul and Ankara.

Beyond these differences, universities have been important focal points for marking sociopolitical divisions at different points in the Republic's history. In 1948 many leftist scholars were dismissed by Ankara University on charges of distributing communist propaganda (Gökbel and Seggie, 2015). One hundred and forty seven academics were dismissed after the 1960 coup (Aktas et al., 2018). Student activism, strong in Turkey since the nineteenth century, became particularly pronounced in the 1960s, when student protests precipitated an army coup (Szyliowicz, 1970). The ensuing decades saw widespread political violence on university campuses (Sayari, 2010). After the 1980 coup the government arrested, tortured and dismissed thousands of people nationally – including academics and students – 'anyone who had expressed even vaguely leftist (or in some cases Islamist) views' (Zürcher 2004, p.280). In the period just before the research for this thesis (from January 2016) hundreds of academic signatories to a petition calling for a peaceful resolution to the war with Kurds in Turkey's east were arrested or fired from their positions (Agar and Böhm, 2016; Baser et al., 2017). Following the attempted coup in July 2016 just after the fieldwork for this study was completed, thousands of academics have been dismissed, blacklisted and imprisoned, whole departments excised and universities peremptorily closed (Göçek, 2016; Tittensor, 2016; FTA, 2016; SCF, 2017). As well as contributing to national unity, Turkey's universities have thus been sites where divisions in the country have been reflected, and occasionally entrenched.

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<sup>13</sup> In 2016, while 19.7% of the population of the capital, Ankara, had completed higher education, this was almost four times as many as in each of the southeastern provinces of Muş, Şanlıurfa and Şırnak where between 5% and 5.5% of the population had done so (TSI, 2020)

## Gender and higher education in Turkey

Universities in Turkey have also played a boundary marking role with regards to gender. In line with Atatürk's wider modernising gender policies all levels of education were open to males and females in the Republic (Nohl, 2008), with coeducation introduced in primary schools from 1927 (Gümüş, 2008), though girls' participation remained substantially lower than boys' (Shorter 1985). Women – likely drawn from the urban elite (Bilgin, 2004) – made up around 15% of the small student population in the first decades of the Republic and it was only in the 1970s that this proportion began to substantially increase (See Figure 2 above). Women were allowed into academic professions in 1932 in Turkey, but were only recruited in significant numbers from the 1940s (Özkanli, 2007). Academia was considered an appropriate job for women, particularly in light of the Republican regime's overt commitment to gender equality in public roles (Acar, 1993; Özbilgin and Healy, 2004).

Female students continue to be outnumbered by male students. The gender parity index for tertiary students was 0.872 in 2016, placing it 121<sup>st</sup> out of 141 countries for which the World Bank (2019) had data. The gendered inequality in secondary school enrolment and completion – particularly apparent in more rural and Eastern provinces (Cin and Walker, 2016; Gumus and Chudgar, 2016; TSI, 2020a) – is compounded by the high competition for university places, and their clustering in metropolitan centres, which mean that female students are disadvantaged by their relative disinclination to go to less competitive vocational colleges, repeat applications, or move away to study (Doğan and Yuret, 2011).

In contrast to its student ratios, Turkey has a relatively high proportion of female academics. In 2016 43% of academics in Turkey were female, compared to averages of 41% in the EU (EC, 2019), 42% globally and 36% in the Middle East and North Africa (World Bank 2019). While some countries, particularly in Eastern Europe, have higher proportions of women in academia (EC, 2019), the figures in Turkey are particularly striking given the otherwise low level of female labour force participation (Toksöz, 2012). Turkey has a relatively high proportion of women at the full professor level



(White and Özkanlı, 2010).<sup>14</sup> It remains the case, however, that the proportion of women is inverse to their administrative level in Turkish universities (Gönenç et al., 2013) and the number of women in senior management positions in Turkish universities is amongst the lowest in the EU and candidate countries (EC, 2019).

The 1980 coup also made universities a focal point for debates around gender equality, with the imposition of the headscarf ban described above (p.33). Enforcement of the ban was confusing and uneven, despite being upheld by the Constitutional Court in 1989, but it was made more universally applicable after the so-called post-modern coup which ousted the Islamist *Refah* party in 1998 (Seggie, 2011). The ban was seen by its opponents as a sign of secular authoritarianism with regards to religion, and religious women in particular, while secularists saw support for the headscarf as a symbol of a hidden agenda to Islamicise the state (Ozcetin, 2015; Saktanber and Çorbacioğlu, 2008). Religious women during the ban emphasised its gender discriminatory nature, noting how it was only they, rather than also pious men, who suffered because of it (Seggie, 2011). Different universities, and indeed departments in universities, enforced the ban in different ways, in part demonstrating different commitments to, and understandings of, secularism and the place of religion within it (Kejanlioğlu and Taş, 2009; Aydin, 2016). This history has led the headscarf to have a polarising effect on university campuses (Seggie, 2011), which continues despite the ending of the ban in 2013, with women still facing obstacles to their academic progression in light of their departments' treatment of them as covered women (Seggie, 2015; Okuyan and Curtin, 2018). Thus the experience of women with headscarves shows Turkish universities to be places riven by gender boundaries which are intertwined with those relating to class, religion and politics.

Despite the significance of gender relations within Turkish universities, as part of the wider society, the literature exploring the teaching and learning about gender that takes place within university classes is relatively limited and is addressed further in

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<sup>14</sup> In 2015-16 29.6% of full professors were female, compared to 44% of instructors (HEC, 2016). Only seven out of thirty-three EU and candidate countries with data had a higher percentage of professors who were female - though among these the proportion of women was often substantially higher (EC, 2019).

chapter three. There are some indications of the extent to which gender is included in curricula (Arat, 1996; Kasapoglu, 2005; Sancar, 2009; Bal, 2018; Dayan, 2018), some studies of the gendered hidden curriculum of different departments (Bucak and Kadirgan, 2011; Pehlivanlı-Kadayıfçı, 2019, 2018) and some, particularly quantitative studies which suggest that university programmes in general have limited influence on students' perceptions of gender (Ersöz, 2012; Cangöz, 2013; Gursoy et al., 2016; Unutkan et al., 2016; Sönmez et al., 2018). While in contrast there are a few qualitative (Esen, 2013) and quantitative (Erden, 2009; Aksan et al., 2011; Cetişli et al., 2017; Acar-Erdol and Gözütok, 2017) studies which identify changes in students' understandings of gender through courses which explicitly focus on gender, I am aware of only one previous qualitative study of teaching about gender in a course with a broader focus (Berges, 2013). Further, while some studies have highlighted how students' understandings of gender vary in line with other axes of difference (Aksan, 2011; Cetişli et al., 2017) to my knowledge no study has explored how teaching and learning about gender in Turkish higher education might in turn influence relations across sociopolitical divides. Indeed, in this study itself, it was only as I analysed my data that I realised how salient the connections between the university's gender relations and wider dynamics of social polarisation were.

### **Beginning at Brook University**

When I made the decision to focus on Turkey the dramatic events of mid-2015 and beyond were merely unknown potentials. I had considered Turkey because it represented an opportunity to work in a cognate language to the Uzbek I knew. It also presented some aspects of the Islamically rooted social conservatism and economic, political and physical insecurity which were part of what made Afghanistan interesting as a research location both at a personal level and in relation to the wider study of education for gender equality. Through a persistent stream of emails, and the generosity of some correspondents, a couple of contacts from my supervisor spread out into multiple connections and invitations to visit two universities – Brook and another in eastern Turkey.

My family and I were given a warm welcome at Brook in the cramped office of the professor who was to be my primary contact there. I also had meetings in a couple of private universities in the city whose opulence – in one case complete with glass elevators and private chauffeurs – contrasted with Brook's more weathered feel. The university in the East was another experience again. Its vast campus was spotted with an uncertain mix of building sites and dilapidated dereliction reminding me of post-Soviet Uzbekistan. As a visitor here I was a rare attraction, unlike in Brook's city, greeted by students with 'Welcome to Kurdistan'. The Dean of the faculty of education commented that as a Westerner I was likely to be either a spy or missionary, but was happy to extend a letter of invitation nevertheless. My growing appreciation of the diversity of Turkey's higher education sector, and the related variations in gender dynamics, made me keen to pursue a comparative case study between Brook, a local private university and the Eastern university. I continued preparation from my upgrade on that basis.

After my upgrade we moved to Turkey so that I could take up language study in earnest. My research design was still not finalised, however, and was further from being so than either my supervisor or I realised. Working at a distance it became mired in a string of reiterations, compounded by a confused and drawn out episode surrounding some poorly framed reflections I wrote on the ethics of doing research as a Christian in Turkey. In the midst of this process the original focus on masculinities broadened out to look at gender in general. My language study was also interrupted. Combined with the need to return to the UK for the (joyfully unexpected but inconveniently timed) birth of our second child this all served to further constrain my research plans. In the end my supervisor and I decided that I would conduct a single case study at Brook. Limited time and limited Turkish foreclosed other options.

Thus it was that when I started my research at Brook it felt almost like I started as a failure. In every respect I felt several steps removed from what I had hoped to research. In particular Brook as a site – one of the most Westernised universities in the country – felt too close to the types of sites already explored in the literature. 'Is there anything here? This question shadows me wherever I go,' I wrote early in my research

journal (25<sup>th</sup> February 2016). In several respects it is only in retrospect that I have felt able to see what was there to see.

There were also several indications at the start, however, that Brook's story, at that point in time, had a lot to reveal. My second full day at the university in the autumn of 2015, before I even started data collection, was at an international gender and women's studies conference. Proceedings were called off following a dreadful suicide bomb attack on a peace rally elsewhere in the city. The increasingly turbulent political events cut, in poignant symbolism, across this gathering to reflect upon and pursue gender equality and justice. Similarly the first piece of graffiti I noticed, possibly the most prominent on the campus, bore the phrase '*barışı kadınlar getirecek!*'<sup>15</sup>. It highlighted again the interface between gender and the violence in which the country was embroiled; it also served as a point of exclusion, in this case (for understandable reasons) writing men out of a successful peace effort. Finally the participant in my second attempt at an interview, a young research assistant, declined to proceed after reading the consent form. There were, he suggested, hard issues in Turkey, and talking about gender presented too great a risk to his career. This was the new setting into which I continued the messy, shifting journey my research had become. It now remains to outline the lenses I took up to examine it.

## Analytic lenses

In order to be able to see clearly what was most pertinent for my study, during my analysis I sought to look at the data I collected in different ways. In this process a series of lenses have helped me to discern what appear to be key elements of academic and wider engagement with gender at Brook and its significance for staff and students.

In different ways these lenses are each connected to ways of relating to 'the other'. I was aware from my reading on Turkey about the salience of its different 'others' (Kandiyoti, 1997; White, 2013). This was emphasised early in the data collection, particularly around the notion of Brook as a place apart within Turkey, a notion that involved the construction of an alternative Other outside Brook's bounds. Turkey's

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<sup>15</sup> 'Women will bring peace'

deteriorating political situation, and the widening rifts between different sections of society highlighted this still further. In the months after my fieldwork finished in June 2016 political events elsewhere, both in the United Kingdom and the United States, underlined the inability of certain groups to comprehend others, including the salience of higher education to the barriers between groups (Antonucci et al., 2017; Goodwin and Heath, 2016; Harris, 2018).

This led on to reflections on Brook as, in different respects, a borderland: mediating between Turkish and Western science, drawing people together from across Turkey's socio-cultural divisions and serving as a bastion of Republicanism. It appeared to be both a meeting place between people from different groups, and a place which hardened the separation between groups. In different ways it appeared that these processes were related to gender relations in the institution, and the ways in which both gender equality and inequality were fostered. I consequently draw on the literature around borderlands, both as explicitly related to gender, and from wider fields like political geography, to understand the education and gender relations at Brook (Anzaldúa, 1987; Newman, 2003).

Reflection on the relationships between groups separated by different borders also underlined the importance of considering gender's intersectionality with other axes of social structuring at Brook (Choo and Ferree, 2010; Anthias, 2013). While to some degree conscious of this from the existing literature I had given this insufficient theoretical consideration in advance of the data collection. Over the course of data collection and analysis and in conversation with colleagues it became clear that different class, ethnic and particularly ideological locations – whether religious or political – were closely inter-related with developing gender conceptions, practices and identities at Brook. Such intersectionality – analysed, in light of the data collected, particularly with respect to differences of religious commitment, political affiliation and sexuality – constitutes the second lens through which I look at the data.

The final lens is that of boundaries and boundary work (Lamont and Molnar, 2002; Anthias, 2008). It became apparent that reflecting on boundaries, both conceptual and relational, could help to draw out the connections between the intellectual influence of

academic classes, and social divisions between people. Boundaries link together reflections on the concept of Brook as a borderland, intersectional analysis, and provide a means of exploring relationships with others. Education at Brook, including its wider gender relations, and academic engagement with gender in particular, appeared to lead to different forms of inclusion and exclusion across boundaries. This sits in a somewhat uneasy relation with considerations of education as fostering either gender equality or inequality. On the one hand education which leads to understandings and practices which are consonant with gender equality can increase inclusion, opening up spaces of relationship, participation and mutual acknowledgement which had not previously existed (Guillard, 2012). On the other hand the data collected suggested that such education could also lead to dynamics of exclusion, whereby boundaries between people were strengthened even as in other respects gender equality was reinforced. Conversely education which fostered understandings or practices of gender inequality could also strengthen the boundaries of communities, and, for some at least, enhance inclusion. Considering teaching and learning gender in terms of work performed on symbolic and social boundaries (Lamont & Molnar, 2002) drew together the other two lenses, and focused the study's analysis on the ambivalent inter-relationship between education, gender equality and inclusion at Brook.

### **Reflecting on myself**

Identifying these lenses also led me to consider my experiences in the research as part of the study i.e. to engage in aspects of autoethnography (Holman Jones et al., 2013). That I with my research trajectory ended up at, or was able to obtain access to, Brook is indicative of its status as a borderland. I too was engaging in education and learning around gender (as part of my own studies) at Brook. I was doing so as someone firmly situated in a range of social positions, and was subject and object of a range of processes of inclusion and exclusion in relation to its borders. These processes had implications for the ways I saw, and continue to see, myself and others, and presumably for the ways others saw, and perhaps continue to see (people like) me.

The more I reflect on my aims in this process the more I am conscious of the validity of post-colonial critique of the enterprise (Tikly and Bond, 2013). I recognise that

I could be seen to be seeking to export aspects of my own cultural values and worldview into other situations. That the precarity, the foreignness, and the contrasting religious background of my intended research location were all reasons for my attraction to it only reinforces this. My sense of loss at ending up in a research location which appeared more similar to the Western institutions with which I was familiar compounds it further still. I explore these concerns further in chapter four. Certainly, if I could go back in time, I would want to impress upon my earlier self the importance of considering these things more. I continue, however, to see value in research such as that which I attempted and carried out. In terms of my original aims, there is value in seeking to give priority to those who have been missed out, or who by at least some measures find themselves most in need. There are definitely arguments for seeking to enable others to do what you might otherwise attempt. If I could have facilitated an Afghan or a Turkish researcher to have the training and conduct the research I attempted that might have been preferable. But sometimes, and I think in my situation, the limitations of your own resources prevent that preferable option. Doing research as an outsider also means of necessity that you see things in different ways from insiders, even if a large part of your aim is to try to see things as they do. This complimentary perspective can hopefully provide useful insights. There are also certain values which I take to be universally applicable, such as gender equality, even if those values, when instantiated, look different in different contexts. The complexity of the pursuit of these values, as seen in the study, underlines the value of engaging first in research, rather than beginning with action.

## **Into the thesis**

This extended process constitutes the fuller rationale for this study. The following chapters explore the conceptual and empirical literature and elucidate the study's findings and their implications. Chapter two provides a conceptual framework for the thesis. It considers different theoretical accounts of gender, and the different levels at which gender and gender relations can be analysed, drawing particularly on the work of Floya Anthias (2013). It reflects on how the literatures on intersectionalities, boundaries and boundary work, and borderlands can help to consider university classrooms as spaces in which understandings of gender, associated practices, and the boundaries with which they are connected, are reinforced and challenged. Chapter three reviews

the literature on teaching and learning about gender in higher education, both internationally and in Turkey in particular. It considers the influences on such education, and the different types of boundary work performed by, and resulting from, different engagements with gender in university classrooms. Chapter four describes the study's methodology. It builds on the concept of pragmatism as a key methodological determinant. It interrogates my positionality from the perspectives of intersectionality and inclusion / exclusion and emphasises the necessity of crossing boundaries to engage in any research in higher education.

Chapter five analyses the case study institution as a borderland, connected to, and in some senses separate from, both Turkey as a wider society and the international academic community. It explores Brook's gender regime (Acker, 1990; Connell, 2006) – the gendered patterns of its organisational life – and considers how these situate it within wider patterns of gender relations in Turkey and Turkish higher education as a place of mutual encounter, of freedom, but also of detachment.

Chapters six to eight explore the boundary work involved in teaching and learning about gender in selected departments within the wider university. Chapter six considers how teaching and learning in two departments with strong masculine associations – business studies and civil engineering – both reinforces and challenges those associations, and the processes of inclusion and exclusion with which they are connected. Chapter seven focuses on two departments that include gender more intentionally in classroom curricula – the politics and sociology departments. It explores the teaching about gender that takes place, and the different ways in which such teaching influences students' understandings and perceptions of symbolic gender boundaries. It considers differences between the two departments alongside variations in the learning of students from different socioeconomic and religious groups.

Chapter eight continues to focus on departments with a higher degree of intentional engagement with gender, including also the gender and women's studies programme. It explores the ways in which teaching and learning about gender in these departments affects social boundaries – and associated processes of inclusion and exclusion – within, and beyond, the university. It documents ways in which such



teaching and learning creates and upholds spaces of relative gender equality. It also finds that this teaching and learning can both reinforce other socioeconomic and religious boundaries, as well as rendering such boundaries more permeable, and enhancing the relationships across them.

The conclusion presents a reflection on the ways in which, within higher education in Turkey in general, and Brook in particular, fostering gender equality and promoting inclusion can overlap, and the ways in which they can be in tension. It considers the implications of this for a country in such times of heightened social division. It concludes, drawing on the study of the particular institution, by reflecting on higher education more broadly as a borderland, on its putative indeterminacy (Unterhalter & North, 2010, p.397), actual determinants, and the possibilities and challenges for intersectional engagement with gender that foster inclusive ways of seeing. In so doing it considers the role of the university in times of increasing polarisation.

## 2 Gender and Intersectional Boundary work in an Academic Borderland: a Conceptual Framework

This chapter constructs a theoretical framework for exploring teaching and learning about gender with a focus on both gender equality and wider relationships of inclusion and exclusion. It links gender, wider social differences, equality and universities together by conceiving them in terms of symbolic and social boundaries (Anthias, 2008; Lamont and Molnar, 2002). It thus provides a way of exploring how actions or practices which tend to change or reinforce – i.e. to work on – one boundary have wider implications for the relations, connections, and separations within, between and beyond higher education institutions.

### Gender

Gender is a central concept in this thesis. This is recognised as a term which is both contested and difficult to define (Henderson, 2015). Gender as a term has been employed in a variety of ways since its introduction into the social sciences in the 1950s, as part of a range of competing theoretical perspectives (Cornwall and Rivas, 2015; Francis, 2006; Hawkesworth, 2013; Unterhalter, 2014, 2005). Different frameworks understand gender as, amongst other things, an equivalent of biological sex (UNESCO, 2015), a system of socially constructed relations of power (2014, 1987; 2011, 2007; Kandiyoti, 1988), discursively performed identities (Butler, 1990; Lapping, 2005; Youdell, 2006) or an aspect of material semiotic assemblages (Ernst and Kovacs, 2015; Puar, 2007). While resisting clear definition, gender's semantic domain, reflected in its use in this thesis, is that of the relationship of social processes to representations of the reproductive and sexual differences between peoples' bodies; it encompasses those sets of roles, relations, norms and practices which are in some sense seen to relate to these differences (2013, 1991; Connell, 2005). Certainly the aim of some scholars, like Butler (1990), is precisely to seek to undo the ties of gender to reproductive differences and to question the binary frameworks they can entail. This still, however, involves addressing the relationship between social processes and such differences, even if it is to deconstruct or explicitly reject them. Gender is often distinguished in the literature

from sexuality, which relates, if in broad terms, to people's sexual desires (Hawkesworth, 2013)14/07/2020 10:07:00. It is acknowledged that they are in practice interrelated and mutually influential (Connell, 2005), even if some argue that they 'ought not' to be (Butler, 1999, p. xiv), and the thesis pays attention to sexuality alongside gender.

While using the term gender in the broad sense above in order to include the range of understandings encountered among study participants, this thesis analyses gender in terms of social relations: the ways in which relations between people – and as a consequence also people's relation to themselves – are shaped and patterned (2005, 1987). In particular it attends to the boundaries involved in, and underpinning, these relations at different levels, as a means of exploring equality and inequality, inclusion and exclusion. The work of Floya Anthias (2013, 2011, 2008, 2002, 1998, 1989; 1992, 1983) has been particularly helpful in framing the thesis' approach to gender relations and their interactions with other relational boundaries. With Nira Yuval-Davies, Anthias has focused consistently on the inter-relationship between class, race and gender, and the way they shape notions of belonging and identity. She has explored these divisions in specific contexts, emphasising their interactions, and the way they are embedded in social institutions. She has looked at both the processes involved in the making of social divisions and the inequalities they bring about. A concern with boundaries, and their associated hierarchies, 'lies at the heart' of her work (Anthias 2008, p.15).

Anthias emphasises that gender, along with other aspects of people's identities, is not a possessive characteristic but rather a social process. Through her concept of translocational positionality she explores social relations, and people's position within them, in terms of constantly shifting social positioning, emphasising that people have 'multiple locations, positions and belongings' (Anthias 2008, p.6). This positioning involves an interplay between people as agents, and the discourses, practices and structures which both constitute and shape their relations with others. Anthias (2013) encourages consideration of the boundaries and hierarchies which she sees as characterising these relations at three analytical levels: ontological boundaries; symbolic or categoric boundaries; and social boundaries.

In their review of the use of boundaries in the social sciences Lamont and Molnar (2002, p.168) distinguish between symbolic and social boundaries: they define symbolic boundaries as 'conceptual distinctions made by social actors to categorise objects, people, practices, and even time and space'; social boundaries 'are objectified forms of social differences manifested in unequal access to and unequal distribution of resources ... and social opportunities ... [and] revealed in stable behavioural patterns of association'. They emphasise that the conceptual distinctions of symbolic boundaries contribute to the more concrete distinctions of social boundaries.

Anthias' first two analytical (ontological and categoric) levels refer to different levels of symbolic boundary, the third to social boundaries. The first level of abstraction is that of social ontology, or 'conceptions about different realms in the world or ways the world is organised' (Anthias 2013, p.6). I refer to boundaries at this level as conceptual or ontological boundaries. In this study I use this level of analysis to interrogate the different conceptions participants have of the ontology of gender itself i.e. what they understand gender to be. Anthias' (2013, p.7) primary reason for framing this level of analysis is to prompt recognition of the different ontological bases of different categories of difference, with gender 'located in terms of the social construction of the ontological space relating to sex and biological reproduction', ethnicity that of collectivity, class that of economic life. She and Yuval-Davis (1983; 1992) have consistently emphasised that while these categories are intertwined, they are not reducible to one another, as I discuss further below.

The literature suggests that people in universities, both internationally and in Turkey, have a range of different understandings of what gender is, reflecting aspects of the gamut of different theoretical frameworks mentioned previously, in part in light of the different exposure they have to formal theoretical training in relation to gender (Esen, 2013; Grünberg, 2011; Henderson, 2016; Unutkan et al., 2016). Particularly for those with more limited training these understandings might be unconscious or inchoate, and might reflect different aspects of these various perspectives (Cangöz, 2013; Verge et al., 2018). In Turkey where, as in many countries (Khazem in Unterhalter, 2009), there is no clear equivalent to the term gender (Kandiyoti, 2010) – it is translated as *toplumsal cinsiyet* or social sex / gender – participants might well be expected to be

unclear about what gender is. The different views held might reflect the range of understandings of gender described above (Hawkesworth, 2013). These different perspectives on gender – as an equivalent of biological sex, a result of social construction, or a discursive performance – involve different understandings of the nature of gender boundaries – what they represent, how they arise, whether and how they can change.

The second level of abstraction considers gender as a discursive category, operating within the (contested) ontological space. Analysis here explores how discursive boundaries and hierarchies are developed, with people, activities, locations and organisations ordered and divided according to particular criteria. These 'essentially sort people [and activities etc.] out into differences and commonalities' (Anthias 2013, p.8), delineating notions of masculinity and femininity, their discursive characteristics, and aligning them with other aspects of the social world. These abstracted boundaries differentiate between and among men and women, rank them hierarchically, and associate them with particular spheres of activity (Connell 2005). Anthias (2013) emphasises that these boundaries are contextual, changeable, multiple and overlapping (cf. Haywood and Mac an Ghail, 2012). As Lamont and Molnar (2002; cf. Hayward, 1998) note, such boundaries are necessary for communication, mutual understanding and exchange as well as for distinction and separation. These boundaries can be constructed and conveyed at institutional and interpersonal levels. In Turkey, for instance, Altınay (2004) and White (2013) record how the discursive boundaries associating manhood with military service – and relatedly assigning women a more passive role – have been built, reinforced and sometimes challenged since the founding of the Republic by numerous overlapping routes, including government speeches, school textbooks, legal constraints, media articles, funeral rituals, family expectations and acts of conscientious objection. I discuss further below how universities and academic courses within them have been seen to construct, relay and challenge such symbolic gender boundaries (Britton, 2000; Flynn et al., 2015b; Ganley et al., 2018; Lapping, 2005). Attending to the way the case study institution does so is a critical part of this present study.

Different perspectives on the ontology of gender can be expected to influence discursive boundaries at this second level. People who see gender as an equivalent to

biological sex might see two binary discursive divisions. If, as is the case for many in Turkey, they see these as natural, divinely ordained divisions, then they may see these as having clear boundaries, with any transgressions of their limits needing to be resisted (Güneş-Ayata and Doğangün, 2017; Yılmaz, 2015). Someone who sees gender relations as being contingent and socially constructed will see gender boundaries as being more fluid, and perhaps encourage their transformation or dissolution (Youdell, 2006). It is thus possible to draw a symbolic boundary, in this case an epistemic one, which distinguishes between people according to their understandings of gender (Assiter, 1996; Yuval-Davis, 2006a). Part of my study involves considering the extent to which such epistemic boundaries, related to understandings of gender, influence social relations in higher education settings.

The third level sketched by Anthias is that of social relations themselves – and thus also of social boundaries. Anthias (2013) suggests that here discursive boundaries and hierarchies interact with one another, along with different allocations of material resources, with power relations, and with processes of inferiorisation (like shame and disgust), to constitute particular groups of people and determine the relations between them. Concrete, contextually embedded groups of men and women are established and distinguished from one another by their social relations. The boundaries at this level enable some people to experience belonging and make some people feel excluded; they enlarge or curtail people's opportunities. Again, as with symbolic boundaries, social boundaries are the bases for inclusion, connection and action, as well as exclusion and constraint (Lamont and Molnar 2002).

It is at this third level that gender equality and inequality, inclusion and exclusion are experienced. Their instantiation is rooted, however, in the previous two levels of boundaries. It is also at this level that Anthias emphasises their connection with other categories of difference i.e. their intersectionality. Gender boundaries only take concrete form in intersection with boundaries relating to other forms of difference. Gender inequalities apply in a specific context, reflect geographic differences and are also shaped by class distinctions, subject to ethnic variation, and connected to political and religious differences. The social groups to which they apply are the product of boundaries related to all these categories. This means that analysis of change to one set

of boundaries – for instance through the effect of teaching and learning on gender boundaries – requires attention also to other boundaries. The next section considers such issues of intersectionality further.

## Intersectionality

The central aspect of the concept of intersectionality is that different differences must be analysed together (Collins and Chepp, 2013). Gender boundaries need to be analysed alongside boundaries relating to other axes of differentiation (Brah and Phoenix, 2004). This has always been a central aspect of Anthias' (1989; 2008; 2013) work, and the three levels of analysis applied to gender apply also to other categories of difference. Intersectionality acknowledges the complexity of social life, challenging approaches which treat differences and inequalities in isolation from one another (Brah and Phoenix, 2004). It pays attention to 'individual and group multiple social locations' (Gross et al., 2016, p. 53), and the varied differences and hierarchies that arise from them.

Early debates in the field maintained a clear distinction between categories, which they tended to treat in a relatively fixed way (Hancock, 2007; McCall, 2008). Rather than seeing a particular boundary as encompassing a uniform group, this approach complicated categories and addressed them critically, encouraging recognition of the sub-divisions within wider categories. In her typology of intersectionality McCall (2008, p. 1773) terms this approach 'intra-categorical'. Another approach, which McCall (2008, p. 1772) calls 'anti-categorical' is more reticent about the analytical employment of categories at all. Theorists in this vein see categories as imposing an artificial stability on a social reality which is fluid and heterogeneous. Post-structuralists also emphasise how differences cut through individual identities, raising further difficulties for the use of categories (Buitelaar, 2006; Prins, 2006). These scholars see maintaining a separation between categories as taking away from the recognition that they are necessarily interwoven (Chis, 2016). Categories are, in this view, not simply neutral 'simplifying social fictions' (McCall 2008, p. 1773). Rather they may be harmful means of exclusion which, in the dichotomous thinking they encourage, produce hierarchical boundaries by their very employment (Chis, 2016; Youdell, 2006). McCall

(2008) emphasises that such thinkers can see the dissolution or deconstruction of categories as a challenge to inequality itself, freeing the way for a more inclusive politics. For similar reasons other scholars have, in their pursuit of more fluid accounts of difference, either rejected intersectionality or proposed alternative conceptualisations of difference, as Puar (2007) does in advancing the concept of assemblage. It is questionable, however, whether such approaches pay sufficient attention to the elements of (relative) stasis in the material and social world, or to the empirical conceptual and discursive categories that people employ, with the binary and positional elements they encompass.

A third approach, while recognising that the boundaries of difference mutually constitute one another, and their contextual complexity, nevertheless acknowledges a degree of structural stability in the maintenance of inequality. It acknowledges the continued salience of distinct categories. Referred to by McCall (2005, p. 1784) as 'inter-categorical', it seeks to analyse the changing relationships between categories in order to understand how they support inequality (Choo and Ferree, 2010; Hancock 2007). This approach thus still attends to fluidity, even while acknowledging some stability. To this end scholars who adopt this approach can also call for attention to difference as a process, acknowledging the dynamic nature of categories (Choo and Ferree, 2010; Al-Ali & Pratt, 2009). Theorists in this vein encourage recognition of the ways in which boundaries can develop over time through sedimentation (Walby et al., 2012), and hence the need to pay attention to their local and historical particularity within a wider context (Choo and Ferree, 2010; Anthias, 2013).

Floya Anthias' (2011, 2008, 2002) approach falls broadly within this third type of intersectionality. Particularly her more recent concept for analysing relationships of difference, belonging and inequality – translocational positionality – places a strong emphasis on change and movement at its heart, while still acknowledging elements of structure. By translocational Anthias (2008) denotes people having multiple different interconnected positions in time and space, both physically and socially. Positionality combines attention to both social position as outcome, and social positioning as process. It thus acknowledges both structure and agency. In encouraging attention to people's translocational positionality, Anthias (2008, p. 9) thus seeks to highlight 'the increasing



fragmentation of social life and the crisscrossing of borders and boundaries involved'. An individual is thus constantly being positioned in relation to boundaries related to any number of different categories and forms of difference – boundaries which are themselves in constant flux, while at the same time both joining and separating, enabling and constraining. The resultant patterns of inequality are uneven and multiform (Anthias, 2008).

Anthias' and other intercategory approaches to intersectionality – which this thesis follows – acknowledge that gender boundaries and their associated relations are thus mutually constituted and shaped by boundaries relating to other categories of difference (Walby et al., 2012). These other boundaries – for instance of class, race, religion – combine to influence gender boundaries in particular contexts, doing so differentially with respect to different individuals within them. This is particularly the case with respect to social or concrete boundaries and relations. Where an individual might have a dominant position in one context in light of their gender, they might be subordinated, for instance in light of their ethnicity or class, in other contexts (Anthias, 2008). Alternatively, intersecting boundaries can serve to compound positions of dominance or subordination, inclusion or exclusion.

Ontological and symbolic gender boundaries are also influenced by other boundaries of difference. The understandings that people have about what gender is, the categoric divisions they make with respect to gender, and the significance they accord such divisions can all be shaped by differences of class, religion, or race (Choo and Ferree, 2010). '[W]hat we know or can imagine' (Collins and Chepp, 2013, p.60) about gendered distinctions between people is shaped by these other aspects of social positioning. As part of a sedimented but constantly shifting process (Walby et al., 2012; Anthias, 2013), the mutual constitution of gender boundaries and their associated hierarchies with other boundaries of difference is subject to change and reinforcement over time.

In this thesis differences relating in particular to religious commitment and political affiliation – and to a much lesser extent class, ethnicity and geographic origin – are at different points analysed alongside gender, as are the boundaries within and

between academic disciplines, and the borders of the institution itself. The thesis seeks to understand, in historical and contextual terms, how these categories are inter-related and are enmeshed in the social boundaries of the case study institution. The study also attends to the different ways in which the experience of individuals is patterned in relation to these different boundaries.

The mutual shaping of boundaries means that change to boundaries which relate to one category of difference – for instance gender – might well have implications in terms of other categories. Teaching and learning which addresses gender boundaries might be expected to have implications in terms of political, religious, disciplinary boundaries, and vice versa. This is particularly important in light of parts of the literature which have emphasised how in some circumstances boundaries relating to gender serve as key markers for boundaries of other categories of difference. Anthias and Yuval-Davies (1992, p. 9) record how women and practices associated with them are often 'markers of the boundaries of collectivities', especially with regards to political, religious and national divisions (Abu-Lughod, 2002; Al-Ali, 2007; Al-Ali and Pratt, 2009; Kandiyoti, 2009). Kandiyoti (1991, p. 430) details the variety of ways in which women and their conduct have been integrated into nationalist projects, sometimes appealing to, sometimes challenging, traditional perspectives, often employing the boundaries of women's practices to differentiate 'the nation and its "others"', including frequently western and colonial powers (cf. Cesari, 2016; 2009, 2007).

Several governments have recently chosen higher education as an arena in which to emphasise approaches to gender as a marker of political difference. The Law and Justice Party in Poland has, in conjunction with parts of the Catholic church, sought to unify the country around anti-gender rhetoric and policies, and gaining funding for research in gender studies has reportedly become very difficult (Płuciennik, 2019; cf Bertek, 2018). Viktor Orban in Hungary and Jair Bolsonaro in Brazil have both placed restrictions on teaching of, respectively, gender studies, and critical and feminist theory in the last two years (Peto, 2018; Zsubori, 2018; Redden, 2019). They have framed such studies as being antithetical to the nationalist, conservative, religious – in these cases, Christian – ideals and constituencies they claim to represent. In such cases the significance of gender boundaries can become highly charged. As I showed in the

introduction, this was the situation in Turkey at the time of the research, with gender serving to mark divisions between groups in political, religious and national terms (Arat, 2010; Güneş-Ayata and Doğangün, 2017; 2016, 2011; Mutluer, 2019), including in higher education (Kandiyoti, 2015, 2011). This suggests that wider discursive and social boundaries will have influence on the formation and representation gender boundaries. It also suggests that changes to gender boundaries – or to understandings of gender boundaries and their significance – might well have implications for relations of inclusion and exclusion relating to other categories of difference.

### Equality and inclusion

As part of their review of approaches to gender equality in education, Unterhalter and North (2017) distinguish between analyses which focus on ‘what gender and the concept of gender does’ in institutions (cf. Henderson, 2016), and those which are more explicitly oriented towards gender equality as a normative proposition. Despite being rooted in a desire to see gender equality increase, this study is more of the former type, with normative considerations serving as a background to the analysis. In this respect, the approach in this study mirrors that in Anthias' own work. Anthias' focus on boundaries and hierarchies makes her analyses inseparable from considerations of equality, justice and inclusion. Inequality and exclusion are concretely experienced at the level of social relations – in differences of resource allocation, value, and processes of stigmatization across social boundaries (Anthias 2013) – but they are also rooted in discursive processes at the level of categoric boundaries, which are in turn related to different understandings of the ontology of gender. Seeing gender intersectionally also means that questions of gender equality need necessarily to be considered alongside questions of equality and inclusion relating to other boundaries of difference. Yet such language is not at the forefront of her work. She does at points recognise that ‘the notion of equality ... is indispensable’ and calls for the dismantling of ‘practices that serve to subordinate and oppress’ and ‘the structural and contextual relations that support and reproduce them’ (Anthias 2002, pp. 284-5). Her broader project, though, focuses on documenting and analysing those practices and structures, rather than outlining a normative vision of equality and inclusion.

Nevertheless, the wider literature on gender equality in education provides important resources for this thesis' analyses of difference across boundaries, as well as for situating the different perspectives on gender equality encountered in the case study institution. Elaine Unterhalter (2016, 2014, 2012, 2007, 2006, 2005) offers a fourfold typology of ways in which gender equality has been considered in (higher) education. Each can be considered in terms of boundaries and hierarchies, and their logics can also be extended to other forms of difference beyond gender. Unterhalter (2006) underlines that the different frameworks overlap with one another, but they nevertheless reflect different emphases in approaches to gender equality.

The first approach treats gender in terms of binary biological differences, and sees inequality in terms of lack of parity, within an educational context understood primarily in terms of participation. This understanding was employed by the Women in Development approach, viewing girls' and women's absence from education as an economic inefficiency (Razavi and Miller, 1995). Seen more broadly in terms of boundaries, increasing equality is equated with equalising numbers across a boundary e.g. equalising numbers of men and women in a given setting. Access to, rather than the content of, education is the key consideration here (Unterhalter, 2006).

A second approach to gender equality outlined by Unterhalter sees gender in terms of socially constructed power relations. The various aspects of (higher) education institutions, including curricula (Grünberg, 2011; Verge et al., 2018), representation in administrative hierarchies (Morley, 2013a, 2013b; Shepherd, 2017), and interactions inside (Burke et al., 2013; Flynn et al., 2015b; Hall and Sandler, 1982) and outside class (Allen and Savigny, 2016; Savigny, 2014) are seen to differentiate across gender boundaries – sometimes in intersection with other power differentials – reflecting and reproducing gendered hierarchies (Britton, 2000; Molla and Cuthbert, 2014; Peto and Dezso, 2011; Unterhalter, 2016). Equality is approached from this perspective by revealing, challenging and changing the inequalities inscribed in curricula, policies and organisational life (Unterhalter 2007; 2012; 2016), while feminist and critical teaching which builds gender consciousness (Stake, 2006; Stromquist, 1995) can contribute to a more equitable society beyond an institution's borders.

A third set of approaches grouped together by Unterhalter see gender in terms of varied and shifting, discursively shaped performances, often adopting an epistemological foundation of difference (Luke and Gore, 1992). In some ways paralleling Anthias' emphasis on multiple axes of difference, the post-structuralists with whom such approaches are often associated resist seeing power in binary terms, seeing 'rather a multiform production of relations of domination' (Foucault in Orner, 1992, p. 84). As Unterhalter (2007, p. 89) notes the key focus is on processes of marginalisation, and thus, while the language of equality is rarely employed, equality is seen in terms of 'equal esteem or equal concern for all'. This is to be achieved through the affirmation of difference, the deconstruction of categories and their associated boundaries (Ellsworth, 1989; 2005, 1997), and the provision of safe spaces in which students can explore different approaches to gender and sexuality (Unterhalter, 2016). It is acknowledged that there is a risk that such deconstruction might make it more difficult to analyse 'the structuring processes that support inequalities' (Haywood and Mac an Ghail, 2012, p. 587; cf. Connell, 2004).

A final set of approaches Unterhalter identifies consider gender within wider frameworks which seek to provide a basis for individual (and, to some degree, communal) human flourishing. The concept of human rights, established in international accords like the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UN, 1948) and the Beijing Declaration (UN, 1995) see justice in terms of the possession of fundamental rights, which should be enjoyed equally regardless of gender (Molyneux and Razavi, 2002; Tomasevski, 2005). Sen (1999) and Nussbaum's (2011, 2005, 2000) capability approach focus on maximising the substantive freedom 'to choose a life one has reason to value' (Sen 1999, p. 285). At one level gender equality here involves those on either side of boundaries having equal capability sets (Robeyns, 2007) and receiving justice in situations of inequality (Goetz, 2007). The concern is also with those on either side of a boundary meaningfully enjoying the capabilities and rights that are important to them, and supporting others in doing the same, and how (higher) education policies and institutions can enable that situation and cultivate associated dispositions (Cin, 2017; Loots and Walker, 2015; Unterhalter, 2010; Walker, 2010).

Different approaches to gender equality can both complement and conflict with one another. In her earlier work Unterhalter (2005, 2006, 2007, 2012) emphasised how aspects of the first three approaches could be integrated in, and drawn on by, the fourth approach. Indeed, in several respects that is what this thesis does, seeking to recognise the different ways in which policies and practices within and beyond the case study institution contribute to, or detract from, gender equality in different ways. In more recent writings, however, Unterhalter (2014, p. 121, 2016, 2017; Unterhalter and North, 2017a) has noted that certain ways of pursuing gender inequality can simultaneously 'support exploitation or endorse conditions of vulnerability', leading her to emphasise the importance of contextually exploring the different implications of education actors 'doing gender' and their ostensible pursuit of gender equality. Such analysis of the consequences of, particularly teaching staff, 'doing gender' is also major focus in this thesis.

Such analysis is particularly significant in light of differences that can exist between groups in their understandings of gender equality, particularly at points at which gender boundaries intersect with other boundaries of difference. These have been evident in the United Kingdom, for instance, in the disagreements within and beyond higher education about mutually upholding both transgender and cisgender women's rights (Watts and Rogers, 2018). These have pitted different marginalised groups, each claiming the need for recognition and safe spaces, against one another (Hinsliff, 2020; O'Keefe, 2016).

Scholars have also considered the sometimes competing demands of respect for different cultural and religious perspectives, and upholding gender equality as seen in terms of the frameworks above. In the Turkish context, as for instance within parts of the Catholic church (Catholic Church, 2000; PCJP, 2005) gender justice has been considered by some in terms of conformity with natural distinctions, undergirded by a naturalised ontology of gender (Yılmaz, 2015). Feminists have frequently emphasised that cultures and religions can use gender as boundary markers (Okin, 1999), the need not to reify cultural perspectives (Phillips, 2002) and the range of different understandings of gender that can be present within different cultures and religions (Ahmed, 1992; Honig, 1999; Lazreg, 1988) including feminist religious perspectives

(Daly, 1973; King and Beattie, 2004; 2012, 2008). Nevertheless, it can be difficult for secular theorists to adequately value the alternative ontological and epistemological perspectives of religious people (Seggie, 2011; Winter, 2006), raising the importance of sensitive consideration of their views (Ahmed-Ghosh, 2008; Walton, 2013). The process of 'rooting' oneself in one's own particular historic tradition, and 'shifting' to seek to understand the perspectives of those who are different, encouraged in the transversal politics documented by Yuval-Davis (2006b, p. 446) offers a possible route to follow here. Anthias (2002) in her own reflections on the challenges of reconciling multiculturalism and feminism similarly looks at the importance of dialogue, alongside the challenge of establishing the necessary mutual respect, and equality of power relations to enable it.

Employing Anthias' (2008; 2013) framework of boundaries and hierarchies, this thesis draws on the different notions of gender equality identified by Unterhalter (2005; 2016) to analyse the influence of policies, practices and teaching in the case study institution for relations of equality and inequality, inclusion and exclusion. It seeks also to attend to alternative perspectives embraced by participants, and to analyse the interactions between those with different conceptions of gender equality. Throughout it focuses on what different engagements with gender do (Unterhalter and North, 2017a), and their implications for other boundaries of difference. This 'doing' is conceptualised as boundary work, as the next section explains.

## **Boundary work**

Symbolic and social boundaries are not fixed but subject to change. The aim of this thesis is to explore how education at the case study university was involved in such change – at the social level, the discursive level and in relation to understandings of the ontological level – both with respect to gender boundaries, and the other boundaries of difference with which they intersect. The thesis explores this in terms of boundary work. This is seen as being anything that changes the properties or nature of a boundary, including its significance or position. This is broader than the use of the term by Gieryn (1983) in relation to building, expanding and protecting the boundary around scientific disciplines; it reflects rather the use of scholars attending to the political and everyday

making of boundaries (Duemmler et al., 2010; Wimmer, 2008). Thus anything which hardens, softens, shifts, disputes, dissolves, obfuscates or illuminates a boundary, or renders it more permeable is encompassed by my use of the term.

Boundary work can be undertaken specifically with the boundary in mind. The literature on boundaries recounts a number of ways in which this is done, as for instance by emphasising fear of the unknown (Newman, 2003), heightening contrasts, labelling as a deviant, scapegoating (Gieryn, 1983), and stereotyping and categorising (Lamont and Molnar, 2002). However, with social boundaries anything done in response, or differentially in relation, to a boundary also constitutes work on that boundary. Doing something on one side of a boundary, but not on the other, increases or reinforces the significance of the boundary, its distinguishing role (Wimmer, 2013). Even remaining on one side or other of a boundary rather than crossing it maintains and upholds the boundary. Those on the edge of, or in-between, boundaries can act either to reinforce or to unsettle or subvert existing boundaries, as Rumelili (2004, 2011, 2012; Rumelili and Süleymanoğlu-Kürüm, 2017) highlights with reference to Turkey's discursively constructed liminal (Van Gennep, 1909; Turner, 1967) position between West and East. The thesis also recognises that 'power relations ... create boundaries' (Bernstein 2000, p. 19). Boundaries serve and benefit some, while others suffer because of them (2011, 2003). This study tries to draw out whose interests the different boundary work in the institution supports.

The literature on ethnicities has provided some helpful taxonomies of ethnic boundary work, which can nevertheless have a wider application, and were more applicable to this study than the limited taxonomy of gendered boundary work used by Barker-Ruchti et al. (2016). Wimmer (2008) expands an earlier attempt by Zolberg and Woon (1999), identifying different strategies of ethnic boundary making. He distinguishes between two broad categories of boundary work. The first changes the topography of boundaries – where they divide – which he terms boundary shifting. With respect to gender this could apply either to a gendered category or group, or to a gendered activity. Wimmer (2008) notes that boundary shifting can relocate a boundary to either include the previously excluded or *vice versa*. The second type of boundary work changes the meaning or membership of boundaries, which Wimmer terms



boundary modification. He suggests three subdivisions of boundary modification. The first is boundary blurring, which involves a boundary becoming less distinct, with the separation between the groups it divides becoming less clear. This might occur as other divisions, relating to other differences, are emphasised instead. The second, which in this study is often related, is transvaluation which changes the hierarchical ordering of groups, either inverting their valuation and placing a previously devalued group higher up the hierarchy or equalising them. Wimmer terms the third form of boundary work positional moves, whereby individuals or groups cross boundaries, changing their own position in relation to them; Wimmer emphasises that this serves to reinforce and validate the boundaries themselves.

This thesis draws on this taxonomy to help understand the positioning processes at work in the case study institution, and its wider context, in the intersections of boundaries relating both to gender and to other categories of difference. There are, however, a further four aspects of boundary work to which the study attends which Wimmer's (2008) taxonomy does not clearly encompass, even if he might reference them more obliquely. Reinforcing, maintaining or increasing the hardness or durability of a boundary through reiterating it, or acting in accordance with it, are important aspects of boundary work (Lamont and Molnar 2002) which this thesis will seek to identify. Boundary work can also change the types of relationship that are possible across a boundary, and how people are seen across them, without changing its location or associated hierarchical order. Further the way a boundary is delineated, the things which mark it, can also change without significantly altering those who are included or excluded.

Finally, direct boundary work is often only possible where there is awareness of a boundary. This means that anything which obfuscates, or alternatively illuminates, the presence, significance and nature of a boundary is in itself important boundary work. This could be seen as a process of conscientisation (Freire, 1972). Varying degrees of consciousness change an individual's ability reflectively to consider the boundaries that shape their social action. Any practice which increases people's understanding of the boundaries that constrain and enable them is important for maximising freedom in relation to those boundaries (Hayward, 1998).

Exploring these types of boundary work enables the thesis to analyse different aspects of the ways in which policies, practices and teaching about gender in the case study institution contribute towards gender equality and inequality. At the same time they allow consideration of the ways these approaches to gender contribute to wider processes of inclusion and exclusion.

## The University as Borderland

Considering the study institution as a borderland compliments the focus on considering gender relations in terms of their intersectional boundaries, particularly in light of the political context. Borderland is a term that is most closely associated within the field of gender studies with the work of Gloria Anzaldua (1987), who explores the concept with a focus on interconnections and hybridity, drawing on her own experience as a *chicana* lesbian on the border between Mexico and the United States. As well as being borderlands in this respect, they can be borderlands in a second sense, not simply sites of connection and freedom, but rather places which contribute to separation and division (Newman, 2003). To encompass these broader meanings of the term I draw on David Newman's (2003, p. 18) broader definition of a borderland as a place or 'sphere of activity which is directly affected by the existence of a border'.

Anzaldua (1987) uses the notion of borderland to explore questions of transgressing and dissolving boundaries. They are places in which is experienced the '*choque*' (Anzaldua 1987, p.78) of two worlds colliding, 'the coming together of two self-consistent but habitually incompatible frames of reference'. In these accounts, Anzaldua (1987, p. 3) presents a 'borderland ... [as] a vague and undetermined place created by the emotional residue of an unnatural boundary'. In classifying the boundaries she is addressing as 'unnatural' she presents them as artificial, imposed and aberrant, inverting the more typical presentation of the hybrid or transgressor as the deviant. The indeterminate spaces which emerge around those boundaries are then presented both in terms of the suffering and confusion that they generate, but also as places of creative potential. She depicts how those in the borderlands, in different ways, embody 'the coming together of opposite qualities within' through 'developing a tolerance for

contradictions, a tolerance for ambiguity' (Anzaldua 1987, pp. 19, 79). This melding takes place as much within people as between them.

To different degrees writing on universities has emphasised aspects of these qualities. Authors like those in Jackson's (2018) edited collection drawn on the writing of bell hooks (1994) to underline the importance of universities as spaces in which boundaries – symbolic, social and psychosocial, might be, indeed should be, transgressed. Accounts of the central role of universities as spaces of critical reflection emphasise that this makes them as a corollary places of openness, in which people can move beyond previous boundaries and where one can be 'other than that which one is' (Barnett, 2007, p. 153; Marginson, 2011; Walker and Wilson-Strydom, 2017). The liminal role of universities, as places 'betwixt and between' (Turner, 1967) is seen as they serve as transition spaces for many into adulthood and new, professional worlds (McLean et al., 2015).

Others underline different elements of the significance of universities as places which allow connection across different borders and boundaries, while not mirroring Anzaldua's emphasis on ambiguity and hybridity. Marginson (2011, p. 429) notes how universities can be sites of connection between individuals, helping to foster 'interpersonal relationships across traditional social and cultural boundaries'. Altbach (2003, 2009) highlights how universities serve to connect their societies into international knowledge networks, mediating the exchange of knowledge across, and then within, national borders. This parallels Marginson's (2011, p. 413) description of universities being founded on the 'antinomy of ... place-bound identity, locality ... [and] universal-mobile knowledge'. They thus serve as borderlands between the local and the international. The significance of this is possibly all the greater in a context like Turkey, which is itself frequently represented on a national level in borderland terms, as a bridge (Yanik, 2009) or liminal place, variously mediating or torn between East and West (Rumelili and Süleymanoğlu-Kürüm, 2017). Universities can thus play a role in reproducing or challenging perceptions of, and relationships between, actors at different levels.

These possibilities for transgression and distinctive connection are all in themselves dependent on universities being to some degree removed, set apart – in Basil Bernstein's (2000) language 'insulated' – from the structures of life in society more broadly. At the same time universities are necessarily related to, and part of, wider society – they are borderlands in relation to it. The role of university's boundaries in mediating these wider influences is thus crucial in determining how free, open and transgressive they can be. Some have presented education institutions as necessarily reproducing the norms and inequalities of wider society (Bourdieu, 1977). This suggests that the borders of such institutions are unable to withstand the penetration of external norms. Others emphasise the potential for education institutions, including universities, to serve as places which resist these norms, and to, for instance, reduce social inequalities, including those relating to gender (Alexander, 2000; Owen et al., 2018; Walker and Wilson-Strydom, 2017). They thus see universities as selectively mediating these wider influences. How they do so depends on a whole range of ways in which the university is structured, including its particular values (Alexander, 2000), its policies and governance structures (Morley, 2013a), decisions about what aspects of external discourses are incorporated into instructional discourse (Bernstein, 2000), and the pedagogies adopted (Alexander, 2000; Giroux, 1991; Unterhalter, 2010; Walker and Wilson-Strydom, 2017). I explore these in more detail in relation to gender below. These processes, this mediation, can also be different for different parts of the university, as they are themselves separated from one another, and adopt different approaches in their relation with the world beyond the university (Bernstein, 2000, 1971; Clark, 1987).

This highlights for the present study the importance of identifying the ways in which the university's boundaries do mediate both national and international influences at the different levels of the organisation. Further, once it is seen that universities are necessarily also places of separation, it calls for attention to where their boundaries might be so firm as to lead to disconnection from (parts of) wider society. This attention to where their boundaries might be more 'closed and rigid' (Newman 2003, p. 18) entails recognising that universities can be borderlands also in the sense of an enclave, a place divided from, and in some respects opposed to at least some of those outside its

boundaries. Where this might be necessary in some respects, it could also be problematic in others.

Within a university these issues thus apply as much to gender, in intersection with other boundaries. The patterning of gender relations in a university, in light of its mediation of external influences, has been termed, according to Connell (2006), its gender regime. Anthias (2008) emphasises that individual gender identities will be developed in interaction with, while at the same time themselves influencing, the boundaries maintained in such regulatory regimes. An institution's gender regime is also likely to influence the way gender is approached in the classroom. Connell and Acker (1990) have proposed overlapping frameworks for analysing regimes of intersecting inequalities within organisations. When applied to universities (Molla and Cuthbert, 2014; Peto and Dezso, 2011) these encourage paying attention to a range of areas of institutional life. These include exploring the division of labour at the university (and indeed in the wider lives of people in the institution), institutional power relations, including differences in representation in decision making, and gendered differences in both policies and interpersonal interactions. They also call for consideration of the ways gender relations, and associated differences, are symbolised and represented, including in the curriculum and the way that individual identity is shaped.

As universities are places which are both distinct from, and interconnected with, their wider contexts, so gender boundaries within them are, to varying degrees, both distinct from, and connected with, the gender boundaries of those contexts. Similarly the mutual influence of other categories of difference on gender boundaries, and the place of gender in marking the boundaries of other categories of difference, can reflect, or be different from, these relationships in wider society. The strength of external influences, and the resilience and permeability of a university's borders, will affect the nature of this mediation. As potentially indeterminate spaces, universities can thus be places of new possibility and transgression with regards to understandings and perceptions of, and practices related to, gender boundaries (Unterhalter and North 2010; 2017). They can either reproduce or challenge wider norms, and associated inequalities, relating to gender (Loots and Walker, 2015), thus contributing to, or detracting from, a broader situation of justice (Connell, 2010). This gendered boundary

work can also shape how those within the institution are positioned in relation to one another, and those beyond its borders, with respect to other socioeconomic and political divisions too. The approach to gender within the institution might contribute to useful, critical engagement with wider society, or to division from it.

## Conclusion

This chapter has developed a conceptual framework which sees the case study institution as an academic borderland, mediating external influences and shaping understandings of, and relations with, self and others. It considers how engagement with gender within the university, and in its academic courses in particular, is shaped by institutional and departmental boundaries. It views the effect of such engagement as boundary work at three analytic levels of ontology, symbolic boundaries of gender categories and social relations. The ways gender is approached might illuminate or obscure, reinforce or challenge such boundaries. It considers this boundary work in relation to other socioeconomic and political boundaries, also attending to how understandings of and perspectives on gender can be markers for these other boundaries. In these ways the framework provides a way of analysing how engagement with gender in the institution contributes to equality and inequality, inclusion or exclusion, in terms of parity, equal power relations, tolerance of difference, and opportunities for flourishing. It thus considers the different ways in which, through its engagement with gender, the university, in its interconnected distinctiveness, fosters freedom and challenge or constraint and determinacy, understanding and connection or division and separation.

### 3 Teaching and Learning Gender as Boundary Work

The heart of this study is the intersectional boundary work wrought by teaching and learning about gender in selected departments within the case study institution. This lies at the centre of the conceptual framework articulated in the previous chapter. The study explores this in terms of the work that is done in classrooms on gender boundaries – whether ontological, symbolic or social – and how this relates to other symbolic and social boundaries within and beyond the institution. In exploring this teaching and learning I draw on the breadth of Alexander's (2009, p. 14, 2000) definition of pedagogy as 'the observable act of teaching, together with its attendant discourse of educational theories, values, evidence and justifications'. It is thus looking at what is done in teaching, and the choices behind it. I recognise, however, that the choices involved are shaped by wider boundaries, and might well be unconscious, and that what is taught can be beyond what is intended. Students' interactions and responses are also critical elements of the pedagogical relations in the classroom and perform important boundary work. These elements of the classroom, allowed or enabled by the instructor's framing of the learning environment (Bernstein, 2000) also fall within the scope of this enquiry. This chapter looks at the literature relating to boundaries which shape teaching and learning about gender in university classrooms, as well as that on the resultant boundary work. Recognising that gender boundaries are interwoven with, and can serve as markers for, other social boundaries (Anthias and Yuval-Davis, 1992; Duemmler et al., 2010), it also looks at the literature exploring how work on gendered boundaries can in turn influence other boundaries.

#### Shaping of gender pedagogy

I first consider how gendered boundary work in university classrooms is itself shaped and influenced by other boundaries. There is wide variation in the extent to which classes explicitly address gender and policies addressing gender equality in universities frequently ignore classroom curricula (Morley, 2010). Internationally, and particularly in the United States in earlier years, the literature addressing the inclusion of gender in university curricula and classes has a long history (Black et al., 1994; Fowlkes et al., 1982;

Gappa and Pearce, 1980). There now seems to be a broad consensus – despite some earlier reticence (Hawthorne, 2004) – that universities need both centres, programmes and courses focused on gender and women's studies, and that there should be a goal of having gender incorporated, as both subject and mode of analysis, into curricula across disciplines (Ackerly and Mügge, 2016; Atchison, 2013; Blundell, 2009; Kortendiek, 2011; Larrondo and Rivero, 2019; Pandelejmoni, 2011). It is recognised that these different forms of integration serve different purposes and can be mutually supportive (Slavova, 2011).

Achieving sustained institutional change is challenging, however, as shown by the broader gender mainstreaming literature, both generally (Lombardo et al., 2017; Sandler and Rao, 2012; Standing, 2007) and within the field of education (Unterhalter, 2007, 2005; Unterhalter and North, 2017b, 2010). Analyses of top down efforts to incorporate gender in the curricula are limited, seemingly because such policy initiatives are rare (Morley, 2010), though universities in the United States, for instance, increasingly require students to study some diversity related courses (Spoor and Lehmilller, 2014). Verge et al. (2018) examine a case where there is a national (Spanish) policy enjoining gender mainstreaming in the curriculum and notes the structurally embedded patriarchal resistance to this process. Horwath and Diabl (2019) also show that making a focused course on women and gender studies compulsory can increase resistance – particularly among men – as well as leading to positive change.

The literature emphasises several factors as having particular influence on the inclusion of gender in the curriculum. Disciplinary boundaries appear to shape engagement with gender to a significant degree. Theoretical engagement with gender is frequently part of the core of disciplines like sociology and the humanities (Fonte et al., 2013; Slavova, 2011), though this is in itself the result of historical shifts in the focus of these disciplines (Stacey and Thorne, 1985). Courses in the natural and exact sciences (Beddoes and Borrego, 2011; Riley et al., 2009), and economics (Aerni et al., 1999; Bartlett, 2002) frequently pay no explicit attention to gender, including in countries which border Turkey (Grünberg, 2011). Other disciplines like politics (Atchison, 2017, 2016; Cassese et al., 2012) and business (Flynn et al., 2015b) can address gender in classes on occasion, normally in elective or postgraduate courses.



Conservative notions of what the core of a discipline is (Peto and Dezso, 2011), a reluctance to incorporate knowledge generated outside a discipline (McLean et al., 2013; Verdonk et al., 2009) and epistemological frameworks which render suspect academic work which is seen as politically motivated (Atchison, 2013; Horwath and Diabl, 2019) exclude focused attention on gender from, or marginalise it within, many departments (Foster et al., 2013; Wahl, 2015). Beyond such questions of disciplinary scope, the integration of gender in university courses also relies on changes to textbooks, faculty education, pedagogies and research priorities (Matthes, 2013; Prestage, 1994), issues which encompass a whole discipline, rather than any single institution or department (Atchison, 2013).

Nevertheless, these disciplinary boundaries interact with other boundaries to shape teaching and learning relating to gender in the classroom. International bodies and policies can have a significant influence on the way gender is approached in an institution, by highlighting new ways of thinking, providing funding for particular initiatives, or mandating certain procedures in the case of a body like the EU (EC, 2012; Morley, 2005). An individual institution will be positioned in particular ways with regards to these international relationships, which will influence the approach to gender within its classrooms, as is seen in several of the studies in Grünberg's (2011) edited volume on gender-inclusive curricula in universities in Eastern Europe. In Turkey international relationships had a significant influence on the development of the discipline of gender and women's studies. Kandiyoti (2010) emphasises how the first United Nations conference on women in 1975 catalysed women's studies in Turkey. Arat (1996) notes the importance of women having exposure to feminism through international education, and also of funding from international organisations, while Sirman (1989) stresses the significance of the translation of international publications. Again, these influences are mediated by the positioning of particular institutions (Kerestecioğlu and Özman, 2017), meaning that, of Turkey's 179 universities, only four had gender and women's studies programmes before 2011, and thirteen by 2016 (Dayan, 2018).

National contexts – in terms of broader gender relations, higher education policies, and the state of academic engagement with gender – also have significant influence on teaching and learning gender in universities (Grünberg, 2011; Molla and

Cuthbert, 2014; Morley, 2007; Verge et al., 2018). Chapter five explores the influence of the authority structures in higher education in Turkey, as well as the HEC's (2015) policy statements with regards to gender equality in the curriculum. Kerestecioğlu and colleagues (2018) discuss the influence of the AKP government's conservative stance with regards to gender relations, noting that it is reflected in the research agendas and rhetoric of more recently established women's studies centres. Dayan (2018) highlights further how government discourses around, and policy approaches towards, gender, have led to the marginalisation of gender and women's studies as a discipline in the country.

Institutional commitment is also necessary to see more widespread change in academic engagement with gender (Atchison, 2013; Larrondo and Rivero, 2019; Peto and Dezso, 2011); approaches to and understandings of autonomy, as well as of disciplinary boundaries, are so robust that they require systemic intervention to address them. Institutional approaches to gender contribute to what Bernstein (2000) terms the regulative discourse, the values which shape pedagogical decisions. An institution's policies with regards to the inclusion of gender in the curriculum are also important, though only so far as they – and national level policies – are successfully implemented and monitored (Verge et al., 2018) as the regular critique of the 'policy evaporation' of gender mainstreaming suggests (Unterhalter and North 2010, p. 395; Standing, 2007). In Turkey, for instance, Acar-Erdol and Gözütok (2018) record how plans for addressing gender equality in teacher training curricula in Turkey's 2008-2013 National Action Plan for Gender Equality have not been implemented. Appropriate implementation can relate to both the inclusion of gender in the wider curriculum, and in focused programmes. In the former case provision and uptake of professional development can be critical (Roberts, 2015; Verge et al., 2018). In the latter case, institutional support, including sufficient budgetary allocation, can be crucial to the success or failure of a course or centre (Grünberg, 2011).

Finally the literature highlights that the inclusion of gender in curricula is dependent on the actions of particular individuals, whether instructors in their own courses or faculty members encouraging wider engagement with gender by others (Gappa and Pearce, 1980; Gruberg, 1994; Grünberg, 2011; Larrondo and Rivero, 2019).

Studies suggest that the significance of individual decisions and actions is heightened in relation to curricular content because of the importance attached to the notion of academic freedom (Verge et al., 2018), that is the freedom of both individual scholars and academic institutions to work without undue external interference (Altbach, 2001; Butler, 2017). Peto and Dezsó's (2011) study of a private Hungarian University notes that even in an institution in which there was broad consensus on the importance of mainstreaming gender in organisational structures and procedures, there was markedly higher resistance when the curriculum was at stake, in light of possible encroachment on academic autonomy. Verge et al. (2018) do highlight, however, the commonly accepted restraints on aspects of academic autonomy – seen in their Spanish context in requirements about grading criteria and the inclusion of generic skills in courses – and suggest that arguments about autonomy might mask other forms of resistance to the incorporation of gender in curricula.

The literature addressing curricular engagement with gender in Turkey is still relatively piecemeal. The fullest insights are offered into the development of gender and women's studies (Kandiyoti, 2010; Dayan, 2018). There are studies which show that there are specific courses focused on gender in a range of different disciplines, from education (Acar-Erdol and Gözütok, 2017; Erden, 2009; Esen, 2013) to political science (Berges, 2013), medicine (Aksan et al., 2011) and nursing (Cetişli et al., 2017). The courses described generally appear to be distinctive within their departments, and indeed their disciplines more broadly, in their focus on gender, and are rarely compulsory. Other studies show that at the level of knowledge production certain disciplines engage with gender as might be expected by international patterns – Kasapoğlu (2005) in sociology and Sancar (2009) in political science – but they do not show how this translates into teaching. I have only found one study that gives a clear analysis of the extent to which courses address gender in an academic discipline in Turkey. Bal's (2018) study of ten leading public relations departments shows the limited engagement with gender in teaching in this discipline in Turkey but focuses on student's learning, rather than exploring the reasons for this level of engagement. The literature thus overall offers only limited insights into both broader patterns of inclusion of gender

in university classes in Turkey, and the distinctive ways in which gender is incorporated in classes within particular institutions and departments in Turkey.

### **Ontological boundary work**

In line with the three types of boundary identified by Anthias (2013), this chapter explores the literature relating to three types of gendered boundary work, which can, indeed arguably do, take place, in all classrooms. It looks first at such boundary work in classes which either do not explicitly focus on gender, or do so only to a small degree, before then looking at classes which intentionally focus on gender. While I address them separately, each of these levels of boundary work is inter-related. Ontological boundary work addresses understandings of what gender is. This could take place explicitly, as with classes that directly address the meaning or theory of gender or gender equality, either articulating one understanding, or explaining different competing theories (Brown, 2011; Colatrella, 2014). Ontological boundary work can also take place in other ways. The explicit or implied ontological and epistemological framework in any classroom might well reinforce or challenge students' own frameworks, which in turn have associations with different understandings of gender. The literature has tended to focus on the influence of underlying epistemologies on the approaches to gender used by academics in their respective fields, with positivist epistemologies associated with more binary, functionalist understandings of gender, and interpretive epistemologies and deployments of post-structuralism increasing openness to understandings of gender as fluid and socially constructed (Beddoes and Borrego, 2011; Riley, 1999; Stacey and Thorne, 1985). Sallee's (2011, 2008) study of doctoral students in engineering and English departments in the US indicates similar indirect influences on students' understandings of gender. Frequently the key ontological boundary work performed in a classroom is (as for symbolic and social boundaries) ignoring gender boundaries, thus leaving students to persist with the understandings of gender boundaries that they previously have. As Kelan and Jones (2010) describe of business departments in the United States, the systemic nature of gender inequality is thus left invisible.

Studies of understandings of gender and gender roles in Turkey have highlighted that students, and male students in particular, frequently have understandings of

gender roles which maintain strong naturalised distinctions between those of men and women, and limited theoretical understanding of gender (Adana et al., 2011; Ersöz, 2012; Esen, 2013). In a questionnaire completed by 349 students from Turkey's leading communications departments only a quarter sought to answer a question asking for a definition of gender (Cangöz, 2013). They gave a wide variety of responses, with only 3% of respondents giving a response the authors considered accurate. While the authors did not indicate what they considered a correct response, and, as indicated, gender is a very hard term to define, this result gives some indication of students' lack of theoretical clarity in this area. Another study showed similar lack of understanding about feminism: of 846 students in a university in Western Turkey 43.3% opted for a definition of feminism as 'the way of thinking that women are superior to men', while 17.1% 'believed that they were male enemies' (Unutkan et al., 2016, pp. 319, 324). To my knowledge, though, there are no qualitative studies which explore how university classes in Turkey which do not explicitly focus on gender influence students' understandings of the ontology of gender. This study seeks to do this, recognizing that such understandings underpin the other approaches students will have to symbolic and social gender boundaries.

### Symbolic boundary work

The second form of boundary work is that addressing symbolic gender boundaries. These divide people into discursive categories, associated with particular characteristics, and can link them also with particular types of activity. Classes can variously illuminate, obfuscate, reinforce, shift, modify or address the significance of such boundaries. The literature provides a variety of indications about the influence of university classes in general on symbolic gender boundaries. Currier and Carlson (2009) noted that in the United States students normally become more liberal and tolerant during their time at university. This implies that they come to perceive at least some symbolic boundaries as being less significant, and less rigid i.e. that such boundaries are blurred. On the other hand, as the rise in no-platforming shows (Read, 2018; Thomas, 2017), this can be accompanied by according heightened significance to other boundaries, including those relating to gender, which are understood as demarcating positions of unacceptable intolerance, for example with regards to trans identities (O'Keefe, 2016).

Some studies have suggested that academic classes in general either do not influence symbolic gender boundaries, or at least do not challenge them where they uphold inequalities. Harris (2010) in a study of male United States college students (N=68) found that academic interests were not reported as influencing their understandings of the meaning of masculinity, though the size of the study, and its reliance on self-reporting, means this finding should be treated with caution. Burke and colleagues (2013, p. 4) conducted research with staff (n=23) and students (n=64) across a range of departments in a university in the United Kingdom and concluded that 'students gendered ... antagonisms remain[ed] unchallenged by their university pedagogic experience', along with antagonisms relating to class and race. On the other hand Edwards and Jones (2009) noted in another small study (N=10) of male United States undergraduates that academic courses had been part of gendered consciousness raising – illuminating gender boundaries – encouraging them to think about what it means to be a man, and offering alternative perspectives on this. Again Sallee (2008) (N=34) shows contrasting symbolic boundary work across departments from two disciplines in a college in the United States, documenting how the questions raised about identity for English majors expanded the boundaries of possible masculinities, whereas they remained relatively narrow and fixed for students in aeronautical and mechanical engineering.

In Turkey studies have tended to document a lack of challenge to symbolic boundaries, or change with regards to them, through the education that students ordinarily receive. Some studies including graduates as participants provide indications that individuals with a university level education hold more egalitarian attitudes than those with lower levels of education (Altınay and Arat, 2009; Boratav et al., 2014). Most studies of university students highlight the persistence, particularly among male students, of conservative or 'traditional' perspectives on gender roles, for instance finding high degrees of support among male students for the primacy of male authority in decision making in the home, over women's right to work, and even for violence against women in 'deserve[d]' situations (Cangöz, 2013; Kahraman et al., 2014; Unutkan et al., 2016, p. 321; Vefikuluçay et al., 2007; Yılmaz et al., 2009). Gursoy et al's (2016) survey of 605 students at Ankara university found that the field of study made little

difference to views on women's sexuality, or violence against women, which might otherwise be expected if different disciplinary engagement with gender were having an effect. Four studies of students in first and final year groups in an education department (Kızılaslan and Diktaş, 2011) (N=207), a medical faculty (Sönmez et al., 2018) (N=575), and a representative cross-section of students from different departments (Ersöz, 2012; Gursoy et al., 2016) (N= 837, 605 respectively) found no significant differences with regards to their attitudes towards gender roles, women's sexuality or violence against women. To the extent that necessarily coarse quantitative studies can provide insights, university courses in Turkey broadly appear to be failing to significantly challenge symbolic boundaries, if not perhaps reinforcing them.

There are a variety of ways in which such symbolic boundary work can take place. Curricula, and the content they prescribe, can reinforce notions of a hierarchy between men and women through ignoring the roles and contributions of women (Molla and Cuthbert, 2014), and by the frequent dominance of men in disciplinary canons (Kortendiek, 2011). They can also present stereotypes of men and women in the examples they employ (Cooper and Eddy, 2007), as was noted for instance in the widely employed Harvard Business School case studies (Kilgour, 2015). Particular disciplines also frequently have gendered associations, being linked to particular forms of masculinity or femininity. These arise from historic inequalities in participation in the respective disciplines, their association with values commonly attributed to hegemonic masculinities or femininities, and perceptions of the gendered nature of related activities and careers (Kelan and Jones, 2010; Kortendiek, 2011; Flynn et al., 2015). There can be variations in these associations, depending on the particular disciplinary stance of a department, or their national context. In Turkey studies highlight marked differences in the gendered associations of particular sub-fields of engineering, for instance, with women applying far less frequently to civil and mechanical engineering departments than chemical or bio-engineering (Bucak and Kadirgan, 2011; Pehlivanlı-Kadayıfçı, 2018; Zengin-Arslan, 2002), while some fields like education are delineated as notably female fields (Esen, 2013). Classes can reinforce or challenge these associations, and the maintenance of gendered boundaries that they involve, through the values they espouse and qualities they encourage, and the representations of masculinity and

femininity they give (Flynn et al., 2015). This has implications with regards to social boundaries, both in terms of notions of who students need to be to succeed, and who is able to participate in the respective departments (Lapping, 2005, 2004).

Social relations – between staff and students, and students as peers – also affect symbolic gender boundaries. They encourage people to see categories in different ways. For instance, the presence of female staff has been recorded as challenging gender stereotypes in male dominated disciplines in the United States (Cooper and Eddy, 2007; McKeen et al., 2000). There are numerous accounts of differential treatment of men and women in university classrooms. These document various forms of discrimination against women, whether cutting across them or including them less in discussions, focusing on their appearance not their achievements, employing sexual humour or sexually harassing women (Cooper and Eddy, 2007; Hall and Sandler, 1982; Kilgour, 2015; Savigny, 2014). In Turkey, Gökçe's (2013) (N=164) study in an unspecified university showed that a significant proportion of students felt that they had been discriminated against because of their gender, by peers, lecturers, and other staff, but does not give further detail on the nature of this discrimination. Ozcan and colleague's (2013) large (N=1342) study of students in six universities in different parts of the country also recorded a few of staff showing sexually inappropriate behaviour. Such differentiation can reinforce or build a symbolic boundary between the categories associated with these groups. Ganley et al. (2018) also highlights how perceptions of exclusionary treatment towards women harden the masculine associations of disciplines. Conversely equal treatment can challenge or blur symbolic gender boundaries.

Unterhalter (2009, p.335), in reflecting on commonalities in writing on the capability approach and education, highlights the importance of education 'fostering particular ideas or imaginings about others'. Symbolic boundaries define and constrain the possibilities for how one can imagine gendered others. Where classes in higher education can challenge such boundaries – in some cases transgressing 'the borders of consciousness' as Schildkraut and Fakhereldeen (2018, §35) write of a peace education course in Israel – they can influence the way that gendered others can be perceived. All



too often, however, classes appear to reinforce, rather than challenge such boundaries. Both these processes of reinforcement and challenge merit further study.

### **Social boundary work**

University classrooms also influence the gendered boundaries between social groups – how particular contextualized groups of men and women relate to one another, and the constraints and freedoms they have – and relatedly the positionality of individuals – how they are positioned in relation to, and experience, different social boundaries. This can happen at a number of different levels. The boundary work at the preceding levels can influence the way others are perceived. Actions within a class can reinforce or challenge existing boundaries around and between groups. Acting in conformity with particular norms maintains the boundaries with which they are associated, as Bernstein's (2000) accounts of the framing of school classroom practice show with particular reference to social class. This involves, if only at a very small level, affirming one of the groups marked by those boundaries, and excluding others. Ellsworth (1989) notes that any speaking or expression necessarily involves the marginalisation of alternative voices. The marginalised voices could be others in a class, or even within the individual themselves. While such boundary work, and associated exclusions, are unavoidable, they will be more poignant, and significant, at some points and in some settings than in others. It is important to pay attention to them, and to consider how dynamics in a particular classroom relate to wider boundaries and their associated hierarchies.

Attending to Anthias' (2008) focus on boundaries of belonging, this raises the question of the extent to which women or men are able to belong in different classrooms and departments. Anthias and Yuval-Davis (1992, p. 8) look at belonging in a group in terms of 'sharing its conditions of existence ... having right credentials for membership ... [and] being able to muster [appropriate] resources'. The discrimination against, and unequal treatment of, women in higher education departments in a range of countries (Kilgour, 2015; Molla and Cuthbert, 2014; Savigny, 2014) highlights how frequently women have not been viewed as equal participants in such settings, and have faced more or less severe exclusions as a result.

Others have shown how contextual boundaries can contribute to such exclusions. Youdell (2006, 2005) analyses how in a UK secondary school boundaries which delineate binary divisions relating to gender, disability, race, class and religion are constantly referenced constraining the discursive options – both physical and verbal – available to people. She explains that associated microexclusions affect not simply what students experience, but define who they are able to be, and whether they are able to be 'intelligible' as people and as learners. Exploring similar dynamics in higher education Lapping (2004; 2005) highlights, in a study in two UK universities that particular sets of institutional and disciplinary boundaries, including those regulating acceptable modes of discussion and types of contribution, can also sit uneasily with discourses and expectations of femininity. She records how this limits women's free and equal participation, and also their sense of belonging, and narratives of personal value as students, noting also how such processes interact with distinctions in social class. Accounts of the discourses in Turkish engineering departments which frame women as less capable (Pehlivanlı-Kadayıfci, 2019; cf. Phipps, 2007) show similar dynamics. Such boundaries can apply also to men. Sallee (2008, p.189) records how men in the humanities department she was studying in a US university were criticised, and dismissed as having 'stupid ideas' by professors and peers, suggesting that as a result they adopted a 'defensive masculinity'.

It is at this level that the boundary work of teaching and learning about gender is experienced as equality or inequality, inclusion or exclusion. Further examples are seen in the next section in relation to classes explicitly focused on gender. Beyond Kadayıfci's (2019) study, however, I have not found studies of classes which are not so explicitly focused, which explore such boundary work either with respect to gender alone, or its intersections with other boundaries. This study seeks to provide a contribution in this area.

### **Boundary work in classes which focus on gender**

The gendered boundary work in classrooms which intentionally focus on gender relations is often different to that recorded of classrooms more generally. Particularly in classrooms with a feminist aim, ontological boundary work is noted as a strong focus, as

they aim to illuminate the nature of gender boundaries, as a means of challenging them (Weiner, 2006). Scholars highlight the significance of different forms of understanding to this end with Mayhew and Fernandez (2007) for instance emphasising that content which addressed the social structures behind inequalities had a more significant effect on students' perceptions of social justice than less systemic analyses. Drawing on research in a range of UK universities, Kerr et al. (2010, pp. 25–26) suggest that second wave feminist understandings of gender emphasising the power of one gender over another can be 'threatening', advising rather the embrace of third wave understandings of gender as 'non-essentialist, shifting and contingent'. They find that feminist understandings can be seen as abstract and complex, while the natural understandings they challenge can be seen as private issues, and find that resistance can be particularly strong if a feminist perspective is perceived as being forced upon a class (Foster et al., 2013). There is also, however, evidence that classes specifically focused on gender and women's studies do succeed in shaping students' understandings of gender. Yoder et al. (2007) found that men who took GWS courses in a US university embraced more constructionist understandings of gender. Kirkup et al. (2015) show from interviews with alumnae in the UK that the difference in worldview attained from such courses can endure into later life.

The relatively few Turkish studies exploring classes which intentionally address gender relations give very limited insights into the ontological boundary work they involve. While Arat's (1996) account of the feminist activism and research of students from gender and women's studies classes in Turkey does not explicitly focus on students' learning, the range of such activities she documents suggests that they must at least have left the classes with understandings of gender compatible with such actions. One small scale qualitative study (N=33) of a compulsory course including a significant gender equality component in an initial teaching training programme in Ankara University (Esen, 2013) found that, prior to the course, students saw gender in terms of compliance with social stereotypes and expectations, or in naturalised terms. Following the course, particularly the female students demonstrated an understanding of the role of gender in structuring all aspects of their lives, and also how these boundaries were

amenable to challenge and change. In this case, as in others, ontological boundary work was linked also with symbolic boundary work, as I describe below.

Classes which intentionally address gender can perform symbolic boundary work in a variety of ways by showing men and women performing unexpected roles (Kelan and Jones 2010), probing the limits of "normality" (Cuesta and Witt 2014, p.13), or deconstructing texts (Youdell 2006). Schildkraut and Fakhereldeen (2018) document from a peace class in an Israeli university how sustained engagement with perceived others can help to recognise their complexity, and move beyond the stereotypes – the symbolic boundaries – previously employed. A variety of studies from India, the US, the UK and Australia show how attitudes towards gender roles, women's status in society and gender based violence have been challenged through courses which focus on reflection on and analysis of gender relations and gender inequalities (Colatrella, 2014; Flood, 2011; Ghadially, 1994; Kirkup et al., 2015; Senn et al., 2015; Stake, 2006). Flood (2011) records, from a review of studies exploring men's involvement in gender and women's studies classrooms, that men show similar progress to women in such classes; however, because their initial positions are less egalitarian, they frequently finish as less egalitarian. Again, there can be resistance to such boundary work from both men and women. Men can feel personally accused as part of the systemic critique; Wahl (2015), drawing on her own teaching in the US, suggests that encouraging reflection on students' own personal and work environments can reduce such resistance. Kelan and Jones (2010) record how, on the other hand, female students in a US business department disliked classes which focused on gendered distinctions, because they drew attention to them as female students, countering their broader attempts to fit in in the department.

Some of the studies exploring the impact of courses in Turkey which intentionally focus on gender record notable symbolic gendered boundary work. Esen (2013) in the study mentioned above shows how the course led students to question traditional social and cultural patterns and stereotypes. Berges (2013) records, in her account of teaching Christine de Pizan's (2005) early fifteenth century defence of women, *The City of Ladies*, in an introduction to philosophy class at a private university in Ankara, how at least one student was stimulated by the reading and discussion to question in a sustained fashion

aspects of gender relations that they had previously taken for granted. Four further studies, in Ankara, Western Turkey and two unspecified Turkish universities, show how courses focused on gender equality led students to give significantly different responses on quantitative gender role attitude scales before and after the courses, and in contrast to control groups: Erden's (2009) study of an elective semester long course on gender equity in early childhood education for pre-service teachers (n=133); Aksan et al.'s (2011) study of a (seemingly) compulsory course on violence against women for second year medical students (n=334); Acar-Erdol and Gözütük's (2017) study of a gender equality curriculum (of unspecified length) for pre-service teachers (n=32); and Cetişli et al.'s (2017) elective study of a fourteen week course about gender equality for trainee nurses (n=84). These studies highlight that education focused on exploring gender relations, and challenging gender boundaries in Turkey has frequently succeeded in its aims, at least to a degree, where, as indicated above, more general university education has not been recorded as doing so. It is notable also that these studies show this across a range of disciplines, all taking place outside gender and women's studies programmes, and in both elective and compulsory courses. With the exception of Esen (2013), however, these studies provide little focus on the specific means of the respective boundary work and limited insights into variations in individual students' learning.

At the same time these and other studies in Turkey show how symbolic gender boundaries can persist in the face of, and sometimes because of, courses intentionally addressing gender relations. In line with studies internationally (Flood 2011), both Aksan et al. (2011) and Esen (2013) found that, while male students' attitudes and perspectives were challenged by the courses, both before and after they still had more traditional gender role attitudes than female students. Aksan et al. (2011) and Cetişli et al. (2017) found similar results for students from Central, Eastern and Southern Anatolia, and for those whose parents' education was secondary school or less, highlighting how boundaries of geography and class also have implications for this gendered boundary work. Berges (2013) found that, despite her efforts to present de Pizan's work, and also that of Mary Wollstonecraft, as being in continuity with the male philosophers she addressed in her course, her students almost universally drew a sharp distinction between them, treating their writing as and about women as categorically different

from what they appeared to class as more mainstream authors. One analysis suggests that some intentional engagement with gender in Turkish university courses aims to preserve and maintain symbolic gender boundaries. Kerestecioğlu and Ozman (2017) argue, in their account of the parameters of women's studies centres in Turkish universities, that those which have opened more recently, under the AKP government, serve to legitimise government policies and bolster conservative perspectives on gender. They give examples of opening speeches by university administrators which speak of women as a 'sacred trust', centre names linking women with family, and a preponderance of courses doing the same. This last example highlights in particular how not all teaching about gender is the same. As noted in the previous chapter, the way education actors 'do' gender varies significantly. The aims, methods, contents, context and characteristics of students all serve to shape the boundary work in any given class.

Intentional engagement with gender in university classes can address social boundaries in a variety of ways. Classes can challenge students to recognise and reflect upon the way knowledge itself is shaped by social boundaries. They can do so by including the perspectives of the oppressed (Harding, 1991; Youdell, 2006), and encouraging those with privilege – principally men from a gender perspective, but also cis-gendered people, and others in terms of class, race etc. – to reflect on their privilege in light of these perspectives (Flood, 2011). Weiner (2006) relatedly encourages exploration of the social origins of theory. Classes also illuminate and highlight the significance of gendered social boundaries through the analysis of social problems (Cuesta & Witt, 2014). This can include reflection on the implications of men losing some of their social power, alongside the social benefits of more equal societies (Ratele, 2014).

An important aspect of the social boundary work encouraged by feminist pedagogy is challenge to existing pedagogical power relations. Webb et al. (2002) note feminist aims to blur the boundaries between professors and students, empower students so as to challenge associated hierarchies, and build community through collaboration, dialogue and collective attention to personal experiences (Luke and Gore, 1992; Henderson, 2013). Relatedly classes have also sought to offer a safe space, most notably in women's studies classes which were exclusively for women (Leathwood,

2004). In the Turkish setting Dayan (2018) quotes an academic from a women's studies programme who emphasises the equal relationship that she and her colleagues have with their students, the level of interaction in classes, and how they share social lives outside classes. It is notable that her account evinces none of the reservations about these dynamics that are evident in parts of the wider literature. Weiner (2006; cf. Orner, 1992) argues, for instance, that power cannot be given away, and that institutional structures and the dominance of reason-focused pedagogies uphold inegalitarian power dynamics. Orner (1992, p.87) draws attention to the threat of interrogation, and of being 'cast out' after speaking which can keep students silent. Henderson (2015, p.104) stresses that students make assumptions about other members of a class when deciding what information it is appropriate to share, highlighting that the experiences and perspectives of those in the classroom are 'authored by those present'. Ellsworth (1989, p.321), offering similar criticisms, nevertheless sees value in these approaches suggesting that the goal must be to recognise our knowledges as 'partial, interested and potentially oppressive to others'. Guckenheimer and Schmidt (2013) stress that classrooms cannot, for similar reasons, be expected to be safe spaces, but emphasises that they can be respectful.

Studies show that the outcomes of addressing gender in these ways has been variously to illuminate, challenge, uphold, and in some ways construct gendered social boundaries. Studies record that intentional focus on gender can give students greater awareness of sexism, and understandings of the social implications of gender boundaries (Stake 2007 in Flood, 2011; Colatrella, 2014). While some record that there is less evidence of impact on students' behaviours (Flood, 2011; Currier and Carlson, 2009), such classes have been linked to notable increases in social activism (Stake, 2006) and also aspects of women's empowerment, including rape resistance (Senn et al., 2015). Weiner (2006, p.90) also notes that such teaching should be expected to 'make trouble for us' with students resisting university authorities in their challenge to gender boundaries.

The studies in Turkey on courses which intentionally focus on gender relations mentioned above document a range of social boundary work. Aksan (2011) records how the course in their study developed students awareness, and critique, of violence

against women. Cetişli et al. (2017) note that students were helped to understand how the media, law and religion all contributed to social gender boundaries, while Acar-Erdol and Gözütok (2017) state that the gender equality curriculum helped students reflect on problems related to gender in daily life. The qualitative study by Esen (2013) is perhaps most revealing in this respect. It shows that the three-week focus on gender equality helped female students to grow markedly in their awareness of the implications of gender boundaries for their daily lives and their embrace of strategies to resist them in their individual and professional lives. Esen (2013) argues that these were changes were supported by the course's ontological boundary work, and the more sophisticated theoretical conceptions the students developed. Esen (2013) also notes an increase in self-confidence, empowerment and emancipation among many of the female students; their positionality with regards to wider gender boundaries had changed as a result of the course. At the same time Esen (2013) notes, as alluded to above, that while male students' understandings of gender also developed, they did so in more limited ways. Their critiques of gender boundaries tended to remain impersonal and objective, and they rarely expressed specific commitments to challenging gender boundaries either in their individual or professional lives. Esen (2013) suggests that their lack of personal sense of the breadth of influence of structures of gender in their lives, and resistance to a sense of being personally attacked, might have led to this more limited development. She advocates focusing in such courses on helping men to recognise themselves as also victims of the constraints of gender boundaries.

Such boundary work also serves to draw attention to, and create, gendered boundaries relating to differences in perspectives on feminism. Positively this takes place in leading students to embrace feminism, take action in line with it, and interrogate the views and practices of others, thus strengthening the boundary making role of a person's or institution's stance with relation to gender equality. In Dayan's (2018, p.234) analysis of gender and women's studies in Turkey, another of the academics from the programme mentioned above described the programme as offering a 'breathing space' and being a space to which people were devoted. She presented it as a programme which inspired belonging and openness, in light of the common understandings of women's equality in Turkey's often hostile context. Negatively such



boundary work is apparent in both critique of egalitarian or feminist perspectives and resistance to engagement with gender in classes, particularly from men. Again Dayan (2018, p.233) records the former, citing gender and women's studies students who are mocked even by their friends for 'messing around with nonsensical women's ... matters'. She also refers to Atakul's<sup>16</sup> (2002) account of the sneering reactions and marginalisation faced by students in the field, which, she suggests, reflects the academic situation of the discipline as a whole.

Resistance within classes can take a variety of forms. Sometimes it need not be clear opposition to feminist perspectives, but men might feel marginalised and self-silence in light of their frequent numerical minority in classes addressing gender or because they lack understanding of the issues and want to avoid looking naïve (Miner, 1994). Pleasants (2011) records how men who elected to study women's studies, and often saw themselves as allies, nevertheless reacted with guilt, offence and criticism to the teaching and learning in the classroom. These classes thus contributed to a boundary relating to views on feminism, even if it was not a clear cut or rigid one. Orr (1992), in a compulsory general education course in the United States, and Ghadially (1994), in an elective course in India, show how men's resistance was clearer still, evident in silence, limited attendance, trivialising comments, superficial compliance, sexism and put-downs. The Turkish studies do not provide particular details on men's resistance, though its results, in their continued embrace of less egalitarian perspectives with regards to gender, are shown, as detailed above.

In line with those questioning the possibility of equalising power relations in the GWS classroom, other studies have shown how courses which intentionally focus on gender relations can also maintain boundaries between women along other axes of difference. Morley (1992) shows how in a women's studies course in the UK, race emerged as a key mark of distinction, with women's feelings of oppression leading them to focus on other polarised differences. Similarly Ringrose (2007) shows from a class in Canada how discussion of issues relating to gender sparked conflicts over divisions of race and class. In both these cases, the personal, reflective focus of the classes

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<sup>16</sup> I was unable to adequately engage with this in the Turkish original

contributed to the conflict. In each case the authors highlighted the potential for the conflict, once surfaced, to contribute to learning, and ultimately to the softening of boundaries, though this was not necessarily evident for all in the classes. In neither of these examples were the boundaries of difference in focus particularly marked by different views on gender and gender equality.

This was, however, the case in Yang's (2010) study of a women's adult education class in Sweden, attended principally by migrant women. She documents how the teaching in that classroom, which sought to convey egalitarian views on veiling and sexuality, treated perspectives and practices on these issues as clear markers of racial and religious other-ness. Efforts to encourage gender equality served in this case to reinforce other social boundaries between groups. Studies such as Yang's raise the possibility of classes addressing gender and gender equality reinforcing boundaries relating to other divisions in the Turkish context – including highly charged political and religious boundaries. The only oblique reference to this I am aware of is Berges' (2013) note, in the class in which she taught Christine de Pizan, that resistance to such feminist thinking was more frequently found amongst secular students, than covered religious students. Running contrary to some of the stereotypical portrayals of divisions relating to gender and religion in Turkey, though reflecting the complexities identified in this regard earlier, this highlights the importance of exploring such intersectional boundary work in a Turkish setting.

### **Relating across boundaries**

The persistence of social boundaries in classrooms where staff intentionally address gender relations, and the potential for such classes to reinforce such boundaries, raises the question of how teaching might best soften or destabilise such boundaries, or increase the possibilities for relating well across them. Relations across boundaries that prevent meaningful encounters with those seen as the other and a developing understanding of those others are a hindrance both to learning and to wider social cohesion. Feminist pedagogical theorists have long emphasised the importance of attending to individual and diverse voices, and to different personal experiences, in pursuit of individual and collaborative learning (Webb et al., 2002; Danowitz & Tuit,

2011). Arnot (2006) notes the recognition in feminist research of the importance of voice as a source of legitimisation. She emphasises the importance of this including both those outside the dominant voices and attending to the voices we do not want to hear (cf. Bragg, 2001). These counsels appear particularly pertinent in the Turkish context, where the dominant voices can vary significantly depending on the boundaries of a setting, and where social polarisation can render the voices of the other deeply distasteful (Çelik et al., 2017; Uzer, 2015).

Despite the recognition that classrooms will inevitably be spaces of partiality (Henderson, 2015; Ellsworth, 1989), that those in the classroom must expect to be offended by what others have to say (Guckenheimer & Schmidt, 2013), and that power relations determine how any particular statement in a classroom is viewed (Watts and Rogers, 2018), there are steps that can be taken to limit the constraints on speaking, and hence learning, that can be taken. Avery and Steingard (2008), two diversity management instructors in the US, note how when controversial subjects are broached, students self-censor, making comments only in line with what they understand to be views expected, or accepted, by the class. They emphasise the ways in which this prevents students encountering alternative perspectives, and also prevents students from having their views challenged and developed. They suggest that this can be countered pedagogically through established, exemplified and enforced ground rules, and maintaining instructor presence in the discussion, even while giving it freedom at times. Ellsworth (1989) suggests that the trust necessary for encouraging honest, open discussion required relationship, which they found needed to be built in an extra-curricular setting, however, Guillard (2012) describes how students can be enabled to develop procedural rules which can helpfully support trusting, open dialogue. Watts and Rogers (2018) reflecting on debates over no-platforming, which in the UK have included strong disagreements between people with different histories in the pursuit of gender equality, concluded that contextual decisions need to be made about what forms of speech are unacceptable (cf. Read, 2018). They note that, while students need to be involved in these decisions, educators have an important role

'to ensure that the ethic of respect is maintained, that quieter voices are heard, that contextual factors are accounted for, that debate remains constructive and harm is minimised.' (Watts & Rogers 2018, §45)

In a polarised context of intersecting boundaries, a key goal might be to create the possibility for seeing the other as human. Several authors in Jackson's (2018) edited volume considering the transformative potential of higher education see this as an important emphasis in such contexts. West (2018, §12) highlight this as an alternative to viewing the other 'as a problem to be expunged ... rather than a fellow human being from whom we can learn'. Owen et al. (2018, §7) write of the importance of universities in societies marked by conflict encouraging students to 'value the humanity and rights of others'. Schildkraut and Fakhereldeen (2018, §50) note how the sustained interaction in a peace course enabled a right wing Jewish female to see Arabs as 'human beings ... "normal" human beings'. A common thread in these accounts is a movement beyond symbolic boundaries determining who the other is seen to be, or existing social boundaries determining one's relationship with them. Powell and Menendian (2016, p.32), in their reflections on othering and belonging, treat such 'humanising' in terms of challenging symbolic boundaries – 'negative representations and stereotypes'. In her account of her engagement with a resistant male student in a GWS class in the United States, George (1992) describes some of the approaches and qualities which can contribute to this. She depicts a journey towards 'an understanding of each other', facilitated by her humble willingness to ignore his overt sexism, to explore the reasons for his opinions, and through that to empathise with him, such that, while she 'could claim no feminist victory with him ... I can claim a human one' (George 1992, p.31). Fostering such humility and empathy with regards to the other appears to be an important aspect of the boundary work a classroom intentionally engaging with gender could aim for.

## Conclusion

Teaching and learning about gender performs boundary work relating to the three analytic levels at which Anthias analyses both gender, and other intersectional forms of difference. The boundary work at each level is mutually inter-related. Changes in understanding of the concept of gender undergird shifts in, and blurring of, symbolic

gender boundaries, and the boundaries between social groups to which they relate. Classes can influence perceptions of symbolic boundaries – for instance relating to views about gender equality – which serve as boundary markers between social groups. At the same time practices in the classroom which differentiate between different groups can reinforce or challenge symbolic boundaries, for instance of contextualised gender stereotypes. Teaching and learning about gender in university classrooms is significant not simply for gender boundaries, but for other forms of division in an institution, and the wider society to which it connects. As has been shown, however, there are few fine-grained studies of such boundary work in Turkey, and none which pay specific attention to some of the wider intersectional implications of teaching about gender in the country. This study seeks to provide an account of this boundary work. The next chapter sets the scene for this by providing an account of the wider institution within which such classroom teaching and learning about gender took place.

## 4 Methodology

The trajectory of this research project has been a meandering one. As recognised in the introduction, it has been characterised by the 'messiness' and 'failure' Troman (2002, p. 99) and Mills and Morton (2013, p. 43) document as marking and shaping many research journeys. Alongside the various shifts in the direction and intended location of the research I explored different ontological, epistemological and methodological approaches and sought to understand the differences between them. Decisions to embrace different positions and methods were sometimes made consciously, sometimes haphazardly, sometimes pragmatically constrained.

Continuing with the theoretical lenses of the previous chapters, this chapter considers the project's methodology in terms of boundary work. At the ontological level it relates the process of recognising the boundaries between different ontological and epistemological positions, and situating the research in relation to them, and the possibilities that respectively opened and closed. In relation to symbolic gender boundaries it considers, with respect to the political and ethical stance of the research, and my own positionality, the symbolic categories that frame me as a researcher and the ways I might perceive and relate to others as members of particular categories. It also presents the social boundary work involved in the research, and the different aspects of crossing, and relating across geographic, institutional, gendered, religious and political boundaries that it involved – both in accessing the research site and conducting the research there, and in analysing the data and communicating findings. Throughout it acknowledges the ways in which a range of boundaries shaped the methodological decisions made.

### Methodological approaches

From an ontological and epistemological perspective this study loosely adopts a set of positions taken by critical realists (Bhaskar, 2008; Sayer, 2000) and shared with some other qualitative researchers (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007), namely 'ontological realism, epistemological relativism and judgemental rationality' (Archer, 1998, p. xi). In

following this position it assumes that there is a reality which can be investigated, recognises that our knowledge claims about such reality are necessarily interpretive, and hence must be reflexively interrogated, but nevertheless holds that it is possible to make judgements between competing knowledge claims about that reality (Wright, 2013). I appreciate the force of hermeneutic and post-structuralist arguments which depict any objective reality as having no meaning outside our frameworks of language and interpretation (Burr, 2003; Derrida, 1976) and the consequent emphasis on the productive power of discourse (Butler, 1990; Youdell, 2006). Nevertheless approaches, like those of critical realists, which see discourse as being one part of the processes which shape the world and our understanding of it, alongside other 'embodied, material, social structures and institutional practices' (Sims-Schouten and Riley, 2014, p. 50; Fairclough, 2005; Elder-Vass, 2012) and the role of human agency (Archer, 2000), seem to me to better reflect the complexity of the social world. Further a range of scholars have demonstrated how critical realist ontological and epistemological positions can usefully complement a Christian worldview<sup>17</sup> (Archer et al., 2004; Wright, 2013).

Adopting these positions and rejecting those of hermeneuticism was an act of boundary work, opening up certain methodological avenues and closing others. The boundary drawn was not a strong one, however. My reflections had led me to recognise that the methodological disagreements within the social sciences were beholden to centuries old philosophical debates, which were beyond my capacity to arrive at confident conclusions about. Further I increasingly found the complexity of the language of critical realism (Archer, 1998) off-putting, and, while still wanting to explore causality, was cautious of the confidence that critical realism's identification of 'generative mechanisms' suggested (Danermark, 2002, p. 165; Edwards et al., 2014; cf. Cruickshank, 2011). As a consequence, while embracing similar ontological and epistemological premises to critical realism, I neither employ other aspects of its language nor adopt its methods in any detail.

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<sup>17</sup> This is not to suggest that Christianity is incompatible with post-structuralism (Smith, 2006)

The research was grounded in a desire to see how education, both within the study context, and more broadly, could support an increase in gender equality. This was rooted in my wider political and ethical commitments. These are to a large extent informed by my Christian faith (Wells, 2014), though sharing common ground with other perspectives (Sen, 2009; Walker and Wilson-Strydom, 2017). My desire is to increasingly see the world reflect the values of God's kingdom, themselves reflecting God's own loving character. The work of Miroslav Volf (1996), exploring *Exclusion and Embrace* drawing on his experience of the Balkan wars, helped to provide a focus for what might be hoped for as I have reflected on the boundary work explored in this study.

My research is consonant with the principles of feminist research methodology (Bailey, 2011; Hesse-Biber, 2012), and has been influenced by them but I have not consciously adopted such a methodology. I began this research journey without systematic reading in feminist research methodologies. Key figures of influence in my research journey frequently wrote about and conducted research on gender, gender equality and power relations which accorded with, but did not always make explicit their relationship with, feminist research methodologies (e.g. Connell, 2005, 2006; Unterhalter, 2005, 2014; Unterhalter and North, 2017c). Once I had chosen to focus on gender relations, and to do so with a view to facilitating social change, it felt like many of the other concerns of certain kinds of feminist research – a rejection of scientific research as an objective, value-free enterprise, consideration of power relations within the research process, a focus on reflexivity, an emphasis on diversity (Bailey, 2011; Silva, 2013; Cin, 2017) – were emphasised at different points by the qualitative and ethnographically-informed research methodologies I was otherwise considering (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007; Stake, 2009; Kvale and Brinkman, 2009). While I could happily embrace a feminist research methodology, having begun my research journey without adopting it, I was never clearly impressed that such conscious adoption would significantly alter my approach. Nevertheless, while this work did not draw explicitly on feminist methodologies, I recognise that these might fruitfully be employed in later developments of these ideas.

I have in line with the hope expressed above, explicitly wanted my research to lead to understanding which might lead to transformation. I am conscious in this regard



of the dangers of post-colonialism (Tikly and Bond, 2013) and the risk of entering a foreign context with a saviour mentality (Abu-Lughod, 2002; Puar, 2007). I have sought to avoid making assumptions about what might be salient in the research context, rather seeking to understand people in their particularity (Mikdashi, 2012) and difference (Lazreg, 1988). In order for the research both to be relevant to the concerns of those in the institution itself, and reflect the situations of those within it as clearly as possible, I was committed to trying to maximise the extent to which I was able to engage with participants, and also to being able to do so in their mother tongue. In the end, however, pragmatic constraints of living arrangements, the demands of family life, and limitations on my language learning capacity meant that these were not possible. In this respect my ethical commitments were over-ridden by circumstance. I address further questions of ethics and positionality in the methods section below.

My ontological and epistemological stance, and political and ethical concern with both change and the importance of developing contextual understanding, all together served to encourage embrace of naturalistic, qualitative inquiry (Cohen et al., 2013; Lincoln and Guba, 1985). This would allow for exploration of a complex set of processes, shed light on people's different subjective experiences, and offer the possibility of insights, even if limited, into questions of causation (Mayoux, 2006). Acknowledging the necessary role of interpretation in knowledge claims, offering sufficiently rich descriptions of the study participants' situations would both allow readers to make their own interpretations, and also to be able to evaluate what I myself concluded to be the most plausible explanations for the data (Wright, 2013).

To this end the research drew, to varying degrees at different points in the research process, on principles of ethnography. Ethnography involves 'participant observation ... in naturally occurring settings' (Delamont and Atkinson, 1995, p. 15). Geertz (1998, p. 69) spoke of this as 'hanging out' with people in order to be able to build up a sufficiently detailed account – or 'thick description' (Geertz, 1973, p. 6) – of the situation to allow readers the sense of 'being there' (Mills and Morton, 2013, p. 25). This process involves spending extended time with people in the midst of their day to day activities (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007, p. 3). Ethnographers acknowledge that any observer becomes a social actor in the setting, but the role can differ in terms of its

level of integration, being to degrees more active or more peripheral (Brockmann, 2011). Much ethnographic literature has emphasised maintaining an analytical focus on understanding people's own perspectives, the meanings they attribute to their (social) world, and the ways these guide their behaviours (Hammersley & Atkinson 2007, p.8). The role of the researcher is then one of interpreter; the ethnographer must avoid treating their own meaning as that of their research participants (Kleinman, 2002), though can maintain a critical stance towards them. Alongside participants' understandings ethnography can involve attention to the material and relational (economic, political, familial etc.) structures in which participants are located (Rees and Gatenby, 2014).

## Research design

### *Case study research*

To explore teaching and learning about gender qualitatively I recognised that I would need to engage in intensive research in a small number of institutions. This led me to a case study approach. Yin (Yin, 2009, p. 18) sees a case study as an investigation of 'a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident'.

A variety of rationales have been advanced for the selection of particular cases (Denscombe, 2002). Yin (2009) and Stake (1995) both discuss instrumental case studies, chosen to try to give insights into a broader whole. This was initially my hope in this study. In the end, however, my case was effectively chosen for me. Its apparent atypicality forced me 'not [to] study [it ...] primarily to understand other cases' but to acknowledge my 'first obligation ... to understand this one case' (Stake, 1995, p. 4). I am, in retrospect, grateful for this.

Stake (1995) in particular, with a more naturalistic approach to case study, emphasises that the research questions chosen should be expected to develop over the course of the study. The methods employed could be a range of qualitative methods, including observations, interviews and the gathering of artefacts. Case study theorists see this research design having a role in shedding new light on situations through the descriptions and illustrations offered, contributing to explanations of the processes

involved in the cases in question, thereby possibly forming the basis for wider generalisation (Yin, 2009; Stake 1995).

### *Research questions*

The research questions for this study have changed significantly over time. Not only has the location changed, but the focus has broadened. The focus on understandings of gender which crystallised in the research questions that I used in the final ethics review submission<sup>18</sup> emerged in response to a range of inputs. My original interest had been in teaching and learning in relation to gender, and the way that such learning (necessarily conceptual) influenced students. I had focused in earlier iterations of my research questions on 'forms of student masculinity' or 'patterns of gender relations' i.e. on gender as lived. However, advisers raised questions about the extent to which I would have access to such lived practices. This is an example of a way in which a boundary usefully returned me to a previous course and served as a refining clarification. The research questions focus on participants accounts as a key means of gaining insights into causality in the absence of a longitudinal element in the study.

As discussed previously, I became increasingly aware throughout the data collection and analysis processes of the contextual salience of the intersections between gender boundaries in the institution and boundaries relating to certain other sociopolitical differences, though I had not originally set out to explore such intersections in particular detail. During data collection I ended up taking specific steps to access the perspectives of more conservative religious students<sup>19</sup> while in the analysis phase it became clear that the data collected offered insights also into intersections relating to political and institutional affiliation, sexuality and geography. In the end these became important elements of the questions I saw myself as addressing. The questions below are based closely on the last iteration of research questions that I wrote just before I began my field research. I have modified them, however, to reflect this increased attention to certain intersectional boundaries:

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<sup>18</sup> January 2016

<sup>19</sup> p.105

*What understandings of gender, gender inequality and gender equality are evident in the learning and teaching associated with academic courses in a prestigious Turkish university, and what accounts are given for the reasons for them and their relationship with wider sociopolitical and religious boundaries?*

*i) Within selected academic courses in selected departments at the university what, if any, relationship is there between understandings of gender conveyed in classes, and those held by students, and what differences between groups are evident?*

*ii) How does teaching and learning about gender in the selected departments relate to wider sociopolitical and religious boundaries?*

*iii) What has been the history of the institution engaging in discussions of, and action related to, gender, and how does this relate to wider sociopolitical and religious boundaries? What accounts are given, if any, for connections between institutional attention to gender and pedagogic engagements with the topic?*

#### *Case selection*

The introduction described the process of case selection, and the changes from a contextual focus on Afghanistan, to an aspiration to conduct a comparative case study in different Turkish regions, to the single case of Brook. I had conducted extensive analysis of gender ratios among staff and students in Turkish universities drawing on HEC data<sup>20</sup> and was well aware of the significant regional variations between universities. As the time available for both language study and field research shrunk so did my range of options. I explored other alternatives in the same city as Brook, in order that I could research multiple cases in parallel. In the end, however, I decided that a single case was going to be the only way that I would develop the necessary depth of understanding that I sought. Of the universities in Brook's city, Brook was the one with which I had the most well-established contact, and which offered the best prospect for conducting research in English. As a consequence, with my supervisor commenting 'the only justification is pragmatism', it was the case I chose.

Or rather, perhaps, Brook was the case that chose me. I say this metaphorically. But I have come to appreciate the significance of Brook being the place that I was able

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<sup>20</sup> On switching my research focus to Turkey in late 2014

to get to. Within the Turkic world, and within Turkey, Brook was the place where it was possible for me in my particularity – as an English-speaking Westerner – to do research on gender. On reflection this says things about the institution, its status as a borderland between Turkey (and the Middle East) and the West, and its openness to interaction with Western others. I explore these characteristics of Brook further in the data chapters. Brook's borderland was what made it possible for me to do research there, with necessary implications for the findings that might be expected.

I introduce Brook in greater detail in the next chapter. Briefly, however, Brook is a state funded university in a major Turkish city in the Western half of the country. It is one of Turkey's top universities, both in terms of its reputation and the quantity and quality of its research output (THE, 2016; URAP, 2018). At the time of the study it had just under 30,000 students. It was established in the 1950s through the cooperation of the Turkish government, the United Nations, the United States and with financial contributions from a wide range of international bodies to contribute to the development of the wider region (Brook website; External article<sup>21</sup>). Its language of instruction has been English since its foundation, and the significant majority of its faculty received their doctoral training in the US or the UK.<sup>22</sup> Since its inception both faculty and students have evinced strong support for traditionally Kemalist republican values, and it has a strong history of, particularly left-wing, political activism. Brook's leadership supported, during the study year and the two preceding years, its involvement in a project exploring the promotion of gender equality in a range of European universities. This willingness suggested some sympathy with gender equality at the institution's highest levels. In terms of Turkey's universities it is, for many of the above reasons, by no means representative. Rather, as a research site it appeared to offer the opportunity to explore engagement with gender in a leading Turkish academic institution, with strong international ties, a secularist orientation, and some apparent top-level interest in gender, in a major city in a country in which gender relations were strongly imbricated with a highly polarised sociopolitical context.

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<sup>21</sup> In order to preserve the anonymity of the institution, I have withheld some references.

<sup>22</sup> This was the case for twenty-five out of thirty-one faculty members interviewed.

### *Selection of academic sub-units*

Within the university I selected four departments to focus on, along with the gender and women's studies (GWS) graduate program and a history course on the Principles of Kemal Atatürk and the History of the Turkish Revolution which was compulsory for all second year students. Three of the departments were within the field of social sciences: sociology; politics and public administration; and business administration. The fourth department was civil engineering.

I chose to include three departments from the same overarching field of social sciences because in each of them there are well developed literatures about the relevance of explicit engagement with gender to their core subject matter (Black et al., 1994; Cassese et al., 2012; Flynn et al., 2015b; Giddens, 2013). Each is concerned primarily with people, and consequently a case for the immediate relevance of gender can be fairly easily built. For this reason, I felt that comparison of their different engagements with and understandings of gender could be revealing. Research in other south-eastern European countries suggests that departments for these three subjects tend to engage with gender to different degrees. Sociology tends to be most inclusive, giving the topic the most extensive treatment, with politics departments sometimes including gender in their curriculum and business departments rarely doing so (Grünberg, 2011). Preliminary analysis of course titles and conversations with faculty suggested that at Brook too these three departments might include topics on gender, or gender as an analytic construct, to different degrees, and in different ways, in their classes.

I chose the fourth department, civil engineering, for a variety of reasons. Firstly, it is within the engineering faculty, which is the largest and apparently historically most influential faculty in the university. Secondly it has the second lowest proportion of female staff and students of any department at Brook. Thirdly the human-oriented nature of civil engineering, involving interaction with construction workers on building sites and attending to the requirements of clients, which was affirmed both in the department's website description and in its module listings suggested that gender might have more readily apparent relevance than in possible alternatives, like mechanical engineering. All departments necessarily convey understandings of gender, but the

scope for doing so in relation to their disciplinary field increases when the subject is not purely technical but also engages with the social.

I hoped to gain insights into something of the diversity of the teaching and learning in each department, while also placing some priority on gaining access to a reasonable number of students. To this end my observations and interviews focused on three courses from each department. Two were compulsory undergraduate courses, one from either the first and second year, and the second from either the third or fourth year; the other was a graduate elective course (most graduate courses at Brook are elective).

I initially set out to try to include observations of courses that engaged with gender to different degrees or in different ways, from what I could tell from course descriptions / curricula and my initial approaches to staff. I also wanted to include as participants for interview at least one male and female instructor from each department. In the end course selection in each department was made on slightly different grounds, depending on the extent to which courses explicitly engaged with gender at all and particularly on the staff who were willing to be involved in the research.

In Turkey it is also mandatory for all students to take a course on the Principles of Kemal Atatürk and the History of the Turkish Revolution. Given the gendered significance of these events – both the war of independence and Atatürk's reforms – in conceptions of Turkish national identity I decided to also include one half of this course in my study, again observing a couple of its classes, and interviewing faculty members and students.

### Access and recruitment

Zeynep Ceylan<sup>23</sup>, a faculty member in the GWS programme, extended me a kind initial welcome on my exploratory visit. This began a warm relationship which primarily consisted of me writing to ask her to sign a form or request a letter from someone in the Brook administration. Once I was in Turkey these would be followed by frequently

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<sup>23</sup> As with all participant names, a pseudonym

fairly rushed encounters as I caught her between meetings and she asked solicitously after my progress and family. A significant proportion of my first months in the country (from April 2015) were spent trying to secure residency permits for myself and my family. It became all too clear that Brook was a borderland within a bordered land, one which I had been able to cross into physically but would have to fight to enter administratively. Dr. Ceylan helped secure letters of invitation for visa purposes from the rectorate, as well as supporting my Erasmus mobility application. She later helped secure me an official position as a visiting researcher at Brook. It ended up being close to two years between our first correspondence and the end of my research in Turkey; after a while Dr. Ceylan and her assistants started calling me her *uzatmalı sevgili*, or protracted beloved.

Once I had the necessary permissions (apart from ethics approval for which I had to wait a little longer until I had received approval from my home institution<sup>24</sup>) I began arranging access for my observations and interviews, both in the selected departments, and in the higher echelons of the administrative hierarchy. I emailed senior administrators in each of the four departments explaining briefly my research, including an example information and consent form, and asking if they would be happy for me to conduct research in the department, and also interview them personally. With the exception of the chair of civil engineering, who was unable to meet with me, each agreed to be interviewed, while also stating that it would be up to individual instructors to decide whether I could include their course in the research.

I then reviewed each of the courses offered in the semester in each of the departments, trying to identify initially courses which engaged with gender in some explicit way, while also looking to arrange access to an appropriate range of courses as discussed above. The exception was the GWS programme in which I planned only to observe one course. In retrospect this was probably a regrettable move, as it would have been useful to get more access to students from this programme. At the point of decision, however, the small size of the programme, the limited number of courses it ran, as well as some presumption about a likely commonality of engagement with

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<sup>24</sup> February 2016



gender across the programme meant that I only approached one instructor running a course in this programme.

Otherwise the business administration department was the most straightforward. From my own investigation, and following communication with the department chair and a colleague he recommended, it did not appear that any course would be likely to engage with gender in particular depth. Several courses sounded like they might explicitly engage with gender in some way or had the potential to do so in light of their subject matter. I emailed the three instructors, and each of them promptly replied to say that they would be happy to be involved.

I was aware that the political science and public administration department included a number of prominent feminists, and the head of department suggested a couple of suitable courses in an initial discussion at the beginning of the academic year. The course with the greatest focus on gender only ran in the first term, however, and the graduate course on women in politics had not been running for a couple of years. Further, I wanted to have at least one male instructor, and had significant difficulty getting a response to any of my email approaches to male faculty members. In the end I arranged to observe classes from two undergraduate courses, one of which would explicitly engage with gender at a couple of points, and each of which were taught in parallel divisions, enabling me to interview multiple instructors about their engagement with the same course. I also arranged to observe a graduate class which looked like it might include some explicit engagement with gender.

Within the civil engineering department there was only one course, on construction management, which appeared like it had scope to specifically address gender in its topic. Otherwise civil engineering faculty were generally swift to reply, though they usually did so in the negative, sometimes emphasising that the lack of women in their classes made it an unsuitable course to focus on. In the end I emailed twenty-four faculty members over ten different courses in order to secure access to the three courses I needed.

Despite the difficulties with the civil engineering department it was probably the sociology department that I found the most difficult. There were a wide range of courses in the department that appeared to engage specifically with gender, including several which were focused exclusively on gender. I also felt something of an affinity with some of these scholars, whose work was of any at Brook the closest to my own. I both looked forward to meeting with them, and also naively assumed I would be welcomed. I initially enquired about six courses, taught by five people, three of which were focused exclusively on women or family. I never heard from two of the instructors, two suggested that their course would not be appropriate because of the level of work involved, or the limited student numbers, and one had reservations about my methods and, after enquiring with her students, declined to be involved. At a similar time I enquired with two of these faculty about attending a gender training programme for new staff, again without response. I later heard that the same faculty members had declined to share with me an internal report on gender that they had prepared with some others as part of an international project, and which they were preparing for publication. Each of these responses was understandable by itself, particularly given their heavy workloads, but as an ensemble it felt (most probably entirely inaccurately) like a communal rejection. It is possible that, as researchers in similar fields they either saw my research as an unnecessary addition to their own work, or, in the case of those working on the research project, a possible usurpation of their own labours. At no point in my research was I more aware of my position as an outsider, even a trespasser, without any right of enquiry or any real grounds of connection even where it might be expected. In the end, looking outside the more obviously gender-focused courses I was welcomed by instructors from three courses that engaged with gender explicitly at different points, including one which focused on gender for most of its content.

I also successfully sought interviews with members of the associated administrative hierarchy in each department, including faculty deans or their vice or assistant deans. While I approached five senior administrators from the rectorate I was only able to secure interviews with two of them.

Students were asked to sign up during class observations if they wished to volunteer for a group interview (Appendices A.3 and C). I originally anticipated sampling

from among volunteers, but numbers eventually meant I could invite all volunteers to interview. I also sought out three further sets of student interviews not connected with classes I observed. In order to try to hear from more female civil engineering students, I asked male students in one of the group interviews to put me in touch with some, leading to an interview with two women. After one particular dormitory was mentioned in several student interviews, I also sought an interview, via another participant, with a recent graduate who had been part of that dorm.<sup>25</sup> Finally, in the latter half of the research project I realised that I did not appear to have heard from many students who were more religiously committed. Differentiating between people in terms of religious commitment, observance or belief is complex, especially in a society in which the vast majority of people are Muslim (White, 2013). Students in discussions tended to employ the term 'religious' to denote someone who was more religiously observant, and, having confirmed with a more religious student (Fatma, Business, 4<sup>th</sup> year, 24<sup>th</sup> May) I followed their lead. The group so referred to seemed to align with those Turam (2012, p. 2) refers to as *dindar* or 'pious'. I sought further interviews with religious students both by snowballing with previous participants, and by placing (and asking a female student to place) a small notice (Appendix D) in a couple of the prayer rooms.

## Data collection and analysis

### *Overview*

Data collection consisted of interviews with staff, students and administrators together with observations of selected classes and lectures, along with some informal observations in the wider campus. This was supplemented with analysis of relevant documents from the selected departments and the wider institution. I made some preliminary visits to Brook in November 2014, and, following several months of language study in Turkey, in the autumn of 2015, when I started seeking access to particular departments and recruiting participants, and also attended a conference organised by the GWS programme. The formal research took place between February and June 2016, with an additional staff interview by Skype in August 2016. Figure 3 gives a summary of the core data (see appendix G for further details):

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<sup>25</sup> p.140

Figure 3. Core data summary

	Number	Female	Male	Duration (Hours)
Instructor interviews	15	12	7	17:40
Student interviews	22	29	27	35:40
Administrator interviews	13 <sup>26</sup>	10	3	11:43
Total interviews	49	50	37	65:03
Class Observations	29	-	-	52:37

### *Informed consent*

For each type of data collection I produced an information sheet and consent form (Appendix A) describing who I am, what my research was studying, and what participation would involve. The forms expressed the aim of offering confidentiality, and possible limits to that (see below), as well as possible benefits and risks. They emphasised that participation was voluntary and that participants could withdraw at any point, or decline to answer a particular question. I had these translated by my language teacher, with the translations reviewed by a Turkish friend. I explained the information verbally to staff gatekeepers, at the start of student classes, and to interview participants, as well as giving them copies to read.

I obtained signatures giving consent on an opt-in basis from staff members, student interview participants, and students in classes with less than thirty students. In line with UCL IoE and other institutional guidelines (Keele University, 2008), I approached large lectures as public spaces, within which interactions can, to a degree, be treated as being open for public display, rather than private, protected interactions (Whiteman, 2012). I deemed it neither feasible, nor ethically necessary, to seek and, more importantly, keep track in a meaningful way, of informed consent from individual students within such settings. For these students I gave a short presentation about the research at the start of the first observation and provided them with information sheets (Appendices A.2 and B). I did not, however, ask them to sign consent forms. Despite the public nature of the domain I still treated information confidentially, anonymising any references to individual interactions.

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<sup>26</sup> One instructor was also an administrator

### *Observations*

I observed two classes from each of the selected courses. Classes were chosen based on course outlines, and discussions with course convenors, to try to identify classes which engaged most clearly with gender or provided the clearest opportunities to do so. The aim here was to see, within each class, whether and how gender and gender equality were addressed in classes, both in terms of curricular content and pedagogic practice, and students' responses to them. I used an observation form on my laptop (Appendix H.2). I sought to record, in three minute segments, what content was addressed and the activities and interactions in the class (Gappa and Pearce, 1980). I noted where gender was given consideration in teaching content or student responses, and also to where it was not but could have been. I paid attention to pedagogical practices, looking at how they related to disciplinary method, whether they displayed elements of feminist pedagogy, and how they interacted with faculty and student gender identities (Lapping, 2005; Weiner, 2006; Burke et al., 2013). I made note of representations of masculinities and femininities, as well as the values encouraged either in the content or in what was expected of the students. I made an audio recording of the lecturer in large lectures (using, where the lecturer was happy to do so, a lavalier microphone which would not pick up student comments), and the class in smaller classes, so as to be able to more accurately note key exchanges. Most classes were conducted in English, though some instructors allowed students to speak in Turkish at certain points. My ability to follow such exchanges was limited.

For a variety of reasons my informal observations were limited. The ethics review process raised questions around the possible need to obtain consent even when conducting such observations in public spaces. While I later felt that this was not necessary, this meant I did not incorporate significant informal participant observation in my research design. We had also chosen to live some distance from the university, so that my family could be near friends, which limited my freedom to be on the campus outside of teaching hours. I nevertheless conducted some informal observations in cafeteria in each of the selected departments, and kept records of these, as well as my informal observations as I moved around campus, in my field notes. In each case I paid

attention to the ways people presented themselves, clothing, and the nature of the interactions between people.

### *Interviews*

I interviewed the lecturers in the courses I observed, along with the lecturers of parallel courses who were happy to meet with me. Two of the politics faculty interviews had two people, and one of the civil engineering interviews had three people. All other staff interviews, including those with members of the administrative hierarchy were individual. Staff interviews normally took place in their respective offices, with the exception of the group interviews, which took place in seminar rooms, and the single Skype interview.<sup>27</sup> Interviews with students from classes I had observed were group interviews, typically with between two and three students, though four interviews had between four and six participants, while one interview was with only one student. The additional interviews were often with individual students. Interviews either took place in the GWS programme meeting room, or a spare classroom or seminar room. Two exceptions were the two interviews I had with women who identified as religious, which were held, by mutual agreement, on an open mezzanine level so as to be in public view. Most courses involved just one group interview with students per course. In one case I met with students from each of two parallel classes. I twice met with (in the end a subsection of) students for a second interview, once in order to be able to discuss a class I observed after the first interview, and once because we had too much to discuss.

Interviews were semi-structured. I prepared interview schedules (Appendix F) to help guide questioning and indicate the topics I hoped to address. I had hoped to trial interview schedules for the semi-structured interviews prior to the research but was delayed in returning to Turkey by the hospitalisation of my newborn daughter with bronchiolitis. I relied therefore on comments on the draft instruments from a couple of Turkish friends who were researchers in the field of gender. Questions explored participants' understandings of the purpose of education at the institution; their understandings of gender, gender inequality and gender equality, their importance and

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<sup>27</sup> In light of these consistent patterns in the location of interviews, in quotations I specify only the exception of this Skype interview.

their relevance to the course in question; the influences involved in forming these understandings; (for teaching staff) whether or not they considered gender and gender equality in their choice of curricular content and pedagogic approach in the current course, along with their reported reasons for doing so or not doing so; (for students) their experience of the engagement with gender in the particular course in question and in other courses; (for administrative staff) their views on areas in which the institution had, or had not, given specific consideration to gender; and their views on wider institutional approaches to gender, gender inequality and gender equality. During the interviews I gave participants freedom to address issues they wished to raise, frequently deviating significantly from the schedule in follow-up questions.

All interviews were conducted in English, which is the language of instruction at Brook. As indicated, despite my efforts, my Turkish was far from good enough to conduct interviews in Turkish. I felt that involving a translator might raise significant complications around questions of confidentiality, particularly in Turkey's febrile context around the time of the research. The choice of language inevitably affected who was willing to participate, particularly among students. Wealthier students from Western Turkey were more likely to have sufficient confidence in English to agree to an interview in English (Mathews, 2007). It was also nevertheless clear at a variety of points in interviews that students struggled to express themselves as they wished.

I took detailed notes on my computer throughout each interview, touch typing so as to be able to maintain eye contact. At the end of each interview I summarised to participants what I thought I had heard and asked them to comment or correct me, thus introducing a measure of self-reporting (Kvale and Brinkman, 2009). I recorded and transcribed almost all interviews. In two student interviews, despite my using two recorders, I failed to record part of the interview. One of the instructors also did not wish to be recorded. In these cases I had to rely on my notes. The interview participants are listed in the tables in figures 4 and 5 below.

Figure 4. Faculty member interview participants

**Business studies**

Name	Position	Sex / gender
Tuncay Kerimoğlu	Faculty member	Male
Hülya Tarhan	Faculty member	Female
Mehmet Türk	Faculty member	Male
Özge Ünal	Faculty member	Female

**Civil engineering**

Sem Gray	Faculty member	Female
Fatma Kaya	Faculty member	Female
Ahmet Öztürk	Faculty member	Male
Mehmet Yılmaz	Faculty member	Male
Enver Mumcu	Faculty member	Male

**Political science**

Ökyü Adanır	Faculty member	Female
Rüyü Nalband	Faculty member	Female
Nilufer Balcı	Administrator	Female
Fazıl Başer	Faculty member	Male
Gizem Fırat	Administrator	Female
Aylin Erdem	Former administrator	Female
Kardalen Heper	Faculty member	Female
Merve Kınalı	Faculty member	Female

**Sociology**

Miray İncesü	Faculty member	Female
Berat Türk	Faculty member	Male
Mary Stevens	Faculty member	Female
Veli Zarakolu	Faculty member	Male

**GWS**

Zeynep Ceylan	Faculty member	Female
Aylin Erdem	Former administrator	Female
Yeliz Karagöz	Faculty member	Female

**History**

Irfan Ademoğlu	Faculty member	Male
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**Other administrators**

Elif Demir	Faculty administrator	Female
Sera Demirtaş	Education faculty administrator	Female
Cemil Okyar	Senior university administrator	Male
AJ Parlak	Engineering faculty administrator	Female
Asya Sabri	Senior university administrator	Female
Doğukan Sarper	Faculty administrator	Male
Bahar Togan	Statistics department administrator	Female

Most interviews were with individuals. Shading indicates where participants were interviewed as a group.

Some interviews, and some administrator designations, have been omitted for the purposes of anonymity.



Figure 5. Student interview participants named in text, by department in relation to which they were interviewed

**Business studies**

Year	Name	Sex / gender
2nd year	Kat	Female
	Nemi	Female
	Öğrenç	Male
	Mr Pink	Male
4th year	Fatma	Female
	Kemal	Male
	Ömer	Male
Graduate	Alice	Female
	Benjamin	Male
	Franklin	Male

**Political science**

Year	Name	Sex / gender
1st year	Anakin	Female
	Blue	Female
	Donatello	Male
3rd year	Ahmet	Male
	Nermin	Female
	Zühal	Female
4th year	Hakan	Male
	Serhan	Male
Graduate	Tolga	Male
	Uğur	Male

**Civil engineering**

2nd year	Ashlee	Female
	Benjamin	Male
	Sally	Female
	Sarah	Female
	Yico	Male
	Maria	Female
	Rita	Female
	Mert	Male
	Talat Can	Male
3rd year	Adem	Male
	Abuzer	Male
	Meriç	Male

**Sociology**

2nd year	Cem	Male
	Mert	Male
	Misha	Female
	Sinefin	Female
	Yasin	Male
3rd year	Deniz	Non-binary
	Doruk <sup>a</sup>	Male
	Filiz	Female
	Harry <sup>b</sup>	Male
4th year	Ayşe	Female
Graduate	Leyla <sup>c</sup>	Female

**GWS**

Graduate	Özgür	Male
	Nalan	Female
	Yelda	Female

**History**

2nd year	Çağla <sup>d</sup>	Female
	Selin <sup>e</sup>	Female

**Former dorm resident**

	Murat <sup>f</sup>	Male
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Shading indicates groups in which students were interviewed.

Some interviews have been omitted for the purposes of anonymity.

Department where different from that in relation to which interviewed:

- a Social anthropology
- b Psychology
- c Social psychology
- d Sociology
- e Engineering
- f International relations

I had hoped to transcribe and analyse interviews soon after conducting them (Stake, 1995), but this did not prove possible. My transcription focused on the words spoken. I did seek to record repetitions, pauses, grammatical errors and expressions of uncertainty, and occasionally tone (Appendix H.1). In quotations in the text, however, for purposes of intelligibility, and succinctness, I have frequently smoothed out some of these complicating aspects of speech. I recognise that, as oral communication is richer than mere spoken words, these different transcribing strategies are in themselves interpretive decisions (Bucholtz, 2000; Lapadat and Lindsay, 1999). I sent all faculty participants extracts of all the parts of the thesis which made reference to them for review, principally with a view to ensuring they were satisfied with the degree of anonymity afforded by the text, but also to enable them to comment on the accuracy of reporting, as a kind of member checking (Stake, 1995). Two thirds responded within the requisite month, of whom just under half raised some kind of query, most of which were minor points about how I referred to them. In a couple of instances they made valuable corrections to my understanding, but otherwise, and in all cases after I made necessary amendments, were content with the representation and analysis.

#### *Documentary sources*

The data collection above was supported by analysis of relevant institutional documents. I was given access to the university's intranet. I performed a relatively cursory review of outlines for courses in the selected departments to try to determine which might include gender specifically in their syllabuses. I reviewed syllabuses and reading lists for all the courses studied, along with a selection of the course materials used in the courses, whether powerpoints, readings or textbooks where I deemed them relevant to my study. I made some arrangements to view students written work, with due consent, but in the end did not incorporate this in the analysis (Appendices A.3b and C). I also analysed a range of institutional documents to seek to understand its overall values, and the written institutional policy framework with respect to gender. These include its general catalogue, the two strategic plans covering the decade leading up to the research, staff handbooks and information packs, departmental websites, web pages detailing promotions criteria, terms of employment, incentives, and the text of a new gender equality policy promulgated by the university senate in May 2016. I was also

given access to various documents and data produced and collated by the team involved with the international research project. These included a proposed gender equality action plan, an initial report on gender equality at Brook, and a range of raw statistical data on student and staff numbers in the institution. My Turkish was insufficiently good to review the relevant Turkish legal statutes governing higher education and civil servants, and so I drew on secondary analyses (Mizikaci 2006) for insights into these.

### *Data analysis*

I analysed the data seeking to identify key themes (Braun and Clarke, 2006), in order to generate, and compare, abductive conceptualisations of the data (Danermark, 2002). I began this process alongside data collection. While transcribing interviews I made notes of key points, both relating to the original research questions, and other points of interest. Appreciation of new themes and ways of seeing the data raised new questions with which I returned to the data in an iterative process. I did use NVivo to code some of the data, but the relative reward given the amount of time required led me to abandon this process. Taking my emerging analysis out into the academic community, at conferences, and a doctoral discussion group and a seminar on gender at my institution helped to crystallise my focus on Brook as a liminal, borderland space, and thereafter on the significance of, respectively, boundaries and intersectionality. The process of analysis, constantly asking what there was to see in the data, continued in the writing process, through multiple drafts of different data chapters. Data triangulation (Denzin, 2009), member-checking, and critical attention to my own positionality were all employed to try to generate a trustworthy representation and analysis of the case (Lincoln and Guba, 1985).

## **Ethics and positionality**

### *Sensitive topics*

I was aware that this study touched on potentially sensitive topics and had the potential to address aspects of participants' identities that were very central to them, or lead participants to recall aspects of relationships or experiences which had been or still were hurtful. Questions around gender were politically controversial in Turkey, though they were also, partly as a consequence, the subject of open public discussion. I entered as

an outsider asking questions about, with a view to potentially critiquing, people's work and study. People might understandably have felt a degree of intrusion, resentment or annoyance at this.

As indicated above I emphasised this awareness at the start of interviews, reminding participants of the right not to respond to a particular question, or to withdraw from the study (Appendix E). Recognising the 'power asymmetry' (Kvale and Brinkman, 2009, p. 34) of the interview situation, I sought to provide opportunities for participants to express the views, and share the experiences, they wished to contribute, while taking care to limit intrusion. I endeavoured to inform myself as best of the sociocultural situation in order to maximise the degree of sensitivity I as an outsider was able to exercise. While some participants related issues about which they were angry, or evinced confusion in interviews, I was not aware that interviews caused distress to any participants. In one interview, a student recalled some points where she had been harassed in the institution (Kat, Business, 2<sup>nd</sup> year, 17<sup>th</sup> March). It was only when transcribing the interview that I became aware that I had not adequately prepared myself to know to whom I could refer her if she wished to access support about this.

### *Confidentiality*

Brook is a distinctive institution. While I have sought to maintain its anonymity, providing relevant contextual detail means that it is likely to be identifiable by some readers. The consent form highlighted that such identification was possible, and further – for faculty members – that, despite efforts I might take, it might also be possible for readers intimately familiar with the institution to identify certain participants by their responses. Some of the topics addressed in interviews were politically, or personally, contentious, and I wanted to avoid the research having negative ramifications for participants, while recognising that participants themselves were best placed to judge the risks they might face. Two early potential participants expressed hesitation on reading the Turkish version of the consent form, with one choosing not to participate as he reflected on possible ramifications for his career (Graduate, Field notes, 11<sup>th</sup> March). I consulted with Turkish friends who suggested a word change to more accurately reflect the risk level indicated in the English version. A few interview participants thereafter indicated either explicitly (4<sup>th</sup> year, April; Enver Mumcu, CE, Faculty, 11<sup>th</sup> March), or

through choosing to discuss certain issues after recording had stopped (1<sup>st</sup> year, April) that they were hesitant to discuss more overtly political topics.

I asked all interview participants to choose a pseudonym – or let me choose one if they preferred – at the beginning of the interview, before recording began, and employed that during the interview. The key to the pseudonyms was kept on an individually password protected document on my computer. I have sought to present data so as to minimise the possibility of participants being identified. Students were generally less identifiable and I have made sure to only furnish details about students which would avoid their identification, omitting details I might normally give, like the year of study, in instances where other particularising details are given. Almost all faculty members in the study were some grade of professor. As in Turkey only full professors are referred to as ‘Professor’ I distinguish only between faculty members, referred to as ‘Dr.’, and faculty members who also had an administrative responsibility. Where a participant requested it, or I did not hear back from them in member-checking, I have omitted to specify if a faculty member was also an administrator. Some faculty members requested certain changes at the member-checking stage, to omit details given about them or what they said. They thus made judgements for themselves about what they were happy to have attributed to their pseudonymous selves. I have reviewed the extracts from faculty members who did not respond at the member-checking stage in light of these amendments, erring on the side of caution in what I have included. Two senior faculty members seemed to me to be particularly susceptible to being identified. Both indicated at the time of the interview, and confirmed at the member checking stage, that they were not concerned about being identified.

The majority of data, including all notes, was stored on my password-protected computer, with backup disks. I had plans to transfer recordings, taken on unencrypted voice recorders, to my computer at the end of each day, but in the end only did so at a later stage, which was a lapse in my data protection. Only I have heard the recordings, or seen the raw transcriptions, except for selected segments shown to my supervisors.

### *Positionality*

Many aspects of who I am had the potential to influence how I engaged with research participants, and they with me, and how I interpreted and understood observations and interview data. I sought throughout the research process to reflect critically upon these issues as part of seeking to uphold an 'ethic of respect and freedom from prejudice' (BERA, 2011, §9). I used a reflexive journal during the research to reflect upon my interactions and perceptions and try to discern where my positionality might have been impinging on them (Appendix H.3). I had planned to consult regularly with a critical reference group of friends and colleagues during the research process, and in retrospect wish I had done so, if only to have more regular feedback on what I felt I was or was not seeing.

I was able to enter Brook and conduct research there because of its specific borderland status. Nevertheless that entry was only partial. I remained in many senses an outsider. I was aware that there are strands of suspicion towards foreigners in Turkish society and culture (White, 2013). While I was not conscious of hostility towards me on the campus, it is likely that at least some participants, or potential participants treated me with a degree of reserve and were hesitant in what they felt they could share with me. Further, I know that there were many aspects of classroom settings and interviews – the meanings of words, gestures, actions or stories – which I was not able to understand, and in some cases likely misunderstood. While I have sought to familiarise myself with the Turkish context as much as possible through reading and spending time there, I remain well aware that I am writing about a setting of which large parts continue to remain unknown to me.

Being male, white, and from a background of financial and educational privilege all had the potential to influence my research interpretations. My failure to adequately take steps to disaggregate among participants on the basis of class and ethnicity might relate to the privileged position I have in those respects, though I was also aware how contentious issues of ethnicity are in Turkey. I was most conscious of my masculinity at the occasional points when students made remarks or jokes which verged on sexism and I, in my jocular interviewer persona, colluded by laughing.

I also approached the research with a particular set of ethical and religious beliefs, most pertinently my feminist and Christian commitments. A strong interest in gender equality was a clear implication of my conducting the research, and I decided also to include my being a Christian in the information sheet, as part of my aim of enabling participants to know who I am. While seeking to hear and observe clearly different perspectives, and to try to understand what lay behind them I sought for the most part to suspend any ethical judgements. I was aware, however, that I found myself feeling critical towards people who took more conservative positions with respect to gender, and needed to try to work not to dismiss such perspectives. It was helpful in this regards that I have friends I respect deeply who are strongly committed to conservative stances on gender relations. At the same time, I am aware that I felt an affinity towards religious participants, and their desire to attend to God's vision for society, even if I sometimes disagreed with their particular positions. I am conscious that these interests might well have shaped some of the focus on religious students in the latter data chapters. In the end I was fortunate enough to feel sympathetic and respectful towards all my participants, though the reader will need to judge whether my analyses were coloured by my own perspectives.

#### *Personal security*

Some of these aspects of my positionality also had implications for my own personal security. While the particular threat to Christians was limited, at least one participant counselled me to keep that aspect of my identity hidden. White (2013) writes of a particular suspicion of missionaries, which I was suspected of being on my pilot visit to Van. There were other risks to myself, and to my family who were living in Ankara with me, of living in a foreign and relatively unfamiliar country. Things as simple as transportation are slightly riskier in an unfamiliar setting. More specifically the security situation in Turkey deteriorated during my time in Turkey, with bomb attacks in the city I was living in. On one occasion two Brook students were among those killed in a bombing at the bus stop I used daily. At certain points I took steps to limit the time I spent in the city centre, and changed my travel routes accordingly, in light of these attacks (Appendix H.3).

## Limitations

Together my personal situation and the pragmatic constraints on the research meant the study was limited in a number of respects. Linguistic and cultural boundaries meant that there would have been nuances of meaning which I was unable to comprehend in my observations and conversations, and which participants were unable to convey in our interviews. My basic Turkish also meant that my interviews were limited to a subsection of the Brook population who possessed adequate competence, or confidence, in English. These combined with my distance from the university to mean that my research tended more to draw on time limited, formal appointments with participants, rather than informal, regular, or ongoing encounters. This is likely to have hindered some of the richness of the insights the study was able to garner, and meant that the conclusions I am able to draw are partial, and, despite my efforts, not necessarily representative of the institution as a whole.

Some of these boundaries of separation also contributed to restrictions on the scope of the research. The formal, time limited nature of my encounters contributed to my focusing on cognitive, conscious understandings and perceptions of gender boundaries. I was not particularly able to address gender either at a psychosocial level, or to gain significant first-hand insights into gender relations outside the classroom. It would also have been very helpful to have a comparative aspect to the study, as I had originally hoped. Comparison with other universities in Turkey – particularly with institutions which were less prestigious, in more conservative parts of the country, or with different political associations – would have provided useful additional insights into the context-specific nature of engagement with gender in Turkish universities. Similarly it would have been insightful to have a longitudinal element to the study. Insights into the nature of causality would have been significantly enhanced by being able to follow students over time and discuss with them changes and developments in their understandings and practices.

Finally, my awareness of the significance of intersectionality, and relations between groups, grew over the course of the project. The data collected only really offered significant intersectional insights relating to differences in religious



commitment, political and institutional affiliation and sexuality. Even in these cases it would have been helpful to seek to collect data more systematically to undergird analysis along these lines, and to encourage participants to reflect more explicitly on their relations with people from other groups – political, religious or otherwise – and the significance of gender for those interactions. It would also have been valuable to include questions which better elucidated students' different class positions and their significance, as well as to include a more intentional focus in data collection on questions of ethnicity. The project would also have been helped were I able to better draw on insights from across the full range of students at Brook, rather than the more Western, higher socioeconomic status students, who tended to volunteer to meet with me.

### Into the data

Nevertheless, shaped as it was by these particular boundaries, the project was able to explore an important set of processes in a distinctive institution within a polarised context in which those processes – of teaching and learning about gender – had particular sociopolitical significance. The following chapter explores approaches to gender relations in the wider case study institution within the context of gender and higher education in Turkey, thus explaining the broader setting in which the teaching and learning in particular departments took place.

## 5 Brook's Borderland Gender Regime

'But of course we face these kinds of [sexism]. I mean we are not living in an aquarium. That's a part of the whole culture, [the] whole sexist culture in this world.'

(Rüya Nalband, Politics, Faculty, 24<sup>th</sup> May 2016<sup>28</sup>)

'If you ask somebody they will say that [Brook] is different than Turkey, different than [the city]. When you enter [Brook]'s gates they say they feel like [they are] in a different country, in Europe or somewhere else.'

(Sarah, CE, 2<sup>nd</sup> year, 19<sup>th</sup> April)

Gender relations and teaching and learning in relation to gender at Brook were both shaped by and contributed to Brook being a borderland in two different senses – as a place of hybridity and interconnection, and a place of separation. Following Floya Anthias (2008, 2002) and other scholars of intersectionality, I acknowledge in this chapter that gender boundaries, and their associated gender relations, are intertwined with other borders and boundaries. I thus consider how Brook's borderland nature, in its different aspects, influenced patterns of gender relations – or the 'gender regime' (Connell, 2006, p. 839) – at Brook, including divisions of labour, power relations, interpersonal interactions and the shaping of individual identity (Acker, 1990). In turn I also explore the role that gender played in contributing to Brook's respective boundaries, and the ways people were seen across them.

This chapter looks at how gender relations at Brook were shaped by wider Turkish and international influences, noting how these were mediated in distinctive ways by the institution's borders. It explores how that mediation made it specifically a place of interconnection and freedom, while also noting the limits to these qualities. It also

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<sup>28</sup> Unless otherwise stated, all quotations from the study are from 2016, and the year will henceforth be omitted.

recognises that gender relations can be markers of division. Scholars have underlined how gender is involved in demarcating the boundaries between groups and establishing notions of national identity in situations of conflict (Yuval-Davis and Anthias, 1989; Anthias and Yuval-Davis, 1992; Al-Ali and Pratt, 2009). This had particularly been the case in Turkey in the years leading up to the study, with opposing sides of its political divides according differences regarding gender relations central significance (Kandiyoti, 2015; Acar and Altunok, 2013; Arat, 2010). This chapter shows how gender relations at Brook also implicated Brook as a university in national processes of political differentiation.

## Interconnection

### *Broad perception of equality*

Interview participants shared a wide range of perspectives on gender equality at Brook. Nevertheless the overriding perception was of a high level of gender equality in the institution, at least compared to other universities both in Turkey and elsewhere. Faculty in Turkish universities have often been found to see their institutions as being relatively gender equal (Özbilgin and Healy, 2004; Özkanlı, 2007; White and Özkanlı, 2010; Neale and Özkanlı, 2010). At Brook, though, this was frequently presented as a distinctive quality. But it was also linked in some respects to both its Turkish context and its international connections.

Cemil Okyar (11<sup>th</sup> March) a member of the university's senior administration, was relatively typical in his summary of the situation at Brook:

Adam: To what extent do you consider there to be gender equality here at [Brook].

Cemil Okyar: *[Confident]* I would say that we are, er, one of the best over the country for gender equality ... In general we do not have any kind of discrimination. I don't think that we have that, for any academic position, for students, for promotions, I don't think that we have [an] inequality problem in [Brook].

Hülya Tarhan (Business, Faculty, 13<sup>th</sup> May) expressed the situation in relation to interactions with the students similarly:

'In terms of female students being treated differently than male students ... [there is] not [anything] that I'm aware of ... that might limit ... or influence their education. I mean, from an institutional perspective ... in terms of how we interact with them ... I can't see anything disadvantageous to female students.'

Tuncay Kerimoğlu (Business, Faculty, Fieldnotes, 5<sup>th</sup> May), who had studied and taught in two other Turkish universities, while acknowledging that there were elements of gender inequality at Brook commented that,

'It is not part of the culture ... [u]nlike [at] other universities.'

The levels of gender equality at Brook were thus regularly framed as being better than other universities in the country, and, as shall be seen, at least comparable to those in the West.

These perceptions were of course dependent upon staff members own understandings of gender equality. Two of the institution's experienced gender scholars underlined the limitations of the dominant view of gender equality held by staff. Aylin Erdem (GWS / Politics, Faculty, 4<sup>th</sup> May) described what she presented as the general view of gender equality at Brook:

Adam: If I ask about to what extent you considered there to be either gender equality or inequality here at [Brook] ... what's your perception of that?

Aylin Erdem: There is [a] perception of gender equality that is quite rigid and limited and from that perspective ... people tend to think that there is gender equality and there is no problem in this university ... There is the general acceptance of the notion of gender equality, but that generally accepted notion of gender equality is very, um, superficial, that is the best term that I can use ...

Dr. Erdem later suggested that this more superficial view was linked with the Republican discourse of equality with which she, and the majority of other senior faculty members at Brook, had been brought up, noting,

'But, it was accepted at sort of a ... face value ... Women were very much more accepted in these [educated] circles as equal in public life. But in private life it was still very gender defined traditional roles.'

This perspective accorded closely with analysis by authors like Yeşim Arat (1997). Nilufer Balcı (Politics, Administrator, 26<sup>th</sup> April) emphasised that the numerical dominance of the engineering faculty, whose members had had little opportunity for deeper reflection on gender, compounded these limitations.

Nevertheless, while faculty members who had reflected on and taught about gender academically were more measured, acknowledging that there might be some elements of discrimination, particularly at individual levels, these too underlined Brook's relative success in this area. Thus two politics instructors, one of whom had been involved in the establishment of Brook's Gender and Women's studies programme, said about gender inequality at Brook:

Öykü Adanır: We know here that the tide is not against us that, it [- gender inequality -], it's extraordinary, it's not the usual common dominant thing. But it's in society so you can't just expect it not to be here.

Rüya Nalband: Exactly, I mean it's not institutional discrimination.

(Politics, Faculty, 24<sup>th</sup> May)

Similarly Mary Stevens, a foreign academic whose research focused on gender and had lived and taught in universities on several continents, presented Brook as contrasting with much of Turkish society:

Adam: When you look at [Brook] as a community, er, do you see inequality, gender inequality here?

Mary Stevens: Yeah ... It is, after all this is only a small segment of the wider society. So those inequalities that are prevalent within the society will also be reflected in the University environment, to an extent. But I think that it's a very open environment actually and very conducive to gender equality I would say. Probably one of the few places where ... it's taken for granted that there should be gender equality. It's a little bubble in that sense.

(Sociology, Faculty, 13<sup>th</sup> May)

Dr. Stevens acknowledged the interconnections with wider society indicated in the previous section, and indeed underlined the prevalence of harassment faced by female students more than any other faculty member. Nevertheless she recognised the extent

of the embrace of the principle of gender equality at Brook as being both remarkable and important, setting a border round the institution. While it is not uncommon for staff to perceive their institutions as being gender equal (Blackmore and Sawers, 2015), it was particularly notable in Brook's case that staff attuned to gender inequalities gave such analyses.

As for the students' perspectives, participants from a range of different departments broadly affirmed a picture of equal treatment in their encounters with academic staff (e.g. Rita and Maria, CE, 2<sup>nd</sup> year, 18<sup>th</sup> May; Alice, Benjamin and Franklin, Business, Graduate, 25<sup>th</sup> March). Only one student queried any aspects of it, referring to sexism in aspects of the curriculum (Yelda, GWS, Graduate, 5<sup>th</sup> May). More broadly, as chapter eight shows, students' perceptions of gender inequality in interactions between students, or with ancillary staff, tended to vary in line with their level of exposure to reflection on gender. There were varied reports on the use of sexist language and jokes, and some, almost exclusively second hand, reports of sexual harassment, though in both cases students contrasted these positively with the extent of sexist behaviour they encountered outside the campus (Misha, Sociology, 2<sup>nd</sup> year, 31<sup>st</sup> March; Rita and Maria, 2<sup>nd</sup> year, CE, 18<sup>th</sup> May). Overall the vast majority affirmed Brook's high levels of gender equality. Like staff, several students emphasised Brook's distinctiveness with regards to gender equality. The statement from the interview with Sarah quoted at the start of the chapter was given in reference to gender equality at Brook, presenting the borders between Brook and the rest of Turkey in this respect as being sufficiently strong as to render it a different country. Such was the sense of Brook's peculiarity in these terms that participants frequently told me that I was researching in the wrong place (e.g. Benjamin, Business, 25<sup>th</sup> March; Ahmet Öztürk, CE Faculty, 3<sup>rd</sup> May).

These portrayals were not objective, and many of the participants – including faculty members, who tended to have done their undergraduate studies at Brook – had limited experience of other Turkish universities with which they might compare Brook. Studies of Turkish universities do record structural barriers to gender equality among academics (Neale and Özkanlı, 2010; White and Özkanlı, 2010), and reports of sexual

discrimination by both staff (Gönenç et al., 2013) and students (Gökçe, 2013), though these fall short of the more serious accounts of gender-based violence found in some other countries (Molla and Cuthbert, 2014). Despite the difficulty of clear comparison, participants nevertheless saw Brook as being atypical in this respect. I explore in the following sections some of the ways in which Brook seemed to be particularly distinctive with regards to gender equality, and some of the ways in which it most closely mirrored the surrounding society.

### *Turkish and international influences*

Brook was specifically founded to serve as a bridge, a mediator between Turkey and especially the English-speaking West and in some respects Brook's connections with both its Turkish context, and the West were pointed to as contributing to its high levels of gender equality. Several staff mentioned specifically the relatively high proportion of women in Turkish academia (e.g. Öykü Adanır, Politics, Faculty, 24<sup>th</sup> May) (White and Özkanlı, 2010). Özge Ünal, (Business, Faculty, Skype interview, 31<sup>st</sup> August) stated, as noted in other studies (Özbilgin and Healy, 2004; Özkanli, 2007), that this was partly because it was seen as,

‘just an extension of teaching – [a] very feminine job.’

Some staff – though only those who did not appear to have done much specific reflection on gender equality – highlighted other aspects of the Turkish context as being supportive of gender equality. Cemil Okyar (Senior university administrator, 11<sup>th</sup> March), when asked about gender inequality in Turkey recognised its persistence in family life and in the private sector, but also underlined Turkey's support for gender equality in the public sector, contrasting that with the UK:

'In general ... Turkey is doing a lot since 1930s for the equality. Er, when I was in [the UK] doing my PhD I remember that a law was passed for the [pay] equality of different genders. It was in [the] 1970s. For Turkey it was 1930s.'

Brook's distinctive degree of international and particularly Anglophone connections opened it up to a wider range of perspectives on gender and gender equality than was typical for a Turkish university. This appeared to have a range of

influences on understandings of gender, and on teaching and learning, in different departments, which in turn had implications for the institution more broadly. For example Brook's international connections seemed to be have been necessary in a number of ways to enable the very establishment of the GWS programme, which had at least a symbolic significance as a marker of Brook's academic engagement with gender (Zeynep Ceylan, GWS, Faculty, 10<sup>th</sup> May). This paralleled the significance of the international community for development of GWS in Turkey more generally (Arat, 1996; Kandiyoti, 2010). Aylin Erdem (GWS / Politics, Faculty, 4<sup>th</sup> May; Field notes, 2015), emphasised how exposure to second wave feminism during graduate studies in North America and Europe in the 1970s and 1980s had both led a tranche of female academics at Brook to be critical of the more superficial presentation of gender equality typical of Republican discourses described earlier, and positioned them to teach critically about gender.

While in certain respects Brook's relationship with North American and European universities specifically with regards to gender showed some aspects of a centre periphery dynamic (Altbach, 2009, 2003; Connell, 2017) – for instance with regards to curricula – staff also resisted such a portrayal. They saw Brook's approach to gender equality as being in continuity with those abroad and did not see the West as a paragon to aspire to. A range of participants emphasised that the United States and Europe should not be seen as repositories of gender equality to be learned from. Four faculty members from different departments – all of whom were women – compared the approach to gender equality at Brook favourably with their experience in leading universities in the United States and United Kingdom. They emphasised both how they had encountered gender inequality in those other institutions, portraying them as either similar to Brook in terms of gender equality or less progressive (Fatma Kaya, CE, Faculty, 3<sup>rd</sup> May; Hülya Tarhan, Business, Faculty, 13<sup>th</sup> May; Elif Demir, Administrator, 8<sup>th</sup> April; Nilufer Balci, Politics, Administrator, 26<sup>th</sup> April).

Students seemed to have similar perspectives on this situation. Immediately following the section of the interview quoted at the start of the chapter, about Brook being a different country, Sarah and her friend Ashlee (CE, 2<sup>nd</sup> year, 19<sup>th</sup> April) laughingly



repeated one of its institutional slogans, 'We can change the world' (cf Brook website, 2016). In doing so they framed Brook's approach to gender as being less the result of cultural transfer from abroad and more in terms of Brook's specificity, which made aspects of its culture radically different from its contemporary context, and similar to those associated with international contexts.

## Areas of distinction

### *Freedom*

Participants presented Brook as having a number of characteristics which rendered it a distinctive place of freedom, including in relation to gender. At least five of the faculty participants emphasised the high value placed on academic autonomy, and the lack of constraints or prescriptions on their teaching and research. Berat Türk (Sociology, Faculty, 27<sup>th</sup> April) noted that

‘we can feel free in terms of doing our scientific research, whatever we want to study – nobody cares.’

He contrasted this situation with all but a few universities in Turkey. Indeed other scholars have noted how the history of various governments’, and at times universities’ own, heavy-handed and sometimes brutal exercising of their authority generated a climate of fear and led to self-censorship in terms of research and teaching, with respect to topics as broad as discrimination, political ideology, and internal migration, alongside those relating to the most overtly sensitive topics like the Kurds (Aktas et al., 2018; Ozkan, 2017). Like Dr. Türk himself, Nilufer Balcı (Politics, Administrator, 26<sup>th</sup> April), presented the widespread acknowledgement of Brook’s pursuit of ‘scientific excellence’ and the administration’s willingness to provide ‘sort of political immunities ... and ... stand behind’ its staff as bolstering this freedom. Indeed Miray İncesü (Sociology, Faculty, 10<sup>th</sup> May) gave the example of how, even when ordered by the HEC to question academics who had signed the recent peace petition, the administration decided not to act. Chapter eight explores further the implications such freedom had for teaching about gender.

Beyond simply academic freedom, participants also portrayed a wider emphasis on freedom, 'plurality' and 'toleran[ce]', as distinguishing features of Brook, a set of qualities referred to as

'[Brook] spirit ... which is somehow associated with emancipation, freedom of thinking and being progressive.' (Yeliz Karagöz, GWS, Faculty, 27<sup>th</sup> May)

This spirit was described in almost identical terms by Rüya Nalband (Politics, Faculty, 24<sup>th</sup> May), a younger faculty member, with the approval of her colleague Öykü Adanır:

'There is something called [Brook] ... spirit ... which comes with the idea of freedom, er, freedom of speech and, you know, progressiveness.'

Students too acknowledged these qualities. Two business graduates (25<sup>th</sup> March), for instance, referring to the peaceful coexistence between political groups who would otherwise be expected to clash, described Brook as follows:

Alice: In here, like, it's a different society from outside let's say ... basically it's the unicorn society. [Laughter]. Like we basically live in harmony.'

...

Adam: And how does it achieve that?

Franklin: Open-minded, by being open-minded to all parts of the humanity.

Alice presented Brook as being almost mythically distinct, while the openness of mind Franklin suggested as underlying these alternative interactions echoed both the academic openness referred to by Berat Türk, and the tolerance Dr. Karagöz linked with Brook's embrace of freedom.

This freedom was apparent more broadly with respect to gender, with Brook's boundaries relieving aspects of the determinacy and constraint of wider Turkish culture. With regards to clothing for instance some female students highlighted the relative freedom they had to wear what they wanted at Brook. Çağla (Sociology, 2<sup>nd</sup> year, 1<sup>st</sup> April) spoke of the freedom to 'do whatever you want' at Brook and exemplified this with reference to the clothing she was able to wear at Brook in contrast to even her home city, which she described as 'the most developed ... in Turkey'. Female students in the civil engineering department also spoke about clothes they would buy which they

recognised they could only wear at Brook, not outside the campus (Sally, Sarah, CE, 2<sup>nd</sup> year, 19<sup>th</sup> April).

There was also a perception of an increased freedom for students to explore and express their sexuality at Brook more broadly. Previous studies in Turkey have noted strong negative attitudes towards particularly female students' premarital intercourse (Aras et al., 2007; Yalçın et al., 2012), though finding that these might be less restrictive in more Western parts of the country (Aşci et al., 2016; Golbasi and Kelleci, 2011; Bal Yılmaz et al., 2010). Asya Sabrı (Senior university administrator, 25<sup>th</sup> March) pointed to a different situation at Brook:

'The students are very free ... For example, there is no problem like being a girlfriend, boyfriend; this campus is like the campus in the United States.'

Kemal (Business, 4<sup>th</sup> year, 6<sup>th</sup> April) agreed, noting the implications of the Brook environment for women from more conservative areas:

'I've been in other part of Turkey too ... [on] internship ... In other parts of the Turkey girls generally cannot have boyfriends during the high school and stuff. And when they come here ... they don't have chains from the family any more so I think they are feeling more free here.'

This situation echoes similar findings in Ozyegin's (2009) study of attitudes to sexuality and virginity in another prestigious Turkish university, both in terms of the approach to sexual relations on campus, and the contrast with practices in smaller towns in particular.

Participants also emphasised that Brook was a place which was relatively welcoming for gay students. Selin (Engineering, 1<sup>st</sup> April), stayed behind after a group interview in relation to a history course to talk further about her experiences at Brook. She emphasised the freedom she had to express herself as an atheist, a lesbian and as someone who cared for equality at many levels, and the affirmation she received in these respects at Brook. These contributed to making Brook a place that was particularly attractive for gay students:

'[The] LGBT population is really high compared to other universities in Turkey. Gays really choose [Brook] intentionally. They really have the research, er, and picked [Brook] specifically.' (Selin, Engineering, 1<sup>st</sup> April)

Meriç (Engineering, 4<sup>th</sup> year, 29<sup>th</sup> April), having acknowledged that he kept his sexuality secret for his first two years, suggested that, now that he had come out

'I wouldn't be safe in, if I would be in a different college'.

Homophobia was certainly widespread in Turkey, including in universities (Bakacak and Öktem, 2014; Ozturk, 2011; Gelbal and Duyan, 2006). Meriç appeared to feel that people at Brook were markedly different in their approach.

Nevertheless, with regards to each of these areas it appeared that Brook's borders were still permeable, and that the constraints and limitations of wider Turkish – and indeed international – society still operated, even if to a lesser degree. A couple of students indicated that the dynamics of gender relations at Brook still served to constrain women's clothing choices (e.g. Nalan, GWS, Graduate, 5<sup>th</sup> May). Leyla (Sociology, Graduate, 23<sup>rd</sup> May) emphasised the judgements which applied to women who wore more revealing clothing, even if they were free to wear them, raising similar concerns in relation to women's sexuality:

'When compared to the outside women are wearing more freely in [Brook]. I know that, I cannot wear the shorts or the shirts that I am wearing in [Brook] in the [the city centre] I am sure of that. But even in [Brook] if I am harassed, in any of these shorts and shirts they are going to judge me on that. I know ... some women who are living their sexuality freely in campus and if many of their friends know that and if she is faced [with] the danger of the rape they say that it is not going to be a problem for her because she is living her sexuality openly.'

The perception that women are to blame for men's behaviour if they wear certain clothes, and the failure to differentiate between women's freely chosen sexual activity and sexual violence, both widespread in Turkey as internationally (Ozcetin, 2015; Mendes, 2015; Moor, 2010), were present at Brook too. Its borders were unable to exclude it.

Kemal (Business, 4<sup>th</sup> year, 6<sup>th</sup> April) noted that there continued to be different expectations about the acceptable number of girlfriends or boyfriends men and women and women could have, as in many places (Ozyegin, 2009; Sagebin Bordini and Sperb, 2013). One group of students (Sinefin, Misha, Deniz, Sociology, 2<sup>nd</sup> year, 31<sup>st</sup> March) noted the widespread expectation among Brook students that women needed to get permission from their boyfriends to go to parties, or wear certain clothes. While other students (Tolga and Uğur, Politics, Graduates, 11<sup>th</sup> May) indicated that they had, or observed, relationships which were not so characterised, the authority structures prevalent between many dating couples – as in married couples – in Turkey (Altınay and Arat 2009) were present at Brook too. Brook's values of equality appeared to hit barriers when confronted with widely established cultural norms related to students' private lives.

With regards to homosexuality students highlighted that, as with feminists, the LGBTQ+ community was not able to have an official university club or society, reportedly because the university did not allow such associations to be based around identities (GWS, Graduates, 5<sup>th</sup> May). Zeynep Ceylan (10<sup>th</sup> May), a senior member of the GWS programme, recalled the following about this as we were discussing the university administrators I had been able to interview:

'I don't know what they think about gender issues but ... at one meeting, for example, talking about this LGBT group people were furious.'

She moved on before I could establish any further details, but this pointed to particular sensitivities around homosexuality in the university administration. As there were significant levels of homophobia in Turkey, which Republican gender discourses had if anything reinforced (Bakacak and Öktem, 2014), it is not surprising that some academic staff would hold such perspectives.

The freedom which characterised Brook as an institution was seen in aspects of its gender regime. Even so, its borders remained open to the norms of wider society, which were able to infiltrate to at least some extent, maintaining constraints and limitations even in these areas which were seen to exemplify its distinctiveness. This partial distinctiveness could also be seen in another area, that of staffing.

### *Teaching staff numbers*

The gender ratios for different aspects of the institution provide insights into Brook's mediation of both its Turkish and international influences. Firstly, among academics there were overall slightly more female staff at Brook. As shown in the table below this compared favourably with both the Turkish and EU averages. Gender ratios were, however, more skewed towards men at the professorial levels, while women were far more numerous in the lower academic grades. Compared to 2012-13 levels the proportion of women had improved for full professors (up from 29%) and instructors (up from 72%) but gone down for research assistants (from 53%). While the proportions at higher grades at Brook were still better than both Turkish and international averages, the difference between higher and lower grades was greater. Other studies in Turkey have emphasised how expectations about women's domestic labour burden and masculinist understandings of leadership continue to raise significant barriers to academic women's career progression (Birlik and Arikan, 2009; Neale and Özkanlı, 2010). These figures suggest that Brook was less able to mitigate these obstacles than those to women's entry into the profession. Later chapters explore how this situation varied between different departments.

*Figure 6. Percentage of female staff at different academic levels, 2015-16. Sources: HEC 2016, EC 2019*

	<b>Brook / %</b>	<b>Turkey / %</b>	<b>EU 28 / %</b>
Professor	34	30	24
Associate professor	45	35	41
Assistant professor	48	40	
Instructor	75	44	46
Language instructor	84	62	-
Research assistant	48	50	-
Total	52	43	41

### *Equality in representation*

Women's representation in academic leadership positions remains highly unequal internationally (Morley, 2014; Shepherd, 2017). This situation is even more marked in Turkey, where the proportion of women in senior leadership roles is below international

averages, despite the relatively high proportion of women in academia overall (O'Connor, 2015; Neale and Özkanlı, 2010). This meant that the situation at Brook was quite striking. The proportion of women in administrative positions at Brook was almost equal to that of men, making it markedly better than both the Turkish average, and the majority of universities globally: two out of five deans, and five out of seven directors of graduate schools were women, that is 58% of these positions, while the proportion of female deans in Turkey at the time of research was less than 15% (White and Özkanlı, 2010; Hürriyet Daily News, 2019). Five out of the eleven appointments to the university's administrative board made by the then president of the university were female, contributing to 47.5% of Brook's administrative board and senate being women (Brook website). Department chair positions followed a similar gender distribution, though with less female chairs in engineering. While Brook had never had a female rector, and this was recognised as a glass ceiling by some participants (Kardalen Heper, Politics, Faculty, 13<sup>th</sup> April; Rüya Nalband, Politics, Faculty, 24<sup>th</sup> May) it otherwise ran counter to national and international trends.

Staff pointed to a combination of characteristics of Brook as contributing to this situation of relative equality in representation. Öykü Adanır (Politics, Faculty, 24<sup>th</sup> May), spoke of Brook's comparatively high degree of women's representation as almost a given characteristic of the institution, which accorded with her previously quoted accounts of Brook's commitment to openness and freedom, even while recognising its limitations:

'I still think it's the university where women for important positions of management, of academia is taken as a matter of fact. It's not ... I mean, er pursued as a policy, it's not seen as extraordinary, it's not seen ... as a form of positive discrimination, but it's a matter of fact. And, and it happens. And you can see women at different levels of administration ... I think [Brook] is much more democratic in that sense of gender equality compared with other universities'.

Her departmental colleague Kardalen Heper (13<sup>th</sup> April) pointed to this degree of representation as contributing to women's sense of equality in the institution, itself in turn reinforcing the very possibility of that equality. Elif Demir (Female, 8<sup>th</sup> April), a

relatively young senior administrator, in fact suggested that Brook's culture of equality served at points to lead to discrimination against men.

These accounts presented the culture underlying the equality in women's representation as an enduring characteristic of the institution, intertwined with its broader values. There was also some recognition of the gradually changing nature of the university's culture of gender equality, and the importance of particular interventions in supporting the degree of women's representation. Öykü Adanır (Politics, Faculty, 24<sup>th</sup> May) recalled how encouraged she had been to hear of her former head of department's insistence that women take on responsibilities:

'She insisted on, for example, ... the number of ... female professors in this department [*thumping table*] ... Females should also take, er, important roles in running, in administrative issues and stuff ... To hear that ... strengthened our aspirations.'

While this was at a departmental level, it showed how the specific agency of certain individuals had contributed to shaping a setting in which women, rather than dismissing the possibility of administrative advancement as the literature records can often be the case (Morley, 2014), were encouraged in their ambitions.

Aylin Erdem (GWS / Politics, 4<sup>th</sup> May), a faculty member of long standing, described how, beginning with the administration before last a couple of decades previously, there had been increasing numbers of women appointed to high level positions in the rectorate. She underlined that particularly the incumbent rector brought a different mindset to his appointments from that of gender neutrality which she saw as characterising the institution as a whole:

'One of the big problems in [Brook] is that people, because they assume there is gender equality are not conscious of, when they make decisions, is this a man or is this a woman – and then they, they are very proud of themselves for not thinking about that ... But if you have someone in a decision-making position who is also conscious of the gender realities and who therefore can ask the question ... if we have a lesser proportion of women in the administrative cadres, then maybe we should look to appoint more equally qualified women to the positions that they deserve.'



I think this is the kind of change that we have begun to see in this university starting from the very top level.'

The rector's use of his power to appoint women to senior positions contrasted with White and Özkanlı's (2010) finding that senior managers in Turkish universities were generally reluctant to do so, unlike their Australian counterparts. With her longer term perspective Dr. Erdem recognised the need for particular shifts in thinking to contribute to the current situation of relative equality. She presented these interventions by the rector as being part of a 'mentality that is evolving over time.'

The distinctive institutional culture which had developed at Brook in inter-relationship with its Turkish setting and international connections thus appeared to provide a context in which support for gender equality – here seen in terms of academic representation – had increasingly been able to flourish. It was, however, a developing process, which at points required specific interventions. The wide disparity between the statistics at Brook and those elsewhere in the country, as well as the relatively rapid growth in women's representation in senior management positions, suggests that the key obstacles to women's advancement were not role conflict – as White and Özkanlı's (2010) respondents indicated – but institutional. In fostering an environment in which women felt encouraged to aspire to positions of power, and in which senior leaders were motivated to appoint women to senior positions, Brook as a community had reached a position of significant equality in these terms, despite cultural constraints.

### **Areas of greater permeability**

There were other respects in which gender relations within Brook seemed to mirror those outside its borders more closely. These could be seen as areas with regards to which Brook's borders were more permeable, or which were closer to Brook's borders, and therefore closer to society beyond them. These areas in particular emphasised the interconnections across Brook's borders.

#### *Gendered burden of domestic labour*

One of these concerned the way in which aspects of the Turkish context worked against gender equality for academic staff. Turkish households tended to have a very pronounced gendered division of labour, with women bearing the vast majority of the

burden of domestic labour, and women's labour force participation being very low by international standards, even though it was higher among the university educated (Memiş et al., 2012; TSI, 2020b). These differences and expectations were present for women in academia too, posing challenges for career progression which were greater than those experienced in at least some Anglophone countries (Neale & Özkanlı, 2010; White & Özkanlı, 2010; Gönenç et al., 2013). It appeared that Brook had in some senses worked to mitigate the impact of these wider cultural attitudes and practices, while in other respects their impact was still felt.

Various staff suggested that the demands of the wider culture placed greater obstacles in front of female faculty at Brook. Sem Gray (Civil engineering, Faculty, 24<sup>th</sup> March), described the extra time her male colleagues had to work because they didn't have cooking and childcare responsibilities. Another participant, Hülya Tarhan (Business, 13<sup>th</sup> May), a mother of two, suggested that the consequences of this were in fact exacerbated in prestigious organisations like Brook. She described the significant sacrifices she had had to make, including putting her children in kindergarten for long days, forgoing vacations and working weekends in order to meet her department's expectations:

'You have to dedicate yourself to [Brook], you know, to be considered a professional ... We say that we are equal but we don't take into account differences in personal lives and I believe that is contributing to inequality ... but we don't discuss it. We try to ignore it, it is like a taboo ... And that is, you know, putting I think female faculty members and female staff at a disadvantage. And I believe that is not only the case in [Brook] but I think it is the case in most elite organisations in Turkey.'

Others, however, suggested that Brook worked well to support women in dealing with the dual demands of career and, in particular, motherhood. Öykü Adanır (24<sup>th</sup> May), a mid-career politics faculty member, noted, for instance that,

'we have a culture that is quite tolerant towards humanitarian issues.'

She emphasised, however, that this was irrespective of gender, and that men too were extended flexibility when they needed it. Indeed four other mothers of different ages from the politics, business and civil engineering departments also emphasised the

flexibility that they encountered in relation to their family commitments. If this picture (rather than Hülya Tarhan's) was more indicative of the wider institutional culture, it appeared to reflect a notable achievement for Brook as other studies in Turkey record that female faculty frequently suggested that they wanted increased flexibility in their work demands (Gönenç et al., 2013). For these women, at least, Brook, drawing on its own particular culture, was able to limit the negative impacts of the wider cultural inequalities.

Aylin Erdem (GWS / Politics, Faculty, 4<sup>th</sup> May) suggested, however, that the university's efforts were nevertheless inadequate in excluding these impacts. She gave the example of the rules surrounding sabbaticals. Ostensibly treating men and women the same, these were conditional on the sabbatical being taken abroad, with the upheaval that involves. Within a context in which, she suggested, the husbands of female staff tended to have full time jobs, while the wives of male staff frequently might not be employed, or be so only temporarily or part time, women were thus significantly disadvantaged. Despite the perceptions of some who presented Brook as a place of separation, Brook's boundaries were insufficiently strong to exclude all the inequitable impacts of Turkey's broader social norms. This was all the more the case with regards to non-academic staff at the university.

#### *Non-academic staff*

Among technical and non-academic administrative employees of the university there were both some clearer gendered divisions of labour, and an overall picture of greater gender inequality. The significant majority of these staff were state employees. Only 34% of them were female, however, a far lower percentage than among the academic staff (Brook statistics 2015). Further, in 2014 of the approximately four hundred or so non state employees, 88% of the permanent positions were held by men, while women held 74% of the temporary positions (Gender project report 2014). In line with Turkish employment patterns, women at Brook were thus more likely to have precarious employment (Şahin, 2012). Employment patterns for different positions also reflected gendered norms (Appendix I.5). All the drivers and the vast majority of guards and technicians were men, while all the nurses and kindergarten workers were women.

Some areas were more neutral, however, with women being only slightly more of the computer technicians and office workers.

Whereas the specificities of academia meant that as a profession in Turkey it was relatively open to both men and women, this was not the case for many of the non-academic positions. They were also subject to less scrutiny, and hence less cultural pressure to change. None of the academic staff raised the inequalities among non-academic personnel in our discussions, even while they spoke of widespread equality in the institution. Further the institutional commitment to equality as part of Brook's educational values might be expected to have been embraced more by academic staff, some of whom in different ways had influence over academic hiring. Tuncay Kerimoğlu (Business, Field notes, 5<sup>th</sup> May) suggested, in response to my raising the issue, that there might have been some discrimination against women in some of the non-academic units:

'In the university I hear that for some positions they prefer men ... This is not from the academicians ... The management of the staff is not only under the control of academicians. Those staff are under different control, not the academic unit. That is why we have that problem.'

It is also, however, difficult to challenge societal and economic norms. When I raised the issue of gender disparities among non-academic staff with Merve Kinalı (Politics, Faculty, 17<sup>th</sup> May), who was involved in the gender research project, she emphasised that because of the relatively high levels of government control over employment and conditions, there was limited institutional flexibility to attempt to counteract these wider tendencies. She noted, for instance, that the university could not hold permanent positions for women. She also pointed to the increasing pressures to subcontract aspects of the university's functions, in line with broader neoliberal patterns (İnal and Akkaymak, 2012), which lessened the scope to influence gender ratios.

As a corollary to this the only complaint of sexual harassment made to me about a member of staff was about non-academic employees. Kat (17<sup>th</sup> March), a confident second year female student whom I interviewed with three others from the business

department gave the following as an example of the way she felt that there was not gender equality at Brook:

'In the campus there are staff in [the] cafeteria in *çarşı*<sup>29</sup>, also in here [in the] canteen and their behaviours towards women are irritating. They are not respectful, they are rude and ... if I'm walking in the campus ... late [at night] ... I don't feel safe because of them ... I know that they are taking ... female students' numbers ... they are adding on Facebook. I don't like this.'

Other female students spoke about the frequency with which they were subject to harassment and assault outside the campus (e.g. Misha, Sociology, 2nd year, 31<sup>st</sup> March). Kat's comments showed that similar experiences could still take place within Brook's borders, and it was principally among non-academic staff that she saw this happening. While perhaps seen by the university hierarchy as a less important part of the environment, they clearly had an impact on Kat's sense of security. I did not enquire whether Kat had reported these incidents. Perhaps, like others, she was unclear what the route to do so might be (Leyla, Sociology, Graduate, 23<sup>rd</sup> May), and in any event the university had not yet established a formal unit for specifically addressing such issues. Some of those mentioned might well have been private employees of external companies which owned franchises in the shopping centre, making it harder for the university to directly address their behaviours. Nevertheless, the persistence of such behaviours while members of the administration and the vast majority of academic staff portrayed an environment of gender equality points to failings in Brook's processes of addressing gender inequality.

With regards to gender relations, the borders of Brook as an institution seemed particularly permeable to the wider Turkish context with regards to non-academic staff. It appeared at least in part that the internal pressures to resist inequitable external influences were reduced for these areas of the university's life. Academic staff, who were collectively the most powerful internal voices in the university tended to focus their analyses on their own situations. This left non-academic employees both to face

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<sup>29</sup> [The] shopping centre

structurally inequitable employment situations, and able to pursue harassing behaviours which tended to be excluded from the more academic side of Brook's life.

*Student ratios*

In terms of student ratios, again unlike with the proportions of female academics, Brook followed the trends of its Turkish context.<sup>30</sup> Indeed, for undergraduates and total students it was less equal than both Turkey as a whole and its province (Figure 5).

*Figure 7. Percentage of female students 2015-16 (Calculated from HEC, 2016)*

	Female / %		
	Brook	Turkey	Brook's province
Undergraduates	42.4	45.6	52.0
Graduates	45.1	40.4	45.2
All students	43.2	45.9	50.2

The process of undergraduate applications in Turkey means that universities have no role in choosing undergraduate students. The dominance of technical departments at Brook had a significant influence on its overall gender ratio. In Turkey, as internationally, women tend to apply proportionally less to study technical subjects (Saygin, 2012). At Brook the engineering faculty encompassed 42.8% of undergraduate students (HEC, 2016) and engineering subjects 46.3% of graduate students (Brook statistics 2015). In both cases the percentage of women was low, respectively 24.9% and 28.8%. In some engineering departments, like mechanical engineering women were only 10% of students (Brook statistics 2015). The converse was, however, true for some other subjects: 95% of education students were female, for instance. The numerical dominance of technical and particularly engineering subjects thus accounted in part for Brook's comparatively unequal gender ratios. The relatively lower tendency of Turkish women to both leave home and travel significant distances to study (Doğan and Yuret, 2011) is also particularly significant for Brook, which attracts students from all over the country. Further the propensity of male students to place a higher value on high profile majors, and to be more willing to risk failing to be assigned any of their choices increases the likelihood of male students applying for Brook's highly competitive courses (Saygin,

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<sup>30</sup> p.40

2012). In a number of respects Brook had very limited control over its own borders with regards to students' placements, and thus reflected national trends.

Nevertheless, Brook does have some role in controlling these borders. Graduate admissions are run by the university itself, and so can theoretically take gender into account. The relatively higher proportion of women at graduate level, including compared to averages in both the country and Brook's region, might suggest that the processes Brook employs serve to better encourage and select female applicants. Engineering departments certainly seemed to encourage promising female undergraduates to pursue further study (Selin, Engineering, 1<sup>st</sup> April). There were no indications, however, that Brook was taking systematic action to try to counter the imbalance in the proportion of women at the university. Three senior administrators (Asya Sabri, 25<sup>th</sup> March; AJ Parlak, Engineering, 7<sup>th</sup> April; Sera Demirtaş, Education, 9<sup>th</sup> June) each stated that no specific steps were taken or planned to try to encourage either female or male students to apply to subjects in which they were under-represented. While there appeared to be various outreach programmes, they did not incorporate a gender dimension. Indeed, the two faculty-based administrators both presented similar arguments, noting that students' educational directions were culturally influenced at early ages, and that the faculty could do little about them. Where other universities internationally specifically sought to redress imbalances in applications, and so render their borders more permeable to those who might otherwise be excluded because of their gender Brook appeared to have acquiesced to a position of relative powerlessness in this regard.

#### *Student spaces closer to the border*

There also seemed to be some spaces of student life which were closer to the border between the university and wider society than others, and hence more subject to the influence of broader cultural norms, and less influenced by the university's ostensible values. Several students made reference to online spaces, including a Facebook group of which most students were members, as being sites of particular harassment (Misha, Deniz, Sociology, 2<sup>nd</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup> year, 31<sup>st</sup> March; Öğrenç, Business, 2<sup>nd</sup> year, 17<sup>th</sup> March), as has

been recorded as being the case elsewhere (Walker et al., 2011). I touch on this in more detail in chapter eight.

Otherwise those spaces which seemed closest to the border were the dormitories. These were neither entirely public spaces, nor entirely private; they were consequently more subject to the patriarchal norms which governed the private realm in Turkey, than the more ostensibly egalitarian commitments associated with public life. They were under university oversight and management, yet also the locations of students' private lives, as well as being a key concern for parents feeling responsible for (particularly) their (female) offspring. As has been the experience of universities globally, some of the clearest gender divisions were apparent in these spaces (Ray and Rosow, 2010; Phipps, 2016).

According to one of the fourth-year students, Brook had had both mixed and single sex dormitories when he started, but the mixed dormitories had been phased out since (Kemal, Business, 4<sup>th</sup> year, 6<sup>th</sup> April). This accorded with President Erdoğan's expressed desire to eliminate mixed residences (Dombey, 2013) – referred to by a male student in a politics class as an example of his religious authoritarianism (Graduate, Class observation, 19<sup>th</sup> April) – further exemplifying the government's control over the university. Students reported very significant differences in the treatment of male and female students. Men were able to stay out whenever they wanted with barely token criticism, while women were reprimanded and reported if they did so (Sociology, 2<sup>nd</sup> year, 31<sup>st</sup> March). Women were also held to certain standards of tidiness and prohibited from smoking, while the men were given license on both counts (Deniz, Sociology, 3<sup>rd</sup> year, 31<sup>st</sup> March). One of the male students, Cem (Sociology, 2<sup>nd</sup> year, 31<sup>st</sup> March) emphasised that

'the problem is, we all technically abide by the same rules ... but the attitude differences in the way the rules are executed is very dramatic.'

Students emphasised the complicity of the female dormitory workers in the additional restrictions, echoing Deniz Kandiyoti's (1988) highlighting of the role of women in enforcing moral codes. Several students explained the difference in attitudes, and the role of the women, in terms of the different perceptions of the status of male and female



students. The men were seen as responsible adults (Cem, Sociology, 2<sup>nd</sup> year, 31<sup>st</sup> March). The contrasting situation for women, however, was most starkly conveyed by Leyla (Sociology, Graduate, 23<sup>rd</sup> May, who described the outlook of the dormitory managers, and parents, in the following terms:

'[W]omen need protection ... we have to be sure that if they are virgins we have to keep the[m] virgins ... My father while giving me to the dormitory said that, "Her meat is yours, her bones are mine. Let's share it like that, so you can do whatever you want to her" or something [*small laugh*].'

Parental control of female sexuality was thus delegated to the university, at least in the eyes of some parents, meaning that it had to be assumed to be the case for all female students. As Yasin (Sociology, 2<sup>nd</sup> year, 31<sup>st</sup> March) remarked,

'this is the main reason ... if one girl gets pregnant in a dorm the ... shit will hit the fan for that manager.'

In a country where until 2002 the state still carried out compulsory virginity tests, sometimes at the behest of parents (Goksel, 2006; Parla, 2001), the university's freedom to treat students equally in this borderland space was constrained by powerful societal expectations (Ozyegin, 2009).

At the same time interaction with these societal expectations seemed to shape what appeared to be the most overtly sexist and stereotypically masculine group in the university. The 'Horny Dorm' – '*Abaza Yurdu*' in Turkish – was mentioned in several student interviews (GWS, Graduates, 5<sup>th</sup> May; Sociology, 2<sup>nd</sup> year, 31<sup>st</sup> March). It had a reputation for an almost theatrical, hyper masculine sexism. Students described how, on the occasion of power cuts, members of the dorm would yell ribald obscenities, shine torches into women's rooms and call out for female students to drop down their bras (Deniz, Sociology, 3<sup>rd</sup> year, 31<sup>st</sup> March). Murat, a former resident of this dormitory, sent me pictures of residents holding posters with overtly sexualised, if supposedly jocular, slogans at different university events. Özgür (Graduate, 5<sup>th</sup> May), a student on the GWS programme, commented that,

'[they] construct manhood around the objectification of women – that is the norm in that place.' (Field notes, 5<sup>th</sup> May)

Murat (25<sup>th</sup> May) also suggested that the dormitory showed other tropes associated with hypermasculinity, and particularly its performance in male student residences, such as aggressive hazing; Murat said that it was the only dormitory to engage in such practices. Murat, who was studying a masters on aspects of social justice at another university, acknowledged the sexism at the heart of the dormitory's self-representation, but also sought to dissociate both himself and the other students from it. He suggested that it was a 'mask' put on as part of a 'collective identity' which sought to make fun of Turkish society:

'I think it's a kind of criticism to sexism in Turkish society also. It's important we are, we were *dalga geçmek*<sup>31</sup> ... by karikatur-ing – I don't know the English name – the social structure.' (Murat, Former student, 25<sup>th</sup> May)

It was the case that the pictures he sent me, with their accompanying explanations, often played on political themes. The formation adopted to pretend to storm a women's dormitory mimicked that employed by police in the protests on the campus. Their posters made sexualised puns on state slogans encouraging the use of local products, or political slogans used by used by the ultranationalist *ülküçü*<sup>32</sup> movement. Nevertheless their actions did not seem to be read ironically by others, even if some of the sociology students who otherwise spoke out against gender inequality appeared to see them as amusing (Sociology, 2<sup>nd</sup> year, 31<sup>st</sup> March). Leyla (Sociology, Graduate, 23<sup>rd</sup> May) suggested that some could find their behaviour very offensive. While the sexist practices of wider society were generally presented as being excluded from Brook, they could still be imported and celebrated, even if under the claimed guise of parody. Brook's borders remained markedly permeable in this regard.

### *Policies*

A final area which highlights Brook's situation as a borderland in terms of its interconnections is that of its policies towards gender equality. In this regard it appeared that the high level of government control over university governance had combined with perceptions of Brook's relatively high degree of gender equality to limit specific institution-level policies relating to gender and gender inequality. Being a state

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<sup>31</sup> ridicule

<sup>32</sup> 'Idealists'

university much of the university's policy framework was provided by the Turkish government. In some respects this provided for a situation of relative equality. Hiring and pay for academic and civil service non-academic positions were regulated by national civil service regulations. These specify criteria for hiring, promotion and pay which meant that there was equal pay for equal work, and that promotion up the academic ladder was a technical process with little room for discretion and hence bias (Mizikaci 2006). This picture was mentioned by a variety of respondents (Cemil Okyar, Senior university administrator, 11<sup>th</sup> March; Merve Kınalı, Politics, Faculty, 17<sup>th</sup> May), though with some saying different departments were able to find different degrees of flexibility in the appointment and promotion processes (Elif Demir, Senior administrator, 8<sup>th</sup> April). With regards to discrimination, the relevant national level codes referred to it generically, rather than particularising in terms of gender (Brook gender research project report 2014).

Until the period immediately preceding the research there were thus no formal institution-level policies relating specifically to gender. I asked the majority of staff I interviewed both whether they had received any training from Brook which related to gender, and whether they had been influenced by wider university or faculty policies relating to it. None of the participants responded positively to either question. Staff had hitherto been left to act according to their own inclinations within, and interpretations of, the remit of the wider institutional culture. Several students complained about the lack of focused provision for dealing with harassment, and there was a protest lasting several days during the research period about the university's approach to a specific student perpetrator (Leyla, Sociology, Graduate, 23<sup>rd</sup> May). Asya Sabrı (25<sup>th</sup> March), a senior university administrator, affirmed further that there were no policies relating to the inclusion of gender in the curriculum, or schemes seeking to encourage applications to offset gender imbalances within particular departments.

It became apparent, however, that just preceding, and during the research period a variety of steps were being taken towards the formalisation of policies relating to gender equality at Brook. There seemed to be a range of impetuses and enabling factors behind this, with their origins both outside Brook's borders and within them. Zeynep

Ceylan (10<sup>th</sup> May), a member of the GWS programme, described how several years previously a group of women from universities across Turkey, including her, had begun to meet informally twice a year to develop policies on sexual harassment. Three or four universities had prepared their policy documents and she had just completed work on Brook's, calling this national level process 'a new wave'. Those working on the policy for Brook had decided to broaden it into a wider gender equality strategy document, with commitments to take steps on awareness raising (including an entry level course for all students, training for administrative staff, and workshops – but seemingly not a dedicated training course – for academic staff), ensuring equal representation through tracking and preparing targets and preventing sexual assault. At the same time Asya Sabrı (25<sup>th</sup> March), a senior university administrator told me that the rector's office had in the preceding couple of years approached the GWS programme to discuss how to raise awareness among students about gender equality and harassment. It appeared that initiatives had thus been coming both from within Brook's administration and without.

Dr. Ceylan identified two factors at the national level – beyond the gathering she mentioned – which had contributed to this openness to new approaches. Firstly, she referred to the murder in 2015 of the university student Özgecan Aslan, stating that it had caused an 'uprising'. Certainly her murder did appear to have shifted the national debate around gender based violence, and the media now regularly reported on the increase in (reported) femicides (e.g. *Hürriyet Daily News*, 2017a, 2018). This might in turn have prompted the second factor she mentioned, a workshop organised by the Higher Education Council focusing on gender equality in universities (HEC, 2015a), running counter to the general direction of government rhetoric and policy with regards to gender equality. The workshop led to a report calling for universities to adopt a range of measures to increase gender equality and address sexual harassment (HEC, 2015b). The HEC's approach has since realigned with broader government rhetoric.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> In February 2019 the President of Turkey's HEC repudiated the use of the term 'gender equality' in this report, saying that it 'does not fit our social values' and that courses should look rather to 'women's studies based on justice' (LGBTI News Turkey, 2019)

Nevertheless, even temporary shifts in the national context were significant in Brook's changing gender regime.

Brook's participation in an international action research project exploring gender equality in a range of universities was also identified by Dr. Ceylan as a new factor influencing the formalisation of procedures relating to gender and gender equality. The project had begun a couple of year's previously and the Brook team had been conducting the first formal analyses of gender equality at the university, initiating training on gender and gender equality for new staff, and organising workshops with senior leadership teams reflecting on aspects of gender equality and inequality in the institution (Merve Kinali, Politics, Faculty, 17<sup>th</sup> May). Dr. Ceylan contrasted the efforts by the project team to bring about a systematic change in Brook's approach to gender with the more *ad hoc* efforts of the GWS programme previously. Cemil Okyar (Senior university administrator, 11<sup>th</sup> March) who had attended one of the workshops described how it had led him to reconsider his previous approach of gender neutrality, and to weigh the potential merits of adopting some forms of positive discrimination in Brook's hiring and promotion practices. Some of the personnel involved in the project team had been deeply involved in the women's movement, at an academic and policy level, both nationally and internationally, for decades. The increased prestige, formality and structure of the research project, which Brook was able to participate in as a result of the strength of its international connections, appeared to have substantially altered the scope of their engagements in the wider university, however.

This range of interactions across and within Brook's borders led the university to make a number of formal commitments relating to gender equality in the months surrounding the research period. In the month prior to the research the university adopted a charter on gender-sensitive communication developed by the international research project. This appeared to be the first step in a process, and there was little evidence that the charter's commitments (for instance to publish guidelines on gender-sensitive language) had been implemented by the end of the research period. Certainly no staff outside the project team made any reference to the charter or related information when asked about relevant university policies. The new training workshops

for new academic and administrative staff initiated as part of the international gender project were run under the university's auspices; indeed Asya Sabrı (Senior university administrator, March 25<sup>th</sup>) presented them as a recent university offering without any reference to the project. In the final weeks of the research period the university senate both adopted the proposed gender equality strategy policy and formally established a unit to promote gender equality and prevent sexual harassment. The remit of this unit, which would have a vice-rector on its board, was to promote awareness and training, collect gender equality data and receive and evaluate allegations of sexual harassment and assault (Brook website).

The combination of many human resources policies being nationally determined, understandings of gender equality as neutrality among senior administrators, and a culture of confidence in the institution's standards of gender equality meant Brook had very limited formal policies or procedures addressing gender equality and inequality. Nevertheless connections across its borders with national and international networks of gender advocates and the HEC, as well as some of its particular institutional values, both opened Brook up to different impetuses for formalisation, and led to a ready acceptance of it, at least at the policy level. In this respect the institution was at a transition point, with the effects of the implementation of these new policies and structures unknown by the end of the research.

Importantly for this study a significant lacuna in this process of formalisation was around the mainstreaming of gender in the curriculum (Grünberg, 2011; Verge et al., 2018). While Asya Sabrı (Senior university administrator, 25<sup>th</sup> March) had spoken with Zeynep Ceylan in the GWS programme about including a focus on gender in the preparatory English classes, and indeed suggested that this had begun, further enquiries with English teaching staff suggested that this had not happened (Rumeysa Genç, Email correspondence, 9<sup>th</sup> May). Dr. Ceylan emphasised how complex developing any compulsory course would be, which suggests that the commitment to mandating such a course espoused in the strategy document would be difficult to realise. With regards to mainstreaming gender in the wider curriculum, Merve Kınalı (Politics, Faculty, 17<sup>th</sup>

May), a core member of the gender project team, twice emphasised in our interview that this was a key area which had been beyond the capacity of the team to address:

Adam: Did you do any further elaborated analysis on gender in taught courses?

Merve Kinalı: No, that's the thing we are lacking, *yani*, that's one issue we have to focus on more and I don't know how we can also somehow improve the situation.

She explained that both she and many others on some of the online fora they participated in as part of the project had asked about this. The final report of the gender project also noted that as a team they had not had time to address the 'challenging subject' of the mainstreaming of gender in the curricula in an institutionalised manner. While there might then have been indirect changes in the approach of staff and students to teaching and learning gender in taught classes as a result of the other processes of formalisation, the new structures would not have addressed this in a focused way.

### Gender relations and Brook as enclave

I noted near the beginning of the chapter the consistent emphasis many participants placed on Brook's distinctive degree of gender equality, particularly as compared both with other universities in Turkey and Turkish society more broadly. The preceding sections have shown both ways in which Brook was distinctive, and at the same time how gender relations within Brook were interconnected with those beyond its borders. The polarised political situation, the government's increasingly divisive rhetoric (Cagaptay, 2018), and the deaths of Brook students among the increasingly regular terrorist attacks<sup>34</sup>, all challenged a wider sense of interconnection. Within this context Brook's gender regime contributed to Brook being seen as a place apart from its surroundings, mirroring occasional affirmations of Brook's broader exceptionalism, and hierarchical positioning relative to the Turkey as a whole.

Several participants conveyed a sense of Brook's broader separation from surrounding society. The tone in which this was presented was rarely strident, but rather

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<sup>34</sup> p.116

one of a quiet confidence. One politics student (April 2016) called Brook 'a rescued zone' with reference to its political engagement. The term conveyed an almost post-apocalyptic image, portraying Brook as a sanctuary in a setting of wider devastation. One faculty member (May 2016) presented Brook's distinctiveness in terms of its academic qualities:

'I always say that this is an oasis ... this is *the* [original emphasis] university. The others are not universities.'

This statement was clearly laden with dramatic hyperbole, but highlighted the degree of commitment members of the university felt to the institution. While I was unable to ask for elaboration, the faculty member presented Brook's uniqueness as relating to its English language education and the access to global academic literature that enabled, its emphasis on research and its commitment to critical objectivity. The borders which rendered it a place of freedom, refreshment and refuge also set it apart; indeed, it was apparently precisely in being set apart that it was able to offer such provision.

Another group of students also presented Brook as set apart in light of its education, but at the same time connected that separation with social divisions present in wider society. In a section of an interview in which I asked a group of three male engineers to describe the typical Turkish man, two of them emphasised their lack of connection with the majority of the population:

Abuzer: You can't find the traditional Turkish man in [Brook] [*laughs*]; we are an enlightened community ...

...

Meriç: [T]he lion's share of the population is ignorant people ... but ... these kinds of people ... are not the people that I have contact with ... in my daily life.

...

Abuzer: What ... I described was the majority of Turkey that vote for the fifty per cent and are responsible for the getting elected you know who. And what you have here with ... Adem, me and Meriç is that we are from the other Turkey.

(CE, 4<sup>th</sup> year, 29<sup>th</sup> April)



Both speakers were from the city Brook was in, while their friend Adem was from a Western provincial city. Meriç and Adem had been to selective-entry Anatolian high schools, and Abuzer a private high school. They portrayed themselves as having come from settings separated from the majority by differences in knowledge – differences so strong that they constituted '[an]other Turkey'. Their comments are typical of the othering and separation prevalent in Turkey's polarised society at the time of the study (Çelik et al., 2017). This other Turkey was linked with those who voted for the AKP (with fifty percent being the party's approximate vote share in the 2011 and November 2015 elections). Rather than leading them to encounters across those boundaries Brook was presented here as being a continuation of that 'enlightened' separation.

The link between perceptions of Brook's superiority and gender equality was made by Merve Kınalı (Politics, Faculty, 17<sup>th</sup> May), who worked on the international gender project:

'Whenever you bring up this problem or issue of gender equality there is this assumption that we don't have such an issue here ... And [that] we are different from the society, we are more, you know, educated, more I don't know, culturally superior et cetera.'

In raising this Dr. Kınalı was herself tacitly critiquing these views. For some participants, however, Brook's particular approach to gender had significant import within the contested political environment. Öykü Adanır (Politics, Faculty, 24<sup>th</sup> May) presented the situation in dramatic terms having expressed her view of Brook's relative gender equality:

'I mean the tide is not against you ... And I think it is a very important thing that we should cling on in this country at th[ese] times ... It's just something ... that we don't see enough [in] universities, currently, unfortunately and I think it's still unique.'

Even though she went on to acknowledge that Brook was by no means a place of complete equality, the imagery of clinging on – whether to a gender equality that is slipping away, or to Brook as a place in which gender equality can be pursued – evoked similar notions to that of Brook as a 'rescued zone'. I show below how this was linked to three particular political associations. This in turn appeared at times to generate a

tendency – particularly among students – to embrace stereotypical views about the approach of different groups towards gender, rather than to explore more balanced, complex pictures.

### *Leftist oasis*

Brook's distinctive qualities appeared to have roots in specific aspects of Turkey's political history. Participants referred to three commitments in particular – leftism, Kemalism and secularism – as characterising Brook as an institution. While these were indicated in different ways by a wide range of participants, they were presented most succinctly by Nilufer Balcı (Politics, Administrator, 26<sup>th</sup> April), using terms very similar to those associated with Brook spirit by the faculty members cited previously:

Nilufer Balcı: [Brook] aims ... to somehow give its students and staff democratic values with a strong egalitarian emphasis. This is known to be *the* [original emphasis] leftist university in Turkey. This is, I mean, if you ask for, what is [Brook] outside of the campus everybody will say //

Adam: // *Solcular*<sup>35</sup>.

Nilufer Balcı: *Solcular*. So this is, I don't think we are any more left than a social democrat on average. But there is this very strong commitment to Republican values. There is very strong commitment to a secular society. There is very strong commitment to democracy in terms of human rights and there is very strong commitment in terms of equality. This is, this is more or less [Brook].

Dr. Balcı shows here that, in her view, the inclusive qualities, which she and others saw as being distinctive characteristics of Brook, were not politically neutral.

These three commitments were linked together. As Zürcher (2004, p. 189) notes, despite having an accepted set of basic principles<sup>36</sup>, Kemalism is a flexible concept, subject to different interpretations. Demirtaş Bagdonas (2008) traces how figures from different parts of the political spectrum have through the history of the Republic appealed to the tradition of Atatürk as support for their different situations. In recent decades Kemalism has, however, been particularly associated with secularism (White,

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<sup>35</sup> Leftists

<sup>36</sup> Seen in the six arrows of Republicanism; secularism; nationalism; populism; statism and revolutionism or reformism

2013) and claims to a Kemalist lineage have tended to be made by the opposition, and particularly the Republican People's Party (CHP). The party of Atatürk was officially identified as 'left of centre' in the 1965 elections, in the face of the economically liberalising Democrat Party and its successor the Justice Party (Landau, 1970, p. 158), though Emre (2013) notes that the party's commitment to social democracy dwindled from the mid-1990s. This triad of commitments positioned Brook on one side of a protracted battle over Turkish national identity.

Most of the affirmations of the university's leftist, progressive, egalitarian qualities took place in the context of discussions on gender, and some drew clear links between the two. Several members of staff mentioned Brook's approach to gender among those characteristics they listed as affirmations of Brook's status in this regard (e.g. Yeliz Karagöz, GWS, Faculty, 27<sup>th</sup> May; Özge Ünal, Business, Faculty, Skype, 31<sup>st</sup> August). One staff member indicated that Brook's notable degree of gender equality arose from and demonstrated its status as a progressive centre. In a group interview with some members of the engineering faculty I followed up on a comment that there was much less gender discrimination at Brook than at other universities:

Adam: What are the reasons for that? ... Why is it better do you think?

...

Faculty member: This is a leftist oasis in the middle of conservative Anatolia.

(Engineering, May 2016)

Here the language of Brook's division from wider society was applied specifically to its political commitments which were taken as having particular consequences with regards to gender relations. Taken together these indicate that Brook's approach to gender contributed to a sense of Brook being separated as a progressive, leftist bastion in a country which increasingly felt like it was moving in other directions (Kandiyoti, 2016).

Conversely, wider impressions of Brook's liberalism with regards to gender relations seemed to contribute to some of the external critiques of the institution. A

couple of the sociology students raised this in the midst of a conversation about harassment:

‘There is the saying that [*Derili*] kızlar<sup>37</sup> always have sex with everyone because we are so liberal.’ (Misha, Sociology, 2<sup>nd</sup> year, 31<sup>st</sup> March)

The progressive, relatively free approach to gender relations at Brook provided fuel for external depictions of the institution as a place which did not conform to expected standards of morality. In this respect attitudes towards Brook paralleled critiques and stereotypes which had been applied over previous decades to the West in general, and towards those who wore western clothing, or women who transgressed traditional limitations on women's freedom of movement (Ozcetin, 2015). The border demarcating Brook as a place apart from Turkish society in terms of its tradition of support for leftist politics was thus strengthened with reference to its actual and perceived approach to gender relations.

It must be noted, however, that Brook also had a tradition of protests specifically related to gender, which disrupted this sense of Brook as separate from wider society. Students referred to protests they had engaged in or witnessed against external speakers known to have perpetrated gender-based violence (Doruk, Social Anthropology, Graduate, 18<sup>th</sup> May) and the university's handling of cases of alleged abuse (Filiz, Sociology, Graduate, 18<sup>th</sup> May). These protests served to highlight the presence of gender inequality within Brook, thus emphasising its continuity with the world beyond its borders. I also regularly observed posters advertising marches external to Brook protesting against gender inequality, and one of the sociology graduates, Leyla (23<sup>rd</sup> May) described her involvement with feminist groups outside the campus. These interactions relating to gender across Brook's borders again demonstrated the interconnections between Brook and wider society. Thus, while in some respects the interplay between Brook's leftist tendencies and its gender regime contributed to a sense of its separation, in other respects they served to undermine it.

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<sup>37</sup> Brook girls

### *Kemalist*

The University's approach to gender equality was also connected with its Kemalist traditions, though explicit presentation of Brook's distinctiveness in these terms was limited. Several participants drew close links between gender equality within the country as a whole, and in one case the university in particular, and the actions of the Republican founders and specifically Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. One senior faculty administrator (April 2016) articulated the Kemalist view that gender equality was given to the nation by Atatürk as he thought that Islamic rules were no longer suitable. By emphasising the latter she clearly distanced herself from more Islamic contemporary positions (Yılmaz, 2015). Another engineering faculty member of long standing linked this founding act with his department's comparatively equal gender ratio. Drinking tea from a mug emblazoned with Atatürk's image that he had given me, I asked him:

Adam: Why do think there is that relative success in that?

Faculty member: That I believe was something directly related with, with the *[taps table]* founders of this republic. I mean *[tapping table with each word]* they had given them the ladies, the women great chance. They didn't ask for it but they were given and most of the women use it well, especially the educated people until now, which – we are becoming a little bit more political, I have to be careful *[laughs]*.

(March 2016)

These statements indicated an implied duty to use the gift of gender equality well, a duty which – his 'until now' suggested – was now being shirked by some. Later comments showed that he thought that the approach of the government of the time – which he saw as encouraging women's economic dependency on men – was squandering this inheritance. Embracing gender equality was therefore for him a mark of commitment to the Republican project. It was thus, as it proved to be in his comments, inseparable from the 'political'.

An underlying assumption of both sets of comments appeared to be that different approaches to gender equality mapped onto divisions in the Turkish political landscape. The introduction showed, however, some of the limitations of the Kemalist approach to gender. The notions advanced in the above quotations, of gender quality as a

benevolent gift, are characteristic of what Altınay (2004) argues is a commonly accepted discourse regarding women's rights in Turkey, which hides the role played by organisations like the Turkish Women's Union, which agitated for women's political rights through the 1920s and early 1930s (Parla, 2001; Tekeli, 1992). It was apparent from an interview with students that the compulsory second year history course on The Principles of Atatürk and the History of the Turkish Revolution – a legally mandated course which nevertheless had a flexible curriculum (Barlas and Köksal, 2011) – perpetuated similar views:

Selin: I just wanted to add something. When we look [elsewhere] for other stories ... [about] wom[e]n's [activism] on their labour status ... [or] voting acts, there are some actions, wom[e]n want[ed] their rights. But in Turkey they always told us ... the man – Atatürk of course – er, he g[a]ve this and ... wom[e]n ... didn't look for this ...

Adam: And that's how, it was a similar portrayal in this course as well?

Selin: Yeah.

(History, 2<sup>nd</sup> year, 1<sup>st</sup> April).

Upholding these myths about the special status of Turkey and its founder(s) maintains a passive representation of women, and obfuscates the political processes involved in seeking to change gender boundaries. In reproducing the presentations and omissions of standard Republican discourse the portrayal in this course thus worked against, rather than for, a rounded pursuit gender equality. These perspectives each maintained a neat, if misleading (Arat, 1997; Dokumaci, 2018), equation of political positions with particular practices of gender equality and thereby contributed to existing political divisions.

### *Secularism*

Secularism is regularly, if overly simplistically (Demiralp, 2012; Kandiyoti, 2012), used to designate one pole of what is often presented as the country's key social division (White, 2013). A couple of participants sought to emphasise that Brook's secularism was 'not anti-religious' (Merve Kınalı, Politics, Faculty, 17<sup>th</sup> May). Rather, Tolga (11<sup>th</sup> May), a politics graduate student maintained,

‘[Brook] respects to all of the beliefs no matter what it is but it believes that these beliefs, and especially the religion, ... should be separated from the government so everybody can believe to whatever he or she wants.’

Nevertheless, a range of aspects of the university – including the peripheral location of its mosque, and an historic failure to accommodate the needs of students fasting during Ramadan (Hakan, Politics, 4<sup>th</sup> year, 8<sup>th</sup> June) – were at least less accommodating and affirming of those committed to religious observance than both wider Turkish society, and other universities. In a number of ways approaches to gender were bound up with Brook’s demarcation as a secular space.

#### *Headscarf as secular totem*

Brook's secular commitments were historically seen perhaps most clearly in a policy which related closely to gender, namely the ban on headscarves in public buildings. Universities enforced the ban to differing degrees, and Brook has been recorded as taking a strong stand, with a former rector reported as seeing it as necessary for upholding secularism, and hence democracy (External article). Fazıl Başer, a longstanding male politics instructor and Gizem Fırat, a female administrator in the department, affirmed this account, highlighting the university's approach and how the headscarf ban was seen as part of a wider political conflict (Ozcetin, 2015; Saktanber and Çorbacıoğlu, 2008):

Fazıl Başer: [T]his university followed very strict rules ... against women with [head]scarf. It was a policy ... It was seen as a reaction towards the larger religious activities, not only a ... personal problem ... but it was seen as a symbol of a conflict, a, you know a //

Gizem Fırat: // Hidden agenda.

Fazıl Başer: hidden agenda to change the political system, the //

Gizem Fırat: // Secularity.

Fazıl Başer: secularity et cetera.

(Politics, 27<sup>th</sup> April)

In this instance the institutional commitment to secularism trumped its wider value of freedom. A particular stance with regards to gender became totemic for a wider political

value system. Nevertheless, while it could be presented as a defence of gender equality, contrary arguments were also made on the other side (Seggie, 2011), and Dr. Başer himself emphasised how unjust he felt enforcement of the ban was from a gender perspective:

'It was mandatory to take female students out of the class if ... they have scarfs and, you know, carry out some bureaucratic and legal procedures about them. I always hate this, you know, but I had to do [it] because of institutional pressures and it was mandatory, er, and it was a big problem in this department especially ... They were not able to attend the classes, they failed in most classes because of this reason. But I always observed their male friends nothing happened to them. They supported the women but ... the problem was lived by the females.'

(Fazıl Başer, Politics, Faculty, 27<sup>th</sup> April)

Again, as shown in relation to the history teaching, there was not a clear correlation between particular political positions and practices of gender equality (Okuyan and Curtin, 2018; Turam, 2008), even if this was perceived to be the case by many in the institution, including at its highest levels. Since the end of the ban in 2013, women with headscarves were able to study at Brook, though some participants gave indications of continuing tensions in this respect (e.g. Fatma, Business, 4<sup>th</sup> year, 24<sup>th</sup> May) as recorded elsewhere (Seggie, 2015). Brook's historic position was nevertheless indicative of the strength of its adherence to secularism, and the imbrication of gender relations with that.

#### *Student stereotypes*

Several students interviewed drew connections between Islam and gender inequality. These presentations were relatively stereotypical, and presented totalising pictures of Islam, rather than acknowledging variety and nuance in the interaction between religion and gender (Dokumaci, 2018). I explore in chapters seven and eight some of the variations between departments in relation to this, as well as aspects of the range of perspectives held on gender by students who presented themselves as religious, which were far more diverse than these accounts. There was nevertheless a predominant equation of Islam and gender inequality among the students I interviewed with at least ten students affirming the link unprompted. It is important to recognise that such



comments were made in a context in which the government had set religion, and its links with gender, as a critical social issue (Mutluer, 2019).

Kemal (Business, 4<sup>th</sup> year, 6<sup>th</sup> April) gave religion as one of three 'main reasons' for gender equality in Turkey in his field. Similar views were advanced by other students (Talat Can and Mert, CE, 2<sup>nd</sup> year, 25<sup>th</sup> March; Franklin and Benjamin, Business, Graduate, 25<sup>th</sup> March). Several students gave descriptions of some of the restrictions they felt religion imposed on women, for instance on their freedom to leave the house (Harry, Psychology, 18<sup>th</sup> May). Some students explicitly framed Brook as a whole as being a place which was more equal with respect to gender in light of the limited influence of religion there (Mr Pink, Business, 2<sup>nd</sup> year, 17<sup>th</sup> March), itself the case because 'people in here are educated' (Kat, Business, 2<sup>nd</sup> year, 17<sup>th</sup> March). The students here exemplified Merve Kınalı's (Politics, Faculty, 17<sup>th</sup> May) suggestion above that some saw Brook's perceived gender egalitarianism as a marker of its enlightened distinction from the Turkish majority.<sup>38</sup>

Non-religious students recognised that there were religious students at Brook, but again the responses given to me tended to present these students somewhat stereotypically. This was the case for two first year politics students. Blue (26<sup>th</sup> May) noted that

'In [Brook] for religious students I think this mostly shows itself as ignorance rather than just straight up belittling women ... So you know, women shouldn't do engineering or women are supposed to talk less, that kind of stuff.'

Again there is a link made between religion, ignorance and gender inequality, though here it is manifest among certain groups of Brook students. Her fellow student Donatello (Politics, 1<sup>st</sup> year, 26<sup>th</sup> May) spoke about his discussions about gender with religious friends:

'We are actually mutual respect[ful] of each other and it's not a problem for us to discuss about [such] things. But actually they see a woman as a[n]

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<sup>38</sup> p.147

instrumental device. And I always keep in discussion about it but they don't change their ideas.'

Donatello's account was one of the few which spoke, from a non-religious perspective, of having respect for religious people. I was not able to return to ask him to elaborate on the notion of women as 'instrumental'. His contribution supported the impression of a divide in relation to gender equality on religious lines, though challenged what appeared to be a more broadly dismissive approach taken by many of the more secular students.

Overall the predominant view from the students I interviewed was of Brook as a place which was distinctive as a secular institution in a religious country, with a related approach of relative gender equality contrasting with that in wider society. The presentation was not of a monolithic institution, but rather an overall tendency in those directions. While some like Donatello indicated that they engaged in dialogue across the boundaries such a picture portrayed, this was a rarer perspective. Otherwise, the university's approach to gender equality seemed to be read by many students as underlining its position in relation to wider sociopolitical divisions.

#### *Wider secular separation*

There were some other respects in which the intersection between religion and gender served to situate Brook within Turkey's polarised sociopolitical landscape. Some staff marked themselves as being at odds with the government in these terms. When I asked a group of engineering faculty members (May 2016) what their understanding of gender was, the first response was a reference to a speech made by President Erdoğan in which he rejected the notion of gender equality (Hürriyet Daily News, 2014). The government's position, framed as one of opposition to gender equality, was thus raised at the outset of the discussion, serving as a counterpoint to later presentations of Brook's relatively high degree of gender equality. The religious justification used in the speech, advocating rather for women to live in accordance with their *fitrat* or God given nature, would have been known by anyone familiar with the speech, and was thus a subtext to his comment, even if not explicitly stated.

In discussing the view of students who adhered to an understanding of gender in terms of *fitrat*, Nilufer Balcı (26<sup>th</sup> April) also referenced the President's position:

'The problem with *fitrat* is that you cannot change it, er, so to try to change it ... in the words of the President is a torture.'

Here Dr. Balcı foregrounded the government's explicit support for religiously held positions on gender and gender equality. The political implications of the interconnections between religious positions and gender relations were thus a strong undercurrent in parts of some of the interviews.

There were other respects in which the institution's relative separation from religious perspectives appeared to lead to inequalities in relation to gender. Ayşe (Sociology, 4<sup>th</sup> year, 8<sup>th</sup> June), who spoke of her sense of Brook's isolation from surrounding society, described some of the ways in which she experienced this. As one of the first year of students able to study wearing the headscarf she was a novelty for many of her lecturers:

'Some of my lecturers [are] sometimes surprised by some answers because they think [that] a girl like me feel[s things] like that [and] ... think[s things] like that. But, no it's not [like that].'

Where the previous quotations showed students making prejudicial assumptions about religious people, as a woman clearly marked as in some sense pious, Ayşe encountered similar assumptions among her lecturers.

There were some senses in which the university's approach also appeared to lead to exclusion along gendered lines for certain religious women. Two of the students highlighted how the ostensibly egalitarian approach to sports programming, which made gym and swimming slots open to both men and women meant that some women felt they were unable to participate in such activities at Brook. This approach differed from that in many Turkish sports centres, which had specific slots for women, and, as Ahmet (Politics, 3<sup>rd</sup> year, 13<sup>th</sup> May), one of the religious students noted, from some places in the UK where he had spent time as an Erasmus student. Fatma (Business, 4<sup>th</sup> year, 24<sup>th</sup> May), a student who had started wearing a headscarf part way through her course as she became more religious, also described how she and some friends had

organised their own celebrations on the occasion of their graduation, as they did not feel comfortable with the drinking and mixed sex dancing of the more formal celebrations. This latter act was one of self-exclusion, but in both instances it felt like the university's approach to equality was insufficiently intersectional. In these respects Brook's separation as a secular institution did not overlap with the upholding of gender equality, as many of the students perceived it to do, but was rather simply a separation from the broader complexities of Turkish society.

## Conclusion

Universities are inevitably part of wider society and subject to, even while mediating the effects of, its influences. At the same time, if higher education is to involve exploration on the part of students, and if they are to be agents in their learning, then there needs also to be an openness and indeterminacy (Anzaldúa, 1987; Unterhalter and North, 2010) in their learning environment, with an institution's borders providing a degree of separation from other settings. Brook's wider values were involved in mediating external influences which meant that external gender norms were in some respects reshaped. In some cases this capacity, and the resultant levels of gender equality, were striking. In other areas, particularly those closest to the private realm, and furthest from the academic heart of Brook's activities, Brook's borders appeared more permeable. Notably these were often seemingly ignored by most academic staff.

Nevertheless, just as Brook's broader values contributed, within the politically polarised setting, to Brook being seen as set apart, so did perceptions of its distinctive degree of gender equality. Partly as a response to the demarcation of political boundaries by markers relating to women's bodies and practices (White, 2013; Anthias and Yuval-Davis, 1992), Brook's institutional borders were delineated with reference to its ostensible gender egalitarianism. David Owen and colleagues (2018, §1) highlight how in societies affected by conflict higher education can contribute to divisions by building cohesion within groups to the exclusion of 'the other'. Brook's gender regime appeared to be implicated to a degree in such processes. Discourses around gender equality served to strengthen politicised boundaries both across and within Brook's

borders. In doing so they limited the possibilities for connection, increased social distance, and worked against, rather than towards, social cohesion.

On the other hand, just as the perception of Brook's distinctive gender equality glossed over aspects of inequality, so too did assumptions of the overlap between approaches to gender equality and political divisions appear to be inaccurate. The political qualities which distinguished Brook contributed to gender inequality as well as equality. Analysis of gender relations showed that they could also be seen as indicating continuity with, rather than distinction from, wider society. Certain forms of engagement with gender – whether involvement in research projects, round tables on sexual harassment policies, or internal and external protests – could build a more nuanced picture which revealed the institution's inegalitarian practices and cut through this picture of seeming equality. In doing so they challenged the apathy that could arise from assumptions about the degree of gender equality at Brook. In highlighting some similarities between Brook and those outside they also challenged, rather than reinforced, wider political divisions.

As seen, the university did not have any particular policies or initiatives with regards to addressing gender in the curriculum. In the chapters which follow I explore how academic engagement with gender contributed to the dynamics explored in this chapter. I explore how classes, while at some points supporting these perspectives of Brook as a place apart, also led others to recognise gender inequality within Brook, both creating, and bringing to light internal fissures. I thus continue the argument of this chapter, that different forms of engagement with gender could both reinforce, and render more permeable, the political divisions within which Brook was embroiled.

## 6 Challenging and Reinforcing Disciplines' Gendered Associations

In different ways each of the departments or courses considered in this chapter had strong masculine associations, particularly in the Turkish context (Burke and Koyuncu, 2013; Pehlivanlı-Kadayıfçı, 2018). The gender dynamics of the professional worlds for which they were preparing students and the traditional approaches of their disciplines set up boundaries which could tend to link the department's subjects with men, indeed with particular types of men. At the same time, in line with Brook's institutional commitments, and the perspectives of the socioeconomic and political groups to which they relate, staff and students in the departments claimed both to value gender equality, and to conduct their departmental activities in accordance with it. This chapter considers the tensions between these two impetuses, both the ways in which commitments to gender equality challenged masculine disciplinary boundaries, and the ways in which the departments nevertheless reinforced those same boundaries. In their study of the use of feminist theory in engineering journals Beddoes and Borrego (2011, p.297) call for an examination of 'how cultures of engineering education both reinforce masculine biases and (re)produce gendered identities'. In this chapter I seek to do this for one of Brook's engineering departments, as well as for its business department. At the same time I explore how the education in these departments shifted, weakened or destabilised the boundaries which uphold such biases, and contributed to the production of new forms of gendered identity.

In undertaking this examination I am considering aspects of the pedagogy in these departments from a gender perspective. In their collected studies of gender in the higher education curriculum in Southeast Europe, including countries bordering Turkey, Grünberg et al. (2011) focused on course content, and on that basis portrayed departments from the exact and economic sciences as broadly ignoring gender in their curricula. In this chapter, while also assessing the impact of explicitly gender-related content, or the lack of it, I look more broadly at some of the ways teaching was conducted, the expectations on which teaching was based, and the values which were conveyed i.e. at aspects of pedagogy following Robin Alexander's (2009) definition as

set out in chapter three. I argue below that from this wider angle these departments, however little they explicitly focused on gender in their curricula, in important respects were pedagogically gender-inclusive. At the same time, however, they also continued to reinforce existing gender boundaries.

I begin the chapter by briefly introducing the two departments, before looking at the nature of the masculine associations of their disciplines and their related professional worlds internationally and in Turkey, and by documenting the extent to which these were acknowledged within the Brook departments. I then consider how these associations were challenged – and the limits to such challenge – in the two departments, focusing on the example of female faculty, the way students were treated, the adoption of specific disciplinary approaches, and teaching explicitly addressing gender. In the final section, looking at a similar set of interactions, I explore how the departments reinforced masculinised gender boundaries. In each case I note how the borderland situation of the different departments influenced the boundary work they performed in relation to gender and their masculine associations. I note how they presented alternatives to the professional world, but at the same time their masculine associations and related gender boundaries were preserved in some respects, though differently in each department.

## Departmental introductions

### *The Civil Engineering Department*

Brook's civil engineering department was one of the biggest in, by a significant margin, the largest faculty in the university. It had over one thousand undergraduate students, and facilities stretched over seven buildings. It was, at least until shortly before the study period, the department with the highest international subject ranking in the university (Brook website; QS, 2017). It had a strong research orientation, with almost half of undergraduates continuing on to further research. Course curricula appeared to focus almost exclusively on the technical aspects of civil engineering. There was one class on construction management which from a brief course description sounded like it might encompass some more interpersonal aspects of engineering but its instructors declined to participate in the research. The undergraduate year groups were divided into smaller

classes for teaching purposes. Those I observed had between twenty-four and fifty students. The sole graduate class I observed, an elective, was much smaller with only seven students. Classes proceeded through a cycle of explanations, questions and practice problems, with one class including the only formal test I observed during the research. Two of the instructors used PowerPoint slides they had prepared; two instructors used blackboards alone. Classes included regular questions and answers. A group of three instructors I interviewed nevertheless felt that students were generally fairly unresponsive (CE, Faculty, 3<sup>rd</sup> May); all classes were conducted in English, which might have contributed to this. Both staff and students presented the department as being distinctive in Turkey in terms of its emphasis on engineering theory, which appeared to be a source of frustration for students, and pride for instructors.

In terms of raw numbers, the department was one of the least gender equal in the university. Female students constituted between 9% and 15% percent of undergraduates depending on the year group (Gender project, 2015-2016), compared to a national average of 15% (HEC, 2016). While this marked a significant increase from the previous generation, when there were only one or two women in a year group (AJ Parlak, Engineering Faculty, Senior Administrator, 7<sup>th</sup> April), and the percentage of female students in the department had increased by about twelve percent in the previous ten years (Gender project statistics, 2005-2016) women were still in a significant minority. Of the classes I observed two of the classes had no women in them at all, while in the other three women composed only between a fifth and a quarter of the class. The proportion of female faculty was far greater than that among students (Appendix I.1). Particularly at the lower assistant professorial level, there were in fact twice as many women as men. The overall percentage of 27.6% female faculty was still slightly below the national average of 30.9% (YOK 2017). At the level of full professors, however, there were still six times as many men as women. Staff disagreed in their accounts of the reasons for this imbalance. Some saw it as a pipeline issue (Ahmet Öztürk, Faculty, 3<sup>rd</sup> May; AJ Parlak, Engineering Faculty, Senior administrator, 7<sup>th</sup> April; cf. Blickenstaff, 2005; Monroe and Chiu, 2010), which would change as more recently employed women progressed. Dr. Gray, on the other hand, felt that cultural expectations which placed a greater domestic burden on women would continue to



impede women's progression to higher academic levels, as suggested of Turkish academia more generally by Neale and Özkanlı (2010).

### *The Business Studies Department*

The business department was significantly smaller, with just over one hundred undergraduate students per year (Brook website). It was in the faculty of administrative and economic sciences. It was located in a relatively new building, down a hill from the principal avenue of academic buildings. The department had the professional world as a clear part of its focus. The staff in the Business department spoke of their role being to prepare students to 'become managers and executives in the future.' (Hülya Tarhan, Business, Faculty, 13<sup>th</sup> May). Business was defined by a textbook for its introductory course in terms of 'profit seeking' activity (Bovee and Thill, 2016, p. 49). I follow this definition, encompassing all forms of commerce and industry, in this and subsequent chapters.

The first and second year curricula involved a range of compulsory courses in maths, finance, business, behavioural science and marketing with third and fourth year students able to take a range of electives. In at least the first two years of study the entire year group was taught together in a large lecture hall, though later in the semester up to half of the students appeared not to attend. Both the fourth-year and the graduate classes were much smaller with between 20 and 30 students. Classes involved a mixture of lectures by instructors – sometimes with very regular questions and answers, sometimes with none – group exercises as a platform for wider class discussions, case studies and video. One fourth-year class involved student presentations, which were part of the assessment process. Each course had a core textbook with lectures relating to particular chapters from the book. All three instructors used PowerPoint presentations, in one place using slides provided by the publisher. All the staff I interviewed had studied in North America and classes were conducted in English, with students given leave to speak in Turkish on occasion in a couple of classes. Relatedly each of the textbooks was published in the United States, as were all the case studies I observed, highlighting the Westward orientation of the department.

The department's student gender ratio was slightly skewed towards men, with women only 48% of the undergraduate student body (Gender project statistics, 2015-2016). This compared to a Turkish average of 43% for business departments (YOK 2017). The percentage of female students was also over five percentage points higher than the 2005 figure of 42% (Appendix I.2). Among faculty 53% were women, and were evenly represented at the different academic levels. While the head of department was male at the time of the research, women had held the position up to the previous year, and, according to the statistical records, in both 2005 and 2010 as well (Gender project statistics 2005-2016). The percentage of female staff had also been increasing over time, particularly at the more senior academic levels; in 2005 only one full professor was female out of five, compared to the four out of eight at the time of research.

### **Disciplinary associations with masculinity**

#### *Masculine associations documented in the literature*

While business globally is dominated by men, this is particularly the case in Turkey, where women's labour force participation, at 36.2% at the time of the study in 2016, was both under half that of men (77.6%) and by over ten percentage points the lowest in the OECD (OECD, 2020). Women who have completed higher education have markedly better labour force participation rates than other women, at 72.6% in 2016 over double the average for women (TSI, 2020). Nevertheless the business environment these graduates enter is still highly gender biased, though not uniformly so. Across the economy as a whole women's representation in business leadership, both in middle and senior management, is low. According to labour force surveys women held 12.2% of Turkish managerial positions in 2014, placing them ninety-fifth out of the one hundred and eight countries for which the International Labour Organisation had data (ILO, 2015). As in many contexts, people in Turkey tend to associate business managers with being male (Burke and Koyuncu, 2013). Characteristics associated with business management in Turkey, such as authority and strength, are stereotypically linked with masculinity in the country (Akyuz, 2018; Altınay and Arat, 2009; White, 2013).

While the world to which they are oriented is for the reasons above very male dominated, business studies courses in Turkey have much higher female representation

than businesses themselves, with women being 43% of undergraduate students and just under a third (32.8%) of graduate students (HEC, 2016). These ratios still compare unfavourably with international levels (Flynn, 2017). Even in business studies departments globally, and in the United States, on which much of the literature is based, studies record significant gender bias. In Ganley et al.'s (2018) study of student perceptions of gender bias in US university majors, business studies was perceived as the third most biased. The number of women faculty is inversely proportional to their rank (Flynn et al., 2015a). Senior faculty have historically been shown to associate successful managers with men (Foster, 1994) and key sets of case studies recorded as rarely featuring female protagonists (Symons and Ibarra, 2014). Kelan and Jones (2010, p.27) draw on a range of studies to suggest that stereotypically masculine values like 'competitiveness' and 'individualism' dominate in US business studies classrooms, with feminine qualities being undervalued; they further argue that the systemic and structural aspects of gender inequality in the business world is often rendered invisible in classes. These tendencies are linked to the propensity for business studies to be seen as being practical and value neutral, rather than philosophical or critical (Grey, 2004; Parker, 2018). For these reasons, it not surprising that studies on business students in Europe, Asia and the United States show that they tend to associate management with characteristics more commonly ascribed to men (Paris and Decker, 2012; Schein et al., 1996). In Turkey Pinar et al. (2010) found that in 2004 a sample of both male and female Turkish business students stated a preference for having male sales managers.

Internationally men dominate the engineering professions. In Europe women form only a small part of the engineering workforce, with the European average being 16.6% (VDI, 2010). Though the proportion of female graduates in the fields of engineering, manufacturing and construction in Europe is increasing, in 2016 it was still only 25.9% (Eurostat, 2018). Engineering is also closely linked, following gender-binarised stereotypes, with masculinity. It combines the rationality of scientific objectivity (Faulkner, 2000) with a purported need for bodily strength. Cockburn (1983, p. 18) argued that 'engineering represents everything that is manly', pointing to the control of nature, the celebration of muscle, and the acceptance of dirt and physical risk it is deemed to entail as qualities which are often construed as male.

In Turkey while women are still under-represented in engineering, the proportion of women in the field compares favourably with international levels. In 2018 over 22% of the membership of the Turkish Union of Chambers of Engineers and Architects was female (UNDP Turkey, 2018). In 2016 over 29% of undergraduates in engineering, manufacturing and construction were women (HEC, 2016). Zengin-Arslan (2002) points to a variety of factors which might have served to establish engineering as a comparatively accessible field for women in Turkey. She highlights that higher class women were often preferred over lower class men as university entrants in the early years of the Republic, that Kemalist positivism made the natural and technical sciences particularly attractive, and that the comparative youth of the institutional apparatus of education made its boundaries more flexible than those of countries where they were more established. Nevertheless researchers have continued to note a strong association between engineering and masculinity in Turkey, leading women to face resistance both in terms of social pressure, and professional expectations, as they seek to pursue the profession (Küskü et al., 2007; Smith and Dengiz, 2010; Zengin-Arslan, 2002).

Both Zengin-Arslan (2002) and Pehlivanlı-Kadayıfçı (2018) also noted a significant differentiation between fields of engineering, with mechanical, civil, electrical and mining engineering seen as more masculine than other fields. They note that the most masculine fields are those which are both longest established and the most mathematical, and that these were also perceived as being at the top of 'an unwritten hierarchy between engineering departments' (Pehlivanlı-Kadayıfçı, 2018, p. 231). The department I focused on, civil engineering, was in one of these more masculine fields. The number of women practising in this field was less than half that of engineering overall, with women just over 10% of the membership of the Turkish Chamber of Civil Engineers (UNDP Turkey, 2018). Zengin-Arslan (2002) records how women were more likely to consider pursuing more feminine forms of engineering – like chemical or food engineering – and wary of seeking to enter the more masculine fields.

The literature internationally points to the development of a masculine engineering culture at university (Baker et al., 2002) but also suggests a degree of difference between the strength of gendered boundaries in engineering at university as compared to the professional world (Amelink and Creamer, 2010; Robinson and

Mcllwee, 1991). The Turkish literature suggests that both academics and students tend to perceive themselves to be treated equally, with regards to their gender, by both faculty members and other students. Zengin-Arslan (2002) found that Turkish female engineering faculty at a public university had a formalistic understanding of equal treatment and were content if they felt the regulations themselves were fair. The student participants in Smith and Dengiz's (2010) study of over eight hundred female Turkish engineers reported overwhelmingly (with over 85% of respondents) that professors treated male and female students alike and two thirds felt that male students treated them like other male students. Küskü et al. (2007) noted, however, in a survey at one Turkish university that male students retained a gendered prejudice, regarding women as being less suitable for engineering. They argue that increasing female representation is insufficient in itself to redress this prejudice.

*Masculine associations referred to by participants*

Faculty and staff from both departments at Brook spoke in my interviews with them of the gender boundaries associated with the professional worlds to which their departments related, but they did so to different degrees. Female faculty and students in the civil engineering department appeared more conscious of the gender boundaries associated with their profession. My questions about the uneven gender ratios in the department also led more directly into reflections on these boundaries. Staff readily acknowledged that the profession was seen as one for men, by families, wider society and within the profession itself. Indeed Sem Gray (24<sup>th</sup> March), a mid-career female faculty member, who otherwise was very insistent on women's equal capacities as engineers, seemed to give credence to the notion of a natural boundary excluding women from worksites:

Adam: Would you say that [engineering] is in any way more suited to men, or women ...?

...

Sem Gray: As a site engineer completely a male thing ... The conditions are difficult and ... even the female may have ... periods and having different emotional things, not very easy to ... be under stress like that.

Dr. Gray was the only person in the faculty whose responses implied as strong a boundary as this, and she might have meant that this exclusion was only contingent on current industry practices. Nevertheless these comments by a successful and committed faculty member give an indication of the degree of exclusion women face in the profession.

Female civil engineering students were very clear on the resistance that they had had to overcome in order to enter the department, and aware of the obstacles lying ahead. Maria (18<sup>th</sup> May), a confident second year, described how friends and relations

'always told me ... "Go and be a dentist, it will be more suitable for you. You can't deal with the workers or any workyards, you can't make it" ... Just my close family, father and mother and brother [were] supportive.'

She had to confront the symbolic and social boundaries which tended to exclude her from the profession even to apply to university. With her friend Rita she was still 'not sure' they would overcome these boundaries, especially those keeping them from the construction sites, which they recognised as being the more lucrative postings, and acknowledged that she had 'take[n] every risk' in coming to study in this field. They still did not know quite how permeable the boundaries they sought to cross were.

Staff in the business department also described the male dominance of business both internationally and in Turkey, while emphasising some of the distinctive features of the Turkish setting. They presented this dominance as raising some obstacles for women, though normally relating to women's progress within, rather than entry into, business (e.g. Mehmet Türk, Faculty, 24<sup>th</sup> March). Özge Ünal (Faculty, Skype interview, 31<sup>st</sup> August), made the only comment on possible limitations on women's pursuit of a career in business *per se*, highlighting the challenges of caring for a family alongside working in the unrelenting field of commerce, particularly in Istanbul. Overall the masculine associations of business appeared from faculty members' comments to have less exclusionary force in the business department than in civil engineering.

Students' perceptions seemed in some respects to mirror those of staff members in the department. While several students spoke explicitly of male domination in both society and business, they suggested that this situation was changing. Only one of the

four female students interviewed suggested that she was conscious of barriers she faced as a woman when she embarked on the course, suggesting that she wanted to study business to counterbalance the way female designers were sidelined in the business world (Alice, Graduate, 25<sup>th</sup> March). She was thus consciously seeking to leverage the masculine associations of the business degree. The other three female students indicated that they began the course anticipating successful pursuit of a career in private enterprise, though as will be seen two subsequently revised that opinion.

Nevertheless at least half (five out of ten) of the students interviewed acknowledged that they associated management and masculinity. It was apparent also that the categoric link was not only with men, but with a particular form of masculinity. Two of the final year students, Ömer and Kemal, indicated as such when I asked about their impression of the ideal Turkish manager:

Ömer: Generally managers are generally more self-confident ... And generally I imagine the person who is tall or bald ... The manager is able to do everything ... that the clients needs. Maybe you got that the manager is generally a man in my imagination [*laughs*].

...

Kemal: I had two internships in big companies, international ... There are really authoritative women wearing skirts and having the power. But ... [in] small and middle businesses, there are generally men who are leading ... [T]hey should be self-confident ... You have to be powerful. That might come from dominance, maybe physical appearance could be a sign for it too.

(Business, 4<sup>th</sup> year, 6<sup>th</sup> April)

Within Turkish businesses – for Kemal as opposed to international firms – both students indicated that management and masculinity were linked. Both also emphasised the omnicompetence, self-confidence and strength of these ideal managers. As will be seen, for these two students, as well as at least two others, these particular masculine associations served as boundaries to their progression in the field. In their case, as with others, it was difficult to disentangle the perceptions of managers students developed in their courses from those they drew from other sources. Mr Pink (2<sup>nd</sup> year, 17<sup>th</sup> March), for instance, attributed his association of successful managers and masculinity

to his independent reading on the technology sector internationally, emphasising that the vast majority of CEOs of the largest corporations in the sector were male. The following sections seek to show some of the ways in which academic classes did address – whether through reinforcement or challenge – this association.

### The challenge of women's presence

For both the civil engineering and the business studies departments, the most obvious challenge to the boundaries excluding women from their respective professions and disciplines was the presence of women in the departments as both students and faculty. As described above the gender ratios in both departments were comparable to – and in the case of business, better than – similar departments both in Turkey and internationally. Women were demonstrably able not only to participate in these fields, but also, at least academically, to excel in them. Within the business department these gender ratios were almost even, providing a model of women's equal right to pursue business management. Some female civil engineering students saw themselves as being at a point of transition, aware that in the previous generation women were all but absent from the department (Sally, Sarah, 2<sup>nd</sup> year, 19<sup>th</sup> April). They presented themselves as challenges to civil engineering's gender boundaries:

'Maybe five years later when people ask me I will say, "Yes ... you are a female and you can be a civil engineer".' (Sally, 19<sup>th</sup> April)

Three out of the four female faculty members I interviewed in these departments also emphasised their presence as a challenge to the masculine associations of the discipline. For instance Sem Gray (CE, Faculty, 24<sup>th</sup> March) highlighted the importance of prospective students seeing female faculty at open days as an encouragement to their applying. Within business studies, when I asked Özge Ünal (31<sup>st</sup> August) what relevance she thought gender and gender equality had to her teaching she replied:

'I think the biggest gender thing is that I am there as a role model ... Rather than giving like stories about gender, whatever.'

However, while it might well have been influential, none of the students I interviewed mentioned the presence of female instructors as having exemplary significance. Indeed



Mert (Civil engineering, 3<sup>rd</sup> year, 25<sup>th</sup> March) showed how the obverse was the case in certain sections of the discipline. Despite commenting that he preferred to have female instructors generally, and articulating in different ways the ethical and rational primacy of gender neutrality, he noted that,

'Some of the ... subjects are, you know, more manly ... For example in structural division classes when I see female instructors ... it is not ... mak[ing] me feel that this is a good lesson. Why, I don't know.'

Mert went on to suggest that this might relate to his having mainly male maths and physics teachers at school, a history that female faculty had been unable to overturn.

Both students and staff also pointed to a further limitation on the challenge that women could bring in their capacity as academics. Staff in both departments highlighted the relatively higher proportion of women in academia within their fields compared to the proportion of women managing businesses or working as engineers in the field, referring to academia being an accepted profession for women, which was relatively compatible with domestic responsibilities, and contrasting this with some of the demands, and sexist attitudes, which the private sector brought (Özge Ünal, Business, Faculty, Skype interview, 31<sup>st</sup> August; Sem Gray, Civil engineering, Faculty, 24<sup>th</sup> March). In the business department one religiously conservative female student explicitly spoke of academia as a route which she felt would be more suitable for her as a woman (Fatma, Business, 4<sup>th</sup> year, 24<sup>th</sup> May), while in civil engineering two female students expressed reservations about their capacity to work in the more exacting areas of their fields (Sally, Sarah, 2<sup>nd</sup> year, 19<sup>th</sup> April). In both these disciplines, it was the practical worlds of the market and the construction site to which they were related which were most clearly marked by masculine boundaries (Burke and Koyuncu, 2013; Kadayifci, 2018). While the example of female faculty constituted some challenge to the disciplines' gender boundaries, they did not in themselves show that those more central barriers could be breached. Indeed their very choices to pursue academia rather than work in the private sector in some respects suggested the opposite. The presence of women in the departments showed them to be in certain respects borderlands in relation to the professions with which they were connected. At the same time it was clear that these departments were subject to different boundaries than those broader fields.

## Equal treatment

The equal treatment of male and female students was also an important part of the departments' challenge to disciplinary gender boundaries, though again it was a challenge with limitations. Students were relatively consistent in portraying the departments' approach to students as one of gender equality, denying any difference in treatment (e.g. Kemal, Business, 4<sup>th</sup> year, 6<sup>th</sup> April; Sally, Yico, CE, 2<sup>nd</sup> year, 19<sup>th</sup> April). For their part several staff portrayed gender equality as being a distinctive feature of their departments relative to others in the country. So, for instance, Tuncay Kerimoğlu (Business, Faculty, Field notes, 5<sup>th</sup> May), contrasted the Brook department with what he presented as gender-biased approaches elsewhere in Turkey:

'We are totally different from Turkey [where, for instance,] entrepreneurship courses or mentorship courses are [often] considered as men['s] jobs. We do not impose anything in the sense of difference between genders. They are all equal. [Brook] is among the few universities that are not imposing [such difference] ... We are a leader of the imposition of those values [of gender equality].'

Dr. Kerimoğlu did not say what evidence he drew on to present other Turkish departments in this negative light, though he had studied and worked in a number of other Turkish universities. In a group interview in civil engineering, three faculty members, one female and two male, emphasised that the situation at Brook was 'much better', with far less discrimination, than elsewhere in the country (Fatma Kaya, 3<sup>rd</sup> May). One of the men, Ahmet Öztürk highlighted how it was perceived by one of his students:

'[O]ne of the girls from my class ... I was trying to persuade [her to] go talk to Adam and she said, "This is the only place we don't see any gender preferential treatment so it doesn't make sense to talk about that with somebody else.'"

Assuming that this was an accurate presentation of the student's statement this shows that Brook and the civil engineering department were for her a rare place of gender equality.

Within the civil engineering department in particular it appeared that the approach to gender equality was one of not paying attention to gender, indeed almost literally one of gender blindness (Dieltiens et al., 2009) perhaps reflecting the influence of Kemalist approaches to gender. As Sem Gray, a mid-career female faculty member, commented,

'When I'm going to the class I'm not seeing any gender, I think. No gender.'

At one level Dr. Gray seemed to be highlighting that she did not differentiate between her students according to their gender. On the other hand it also appeared to be the case that this gender blindness consisted in neither seeing nor addressing gender's significance in the classroom and the department. These two sides of gender blindness were seen also in the comments of AJ Parlak (Female, 7<sup>th</sup> April), an administrator in the faculty:

'nobody is treated according to gender here ... nobody thinks about it.'

As shall be seen this approach had contrasting outcomes in the lives of students. There were occasional suggestions of minor exceptions to this in the data. Enver Mumcu (CE, Faculty, 11<sup>th</sup> March), a faculty member at the end of his career, said that he had been accused of positive discrimination towards women by a male student. He said that he had not done so intentionally, but did acknowledge that, as the proportion of female students was relatively low, they could possibly do with extra encouragement. Within the business department Özge Ünal (Faculty, Skype interview, 31<sup>st</sup> August) also made clear that she engaged with male and female students differently in order to draw the best out of them in her classes. She portrayed this persuasively as being a response to students' different requirements, rather than any form of discrimination. As I discuss in the next section, this treatment by academic staff was not sufficient to ensure that there was always equality in interactions between students, either inside or outside class, and nor did it prevent, or appear to address, certain acts of harassment by ancillary staff. Nevertheless, particularly within the civil engineering department, the equal treatment of male and female students appeared very significant.

## Civil engineering professionalism

The significance of equal treatment within civil engineering was heightened by what civil engineering staff portrayed as their distinctive approach to engineering education. Four of the five staff from the department also depicted a boundary between the types of engineer they were training their students to become and the typical Turkish engineer. Ahmet Öztürk (3<sup>rd</sup> May), a sardonic male early career faculty member, reflected on the way the staff set an ethical example of professionalism through their commitment to their students and their work:

'[The] professional ethics that the professors or the instructors ... in the department actually show [as] the example to our students. I think that is the fundamental thing that is different from the school compared to [most] other school[s] in [the country] ... You do the work the hard way ... basically, like you don't finish the class early, you go to every class, you show up.'

His two colleagues agreed with him. While they clarified that making teaching assistants go to class or grade exams in one's place did not happen in all other institutions, they suggested it was typical of Anatolian universities<sup>39</sup>. This short-cut approach characterised, they went on to suggest, the majority of civil engineering in the country, while their approach as instructors set a different example which Brook students followed:

'I would expect it to [give] some sort of discipline ... in the sense that they don't become like [*laughs*] ... normal engineers [here who] would be copying and pasting the same thing all the time ... not questioning what the boss does ... Basically, you know, short cutting all the way to the end is acceptable practice in Turkey, I think. We try ... at least as much as we can ... to discourage them from doing that.' (Ahmet Öztürk, 3<sup>rd</sup> May)

The 'normal' Turkish engineering approach was portrayed as rough and ready and uncritical, and dependent on an authoritarian hierarchy. He went on to say that reports from and about Brook engineering graduates showed that they were different, following

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<sup>39</sup> Their view is supported by Ozcan et al.'s (2013) survey of perceptions of faculty ethical behaviour among students (n=1342) from six universities across Turkey. They found, for instance, that faculty taught classes without being prepared, were frequently very late to class and graded exams only after a long delay.

the example set by their instructors; this in turn related to some of the boundaries which shaped Brook as a whole, particularly its commitment to scientific excellence, and to critical questioning. While not explicitly gendered, the characteristics they emphasised divided the (typically masculine) engineer in ways parallel to divisions between Turkish masculine types identified in the literature. I felt that this distinction mirrored for instance that which Kandiyoti (1997, p. 117) portrays between the competing nineteenth century masculinities of the neighbourhood enforcer or *kabadayi*, and the enlightened new man, or that between the 'immobility ... and backwardness' of the hinterland dweller and the rationalist Kemalist exemplar. Whether or not this account gives an accurate picture of differences between Brook's education and those of other institutions, it was a key part of faculty members' perceptions. The department's disciplinary stance, as seen from the perspective of staff, appeared to shift gendered boundaries which linked engineering not merely to masculinity, but a particular hegemonic form of masculinity (Connell, 2005).

The contextually alternative boundaries of the type of engineering Brook encouraged also perhaps offered more space for women seeking to pursue it. The typical approach apparently involved fitting in with – not questioning and accepting values from – established relationships, which would be male-dominated in such a profession. The Brook approach, however, was apparently more independent, and more dependent on critical excellence than relational conformity. This would be more accessible for women who would likely be more professionally isolated in any event. According to this portrayal by shifting the boundaries of civil engineering so that they were not so clearly associated with one particular form of masculinity, the department at Brook also rendered more permeable the boundary that limited participation in civil engineering only to masculinity.

Female students in the department described how their equal treatment by staff combined with the high expectations in the department to challenge the gender boundaries associated with civil engineering. Ashlee (2<sup>nd</sup> year, 19<sup>th</sup> April), for instance, said that she had initially had doubts about her ability to succeed in civil engineering,

'[b]ut after finishing two years in our department I saw that whatever man do in civil engineering I can do too because our professors or assistants ... expect [the] same things [of] males and females.'

In this respect the gender blindness espoused by the department was powerful. It enabled her to feel like an equal to her male colleagues. She continued:

'And ... maybe I went to another school ... in Turkey maybe I shouldn't think like that, because my friends in other universit[ies] – civil engineering students females – of course, they don't think they can work in [the] fields. But I think I can work [in the] field not in only office. But I observed that they are very ... *şüpheli*<sup>40</sup> – they are very suspicious about their equality about males so I think [Brook] adds me a lot of things ... about this issue.'

Ashlee suggested that for female students in other universities the crucial boundary between the field or construction site and working in an office continued to hold. When I explored with Ashlee and her fellow students what the difference was at Brook, they referred to the rigour of the course, which meant they had to learn to be independent and strong. This mirrored the qualities that Ahmet Öztürk expected from Brook graduates and saw as lacking in other civil engineers in Turkey. For women anticipating the inevitable isolation of life on a construction site as a woman, such individual resilience would be an important asset. In this respect the civil engineering education at Brook appeared almost to prepare students to circumvent the prevailing professional culture.

While this influence was clearest on female students, there were indications that the department's disciplinary approach had also affected male students' views of female engineers. As mentioned above some studies in Turkey have found that male engineering students retain a perception that women are less well suited to engineering than are men (Küskü et al., 2007). None of the students in the study explicitly stated this. Talat (2<sup>nd</sup> year, 25<sup>th</sup> March), one of the male second year students, did, however, both attribute women's absence from construction sites to their own choice or preference – rather than more structural obstacles – and link this with an historic requirement for engineers, working alongside builders, to be physically strong. Of the

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<sup>40</sup> doubtful

perspectives articulated, however, this was a minority view (though this does not mean that it was not widely shared). The stronger narrative was of women's equal potential. Some male students drew on their experience in the field as part of their internships to support this, pointing to women's examples of courage and toughness both physically and relationally. Abuzer, an articulate, privately educated fourth year, however, linked women's potential with the significance of the right education:

'[This] engineering is kind of regarded as a man's job for centuries. We are actually trying to break that understanding because a female, a woman engineer can [do] anything as well as and even sometimes better than a male engineer. Because it is about the quality of education they receive not, er, [the] arrangement of their chromosomes. (Abuzer, 4<sup>th</sup> year, 29<sup>th</sup> April)

As staff in the department demonstrated and set expectations of academic rigour, so male students like Abuzer embraced the notion that education, rather than gender, was the critical distinctive for good engineers. The valuing of education necessary to enable a student to study at Brook, and the Republican inclinations – including an emphasis on scientific positivism (Gümüş, 2008; Kaplan, 2006) – of many Brook students might have predisposed them to such perceptions. It was not clear the extent to which the department's approach in fact influenced male students' gender perspectives, but the two were at least broadly aligned.

As Pehlivanlı-Kadayıfçı (2018) emphasised, the key point of masculinisation of engineering culture took place in the transition from university to the workplace. Unfortunately I do not have data to compare the progress of Brook graduates into construction sites, or to compare that with those of other graduates. However, at least according to these different participants, the combination of equal treatment and an expectation of thoroughness prepared Brook students, whether male or female, to take with them elements of Brook's particular culture, in doing so enabling women from Brook to work where others might not.

## Business studies and competition

Within the business studies department there was a less consistent emphasis on the difference between the education offered at Brook and that in other business departments in Turkey, or indeed internationally. Tuncay Kerimoğlu (Field notes, 5<sup>th</sup> May) stated that

'The values of the department map onto those of Western business ... When we say Western we say market. There is nothing beyond that. It is not that we don't like [alternatives beyond that approach], but that is not our education. [It m]ight be different in other departments. I think it should be, but we don't know how to do that.'

Helping students to know how to maximise the competitive advantage of organisations within the market was the department's focus, mirroring that of the majority of business departments internationally, and the numerically dominant United States based business schools (Geppert, 2010; Grey, 2004; Parker, 2018). Such competitiveness is a stereotypically masculine trait (Kelan and Jones, 2010). It was qualities ostensibly oriented to success in such competition which lay at the centre of the students' association of Turkish managers with masculinity above. While there are variations, and some departments do teach business in significantly different ways (Bridgman and Stephens, 2008; Rowlinson and Hassard, 2011), alternative perspectives on business were not, Dr. Kerimoğlu suggested, within the scope of what the faculty could offer. This appeared to mean that there was not a sustained disciplinary challenge to these qualities, or their masculine association either.

In those aspects of the department I analysed the emphasis on competition was by no means strident. This may have been in part because I elected to focus on courses which appeared like they had the greatest scope to engage explicitly with gender, rather than with courses which most clearly articulated the core approach of the department. The centrality of competition was nevertheless still evident. It was apparent, for instance, in the rhetoric of the textbooks. The core Human Resources textbook, for example, described a human resource strategy as



'a firm's deliberate use of human resources to help it gain or maintain an edge against its competitors in the marketplace.' (Gomez-Mejia et al., 2012, p. 2)

Describing her comments to her students, one of the faculty members I interviewed, Hülya Tarhan (13<sup>th</sup> May), showed how organisations' wider responsibilities were linked instrumentally to the primacy of the pursuit of profit:

'[Businesses] do exist to make profit obviously, but I tell them that ... an organisation needs those profits to survive ... [I]f they neglect their social responsibilities those profits will also be harmed, and in the long run the organisation will not be making the profits that it wants to make.'

In one case, the link between this central focus on competition and masculinity was made explicitly. In two of his lectures (given to parallel undergraduate and graduate classes), while explaining some of the reasons for discrimination against women in the business world, Mehmet Türk (Business, Class observation, 14<sup>th</sup> March) explicitly framed the business world as a competitive environment in which those with assertive traits typically associated with men thrive:

'The second factor ... is the male dominated corporate culture. Aggressiveness, output [unclear] orientation, secretiveness and insensitiveness; all these are considered as male traits, and mostly exhibited by men and these traits enable men to take on top positions. So the corporate culture is characterised by and encourages these competitive traits. Women tend to be relational, process oriented [adds in graduate class 'according to the argument'], and they are relegated to subordinate ... positions because ... mostly ... cooperative traits do not help much to reach to the top. In other words, *arkadaşlar*,<sup>41</sup> women are much more civilised than men but ... society ... and the business environment ... [are] not civilised and these environments ... are dominated by uncivilised people.'

Despite some caveats – 'are considered' and 'according to the argument' – it appeared almost that Dr. Türk's desire to highlight the problems with the situation, and to absolve women of blame for their lack of progress within the business world led him to make generalising statements. Despite stating in his interview that differences between men

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<sup>41</sup> Friends / colleagues

and women were socially constructed, in the limited space of the lecture he naturalised the boundary between men and women and tied their character traits, and their suitability to the business world, to their biological differences. His denigration of the business world as uncivilised did not offset the strength of the association he drew, which he confirmed in our subsequent interview (24<sup>th</sup> March).

On the other hand staff expressed strong commitments to broader values, and to qualities beyond the stereotypically masculine. Both Dr. Tarhan and her colleague Özge Ünal, spoke in terms of ethics when reflecting on what they most valued or looked for in the education Brook offered. Dr. Ünal, in her account of the ideal Brook person that she wanted her students to be, spoke of someone who is

'honest ... has integrity ... is hard-working ... will fight against injustice, ... against things that are unethical.'

Dr. Tarhan (13<sup>th</sup> May) for her part said,

'in my mind, the quality of my output would be a student who is ethical first of all, who is principled'.

In certain respects some of these values were reflected in comments Dr. Tarhan made about how she taught about the importance in good managers of characteristics which she suggested might be seen as feminine (Fletcher 2004):

'We talk about things like being considerate, being supportive, you know, mentoring, and these are kind of feminine issues.'

Nevertheless Dr. Tarhan explained that the ethical qualities she spoke of were not formally pursued 'in a systematic kind of way', but that faculty members sought to model them. Similarly when I asked Dr. Ünal (Skype interview, 31<sup>st</sup> August), how the ideal qualities of which she spoke fit with capitalist oriented business administration, she significantly narrowed their scope:

'Well, erm, on the one hand it seems to be contradictory, on the other hand it is not ... [S]o when I say unethical or ethical, you can be a very good accountant and you can know your stuff to the core, that's what I mean by that, really.'

Any reference to addressing injustice was expunged from this presentation. The breadth of the vision of the Brook student about which she claimed to be fanatical was shrunk to an intellectual, technical capacity. In the civil engineering department the reduction of an ethical vision to qualities of scientific excellence was nevertheless able to provide a counterpoint to prevailing masculinised norms in Turkish engineering. In the business department, however, where being 'good' at one's role was implicitly linked to competitive profit-seeking, occasional espousal of more feminised qualities, and a limited pursuit of broader ethical values, seemed a limited challenge to the profession's masculine associations.

In interviews students referred neither to the department's promotion of alternative managerial qualities – which Hülya Tarhan described as more feminine – nor explicit associations of business with masculinity such as that made by Mehmet Türk. The department's ambivalence did, however, appear to be reflected in divisions in students' accounts of the department's values and its presentation of the ideal manager. Some students recognised that the qualities they felt the department did focus on contributed more implicitly to a continued association of business and a strong successful masculinity. Kat, an enthusiastic second year female student suggested that the key attributes focused on in the department were associated with men, but acknowledged with her fellow student, Mr Pink, that this association was made by the students themselves, not the courses:

Adam: [W]hat aspects of people are emphasised in the courses that you look at?

Kat: Competitiveness, um, success oriented ... these characteristics are generally attributed to male characteristics, in my opinion, being competitive, ambitious ... disciplined ... erm, autonomous ...

Mr Pink: I don't think they talk about one gender.

Kat: No they don't, but it's just.

Mr Pink: // They don't imply that.

Kat: // It subconsciously comes I think [to] students' mind, these attributes are mostly belongs to male er // population.

Mr Pink: // But I think that comes from our ... own perspectives not from the lecture or the teacher.

Kat: Yes, yes, mmhm.

Adam: Do you, would you agree that, that you think about men?

Mr Pink: To be honest yes.

(Business, 2<sup>nd</sup> year, 17<sup>th</sup> March)

This exchange demonstrated that the department failed to overturn, and in some ways reinforced, its associated gender boundaries even without making (regular) explicit connections between business and masculinity. The strength of masculine association of many of the qualities the department portrayed as important was such that students brought those connections to the teaching themselves. In other interviews another three students – all in their final year – also linked successful business personnel with strong, competent men – including Kemal and Ömer, mentioned earlier (Business, 4<sup>th</sup> year, Interviews, 6<sup>th</sup> April, 25<sup>th</sup> May). The overall approach to teaching business in the department appeared to have left intact business' masculine boundaries for these students.

On the other hand the two other students in this interview denied seeing a clear categorical boundary association between business and men, with one being uncertain, the other thinking of both men and women in connection with the qualities emphasised. The three participants in the interview with graduate students (25<sup>th</sup> March) commented that, while the business world itself drew a boundary dividing men and women the program itself neither posited such a boundary, nor presented a specific 'gender profile' for the ideal manager (Franklin, Graduate, 25<sup>th</sup> March). For these students it seemed that the department had managed if not to challenge this masculine association, then at least not to reinforce it.

### Explicitly addressing gender

One way in which both departments might have addressed their masculine associations was through explicitly addressing gender in classes. Within the civil engineering department, in line with the comments relating to gender blindness above, there did

not even appear to be departmental consideration of how staff might give active consideration to gender equality in their classes. None of the three staff I was able to ask about the relationship between their teaching or administrative roles and gender appeared to have reflected on it. The literature reflecting on incorporating consideration of gender in engineering education encourages alternative approaches to curriculum design, classroom pedagogy and assessment, even if classes do not explicitly address gender as an issue (Jawitz and Case, 2002; Mills et al., 2010). While there is a risk that such approaches can build on, and reproduce, binary distinctions between femininity and masculinity (Phipps 2007), the value of staff reflecting on how gendered distinctions and imbalances impinge on learning remains. Certainly the majority of classes in the department would be unlikely to explicitly address gender; as AJ Parlak (Engineering faculty administrator, Female, 7<sup>th</sup> April) noted, classes were 'way too technical'. Nevertheless the department claimed broad aspirations in its vision statement which specified its aim

'to take account of the ethical, social, cultural .... aspects of the profession as much as to the technical dimension in all educational and research activities.' (CE departmental website, 2016).

This appeared particularly relevant in civil engineering as a profession which involves significant inter-personal engagement, with clients, the public and other workers. The scope for classes or courses which helped students to reflect on the gendered dynamics of their profession, and the world they would be serving, was clear. However, apart from the engineering management course mentioned above, all courses in the civil engineering department were technical in orientation, and none indicated in their outlines any planned intentional engagement with gender. Both teaching staff I asked indicated that they did not address gender in their classes at all (Sem Gray, 24<sup>th</sup> March; Enver Mumcu, 11<sup>th</sup> March).

Students corroborated this picture. Other than one reference to an instance where a professor told a class not to make female students do all the work in a group project (Rita, CE, 2<sup>nd</sup> year, 18<sup>th</sup> May), civil engineering students generally said that their classes did not look at gender in any way. When asked about their understandings of gender, eight out of twelve students equated gender with sex, as a biological binary.

These accounts were also sometimes interwoven in inchoate fashion with acknowledgement of social or economic factors (Talat, CE, 2<sup>nd</sup> year, 25<sup>th</sup> March), or individual choice (Ashlee, CE, 2<sup>nd</sup> year, 19<sup>th</sup> April) influencing gender relations and identities. Classes did not appear to furnish students with theoretical resources to reflect on gender relations in their field.

Within business studies there is greater scope for explicit incorporation of gender both as a topic and as an analytic lens in many classes, though business departments still tend to accord gender peripheral status (Kelan and Jones 2010). There are literatures exploring both the significance of gender to the fields of business studies and how analysis of gender can be incorporated in programmes (Flynn et al 2015). Nevertheless, despite the claims of being distinctively supportive of gender equality, the business department did not encourage staff to explicitly focus on gender in their teaching. Tuncay Kerimoğlu (Business, Faculty, Field notes, 5<sup>th</sup> May) explained how teaching faculty were left to make their own decisions about engaging with gender:

'I can absolutely tell all of the [instructors] encourage equality of gender ... [However, w]e don't have a departmental encouragement in this sense (to include a focus on gender topics). We trust our instructors thinking on this issue.'

Dr. Kerimoğlu's confidence in the values of Brook faculty members combined with a culture of academic independence to leave him trusting in his staff's encouragement of gender equality without any systematic procedures for supporting or ensuring it.

Again, as with civil engineering staff also appeared constrained to focus on the more technical aspects of their subjects. For two of the teaching staff I interviewed, in line with the ethical narrowing described above, gender was presented as being marginal to the particular modules they taught. Hülya Tarhan (Business, Faculty, 13<sup>th</sup> May) explained, with reference to her course's core textbook, that

'I don't have a very explicit discussion on gender and leadership, although there is a chapter; but we don't have time to cover the entire book and therefore I focus on major paradigms.'

Dr. Tarhan appeared to take a conservative approach to what was considered 'major'; indeed, she later explicitly stated that, because of her 'positiv[ist] science background', she avoided a 'critical perspective' in the course. Thus, despite an introductory level textbook allocating a whole chapter to gender, she still treated it as peripheral to the central focus of what students needed to know. As a result, as I saw in my class observations, she did not make time to engage explicitly with gender in her classes, with only one brief reference in one of the two classes.

Her colleague Özge Ünal (Skype interview, 31<sup>st</sup> August), an enthusiastic member of the department, also saw gender as being outside the core focus of her course, commenting that,

'[I]n general it doesn't have so much of a gender dimension really the stuff that I am talking about.'

When asked about the feminist critiques of the course's subject matter, which were addressed to a degree by one of the instructors in the political science department, she responded that,

'We used to do that kind of stuff when we had more detailed classes about [this subject] in the PhD level but we haven't had that for over, maybe fifteen years. Mine is a very elementary class really.' (Özge Ünal, Skype interview, 31<sup>st</sup> August)

This comment framed engagement with gender as an analytic tool as an advanced notion limited to graduate studies. Later, however, she seemed to suggest that the salience of gender to subjects she taught was more fundamentally limited, saying of the courses she named that gender was 'not relevant' or 'doesn't matter'. Scholars have, in fact, explored, how gender relations are implicated in the areas she mentioned (e.g. Metters, 2017; Ruwanpura and Hughes, 2016). It is possible that Dr. Ünal herself had not encountered such literatures, or been otherwise prompted to reflect on how gender might apply to them. Whether for this or other reasons, despite her (persuasively claimed) commitment to justice Dr. Ünal limited herself to addressing gender in her classes primarily through the example of her presence, as discussed above. Again, in the two classes I observed, no more than a couple of sentences touched upon gender.

The third instructor I interviewed in the department found more space to explicitly address gender within the department's constraints. Mehmet Türk (24<sup>th</sup> March), a male faculty member in the earlier stages of his career, had a background in another discipline – sociology – and conducted his own research in line with an alternative approach to business administration from that embraced by the department, that of critical management studies, which meant,

'I do not ... look at the issue from the firm's perspective but ... from the perspective of other groups ... other workers or other customers [or] affected people'.

However, when I noted in our interview that he appeared to take a relatively person-centred approach in his teaching (cf Graduate class observation, 24<sup>th</sup> February), rather than focusing on the needs of firms themselves, he said that he had not appreciated this, and appeared slightly abashed by it. He acknowledged that the approach expected in the department was to

'teach ... capitalism ... to educate my students ... [to be] able to survive in this competitive environment ... So I, I shouldn't ... mix my ... personal political views ... or impose my political views on my students.' (Mehmet Türk, 24<sup>th</sup> March)

He appeared to view his critical perspective as personal and political, and not appropriate for his teaching, seeing it as lying outwith the department's bounds. Nevertheless when I asked him about his reasons for addressing gender as he did in the course I observed, his focus was on the students as stakeholders:

'I'd like my students to understand that ... this is a problem, and, and they have to fight for their rights, especially female employees, female students, and for ... the male students they have to help their, er, female colleagues to ensure or ... to contribute to the efforts of gender equality.' (Mehmet Türk, Business, Faculty, 24<sup>th</sup> March 2016)

While working within limits, he recognised the cognitive understanding – the illumination of concrete and categoric boundaries – necessary for students to fight against gendered constraints, and took advantage of the space offered in the department to seek to develop it.



Dr. Türk explicitly addressed gender in each of the two parallel sets of classes – for undergraduates and graduates – I observed. He did so briefly in the first, which was on the environmental challenges managers have to consider, presenting as socially constructed and permeable the boundaries that tie men to, and exclude women from, employment and business. The second set of classes were focused on diversity and discrimination in the workplace. Approximately ten minutes of the twenty-five minute opening lecture were focused on the range of factors which contributed to the decreasing labour force participation of women in Turkey, as well as briefly addressing workplace discrimination against homosexuals. He then continued by explaining seven practical ways in which diversity management could be improved, and such boundaries challenged. After the lecture, Dr. Türk (Class observation, 14<sup>th</sup> March) gave students a reading and discussion exercise, taken from a US textbook, which he presented as

'a short reading on female employees.'

This contained a text describing the ways in which women in the corporate world are increasingly delaying having children, and increasingly finding that when they eventually decide to try to have children they are unable to do so.

This second set of classes showed the challenges of addressing gender in a department which explicitly only engages with it occasionally. The classes clearly drew the attention of at least some students to issues they had not previously considered. One of the undergraduates I interviewed the week after the class, Öğrenç (17<sup>th</sup> March), a male second year who otherwise recalled no other engagement with gender throughout the program, commented:

'Actually that [class] was good because at the end of the class the teacher gave us a case about women... I couldn't answer the questions, because I couldn't, you know, think about [how] if they want children they cannot focus on their career ... – it's just it's something big and I couldn't think about it.'

Öğrenç had been made to appreciate the significance of the concrete boundaries that women faced in new ways through the exercise. Similarly as students in the classes commented on the exercise, and reflected on the issues it raised for women, men,

organisations and society, and the responsibilities of these different stakeholders in addressing them, they showed how they had been made to reflect on these gender boundaries, contributing to their being challenged.

On the other hand the class seemed also to reinforce gender boundaries. I cited earlier the way Mehmet Türk framed the business world as masculine in this class. Similarly his presentation of the discussion exercise on children and careers as being about 'female employees', a framing mirrored by the text itself, seemed to strengthen discursive divisions which mark the family as primarily a female domain, with corollary implications for business as a male domain. Students responded in different ways to this boundary work. As seen Öğrenç, describing the case study as being 'about women', echoed Dr. Türk's introduction of the exercise and its text. Between the two classes, three students spoke about how men could or should 'help' women or 'relieve' women from the burden of childcare. This left men's involvement aimed only at making the boundary women faced more permeable. Other students rejected its categoric reinforcement. This was particularly the case in the graduate class in which three students – two male and one female – described the text itself as sexist, though their concerns seemed to relate both to the rights of men as fathers, and to the unjustified assignation to women of primary care responsibility (Business, Graduate, 25<sup>th</sup> March). While explicitly engaging with gender was a means to challenge the department's masculine associations, doing so in this relatively isolated way, and without space to provide a wider theoretical framework, served at the same time to strengthen such associations.

This picture of piecemeal explicit engagement with gender in the department was matched by data relating to courses beyond these three. Students mentioned two other courses which touched upon gender. Between them the staff I interviewed suggested four further courses which they felt were likely to address gender but they were not mentioned as doing so by students. Students' recollections of where and how much gender was discussed in the programme as a whole showed considerable variation. For instance, one graduate of the department, whom I interviewed in relation to a sociology course he was taking as part of his masters in anthropology commented that,

'I don't think there is any gender related issues in business administration, in the whole department.' (Doruk, Social anthropology, Graduate, 9<sup>th</sup> June)

On the other hand Kemal, one of the final year undergraduate students I interviewed, felt that gender had been addressed in several courses such that

'after graduating from here I'm aware of the things like glass ceiling, other things and I'm sensitive about this issue. I have the knowledge, I have the how to say the ... awareness of that situation.' (Kemal, Business, 4<sup>th</sup> year, 6<sup>th</sup> April)

Kat (Business, 2<sup>nd</sup> year, 17<sup>th</sup> March) said that gender had been addressed most in a social psychology class, which, as well as addressing socially constructed gender boundaries like the glass ceiling, also highlighted biological explanations for gender differences,

'talking about female characteristics, male characteristics, testosterone hormone.'

Overall gender appeared to be addressed in a few courses, to the extent that three out of seven undergraduate students were able to recall at least one significant engagement with gender. Otherwise two undergraduates remembered classes addressing gender in some form, while two undergraduates had no particular recollection of learning about gender. As for the graduate students, beyond Dr. Türk's class, all three maintained that none of their other classes had engaged with gender at all.

Students understandings of gender reflected this mixed picture. Half of those interviewed (five out of ten) described it in binary biological terms. Two male graduate students (Franklin and Benjamin, 25<sup>th</sup> March) acknowledged their uncertainty about its meaning, and explored it with each other in the interview, eventually settling on something akin to sexuality. Two female students (Kat, 2<sup>nd</sup> year, 17<sup>th</sup> March; Alice, Graduate, 25<sup>th</sup> March) gave accounts which emphasised more the conceptual, socially constructed nature of gender. Students were thus differentially equipped to consider the department's own gender boundaries.

The departments' claimed bases in equality, while reflected in equal treatment of students, were only pursued in the curriculum on occasion in the business studies department and almost never within civil engineering. Sociopolitically shaped notions of gender equality as an absence of public differentiation by gender, and perceptions of

Brook as a place already marked by gender equality, combined with a strong commitment to academic autonomy to limit systemic encouragement of explicit curricular engagement with gender. There was thus little to counterbalance disciplinary approaches which placed an emphasis on the acquisition of technical knowledge and skills. Indeed, even where individual staff favoured alternative approaches, these were constrained by the overall departmental culture. While the business department was able to challenge gender boundaries in ways not attempted in civil engineering, this teaching nevertheless took place with limited time or space to offer a theoretical framework. These restrictions meant that the explicit teaching I observed, while challenging aspects of the associations between masculinity and business, along with other gender boundaries, also reinforced such boundaries.

### Inclusion and exclusion of students

The simultaneous bolstering, and undercutting, of the departments' associations with particular forms of masculinity had implications for the inclusion and exclusion of students. Claudia Lapping (2004, 2005) identified, in her study in two British universities, how institutionally embedded disciplinary approaches interacted with prevailing gender discourses to lead to the marginalisation of certain students, even while others were affirmed. While in some respects, as seen above with female civil engineering students, the approach of these two Brook departments encouraged students in their self-perception as future professionals, in others persistent gender boundaries placed constraints on their academic, social and professional experiences and aspirations.

Within business studies, some of the students I interviewed responded positively to the department's values. As mentioned near the start of the chapter, Alice, one of the female graduate students, had acknowledged the tendency to exclude women from the technical and commercial sides of industrial design, and saw the MBA as a way to affirm her competence to participate in a male dominated world. Her fellow interviewee Benjamin (25<sup>th</sup> March) was also very conscious of the competitive, if not the exploitative, nature of the capitalist business world and hoped that his business degree would enable him to compete successfully for himself:

'I really don't want to work in another company for another man's profit ... I really want to start my start-up. And I'm trying to get that knowledge to achieve this goal ... from this program.'

He seemed content, and confident, in his position as a competitor in capitalism. He appeared comfortable within the boundaries of the department, though he did not explicitly attribute any gendered significance to this. Similarly Öğrenç and Nemi (17<sup>th</sup> March), male and female second year students seemed to recognise the challenges of the marketplace, and confidently anticipate competing in them. Nemi did not seem to feel her gender was a constraint to her likely progress.

For other students, however, the symbolic boundary linking business and competitive masculinity had exclusionary implications. These related to students' perceptions of their inadequacy with regards to the qualities necessary to succeed in the business world, their lack of desire to participate in such a world or their conclusion that the future presented by the department was a chimera. Two of these were final year students who saw a boundary between themselves and both the male ideal type businessman they imagined in their studies, and the department and their fellow students. When asked to compare themselves to the ideal type, Ömer stated that he could not attain to it, Kemal that he did not want to. Ömer felt that he was unable to project the strength and confidence required of the successful businessman:

Adam: [I]f you compare yourselves to these, do you look at these pictures and think, "Yeah, I can do that"?

Ömer: Well, not really.

Adam: [*laughs*]

Kemal: Er, for me – I can do that but I don't want to [*laughs*].

Adam: ... Why ... do you not think so? ...

Ömer: I, I think I'm not sufficient in terms of personal characteristics. I don't feel that self-confident or outgoing ... I can't make impressive presentations during a meeting or organisation for example. That is why I can't put myself on the top or on that position.

(Business, 4<sup>th</sup> year, 6<sup>th</sup> April)

Ömer placed himself here outwith the boundaries both of an ideal business type and the associated form of masculinity. The education he had received had not persuaded him that he was able to aspire to inclusion in these categories. Any emphasis on cooperative competencies, mentioned by Hülya Tarhan, had not sufficiently challenged his perception that more dominant characteristics were those which were most necessary. At the same time he did not seem particularly to want to cross those boundaries. His dream career was, he said, in the creative world of film. Two female students also evinced similar senses of inadequacy, both articulating their sense of weakness compared with the strength they perceived as being necessary in the business world (Kat, 2<sup>nd</sup> year, 17<sup>th</sup> March; Fatma, 4<sup>th</sup> year, 24<sup>th</sup> May).

Kemal on the other hand appeared superficially to fit many aspects of the ideal masculine business type. Confident, articulate and athletically built, he seemed content that he could enter the realms of the ideal businessman. He, however, did not want to enter into that system. When asked why his responses suggested that, considering wider political and economic boundaries, the ideal type was not an attractive one:

'As I told you I had ... internships in two [major] companies ... I saw that people are really working in really not so good conditions and I realised that I don't want to be the guy that is on top of it ... And I think my experience ... living for six months in Sweden [as an Erasmus student] changed me a lot about this. In some of the parts of the world people are being treated as people, like human[s], or more like human[s] ... In Turkey income equality is really a mess even if you are ... working in a really good company ... [W]e are working this much but we are getting this much so what's the point. [*Ömer nods*] And, anyway, ah [*despondent sigh*].' (Kemal, Business, 4<sup>th</sup> year, 6<sup>th</sup> April)

Kemal saw the business system in which the ideal manager type was situated as being an unjust one, which he claimed to reject both on a principled basis, and which also seemed to leave him hopeless about his own lack of prospects, despite his relatively privileged background. He criticised elsewhere the department's reference to Western business norms. He suggested that the boundaries of the Turkish business world, both in terms of its national organisation and its location in the international system, meant

that the purported gains of participating in business were illusory. As part of this discussion Kemal suggested that both he and Ömer were outsiders in the department:

Kemal: We, we are guys that doesn't fit to our department actually.

Ömer: Yeah ... we are not a part of this world.

Adam: Okay ... So ... The majority of people are not like you? In this department?

Ömer: Yes.

Adam: So if you were to describe the majority of people they are?

Kemal: They are focused on earning money, focused on survival, I would say. Which is absolutely natural but if more people were aware of the income inequality I think some things will change.

(Business, 4<sup>th</sup> year, 6<sup>th</sup> April)

Ömer's self-perception and aspirations placed him outside the department's boundaries, and those of the masculinity to which it relates. Kemal on the other hand seemed to feel that his fellow students were ignorant, not seeing the constraints they faced, failing to see the differences between the Western model of business they were taught about, and the reality of Turkish business that lay ahead. For Kemal, the ideal masculine business type was a myth located beyond Turkey's boundaries. In both cases, as also for Kat the female second year, the managerial ideal propounded by the department, with the masculine overtones they noted above, was too narrow for them to feel they could, or might want to, embrace it.

Within the civil engineering the clearest examples of reinforcement of masculinised boundaries were closely related to the uneven gender ratio in the department. While this was the result of women not applying to the department, as indicated in the gendered borderland chapter this was not something that the department took systematic steps to try and change. Only three of the five classes observed had female students in. Two of these were in a hydraulics course. In both these classes participation by female students was markedly less than by male students, with female students being twenty percent of the class, but making only between five and eight percent of contributions. After the first of these classes, in which the only time a

female student spoke was a whispered query from the instructor during a test, I recorded in my field notes how, despite the female instructor's embodiment of how women can excel in the discipline,

'[t]he space is not created for female students to feel confident in that, at least publicly.' (CE, 2<sup>nd</sup> year, Observation, Field notes, 7<sup>th</sup> March)

On the other hand, one of the female students I interviewed, Maria (18<sup>th</sup> May), a second year, felt that being female had had no influence on her classroom interactions. Further all eight male and female students I asked specifically about contributing in class said that they were reluctant to do so. One male student attributed this to Turkish schooling, in which those who spoke in class were either class clowns or teachers' pets (Abuzer, Engineering, 3<sup>rd</sup> year, 29<sup>th</sup> April). Nevertheless the rarity of female students appeared to heighten these considerations for at least some of them.

In the third class with female students, in a mechanics course, queries from one female student meant women were over-represented in their contributions, but her interjections seemed to emphasise her lack of confidence as an engineer. She asked regular questions, and occasionally took some time to grasp the instructor's responses. I recorded her as being

'slightly [a] figure of fun [who] played up to [her] difficult[ies].' (CE, 2<sup>nd</sup> year, Observation, Field notes, 24<sup>th</sup> March)

Her way of seeking to overcome her lack of understanding, in an environment which valued competence, was to assume a role of feminine helplessness. She later, I think, participated in a group interview. When I asked how free she felt to participate in class she commented:

'In [one of] our other classes there is a [group] in ... the first [row] and always I ask something and they always looking at me. And I think I asked too many and I ask too easy things ... I feel really humiliat[ed] ... Maybe girls are very few in classes. Maybe these little things can affect them.'  
(Ashlee, CE, 2<sup>nd</sup> year, 19<sup>th</sup> April)

Whether or not Ashlee was the student I observed, it was apparent that she continued to speak and question throughout her classes while at the same time wrestling with an



attendant sense of humiliation. She might have felt this were she male, but in this setting her gender added to her insecurity as a classroom participant, a counterpoint to the increased self-confidence her education otherwise gave her, described above.<sup>42</sup> It felt like some degree of explicit acknowledgement of this situation, rather than the existing practice of seeking to ignore gender boundaries, might have helped to overcome some of its attendant problems.

The lack of attention to gender boundaries in the department also meant that students' behaviours outside class which reinforced gender boundaries and their associated hierarchies were left with limited explicit challenge. Despite the initial framing of the department as a place of gender equality, students recounted a number of ways in which students in the department exhibited exclusionary practices, particularly in comparison to some of the other departments at Brook. This was the only department in which any students spoke of a sense of being excluded from their fellow students because of their gender alone. While students in other departments mentioned isolated incidents of sexist or homophobic language, this was also the only one of the five departments on which I focused in my study where students suggested such language was more widely pervasive. Students reflections on this revealed links with the department's masculine bias.

Sally (19<sup>th</sup> April), a female third year student, expressed her frustration with male students impolite and sexist language in our group interview, with the agreement of her friends Sarah and Ashlee:

'They are starting talking to us while using [swear words] ... [O]f course they shouldn't talk [in that way] to their friends with the same gender ... But when ... they talk to us in the same way we feel humiliating actually because as you say they are using some words sexist and, come on! I am a female.'

Sally wanted the presence of women in the department to be acknowledged. Rather than the male students acting as if they were in an all-male environment, Sally wanted

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<sup>42</sup> p.177

them to recognise the gender boundaries in the department, and to adjust their behaviour and language accordingly. Another female student, Maria, however, professed not to be troubled by such language:

'Sometimes they forget. For example [there was] a crowded math group and I was there too. Some of them were ... talking some bad jokes about sexism and the other things ... And, then, they realise me. "Oh, are you there too? I'm really sorry ... I forget that you are here." And I was like, "It's okay, it's okay I'm getting used to it from now on" ... It's not irritates me because they are free and they can talk as long as ... it's not irritat[ing] me or humiliat[ing] the other people and I'm fine with that.

(CE, 2<sup>nd</sup> year, 18<sup>th</sup> May)

Maria suggested that she had been through a process of gradual accommodation to the prevailing masculine norm. She suggested that a standard of irritation or humiliation be applied, but does not seem conscious that others of her fellow students, like Sally, Sarah and Ashlee, did indeed find such language offensive. Indeed, she eschewed the notion that a different set of behavioural and linguistic boundaries might be needed, and released them to continue to act either as if she as a woman were not present, or as if she were a man. In effect she encouraged them towards gender blindness, while herself assuming a masculinised guise. In these engagements with fellow students, women were either subsumed in a male culture, or excluded and demeaned.

The responses to sexist language presented here contrasted with the practices which seemed to prevail in other departments. Certainly, some students from other departments described how sexist language could go unchallenged (as when GWS students told rape jokes (Özgün, GWS, Graduate, 5<sup>th</sup> May)). However, participants gave a general impression of resistance to such language in the other departments I focused on. Benjamin (19<sup>th</sup> April), a male second year civil engineering student, acknowledged that such opposition took place more in other parts of the campus than in the engineering faculty. It is not clear what led to the difference in these departmental cultures. The deliberate inattention to gender boundaries in the civil engineering department, though it might have been undertaken with positive motives, and had positive consequences in some respects, did seem to continue into student conduct

outside their classes. In a setting where men were numerically superior, this inattention appeared to allow a natural masculine dominance of social interactions to go unchallenged in at least a number of ways. While women were accepted as members of the department, and potential professionals, they still had to accommodate themselves to a male dominated world.

## Conclusion

Departments such as the two discussed in this chapter, oriented clearly towards specific professional worlds, serve as borderlands with respect to them. They are liminal spaces through which students' transition, and within which a profession's practices and values can be critiqued or affirmed. This chapter has explored the way these departments' pedagogies – including their values, curricula and teaching methods – both challenged and reinforced the gender boundaries of their associated professions.

The data highlight how different departments' wider values interacted in varied ways with a value of gender equality. Within the civil engineering department there was a consistent emphasis on scientific exactitude. This accorded well with Brook's institutional norms, Kemalist Republican values, and international civil engineering standards, and in at least the former two cases had been separated from any intrinsic masculine associations. It also provided a clear guide for individual instructors' teaching methods. This value meshed well with that of gender equality both to challenge alternative Turkish norms of civil engineering practice and open the way for female progression in the profession. In these respects there was a relatively seamless coherence between these values, which demanded little new of instructors, while the department's boundaries also formed a supportive nexus for their joint pursuit. On the other hand framing the pursuit of gender equality as gender blindness led to lack of attention in curricula and teaching methods in such a way as to leave social exclusions around gender relatively unchallenged. The internal coherence of gender equality with departmental values was a necessary but not a sufficient condition for challenging gender boundaries.

The business department appeared to have a less consistent set of core values. Further, one of its central emphases, that of the pursuit of profit maximisation, had

strong masculine associations for many students, which the business environment internationally and in Turkey (Burke and Koyuncu, 2013), and frequently international teaching resources tended to reinforce. Linking this value of competition with gender equality coherently would likely have required the adoption of a curriculum which systematically and explicitly corrected its masculine associations. In any department this would be organisationally and politically demanding. Further, there was no clear source of pressure to take such an approach. The resultant counter-currents in the department's values with regards to gender equality left teaching engagements at an *ad hoc* level, with mixed implications for students.

Both the values mentioned above – scientific excellence and profit maximisation – were also linked to staff's understandings of their disciplines as constraining the extent to which they felt curricula could explicitly engage with gender. Equal treatment was possible, but for most staff explicit discussion of gender was not. Further staff seemed to doubt the potential efficacy of such explicit engagements. This might have underlain the emphasis on the significance of the personal as boundary challenge, seen in comments by female staff especially. These were linked with assumptions about the significance of women's presence as a challenge to masculine boundaries, which might not have considered some of the limitations on the challenge women were able to offer in this way.

Despite the limitations of their explicit curricular engagement with gender these departments seemed at points to be able to weaken, or render more permeable, some of the gender boundaries associated with their respective professions. In other respects, however, these boundaries proved to be highly resilient. This had the result that, despite the above accounts of students being released from the limitations of these boundaries, in other ways students remained constrained, or at least shaped, by them. The chapters which follow show how broader, deeper and more intensive engagements with gender in other departments were able to provide more extensive challenge to gender boundaries. This raises the question of whether more systematic addressing of gender in the curriculum in these departments, were it possible to have faculty embrace it, might improve their capacity to overcome these boundaries.

## 7 Understanding and Perceiving Gender Boundaries

This chapter explores the boundary work related to explicit engagement with gender in two departments which addressed it to a greater degree. It provides an opportunity to see the influence of teaching about gender that is incorporated throughout departmental curricula, within the context of wider departmental teaching, which students encounter without selecting an elective course on gender. It seeks to draw out connections between the boundary work performed by teaching in class – whether shifting, blurring (Wimmer, 2008), reinforcing (Lamont and Molnar, 2002), illuminating or obfuscating gender boundaries – and learning about gender among the students. It seeks also to understand the different ways in which teaching reinforces or challenges the boundary marking role often attributed to understandings of gender in the Turkish context (Kandiyoti, 2015).

The chapter begins by introducing the politics and sociology departments, and their teaching relating to gender. It continues to analyse the boundary work of the classes, and students' responses to it, looking first at the ontological boundary work on the nature of gender boundaries, and then secondly at the work relating to the production, reproduction and significance of boundaries between gender categories. It considers in particular the responses of religious students in contrast to the more secular majority. In so doing it considers the different ways in which, in relation to their teaching about gender, these departments were determinate or indeterminate spaces (Unterhalter and North, 2010).

### Departmental introductions

#### *The Politics Department*

The politics department was established at the same time as the university itself, in order to train administrators capable of overseeing the social development to which the university was intended to contribute (Departmental website, 2016). It is located in a large concrete building, along with a couple of related departments, at one end of the university's main *allée*, at the opposite end to the engineering departments. For most

of the study period the wall next to the entrance was adorned with a large graffito: '*Kahrolsun şeriat. Yaşasın laiklik*<sup>43</sup>'. Its core curriculum encompasses courses in political thought, sociology, law, economics, organisations and administrative science. Students emphasised that the teaching had a strong theoretical component, rather than focusing on preparing students for civil service exams as some similar departments did in other universities (3<sup>rd</sup> year students, 13<sup>th</sup> May). Nilufer Balcı (Politics, Administrator, 26<sup>th</sup> April), in comments supported by those from other staff and students, presented the department as sharing Brook's wider commitments to Republicanism, secularism, democracy and equality, though noting that

'the department is slightly more to the left than average [Brook] ... [T]here is a strong Marxist component in the department.'

There were approximately one hundred and twenty students in a year. In the undergraduate classes I observed the year group was divided into two or three groups for compulsory courses, with class sizes ranging between twenty-eight and forty-eight, thus permitting a degree of discussion. Classes tended to consist of instructors presenting topics, sometimes with the use of Powerpoints, interspersed with questions to, and comments from, the students. While some undergraduate courses made use of a core textbook, this was not the case for the courses I observed, which rather set key readings from a variety of texts for different topics. Classes from the graduate course I observed were much smaller, with nine and thirteen students respectively (12<sup>th</sup>, 19<sup>th</sup> April). They consisted of a lecture of approximately forty-five minutes, followed by robust discussion led by the instructor, with a focus on analysis and evaluation of policies and political actions.

Among undergraduates there were slightly more female than male students, with women being 52.2% of the six hundred and nine undergraduates in the study year, a proportion which had been relatively stable over the previous decade (Brook gender project statistics, 2016). In the first-year classes I observed women were over seventy percent of students (9<sup>th</sup> March, 25<sup>th</sup> May), which suggested that male students were less diligent in attending classes, though the proportions were more even in the third year

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<sup>43</sup> Down with *Shariah*. Long live secularism.

classes (30<sup>th</sup> March, 6<sup>th</sup> April). There were also slightly more women among faculty members, with twelve out of twenty-three faculty members (52.2%) – up from 41.2% in 2005 – and ten out of eighteen research assistants (53.7%) being female (Appendix I.3). In the decade prior to research the gender ratios at the different academic levels had been roughly equal. Both the departmental heads during this period had been female. Aylin Erdem (Faculty, 4<sup>th</sup> May) highlighted that when she was appointed forty years previously she was one of only two women in the department. The department had therefore made significant progress to reach its situation of virtual parity in the intervening years.

The politics department seemed to offer significant scope for individual variation in intentional engagement with gender. Staff emphasised that there was a critical concern with inequality in the department as a whole (e.g. Kardalen Heper, 13<sup>th</sup> May). For some, particularly those more inclined to Marxist analysis, gender was a peripheral, rather than a fundamental concern<sup>44</sup>, within this (Fazıl Başer, Email correspondence, 4<sup>th</sup> March). On the other hand, the department included feminist scholars of national and international prominence, who had published widely on gender, and served in important policy roles in international organisations. They had played important roles in establishing Brook's Gender and Women's Studies program, but their strong commitment to individual academic autonomy was seen as limiting their scope for influencing some of their colleagues (Nilufer Balci, Administrator, 26<sup>th</sup> April). There were thus countervailing currents in the department in terms of support for intentional engagement with gender.

From the interviews conducted it appeared that gender was addressed, to some degree, in a range of courses in the department. Four specific undergraduate courses were mentioned by the students I interviewed as specifically engaging with gender. These included a first year Introduction to Sociology course, which devoted three or four weeks – almost a quarter of the course – to topics explicitly related to gender, families

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<sup>44</sup> I was not able to ascertain why it was felt that maintaining the primacy of class-based analysis was necessary, rather than linking this also with gender-based analysis, as Marxist (Hartmann, 1979; Mackintosh, 1984) and intersectional feminists (Anthias and Yuval-Davis, 1992; McCall, 2005; Choo and Ferree, 2010) have done.

and intimate relationship (Course syllabus, Departmental website). Its textbook, Anthony Giddens' (2009) *Sociology* was described by an administrator as being

'very gender mainstreamed.' (Nilufer Balcı, Preparatory discussion, Fieldnotes, 21<sup>st</sup> October 2015)

While the number of courses specified was not large, one of the third-year students interviewed still had the impression that,

'In our program gender is [a] very important issue.' (Zühal, 3<sup>rd</sup> year, 13<sup>th</sup> May)

Another first year student noted that gender was a regular topic of conversation outside class (Anakin, 7<sup>th</sup> April) while Kardalen Heper (13<sup>th</sup> April), one of the younger female faculty members, emphasised how she would touch upon gender regularly throughout a course, even if it was not a specific focus of a teaching session. It was also apparent that a number of courses barely addressed gender at all, as was the case for one of the courses I observed (Fazıl Başer, Faculty, Email correspondence, 4<sup>th</sup> March; Class observation, 6<sup>th</sup> April). Nilufer Balcı suggested that this might be the case for the political theory courses generally, and indeed one of the faculty members I approached about observing his political theory course did describe it as being 'gender blind' (Field notes, 7<sup>th</sup> March).

At the graduate level the students I interviewed mentioned only one course which dedicated a class specifically to gender, a course on modern political discourse. Otherwise, while they recognised that there were many classes they had not taken, they felt that gender tended to be engaged with to at least some degree in most courses, though as a 'side topic' rather than as a specific focus or at a theoretical level (Tolga, Graduate, 11<sup>th</sup> May). Beyond one course mentioned by a faculty member I interviewed (Merve Kınalı, 17<sup>th</sup> May), neither my discussions nor interviews, nor the course list, pointed me to other graduate courses, which engaged with gender in a particularly focused way. The classes I observed in a course on Turkish politics looked at Islam and Turkish politics and the development of the AKP. In each the instructor highlighted the significance of discourses around women to these topics. I was unable to gain clear



insight into why the undergraduate programme incorporated gender to a greater degree than graduate courses.

### *The Sociology Department*

The sociology department is within the faculty of arts and sciences. It is situated in the social sciences building, built in concrete in the Modernist style. The wall by the main entrance, and that on the stairs down to the main lecture hall, was often adorned with posters advertising left wing political gatherings or marches. These posters regularly appeared to be in support of women's or LGBTQ+ rights. As was the case with many departments at Brook, the sociology department had a particularly theoretical focus. Miray İncesü (Faculty, 10<sup>th</sup> May), emphasised how she sought to maintain a focus on teaching what she termed academic, rather than market-oriented, sociology in the department. She acknowledged that many of the students were more concerned with preparation for a job, however, which was a source of tension, especially for male students, as recognised more broadly within Turkish sociology by Kasapoğlu (2016). The early years of its curriculum offered introductory courses to different social sciences, followed by courses on research methods and specific areas of sociology; by the final year all courses were electives (Departmental website, February 2016). All the lectures I observed were taught with fairly close reference to an assigned reading. In the undergraduate classes these served to introduce the thinking of a different theorist; in the graduate seminars they also served as a point of reference for students' own reflections. Around the turn of the century changes to the national university entrance exam, and pressures from the Higher Education board to take more students, meant that enrolment in the department began to increase significantly, with total undergraduate enrolment reportedly almost doubling over the subsequent decades (Veli Zarakolu, Faculty, 23<sup>rd</sup> May; Gender project statistics 2015). This meant that, particularly in the earlier undergraduate years, students were taught in lectures with over eighty students, which made meaningful discussion of complex topics more challenging.

Gender ratios in the department had changed over time. Miray İncesü commented that the aforementioned changes to admissions processes had altered the

proportion of men and women among students, which had gone from approximate parity before 2000, to a relatively stable 70-80% female since 2005 (Gender project statistics 2015). She suggested that this also reflected an increasing perception that social sciences were feminine among prospective students. She commented that many of the male students in the department joined the department as a means of studying at Brook, rather than from a desire to pursue the subject itself, noting that

'the men who ... come to our department ... really don't like it very much.'  
(Miray İncesü, 10<sup>th</sup> May)

The proportion of female faculty members has also increased over time. In 2005/6 55% of faculty members were male, whereas at the time of the research only 37.5% were. The change at the level of full professors was most notable; where in 2005/6 there were three female full professors, and six men, in 2015/6 there were six women and only one man at that rank (Appendix I.4). I did not enquire specifically about the reasons for the change in staff gender ratios at Brook, but, as Kasapoğlu's (2005) study shows these shifts reflect an historic national trend in Turkey of the feminisation of sociology departments.

It was possible that the increasing prominence of women in the department was interconnected with – both influenced by and influencing – the salience of gender in the department. At least five out of the seven full professors, including the male professor, focused on gender within their research. In any event, gender equality was reported as being highly valued in the department, and gender as being very regularly addressed academically. When I asked one of the faculty members, Berat Türk (27<sup>th</sup> April), about the degree of gender equality in the department he replied using the terms of his course which we had been discussing:

'Actually this is one of our fetishes, gender equality, it is a very strong fetish and it is even a taboo in this department. I mean you cannot question ... this kind of equality. So, it's one of the defining dimensions of the sociology department, gender, gender equality.'

Dr. Türk recognised that there must be limits to this perceived equality but could not himself point to any.

In terms of academic engagement with gender Miray İncesu (10<sup>th</sup> May) said that:

'in all our courses, all our emphasis – not only me but all my colleagues – feels gender is the top of the issues. We have many courses on gender.'

Undergraduate students mentioned nine core courses (out of twenty one in total) as addressing gender in at least some notable way, and several others (including those on statistics) appeared like they might do so from course lists. No undergraduate course specifically focused on gender in its title (unless a course on the family can be deemed to have done so), but there were at the time of the study six graduate level courses running in the department with a specific focus on gender or women.

There were a variety of reasons for this high degree of engagement with gender. One is disciplinary, as gender has had increasing significance in sociology departments internationally (Grünberg, 2011). Four out of the five staff I interviewed from the department saw gender as being of central disciplinary significance. The fifth, Veli Zarakolu (23<sup>rd</sup> May), a male faculty member in the early stages of his career, recognised its importance, but still treated it somewhat peripherally, and also spoke about a fellow theory instructor who was 'not familiar with feminist critiques at all', thus recognising the variation in the department. Miray İncesü also suggested that the department's international connections were important for its engagement with gender, noting in this regard that many in the department had studied abroad for their PhDs, and emphasising the continued engagement of staff and students with the international sociological community through the English language education in the department, an opportunity that those in other universities' departments working with the limited translations available did not have.

Berat Türk pointed to Brook's particular sociocultural and political boundaries, discussed in chapter five, in his comments on the department's distinctiveness. He mentioned four other universities where he thought gender could be taught more freely, explaining that he did not think this was the case elsewhere:

Adam: Do you feel if you were outside that select group of universities ... that to do explorations such as you do in this course would be more difficult than ... //

Berat Türk: // I would say more difficult and I would guess more difficult to communicate also to the students ... Some of the topics may be surprising or exciting for our students but in those cases [in most other universities in Turkey] these topics are shocking, maybe threatening or deviant and in that sense maybe they must not be taught. So ... it's a danger to lecture about queer theory for example, homosexuality for example. Or it's a very much danger [to say] that ... you as heterosexuals are actually homosexuals [laughs] – Butler says so //

Adam: // [small laugh]

Berat Türk: I think it's dangerous.

(Sociology, Faculty, 27<sup>th</sup> April)

He went on to refer to aspects of queer theory and teaching about homosexuality as examples of such threatening topics. I did not ask Dr. Türk to expand on the reasons for this danger. In light of the AKP government's increasing promotion of a conservative Islamic agenda, including with reference to LGBTQ+ activities (Dayan, 2018; Hürriyet Daily News, 2016), however, it seemed like an accurate assessment. In a context in which academics were, and have been increasingly, subject to dismissal and arrest on spurious grounds, addressing subjects which were opposed to the government's agenda was a risky enterprise. Indeed, students and staff on Brook's own GWS programme suggested that even Brook was not yet in a position to be able to comfortably accommodate teaching on queer theory, with Zeynep Ceylan (GWS, Faculty, 10<sup>th</sup> May) suggesting that there would be resistance from both some feminists and the wider academic community. Nevertheless, as noted in chapter five, both Dr. Türk and Dr. İncesü felt that Brook had a significant degree of political independence, was willing to resist government pressure to encroach on academic freedom, and as consequence offered a degree of protection to its staff. The breadth and depth of engagement with gender in the sociology department was thus the result of Brook's particular boundaries.

### **Ontological boundaries: politics**

#### *Ontological boundary work in politics classes*

Classes in the politics department appeared to include gender in their curricula at least as much as an average politics department in the United Kingdom (Foster et al., 2013), for instance, and, according to student accounts of the frequency with which gender

was addressed, probably more so. Amidst a department divided in its inclusion of gender in the curriculum six out of eight of the faculty members I interviewed articulated feminist sympathies in their interviews. Both interviews with and observations of these participants, all of whom were women, suggested that they broadly shared a social constructionist understanding of gender, which was clearly articulated in the courses they taught. For instance, Nilufer Balcı (26<sup>th</sup> April) presented gender as being 'built' on biological sex differences:

'the textbook definition of gender is the socially acquired sort of traits that are different ... in each sex, that does partly stem from biology but mainly doesn't. ... [A]nd sex is what we acquire from birth in terms of our biological differences and the socially acquired, sort of built up around different sexes is gender. So this is more or less officially what it is ... I can't really think of anything else ... because I have been telling this so many times.'

At three points in this quotation Dr. Balcı alluded to the accepted nature of the definition she gives. This suggested that she at least had regularly presented this to students as the correct understanding of gender, with a possible assumption that her colleagues did the same. She acknowledged neither alternative possible representations of gender – including more performative or post-structural accounts – nor that gender might present difficulties of definition. In this latter respect this contrasted with the approach in the sociology department, as I discuss later in the chapter, and with scholars who have highlighted the challenge of seeking to define the term (Henderson, 2015). Certainly it is difficult in an interview such as we had to offer responses which are sufficiently comprehensive to be accurate while being appropriately concise. Nevertheless Dr. Balcı gave no indication here that she was having to simplify a more complex issue. Another senior colleague Aylin Erdem (GWS / Politics, 4<sup>th</sup> May) also made reference to an accepted definition of gender – this time 'legally ... in international law' – though she also recognised possible divergence from it. This added to the impression that faculty members in the department were comfortable with gender having a commonly accepted meaning.

One of the class observations showed that the social understanding of gender Dr. Balcı advanced was indeed taught to students. The session of a first-year introductory

politics class I observed which engaged most clearly with gender was a half class on feminism taught by Rüyâ Nalband, a female faculty member in the early stages of her career. Near the start she sought to draw on the students' previous learning – most likely from the first semester's sociology course – to clarify the difference between sex and gender:

'Here we are talking about men and women not as two different sexes but as two, as two different genders. Okay let's come back to the eternal question. What is the difference between sex and gender? [*Female student responds in Turkish – unclear on recording*] Exactly, sex is biological ... it's about the way in which you reproduce, whatever. But gender is social and cultural. So basically sex is *cinsiyet* whereas gender is *toplumsal*<sup>45</sup> *cinsiyet*, because it's something socially and culturally created.' (Class observation, 25<sup>th</sup> May)

The response the student presumably gave, providing a definition which Dr. Nalband reiterates, closely reflects the clear distinction between sex as biology and gender as socially constructed given by Dr. Balcı. That this first student response appeared closely to match the answer Dr. Nalband expected suggests that this was a widespread perspective even at this early point in their departmental formation, and one repeated at different points in the programme. The account here also presents a binary boundary between two sexes, mirroring the implied sex binary where Dr. Balcı spoke of 'each sex' above. While different from the straight biological boundary articulated by those in the civil engineering department, the presentation did not reflect notions of the fluidity of sex / gender found in some of the academic literature over recent decades (Butler, 1990; Puar, 2007; Ernst and Kovacs, 2015). This articulation of the ontology of gender was not the only one I encountered in the department. Gizem Firat (27<sup>th</sup> April), a younger female faculty member spoke in our interview of more essential differences in the 'nature' of women and men, while Kardalen Heper (13<sup>th</sup> April), a female mid-career faculty member, presented gender to me as a 'continuum'. As noted, many classes might well not have addressed gender at all. Overall, though, it appeared that where gender was

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<sup>45</sup> Social

addressed, it was normally approached within a consistent social constructionist framework.

*Politics ontology: students' responses*

The department's teaching on what gender is appeared to have had a significant influence on students. Three students had previously reflected on gender (Blue, Politics, 1<sup>st</sup> year, 7<sup>th</sup> April; Tolga and Uğur, Graduates, 11<sup>th</sup> May). At least six of the remaining seven students noted that they had gained their theoretical understanding of gender from the course. For instance Zühal, a female third year from the far East of Turkey, spoke of both her previous ignorance and what she had learnt:

Zühal: ... [F]rom the beginning of ... my department years I have learned what is gender.

Adam: And so before that you // ?

Zühal: ... [B]efore that there is no theoretical knowledge that I have for the gender and the ... differences of gender and sex.

(Zühal, 3<sup>rd</sup> year, 13<sup>th</sup> May)

Zühal noted also that Turkish did not have a separate word for gender. Learning the English words for sex and gender enabled her to distinguish between them in ways that the more similar Turkish equivalents had previously obscured. In this respect Brook's English language teaching provided access to new ways of thinking. The department also gave clear content to the meaning of those newly distinguished words. Students who had learnt about gender within the department reflected this theoretical framework in different ways in their responses. The three students in Zühal's interview illustrated the range of understandings held. One Nermin (3<sup>rd</sup> year, 13<sup>th</sup> May), a student from a smaller provincial city in the centre of the country, gave an initial response which bore little connection to the department's principal presentations of gender:

'Gender. There are two genders, male and female, I guess. [Unclear] sexual, homosexual, I am confused about that ...'

Her account was tentative and explicitly uncertain. There was certainly a degree to which Nermin was limited by her relative lack of confidence in English. But it was notable that Nermin was explicitly confused – rather than merely inarticulate – about the

relationship between sexuality and gender. It is possible that this reflected unacknowledged resistance to the department's presentation, or difficulties in reconciling pre-existing understandings with those advanced in the department. It could simply be that the still relatively limited engagement with gender had been insufficient to lead her to be able to confidently offer an elaborated account of gender, let alone one which foregrounded the social.

Zühal's own response was more closely associated with the department's dominant presentation of gender, though still in some ways uncertain:

Zühal: Um, I think gender is about the position that you are in the social life. Sex is somehow different.

Nermin: Biological.

Zühal: Yeah, biological. You are born as, it's also different. I don't know how to say. You are biologically you are a wom[a]n, not wom[a]n, a female or a male person. But about the gender you might feel yourself different or you might be, um, behave [or live – uncertain] differently.

(3<sup>rd</sup> year, 13<sup>th</sup> May)

While focusing on the central social / biological distinction, at several points in this extract Zühal indicated uncertainty about their interrelationship. Though she was tentative in her account, she had embraced the notion that gender involved variations in social position, conduct – and, less clearly linked to the perspectives presented by staff – feeling relative to biological differences. Zühal's perspectives were clearly a product, if a work in progress, of departmental teaching. The final student in the interview, Ahmet, gave a more precise articulation:

'For gender I would also say that it is socially constructed sex. Socially constructed image of sexes. It's different from biological differences.'

(Ahmet, 3<sup>rd</sup> year, 13<sup>th</sup> May)

His other responses and reflections showed that he was able to employ this understanding of gender critically and analytically. The department's consistent elaboration of gender had been embraced by each of these students, but to differing degrees. This was the case for all but one of the undergraduates. The exception, Serhan



(25<sup>th</sup> May), a conservative religious student, still articulated his understandings of gender in response to the department's perspective. The graduates' articulation bore less affinity to the framework which seemed to be most consistently presented in the department, suggesting possible fluidity around gender and implicitly sex, and placing an emphasis on the role of personal choice (Tolga and Uğur, Politics, Graduate, 11<sup>th</sup> May). It is notable that the graduate programme did not include any course which set out a theoretical framework for gender. While they continued to interact academically with gender, their understanding of its ontology owed more to preceding conversations external to the department. This difference in itself further supports the impression that the department's theoretical accounts influenced the understandings of those students to whom they were taught.

Three of the students I interviewed from the politics department were religious, according to the designation participants themselves seemed to use.<sup>46</sup> Unlike the other students I interviewed in the department, each of them set some degree of distance between themselves and the prevailing departmental presentations of the ontology of gender, while also embracing aspects of them. Two of the male students I interviewed, Serhan (25<sup>th</sup> May) and Hakan (4<sup>th</sup> year, 8<sup>th</sup> June), had responded specifically to requests for participants who saw themselves as religious, and were interviewed individually. Hakan (4<sup>th</sup> year, 8<sup>th</sup> June) also said that Ahmet – interviewed with Zühal and Nermin – who had introduced Hakan to me, was religious, though Ahmet (3<sup>rd</sup> year, 13<sup>th</sup> May) described himself merely as 'conservative'. Aside from some degree of religious commonality the three students were different in a variety of ways. Serhan was from rural Eastern Turkey, from an ethnic minority, and had only learnt English in the preparatory year at Brook. Hakan and Ahmet were both from the city Brook was in, within which Hakan's neighbourhood was, he said, 'conservative' (8<sup>th</sup> June). Ahmet had been on an Erasmus programme in a UK university and his English was accordingly the best of the three.

Each of the three students, with varying degrees of fluency, described the department as portraying a distinction between sex as biological and gender as social,

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<sup>46</sup> p.105

mentioning in particular the first and third-year sociology courses. Serhan (25<sup>th</sup> May) for his part broadly rejected this sociological explanation of gender:

'We are taught [that] gender [is] about something created and sex is the natural one ... But for me gender is the, they have their own identities ... and there should be a differentiation between man and female ... They have their specific, and not identical, role and duties.'

Serhan clarified that this binary, essentialist understanding of gender was rooted in an understanding of what God had established:

'The religion, Allah has, er, said, ... this is what women identity what male identity. For me this is equality.'

He employed an understanding of equality here which reflected discourses presenting equity or justice with regards to gender as being where people lived according to their nature, or *fitrat* (Yilmaz 2015). As shall be seen, he had both appreciated, and learnt from, aspects of the department's teaching on gender, but it did not appear to have influenced his understanding of what gender is.

The other two religious students' understandings of the ontology of gender boundaries had been more strongly influenced by the department, however, as was seen for Ahmet above. Hakan (4<sup>th</sup> year, 8<sup>th</sup> June), when asked about the department's teaching on gender as social rather than biological, presented it as being 'totally new' to him:

'It was I think [a] contrast to what I learnt before coming to university I think. To be honest I was shocked at first because I was thinking new perspective about the topic ... [T]here were too many people with too many different ideas and it was a surprise for me.'

At one level, he had been persuaded by this new perspective, defining gender as 'societal sexuality, I think'. As will be seen in the next section, however, his normative understanding of gender equality and categoric gender boundaries was given in terms of Islamically defined roles, rights and responsibilities. His exposure to a new range of perspectives, from both other students and departmental teaching, had left him uncertain how best to understand gender, and reflect upon it:

'I feel myself confused when we consider to these issues ... I have some thinking, some ideas in my mind but when I see other people, when I learn other things I can see that there are other way[s] of thinking, there are other ways other people are following. I cannot directly criticise their own way ... So I came to think that everyone should follow their own way, regardless of what I think.'

His confusion appeared different from that of the more secular students interviewed. It was less a question of not understanding what had been taught, but recognising the tensions between that and his previous understandings. He had been made aware of an epistemic boundary relating to the ontology of gender and this had forced him to consider the positions of others, and how he needed to relate to them (Jackson, 2018). In only presenting one understanding of gender, however, the programme had not confronted other students as clearly with this boundary, or made them wrestle with how to relate to those with different understandings of gender.

The politics programme appeared to make an important contribution to the understandings of gender boundaries for most of the students interviewed, though in several cases their understandings were still inchoate. The religious students appeared to be in a slightly different position to other students, being forced to consider, and in some cases find accommodations between, competing frameworks for understanding gender.

### **Ontological boundaries: sociology**

#### *Ontological boundary work in sociology classes*

The presentation of the ontology of gender in the sociology department was quite different from that in the politics department. It was theoretically diverse, including sophisticated accounts of different understandings of what gender is, and conveyed an overall impression of the fluidity of gender. These characteristics were, among the courses I focused on in the study, most apparent in the course which addressed gender to the greatest extent, a third-year course looking at change in sociology. The lectures I observed (18<sup>th</sup> and 25<sup>th</sup> April) were part of a section entitled 'Transformations in Sexuality', which consisted of five classes. Whether intentionally or not these five lectures each seemed to revolve around a different concept: sex (the act) and sexualities

with reference to Michel Foucault (1990); gender, drawing on a reading by Marta Lamas (2011); masculine and feminine subjectivities, drawing on a commentary on Luce Irigaray (Lorraine, 1999); sex (as bodies) building on a textbook chapter on Judith Butler (Allan, 2011). The engagement with this array of terms, each of which relate to the field of gender, in itself highlights the relative level of theoretical complexity with regards to gender in this course. It shows how greater degrees of elaboration require a wider, and more carefully distinguished vocabulary (Moore, 2013; Bernstein, 2000). Nevertheless, neither of the two lectures on which I focused, or their associated readings, provided a clearly articulated ontology of the aspect of gender / sexuality on which they were focused. This aligned with the lecturer's reluctance in our interview to give a definition of gender; rather he stated,

'it's a social process ... it's a social, cultural, biological, but it's a process in any case. So the question is ... [r]ather than what is gender, what kind of a process we are talking about when we say gender? I think it's a process of the ways ... different sexualities interact, transform each other ... If a relation tries to close or define boundaries then there is no equality there.'  
(Berat Türk, Sociology, Faculty, 27<sup>th</sup> April)

In looking at gender as a process, Dr. Türk was emphasising, in line with the course's overall aim, that gender is about change:

'there is no pure female or there is no pure male sexuality. This is exactly the topic, the concern of the course' (Berat Türk, Sociology, Change, Interview)

Thus, while the course pointed students towards different accounts of the most significant boundaries relating to gender, and their relationship with reality, it was united in presenting the nature of those boundaries as being contingent, malleable and permeable. Indeed, Dr. Türk suggested that attempts to define boundaries, whether of gender or otherwise, were inimical to equality.

The diversity of the department's perspectives on gender was seen also in different emphases between the different courses. In a course on the history of sociology Veli Zarakolu presented an account of the social construction of gender which rejected any sense that it was grounded in natural distinctions. He did so in a class

(Observation, 1<sup>st</sup> March) on structuralism, building on Claude Lévi-Strauss' exploration of the social basis of the incest taboo:

'[W]hen you say socially constructed, what do you mean, really? ... [D]oes it really rely on that biological fact which means biological facts are always already there and on that basis a certain social ... [and] cultural construction of gender is happening? Or is it totally separated and cultural, social construction itself is ... the social reality, which is not relying on the biological reality, and in many cases, like many<sup>47</sup> argue, it even like produces that biological reality.' (Sociology, Observation, 17<sup>th</sup> April)

Dr. Zarakolu explicitly rejected here an interpretation of social construction as the social or cultural building on a biological base, which was the principal ontological understanding presented in the politics department.

On the other hand, in the lectures I observed in a graduate course on cultural production, and their associated readings, the lecturer Mary Stevens, while highlighting in several ways the social production and reproduction of gender boundaries, nevertheless also appeared to leave some space for natural distinctions. Her own book was included on the reading list, and its introduction noted that gender relations are 'not merely determined' by biology 'but also' are socially and culturally produced (Reference withheld). In both classes Dr. Stevens referred to the 'feminine principle in creation': firstly with reference to one of her own chapters on Bakhtin's writing on carnival, which spoke of women being seen as being closer to nature and representing chaos (Observation, 14<sup>th</sup> April); and secondly suggesting a mythical reading of Sita's being swallowed by the earth (Observation, 12<sup>th</sup> May). It is possible that Dr. Stevens was simply highlighting how the feminine was perceived within these cultural universes, but the use of the same term, with similar meaning, in reference to the disparate contexts of India and medieval France meant her comments and writing could easily have been seen as making a more essentialist point about femininity. As noted, Berat Türk's course looked at multiple different possible interactions between the biological. Together these different treatments within and between courses supported Dr. Türk's contention about

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<sup>47</sup> cf. Butler, 1990

the difficulties of defining gender (cf. Henderson, 2015), and contributed to a sense of the fluid and unstable nature of gender boundaries.

*Sociology ontology: students' responses*

Student responses reflected the range of presentations of the meaning of gender observed in the department, as well as aspects of the emphasis on fluidity, and on resistance to definition and closure. Of the eleven students interviewed in relation to courses given in this department, four gave initial responses which appeared to mirror the definition given by Nilufer Balci in the politics department of gender as being 'socially constructed' in contrast to 'sex [which] is more based on biology' (e.g. Harry, Psychology, 3<sup>rd</sup> year, 18<sup>th</sup> May). Two others gave responses which fit such a framework, but later went on to emphasise the contingent, non-binary nature of gender:

'[Gender] is much more fluid and it's a very colourful spectrum that ... we shouldn't have to try to categorise.' (Misha, 2<sup>nd</sup> year, 31<sup>st</sup> March)

'And of course I know that there are not only two genders, I have to [add] that.' [*Smiling*]. (Leyla, Social psychology, 23<sup>rd</sup> May)

Another placed an emphasis on individual choice, seeing it as 'something you decide for yourself' (Deniz, 3<sup>rd</sup> year, 31<sup>st</sup> March). Four students, however, said that they were unable to offer a definition of gender. In one case, this was because a student had just started in the department having done his undergraduate studies in another department (Doruk, Social anthropology, Graduate, 18<sup>th</sup> May). The other three students were second year students, who were yet able to talk coherently, critically, and energetically about gender. Sinefin (2<sup>nd</sup> year, 31<sup>st</sup> March), for instance, commented,

'I am just trying to say I am very very confused about gender. I can't ... even make a definition because it's very complex in here [*laughs*]'.

However, she went on to make what I felt was a perceptive comment about the way some people at Brook reproduced gender-related hierarchies, associated with intellectual superiority, even as they sought to dismantle other gendered hierarchies, and oppose sexual harassment. In these cases students' confusion seemed to stem not from an inability to grasp and employ gender as an analytic construct, but from an awareness of its complexity. Politics undergraduates had been given a definition of

gender that was clear enough that, if they understood how to employ it, they could articulate it. The presentations of the ontology of gender given to these sociology students, however, were collectively too complex for them to easily articulate, despite their being able to employ them cogently.

At the same time, other students in this interview (31<sup>st</sup> March) – the only interview with multiple students from the sociology department itself – conveyed a sense that gender should not be defined, a normative desire that appeared to be linked to a strong resistance to applying definitions of gender categories. This seemed likely to be connected to their courses, as only one student (Sarah, Civil engineering, 19<sup>th</sup> April) outside this department and the GWS programme expressed such an opinion. Deniz (Sociology, 31<sup>st</sup> March), a third-year female student, for instance, stated of gender that,

'actually not defining it would be the ideal thing, because that's real freedom.'

Ontologically this appeared to relate to a sense that the act of naming or defining, particularly by (dominant) others, was in itself what created hierarchies of oppression. This argument was alluded to most clearly by Cem (2<sup>nd</sup> year), who acknowledged that he was struggling to articulate what he wanted, but returned to this theme at several points:

'The problem is when somebody tries to define something for somebody else or a complete community that's where the problems start ... [T]hat's not their right to do so.'

'The first time that we needed to name this was because of the oppression of naming it.'

These students' comments mirrored some of those by Berat Türk, whose concern about the oppressive consequences of definition and closure lay at the heart of what he was trying to communicate in his third-year course. Most of these students would not yet have taken that course. That they advanced these ideas, where students from other programmes did not, suggested that they were drawing on wider departmental teaching, both specifically in relation to gender, and more broadly.

One male student stood out as disagreeing with the approaches embraced in classes and by the other students. Yasin seemed to be typical of the male students Miray İncesü (Faculty, 10<sup>th</sup> May) described, who do not enjoy the department. He could not give a reason why he chose the subject, was highly critical of its theoretical, academic approach, and bemoaned the lack of preparation for the job market:

'I know lots about theory but who cares, I mean ... I'm not like a son of [a] European aristocratic person, I've got to feed myself.' (Yasin, 31<sup>st</sup> March)

His approach to gender reflected these pressures and priorities. While his initial definition was similar to those of several other students, if with a more essentialist element, he dismissed its value for practical purposes:

'For me gender is something socially constructed but affected by biology of course. But, I think like, you know, most ... people ... if they are born with vagina they feel like women and if they are born with a penis they feel like they are men ... I am not interested in, er, not so classical definitions of gender because it's not practical. I mean it should be studied of course but for its practical purposes ... for social policies and, I don't know like, market research it's not that important that definition of gender.

(Sociology, 31<sup>st</sup> March)

While ostensibly embracing aspects of the department's wider teaching on gender, his practical appeal to more naturalised understandings of gender seemed to give biology an ontological priority. For Yasin, pursuing his studies with a more instrumental focus on the job market, the theoretically complex analysis of the ontology of gender emphasised in the department was superfluous, its merits insufficiently persuasive.

Nevertheless, comments from two students, who had taken very few sociology courses, showed that relatively limited teaching could still be influential. Both spoke enthusiastically about the engagement with gender in Berat Türk's class; they seemed to have been struck by the course's emphasis on gender as process. Harry, a psychology major, when asked to identify the course's central message on gender said,

'I don't think there could be only one message, because there [were] different approaches ... But it's like generally not perceiving gender maybe as ... doing, done, being ... [but] understanding that process as becoming



and transforming and coming out on different stances in different times.'  
(Harry, 3<sup>rd</sup> year, 6<sup>th</sup> June)

Harry contrasted this with classes in the psychology department which, while regularly including reference to gender as a variable, tended to make 'stereotypical' blanket statements about males and females respectively. Doruk, for whom this was the first class which had addressed gender explicitly, had been led to consider the non-natural contingency of sexuality, a controversial step in Turkey:

Doruk: I think ... the best part of the class for me was the feminist part.

Adam: Why was that?

Doruk: It proposed like a different perspective ... it wasn't the perspective I look to the society ... You can say like we are naturally or biologically happen to be heterosexuals but they are saying ... [w]e are taught to be like that ...

Adam: Did you find it persuasive?

Doruk: Yeah

(Social anthropology, Graduate, 6<sup>th</sup> June)

While students from the politics department spoke about the contingency of their expected roles as men and women, this class had taken Doruk a step further. His comments here clearly highlighted the way in which the class had altered, or at least challenged, his understanding of the ontology of gender boundaries. It was particularly striking with both these students that this learning had taken place in just one course. Together with politics students' frequent references to their introductory sociology course, these responses suggested that relatively limited courses had significant influence on students' understandings of gender. Both the explicit connections students like Harry and Doruk made to their learning from particular sociology courses, and the wider correlations between the teaching in classes and students' perspectives about the complexity, the fluidity and the contingency of gender boundaries, suggested that the sociology department, like the politics department did indeed manage to shape many students' understandings of the ontology of gender.

## Categoric boundaries: politics

### *Categoric boundary work in politics classes*

The boundary work in these two departments with respect to categoric gender boundaries built on their respective ontological frameworks, variously illuminating, shifting, blurring and reinforcing such boundaries.

Gender was explicitly addressed only very rarely in the third-year classes I observed. One instance, referred to in the interview with the instructors, showed how embracing a naturalised ontology of gender could lead to reinforcement of categoric boundaries. Gizem Firat referred to her lecture on feminist critiques of organisation theory, which she described as being grounded in an, and presenting, an understanding of different male and female natures:

Gizem Firat: [T]he argument behind the relevance of feminist theory in that lecture was that ... organisational life favours male values ... for example, hierarchy, power struggles, dominance ... [O]n the other hand they believe that females by their nature, maybe out of their physical conditions tend to be more ... calm... they can solve or suggest ... more friendly and sensitive solutions to the problems. And I think that's important. I do believe and I agree that female nature may be different than //

Fazıl Başer: // Yeah.

Gizem Firat: male nature.

(Politics, Faculty, 27<sup>th</sup> April)

While I did not see this presentation to the students, if Gizem Firat's description is accurate, the lecture she describes makes a clear argument for a natural boundary between men and women, and one with social and institutional implications. Ahmet (13<sup>th</sup> April), a student from Dr. Firat's class, recalled her account of the feminist critique; he agreed with criticism of organisations as hierarchical and 'indifferent to the humane needs of workers' but was 'not sure if it is inspired by masculinity'. This showed that, as with the points where classes challenged gender boundaries, students responded to boundary work in different ways.

Other classes in the department served to illuminate symbolic and social gender boundaries, making students aware of them and their significance, and helping them to understand aspects of how they function and are reproduced. In the first-year course, gender was addressed most clearly in a half class on radical feminism, as one of a range of alternative viewpoints at the end of the course. The instructor, Rya Nalband, spoke of the inequalities highlighted by liberal feminism, drawing out through questioning examples of access to schooling, voting and the glass ceiling in the workplace (Politics, 1<sup>st</sup> year, Observation, 25<sup>th</sup> May). She then presented radical feminism's view that 'men are responsible for and benefit from the exploitation of women' before emphasising that patriarchy involves also the complicity of women in enforcing hierarchies and maintaining norms, and that patriarchy 'also harms men because of the roles it gives to them'. She looked to students to give examples of each of these.

The class looked at a variety of means of reproduction of symbolic and social gender boundaries, including the role of advertising, public institutions – exemplified by the recent replacement of the General Directorate of Women's Status and Problems by the Ministry of the Family and Social Policies, relegating women to the private sphere (cf. Kandiyoti, 2016) – and the use of language. Kardalen Heper (Politics, Faculty, 13<sup>th</sup> April), another instructor on the course, noted in her interview how she focused on language in order to make students 'aware of ... what we reproduce in our daily lives'. Again, this drew attention to students' own complicity in the production of gender boundaries, and their associated inequalities. Another instructor of the same course did describe, in her interview, a concrete step she took to shift gender boundaries in the class, by making male students cut and serve the cake in their class party (ky Adanır, 24<sup>th</sup> May). The classes observed, however, made no explicit arguments that gender boundaries should change, neither presenting developed arguments in support of radical feminism, nor evaluating its strengths. Any implicit call for change to boundaries was for transvaluation – that the hierarchy between men and women should be equalised – and a shift in gender boundaries, that the constraints, limitations and discursive ascriptions placed on, or attributed to, both men and women be removed or relaxed.

Within the graduate course on Turkish politics, gender was not an overt focus of the classes I observed, which addressed the role of Islam in Turkish politics, and the rise of the AKP. The classes nevertheless showed how gender relations were implicated in these political processes. In the first class (Observation, 12<sup>th</sup> April) the instructor, Nilufer Balci, highlighted the tensions over the role and conduct of women in the 1970s and 1980s between the more cosmopolitan middle class and poor conservative rural-urban migrants, thus showing how gender relations were shaped by political, classed, geographic and religious boundaries. In the second she portrayed a conservative approach to gender as playing a central role in the identity of the AKP (Politics, Graduates, Observation, 19<sup>th</sup> April). She stated this explicitly, affirming that

'the most threatening issues [for them] are related to women and to family.'

She also referred to two crises in 2004 which she portrayed as having a defining role on the relationship between the AKP and the European union, both of which related to divisions over the rights and freedoms of women – the government's attempt to retain adultery as a crime, and the European Court of Human Right's upholding of the ban on the headscarf. At a couple of points she drew attention to the consequences the political discourses embraced by, and decisions made by, the government could have for women's lives. While acknowledging their opposition to some violence against women, she noted that it 'depends on which women', referring, partly in relation to the murder of Özgecan Aslan<sup>48</sup>, to a distinction between 'deserved and undeserved violence', whereby certain women, whether divorced, or wearing supposedly inappropriate clothing, could be deemed deserving of violence. She also described how widows whom their community judged to be behaving inappropriately were deprived of social security money, describing this as

'the most extreme case of conservatism that I can think of'.

These classes performed a range of boundary work. They illuminated the ways in which gender boundaries were produced and reproduced. In doing so they served to

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<sup>48</sup> Özgecan Aslan was murdered for resisting an attempted rape on a minibus on 11<sup>th</sup> February 2015. The murder had provoked widespread protests.

denaturalise, and hence to soften or blur gender boundaries. The critique of particular constraints on women's freedom also acted as an implied call to shift such boundaries. At the same time the classes acknowledged and repeated the role of gender as a boundary marker between groups in relation to both politics and religion. In the first class (12<sup>th</sup> April) Dr. Balcı problematised the terms 'Islam' and 'Muslim', highlighting their range of different meanings. Nevertheless, such was the strength of the association between the AKP and conservative Islam in the study period, that critique of the former was difficult to separate from implied critique of the latter. In this respect, the classes also served to reinforce gendered boundaries.

*Politics categoric boundaries: students' responses*

Understandings of, and approaches to, symbolic and social gender boundaries among the students in both departments reflected the differences in the treatment of these boundaries in their courses. Within the politics department, interviews highlighted that some students had reflected meaningfully and significantly on gender boundaries before their studies, each acknowledging that previous academic courses, which either they or close friends or family had taken, had been influential in this process. Each indicated that they had 'feminist' (Blue, 1<sup>st</sup> year, 7<sup>th</sup> April) or 'anti-patriarchic' (Uğur and Tolga, Graduates, 11<sup>th</sup> April) sympathies, with the two male graduates describing a range of ways they had altered their behaviour to equalise gender relations in their households. None of these three students mentioned any specific courses they had taken at Brook as having particularly advanced their understanding of, or engagement with, gender. Indeed, only Tolga commented that his thinking about gender had developed at Brook – from both extra-curricular discussions and his courses, summarising that,

'when combined, both academic and social contributed to our understanding of gender issues.' (Tolga, Politics, Graduate, 11<sup>th</sup> April)

Nevertheless staff and students both indicated that politics students in general grew in their appreciation of the significance of gender boundaries over the course of their studies. Staff commented both on students' initial lack of awareness about gender and gender inequality, and the increase in their awareness through their time in the

department. Two of the female instructors of the first-year politics class contrasted students as they entered their first module – whom they described as being 'incognisant' and 'entirely unaware' of gender and gender inequality – with students later in the programme:

Rüya Nalband: But I am teaching political sociology as well, third year, and I really see a difference between the first-year perceptions and third-year perceptions //

Ökyü Adanır: // mm

Rüya Nalband: I really do. At least, even if they do a sexist comment they are aware of the fact that it's not, it's not right, I mean [that] there is something wrong there. So there is the socialisation process around those three years which, which makes them more aware and more, you know, more cognisant of what [is] happening around them.

(Politics, Faculty, 24th May)

These comments suggested a growth in students' awareness both of gender boundaries and an understanding of a normative value, implicitly that of equality between men and women. Another instructor on the first-year course, Kardalen Heper (Politics, Faculty, 13<sup>th</sup> April) emphasised that

'one single course, even, even if it's on gender, thirteen weeks of gender, is not making much sense. It is going to be like four years of education altogether if at all, [that] makes a change.'

Each of the remaining undergraduate students did describe, however, how specific courses had influenced their understanding of symbolic and social gender boundaries, though in different ways. I treat the students I identified as being more religious separately. Of the other four, one, Anakin (Politics, 1<sup>st</sup> year, 7<sup>th</sup> April) described learning about the development of the subordination of women in a history class, but it was not clear what further difference this made to her perception of or interaction with such boundaries. Nermin (Politics, 3<sup>rd</sup> year, 13<sup>th</sup> May) explained that she saw 'inequality and subordination' more as a result of her courses, but felt that 'most probably we cannot inter[vene in] these situations'; her awareness of gender boundaries had increased, but not any sense that she could influence them. Two students indicated that

their courses had both inclined and equipped them to address gender boundaries. Zühal (3<sup>rd</sup> year, 13<sup>th</sup> May), mentioned three courses in particular in which she had learned about gender, the first and third-year sociology courses, and the first-year politics course I observed. Following her earlier comments, in which she described the development of her theoretical understandings of gender from these courses, she continued,

'And, um, [now] I have the idea of how I need to approach the gender and how I can defend the women's rights at least in my perspective.'

At least at a hypothetical level, Zühal's conceptual learning about gender boundaries had positioned her to want, and be able, to act so that gender boundaries were shifted, or at least maintained, in favour of women's rights. Donatello (Politics, 7<sup>th</sup> April), a male first year student, also responded positively to a question about the influence of his courses so far on his perception of gender boundaries:

'I am [a]shamed about these inequalities ... and, I try to change something.'

He commented appreciatively on the class on feminism I observed,

'[W]hen I did [the] reading about feminism, I break [*uncertain*] my *önyargı*<sup>49</sup> ... about feminism ... I [am] happy about their effort[s] to ... tak[e] their rights ... [in a] masculine society.'

He described an instance when a fellow student had threatened to falsely accuse him of harassing her, which had previously coloured his impression of feminism, but his course had changed this opinion. Even if in still somewhat limited ways, his courses had both made him more aware of gender boundaries, appreciative of those who sought to challenge their associated constraints, and himself keen to try to equalise gender relations.

Each of the religious students interviewed had in different ways continued to see symbolic gender boundaries as appropriately designating different roles for men and women, but each had still been influenced in different ways by their courses. Serhan (4<sup>th</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> Prejudice

year, 25<sup>th</sup> May), from rural Eastern Turkey, explained that he had gained insights into practices and mechanisms of gendered oppression in contemporary Turkey

'because we have read many articles ... which conducted the empirical studies in Turkey in that regard.'

His learning supported his view, given at various points in the interview, that women were treated badly in the modern, materialist, capitalist world. He acknowledged that feminists were 'right [in] their criticism against the, the perception of ... wom[e]n in the society', mentioning in particular unequal pay, sexual objectification, and expectations that women should remain in the home. Nevertheless he acknowledged that his understanding of gender equality was at odds with the understanding primarily conveyed in the department, including in the first and third year sociology classes:

'[W]hen they say no, we should reverse the overall understanding – most[ly] they refer to the religious understanding of the gender equality – I would say they would go against the gender equality.'

While his classes supported his awareness of gender inequality, and illuminated some of the structural reasons for it, his normative understandings of the position of gender boundaries did not seem to have altered.

For Hakan (4<sup>th</sup> year, 8<sup>th</sup> June) it appeared that teaching in the department had contributed to a blurring of categorical gender boundaries. At one level he had a clear understanding of categorical gender boundaries, which he approached 'from the Islamic perspective', which he acknowledged 'is more rigid', attributing different rights and responsibilities to men and women. He drew a contrast between this and other perspectives on gender:

'Gender issue in today's world are more ... individualistic ... In today's world concepts like solidarity and mutual responsibility, responsibility towards persons in family and towards other society disappeared.'

Nevertheless, as noted above, his encounters with other perspectives had raised significant questions about how universal such a perspective should be:



'Personally I try to follow the way of Islamic teaching I think ... Individually I am not confused ... I am confused whether everyone should be free to their own way, but this is reality. No one can force others to do this way.'

(Hakan, 4<sup>th</sup> year, 8<sup>th</sup> June)

It was not entirely clear whether his was a political question, of the freedom society should give people to pursue different paths with regards to gender, or an epistemological or moral question about how clear and widely applicable approaches to gender should be. Either way, it appeared that teaching in the department had reduced the clarity and certainty he had about gender boundaries, enabling him to at least consider the appropriateness of others thinking about, and practising gender relations differently. His programme had changed the ideas he had about others (Unterhalter 2009). While he maintained throughout the interview this distinction between personal clarity about gender boundaries, and uncertainty about their applicability to others, at one point he used quite stark terms to refer to this blurring process:

'My way of life is also under pressure from ... what I learned from my school and from my courses ... Previously ... before getting involved in these issues I was more rigid, I was more consistent about the issue. But the more I learn other things the more ... I feel the necessity to change [what I] think. At least to change my perception of other people.'

His description of what he needed to change in response to this pressure did not seem too dramatic, but his language suggested that these were significant issues for him. Despite holding onto his Islamic beliefs, the department's challenge to the clear gender boundaries he had grown up with, and the categories into which they placed people, was markedly destabilising.

Ahmet (3<sup>rd</sup> year, 13<sup>th</sup> May) had more clearly reconciled understandings of the ontology of gender drawn from departmental teaching with a continuing embrace of conservative Turkish gender roles personally, amidst a recognition of a wider freedom for others to do otherwise. He acknowledged that the department had furthered his understandings of the perspectives, demands and problems of women, homosexuals and transgender people. The insight he emphasised the most, however, related to masculinity:

'But especially from study in this department I have come to the realisation of the fact that ... the gender issues and masculinity puts ... a big pressure on you as a male person and I was not aware of this ... It is about being the breadwinner of the family ... You have to be employed. You have to be strong to protect your family ... I didn't see them [as burdens] ... in the past. It was like a part of your identity as a man. But now you can see them as [a] burden or pressure ... that is put by the masculinity.

Ahmet specified that he gained these insights in particular from the first-year course on sociology, and the third-year course on political sociology. As indicated above the first-year introductory politics class I observed also addressed this, and helping students to appreciate that gendered constraints applied to men too was an explicit focus for faculty members like Kardalen Heper (13<sup>th</sup> April). Departmental teaching had thus contributed to Ahmet's shift in seeing masculinity as something natural or essential – as seems to be conveyed here by the notion of 'identity' – to a social expectation.

Importantly Ahmet's response to acknowledging the socially constructed nature of masculinity was not, however, to throw off these burdens and limitations. Where the two male graduate students, for instance, sought in light of their insights into gender relations to adopt different gendered practices (Tolga and Uğur, Graduates, 11<sup>th</sup> May), Ahmet was happy to accept these constructions, which he saw as being an aspect of 'our culture ... part of our tradition':

Adam: You haven't looked at this in a way of thinking actually I should, I am free to reject these // pressures?

Ahmet: // I am free to reject these but I can understand that some people can reject. I don't, I don't condemn them. I personally, maybe I am a little bit more conservative person, I think they are relevant for our society's social values, but here, there must be a possibility to reject them as well.

(Politics, 3<sup>rd</sup> year, 13<sup>th</sup> May)

Ahmet accommodated the department's gendered boundary work in light of the other boundaries which influenced him. His perspectives on gender boundaries were traditional, and at odds with those of the department. It would have been useful to enquire further whether he thought that men should positively adopt more of the burdens borne by women, but I did not do so. However, in acknowledging the

constructed nature of these expectations, and that people should be free to deviate from them, he had accepted some of the department's arguments. While at least for himself Ahmet's perspective on the position of gender boundaries had not shifted, his understanding of the nature, the production and consequently the malleability of gender boundaries had changed. It appeared that the most significant impact of this was likely to be in an approach of greater acceptance of those who differed from both himself, and from traditional Turkish gender norms.

The responses of these students show that (undergraduate) teaching in the department had, for the significant majority of students interviewed, brought students to the point where they could articulate in at least a basic way the understandings of gender which predominated among departmental faculty members who taught about gender to any significant degree. The three students designated by themselves or others as religious showed marked distinctions from other students. Despite the variations in their backgrounds and responses and the coarseness of both separating these students from others, and grouping them together, the ostensibly religious boundary did appear to influence their interaction with departmental teaching, though in different ways for each of them. Inconsistencies or confusion in the accounts of other students might have pointed to unacknowledged reticence to accept departmental teaching. These students, however, were the only ones who in their interviews critically assessed and indeed rejected aspects of the teaching, even while also accepting, and being demonstrably influenced by, other aspects of the teaching. Their responses highlight the active role played by students in responding to gendered boundary work. They show how to different degrees teaching about gender in the department was able, within the wider institutional context, to both blur and shift gender boundaries, including among students with strong, ideologically influenced existing frameworks for understanding gender. The three students each had to wrestle with the challenge of reconciling multiple and competing understandings of symbolic gender boundaries and had reached three different positions in doing so. It was notable that other students did not appear to have had to wrestle in the same way as these students. The department did not appear to provide intellectual impetus for students more inclined to embrace social constructionist understandings of gender to consider the perspectives of those who saw

gender boundaries as being more clearly delineated. Given the intersection between sociopolitical polarisation and understandings of gender in contemporary Turkey, noted throughout this thesis, this absence could be seen as compounding, or at least failing to adequately challenge, such societal divisions.

### **Categoric boundaries: sociology**

#### *Categoric boundary work in sociology classes*

While sharing similarities with the boundary work in the politics department, the classes in the sociology department drew attention to the significance of gender boundaries, and reflected on their reproduction, in ways which were both different and more clearly elaborated. Veli Zarakolu's history classes explored how gendered boundaries are (re)produced and illuminated the inequalities they perpetuated. In the first class I observed, Dr. Zarakolu's presentation of the social construction of gender, drawing on his teaching on Claude Lévi-Strauss, led on to his stating that boundaries associated with gender were 'arbitrary' (Observation, 17<sup>th</sup> April). The implications of this were not, however, expanded upon. The second lecture, on standpoint theory, presented Dorothy Smith's argument that gender boundaries 'cut across all social practices and relations', shaping the way people see the whole world with

'unequal social relations ... [serving] to compel women to think their world in the concepts and terms in which men think theirs.' (Veli Zarakolu, Observation, 17<sup>th</sup> April)

Emphasising that even their study within sociology was rooted in such power relations, the lecture underlined the significance of gender boundaries in shaping how the world is seen, and occluding inequalities.

For its part, in the different theoretical perspectives it presented, classes in the course on change explored in some detail different possible aspects of the significance of gender boundaries: explaining the definition, and subsequent pathologising, of various forms of sexuality within the Western discourse of *scientia sexualis* identified by Foucault (1990); presenting Freud's notion of the psychological centrality of the phallus; commenting approvingly on Irigaray's contention that masculine subjectivity underlies

'the current consumerist society and the patriarchal logic of the political economy of capitalism' (Berat Türk, Sociology, Observation, 25<sup>th</sup> April).

These forms of significance encompassed a wider range and depth of social life than those addressed in the politics department, a variety rooted in the different frameworks considered, with their different ontological claims, and different arguments about the mode of reproduction of gender boundaries. As noted in the previous section both these classes made significant arguments for understanding gender boundaries as contingent, both explicitly and as an implication of their analyses of a range of different frameworks for understanding gender. This questioning of the stability of gender boundaries served to blur the boundaries between different gender categories. Where this was an implication of the comparison of different discursive treatments of women in Dr. Balci's politics class, it was far more pronounced in these classes, with their constant emphasis on the multiplicity of possible perspectives, and their explicit examples of Irigaray's deconstruction, and Butler's troubling, of gender boundaries. Indeed towards the end of his lecture on Irigaray, Berat Türk seemed to celebrate her presentation of feminine subjectivity's boundarylessness:

'She does not have to be represented, she is everywhere. She is not based on oppositions or separations or reduction.' (Berat Türk, Sociology, Observation, 25<sup>th</sup> April).

Women's being unnameable, chaotic, beyond the control of discourse was presented within the logic of the lecture as a way of resisting exploitation, consumerism and male domination. Dr. Türk's normative view, stated in his interview, that boundaries ought to be blurred, was not far below the surface in these lectures.<sup>50</sup>

The cultural production classes I observed focused rather on one type of reproduction of gender boundaries, through the medium of folk songs. Of all the classes I observed these placed the most rhetorical emphasis on both the import, and the strength of, gender boundaries. Throughout the classes Mary Stevens drew out the consequences of 'hardcore patriarchy' (Observation, 12<sup>th</sup> May) in the Indian subcontinent for women: their separation from their birth families; their arduous

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labours; their precarity. At the end of the first class Dr Stevens explained that the folk songs served as both a means of transmission, an analysis, and a critique of the injustices of patriarchy:

'It's terribly important to pay attention to these forms ... because women are socialised in these ways, in these, in their communities. They learn how to accept certain things but also to internally resist if not openly ... [It also g]ives you an opportunity to assess the limits of your, er, resistance ... so that you also know that you have to make this negotiation on a daily basis.'  
(Observation, 14<sup>th</sup> April)

This highlighted both the importance of challenging gender boundaries, and the difficulties of doing so. In the second lecture, commenting on a song emphasising the self-sacrificial way in which Sita preferred Rama's need for food over her own, Dr. Stevens again underlined the strength of gender boundaries, their far-reaching consequences, along with the importance of challenging them:

'So look how the ideal type is constructed to ensure ... that the advantages actually do always go to the men ... This internalising is so incredible. Look at how a folksong teaches you this one lesson without having to look anywhere else ... And, what does it really mean? You see it in the song. It means this; it means that women will not be eating until all the men have been served ... And so it's a very powerful, just think how powerful patriarchy [is], and how do you then begin to mount a challenge to it, that's the question.'  
(Observation, 12<sup>th</sup> May).

Dr. Stevens' boundary work here moved beyond illumination to a call to challenge, to shift, gender boundaries – beyond the scientific task of understanding to the critical or social task of activism. She clarified in our interview that her primary aim was for students to

'understand how deeply entrenched it [patriarchy] is and the mechanisms by which it get so entrenched ... That's the first step and we're here to do that, to teach it and to learn how to interrogate it. And once you understand it then only you can mount an awareness about it and a critique of it and the challenging of it. Those things will come after.'  
(13<sup>th</sup> May)

In the business department Mehmet Türk, had also encouraged students to challenge gender boundaries in suggesting ways that managers could work to overcome gender discrimination. This was the only class I observed, however, where an instructor encouraged students in a more general way to consider their role in challenging gender injustice.

This class also had the clearest engagement with religion of any I observed. While the Ramayana was treated primarily as a cultural text, Dr. Stevens also underlined its religious significance. In our interview (13<sup>th</sup> May) Dr. Stevens criticised the education in the department, and in part the wider Turkish education system, for offering students limited engagement with culturally significant religious works:

'It's too Western. They almost never read their own texts. I find it very striking that, for example, students have not read [a certain] philosopher ... because he is an Islamic philosopher. Nobody has read him. And I would think that ... before you critique this ... you should actually read your own philosophers. And just because he is a religious figure ... [unless] you're a religious student ... you never read them. And for me that's really problematic because if you're training to be a social scientist you should think about who were the people who were contributing to the discourses ... and ... for example ... why are they so popular currently.'

The Western orientation of the department, possibly combined with the influence of Kemalist secularism at Brook, and heightened by the polarising effect of the AKP government, meant that in her eyes, particularly religious, Turkish cultural texts were not explored as they should be. Towards the end of the second class, having raised the challenge of interrogating patriarchy, with reference to the Ramayana in the Indian context, Dr. Stevens encouraged the students to consider how to do the same with the Qur'an:

'If you begin to interrogate ... some of the things in the Quran, for example, ... [it's a] similar story. So deeply entrenched. Where do you mount your critique and from what angle? ... The convenient way is, "I don't believe in any of this – oh that story is so ... patriarchal." ... But, I mean, you have to know it thoroughly ... in order to be able to see if you can use it in different ways, in order to be able to interrogate it and to mount a critique ... you've

got to understand its reach, its appeal ... the way it works on people's minds.'

The boundary work in this encouragement seemed double edged. On the one hand, within a secular institution, and in the context of Turkey's history of *laïcité*, this counsel to pay meaningful attention to religion challenged the institution's existing boundaries. On the other hand, presenting the Qur'an almost solely as an object of critique, and as a foundation for patriarchy, while consistent with the broader approach of the course, served to reinforce an association of religion and gender inequality. Amidst the many challenges to gender boundaries in these classes, there were still ways in which they served to reinforce other sociopolitical boundaries through their engagement with gender.

#### *Sociology categoric boundaries: students' responses*

Students in the sociology department showed two principle types of response to this categoric gender boundary work: some wanted to see shifts in such boundaries, of equalisation and removal of constraint; some were disheartened when faced with the strength of boundaries; some focused on the blurring or the erasure of boundaries. Several students showed aspects of two or three of these approaches at different points in the interviews and observations. Only seven of the eleven students were asked about the impact of sociology courses on their perceptions of gender boundaries<sup>51</sup>, with six of them indicating that they had been significantly influential. Responses from students showed at least some parallels with the teaching observed in departmental classes. Together the student responses suggested that the department's influence on student's approaches to symbolic gender boundaries was generally both more profound than, and qualitatively different from, the influence of other departments in the study.

Five students described how their courses had encouraged their interest in gender boundaries being shifted. Two mentioned this only briefly. Doruk (Sociology, Graduate, 18<sup>th</sup> May), who had taken only few courses in the department, noted that, reading feminists in the change course, he was 'impressed with them in terms of [their]

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<sup>51</sup> The other four did not attend a second interview which focused on this, after the first interview ran over.



scientific approach' though, as I discuss further in the next chapter, 'not ... [with their] practice in this school' which he felt to be 'too strict'. Misha (Sociology, 2<sup>nd</sup> year, Fieldnotes, 26<sup>th</sup> May), an enthusiastic, privately educated, female student related how her 'feminist awakening came in university after [a] traumatic relationship', noting that 'the academic study helped'; she added that whereas she had come to Brook with an interest in other cultures, 'now it [women's rights] is all I think and talk about'.

Two other students gave more detailed insights into the ways in which their courses had increased their understanding of the significance of gender boundaries, and encouraged them to challenge the limitations they placed on women i.e. to embrace a feminist perspective. While normally noted in relation specifically to gender and women's studies courses, students' embrace of a feminist identity is a well-documented result of courses with a significant degree of engagement with gender (Markowitz, 2005; Yoder et al., 2007; Cuesta and Witt, 2014). Filiz (3<sup>rd</sup> year, 9<sup>th</sup> June), a student from the local city, described how reading about feminism in her courses had crystallised an inchoate awareness of inequality that she had before university:

'[A]ctually when I came [to] [Brook] I always feel ... that there is something inequality ... [but] I [did] not identif[y] myself as a feminist. But then I came to [Dere] and ... [read] the most important articles about feminism or Butler or others it [was] very impressive and it ma[d]e me ... more strong to put my view on it [feminism] actually'.

It was unclear precisely what aspect of her studies led Filiz to take up explicitly feminist views. She went on to describe feminism as a science, reiterating how it was 'impressive'. It appears therefore that it might have been a combination both of the insights of feminist theorists, and the academic credibility they lent to her emerging critical perspective, which convinced her so to align herself. Either way her embrace of feminism thereafter went beyond words. She described how she had joined the Women's Solidarity group at the university. Not only had the department's teaching made her more aware of gender boundaries, it had encouraged her to act to shift them. This concurs with literature emphasising how feminist teaching builds activism amongst students (Flood, 2011; Stake and Hoffmann, 2001).

For Leyla (23<sup>rd</sup> May), a graduate student, it was precisely this move towards activism that her engagement with gender in her courses had encouraged. I interviewed her alone in connection with Dr. Steven's course on the sociology of culture. She was studying psychology, but had taken a variety of courses from the sociology department during her bachelor's degree, including an undergraduate course on social anthropology which Dr. Stevens also taught. Leyla explained that contrasting her grandmother's capacity to assert her own boundaries with her parents' unequal, violent relationship initially made her aware of the significance of gender. She explained that she still carried a traditional understanding of gender roles into university, but described how a combination of encountering an abusive situation outside class, and teaching and encouragement in Dr. Stevens' undergraduate course changed her:

'I ... heard some people swearing really bad[ly] ... from a guy to a girl and I ... tried to stop him and he didn't stop and I thought that I have to intervene ... That was the time that I became aware of the stuff. Also that social anthropology class [Mary] told us a lot about the gender roles; we didn't get into that in our other [psychology] classes. And, in there [for my assignment] I decided to work together ... [with] sex workers, [exploring] what are their problems ... and how they are ... fighting against the inequalities ... That fight became really really valuable in my eyes and I thought and realise[d] that at some point ... I ... can either [be] involved in that fight and carry on the struggle with other women or I can take the men's side and accept all my roles and try to serve them for all my life.'

While building on other experiences and reflections, Leyla's academic engagement with gender through Dr. Stevens' course was distinctive in terms of its focus on gender roles. She explained elsewhere how Dr. Stevens had given them freedom to explore what they wanted in the course, and, as shown above, Dr. Stevens explicitly called students to understand the reproduction of gender relations through culture in order to challenge it. With these encouragements Leyla's assignment became an entry point into the world of feminist resistance.

Other students had been less motivated to challenge gender boundaries in society. During the culture class one of the male students expressed his dismay at the class' presentation of the strength of gender boundaries:

Mary Stevens: Patriarchy ... is produced at the most fundamental level in the most basic story of this [cultural] universe which is the Ramayana ... Think of what the job is for feminists, in the Indian context ... the main theme of patriarchy is ... so grounded deeply it's probably impossible to dislodge it.

Male student: Thinking this way is so depressing //

Mary Stevens: // What?

Male Student: // Nothing could change.

Mary Stevens: Oh I hope not. That's what I'm saying [*laughter*] ... There should be ways to change it. But on the other hand we have to know what you're up against.

(Sociology, Graduate, Class observation, 12<sup>th</sup> May)

I did not interview this student, and the longer trajectory of his thinking is unknown. Nevertheless, this shows that the illumination of gender boundaries in the department left some students, at least temporarily, overwhelmed by the scale and resilience of gender-related injustice in society.

Several sociology students evinced resistance to employing categoric gender boundaries. This related to the ontological perception, noted above, that naming and classification in itself creates oppressive boundaries (Cem, 2<sup>nd</sup> year, 31<sup>st</sup> March), an argument referred to in, for instance, the set reading on Butler (Allan 2011) in the course on change. This resistance was also consonant with the fluid, contingent ontology of gender evoked in several of the classes I observed. Aside from Cem, Misha (2<sup>nd</sup> year) and Deniz (3<sup>rd</sup> year, 31<sup>st</sup> March) also made clear their opposition to using gender categories, using their own gender identities as an example. Misha spoke of how she was attracted to both women and men, and thought of herself as a male in her dreams, but had a boyfriend. This had led her to ask,

'As what should I describe myself? And, I came to the conclusion that I don't have to, it's not an obligation to describe myself, to categorise myself into a very narrow delineated description into anything. I can just be myself in that fluid wide gender spectrum.'

Misha's emphasis on the freedom not to be constrained by the labels others might assign might well have been as influenced by popular discourses of gender fluidity, as by more academic post-structuralist discourses (Butler, 1990; Youdell, 2006). Deniz referred to her own wrestling with gender identity in her early teenage years, explaining that, having 'spent years trying to identify' she eschewed particular assignments:

'I would kill myself before referring myself as transsexual, gender fluid [*weaves body*]. Some people feel [the] need to define [them]selves. If I had to say something I would say non-binary.'

For these students, the teaching in courses which subverted closed, clearly delineated boundaries, complemented, if not also informing, their own journeys.

Other students did, however, raise questions about this rejection of categories. Mert, a quietly spoken male student, did so when Deniz expressed her annoyance at the specific labels people adopted to describe their gender and sexuality:

Deniz: You don't have to necessarily put a name to every single thing.

Mert: But if you don't name it then how are you going to create your own space. I mean, if people don't name themselves as, I don't know, LGBT or ... //

(31<sup>st</sup> March)

Mert was cut off in his response by another student, but appeared to be highlighting that collective organisation, actions and spaces often required a name around which to form. While his point here reflects similar arguments in the literature, it was not apparent whether it was one he had drawn from classes or not. A similar discussion took place in another interview, with students again wrestling with the pitfalls of both naming and not defining gender categories:

Harry: I am considering about Irigaray ... I guess she was saying [gender] could be used in a useful way, but, mmm, maybe not using it at all would be better ... because when we use a term it naturally separates us, to define us maybe in different ways. When we not speak there will be no problem.

Adam: Mm, maybe [*laughs*] ... What do you guys think?

Doruk: I think it puts pressure on people, like we have definitions of like stereotypical definitions of male or female or gays, like you have to fit in those roles like to get accepted in society. So maybe if you don't have something like that gender, gender roles it would be more easy for people ... But somehow ... they are going to be defined anyways, so ... I don't know  
*[laughs]*

(3<sup>rd</sup> year, 18<sup>th</sup> May)

Harry sought to draw on the course they had been taking to reflect on this. Both his and Doruk's thinking also had close connections with the fluid, process-oriented understandings of gender the change class had introduced them to. Again, it was not entirely clear that their hesitant inclinations to leave the boundaries between gender categories blurred could be attributed to the teaching in the department, but it was certainly consonant with it.

One student was dismissive of this blurring of boundaries. Yasin, was more inclined towards simple, practical categorisations. Following on from his reflection on the relevant definition of gender for social policies and market research, quoted above<sup>52</sup>, he continued:

Yasin: Like, there are like males and females, women and men and that's it in that case.

*[Laughter]*

Sinefin: I think he's just trying to be controversial.

Yasin: I'm just, I'm not saying that there are not queer people or LGBT community, I'm not trying to discourage that but statistically, if I am to sell a washing machine I will not even care about it.

(2<sup>nd</sup> year, 31<sup>st</sup> March)

While Sinefin's judgement might have been to a degree correct, Yasin's focus on the job market seemed to have left the department's questioning of boundaries feeling arcane and redundant. In a later exchange, Misha highlighted how problematising gender boundaries could be useful in the marketplace, but Yasin was reluctant to accept this. It

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is possible that, if the department had placed a greater priority on exploring the practical implications of the theories it addressed – an absence noted by several of the students, including both Misha and Yasin – then he would have been helped to better appreciate the significance of the questioning of gender boundaries.

An interview with one religious student highlighted differences from the more secular majority. Ayşe (4<sup>th</sup> year, 8<sup>th</sup> June), who had originally sacrificed her goal of going to university because of the ban on women wearing headscarves in class had found her university studies transformative. She described how, during the years of her early adulthood where she had to stay at home, she was increasingly aware of frustrations relating to gender, including encountering male perceptions that domestic labour was easy, but it was only at university, through sociology, that she understood them properly:

'[In s]ociology ... we always focus on the relations and interactions and we can define our interactions that we live. *Yani*, before sociology study I just live and I just feel there is wrong but I just live because I don't know why it is wrong. But now I can define what is wrong and, oh, er, [it's a] very good thing for me [*laughs*].'

The insights that Ayşe's programme gave on gender relations – within the context of its wider relational focus – had helped crystallise her pre-existing questions and concerns, and understand the dynamics behind them. It appeared that she had been able to both see gender – and related – boundaries more clearly, and hence better understand her positionality in relation to them. She had embraced a social constructionist understanding of gender, and expressed a desire to resist the gendered limitations she faced. Despite her account of the significance of the sociology department, she went on stress that this was a part of a wider process, beyond both specific courses and her academic studies:

Adam: Were there any courses in particular that helped in your thinking or, was it the overall programme?

...

Ayşe: Hmmm, courses. I don't remember now [*laughs*]. *Yani*, I think it is not about one single courses it is about the ... cumulative process I think

and the things I read, the things I, er, see, I watch and everything. This is not about [Brook] it is about, er, me in this five-year process. This started from the university entrance, [Brook] and my other lectures, my other friendships, groups, activities et cetera. And I justify myself, er, from my religion also.

Nevertheless her first comments show that a systematic academic framework can play an important part in a broader learning journey. While she portrayed her understandings as being consistent with her religion, and the teachings of the Qur'an, at different points in the interview she seemed to offer contradictory presentations of her situation in this regard, both denying and affirming her place 'at the margin [of] my religion'. She was the only student who presented themselves as markedly religious who rejected, at least for herself, conservative gender role divisions, but her ambiguity highlights how difficult it is to define and encompass the bounds of religion.

There were two important points of distinction in comparison to Leyla and Filiz above, and indeed to the impression given by four of the five other sociology majors. Despite her courses bringing clarity to her own perceptions of the injustice of some gender boundaries, she was not persuaded that they were experienced as unjust universally, nor as a consequence, minded to challenge these boundaries more broadly. She described how in her own family, and for many students at Brook, the typical gendered division of labour was normal:

'This is normal for our life and many, many people in [Dere] ... this is also normal for my families, my relatives, my friends but not me myself. *Yani* I want to change it for me only, not for the other society. Because I don't think there is a need to change this, or, *yani*, I question ... [whether] there should be a need or it should ... continue. Because when I try to communicate with my sisters, my mother, ... some other friends ... this is normal for their life and why should I change this normal? They are happy in their relations.'

Where Leyla's learning about gender injustice fit her observations of it in her own family, and among sex workers, many of those Ayşe spoke to about it were content with the status quo. She had not, hitherto, been persuaded that wholesale change was necessary, despite the clear conviction she had about her own unwillingness to conform to constraints she perceived as prejudiced.

While not herself underscoring the blurring of gender boundaries, in the same way as some of the other students, Ayşe had accepted a blurring of gender boundaries from a normative perspective. Though there might be questions about the logical consistency of her position, she had embraced one approach to gender as appropriate for herself, while acknowledging that others would follow a different path. In this respect she was similar to two of the religious students in the politics department, Hakan and Ahmet, though in her case she was content for others to embrace more clearly delineated categoric boundaries, rather than vice versa. It was notable that these students appeared to differ in this respect from at least some more secular students interviewed in the department, who tended to criticise more universally – as 'dominant' and 'oppressive' (e.g. Cem and Misha, Sociology, 2<sup>nd</sup> year, 31<sup>st</sup> March) – perspectives on gender which espoused firmer gender boundaries. The department's emphasis on the shifting and blurring of gender boundaries, thus had different outcomes for different students.

## Conclusion

Students' understandings of the ontology of gender and perceptions of categoric gender boundaries closely reflected the approaches taken in their departments. This suggests that academic engagement with gender, in the context of a department's wider teaching and social environment, can have an important influence on the way students perceive gender boundaries. Contrary to the suggestions of at least one study in Turkey (Gursoy et al., 2016, p. 197), university is not 'too late' to address this.

Both departments drew attention to, and sought to explain the reproduction of, gender boundaries, though to a greater degree in the sociology department. Both also on occasion reinforced gendered boundaries, either through portraying them in naturalised terms, or acquiescing to the powerful discourses (Mutluer, 2019) which made different approaches to gender the boundary marker between different sociopolitical groups.

The differences in their ontological approaches led, however, to different, though overlapping, emphases in their challenge to gender boundaries. The focus in the politics



department was more on shifting gender boundaries, and overcoming the inequalities they maintained, an approach perhaps linked to the occasional binary overtones of the social constructionist ontology conveyed in some classes. The significantly greater emphasis on fluidity and contingency in the sociology department meant that the work there tended to be that of blurring gender boundaries, accompanied by a marked resistance to gendered constraints. In both departments exposure to alternative perspectives was seen to blur boundaries for certain students, as well as opening up possibilities for greater connection. Thus, while teaching and learning about gender was influential in both departments, it was so in different ways. This shows that efforts to include, or mainstream, gender (Verge et al., 2018; Larrondo and Rivero, 2019) within academic curricula can look very different depending on the disciplinary and contextual boundaries of a department. These different forms of boundary work had implications also for students' approaches to social relations within the institution, to which the next chapter now turns.

## 8 Inclusion and Separation across Social Boundaries

This study set out to explore whether university classes in the divided Turkish context could foster gender equality while promoting inclusion and cohesion, where possible, rather than exclusion and polarisation. This chapter builds on the previous chapter, exploring how teaching in departments which engaged more extensively with gender in their curricula contributed to work relating to social boundaries. Social boundaries are taken, following Anthias (2013), as those which differentiate between concrete, contextually embedded groups. This chapter considers how symbolic gendered boundary work, and other aspects of classroom pedagogy relating to engagement with gender, influence the shifting boundaries between groups, their associated hierarchies, people's sense of belonging within different groups, and their perceptions of, and relations with, those in other groups.

Pursuit of gender equality, and associated changes in understandings and perceptions of symbolic gender boundaries, requires both the removal and creation, the softening and hardening of social boundaries. It involves equal treatment and the removal of barriers to access (Unterhalter and North 2017a). It can also, often at the same time, lead to demanding that boundaries be set to safeguard against discrimination, and ensure respect for women's, and LGBTQ+ rights (Formby, 2017; Loots and Walker, 2015). Part of the rationale for women's studies was the creation of a separate space in which women could deliberate together away from the interference of men in order to enable them to move beyond discourses controlled by men (Henderson, 2015; Leathwood, 2004). Similarly the goals of feminist pedagogies are often explicitly both conscientising and normative, aiming to develop people who perceive the world in a certain way, and presenting that perspective as morally valuable (Henderson, 2013; Stake, 2006; Weiner, 2006). Those who approach engagement with gender from a feminist perspective therefore seek to move students across an epistemological boundary, and thus to separate them, in that respect, from others who do not share a feminist worldview. Courses in gender and women's studies in the United States (Markowitz, 2005; Yoder et al., 2007), Europe (Cuesta and Witt, 2014; Kirkup et

al., 2015) and Turkey (Esen, 2013) have been shown to achieve this, leading students increasingly to identify as feminists (and by implication not as non-feminists).

While the creation or reinforcement of social boundaries might be necessary, a variety of different types of relationship are possible across them. Though they might be robust, they can nevertheless be permeable. Differences can be acknowledged and people can grow in mutual understanding, or there can be high levels of mistrust and hostility. People can view others as parts of dehumanised collectives, or as complex individuals (Halpern and Weinstein, 2004). While desirable in society more broadly, within an educational setting in particular there is value in cross-boundary relations that enable and contribute to continued learning, both within and outside the classroom (Jackson, 2018). Relations across boundaries that prevent meaningful encounters with the other, or developing understanding of the other are a hindrance to learning and to wider social cohesion (Arnot, 2006). While they might at times be necessary, they are to be avoided if possible. The gender and women's studies literature has explored this in relation to engaging with men, looking at men's resistance to learning in such courses and the ways in which it might be overcome (Bragg, 2001; Flood, 2011; Miner, 1994; Orr, 1993, p. 199).

The significance of the relationships across boundaries is heightened where concrete boundaries relating to understandings of gender are imbricated with boundaries along other lines of difference. This is especially the case where there are high degrees of polarisation related to such differences, as is the case in Turkey (Güneş-Ayata and Doğangün, 2017; Kandiyoti, 2016, 2015). In such a setting the ways in which teaching about gender contributes to resistance to, or perhaps the reproduction of, existing societal gender inequalities (Loots and Walker, 2015) might well have implications for relations across other sociopolitical boundaries. Limits and expectations associated with, and arising from, teaching about gender might affect the university as a place of indeterminacy and openness, in which all students are enabled and challenged to consider multiple and contrasting perspectives and possibilities for who they might become (Barnett, 2007; Unterhalter and North, 2010). Such teaching might have implications for the inclusion or exclusion of different groups within learning environments, as well the opportunities for meaningfully encountering different others

within those environments (Marginson, 2011; Schildkraut and Fakhereldeen, 2018). Teaching addressing gender in the classroom thus influences the nature of the university as a borderland, either enhancing its capacity to be a space for interconnection, or exacerbating and hardening existing divisions (Newman, 2003).

The chapter considers how teaching and learning related to gender contributed to change in social boundaries at Brook, both with respect to gender and other sociopolitical distinctions. Building on the insights of the previous chapter, it focuses on boundary work in, or influenced by, three programmes – politics, sociology and GWS – which included gender in their curricula to a greater extent. It continues to use a broad understanding of pedagogy, encompassing teaching, its underlying values and justifications, the construction and framing of the learning environment, and students' resultant contributions (Alexander, 2000). It attends to both the analysis of the symbolic boundary work in the previous chapter, and other aspects of the pedagogic process relating to gender. It explores firstly ways in which this teaching and learning contributed to shaping perceptions of Brook as a place of relative gender equality, which chapter five showed played an important role in the institution's self-understanding, and were imbricated, if unevenly, with its other boundaries as a Kemalist, secular centre of academic freedom. It then considers the contribution of this teaching and learning to upholding Brook, or parts of it, as a place in which gender equality was valued. It continues by looking at the challenges of, and tensions relating to, such boundary work, exploring some of the exclusions and hostility to which it contributed, particularly across sociopolitical divisions. It considers finally data on how teaching and learning relating to gender helped foster connections, empathy and mutual understanding across social boundaries.

While attending to the inter-relationships between gender relations and other forms of difference in general, at points the chapter focuses on two particular groups, LGBTQ+ people and religious<sup>53</sup> students. While Turkey had a thriving LGBTQ+ community, there was also strong resistance to homosexuality and transsexuality from

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<sup>53</sup> See p.105 for discussion of the use of 'religious'

large parts of the population, and increasingly from the government<sup>54</sup> (Bakacak and Öktem, 2014; Çetin, 2016). The relationship between teaching and learning relating to gender and the relative freedoms for LGBTQ+ people at Brook shed useful insights into the issues the chapter addresses. Similarly, under the AKP government, in broad terms, religious piety was encouraged, and those with a greater degree of religious commitment perceived to be in the political ascendancy (Mutluer, 2019). As previously discussed, however, Brook was a more secular institution than many other universities in Turkey, with the religiously committed having a more peripheral status. These contrasting power dynamics and uneven patterns of inequality (Anthias, 2008) within and beyond Brook's boundaries served to highlight the challenges of, and potential for, teaching and learning about gender to contribute to respect and understanding across social boundaries.

### Differing perceptions of social gender boundaries

The teaching students received in programmes which engaged with gender in more developed fashion appeared to lead many to perceive social gender boundaries within Brook as an institution differently from students who did not receive similar kinds of teaching. As indicated in chapter five, with few exceptions, students in departments which did not include developed theoretical frameworks for addressing gender in their teaching drew a strong boundary in terms of gender and gender equality between Brook and Turkish society outside Brook. Most of the participants from these departments emphasised how Brook was a place of equality, an oasis in the midst of a wider society in which gender boundaries and their associated hierarchies were deeply entrenched. Only six of the twenty-two students interviewed in the civil engineering or business departments noted any instances of gender inequality in the institution. Within the politics and sociology departments, and the GWS programme, where students' classes intentionally focused on gender, they developed a greater awareness of gender boundaries, as shown in the previous chapter. This in turn translated into a greater

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<sup>54</sup> Towards the end of the study period the Istanbul gay pride event, which had previously attracted up to one hundred thousand people, was banned by the governor's office, who cited security concerns (Hürriyet Daily News, 2016). Similar bans followed in the following years in Ankara and elsewhere (Hürriyet Daily News, 2017b)

awareness of the significance of gender boundaries within Brook as an institution, with a resultant questioning of Brook's position as a place of distinctive gender equality.

These different perceptions appeared to increase with the depth of engagement with gender in the respective programmes. Of the politics students asked about gender equality in the institution as a whole, a higher proportion (four out of eight) referred to instances of gender inequality, like gender imbalances among students in departments and clubs and among ancillary staff (Zuhal, 3<sup>rd</sup> year, 13<sup>th</sup> May), the use of sexist jokes and stereotypes (Blue, 1<sup>st</sup> year, 26<sup>th</sup> May), and the lack of women-only swimming times (Ahmet, 3<sup>rd</sup> year, 13<sup>th</sup> May). Nevertheless four described it as a place of broad equality, with three distinguishing it in that regard from the rest of Turkey (Anakin, 1<sup>st</sup> year, 7<sup>th</sup> April; Ahmet, 3<sup>rd</sup> year, 13<sup>th</sup> May; Hakan, 3<sup>rd</sup> year, 8<sup>th</sup> June) and another differentiating the institution in terms of the 'respect [accorded] to all the people' (Tolga, Graduate, 11<sup>th</sup> May). While as a group the politics students seemed more attuned to gender inequalities within their university environment than students in civil engineering and business studies, many of them still saw a strong divide with respect to gender equality between Brook and society beyond.

The GWS students I interviewed, however, denied purported distinctions around levels of gender equality between Brook and both other universities and wider society. Yelda, a female student who had studied psychology at Brook as an undergraduate, said that

'[Brook] is generally called as more free, or how can I say, more illuminated place ... than other universities ... [more] respectful to other ideologies ... It isn't actually. I saw patriarchal values are also held prior to other things in here too ... [I]n academia also I saw that.' (Yelda, GWS, Graduate, 5<sup>th</sup> May)

Yelda referred to ways in which the instructors and textbooks in her psychology courses upheld naturalised distinctions between men and women which underlined women's weakness, to the priority given to men in university clubs, and to the limitations placed on women in romantic relationships. She said of these patriarchal values that they were 'not so explicit', presumably than they might be in other contexts, but that they were still present. It is noteworthy that these perceptions of gender inequality at Brook also

led her to repudiate the view of Brook as a generally more enlightened environment advanced by several student and faculty study participants.<sup>55</sup>

Her fellow student Özgün, a male student who had studied literature at another university in the city, said that,

'[Brook] is not any different [than anywhere else]. It is "sugar coated"  
(Özgün, GWS, Graduate, Fieldnotes, 5<sup>th</sup> May)

Over the course of the interview he gave many examples to support these assertions, including the use of rape jokes by fellow students on the GWS programme, male students going to other campuses to find women as part of a 'transaction of women between tribes', and resistance to transgressions of heterosexual norms, for instance to men painting their nails. These students were even critical of members of their own programme, as well as of sociologists – the two academic groups who engaged most with gender. Their alertness to gender inequality, supported by the teaching in their programme, led these students to question the gender equality-related boundary portrayed more broadly between Brook and wider society.

Several of the sociology students, however, did draw internal distinctions within Brook relating to gender, often along departmental lines. In the midst of our discussion of gender some students emphasised in particular the distinctive nature of the sociology department:

Yasin: Yeah, this is a really interesting social bubble this department, this whole building maybe. It's a really interesting social bubble in Turkey.

...

Deniz: [I]t's really, like, different here from [Brook] in general.

(Sociology, 2<sup>nd</sup> / 3<sup>rd</sup> year, 31<sup>st</sup> March)

This group of students exemplified this with reference to the sexism and misogyny prevalent in discussions on online student fora, the differential freedoms afforded male and female students in their dorms, and the boorish sexism of members of the 'Horny

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<sup>55</sup> p.147

dorm'.<sup>56</sup> There was some recognition that Brook was, for instance, a safer place than other parts of the country in terms of harassment (Misha, Sociology, 2<sup>nd</sup> year, 31<sup>st</sup> March), and also that some students in the department were sexist and prejudiced. Nevertheless, these students stated that their perceptions of gender boundaries – which, for at least a proportion of the students, the previous chapter showed were influenced by their courses – distinguished them not only from others in Turkey, but the rest of Brook as well:

Deniz: [A]ll six of us here have a sort of basic, like the same understanding on all the subjects we're talking about, but we are actually a minority in Turkey.

Misha: We are // a tiny minority.

Adam: But also ... a minority in // [Dere]?

Deniz: // In Brook, yes also I'd say.

Cem: Brook, Brook, yeah.

(Sociology, 2<sup>nd</sup> / 3<sup>rd</sup> year, 31<sup>st</sup> March)

Elsewhere in the interview they presented themselves as relatively representative of sociology students at Brook, but here clearly distinguished themselves from others in the wider institution. Teaching and learning about gender in the sociology department had increased the significance accorded by these students to differences in the ways people approached gender. The importance of other social boundaries, including both the political and religious distinctions which dominated societal discourse in Turkey and those of institutional affiliation with which they were interwoven, was to at least some degree reduced as this distinction was emphasised. As Wimmer (2008) notes, increasing focus on one boundary leads others to be blurred. The picture of Brook, distinct from wider society, and a bastion of Kemalist, secularist egalitarianism emphasised by many participants, was challenged for these students by the gender inequalities they had been attuned to see.

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<sup>56</sup> pp. 140ff.



The students also highlighted that this distinction was one which was officially sanctioned. Misha followed Yasin's comments above about the department being a bubble by asking,

'Do you know [Nehir] Hoca? ... She says, "The moment you exit the doors of the social sciences building you will find yourself in a much more hostile place for your liberal ideas," is what she keeps telling us.' (Misha, Sociology, 2<sup>nd</sup> year, 31<sup>st</sup> March)

While of broader application than to gender alone, the faculty member's comments affirmed, if not perhaps catalysing, the divisions the students drew. In this department teaching and learning about gender affected the way others were seen, social boundaries were drawn, and the sense of belonging students appeared to have. In a highly divided society, with more secular people feeling threatened by political trends (Turam, 2008), and with divisions marked by different approaches to gender, these further senses of separation took on enhanced significance. This had repercussions for students' actions, for teaching and learning, and for relationships between groups in the university, as the following sections show.

### Establishing and preserving safe spaces

The previous chapter showed that classes focused on gender served to challenge fixed notions of gender roles and sexuality, raise awareness of gender inequalities and their reproduction, and, for some, encourage them to actively resist boundaries which upheld such inequalities. It was apparent from students' interviews that these influences contributed towards establishing both Brook as a wider institution, and specific parts of it, as relatively safe spaces in terms of gender equality, within a wider context in which gender equality was seen by many as being under attack (Kandiyoti, 2016).

Gaby Weiner (2006, p. 90) highlighted of feminist pedagogy that

'it will make trouble for us. We should expect students, for example, to question assignments or confront the authorities on campus'.

I was told of several ways in which students who had been conscientised at least in part through their courses took on Brook's wider authorities. Two students, Filiz, a third-year sociologist, and Leyla, a graduate student in psychology who had taken a number of

sociology classes, described in the previous chapter how sociology classes had encouraged them to pursue feminist activism. Leyla (23<sup>rd</sup> May) described efforts she and others had taken to change the university's approach to dealing with cases of sexual harassment:

'When a person faces ... sexual harassment they don't know ... where to go ... I have consulted with my close friends then I have consulted to the sociology teachers – they have helped me a lot – and we gathered together, [and] tried to establish some committee. The rectorate didn't accept it. We have tried on and on again. We made big meetings about it with teachers and students together ... [T]his semester we have started ... [a] protest, in front of the rectorate ... We sat there and expect[ed] the known harasser to get off the school and have a committee about fighting against harassment.'

Leyla did not know the outcome of the protest but Filiz (18<sup>th</sup> May) who also took part suggested in her interview that the individual, who she said had harassed or abused a large number of women, had been suspended. The establishing of the harassment unit towards the end of the research period was discussed in chapter five.<sup>57</sup> Boundary creation or enforcement, by students influenced by engagement with gender in their academic courses – alongside staff at points – appeared to be an important part of establishing Brook as a place where all could learn in safety and freedom.

At points students acted to enforce the particular gendered norms of bounded sub-units within Brook, though this policing in turn had influence beyond the boundaries of those particular groups. For instance, in an interview with second year engineering students I asked about ways in which their experience at Brook had changed their views on gender. Benjamin, a male student, highlighted the significance of female students who 'show aggression when they see inequality', emphasising that this was a particular characteristic of those in the social sciences:

Adam: OK ... So how have you seen women stand for equality here?

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<sup>57</sup> p.144

Benjamin: In [the social sciences building] like, ... in the canteen, whenever they see something they stand up, raise their voices and do something about it.

(Engineering, 2<sup>nd</sup> year, 19<sup>th</sup> April)

Benjamin did not expand on how these actions had influenced him, nor, despite my asking, did he give a clear example of what words or actions might have been subject to this sanction. Nevertheless, it is clear that the steps taken by students in sociology, philosophy and psychology to establish their departments as places where sexism was not accepted had influenced him, as a student outside their boundaries, to consider the problems with gender inequality.

The maintenance of the boundaries of academic sub-divisions with regards to gender also appeared to make them places of relative inclusion, for people who might otherwise be marginalised within Turkish society or the wider institution, as Dayan (2018) recorded of some GWS programmes in Turkey. This appeared to be the case in the Brook sociology department for gay people. As noted in chapter five, Brook as a whole was seen as one of the most welcoming universities for gay people, though with some continuing limitations. In the sociology department, as explained in the previous chapter, gender equality, including with regards to sexuality, was a 'defining dimension', even a 'taboo' (Berat Türk, Faculty, Sociology, 27<sup>th</sup> April). The department took advantage of aspects of its institutional freedom to address sexuality in its academic courses in ways which would not be possible in most Turkish universities, and at least some students had their previous understandings of sexuality challenged as a result. In each of the four interviews sociology students spoke in ways which assumed the rejection, rather than the acceptance, of heteronormativity.

For one of the interview participants this made the department a distinctive place within the university. Selin was an engineering student who had decided that she could no longer continue in her department and was in the process of switching to sociology. She stayed behind to speak with me individually after an interview with other students in relation to a history course. She explained that, while she only had three friends in her home city who accepted her as a gay atheist,

'[At Brook] I really exponentially found lots of friends who accept me as who I am ... – especially in [the] sociology department and industrial engineering department.' (Selin, 1<sup>st</sup> April)

Despite emphasising that LGBTQ+ people in Turkey apply specifically to Brook as a whole because it is known as a safe place for them, Selin herself (unlike another gay student Meriç) did not feel that she could continue in her engineering department.<sup>58</sup> She found the homophobia and sexism she observed – to which she recognised she was particularly sensitive – too challenging. She felt that in order to be able to say what she felt about such things she would have continually had to be an activist, a position she did not want to perpetually occupy. Perceiving also that she might fit better academically elsewhere, she thus decided that,

'I want to escape ... [to the] sociology department [which] is not only a safe place but also [a] really suitable place for me'.

Despite the relatively welcoming environment Brook as a wider institution provided for gay people compared to Turkey more broadly, the existence of an internal boundary within the institution was important here in providing a setting where Selin was able to move beyond a marginalised existence. The approach to gender in the department, including in its courses, established it as an insulated space (Bernstein, 1971) in which wider societal norms could be transgressed (Jackson, 2018). The teaching in the department contributed to an epistemic distinction in the way gender relations were seen between the department and the wider institution, which in turn made it a space in which gay people could belong more comfortably. Within a wider context in which women's rights, and the rights of LGBTQ+ people (Çetin, 2016), were seen as being under threat, both activism engendered by courses, and openness related to course's teaching, served to make Brook, and particular segments of it, protected spaces of inclusion and relative safety.

### **Gender boundaries leading to restrictions on learning**

Attempts by both staff and students to create and preserve spaces in which gender equality was embraced and valued, sometimes led to restrictions which appeared to

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<sup>58</sup> p.127

hinder learning, both about gender, and from other students. The framing of learning environments – sometimes knowingly, sometimes by omission – meant that certain perspectives could not easily be voiced. This prevented equal sharing, expression and associated learning and hindered meaningful interactions between those with different views. In those instances raised or observed in interviews, it was members of groups who were minorities within the departments – with respect to religion, class or gender – who were limited in what they could express. In this regard existing sociopolitical boundaries were reinforced by the approach to gender in these departments which included gender in their curricula to a higher degree. Efforts to make boundaries robust seemed to leave them insufficiently permeable to allow the extent of interconnection and understanding that might otherwise have been possible.

The debates around including disparate voices in classrooms focusing on gender were described in chapter three. Orner (1992) recognises the difficulties in calling for student voice and a range of reasons students might self-silence. Ellsworth (1989) expresses reservations about aiming for a balanced, rational classroom, emphasising that power relations cannot be overcome, despite the best intentions of feminist pedagogues, and that any group can become oppressors. The challenges these departments faced were, then, by no means new. One faculty member made a comment which suggested that the suppression of dissonant perspectives about gender equality could be a deliberate strategy. Aylin Erdem was a long-serving member of the politics department and had played a foundational role in the Gender and Women's studies program. She recalled in our interview the sexist remarks of a department head early in her career and commented that no one would say such things in the university now. She went on to say,

‘When people know that what they are thinking is, or what they are believing is not really very correct and they had better shut up about it this is the first step of trying to change things. And I think that step has been crossed, here, in this university, clearly. And so the next step about everyone sort of internalising norms of gender equality is still something that needs to be worked on.’ (4<sup>th</sup> May)

According to this argument refraining from speaking is the first step towards internal change. It is important to note that Dr. Erdem was not speaking explicitly about pedagogical contexts. However, if extended into the classroom this view does raise some difficulties. Arnot (2006, p.418; cf. Bragg, 2001) underlines the importance of legitimising 'the voices "we don't want to hear"' in order to enable learning that makes a difference. Ellsworth (1989) emphasises that extra-curricular relationships which build an atmosphere of trust are necessary to enable greater honesty. Where students at Brook appeared often to maintain their close friendships with people from similar backgrounds (Blue, Politics, 1<sup>st</sup> year, 26<sup>th</sup> May; Hakan, Politics, 4<sup>th</sup> year, 8<sup>th</sup> June) such trust across sociopolitical boundaries was likely to be more limited. Others have emphasised, however, how teaching and learning relating to issues of diversity (Avery and Steingard, 2008) and gender and sexuality (Guillard, 2012) can be structured so as to support more open expression of people's views in order that students can encounter alternative perspectives and also have them challenged. As well as Dr. Erdem's comments, a number of examples suggested that, at times, classrooms in both the politics and the sociology departments did not manage to provide a space in which dissonant voices could be expressed, with consequences for students' learning.

In line with Dr. Erdem's comments, Miray Incesü (Sociology, Faculty, 10<sup>th</sup> May) indicated that she was content not to hear certain voices – or at least powerless to enable them to be heard. She explained how male students often had different understandings of gender, but were unable to express them:

'The male students are coming rather from a lower SES whereas women students are coming from a higher SES in our department and that makes a lot of difference ... Coming from a lower SES, the [males] have a much more traditional approach to women – ... although, of course they cannot say it. Because of [the] strong emphasis in this department in the courses about gender issues they keep quiet.'

Dr. Incesü did not explain why these students could not express their views. Nor, unlike the studies cited above, did she indicate what steps had been, or might be, taken to mitigate such self-censorship. This suggests that she might have been happy to preserve

the 'taboo' around querying gender equality described previously (Berat Türk, Sociology, Faculty, 27<sup>th</sup> April).

In the interviews, none of the sociology students described being themselves subject to this silencing. Indeed it was seen in the previous chapter that, in the context of our informal group interview, other students gave one male student, Yasin (2<sup>nd</sup> year, 31<sup>st</sup> March), space to voice reservations about the practical value of the approaches to gender. They explained their disagreement and criticism in the main respectfully, with some shocked laughter. Even so, after a short while, they began to question his place in the department, asking if he was 'even studying sociology' (Misha, 2<sup>nd</sup> year, 31<sup>st</sup> March), forcing him to distance himself from the views he had expressed.

In the same interview, however, another student referred to an incident which showed what happened when the department's boundaries defining acceptable speech about gender were clearly transgressed in a class. Deniz, a female third year student raised this example, which she described as 'the anthropology paper scandal' to challenge another student's view that the sociology department was a 'utopia':

'[I]n our anthropology course in the first year we were supposed to, like, read articles every week and write small pieces on them ... [T]his one week we had this article on homosexuality and actually a classmate of ours wrote down something about how she thought homosexuality is an illness, mental illness. [P]eople were really angry with her. Like, that happened. There is someone in our school ... – in sociology – that actually thinks being gay is a mental illness.' (Deniz, Sociology, 3<sup>rd</sup> year, 31<sup>st</sup> March)

In the last sentence of the extract, Deniz invited shock or outrage at the notion that the university, let alone the department, should have someone within its boundaries who thought of homosexuality in this way. This despite such a view being widely held in Turkey, including in official circles, like the Turkish military (European Commission, 2018). From this account it does not appear that there was, at least from her fellow students, a constructive engagement around this perspective. Rather the student's expression of their view led to severe criticism which endured in departmental folklore. This example supported Dr. Incesü's suggestion that students with views on gender which deviated from the departmental norms would be unlikely to voice them – thus

depriving both them of opportunities to process their understandings, and others of the chance to better understand the reasons they might hold alternative perspectives.

Similar accounts were given in the politics department, this time by conservative religious students themselves. Their comments must be seen in light of presentations of the department as being strongly secular. Nilufer Balcı (Politics, Administrator, 26<sup>th</sup> April) framed the department in these terms and commented in our interview that,

'in comparison to, for example, education we have much less veiled women.'

Both she and a colleague, Fazıl Başer (27<sup>th</sup> April), explained that when wearing the headscarf in class was banned by law, the department was more rigorous in enforcing the law than other departments. Dr. Başer linked this with perceptions of the issue as a symbol of a wider challenge to secularism, as indicated previously.<sup>59</sup> With regards to staff, Dr. Balcı suggested that,

'I don't think any veiled person would want to become an academic here. They would find ... the situation here very alien.'

She continued to describe how no one in the building ever fasted during Ramadan, contrasting that with the vast majority of the Turkish population, and how no one, apart from possibly the cleaners, went to Friday prayers. In both cases she suggested that this was different to at least some other departments. Dr. Balcı presented the boundaries of the department with regards to veiled academics as being relatively hard, acting through a process of self-exclusion by putative veiled academics, in ways similar to the experiences of some covered early career Turkish academics documented by Seggie (2015). As with both the other academics discussed in this section, Dr. Balcı seemed content to leave these boundaries as they were, rather than feeling that the department should act to soften them. The wider context of perceived threats to secularism might have influenced this view.

There were several indications from interviews that students whose views differed from the approach to gender equality which tended to be taught in the

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<sup>59</sup> p.153



department's focused teaching on the subject were restricted in what they could express in classes. Nilufer Balcı herself noted,

'increasingly we have students of a more religious background ... [T]hey would not say this openly in the class because ... they will fear that they will be ostracised by their other classmates, not by us – but they will ... believe in *fitrat*<sup>60</sup>.' (Politics, Administrator, 26<sup>th</sup> April)

Serhan, a religious student from a small rural town, indicated that this was the case in his interview. I asked him whether religious students were free to express their beliefs about Allah's commands about sexuality. He responded,

'We feel when I say, "This is the right way," there would be very [strong] criticism towards us and I cannot, answer ... all of them because it's a difficult situation and I would be marginalised ... I would be alone in the class because as I say the, the secular view ... is the dominant view in my department.' (Serhan, Politics, 25<sup>th</sup> May)

He gave an example of where he had seen a female religious student in just such a situation, enduring the interrogation Orner (1992) notes can face those who share alternative views. In this way Serhan's participation in class, and that of those like him, was constrained by other students' defence of the ontological and categoric gender boundaries to which they were committed.

Hakan (Politics, 4<sup>th</sup> year, 8<sup>th</sup> June), who also met with me for an interview as a student who explicitly identified as religious, felt that he had benefitted significantly from his studies in relation to learning around gender, as will be seen in more detail later in the chapter. He presented a nuanced account of discussions in classes but still suggested that the ability of religious students, including himself, to explore questions around gender in their classes was limited. Asked about whether he felt free to share conservative Islamic views on gender in class, he conveyed a picture of classes, consonant with the presentations in the previous chapter, in which only a certain set of understandings of gender were explored:

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<sup>60</sup> Nature, creation

'People, students and instructors are generally oriented towards socialist and liberal thoughts and Islamic thoughts generally are not elaborated, are not arised, in our classes ... [O]thers think you already accept these [liberal] thoughts ... I haven't had any ideas in our classes that come from Islamic background. [Brook] is the most leftist oriented school in our country. People from Islamic background know in their mind that fact and they generally remain to be silent.'

Unlike Serhan, and in contrast to Dr. Balci's assertion, Hakan indicated that instructors too had a role in constraining the freedom of contributions. He depicted the uneven combat that would emerge if people from an Islamic background expressed their views, with instructors joining numerically dominant students:

'They remain to be silent because if they r[a]ise their voices a new discussion will emerge and they [will] need to defend themselves against others who are more crowded and probably including their own instructors in class ... [I]t is hard to stand against all of them. You need to be an expert ... on this topic to ... defend yourself.'

Hakan did also emphasise the 'free atmosphere for discussions' and the lack of 'pressure' on those outside the majority. In these portrayals he did not, however, envisage or recall instructors structuring the class so as to try to support those with minority perspectives, lending their expertise to their side, or trying to ensure they can advance their views. In this respect, the facilitatory role Schildkraut and Fakhereldeen (2018) see being critical to enabling open discussions across sociopolitical divisions, and the recognition of difference from tutors which West (2018) suggests is crucial, were not very apparent. This bolsters the impression that instructors in the department were to a degree responsible for this boundary work relating to teaching about gender.

The previous two examples were from religious students themselves. A complementary perspective was provided by Merve Kinali, an instructor in the early stages of her career. She commented, as part of her reflections in our interview on religion and gender at Brook, that she thought religious students were generally free to express their views, including in topics relating to gender. She described teaching a sociology course in the department the previous semester:

'We were talking about culture, religion as part of it, and gender equality as well. And I was ... expressing myself as a feminist, ... talking about feminist theories and even, *hani*, defending them ... So, in those classes for instance we had kind of discussions among, they weren't, like, confrontations but they were articulate and they were expressing their opinions ... I didn't see ... any kind of refraining from expressing their identities or opinions on the basis of religion ... Also and in terms of women and male, when we were discussing gender issues I think, *yani*, there are certain boundaries where you cannot go into detail. For instance, probably homosexuality would be a kind of a taboo for them ... We didn't discuss the other things that ... would be causing any controversy within the class.'  
(Merve Kinalı, Politics, Faculty, 17<sup>th</sup> May)

This picture accords with the atmosphere of freedom Hakan alluded to, while also supporting his suggestion that instructors defended the majority's views on gender equality. Dr. Kinalı did acknowledge the limits on possible discussions. The responsibility for constructing those 'boundaries' was unclear, however. She seemed to see it as being at least shared by religious students and their own 'taboo'. Her solution was to avoid addressing areas of particular potential disagreement. Her descriptions still left intact an impression of a department in which certain minority views could not be expressed.

Students who were not religious recognised the existence of this concrete boundary around classroom participation. I asked two such first year politics students what they felt about the space available for, using a term they introduced, religious students. Both acknowledged the difficulties such students might face. I include the response from Blue, a confident privately educated female student, below:

Adam: What is your perception of how free they are to share their views in your classes?

Blue: ... I would admit that I pay special attention to, you know, girls with hijabs or, you know, religious students in those classes because I'm intrigued. Some [are] actually quite free and quite liberated in their views which, I found strange but, I'm not one to judge there. Usually they are more reserved and they don't share much ... from what I've observed.

Adam: And what about ... male religious students?

Blue: It's harder to see if a male student is religious. So I haven't seen many, I honestly haven't seen any, er, radically religious views in my class. Either

they don't share it or ... there aren't students like that. But I am inclined to believe that they just don't speak.

(Politics, 1<sup>st</sup> year, 26<sup>th</sup> May)

Blue's comments show how certain types of religious students were subject to scrutiny from other students. They were also subject to assumptions about their perspectives, which the participation of some of the female students both exposed and challenged. According to Blue's account, only religious students with more 'liberated' views expressed them in class. Blue's comments showed her to have been eager to encounter and understand religious students. Nevertheless, they convey a picture of detachment. Her relationship with the religious students is one of observation, rather than interaction. She conveys little of the trust and friendship Ellsworth (1989) saw as important to enabling open and honest communication in the classroom. This perhaps highlights the limits of pedagogic control over this issue. Such relationships need to be built at least as much outside the classroom, as inside. Still, Blue, as a secular student, was deprived by the conservative religious students' silence of the opportunity for meaningful interconnection which she seemed to desire.

Blue went on to point to the role of both the instructors and the other students in maintaining this boundary:

Adam: [D]o you think that the class atmosphere is open to having their contributions?

Blue: Well, that kind of, kind of depends on the professor and our professor is very – when the professor is very obviously feminist ... with more modern views, then they don't want to fail the class or get, you know, judged by the teacher. Maybe they just don't feel like talking and going against all these people [who] have different ... ideas than them. I mean, I know I wouldn't like to talk ... if the situation was the opposite.

(Politics, 1<sup>st</sup> year, 26<sup>th</sup> May)

Paralleling Hakan and Serhan's comments, Blue portrayed any contribution from an alternative perspective in adversarial terms. On this basis she recognised how daunting it would be to go 'against' so many others who think differently, acknowledging that she would not speak in such circumstances. Blue's contributions suggest that this social

boundary was not simply felt by those religious students excluded by it but observed – and indeed its consequences experienced – by others.

Hakan, following on from his account of the challenges religious students face in expressing their views, confirmed that his own hesitancy to speak had restricted his learning about gender:

Adam: How do you think that affected your learning about gender and your processing of gender?

Hakan: I think, er, it affected my way of thinking very much ... as a person who have different background I can have different questions in my mind than others. If I had an opportunity to r[a]ise the questions I have I would have learnt the issue better. But ... it may be hard to elaborate this question ... In order to criticise something first you must know your own ideas, your own background, then you need to know thinking of others, thought of others.

(Politics, 4<sup>th</sup> year, 8<sup>th</sup> June)

Hakan suggested here that he was unable to raise the 'different questions' he had. Unlike those whose understandings were closer to those of the majority, and indeed the instructors, the bar for engagement – which would inevitably take the form of critique – was simply too high. Instructors and other students failed to provide a space in which partially formed, and inadequately supported, minority perspectives could effectively be raised. It is not clear in what ways his thinking might otherwise have developed further. But it appears that, in this instance, inhibiting the voices of students like Hakan might have prevented them from engaging with arguments for gender equality more deeply, while at the same time maintaining divisions across religious divides.

Within the politically charged context in which the study took place, value commitments to gender equality, intertwined at points with other commitments, for instance to secularism, seemed to affect pedagogical decisions. Though not observed in any class observations, comments from four staff members, and a range of students suggested that staff were either content to allow voices of dissent to the ideals of gender equality espoused in the departments<sup>61</sup> to remain silent, at least on the points of

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<sup>61</sup> In the politics department, at least by those who tended to address gender regularly in their teaching.

greatest contention, or felt powerless to overcome the inhibiting prospect of interrogation by the student majorities. At least some staff also seemed to do little to offset the additional restrictive impact their own clear embrace of gender equality had. While the clear focus on equality had a conscientising effect on many students, as shown in the previous chapter, it also appeared to limit the potential for students to learn either through expressing their own doubts or disagreements, or hearing others do so. As the differences in perspective were linked to broader divisions of religion and class, the teaching about gender in these departments also served to reinforce these existing boundaries. In this respect – and notwithstanding all they otherwise did to encourage critical reflection – these departments risked being determinate spaces, narrowing, rather than broadening, the possibilities for who students might become.

### Tensions across boundaries

Relationships across the boundaries which were strengthened by teaching and learning about gender, though at times characterised by mutual understanding, even respect, were at others fraught and uncomprehending to the point where even coexistence became difficult. The instrumentalisation of gender relations in Turkish politics (Mutluer, 2019) heightened the significance of these boundaries, and hence the potential for difficult relations across them. While a step removed from the pedagogic process, these relationships were an important corollary to the positive contributions of such teaching to making Brook a place of equality and inclusion. Relationships outside the classroom gave insights into understandings and perspectives which could be hidden by constraints on what could be voiced within the classroom. This section considers aspects of the tensions across these boundaries, while the next explores ways in which teaching and learning about gender enabled connection between different groups.

As indicated above, at times acts of boundary reinforcement by feminists were received appreciatively, as with Benjamin the civil engineer being impressed by challenges to sexism in the social sciences canteen. This demonstrated a degree of understanding across these social boundaries by those being challenged or observing the challenge. At other points some students perceived feminist boundary reinforcement more negatively, while feminist activists viewed these responses with

frustration, with both sides struggling to understand the other. One business studies student (Benjamin, Business, Graduate, 25<sup>th</sup> March) expressed bemusement at criticism he received from women in the psychology department for using the word *bayan*, meaning 'lady' instead of *kadın*<sup>62</sup>:

'I really avoid that word ... when I am in the psychology department because I really unwillingly ma[d]e that mistake once and ... three ... women turned to a tiger and ... starts to ... attack me: [*harrying voice*] "Why you say that? What are you implying?" It was really disturbing for me because I do not use that word implying anything ... I start to find it funny – they are so obsessed with that word ... Still I don't understand why they don't want to use that *bayan* word.'

It was not apparent here that any particular effort had been made to explain the sanctioning behaviour, though for their part none of the three students in the business studies interview suggested that they had taken steps to try to understand why the phrase was viewed negatively. While the women's boundary reinforcement met with superficial compliance, beneath this it led Benjamin, as a student outside the relevant departments, to think of those across the boundary as amusingly odd, obsessive and incomprehensible.

Feminist attempts at boundary reinforcement were also received more negatively still. Sometimes this seemed to be rooted in a combination of misunderstanding and prejudice. Members of the GWS programme described facing a degree of ostracism because of their chosen subject, being called,

'feminazis, *evde kalmış* ([people who] couldn't get married) or lesbians [by] everyone, male students and some female students. [They] don't like the term feminists, [understood as] men hating.' (Yelda and Nalan, GWS, Graduates, Field notes, 5<sup>th</sup> May)

At points this lack of comprehension was more considered. Doruk (18<sup>th</sup> May), a graduate student transitioning from the business studies to the sociology department, explained that he disliked feminist activities at Brook which he saw as being 'too violent'. He mentioned being troubled by what he portrayed as feminists' unquestioning acceptance

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<sup>62</sup> Woman. The objection might well have paralleled that of some feminists to the English word 'lady' as a classist, patronising term (Reid Boyd, 2012)

of accusations of sexual harassment, particularly on online fora, and by an instance of no-platforming some three years previously, when feminists gathered in the conference centre and chanted so as to prevent a speaker who had assaulted his wife from addressing his audience:

'They want to ... have people to respect women's rights but ... they prevents us to listen to him. It was like a big conflict for me, ... they totally violated like two hundred, three hundred people's rights in there.' (Doruk, Sociology, Graduate, 18<sup>th</sup> May)

Doruk felt there was a contradiction in the different approaches of feminists to people's rights, with the interests of the potentially innocent accused in one set of situations, and other audience members in the latter instance, being disregarded. The communications he had observed seeking to establish these boundaries of acceptable conduct had not enabled him to empathise with the feminists' position. His fellow interviewee, Filiz (Sociology, 3<sup>rd</sup> year, 18<sup>th</sup> May), responded that the reason for their approach was that,

'men [are] never interest[ed] about it when we get sexual harassment ... They don't [want] to hear that. And that's a problem ... and that lead[s] us [in]to misunderstanding.'

Two other sociology students explained similarly how they felt 'forced to become aggressive' (Deniz, Misha, Sociology, 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup> year, 26<sup>th</sup> May) in their activism, or their denunciation of abuse, in order to be heard. They referred also to the failings of the Turkish judicial system, and the absence of the rule of law with regards to cases associated with women's rights (Kandiyoti, 2016), which led them to neither expect, nor rely on, a fair hearing from men. An already existent situation of misunderstanding resulting from inattention to the voices of women and those who challenged the gender norms in wider society thus led to actions which seemed in some respects to promote further misunderstanding.

Antagonism and backlash towards feminist groups is commonplace, both internationally (Phipps, 2016) and in Turkey (Dayan, 2018). The combination of the increasing vulnerability felt by many women and LGBTQ+ people in Turkey (Kandiyoti, 2016), and the portrayals of Brook as a place of broad gender equality, seen in previous chapters, seemed to make the puncturing of boundaries thought to establish places of



safety all the more distressing, however. At one point during the research period the compounded misunderstandings amongst students referred to above combined with a particular incident to produce a situation where people on different sides of boundaries related to understandings of gender felt unable even to live alongside one another. In my second interview with students from a second-year sociology course, Deniz and Misha (3<sup>rd</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup> year, 26<sup>th</sup> May) were the only students who came. They immediately began speaking about an incident that occurred in one of their classes the previous day, and its aftermath. A group of electrical engineers celebrating their graduation, had, in line with a tradition resisted by the sociology department, invaded the class, and refused to leave despite the strong protests of the instructor, a senior figure in the department. A male student, who presented as gay quite overtly, went to the door to join in asking them to leave. He maintained that, during the ensuing commotion, one of the engineers called him '*ibne*', a homophobic slur. He was seriously upset, and went to report it, and the insult was reportedly repeated outside shortly afterwards. The sociologists were outraged by the whole incident and some launched an online protest. This was greeted with defensive derision by members of the engineering faculty, some of whom started a counter-petition to close down Brook's non-technical departments, starting with sociology, because they were 'so fragile' and 'offended by everything' (Deniz, 26<sup>th</sup> May). The sociologists' protest about this transgression of the bounds of their department, and the boundaries of equality of gender and sexuality which they upheld, led other students to dismiss them as a discardable burden on the resources of the university. Their defence of these boundaries was taken as soft, mirroring criticism of 'snowflakes' in the United Kingdom and United States (Mac Donald, 2018; Read, 2018).

Deniz and Misha linked this exclusion with a wider tendency in Turkish society to disregard minorities. Just as their approach to the dialogue on online fora at Brook was coloured by their perceptions of wider injustice in the Turkish legal system, so their understandings of this incident were framed by their reading of Turkey's broader relationship with minorities:

'I'm afraid every day that something is going to happen to me and I won't to get to, like, talk about it even because my word never comes first – not because I'm the victim but because I am a woman. And the same goes for

I think any oppressed sexual identities. If you are a minority then you are just not important and ... that's not even [just in] the context of gender but in any context. They are like, oh Syrians ... they can go to hell. Kurds, sure, why not ... they deserve to die anyway. If you are a minority you deserve it.' (Misha, 2<sup>nd</sup> year, 26<sup>th</sup> May)

Here Misha and Deniz presented a stark picture of the disposability of minorities in Turkish society. In doing so they aligned with literature which demonstrates how women and minorities in Turkey are treated in different respects as 'bare life', which can be instrumentalised, or killed, for the service of the community or nation (Agamben, 1998; Ahmetbeyzade, 2008; Gürkaş, 2017). The treatment of the gay student, and the subsequent desire to excise his defenders from the university, serves in this description to equate Brook engineers with the Turkish majority. The social boundaries related to gender were drawn here very much through Brook as a university, rather than between Brook and wider Turkish society, as research participants suggested at other points. The wider Brook community was taken to be aligned with the oppressive practices Misha and Deniz associated with the country as a whole.

This led Misha and Deniz to reciprocate the petition author's rejection of them as members of a common group or community. However, in line with their alignment with minorities, they contemplated a self-imposed exile, rather than assuming the power to expel demonstrated by the engineers. These sentiments were interspersed in their discussion with expressions of frustrated desire for dialogue and demonstrations of understanding, as seen to a degree in Deniz's statements in the start of the quotation below. The sense of separation was, however, the strongest thread in their accounts:

Deniz: I know that most people come from very close-minded backgrounds, families. I know they don't get a chance to see things from a certain point of view until they actually come here but like, you were here for God knows how many years and now you are graduating and you are still at this mindset, really, has this school given nothing to you? Apparently not ... [I]t makes you think about, I don't know what am I doing here ... Okay, I know what I am doing but what are those people doing here?

...

Misha: They don't deserve to be here.

Deniz: Not necessarily deserving but I don't deserve to be in the same place with these people. I don't have to get this headache every day. I don't have to stand these people // [unclear]

Misha: // Which is why I will emigrate.

Deniz: Yes, exactly ... *[laughing]* [Though] I don't think any, anywhere in the world is necessarily any better.

(Sociology, 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup> year, 26<sup>th</sup> May)

Deniz here assumed a different background for the students they opposed, suggesting an interrelationship between other boundaries of difference and understandings of gender. However, the preponderance of middle class, Republican-inclined, Western Turkish students at the university<sup>63</sup> would suggest that, in broad terms, students on both sides of the divide were quite similar demographically. She also expected, however, that the wider education at Brook should challenge the understandings of gender and equality that she assumed these backgrounds would foster. Here Deniz revealed – in contrast to the implications of the previous quotation – that Brook should be a separately bounded space from the rest of society, and that understandings and practices related to gender and equality should be different within it. Indeed for Deniz changes to such understandings and practices lay at the heart of Brook's presumed educational provision. If these students remained with their current mindset all other education they might have received is dismissed as 'nothing'. This points to a fundamental disparity in the views of the purpose of education held by the engineers and Deniz and Misha. The engineers saw technical expertise as critical and dismissed social criticism as time wasting; for Deniz the former without the latter was futile. Both sides saw the other as lacking the necessary 'credentials for membership' of the Brook community (Anthias and Yuval-Davis, 1992, p. 8). This dispute over gender boundaries highlighted a struggle over different conceptions of Brook as an institution. This was further coloured by the sense that the safe space which the sociology department, and its teaching about gender, had sought to establish had been violated. In the wider context in which rights of women and sexual minorities were under attack, this violation

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<sup>63</sup> See chapter five

was still more threatening, leading to a sense of separation from not only Brook, but the whole of Turkey itself.

The tensions in the relationships across the boundaries intended to mark Brook, or parts of it, as places of relative gender equality showed Brook to be a borderland in two different respects. They showed it as a place which, despite the sense of separation from wider society felt by many participants, was nevertheless permeable to the prejudices present in its Turkish context. They also showed that Brook was itself a divided institution, with divisions relating to gender seemingly cutting across the sociopolitical divisions present in wider society. The above examples again suggested that students from similar backgrounds in terms of class, geography and political commitments at points approached gender relations in very different – and antagonistic – ways. The difference between them tended to be their membership in different departments, and the teaching about gender they had received. In this respect the different approaches to gender within departments served to destabilise, rather than reinforce, purported associations between particular approaches to gender and other sociopolitical boundaries (Kandiyoti, 2015; Mutluer, 2019).

The anger, misunderstanding, and inability to have meaningful dialogue evident in particularly the last incident all point to the potential value of spaces where these questions could be discussed in more structured fashion. Many of those resistant to the more feminist positions were not in departments which addressed gender, and their antagonism highlights again what was emphasised in chapter seven, that despite assumptions about Brook's wider emphasis on gender equality, there was potential for much more valuable teaching and learning about gender within them. Nevertheless, aspects of the responses of those taught within the departments which addressed gender to a greater degree suggested that a greater inclusion of alternative perspectives within those regulated spaces might be valuable. Were the misogynistic and sexist perspectives advanced by students able to be more regularly aired and discussed in those contexts – given that, as acknowledged previously, they existed in those settings too – it might provide a better platform for engagement outside the classroom, and understanding of, and empathy with such views when advanced.

## Bridges across boundaries

The two previous sections showed how in certain respects teaching about gender could either reinforce differences across existing social boundaries or lead to gender-related boundaries becoming crucial points of separation in themselves. This section shows how, for some participants it was clear that classes had also contributed to better understanding of people separated from them by different social boundaries.

One student particularly emphasised that one of her classes had encouraged her to consider gender relations from the perspective of others, in this instance, from men's perspective. Leyla (Psychology, Graduate, 18<sup>th</sup> May), a feminist activist, said of an undergraduate course on sociology and culture that,

'in [Mary's] course, she always forced us to ... "Just think ... [about] this issue on the men's side and women[']s side, it will be different, you will see." And when we do it we saw that it was really different.'

Mary Stevens encouraged Leyla to practice a method which helped her to empathise with men. Where Dr. Stevens' classes made students aware of the strength of patriarchy, and the pervasiveness of gendered power inequalities, this understanding was particularly valuable. Leyla demonstrated such empathy in our interview, recognising that women learn about gender inequality 'by living it' whereas men 'have to learn much more about the gender issues' and also acknowledging her own relative ignorance about gender before she had opportunity to learn about it in her latter years at university. It also appeared that Leyla's understanding of men's situation had been developed through the workshops she ran, as part of her women's organisation, for men from the socialist youth federation approximately twice a year. She explained how they encouraged men to think through scenarios, relating for instance to women's personal space and how

'when they put mental labour on it ... they start to acquire something ... We see that it helps them a lot. It makes ... us to be comrades.'

This external activity showed the value of structured interaction with those who hold alternative perspectives, something, which, as noted, the restrictions in the classrooms could sometimes prevent.

Otherwise such instances of empathy seemed particularly evident among students who found themselves simultaneously part of groups on two sides of a set of imbricated boundaries, reflecting Adams (2002, p. 4) recognition that 'subjects differentiated by one set of identity constructs may be simultaneously connected by others that offer points of contact and "genuine connection"'. Mert, for instance, was a male student in the sociology department, included within its egalitarian boundaries, but also reticent about stereotypical portrayals of the sexism of men outside the department. He was relatively quiet during his group interview but demonstrated his alignment with the outlook of the department by asserting the importance of LGBTQ people defining their own identity and spaces. At one point, however, he said he wanted to ask the two other male students something and stated:

'We are talking about ... [how] there is a bubble in this department and we do things differently [compared to] outside and of course we are sensitive to some issues like gender. But I don't know, it's very hard to tell, it's a very sensitive topic but ... [if] I interrogate myself, I'm not seeing myself [as] distant [from] th[ose] people too. We are talking [as if] there are some evil guys outside this bubble ... doing some evil things. But, no, I am a man and ... I can join [in with a] joke, I mean, I can love that joke and, you know, ... it doesn't make me evil. I'm not, erm, justifying this – a joke is, er ...' (Mert, Sociology, 2<sup>nd</sup> year, 31<sup>st</sup> March)

With this intervention Mert highlighted a tendency in that interview to draw a boundary portraying men at Brook outside the social sciences very negatively – an extension of that portrayal was seen in the fissure described in Deniz and Misha's interview above. In contrast to this Mert asserted his commonality with such men. His final attenuated sentence suggested that he was not trying to play down the importance of misogynistic jokes. Rather he seemed to be affirming that he understood and related to their actions, problematic though they might be. By highlighting, very tentatively – with repeated comments on the sensitive nature of the suggestion – that he too was like the other, even while being part of this group with its values and understandings, he both blurred, and made a connection across, the boundary (or boundaries) that the conversation otherwise accepted. He was not content to see them only in terms of one characteristic, but recognised them as 'complex entities' (Schildkraut and Fakhereldeen, 2018, §34). In his case it was not clear that his self-interrogation was specifically encouraged by classes

on gender, though it was certainly consonant with sociological methods (Denzin, 2009). His positionality as a man in sociology, however, encouraged reflection that left him less inclined to draw the sharp social boundaries relating to approaches to gender that were seen, for instance, in Deniz and Misha's interview above.

In light of Brook's predominantly secular character, religious students were also positioned ambivalently across intertwined boundaries. For a number of them, too, teaching about gender had clearly led to greater understanding of those from whom they had previously been separated. The previous chapter demonstrated ways in which several religious participants developed in their understandings of ontological and categoric gender boundaries. It also showed how they were content to live with a blurring of normative gender boundaries, embracing one view for themselves, while accepting that others would think differently. Ayşe (4<sup>th</sup> year, 8<sup>th</sup> June), from the sociology department, showed how her classes had contributed to her better understanding inequalities in gender relations. Yet many of her friends and family in her community appeared to be content with their existing gender roles, leading her to not to seek a more universal change.<sup>64</sup> Differences in perspectives on gender equality did not constitute a strong boundary for her; this boundary was rendered subordinate to her other connections with those who thought differently in this respect.

For Hakan (4<sup>th</sup> year, 8<sup>th</sup> June) and Ahmet (3<sup>rd</sup> year, 13<sup>th</sup> May) from the politics department, understandings of the social construction of gender led them to consider differently others' embrace of different approaches to gender relations, gender roles, and sexuality. Acknowledging the freedoms to which this constructionist view gave rise, Ahmet commented that he did not 'judge very negatively' those who rejected traditional social expectations of gender roles, despite noting that he continued to embrace them.<sup>65</sup> His classes had weakened his perception of the normative strength of such gender roles. As noted above, Hakan acknowledged also the importance of meeting people with a range of perspectives that were new to him. In his case he spoke specifically of the way that this had shaped his perception of social relations with people at Brook:

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<sup>64</sup> p.241

<sup>65</sup> p.228

'Before I can say other people that think different from me I can think them as others but ... at [Brook] ... I saw many people. I don't, I don't see them as others and I see [them] as part of our society ... We don't make exclusions based on their preferences. I don't see them as others.' (Hakan, Politics, 4<sup>th</sup> year, 8<sup>th</sup> June)

In Hakan's case, the combination of his theoretical learning, and encountering people whom he would previously have seen as distinctly bounded 'others', led to the dissolution of these boundaries, or at least to a softening that allowed him to see them as having a shared belonging. This was related to an elevation of the status, if not also a broadening of the remit, of the boundary marking 'our society'. Both Ahmet and Hakan's 'borders of consciousness' (Schildkraut and Fakhereldeen, 2018, §35) with respect to others had been challenged.

For each of these students a combination of the new theoretical perspectives taught in classes, encouragement to critically reflect on one's own situation, and opportunities for encountering others and others' perspectives, helped them to move beyond seeing others as part of stereotyped collectives, and thus to empathise better with them and their situations (Halpern and Weinstein, 2004). It is notable that most of the students for whom such empathetic learning was clearest were in important respects part of a minority in their respective departments, if not also – in the case of the religious students – in Brook as a whole. For them, exposure to alternative perspectives was a necessary part of their learning experience, rather than needing to be pursued more intentionally for students in departmental majorities. Nevertheless, for these students, teaching and learning about gender had contributed not to division, but to an affirmation of commonality.

## Conclusion

The complexity of the boundary work involved in teaching and learning about gender when considered intersectionally was made particularly apparent at this level of social relations. The illuminative work of classes which explicitly addressed gender appeared to have conflicting effects. Teaching about gender contributed towards shifts in institutional gender boundaries, for instance in changes in the ways in which sexual harassment was perceived and addressed. It also helped to reinforce or maintain the



boundaries of both the wider institution, and particular spaces within it, making them places within which relations of gender equality were valued and upheld, at least to a greater extent than outside those boundaries. Classes also served in some respects to blur boundaries between groups by highlighting the pervasive nature of gender inequality and enabling – particularly for some students – understanding of alternative perspectives on gender boundaries. Together these challenged the employment of gendered understandings or practices as boundary markers between groups, whether between sociopolitical groups at a national level, or the related boundaries within Brook, or between it and parts of wider society. In a context in which gender was instrumentalised to support divisive political goals (Mutluer, 2019) teaching and learning about gender contributed in certain ways to blur, and render more complex, purported distinctions between groups, opening up possibilities for greater connection.

Based on the partial picture to which the study's limited interviews and observations gave access, it also seemed that at certain points teaching and learning about gender contributed to reinforcing boundaries so as to harden distinctions between groups and diminish relationships across them. Efforts to maintain boundaries supportive of gender equality appeared to lead to restrictions on the participation of some students, and thus, to a degree, on the learning of all. Rather than serving as spaces in which alternative perspectives could be vulnerably articulated, the complexity of different understandings considered, and the common humanity of those with opposing views affirmed (Guillard, 2012; West, 2018), classes were sometimes presented as constraining acceptable speech and leaving differences suppressed. In these respects, classes seemed to leave intact, if not implicitly supporting, the role of gender as a boundary marker between groups, whether within or beyond the institution. Further, the potential for classes to offer structured alternatives to the sometimes explosive encounters across gendered boundaries evident in the university did not appear to be fully realised.

The challenges and importance for teaching and learning about gender of enabling encounters across difference has long been recognised (Orner, 1992; Henderson, 2015). This chapter showed the particular importance of this in a polarised context in which gender boundaries were imbricated with, and serving as boundary

markers for, other potent sociopolitical divisions. It highlights the tensions that can exist between seeking to foster and maintain robust boundaries in service of gender equality, while also enabling such boundaries to be sufficiently permeable to allow for empathetic human connections.

## 9 Conclusion: Engendering Cross-Boundary Connections

This thesis aimed to explore engagement with gender in university classes, and their influence on both students' understandings of gender and gender equality, and on associated dynamics of inclusion and exclusion both within the university and in relation to wider society. It did so in a small number of departments in one Turkish university, at a point when Turkish society was highly divided, with gender often marking the boundaries between different groups. As many of these boundaries have continued to harden in the years since the field research, the importance of considering the connections between the pursuit of gender equality in academic settings, and wider processes of inclusion and exclusion has if anything increased. Drawing on the findings of the previous chapters this conclusion seeks to push beyond the temporal and spatial boundaries of the study, to see what its implications might be for ongoing education at Brook, and for universities, or wider discourse, in Turkey as a whole and beyond. In a sense this chapter reflects on the boundary work done by the thesis itself, considering what it illuminates in light of its limitations, and what boundaries it might have contributed to strengthening or obfuscating. The chapter begins with a brief summary of the study's findings, and contributions to the literature. It then considers some of the wider implications of these findings for the inclusion of gender in academic curricula, teaching towards understandings and practices of gender equality, and sustaining respectful relations across social boundaries.

### Summary of findings

This study's findings are necessarily tentative in light of the limitations of the study, noted in chapter four. Nevertheless every effort was made to triangulate data, drawing on observations, interviews with both staff and students and attending to people from different sociopolitical backgrounds. Analysis sought to take into account my own positionality, and member-checking confirmed the accuracy of representation and analysis of many parts of the thesis. While inevitably partial, its account is hopefully still trustworthy.

The borderland nature of Brook, as a place both connected to and set apart from its wider context, was significant in terms of its approach to gender as a wider institution. Distinctive features of Brook – particularly its Kemalist, leftist and secular commitments, and the extent of its international connections – both undergirded and set limits on support for gender equality in the institution’s culture, policies and practices. The strength of the institution’s boundaries enabled it in certain respects to be a space that was both relatively free from some of the more egregious aspects of gender inequality in wider Turkish society and could foster explorations of gender that were not possible in other universities. The efforts of individual university presidents contributed to this in challenging patterns of male domination in senior management. At the same time the strong support for academic autonomy precisely served to limit institutional interventions around gender equality from a policy perspective. It was notable therefore that the clearest catalysts for the development of institutional policies and academic and administrative units supportive of gender equality in recent years had some involvement of actors external to Brook. These had led at the time of research to an increasing formalisation of the institution’s support for gender equality. The selective permeability of Brook’s boundaries significantly influenced the approach to gender equality in the institution’s policies and organisational structures.

At a departmental level engagement with gender was subject to the contextual specificity of each department’s wider disciplinary approach. The distinctive influences on, and foci of, each department led to boundary work which served to variously support and work against gender equality. The extent of explicit engagement with gender, and the ontological boundary work, in each department did broadly mirror international patterns in their related disciplines in terms of the degree to which gender was addressed, and the understandings of gender used. The nature of the symbolic and social gendered boundary work was, however, contingent upon the peculiar qualities of each department studied. Participants from several departments justified a lack of systemic encouragement of engagement with gender with reference to the importance of academic autonomy. This meant that, despite an institutional culture which was perceived as supportive of gender equality, the agency of individual instructors and

administrators was critical in influencing engagement with gender, and related gendered boundary work, in departmental classrooms.

As to the effects of this boundary work, academic classes sometimes contributed to change in understandings of what gender is, and the significance of symbolic gender boundaries, for at least some students in each department studied. In some instances this appeared to constitute a profound insight with regards to wider gender boundaries. In departments with less engagement, changes tended to relate more to the positionality of students relative to the gender boundaries of the discipline or its associated profession. A programme's classes often appeared to have an influence on gender boundaries over the aggregate of its different courses, though courses which specifically focused on gender did appear to make particularly notable contributions to a programme's overall boundary work. For many students, however, particularly in departments which addressed gender less explicitly, academic classes seemed to serve more to reinforce existing gender boundaries. Overall, students' understandings of the ontology of gender, of the production, maintenance and significance of symbolic boundaries, along with their awareness of gender boundaries and associated inequalities, and to a degree their practices with regards to such boundaries, were correlated with the degree of elaboration of gender boundaries in the respective departments. It was not possible to clearly identify causality. For instance, the study only offered limited insights into variations in students' understandings prior to their entry to Brook. Nevertheless, the differences between departments suggested that academic programmes did indeed effect significant boundary work on students' gendered perspectives, at both ontological and symbolic levels.

In the Turkish context of high sociopolitical polarisation, in which approaches to gender relations were important boundary markers, the gendered boundary work at Brook appeared to have implications in terms of certain other social boundaries, and the relationships across them. The significant majority of participants saw Brook as an institution which maintained a relatively high overall degree of gender equality, and saw this as a quality which distinguished it from both other universities in Turkey and wider society more generally. A number of participants noted this as aligning Brook with Kemalist, secular values. Courses which explicitly addressed gender to only a limited

extent did not appear to emphasise the intersection of these boundaries, but they did allow the boundary making role played by gender to persist unchallenged. More secular students from these departments regularly linked conservative, religious values with gender inequality. Courses in programmes which explicitly addressed gender to a greater extent performed contrasting types of boundary work. On the one hand some classes were seen to reinforce associations between religious conservatives and gender inequality, while others reportedly muted the articulation of more traditional perspectives by lower class male students. On the other hand, elaboration of gender boundaries served to broaden awareness of the universality of gender inequality and challenge perceptions of Brook as a place of gender equality. This displaced to a degree the role gender relations were seen to have as boundary markers for other sociopolitical divisions. At the same time these courses also served to increase the perceived importance of a person's degree of commitment to gender equality as a symbolic and social boundary in its own right. This in turn played into a perception by members of some departments as being themselves internally set apart within Brook in light of their more liberal outlook. The gendered boundary work of each department thus led in different ways to both inclusion and exclusion, both socially and educationally. In some cases efforts to challenge certain boundaries reinforced others. Teaching and learning relating to gender sometimes helped students better understand – and relate to – those different from them. At other times it seemed to create barriers to such relationships, and also to exclude people from full participation in classes. It was notable that students with a strong religious identity – a minority among the study's participants – broadly reported greater learning about and from secular perspectives on gender relations than secular students did with respect to religious perspectives.

The study's original contribution is to show the significance of the contextual shaping of classroom engagements with gender in a range of departments in a Turkish university, and to demonstrate that these engagements do influence students' understandings and perceptions of gender relations and in turn contribute to boundaries relating to other forms of social division. It thus underlines the importance of exploring universities' addressing of gender as part of a wider analysis of their sociopolitical situation. It provides insights into the gendered significance both of

university courses in Turkey which are not specifically focused on gender (Pehlivanlı-Kadayıfçı, 2019), and of whole programmes which engage with gender to a more significant degree, which few other studies have done. It shows the importance of a situated understanding of different department's approaches, exploring the specific ways in which they challenge and reinforce different gendered boundaries beyond the broad distinctions found between disciplinary approaches (Peto and Dezso, 2011). It underscores the challenges for teaching relating to gender where gender relations mark significant sociopolitical boundaries, and the consequent importance of respectfully exploring the nuances of different perspectives.

## Implications

The period since the end of the fieldwork for this project has been tumultuous, both in Turkey more broadly and the higher education sector specifically. This was particularly the case in the attempted coup in July 2016 just after the fieldwork was completed, and the two-year state of emergency which followed. The massive purge which followed the attempted coup, enacted against a wide range of those perceived as opposing the government, included many within higher education, who were dismissed or forced into early retirement (Ozkan, 2017). President Erdoğan also took more direct control of the appointment of university leaders. These steps in turn led to an increase in self-censorship by academics when addressing topics of any sensitivity (Aktas et al., 2018). Specifically with regards to gender, feminist academics were among those who were dismissed (Dayan, 2018; Çağatay, 2019). Eleven women's organisations were closed down in the state of emergency (Kivilicim, 2018), and gatherings and activities of the LGBTQ+ community have been banned in Istanbul and Ankara (Dayan, 2018; Çağatay, 2019; Tar, 2018).

Despite this, critical gender studies itself was not directly challenged (Çağatay, 2019), unlike in Hungary (Peto, 2018) or Brazil (Redden, 2019). Further, until recently there still appeared to be a relatively receptive environment for gender equality within both the Ministry of Education and the Higher Education Council, with gender equality projects being pursued in both departments. Nevertheless, following an announcement about the continuation of the Ministry of Education pilot project in late 2019, there was

a significant conservative reaction, itself part of the emergence of a more widespread critique of the term gender itself (Aydagül, 2019). This backlash led to the repudiation of the gender equality projects by both departments, with the President of the HEC suggesting it did not fit Turkey's 'social values' (LGBTI News Turkey, 2019).

The situation of Brook and the wider country is thus now in some ways different from that portrayed in this study. Some faculty members commented during member checking that they were less confident in the distinctive protections and freedoms offered by Brook in the new environment (Faculty members, Personal correspondence, March 2020). If anything, however, these changes underline the importance of this study's findings. The increased political opposition to gender equality underscores the significance of both institutional and individual pedagogical support for gender equality, and of the intersectional boundary work played by academic engagement with gender. This final section draws out the implications of the research for Turkey and beyond, bearing in mind developments since the research was completed.

#### *Engendering the curriculum*

The study gives rise to a number of possible implications for universities in Turkey and beyond, which might be applicable where aspects of a university's situation reflect those at Brook. The findings suggest that, when considering a department's engagement with gender, administrators and instructors need to attend both to the broader values and commitments of a department, and to its specific engagements with gender. It is important to recognise the potentially contradictory implications of particular commitments – such as Brook's politics department's socialist-influenced critical focus on social inequalities – which can simultaneously support and work against the embrace of gender equality. Where departmental values are broadly consistent with gender equality, focused attention might still be necessary to realise this potential. Where such values are more inherently incompatible with gender equality, instructors and administrators are likely to need to pursue a harder route of fundamental or systemic challenge.

However consistent a department's values with gender equality, the study suggests that staff might still need systematic encouragement to prioritise academic



attention to gender. In light of the importance of academic independence, such encouragement might need to take the form of structured reflection on course priorities, and the rationale behind the approach to gender taken in a given course, rather than mandating particular forms of engagement with gender. Emphasising that classes cannot be gender neutral, and will necessarily perform gendered boundary work, as well as highlighting the broader sociopolitical role courses play beyond narrowly academic training (McCowan, 2019) – both seen in this study – might encourage higher levels of engagement with gender.

Both in terms of academic curricula, and wider institutional policies and structures, this study points towards a middle ground in debates about the value of gender mainstreaming. The data suggest both that there is merit in wise and sensitive encouragement that gender equality be considered at all institutional levels, and highlights that this is a political exercise, involving concerted action by supportive, informed, and well-connected agents. Top down and formal support for gender equality had an important role to play, even if it was itself responsive to, and dependent on the expertise of, bottom up advocates working in partnership with external actors. Even with a broad level of support for gender equality among staff, the structures necessary for safeguarding students and university personnel, and the interventions which might catalyse broader reflection on the significance of gender for academic courses, seemed to require a formal mandate. This suggests that pursuit of the goal – if not necessarily the language (Sandler and Rao, 2012) – of gender mainstreaming is appropriate, while recognising that it will be a continuously contested – rather than a straightforwardly transformative – path. Further, as I show below, its pursuit must also attend to interconnections with equality relating to other forms of difference.

### *Understandings of gender*

The different gendered boundary work of the different departments, and the related differences in students' understandings of gender, bolsters the case for addressing gender in university courses. Contrary to the conclusions of some studies (Gursoy et al., 2016, p. 197) and the perception of some instructors academic engagement appeared to play an important role in the continued development of students' understandings and perceptions of gender relations. This was the case through the explicit addressing

of gender, implicit boundary work, and through the absence of challenge to existing gender boundaries and their associated hierarchies. The study provides further evidence that the notion of gender blindness (Dieltiens et al., 2009) has no place in a university; academic courses, and students experiences of them, are necessarily gendered, and this needs to be attended to, not ignored, in order to best include all students, and prepare them to support gender equality in their future roles.

In departments linked to professions which are profoundly gendered, neither efforts at equal treatment, the presence of female instructors and professors, nor even explicit but relatively superficial accounts of the value of gender equality in the workplace appeared able adequately to counter the gendered associations of the respective disciplines, or their related exclusions. At the same time, findings from departments which addressed gender more fully showed that there is always scope for broader and deeper engagement, and highlighted the limitations of less complex analyses. It was also recognised that critical engagement with gender was best supported by a wider critical education across a programme. These raise important questions about how much attention to gender might be considered sufficient when, in many departments, any feasible degree of engagement will almost inevitably be inadequate. The study did find, however, that even a few hours theoretically grounded elaborated discussion of gender relations could make a lasting impression on students. There are inevitably many different pressures on departmental curricular choices. In departments for which, professionally or academically, gender relations can be deemed a pressing issue – and this is likely to be most departments – this study would suggest a twin approach: firstly focused attention on gender, combining theoretical and empirical analyses, for a few hours at an early stage in a programme; and secondly an ongoing effort to attend to courses' implications in terms of gender relations, which can build on the explicit foundation. Staff are likely to require training in order to be able to offer any meaningful reflection of the latter type. While such measures risk being token, superficial, or reinforcing existing gender boundaries, the study suggests that they might represent an appropriate minimum level of engagement.

The ontological and symbolic boundary work involved in different departments' engagement with gender also has implications in terms of social boundaries and the

concrete social relations that take place across them. The broader literature shows that there is by no means a straightforward link between cognitive boundary work and behavioural change (Flood, 2011). This study does show a relationship between differences in academic engagement with gender and differences in the actions of students with regards to gender relations, though, as indicated, it does not clearly show causation. The role that students from higher engagement departments played in seeking to strengthen and uphold gender equality in the institution suggests that pursuit of enacted gender equality in universities will likely proceed in tandem with academic engagement. The study also highlighted, however, how academic engagement with gender can contribute to tense and challenging relationships across social boundaries – either relating to understandings of gender itself, or to other boundaries with which this is imbricated. While the responses of those outside the relevant classes were often critical to these tensions, the approach of those who had taken classes focused on gender remained important. That academic classes had import beyond academic reflection, in social relations within and beyond the institution, suggests that these classes would do well to bring consideration of relationships across boundaries into the frame of their teaching. This appeared to be particularly important in light of the intersectional significance of these cross-boundary relations. I consequently turn to look at intersectionality before returning to consider how classes might address relationships across boundaries.

#### *Intersectional boundary work*

The links between gendered boundary work and other boundaries raise particular challenges for universities. Despite the aspiration for universities to be places of interconnection (Jackson, 2018) they are, as seen in Brook's case, also places of separation. Where restrictions have been placed on gender studies in Poland (Płuciennik, 2019), Hungary (Peto, 2018; Zsubori, 2018) and Brazil (Redden, 2019), it is precisely in their encouragement of cosmopolitanism, and certain forms of interaction across boundaries, that universities have been marked as different. As the Brook case shows, this perception of difference and separation can also be held by those inside the university. This thesis contends that such division is detrimental to society's cohesion and flourishing. Universities are faced with the challenge of countering, rather than

reinforcing, this divisive boundary work. Admittedly, there is a limited amount that universities can do when powerful external actors seek to foment social divisions. Nevertheless, they can also recognise the roles that they play in contributing to these processes.

As these international instances and the case of Brook show, an institution's approach to gender cannot be considered separately from broader social divisions, especially in contexts where gender relations mark significant boundaries of social polarisation. There are merits in a group or institution being marked as supporting gender equality; it generates an identity which can encourage those within the group or institution to uphold gender equality. It can also be misleadingly simplistic and detrimental to social cohesion.

This study points to a number of ways that the boundary marking role played by gender relations might be challenged. It might well be valuable for classes to make explicit the boundary marking role played by approaches to gender. This can be done both at the theoretical, and at the empirically exemplified level. At the same time, it is important to trouble or question this role, to highlight how simplistic it (normally) is to equate gender equality or inequality with one or other side of a sociopolitical divide. As the study shows, drawing attention to the politicisation of gender without explicit subversion of its boundary making role, can simply reinforce stereotypical equations of particular groups with particular approaches to gender. This troubling might involve a nuanced exploration of the ways in which the respective groups approach gender relations. Critical analysis of gender boundaries which highlights that all people are affected by, and implicated in, the perpetuation of inequalities can challenge dichotomies which link gender (in)equality superficially with one group or another.

Such analysis can also heighten the significance of approaches to gender relations as a boundary in its own right, thus blurring the distinctions between other groups by emphasising an alternative boundary. This has the twin virtues of underlining the importance of gender equality and reducing the salience of other social divisions. The risk here is the possibility of slippage. Should the strengthened gender equality boundary again become elided with other boundaries between groups – as it appeared

to for some of the sociology students (see chapter eight), for instance – then those other divisions can be further strengthened, rather than challenged. This risk again underlines the importance of explicitly resisting the acceptance of gender relations as a boundary marker. At the same time, it points to the importance of considering the nature of relationships across social boundaries, however strong those boundaries might be.

### *Relations across boundaries*

Pedagogy relating to gender in academic classes has implications for relations across boundaries, both with respect to boundaries centred on approaches to gender relations, and where such approaches serve as markers for other sociopolitical boundaries. The data analysed suggests that academic engagement has the potential to encourage respectful relations with the cross-boundary other, however strong or impermeable the boundary might be, or to contribute to dismissive, fearful or oppressive relations. The influence of teaching and learning in classes is necessarily limited. They are a minor intervention on one side of social relations which frequently have a long and complex history. Nevertheless, as the study shows, classes can play a role in shaping the approach of the students who take them, and their responses to, and perceptions of, others.

In a context of sociopolitical polarisation there can be a tendency for people to treat one another in line with stereotypical symbolic boundaries rather than as individuals (Schildkraut and Fakhereldeen, 2018). This increases the scope for feelings of hierarchical superiority, rejection of the other and misunderstanding and limits people's capacity to see and treat others as rounded humans. As the study has shown, academic classes can reinforce or challenge these tendencies. They do so by offering opportunities to encounter in nuanced ways the viewpoints of groups to which students might consider themselves opposed and by enabling students to see issues from those perspectives. This can happen through texts, and through discussions with those from different groups, enabling and complimenting relationships outside class with people from such groups. In doing so classes can help people to move from seeing people merely as representing opposed positions, to complex individual humans.

The study leaves questions about how best to encourage such humility, empathy and respect among all students, especially while allowing for robust defence of critical

theoretical positions. Students who are in a contextual minority, and thus immersed in perspectives and arguments which run counter to the assumptions and viewpoints they hold, are in a potentially strong position to grow in understanding of the views of others. The challenge there is for classes to be able to offer space for articulation of, and questioning from, their minority perspectives. Those from these groups can still seek to separate themselves from the majority to varying degrees, but, at least in the study, this was a minority response to such an educational experience. Enabling students from the institutional majority to see from the viewpoint of others is more challenging. Encouraging students to consider issues from different sides appeared helpful, though encouragements to do so simply in order to deconstruct – thus leaving a foundational assumption of opposition – might limit the impact of such encouragement.

Further, when dominant disciplinary approaches are opposed to particular understandings of gender boundaries, it can make it difficult for students to respectfully consider such perspectives. The boundary work involved in critical teaching around gender, which blurs or troubles both ontological and symbolic gender boundaries, as a result frames perspectives which have fixed understandings of such boundaries as, at least, incorrect. As observed in this study, such perspectives can then also be framed as ignorant and – in light of the limits they are seen to impose on people – unjust or unacceptable. Teaching which softens ontological and symbolic boundaries thus risks contributing to a hardening of social boundaries. This makes it all the more important for such departments to encourage an epistemological humility – rather than a sense of superiority – in students. It also means that such departments need to work particularly hard to give students rounded exposure to perspectives which run counter to the assumptions on which their teaching is based, and also to the nuances in positions which they might be inclined to oppose. In the current Turkish context, teaching around gender for secularly inclined students should engage more fully with a range of different Islamic perspectives, and seek to enable secular students to understand the perspectives of religious students, including the reasons why they hold to the boundaries they maintain. Religious students, for their part, need exposure not merely to different secular understandings of gender, but also to alternative religious perspectives. This counsel

applies also to the wide range of international contexts in which understandings of gender relations overlap with religious, and other sociopolitical, divisions.

In light of the implications addressing gender in academic classes has for broader social relations, there is a question whether courses need to directly address the nature of relations with others, that is, to explicitly address questions of ethics. For some faculty members ethical development was an important part of the education aimed for. It was nevertheless, in the courses studied, envisaged as being transferred by example and practice – in Bernstein’s (2000) terms as part of horizontal discourse – rather than being incorporated in their intentional teaching. While some teaching on gender and gender equality has implied ethical prescriptions, these do not clearly encompass relations across other social boundaries. Acknowledgement that courses have an impact on such cross-boundary relations suggests that there perhaps should be responsibility to encourage students to pursue particular forms of relation with those across social boundaries. While different ethical approaches would enjoin different goals here, as noted earlier a key aim in parts of the literature addressing higher education in polarised settings is that of seeing, and treating, the other as human (Jackson, 2018; George, 1992; cf. Powell and Menendian, 2016). Different courses made different contributions in this direction, but certain students’ responses suggested that courses could valuably encourage students to reflect on where there were limits to seeing others in this way, and the reasons for them.

Christian theologian Miroslav Volf (1996), both articulates a vision of what such relations should look like, and points to a further reason for including ethical reflection in academic pursuits. Drawing on reflections on the conflict in his native Croatia, Volf (1996; cf. Constantineanu, 2013) emphasises the importance of the willingness to embrace those with whom one is in conflict. As well as an ethical goal in itself, Volf sees this also as a necessary foundation for the pursuit of truth. He argues that without such a willingness, there is no incentive for the parties to a conflict to look beyond the perspectives which bolster their own positions. Paul Ricoeur (1996) argues similarly that in the absence of a willingness to love, irrational violence may well prove more attractive than reasoned discourse. While positing a high standard to aim for, these arguments would suggest that academic courses need to address the ethics of interpersonal

relationships as a necessary part of the intellectual travail involved, rather than simply a corollary to it.

This returns, then, to the nature of universities as different types of borderland spaces. However much an institution might be influenced by those outside, however distinctive it might be, however linked with a particular group or tradition, the foregoing discussion suggests that universities need to be places which are oriented towards treating – perhaps embracing – others as fellow humans whatever their differences. This highlights that any institutional approaches to gender, whether relating more narrowly to the curriculum, or more broadly to any form of gender mainstreaming or codes of practice, need to be nested within a broader consideration of inclusion and exclusion.

In the Turkish context, and for institutions like Brook in particular, when many of the values they embrace are under attack by a powerful government, and academic freedoms are regularly transgressed, the barriers to pursuing such connections are high. Maintaining a desire and openness to embrace across such divisions, and preserving spaces of vulnerability which can facilitate the understanding necessary for such embrace, is difficult and costly under such circumstances. Nevertheless, the academic freedoms on which institutions like Brook are founded point ultimately towards the need for such openness. In such settings universities need to be borderlands which can encourage connection with the other, even – indeed precisely – while remaining the other.



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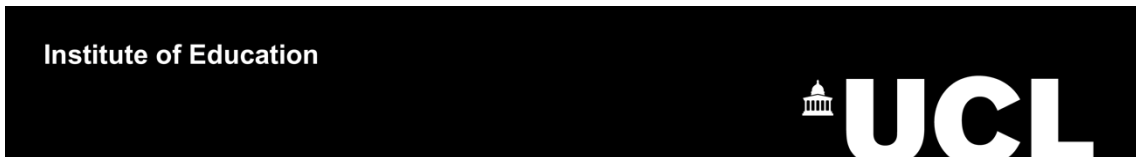
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# Appendices

## A. Information sheets and consent forms

### A.1a Lecturer (English)



Project Title: Exploring gender equality in Turkish higher education

LECTURER INFORMATION SHEET

Researcher: Adam Walton MSc MA PGCE

Supervisor: Professor Elaine Unterhalter

#### Purpose:

I am aiming to explore the ways gender, gender inequality and gender equality are addressed in university academic courses. I will also look at the different ways staff and students understand gender, and the significance they attach to it. My research will involve observations of classes from four different departments at [Brook University] – political science and public administration, sociology, business administration and civil engineering. I hope to review written work from some students' in these classes. I will also have discussions with staff and students connected with those courses, as well as university administrators. I hope that this research will help universities, including [Brook], as they engage with these complex issues.

#### About myself:

I am a visiting research with [Brook's] Graduate Institute of Social Sciences' Gender and Women's Studies Programme. I am a British PhD student. I come from a comfortable middle class background and was privately educated. I have worked as a secondary school teacher, teaching religious education and ethics. I am married and have two young daughters. I am a Christian. I developed an interest in questions around gender and gender equality during my MA studies. I have been living in Turkey since April 2015.

#### Class observations:

I hope to observe three classes from the ..... course this semester. I will pay attention to the topics you address and how you address them, and how the students engage and respond. I hope it might also be possible to look at some student essays from the course. It would also be useful, where possible, to have access to course curricula and materials. I also hope to conduct a group discussion with 4-6 of the students. These will explore their understandings of gender and gender equality, and reflect upon how your course, as well as the university more broadly, engages with gender, gender inequality and gender equality. I hope you will be able to give me a few minutes to explain the research to the class in the first observation. In small classes (less than 30 students) I will also seek informed consent from the individual students. I hope to take an audio recording of the classes I observe, either of the whole class in the case of small classes, or just of yourself in larger classes.

#### Interview:

I also hope to interview you. Our discussion will last for approximately an hour, and will be in English. I hope to discuss your educational values and those of your department, along with your understandings of gender, gender inequality and gender equality. I also hope to discuss the ways the university engages with gender and gender equality and the ways in which you consider and engage with gender in your teaching. With that in mind I will ask you a few questions about specific aspects of the course named above.

If it is OK with you I will record our discussion so that I can remind myself of what you said later.

Confidentiality:

**I aim to keep your responses confidential. You will be asked to choose a pseudonym at the start of the interview that I will employ throughout. The results of the study may be used in research reports or other publications. I will use your pseudonym in any reports or publications based on our discussions. I will give the institution itself a pseudonym, and will seek to avoid its being identifiable in any reports. [Brook's] particular characteristics might, however, mean that some readers are able to identify it. Thus, while I will do all I can to keep your views anonymous the particulars of your situation or views might make you recognisable to those intimately familiar with the institute.**

Possible benefits and risks

This research will hopefully give you opportunities to reflect upon your understandings of gender and gender equality, and your engagement with them in your teaching. This might increase your confidence in what you already think and do, or encourage you to consider other possibilities. This will also be the case for students included in the voluntary discussion groups. I hope the research will also contribute to increased understanding about academic engagement with gender and gender equality, which will hopefully be useful for other teaching staff, administrators and policy makers. While I will do everything I can to minimise them, there are still some risks involved in this research. Gender can be a sensitive and personal topic, which can touch on aspects of personal tension or anxiety. It can also be difficult having an outsider asking questions about your work or study. For these reasons it is possible that the interviews or observations might cause discomfort or distress. Also, as acknowledged above, I cannot completely exclude the possibility that someone might be able to identify you in written reports. This might cause personal or professional difficulty if they disagree with what I represent you as saying or doing.

Voluntary participation

Your participation in this research is entirely voluntary. You can decide to withdraw from the study at any time, or ask me to skip an interview question, or cease an observation. This will not be a problem. If you withdraw I will not ask you any more questions. You may decide if I can use the responses you have already given.

**Project Title:** *Exploring gender equality in Turkish higher education*

**LECTURER CONSENT FORM**

**Researcher:** *Adam Walton MSc MA PGCE*

**Supervisor:** *Professor Elaine Unterhalter*

Contact details:

If you have any questions about this research, please do not hesitate to contact me:

Email: adam[ ]@gmail.com Phone: 053 XXXXXX 39

Address: Ş[ ] Caddesi, B[ ] Mahallesi, Çankaya, Ankara.

Consent:

I have read the LECTURER INFORMATION SHEET and the research study has been explained to me. I have been given the opportunity to ask questions and my questions have been answered. I agree to participate in the research study described in the information sheet according to the confidentiality conditions stated. I have received a copy of the information sheet to keep. I understand that I will receive a copy of this consent form to keep.

\_\_\_\_\_  
Participant's Name (printed) and Signature

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

Adam Walton

\_\_\_\_\_  
Name (printed) and Signature of Person Obtaining Consent

**Proje Başlığı: Türk Yükseköğretiminde Cinsiyet Eşitliğinin İncelenmesi**  
**EĞİTMEN BİLGİLENDİRME KAĞIDI**

**Araştırmacı: Adam Walton MSC MA PGCE**

**Danışman: Professor Elaine Unterhalter**

Amaç:

Araştırmamda, üniversite akademik derslerinde cinsiyet, cinsiyet eşitliği ya da eşitsizliği konularının irdelenme yöntemlerini incelemeyi hedefliyorum. Ayrıca çalışanlar ve öğrencilerin cinsiyeti anlamlandırma ve önem atfetme biçimlerini de izleyeceğim. Araştırmam [Dere Üniversitesinde]de Siyaset Bilimi ve Kamu Yönetimi, Sosyoloji, İşletme ve İnşaat Mühendisliği olmak üzere dört farklı bölümün sınıflarında yapılacak gözlemleri kapsayacak. Seçilen derslerde bazı öğrencilerin yazılı çalışmalarını inceleyeceğim. Bununla beraber, üniversite yönetiminin yanı sıra bu derslerle ilişkili öğrenci ve çalışanlarla görüşmeler yapacağım. Bu araştırmanın [Dere Üniversitesinde]de dahil olmak üzere üniversitelere bu tür karmaşık konular hakkında yardımcı olmasını arzu ediyorum.

Hakkımda:

[Dere Üniversitesinde]n Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Kadın Çalışmaları Anabilim Dalı'nda ziyaretçi araştırmacıyım. Ben İngiliz bir doktora öğrencisiyim. Müreffeh bir orta sınıf sosyal çevresinden geliyorum ve özel eğitim aldım. Ortaokullarda Dini Eğitim ve Ahlak dersi öğretmeni olarak görev yaptım. Evliyim ve iki kız çocuğum var. Hristiyanım. Yüksek lisans çalışmalarım sırasında cinsiyet ve cinsiyet eşitliği konusuna ilgi duymaya başladım. 2015 yılının Nisan ayından beri Türkiye'de yaşıyorum.

Derslik Gözlemleri:

Bu yarıyıl ..... dersinin bir ile üç arasında oturumunu gözlemlemeyi arzu ediyorum. Değindiğiniz konulara, değinme biçiminize ve öğrencilerin nasıl katılım ya da tepki gösterdiklerine dikkat edeceğim. Derse ait bazı öğrenci makalelerini de görmemin mümkün olacağını umuyorum. Mümkün olduğunda ders müfredatına ve materyallerine erişebilmem de faydalı olacaktır. Ayrıca 4-6 öğrenciyle bir tartışma düzenlemeyi umuyorum. Bu, onların cinsiyet ve cinsiyet eşitliği hakkındaki anlayışlarını ve sizin dersinizin, daha geniş anlamda üniversitenin cinsiyet, cinsiyet eşitliği ve eşitsizliği kavramlarını irdelene biçimini inceleyecek. İlk gözlem esnasında araştırmayı sınıfa açıklamam için bana birkaç dakika verebileceğinizi umuyorum. Küçük dersliklerde (40 öğrenciden daha az) öğrencilerden de birey olarak onaylarını isteyeceğim. Küçük dersliklerde dersliğin tümünün sesi, büyük dersliklerde ise sadece sizin sesiniz olmak üzere gözlemlediğim derslerin ses kaydını almayı umuyorum.

Söyleşi:

Sizinle bir söyleşi yapmayı da ümit ediyorum. Görüşmemiz yaklaşık bir saat sürecektir ve İngilizce olacaktır. Sizin ve bölümünüzdeki diğer öğretmenlerin eğitim değerleri hakkında, cinsiyet, cinsiyet eşitliği ve eşitsizliği konuları çerçevesinde konuşmak istiyorum. Ayrıca üniversitenin ve sizin cinsiyet, cinsiyet eşitliği ve eşitsizliği konularını düşünme ve ilgilenme biçimleriniz hakkında görüşmeyi umuyorum. Bu çerçevede, size belirli konularda yukarıda adı geçen ders hakkında birkaç soru soracağım. Sizin için bir sakıncası yoksa söylediğiniz şeyleri sonradan hatırlayabilmek amacıyla kayda alacağım.

Gizlilik:

Yanıtlarınızı gizli tutmayı hedefliyorum. Görüşmenin başında sizden, araştırma genelinde kullanacağım bir takma isim belirlemeniz istenecektir. Bu çalışmanın sonuçları araştırma raporları ve diğer yayınlarda kullanılabilir. Görüşmelerimize dayanan tüm rapor ve yayınlarda takma isminizi kullanacağım. Ayrıca kurum için de bir takma isim kullanacak ve herhangi bir raporda tanınmasına neden olacak şeylerden kaçınmaya çalışacağım. Fakat, [Dere Üniversitesine]n kimi kendine has özellikleri kimi okuyucuların kurumu tanıyabileceği anlamına gelebilir. Bu nedenle, görüşlerinizi anonim tutmak için elimden geleni yaptığımda dahi, durumunuzun ve görüşlerinizin size özgü yanları, kurumla yakın ilişkiler içinde olan kişiler için sizi tanıtır kılabilir.

#### Olası Fayda ve Riskler:

Bu araştırmanın size cinsiyet ve cinsiyet eşitliği konusundaki anlayışınız ve bu konuya öğretim süreçlerinizdeki temaslarınız hakkında düşünme fırsatı tanınması umulmaktadır. Bu, sizin şu anda düşünmekte ve yapmakta olduklarınıza güveninizi arttırabilir ya da sizi diğer ihtimalleri gözden geçirmeye cesaretlendirebilir. Bu durum gönüllü tartışma gruplarına dahil olan öğrenciler için de geçerli olacak. Araştırmanın diğer öğrenciler, eğitimciler, yöneticiler ve politika hazırlayan kişiler için faydalı olması arzu edilen, cinsiyet ve cinsiyet eşitliğine akademik yaklaşım hakkında gelişmiş anlayışlara katkıda bulunmasını umuyorum. En aza indirmek için elimden geleni yapacak olsam da, bu araştırma bazı riskler içermektedir. Cinsiyet, kişisel gerilim ve endişeler ile ilişkilendirilebilecek hassas ve kişisel bir konu olabilir. Ayrıca dışarıdan gelen birisinin size işiniz ve çalışmalarınız hakkında sorular sorması zor olabilir. Bu nedenlerden ötürü, söyleşi ve gözlemler rahatsızlık ve sıkıntıya sebep olabilir. Ayrıca, daha önce de belirtildiği üzere, birilerinin kimliğinizi yazılan rapordan tespit etmesi ihtimalini tamamen önleyemem. Onlar sizin yaptığınızı ya da söylediğinizi sunduğum şeylere katılmazlarsa bu durum sizin için kişisel veya mesleki bir problem teşkil edebilir.

#### Gönüllü Katılım:

Bu araştırmaya katılım tamamen gönüllülük esasına dayanmaktadır. İsteddiğiniz zaman çalışmanın dışında kalmayı seçebilir, bir söyleşi sorusunu geçmemi ya da gözlemlemeye son vermeme isteyebilirsiniz. Bu bir problem olmayacaktır. Eğer çekilerseniz size daha fazla soru sormayacağım. O ana kadar verdiğiniz yanıtları kullanıp kullanmayacağıma da siz karar verebilirsiniz.



**Proje Başlığı: *Türk Yükseköğretiminde Cinsiyet Eşitliğinin İncelenmesi***

**EĞİTMEN KATILIM ONAY FORMU**

**Araştırmacı: *Adam Walton MSc MA PGCE***

**Danışman: *Professor Elaine Unterhalter***

İletişim Bilgileri:

Eğer araştırmayla ilgili merak ettiğiniz bir şey varsa, lütfen benimle iletişime geçmekten çekinmeyin:

E-posta: adam[ ]@gmail.com Telefon: 053XXXXXX39

Adres: Ş[ ] Caddesi, B[ ] Mahallesi, Çankaya, Ankara.

Onay:

EĞİTMEN BİLGİLENDİRME KAĞIDI'nı okudum ve araştırma çalışması bana açıklandı. Bana soru sorma ve sorularıma cevap alma fırsatı tanındı. Belirtilen gizlilik şartları kapsamında bilgilendirme kağıdında açıklanan araştırmaya katılmayı kabul ediyorum. Bilgilendirme kağıdının bir nüshasını bende kalmak üzere aldım. Bu onay formunun da bir nüshasını bende kalmak üzere alacağımı biliyorum.

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Katılımcının Adı ve İmzası

Tarih

Adam Walton

Onay Alan Kişinin Adı ve İmzası

**Project Title:** *Exploring gender equality in Turkish higher education*

**LARGE CLASS OBSERVATION - STUDENT INFORMATION SHEET**

**Researcher:** *Adam Walton MSc MA PGCE*

**Supervisor:** *Professor Elaine Unterhalter*

Purpose:

Thank you for having me in your class. In my research I am aiming to explore the ways gender, gender inequality and gender equality are addressed in university academic courses. I will also look at the different ways staff and students understand gender, and the significance they attach to it. My research will involve observations of classes from three different departments at [Brook University] – political science and public administration, sociology and business administration. I will also have discussions with staff and students connected with those courses, as well as university administrators. I hope that this research will help universities, including [Brook], as they engage with these complex issues.

About myself:

I am a British PhD student. I come from a comfortable middle class background and was privately educated. I have worked as a secondary school teacher, teaching religious education and ethics. I am married and have two young daughters. I am a Christian. I developed an interest in questions around gender and gender equality during my MA studies. I have been living in Turkey since April 2015.

Class observation

Your instructor has kindly agreed to let me attend some of your classes this term. I am going to be looking at the ways in which gender and gender equality are addressed in your classes. I will look at the ways being a man and being a woman are represented, and the different understandings of gender and gender equality that staff and students appear to have. I hope to observe what is taught, how it is taught, and how students engage and respond. I will take notes of my observations. I will take an audio recording of what your instructor says, but the microphone should not be able to pick up students' comments.

Anonymity:

The results of the study may be used in research reports or other publications. I will make any reference to any individual interactions in class anonymous. I will use a pseudonym and avoid any details which might lead to your being identifiable. I will also give the institution itself a pseudonym, and will seek to avoid its being identifiable in any reports. The only people who might be able to identify you in any reported interactions are people who also observed the original interaction i.e. your lecturer or classmates.

Evaluation of possible benefits and risks

I hope the research will contribute to increased understanding about academic engagement with gender and gender equality, which will hopefully be useful for other student, instructors, administrators and policy makers.

I do not think that there are any risks to you from this observation. Given the size of the class I hope that my presence at the back will not make any difference to your experience in the class. The size of class, the use of pseudonyms for both the institution and individual interactions, and careful attention to make sure that no details are given which

might make individual identifiable will mean that your interactions or views cannot be identified in any reports or publications.

Optional discussion groups and reading of written work

I hope to hold a discussion group with 4-6 of the students from this class. The discussion will last between an hour and a half and two hours, and will be in English. The discussion will explore your understandings of gender and gender equality, and the ways they are approached in this specific course as well as in your other courses. We will also talk a bit about your education history, your views on education at [Brook], and the influences on your views on gender and gender equality. I hope our discussion will be informal. Participants will be chosen randomly, seeking a gender balance, from those willing to be considered.

I also hope to read some of the written work produced by some of the students. I will ask your instructor for photocopies of a few selected students' work after it has been marked.

**If you would be happy to be considered for participation in the discussion group and / or for me to read some of your written work for this course please write your name, gender and contact details on one of the sheets in class, or email me at the address below.**

Contact details:

If you have any questions about this research, please do not hesitate to contact me:

Email: adam[ ]@gmail.com Phone: 053 XXXXXX 39

Address: Ş[ ] Caddesi, B[ ] Mahallesi, Çankaya, Ankara.

**Proje Başlığı: Türk Yükseköğretiminde Cinsiyet Eşitliğinin İncelenmesi  
BÜYÜK DERSLİK GÖZLEMLEME - ÖĞRENCİ BİLGİLENDİRME KAĞIDI**

**Araştırmacı: Adam Walton MSC MA PGCE**

**Danışman: Professor Elaine Unterhalter**

Amaç:

Sınıfınıza kabul ettiğiniz için teşekkür ederim. Üniversite akademik derslerinde cinsiyet, cinsiyet eşitliği ya da eşitsizliği konularının irdelenme yöntemlerini incelemeyi hedefliyorum. Ayrıca çalışanlar ve öğrencilerin cinsiyeti anlamlandırma ve önem atfetme biçimlerini de izleyeceğim. Araştırmam [Dere Üniversitesinde]de Siyaset Bilimi ve Kamu Yönetimi, Sosyoloji, İşletme ve İnşaat Mühendisliği olmak üzere dört farklı bölümün sınıflarında yapılacak gözlemleri kapsayacak. Seçilen derslerde bazı öğrencilerin makalelerini inceleyeceğim. Bununla beraber, üniversite yönetiminin yanı sıra bu dersle ilişkili öğrenci ve çalışanlarla görüşmeler yapacağım.

Hakkımda:

[Dere Üniversitesinde]n Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü'nde ziyaretçi araştırmacıyım. Ben İngiliz bir doktora öğrencisiyim. Müreffeh bir orta sınıf sosyal çevresinden geliyorum ve özel eğitim aldım. Ortaokullarda Dini Eğitim ve Ahlak dersi öğretmeni olarak görev yaptım. Evliyim ve iki kız çocuğum var. Hristiyanim. Yüksek lisans çalışmaları sırasında cinsiyet ve cinsiyet eşitliği konusuna ilgi duymaya başladım. 2015 yıldan beri Türkiye'de yaşıyorum.

Derslik Gözlemleri:

Eğitmeniniz bu dönem kimi derslerinize katılmama izin verme nezaketini gösterdi. Derslerinizde cinsiyet ve cinsiyet eşitliği konularının irdelendiği yöntemleri izliyorum. Erkek veya kadın olmanın temsil edilme biçimlerinin yanı sıra cinsiyet ve cinsiyet eşitliği konusunda öğrenci ve çalışanların sahip olmaları muhtemelen farklı anlayışları inceleyeceğim. Ne öğretildiğini, nasıl öğretildiğini, öğrencilerin katılım ve tepkilerini gözlemlemeyi umuyorum. Gözlemlerimi not edeceğim ve eğitmeninizin sınıf konuşmalarını kayıt altına alacağım. Kayıta kullanılan mikrofon öğrencilerin yorumlarını kaydetmeyecektir.

Anonimlik:

Bu çalışmanın sonuçları araştırma raporlarında ve başka yayınlarda kullanılabilir. Derslikteki tüm kişisel etkileşimlere anonim olarak atıfta bulunacağım. Takma isimler kullanacak ve tanınmanıza neden olacak tüm detaylardan kaçınacağım. Ayrıca kurumun adı yerine de bir takma ad kullanacak, tanınmasına neden olacak detaylardan kaçınmaya çalışacağım. Kimliğinizi rapor edilen etkileşimler aracılığıyla tespit edebilecek kişiler, derslik arkadaşlarınız ve eğitmeniniz gibi halihazırda etkileşimin kendisine tanıklık eden kişilerden ibaret olacaktır.

Olası Fayda ve Riskler:

Araştırmanın diğer öğrenciler, eğitmenler, yöneticiler ve politika hazırlayan kişiler için faydalı olması arzu edilen, cinsiyet ve cinsiyet eşitliğine akademik yaklaşım hakkında gelişmiş anlayışlara katkıda bulunmasını umuyorum. Bu gözlemlerin sizler açısından herhangi bir risk teşkil ettiğini düşünmüyorum. Dersliğin boyutu göz önüne alındığında, dersliğin arka taraflarında bulunmamın ders deneyiminizde bir değişiklik yaşatmayacağını umuyorum. Derslik boyutu, hem kurum hem de kişisel iletişim için kullanılacak takma isimler ve kimliğinizin tespitine neden olacak detaylardan kaçınmakta

gösterilecek özen, kişisel iletişimlerin ve görüşlerinizin hiçbir rapor ya da yayında tespit edilemeyeceği anlamı taşır.

İsteğe Bağlı Tartışma Grupları ve Yazılı Çalışmaların Okunması:

Sınıftan 4-6 öğrencinin katılacağı bir tartışma düzenlemeyi umuyorum. Her tartışmanın süresi 1,5-2 saat arası olacak ve İngilizce olarak yapılacaktır. Tartışma, sizin cinsiyet ve cinsiyet eşitliği anlayışınızın keşfinin yanı sıra bu ve diğer derslerinizdeki özellikle bu konuya yönelik yaklaşımlar üzerine olacaktır. Ayrıca eğitim geçmişiniz, [Dere Üniversitesi]deki eğitim hakkında görüşleriniz ve cinsiyet eşitliği konusunun bu görüşleriniz üzerine etkileri hakkında kısaca konuşacağız. Tartışmamızın mümkün olduğunca gayri resmi ve samimi biçimde gerçekleşmesini umuyorum. Katılımcılar, gönüllüler arasından cinsiyet dengesi göz önünde tutularak rastgele seçilecektir.

Bazı öğrencilerin yazılı çalışmalarını okumayı da ümit ediyorum. Not verildikten sonra, eğitmeninizden birkaç öğrencinin çalışmalarının fotokopisini isteyeceğim.

**Eğer tartışma gruplarına ve görüşmelere katılmayı arzu ederseniz ve / ya da dersle ilgili bazı yazılı çalışmalarınızı okumamı kabul ederseniz, lütfen isminizi, cinsiyetinizi ve iletişim bilgilerinizi sınıftaki sayfalardan birine yazın ya da aşağıda verilen adresten bana e-posta olarak gönderin.**

İletişim Bilgileri:

Eğer araştırmayla ilgili merak ettiğiniz bir şey varsa, lütfen benimle iletişime geçmekten çekinmeyin:

E-posta: adam[ ]@gmail.com Telefon: 053XXXXXX39

**Project Title:** *Exploring gender equality in Turkish higher education*

**SMALL CLASS OBSERVATION - STUDENT INFORMATION SHEET**

**Researcher:** *Adam Walton MSc MA PGCE*

**Supervisor:** *Professor Elaine Unterhalter*

Purpose:

I am aiming to explore the ways gender, gender inequality and gender equality are addressed in university academic courses. I will also look at the different ways staff and students understand gender, and the significance they attach to it. My research will involve observations of classes from three different departments at [Brook University] – political science and public administration, sociology and business administration. I will also have discussions with staff and students connected with those courses, as well as university administrators. I hope that this research will help universities, including [Brook], as they engage with these complex issues.

About myself:

I am a British PhD student. I come from a comfortable middle class background and was privately educated. I have worked as a secondary school teacher, teaching religious education and ethics. I am married and have two young daughters. I am a Christian. I developed an interest in questions around gender and gender equality during my MA studies. I have been living in Turkey since April 2015.

Class observation

Your instructor has kindly agreed to let me attend some of your classes this term. I am going to be looking at the ways in which gender, gender inequality and gender equality are addressed in your classes. I will look at the ways being a man and being a woman are represented, and the different understandings of gender and gender equality that staff and students appear to have. I hope to observe what is taught, how it is taught, and how students engage and respond. I will take notes of my observations. I will take an audio recording of the class.

Written work

I also hope to read some of the written work produced by some of the students. I will ask your instructor for photocopies of a few students' work after it has been marked. I will only read or photocopy work from students who give their consent.

Confidentiality:

I aim to keep any records of your interactions in class or your written work confidential. The results of the study may be used in research reports or other publications. I will make any reference to your interactions in class or your written work anonymous. I will use a pseudonym and try to avoid any details which might lead to your being identifiable. I will also give the institution itself a pseudonym, and will seek to avoid its being identifiable in any reports. The only people who should be able to identify you in written reports are those who were present in the original class.

Possible benefits and risks

I hope the research will contribute to increased understanding about academic engagement with gender and gender equality, which will hopefully be useful for other students, lecturers, administrators and policy makers.

While I will do everything I can to minimise them, there are still some risks involved in this research. It might feel uncomfortable being observed in a smaller class environment by an outsider, and you might feel that your participation in class is restricted if you know that your interactions might be recorded or reported, even if anonymously. I will report about you anonymously, and without any identifying details other than your gender and possibly your department or course. For this reason there should be no risk of others identifying you or your words in written reports, other than people present during the original class.

#### Voluntary participation

While I will be in the classroom in any event, your agreement for me to record or report any observations about you is entirely voluntary. If you do not consent to participate in the research, while I will still observe the class, I will not take any notes about you during my observations. At any time you can decide to withdraw from the study. This will not be a problem. If you withdraw I will not include you in any further observations. You may decide if I can use any previous notes I have made involving you.

**Project Title:** *Exploring gender equality in Turkish higher education*

**SMALL CLASS OBSERVATION STUDENT CONSENT FORM**

**Researcher:** *Adam Walton MSc MA PGCE*

**Supervisor:** *Professor Elaine Unterhalter*

Contact details:

If you have any questions about this research, please do not hesitate to contact me:

Email: adam[ ]@gmail.com Phone: 053 XXXXXX 39

Address: Ş[ ] Caddesi, B[ ] Mahallesi, Çankaya, Ankara.

Consent:

I have read the SMALL CLASS OBSERVATION STUDENT INFORMATION SHEET and the research study has been explained to me. I have been given the opportunity to ask questions and my questions have been answered. I agree to participate in the research study described in the information sheet according to the confidentiality conditions stated. I have received a copy of the information sheet to keep. I understand that I will receive a copy of this consent form to keep.

\_\_\_\_\_  
Participant's Name (printed) and Signature

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

Adam Walton

\_\_\_\_\_  
Name (printed) and Signature of Person Obtaining Consent

**Optional discussion groups**

I hope to hold a discussion group with 4-6 of the students from this class. The discussion will last between an hour and a half and two hours, and will be in English. The discussion will explore your understandings of gender and gender equality, and the ways they are approached in this specific course as well as in your other courses. We will also talk a bit about your education history, your views on education at [Brook University], and the influences on your views on gender and gender equality. I hope our discussion will be informal. Participants will be chosen randomly, seeking a gender balance, from those willing to be considered.

**If you would be happy to be considered for participation in the discussion group and interview please tick here:**

**Please also give your gender:** Female  Male  Other

**Email address so I can contact you:**

\_\_\_\_\_  
**I will not use your email address for any purpose other than contacting you about this discussion group.**



**Proje Başlığı: Türk Yükseköğretiminde Cinsiyet Eşitliğinin İncelenmesi  
KÜÇÜK DERSLİK GÖZLEMLEME - ÖĞRENCİ BİLGİLENDİRME KAĞIDI**

**Araştırmacı: Adam Walton MSC MA PGCE**

**Danışman: Professor Elaine Unterhalter**

Amaç:

Sınıfınıza kabul ettiğiniz için teşekkür ederim. Üniversite akademik derslerinde cinsiyet, cinsiyet eşitliği ya da eşitsizliği konularının irdelenme yöntemlerini incelemeyi hedefliyorum. Ayrıca çalışanlar ve öğrencilerin cinsiyeti anlamlandırma ve önem atfetme biçimlerini de izleyeceğim. Araştırmam [Dere Üniversitesine]de Siyaset Bilimi ve Kamu Yönetimi, Sosyoloji, İşletme ve İnşaat Mühendisliği olmak üzere dört farklı bölümün sınıflarında yapılacak gözlemleri kapsayacak. Seçilen derslerde bazı öğrencilerin yazılı çalışmalarını inceleyeceğim. Bununla beraber, üniversite yönetiminin yanı sıra bu dersle ilişkili öğrenci ve çalışanlarla görüşmeler yapacağım. Bu araştırmanın [Dere Üniversitesine]de dahil olmak üzere üniversitelere bu tür karmaşık konular hakkında yardımcı olmasını arzu ediyorum.

Hakkımda:

[Dere Üniversitesine]n Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Kadın Çalışmaları Anabilim Dalı'nda ziyaretçi araştırmacıyım. Ben İngiliz bir doktora öğrencisiyim. Müreffeh bir orta sınıf sosyal çevresinden geliyorum ve özel eğitim aldım. Ortaokullarda Dini Eğitim ve Ahlak dersi öğretmeni olarak görev yaptım. Evliyim ve iki kız çocuğum var. Hristiyanım. Yüksek lisans çalışmalarım sırasında cinsiyet ve cinsiyet eşitliği konusuna ilgi duymaya başladım. 2015 yılının Nisan ayından beri Türkiye'de yaşıyorum.

Derslik Gözlemleri:

Eğitmeniniz bu dönem kimi derslerinize katılmama izin verme nezaketini gösterdi. Derslerinizde cinsiyet ve cinsiyet eğitliği konularının irdelendiği yöntemleri izliyor olacağım. Erkek veya kadın olmanın temsil edilme biçimlerinin yanı sıra cinsiyet ve cinsiyet eşitliği konusunda öğrenci ve çalışanların sahip olmaları muhtemel farklı anlayışları inceleyeceğim. Ne öğretildiğini, nasıl öğretildiğini ve öğrencilerin katılım ve tepkilerini gözlemlemeyi umuyorum. Gözlemlerimi not edeceğim ve ses kaydı alacağım.

Yazılı Çalışma

Bazı öğrencilerin yazılı çalışmalarını okumayı da ümit ediyorum. Not verildikten sonra, eğitmeninizden birkaç öğrencinin çalışmalarının fotokopisini isteyeceğim. Sadece onay veren öğrencilerin çalışmalarını okuyacak ya da çalışmalarının fotokopilerini çekeceğim.

Gizlilik:

Sınıftaki etkileşimlerinizin ya da yazılı çalışmalarınızın tümünü gizli tutmayı amaçlıyorum. Bu çalışmanın sonuçları araştırma raporlarında ve başka yayınlarda kullanılabilir. Derslikteki tüm kişisel etkileşimlerimize ya da yazılı çalışmalarınıza anonim olarak atıfta bulunacağım. Takma isimler kullanacak ve tanınmanıza neden olacak tüm detaylardan kaçınmaya çalışacağım. Ayrıca kurumun adı yerine de bir takma ad kullanacak, tanınmasına neden olacak detaylardan kaçınmaya çalışacağım. Fakat, [Dere Üniversitesine]n kimi kendine has özellikleri kimi okuyucuların kurumu tanıyabileceği anlamına gelebilir. Bu nedenle, dersliğin küçük olması sonucu, ben sizin görüşlerinizi anonim tutmak için elimden geleni yapsam dahi, durumunuz ve fikirlerinizin detayları, kurumunuzda sizinle yakın ilişkisi olanlar için sizi tanınır kılabilir.

### Olası Fayda ve Riskler:

Araştırmanın diğer öğrenciler, öğretmenler, yöneticiler ve politika hazırlayan kişiler için faydalı olması arzu edilen, cinsiyet ve cinsiyet eşitliğine akademik yaklaşım hakkında gelişmiş anlayışlara katkıda bulunmasını umuyorum. En aza indirmek için elimden geleni yapacak olsam da, bu araştırma bazı riskler içermektedir. Küçük bir derslik ortamında dışarıdan gelen birisi tarafından gözlemlenmek rahatsız hissettirebilir ve anonim olsa dahi, katılımlarınızın kaydedilebileceğini ve rapor edilebileceğini bilmek, derslikteki katılımlarınızın sınırlandırıldığını hissetmenize sebep olabilir. Ayrıca, daha önce de belirtildiği üzere, birilerinin kimliğinizi yazılan raporlardan tespit etmesi ihtimalini tamamen önleyemem. Onlar sizin yaptığınızı ya da söylediğinizi sunduğum şeylere katılmazlarsa bu durum sizin için kişisel veya mesleki bir problem teşkil edebilir.

### Gönüllü Katılım:

Derslikte bulunduğum sırada sizin hakkınızdaki gözlemlerimi kayıt almama ve rapor etmeme vereceğiniz onay gönüllülük esasına dayanmaktadır. Eğer araştırmaya katılmaya rıza göstermezseniz, sınıfı gözlemlerken sizin hakkınızda hiçbir not almayacağım. Çalışmadan istediğiniz zaman çekilebilirsiniz. Bu bir sorun olmayacaktır. Eğer çekilirseniz sizi geri kalan gözlemlerime dahil etmeyeceğim. Öncesinde sizin hakkınızda almış olduğum notları da kullanıp kullanmayacağıma karar verebilirsiniz.

Proje Başlığı: *Türk Yükseköğretiminde Cinsiyet Eşitliğinin İncelenmesi*

## KÜÇÜK DERSLİK GÖZLEMLEME ÖĞRENCİ KATILIM ONAY FORMU

**Araştırmacı:** *Adam Walton MSc MA PGCE*

**Danışman:** *Professor Elaine Unterhalter*

### İletişim Bilgileri:

Eğer araştırmayla ilgili merak ettiğiniz bir şey varsa, lütfen benimle iletişime geçmekten çekinmeyin:

E-posta: adam[ ]@gmail.com Telefon: 053XXXXXX39

Adres: Ş[ ] Caddesi, B[ ] Mahallesi, Çankaya, Ankara.

### Onay:

KÜÇÜK DERSLİK GÖZLEMLEME ÖĞRENCİ BİLGİLENDİRME KAĞIDI'ni okudum ve araştırma çalışması bana açıklandı. Bana soru sorma ve sorularıma cevap alma fırsatı tanındı. Belirtilen gizlilik şartları kapsamında bilgilendirme kağıdında açıklanan araştırmaya katılmayı kabul ediyorum. Bilgilendirme kağıdının bir nüshasını bende kalmak üzere aldım. Bu onay formunun da bir nüshasını bende kalmak üzere alacağımı biliyorum.

Katılımcının Adı ve İmzası

Tarih

Adam Walton

Onay Alan Kişinin Adı ve İmzası

### İsteğe bağlı tartışma grupları:

Sınıftan 4-6 öğrencinin katılacağı bir tartışma düzenlemeyi umuyorum. Her tartışmanın süresi 1,5-2 saat arası olacak ve İngilizce olarak yapılacaktır. Tartışma, sizin cinsiyet ve cinsiyet eşitliği anlayışınızın keşfinin yanı sıra bu ve diğer derslerinizdeki özellikle bu konuya yönelik yaklaşımlar üzerine olacaktır. Ayrıca eğitim geçmişiniz, [Dere Üniversitesi]deki eğitim hakkında görüşleriniz ve cinsiyet eşitliği konusunun bu görüşleriniz üzerine etkileri hakkında kısaca konuşacağız. Tartışmamızın mümkün olduğunca gayriresmi ve samimi biçimde gerçekleşmesini umuyorum. Katılımcılar, gönüllüler arasından cinsiyet dengesi göz önünde tutularak rastgele seçilecektir.

**Tartışma gruplarına ve söyleşiye katılım göstermek istiyorsanız lütfen burayı işaretleyin:**

**Lütfen cinsiyetinizi belirtin:** Kadın  Erkek  Diğer

**Sizinle iletişime geçebilmem için e-posta adresiniz:**

E-posta adresinizi, sizinle tartışma grubu hakkında iletişime geçmek dışında bir amaçla kullanmayacağım.

Institute of Education



**Project Title:** *Exploring gender equality in Turkish higher education*

**STUDENT DISCUSSION GROUP INFORMATION SHEET**

**Researcher:** *Adam Walton MSc MA PGCE*

**Supervisor:** *Professor Elaine Unterhalter*

Purpose:

I am aiming to explore the ways gender, gender inequality and gender equality are addressed in university academic courses. I will also look at the different ways staff and students understand gender, and the significance they attach to it. My research will involve observations of classes from three different departments at [Brook University] – political science and public administration, sociology and business administration. I will also have discussions with staff and students connected with those courses, as well as university administrators. I hope that this research will help universities, including [Brook], as they engage with these complex issues.

About myself:

I am a British PhD student. I come from a comfortable middle class background and was privately educated. I have worked as a secondary school teacher, teaching religious education and ethics. I am married and have two young daughters. I am a Christian. I developed an interest in questions around gender and gender equality during my MA studies. I have been living in Turkey since April 2015.

Procedures

Our group discussion will be in English and will last about one and a half hours. We will talk a bit about your education history and your views on education at [Brook] in general. We will talk about your understandings of gender and gender equality. We will discuss how your university courses address gender and gender equality, focusing in particular on the course in which you volunteered to take part in this discussion. We will finish by talking about other influences on your views on gender and gender equality. I hope that the discussion will be relatively informal. If it is OK with you I will record our discussion so that I can remind myself of what you said later.

It is possible that I will ask you to take part in a shorter discussion later in the semester to follow up on some of what we discuss today. It will be entirely your decision whether or not you want to take part in that later discussion.

Confidentiality:

I aim to keep your responses confidential. You will be asked to choose a pseudonym at the start of the interview that I will employ throughout. The results of the study may be used in research reports or other publications. I will use your pseudonym in any reports or publications based on our discussions. I will also give the institution itself a pseudonym, and will seek to avoid its being identifiable in any reports. I will do all I can to avoid providing any details about you which might enable others to identify you in written reports. However, it is possible that those intimately familiar with you at the institute might be able to recognise you from your comments.

Possible benefits and risks

This research will hopefully give you opportunities to reflect upon your understandings of gender and gender equality, and your engagement with them in your learning. This

might increase your confidence in what you already think and do, or encourage you to consider other possibilities. I hope the research will also contribute to increased understanding about academic engagement with gender and gender equality, which will hopefully be useful for other teaching staff, administrators and policy makers.

While I will do everything I can to minimise them, there are still some risks involved in this research. Gender can be a sensitive and personal topic, which can touch on aspects of personal tension or anxiety. It can also be difficult having an outsider asking questions about your study or views. For these reasons it is possible that the interviews or observations might cause discomfort or distress. I will report about you anonymously, and without any identifying details other than your gender and possibly your department or course. For this reason there should be no risk of others identifying you or your words in written reports, other than people present during the original discussion.

#### Voluntary participation

Your participation in this research is entirely voluntary. You can decide to withdraw from the study at any time, or ask me to skip an interview question, or cease an observation. This will not be a problem. If you withdraw I will not ask you any more questions. You may decide if I can use the responses you have already given.

**Project Title:** *Exploring gender equality in Turkish higher education*

**STUDENT DISCUSSION GROUP CONSENT FORM**

**Researcher:** *Adam Walton MSc MA PGCE*

**Supervisor:** *Professor Elaine Unterhalter*

Contact details:

If you have any questions about this research, please do not hesitate to contact me:

Email: adam[ ]@gmail.com Phone: 053 XXXXXX 39

Address: Ş[ ] Caddesi, B[ ] Mahallesi, Çankaya, Ankara.

Consent:

I have read the STUDENT DISCUSSION GROUP INFORMATION SHEET and the research study has been explained to me. I have been given the opportunity to ask questions and my questions have been answered. I agree to participate in the research study described in the information sheet according to the confidentiality conditions stated. I have received a copy of the information sheet to keep. I understand that I will receive a copy of this consent form to keep.

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Participant's Name (printed) and Signature

---

Date

Adam Walton

Name (printed) and Signature of Person Obtaining Consent

**Proje Başlığı: Türk Yükseköğretiminde Cinsiyet Eşitliğinin İncelenmesi**  
**ÖĞRENCİ TARTIŞMA GRUBU BİLGİLENDİRME KAĞIDI**

**Araştırmacı: Adam Walton MSC MA PGCE**

**Danışman: Professor Elaine Unterhalter**

Amaç:

Araştırmamda, üniversite akademik derslerinde cinsiyet, cinsiyet eşitliği ya da eşitsizliği konularının irdelenme yöntemlerini incelemeyi hedefliyorum. Ayrıca çalışanlar ve öğrencilerin cinsiyeti anlamlandırma ve önem atfetme biçimlerini de izleyeceğim. Araştırmam [Dere Üniversitesinde] Siyaset Bilimi ve Kamu Yönetimi, Sosyoloji, İşletme ve İnşaat Mühendisliği olmak üzere dört farklı bölümün sınıflarında yapılacak gözlemleri kapsayacak. Seçilen derslerde bazı öğrencilerin yazılı çalışmalarını inceleyeceğim. Bununla beraber, üniversite yönetiminin yanı sıra bu dersle ilişkili öğrenci ve çalışanlarla görüşmeler yapacağım.

Hakkımda:

[Dere Üniversitesine] Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Kadın Çalışmaları Anabilim Dalı'nda ziyaretçi araştırmacıyım. Ben İngiliz bir doktora öğrencisiyim. Müreffeh bir orta sınıf sosyal çevresinden geliyorum ve özel eğitim aldım. Ortaokullarda Dini Eğitim ve Ahlak dersi öğretmeni olarak görev yaptım. Evliyim ve iki kız çocuğum var. Hristiyanım. Yüksek lisans çalışmalarım sırasında cinsiyet ve cinsiyet eşitliği konusuna ilgi duymaya başladım. 2015 yılının Nisan ayından beri Türkiye'de yaşıyorum.

Yöntem:

Grup tartışması İngilizce olarak yapılacaktır ve süresi yaklaşık 1,5 saat olacaktır. Eğitim geçmişiniz ve [Dere Üniversitesinde]deki eğitim hakkında görüşleriniz üzerine kısaca konuşacağız. Sizin cinsiyet ve cinsiyet eşitliği anlayışınız hakkında konuşacağız. Öncelikle tartışmaya katılım gösterdiğiniz ders olmak üzere üniversite derslerinizin cinsiyet ve cinsiyet eşitliği konularına atıfta bulunma biçimlerini tartışacağız. Son olarak cinsiyet ve eşitlik hakkındaki fikirleriniz üzerinde etkisi olan başka etmenlerden söz edeceğiz. Tartışmanın mümkün olduğunca gayriresmi ve samimi olmasını umuyorum. Sizin için bir sakıncası yoksa söylediğiniz şeyleri sonradan hatırlayabilmek amacıyla kayda alacağım.

Sizden, bugün konuştuklarımızın devamı niteliğine, yarıyılın ilerleyen zamanlarında daha kısa bir tartışmaya katılmanızı rica edebilirim. Söz konusu sonradan düzenlenecek tartışmaya katılıp katılmamak tamamen sizin kararınızdır.

Gizlilik:

Yanıtlarınızı gizli tutmayı hedefliyorum. Görüşmenin başında sizden, araştırma genelinde kullanacağım bir takma isim belirlemeniz istenecektir. Bu çalışmanın sonuçları araştırma raporları ve diğer yayınlarda kullanılabilir. Görüşmelerimize dayanan tüm rapor ve yayınlarda takma isminizi kullanacağım. Ayrıca kurum için de bir takma isim kullanacak ve herhangi bir raporda tanınmasına neden olacak şeylerden kaçınmaya çalışacağım. Fakat, [Dere Üniversitesine] kimi kendine has özellikleri kimi okuyucuların kurumu tanıyabileceği anlamına gelebilir. Bu nedenle, ben sizin görüşlerinizi anonim tutmak için elimden geleni yapsam dahi, durumunuz ve fikirlerinizin detayları, kurumunuzda sizinle yakın ilişkisi olanlar için sizi tanınır kılabilir.

Olası Fayda ve Riskler:

Bu araştırmanın size cinsiyet ve cinsiyet eşitlik hakkındaki anlayışınızı ve öğrenme sürecinizde bu konularla ilişkinizi yansıtırma fırsatını vermesi umulmaktadır. Bu sizin

halihazırdaki düşünce ve eylemlerinize olan güveninizi arttırabilir ya da sizi başka ihtimalleri düşünmek için cesaretlendirebilir. Araştırmanın diğer öğrenciler, eğitmenler, yöneticiler ve politika hazırlayan kişiler için faydalı olması arzu edilen, cinsiyet ve cinsiyet eşitliğine akademik yaklaşım hakkında gelişmiş anlayışlara katkıda bulunmasını umuyorum. En aza indirmek için elimden geleni yapacak olsam da, bu araştırma bazı riskler içermektedir. Cinsiyet, gerilim ve endişeler ile ilişkilendirilebilecek hassas ve kişisel bir konu olabilir. Ayrıca dışarıdan gelen birisinin size işiniz ve çalışmalarınız hakkında sorular sorması zor olabilir. Bu nedenlerden ötürü, söyleşi ve gözlemler rahatsızlık ve sıkıntıya sebep olabilir. Ayrıca, daha önce de belirtildiği üzere, birilerinin kimliğinizi yazılan raporlardan tespit etmesi ihtimalini tamamen önleyemem. Onlar sizin yaptığınızı ya da söylediğinizi sunduğum şeylere katılmazlarsa bu durum sizin için kişisel veya mesleki bir problem teşkil edebilir.

#### Gönüllü Katılım:

Bu araştırmaya katılım tamamen gönüllülük esasına dayanmaktadır. İsteddiğiniz zaman çalışmanın dışında kalmayı seçebilirsiniz, bir söyleşi sorusunu geçmemi isteyebilirsiniz. Bu bir problem olmayacaktır. Eğer çekilirseniz size daha fazla soru sormayacağım. O ana kadar verdiğiniz yanıtları kullanıp kullanmayacağıma da siz karar verebilirsiniz.



Proje Başlığı: *Türk Yükseköğretiminde Cinsiyet Eşitliğinin İncelenmesi*

**ÖĞRENCİ TARTIŞMA KATILIM ONAY FORMU**

**Araştırmacı: *Adam Walton MSc MA PGCE***

**Danışman: *Professor Elaine Unterhalter***

İletişim Bilgileri:

Eğer araştırmayla ilgili merak ettiğiniz bir şey varsa, lütfen benimle iletişime geçmekten çekinmeyin:

E-posta: adam[ ]@gmail.com Telefon: 053XXXXXX39

Adres: Ş[ ] Caddesi, B[ ] Mahallesi, Çankaya, Ankara.

Onay:

ÖĞRENCİ TARTIŞMA GRUBU BİLGİLENDİRME KAĞIDI'nı okudum ve araştırma çalışması bana açıklandı. Bana soru sorma ve sorularıma cevap alma fırsatı tanındı. Belirtilen gizlilik şartları kapsamında bilgilendirme kağıdında açıklanan araştırmaya katılmayı kabul ediyorum. Bilgilendirme kağıdının bir nüshasını bende kalmak üzere aldım. Bu onay formunun da bir nüshasını bende kalmak üzere alacağımı biliyorum.

\_\_\_\_\_  
Katılımcının Adı ve İmzası

\_\_\_\_\_  
Tarih

Adam Walton

\_\_\_\_\_  
Onay Alan Kişinin Adı ve İmzası

## B. Class observation introductory script

Hi, my name is Adam Walton. Thank you, Dr / Professor X, for welcoming me into this class, and giving me a few minutes to introduce myself and my research. I am from England. I am a PhD student at University College London Institute of Education. My PhD is in education. I am doing research here at [Brook University]. I am exploring some of the ways that gender, gender inequality and gender equality are addressed in Turkish university academic courses. I am focusing on a selection of classes from three different departments here – political science and public administration, sociology and business administration. I am doing some observations of classes and lectures, like this one, as well as having discussions with staff and students connected with those courses, along with some university administrators. I have given out information sheets which explain in Turkish what my research involves.

I am going to be observing one or two classes from this course. My primary focus will be on your instructor, what they teach and how they teach it. But I will also be looking at how they interact with you, and relatedly how you as a group of students interact with them and each other. I am particularly interested in looking at anything which shows the different understandings of gender and gender equality that your instructor, and you as a group of students, appear to have. I will be taking an audio recording of the class, and your comments might be recorded.

Your instructor has agreed for me to be in the class, but, as it is a small class, your agreement for me to record or report any observations about you is entirely voluntary. After I finish explaining my research you will have opportunity to read the information sheet. I will then ask you if you are willing to sign a consent form. I will come round to collect the consent forms, whether complete or otherwise, and will make a note of whether or not you have agreed to participate in the study. Please do not feel any pressure either way. If you do not consent to participate in the research, while I will still observe the class, I will not take any notes about you during my observations. At any time you can decide to withdraw from the study. This will not be a problem. If you withdraw I will not include you in any further observations. You may decide if I can use any previous notes I have made involving you.

As I am going to be watching your class I thought you might want to know a little more about me. I am married and have two young daughters. I come from a comfortable middle class background and was privately educated. I worked as a secondary school teacher, teaching religious education and ethics before continuing my studies. I am a Christian. I developed an interest in questions around gender and gender equality during my MA studies.

I aim to keep any records of your interactions in class confidential. I hope to use the results of this study in research reports and possibly other publications. I will make sure that any reference to individual interactions in class are anonymous. I will employ pseudonyms and will try to avoid any details which might lead to your being identifiable. I will also give [Brook] itself a pseudonym, and will seek to avoid its being identifiable in any reports. However, given the small class size, while I will do all I can to keep your views anonymous the particulars of your

situation or views might make you recognisable to those intimately familiar with you at the institute.

I hope the research will contribute to increased understanding about academic engagement with gender and gender equality, which will hopefully be useful for other students, instructors, administrators and policy makers.

While I will do everything I can to minimise them, there are still some risks involved in this research. It might feel uncomfortable being observed in a smaller class environment by an outsider like me. You might feel that your participation in class is restricted if you know that your interactions might be recorded or reported, even if anonymously. Also, as acknowledged above, I cannot completely exclude the possibility that someone might be able to identify you in written reports. This might cause personal or academic difficulty if they disagree with what I represent you as saying or doing.

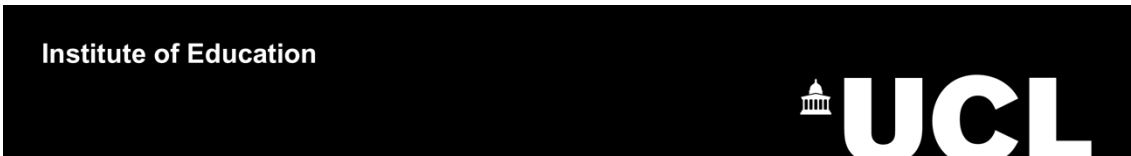
Can I ask you all to take a look at your consent forms. You will see that at the bottom I talk about a discussion group I hope to hold with 4-6 of the students from this class later in the semester. The discussion will last between an hour and a half and two hours, and will be in English. The discussion will explore your understandings of gender and gender equality, and the ways they are approached in this specific course as well as in your other courses. We will also talk a bit about your education history, your views on education at [Brook], and the influences on your views on gender and gender equality. I hope our discussion will be informal. I hope the discussion will be interesting for you – I've had a lot of fun having similar discussions during research in the past. From those who sign up I will choose participants randomly, seeking a gender balance. If you would be happy to be considered for participation in the discussion group and interview please tick this box at the bottom of the consent form, as well as giving your gender, and your email address so I can contact you if you are selected.

Does anyone have any questions? If you think of questions at a later stage please do email me at the address on the information sheet. Thanks again for having me in your class.

*[The script in the large class was similar but substituted the following section for the sections on risks above:*

I do not think that there are any risks to you from this observation. Given the size of the class I hope that my presence at the back will not make any difference to your experience in the class. Nothing you do or say will be able to be identified, other than possibly by people in this room, in anything I publish. ]

C. Large class student group interview sign-up sheet



**Project Title:** *Exploring gender equality in Turkish higher education*  
**LARGE CLASS STUDENT FOCUS GROUP SIGN UP SHEET**  
**Researcher:** *Adam Walton MSc MA PGCE* **Supervisor:** *Professor Elaine Unterhalter*

Purpose:

I hope to hold a discussion group with 4-6 of the students from this class. The discussion will last between an hour and a half and two hours, and will be in English. The discussion will explore your understandings of gender and gender equality, and the ways they are approached in this specific course as well as in your other courses. We will also talk a bit about your education history, your views on education at [Brook University], and the influences on your views on gender and gender equality. I hope our discussion will be informal. Participants will be chosen randomly, seeking a gender balance, from those willing to be considered.

I also hope to read some of the written work produced by some of the students. I will ask your instructor for photocopies of a few selected students' work after it has been marked. If you would be happy to be considered for participation in the discussion group and / or for me to read some of your written work for this course please write your name, gender and contact details below in BLOCK CAPITALS.

Name / Surname	Email address (BLOCK CAPITALS)	Gender		
		Female	Male	Other
e.g. AYŞE YILMAZ	AYSEYILMAZ@GMAIL.COM	X		

#### D. Recruitment poster for religious students

Institute of Education



## Looking for research participants for discussion on gender and gender equality at [Brook University]

I am a PhD researcher from University College London. I am exploring the ways gender and gender equality are addressed in the academic courses in four different [Brook University] departments, as well as in [Brook University] more generally.

I have struggled so far to get views of religious students. If you are from the **Sociology, Business Administration, Political Science or Civil Engineering** departments, consider yourself religious and would be willing to take part in a discussion group lasting about one and a half hours to talk about these things, please send me an email, and we can arrange a suitable time. Thank you.

Adam Walton

[adam\[ \]@gmail.com](mailto:adam[ ]@gmail.com)

## E. Interview introductory scripts

Hi, very nice to meet you. Thank you for agreeing to meet with me. How are you? ... Perhaps if I explain a bit about the research, myself and the interview, then you can look over the information sheet (again) and decide if you are happy to continue.

I am a PhD student at University College London Institute of Education. My PhD is in education. I am doing research for my doctoral thesis here at [Brook University]. I am exploring some of the ways that gender, gender inequality and gender equality are addressed in Turkish university academic courses. I am focusing on a selection of classes from three different departments here – political science and public administration, sociology and business administration. I am doing some observations of classes and lectures as well as having discussions with staff and students connected with those courses, along with some administrators, like yourself.

*For staff:* Our discussion today will last for approximately an hour, and will be in English. I hope to discuss your educational values and those of your department, along with your understandings of gender, gender inequality and gender equality. I also hope to discuss the ways the university engages with gender and gender equality and the ways in which you consider and engage with gender in your teaching. With that in mind I will ask you a few questions about specific aspects of the [X] course. If it is OK with you I will record our discussion so that I can remind myself of what you said later.

*For students:* Our discussion today will last for between an hour and a half and two hours, and will be in English. I hope to start by talking a bit about your education history and your views on education at [Brook] in general. We will then talk about your understandings of gender and gender equality. We will discuss how your university courses address gender and gender equality, focusing in particular on [X] course. We will finish by talking about other influences on your views on gender and gender equality. I hope that the discussion will be relatively relaxed. If it is OK with you I will record our discussion so that I can remind myself of what you said later.

I aim to keep your responses confidential. I will ask you to choose a pseudonym before we start the interview that I will employ throughout. I hope to use the results of the study in research reports and possibly other publications. I will use your pseudonym in any reports or publications based on our discussions. I will also give the institution itself a pseudonym, and will seek to avoid its being identifiable in any reports. However, while I will do all I can to keep your views anonymous the particulars of your situation or views might make you recognisable to those intimately familiar with the institute.

I hope that you will find our discussion interesting, and perhaps even helpful. I also hope that the research will contribute to increased understanding about academic engagement with gender and gender equality, which will hopefully be useful for other teaching staff, administrators and policy makers.

While I will do everything I can to minimise them, there are still some risks involved in this research. I recognise that gender can be a sensitive and personal topic. It can also be difficult having an outsider like me asking

questions about your work. For these reasons it is possible that you might find some parts of the interview cause you distress or anxiety, though I hope that will not be the case. Please, feel free at any point to ask me to skip a question or move on, or to stop the interview entirely. Your participation is entirely voluntary, and it really won't be a problem at all. Also, as I have said, I cannot completely exclude the possibility that someone might be able to identify you in written reports. This might cause personal or professional difficulty if they disagree with what I say you have said or done.

You might also want to know a bit about me so that you know where I am coming from. I am, as you probably know from England. I am married and have two young daughters. I come from a comfortable middle class background and was privately educated. I worked as a secondary school teacher, teaching religious education and ethics before continuing my studies. I am a Christian. I developed an interest in questions around gender and gender equality during my MA studies.

Now, do please have a(nother) read through the information sheet. Take your time ...

Do you have any questions?

If you are still happy to proceed please sign the consent form. Could you also please tell me what you would like your pseudonym to be?

## F. Semi-structured interview guides

### F.1 Lecturers

#### Introduction

1. What is your role in the university?
2. How long have you been at the university?
3. What, if any, courses do you teach?
4. What is your education history?
5. What institutional managerial responsibility do you have? For how long have you had it?

#### Values in the institution and your courses

6. What would you say the purpose of education is in this institution?
7. And in this particular department, how would you describe its culture or values?
8. What values motivate / influence your own courses?
9. Can you describe the pedagogical approach you seek to take in your course?
10. What are your reasons for this?

#### Understandings of gender, gender equality and gender inequality

11. What do you understand by the term gender?
12. What do you understand by the terms gender equality and gender inequality?
13. To what extent do you consider there to be gender equality in Turkish society? Why?
14. To what extent do you consider there to be gender equality at [Brook]? Why?

#### Gender in the course you teach and the university

15. What, if any, relevance do you think gender, gender inequality and gender equality have to your teaching?
16. In what ways, if at all, did you consider gender or gender equality when planning this course?
17. In what ways, if at all, do you touch on issues related to gender in your course?
18. What are your reasons for doing as you do?
19. To what extent do you think you are influenced by wider university or faculty policies or practices in this area?
20. What do you think this course teaches students about the meaning or the significance of gender and gender equality?
21. How would you describe the impact of the teaching you do relating to gender on your students, both male and female?
22. Has the extent to which you reflect on or engage with gender (norms), or the ways in which you do so, changed in the last ten years? If so, what have been the reasons for that change?
23. Have you had any formal or informal opportunities for training about gender at the university?

#### Questions relating to particular aspects of the course

At this point I will ask a few questions specifically relating to aspects of the particular course, identified from the course curriculum, materials or class observations. Questions might address the reasons for the inclusion or exclusion of certain content, or the presentation of material in particular ways, student responses or particular representations of masculinities or femininities.

24. Do you have any further comments you would like to make or questions you would like to ask?

*At the end of the interview I will try to feed back key points I think I have heard, to see if I have correctly understood them.*



## *F.2 Administrators*

### **Introduction**

1. What is your role in the university?
2. How long have you been at the university?
3. What, if any, courses do you teach?
4. What is your education history?
5. What institutional managerial responsibility do you have? For how long have you had it?

### **Values in the institution and your courses**

6. What would you say the purpose of education is in this institution?
7. [How would you describe the culture or values of this department / faculty?]

### **Understandings of gender, gender equality and gender inequality**

8. What do you understand by the term gender?
9. What do you understand by the terms gender equality and gender inequality?
10. To what extent do you consider there to be gender equality in Turkish society? Why do you say this?
11. To what extent do you consider there to be gender equality at [Brook]? Why do you say this?
12. What do you think are the reasons for the current situation at [Brook]?
13. What difference, if any, do you think it makes (you're) being a man / woman in your experience in the institution? Are you able to give any examples?

### **Gender in the university**

14. Are you aware of efforts within the university to address women's level of representation in decision making and management?
15. Are you aware of efforts within the university to address issues of gender equality in organisational culture or the curriculum?
16. For each of the above what do you feel have been the key successes and challenges?
17. What do you feel have been the reasons for these?
18. What, if any role, do you feel the Gender and Women's Studies program has played in these questions?

### **Gender in your role**

19. In what ways, if at all, do you consider gender, gender inequality or gender equality in your (faculty / departmental) leadership and management?
20. In what ways, if at all, do you encourage staff members in your faculty / department to consider gender or gender equality in their teaching and other student engagements?
21. What are your reasons for doing as you do?
22. To what extent do you think you are influenced by wider university or faculty policies or practices in this area?
23. In what ways do you think staff members in your faculty / department do consider or engage with gender or gender equality in their teaching?
24. Have you had any formal or informal opportunities for training about gender at the university?
25. Is there anything else you would like to add or discuss?

*At the end of the interview I will try to feed back key points I think I have heard, to see if I have correctly understood them.*

### *F.3 Students*

#### **Introduction**

**Introductory words and consent forms. Choose pseudonyms.**

#### **Education history**

I'd like to begin by asking you a few questions about your education histories.

1. Where in the country are you from?
2. What schools did you go to [and where did you do your undergraduate degrees]?
3. Why did you choose to study at [Brook]?
4. Why did you choose the program you are studying?

#### **Education at [Brook]**

I'd like to talk a bit about education at [Brook] in general.

5. What do you think the purpose of education is at [Brook]?
6. How would you describe the main ways that teaching and learning happens on your program?
7. Is the approach to teaching and learning in this particular course similar to or different from the teaching in other courses? In what ways?

#### **Gender, gender inequality and gender equality**

Now I would like to talk a bit about gender, gender inequality and gender equality in general.

8. What do you understand by the term gender?
9. What do you understand by the terms gender equality and gender inequality?
10. Do you feel they are useful concepts? Why or why not?
11. What, if any, relevance do you think gender, gender inequality and gender equality have to your program? Why do you think that?

#### **Gender in the course in focus**

Now I'd like to talk about gender in this particular course.

12. In what ways has this course dealt with issues related to gender or gender equality? What about your other courses?
13. What understandings of gender and gender equality has this course used or suggested? What about your other courses?
14. What does this course say about the importance of gender and gender equality and their relevance to your studies? What about your other courses?
15. What do you think of these ways of understanding gender or gender equality and their significance?
16. How were people portrayed in this course? Were there any differences between portrayals of men and women?
17. What do you think of these portrayals?
18. How do these portrayals compare to those of people, men and women in other courses?

19. Do you think this course should have dealt either more or less with gender or gender equality, or dealt with them in different ways? What about other courses?
20. What type of people do you think this course is encouraging you to be?
21. What has been the impact on you of the ways this course has engaged with gender and gender equality? What about the impact of your other courses?

### **Gender elsewhere**

In this last section I would like to talk a bit more about your views on gender and gender equality more broadly.

22. In what ways, if at all, have other parts of your university experience affected your views on gender and gender equality?
23. What else has influenced your views on gender and gender equality? (family, media etc)
24. To what extent do you consider there to be gender equality in Turkish society? Why?
25. To what extent do you consider there to be gender equality at [Brook]? Why?

### **Feedback**

I would like to try to tell you what I have heard you say today (particularly about gender and gender equality). Can you tell me if you think I have understood, or if you think I have misunderstood in any way? *Feed back*.

26. Are there any other things you would like to say, or questions you have?

## G. Data audit

### G.1 Interviews and observations connected with selected courses

Course	Staff interview			Stud interview 1			Stud interview 2			Obs 1	Obs 2
	F	M	Time	F	M	Time	F	M	Time	Time	Time
2nd year Sociology	0	1	01:07	3	3	01:41	2	0	02:05**	01:45	01:45
3rd year Sociology	0	1	01:19	1	2	01:43				01:45	01:45
Graduate Sociology (elective)	1	0	01:10	1	0	01:48				02:45	02:45
1st year Political science	2	0	01:16	2	0	01:02	1	1	00:42	02:45	02:45
	1	0	00:56								
3rd year Political science	1	1	00:55	2	1	01:40				02:45	02:45
Graduate Political science (elective)	1	0	01:30	0	2	01:33				01:52	01:50
Parallel 2nd year Business Administration	0	1	01:06	2	2	01:47				02:00	02:10
2nd year Business Administration	TBA			?						01:15	01:10
4th year Business Administration (elective)	1	0	01:09	0	2	02:22				00:50*	01:15
Parallel graduate Business Administration	Parallel			1	2	01:49				01:00	01:00
2nd year Civil Engineering	1	2	00:55	0	2	01:16	3	2	01:50	02:00	01:35
3rd year Civil Engineering	1	0	01:07	0	3	01:46				01:45	01:45
Graduate Civil Engineering	0	1	00:48							02:25	
2nd year History	1	0	01:11	4	1	02:07	1	0	01:08	00:30	00:45
Graduate Gender and Women's Studies (elective)	1	0	01:08	2	1	01:45:00**				02:25	02:25

### G.2 Administrator interviews

Administrators	F	M	Time
Senior university administrator	0	1	00:34
Senior university administrator	1	0	01:05
Senior administrator - Faculty of Economic and Administrative Affairs	1	0	00:43
Senior administrator - Faculty of Engineering	1	0	00:45
Senior administrator - Faculty of Arts and Sciences	0	1	00:47
Senior administrator - Faculty of Education	1	0	00:30
Administrator - Department of Sociology	1	0	01:15
Administrator - Department of Political Science and Public Administration	1		
Administrator - Department of Business Administration	0	1	c. 01:00*
Administrator - Gender and Women's Studies	1	0	01:54
Former administrator - Gender and Women's Studies and PSPA	1	0	01:15
Administrator - Department of Statistics	1	0	00:54
Gender researcher	1	0	02:01

\* Did not wish to be recorded

### G.3 Additional student interviews

Extra student interviews	F	M	Time
Female religious (Business Administration)	1	0	01:49
Male religious (Political Science)	0	1	01:19
Male religious (Political Science)	0	1	00:55
Male dorm (International Relations)	0	1	00:49
Female Civil Engineering	2	0	01:34
Female religious (Sociology)	1	0	01:15

## H. Data examples

### *H.1 Transcribed interview extract*

The following is an extract from an unedited interview transcript, of the type I used in my analysis. I have amended it only for anonymity in a couple of places. A \* indicates a point which I thought was particularly interesting. It is taken from an interview on 13th May 2016 with three third-year undergraduate political science students. Zuhail and Nermin are women, and Ahmet is a man.

Interviewer [Adam]: er, what has been the impact on you, how have you changed, er, through the ways that this course has engaged with gender and gender equality

Zuhail: not really there is no change

[Notes say 'N: No' here]

I: that's what, I mean that's what I was expecting as an answer

Ahmet: may be seeing the managers or workers in total at least as a whole without, um, without making specific differences between them. I mean, we don't discriminate the genders and see the problems or their experiences as a whole. This may be something related to gender equality

I: and in terms of its impact on you?

A: I, it may be a little positive impact on me in the same way the course in the way that [unclear]

I: OK. and then, if I ask the same question but about all the courses you have done so far? Um

Z: of course there is an impact on gender when we think about all the courses because first of all we learn what is gender / from the beginning of

Nermin: mm

Z: my department years I have learned what is gender /

I: and so before that you / ?

Z: actually I have because in Turkish we have not, the different names but words, gender and sex in Turkey

N: / cinsiyet

I: / cinsiyet

Z: to/plumsal cinsiyet we may say for the gender

A: / toplumsal cinsiyet [unclear]

Z: but before that there is no theoretical knowledge that I have for the gender and the differences of the gender, differences of gender and sex. And, um, I have the idea of how I need to approach the gender and how I can defend the women's rights at least in my perspective\*. And at least, with my social environment. So that has been some influences on my opinions in gender and the gender equality

I: cool, thank you

N and A: [pause and laugh]

N: I agree with Zühal. They have an, some general also sometimes the detailed knowledge about the gender and other things. And approaches also, er, the important things, things what I got from the lectures. Lots of people know that what feminism is but they don't know what, what kind of approaches there are – also we know modern, post-modern, classical what were the differences from there

I: the different forms of post modern, feminist, you mean?

N: no, Approaches and also the types of differences between the types of the feminist

I: OK, that's, yup

N: yeah, and that's all I learned from the teachers

I: OK, thanks

A: In [unclear] certain courses we emphasise gender issues and feminism et cetera but not in all the courses. And some, some of the professors are also keen to talk about these issues – keen on [unclear] about gender equality inequality issues but. I mean their courses usually they give their examples from these issues especially in sociology course. They introduce gender issues in the first year courses. Students I think develop an awareness of gender

I: and you include yourself in the?

A: yeah. To make the distinction between sex and gender and to think about men's men dominancy, women's subordination et cetera

I: and, er, this could all be very theoretical, er does it, do you feel that your learning has had any impact in terms of, when you sort of step outside academia, um, so in times of the way you see the world or society or your relations with other people?

N: about observation, yeah, but the in a practice, no. I guess

I: carry on

N: because in, in a society we mostly gonna see the inequality or the subordination in other the academician things, but we, most probably we cannot interview these situations /

I: inter, intervene or interview?

N: intervene

I: intervene, make a difference

N: yeah

I: yeah

N: I guess, in practice we will not to lots of things but in practice, in theoretical, yeah, we are gonna see all the cases, yeah, I guess

I: so since you came to this course, when you, I don't know, read the newspaper or walk around you see, you see issues of gender or gender equality in ways you didn't see before

N: I saw before, yeah

I: um, you did, you did see them – has it changed the way you / notice

N: / perspective

I: yeah,

N: yeah, sure\*

I: okay, thank you

Z: actually there is something like that. When you are aware of the things that you have learnt in the lecture – erm, you know there is a debate in Turkey kiz, kadın – women and girl how do you /

N: / describe

Z: how do you described women basically. But in outside within the compass when we are talking with people, with our friends we use the word, word women, kadın. But in the outside people are not even aware of the difference between women and the girl. They only use the way that they think based on sexual things but they are not aware of this as a real problem for the women\*. so they just using that word for the, they only, they come up with that word. There is no difference for them. But, um, if we are being a part of these people we would be like that – we are, we won't be aware of these differences. But when we go outside, um, yes, they are using the words in a very very false way but you cannot even one people because they don't even know the meaning. So you cannot expect the things that they do not know. If you try to explain the things, why these womens [uncertain – movements?] are happening and women are very upset about these issues maybe this will come to them as nonsense. They do not care about those things. Within [Brook] borders we may very practically use the things that we have learned in our lectures but in the real world it might be different\*.

I: yeah, I mean, I agree with, I can see that language is often, for people to observe issues with language is very different, difficult. But when I speak to, you know, just friends, Turkish friends or taxi drivers they are aware of problems with gender equality. Other problems of gender equality or gender inequality in Turkey. They see it as problematic, they just might not see language as being the primary / issue

Z: / Yeah ... yeah language is not primary issue. And /

I: / so I guess my question is in, in terms of your, er, well, yeah, so one of, so, I don't know what might be a, when you go back to [your home city] or hang out with your relations here in [this city] do you feel that your, um, awareness of issues relating to gender and perhaps your the way you act /

Z; / yeah, yeah

I: is different because of what you have?

Z: um, I might be different for them because, er, I am not going to change when I go [unclear] because I have experienced these things a lot and I am thinking like the way I thinking here but they are very different from me. And they are surprised when I say my ideas. I am not changing my behaviours but the ideas come to them very different. I won't be different in there and in here. it won't matter for me. But from their perspective I will be very different\* as always [uncertain]

I: OK. What about, in terms of a, I guess I'm getting at whether there is a, yeah, a difference beyond the academic

A: yes I think, that this department has changed my understanding of gender to some extent as well. I can see women's problem in a more, better perspective maybe than I used to do. And also I learnt, I learnt about homosexual and transgender ideas and there, the demands and problems as well. But especially from a study in this department I have come to the realisation of the fact that as a male person the gender issues and masculinity puts pressure, a big pressure on you as a male person and I was not aware of this /

I: / mmm

A: I learnt about [uncertain] coming to this department studying political science. But now I can see the huge pressure that masculinity puts on you as a male person as well\*. In gender issues usually people talk about women's and homosexual people's problems. It also put a very large burden on males, mail people as well. And I can see now this from a very different perspective.

I: hmm, and, um, are there any particular courses that have made you aware of that

A: it was the first year sociology course / – society and culture

I: / OK

A: and now this year I'm studying political sociology and this course also has a lot to do with gender issues also.

I: Erm, thanks, and can you just talk a little bit more about the huge pressure

A: that's a big pressure in a, um

I: what is the nature of the pressure?

A: It is about being the breadwinner of the family or you have two work you have two be employed. You have to be strong to protect your family. Er, /

I: / And

A: You have to propose a marriage offer to your girlfriend et cetera these kind of things. You don't see these things as buttons when, I didn't see them in, in the past. It was like a part of your identity is a man but now you can see them as burden or pressure that, that is put by the masculinity.

I: And, how have you responded to that recognition?

A: er, it's not negative actually, but it about awareness\*. Er, I still think them for our society as a Turkish person, or [uncertain] as a Turkish culture, erm, as a male person I should do them but in the past I didn't see them as, as pressure that masculinity puts on me but now I can see that these are constructed things – they may be relevant, they may be positive for our society, for our culture, they may be part of our tradition\*, and our identity. But they are also pressure, it is also a burden. /

I: / so

A: I can recognise this now.

I: you haven't looked at this in a way of thinking actually I should, I am free to reject these /pressures



A: / I am free to reject these but I can understand that some people can reject. I don't, I don't condemn them. I personally, maybe I am a little bit more conservative person, I think they are relevant for our society's social values, but here, there must be a possibility to rejects them as well\* and ... and I don't judge very negatively the people who, who reject these\*, er, these pressures that masculinity puts on you.

H.2 Completed class observation form

Class / lecture observation sheet		Date: 14/03/2016																	
Department	Business administration	Start time	10:15																
Course title	Human resource management	Instructor gender	Male																
Instructor pseudonym	Mehmet Türk	Number of female students	25																
Year group	2	Number of male students	38																
Class topic focus	Diversity in organisations	Female / male ratio	0.657894737																
Notes on location / seating arrangement etc. Groups feel a little more separate today. More MS with MS and FS with FS, but still a good amount of mixed. Still in large amphitheatre. MS more likely																			
NB avoid individual student-related detail in written comments, including quotations, where individual consent not given																			
Written notes																			
		Disciplinary method (valued knowledge, forms of argument, educational purpose)																	
		Values encouraged																	
		Critical incidents / quotations																	
		Discussion focus																	
		Gender note (how addressed, masc / fem portrayal etc.)																	
		Other comments																	
Check box / counted observations																			
Time periods	Instructor only	Q to class	Q to named indiv	Student question	Student comment	Positive inst. response	Negative inst. response	Interruption (MS-FS, FS-I etc)	Gender clearly addressed	Gender partially addressed	Striking absence of gender discussion	MS	FS	I	MS	FS	I	MS	
10:15	1							1											
10:18					1														
10:21					1														
10:24					1														
10:27					1														
10:30					1														
10:33					3														
10:36					1														
10:39	1																		
10:42	1																		
10:45	1																		
10:48																			
10:51																			
10:54																			
10:57																			
11:00	1																		
11:03	1																		
11:06	1																		
11:09	1																		
11:12	1																		
11:15	1																		
11:18					4														
11:21					2														
11:24					2														
11:27					1														
Total	4	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	16	5	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
% of segments / interactions	16	12	4	0	0	0	0	64	20	12	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

### *H.3 Research journal extract*

14/03/2016

Note that I failed to turn on the recording in the leadership observation last week. I used the wrong consent form for the Engineering Mechanics class, and consequently it was confusing. I used the discussion form. Also the class was bigger than I thought, so too difficult to keep track.

#### Human resource management undergraduate obs 2

Similar to the graduate class this class also started with a more halting discussion about the bombing in Turkish. One of the students commented that they were afraid to speak, but I didn't particularly pull out the reasons. One of the female students I think commented that the state was failing in its duty to protect. More fear and anger here.

#### Human resource management graduate obs 2

It was a funny day for an observation, coming as it did a day after a major car bomb at [ ]. The first part of the lesson was given over to discussion of this event in Turkish, and unfortunately I wasn't able to pick up what they were saying. Some of the discussion was heated. It was dominated by men, with a couple of women commenting, but their comments not really being picked up, occasionally coming more as asides.

The content was very focussed on gender. This group picked up on the, as they put it 'sexist' nature of the resource used. It did indeed seem to frame the issue of children as a women's issue, whereas for me the key issue is for men, and how they are going to be willing to change their career progression in order to be able to support women. The question was there as a sub-question, but only in part.

Also it was difficult to work out why diversity was to be encouraged. There seemed to be some kind of assumed moral imperative on the instructor's part, and overt disparagement of male uncivilised behaviour (in a rather stereotypical way). But, in a field where competition is otherwise encouraged, this almost seemed to reinforce the unavoidably uncivilised (and hence male) nature of business.

One of the men, having highlighted that he thought the text was sexist and that it was an issue for men and women (in Turkish), also said that there was a necessary trade off between high earning and kids. This trade-off wasn't otherwise acknowledged for men. It was unclear that the men really took it seriously as an issue for themselves, even while stressing the sexist nature of the text.

18/03/2016

Goodness, it feels like a whirlwind. I'm trying to set up polls for student interview dates, initiate contacts with new courses to make up for gaps, follow up staff interviews, conduct interviews and observations, keep notes on them, do transcription. Meanwhile I have this long commute, which is now even longer as I try to avoid the centre. I realised that while travelling my head is now reflecting on whether it is safe, whether someone has a bomb. I don't feel scared, but some headspace is taken up with it.

I followed up the [ ] Muslim women course, with [ ] Hoca. She said that she had spoken with her students, and as they weren't all positive, and as she had her own reservations, she had to decline my request. I must admit I was a bit knocked. She is possibly the closest in terms of her research focus to what I'm doing. I have asked her to elaborate, so we shall see what she says.

I managed to finally buttonhole Zeynep Ceylan yesterday afternoon in a break between class. I asked if she had any other suggestions, and she said that she did not. She had, it turns out, previously emailed both [ ] and the [ ] instructor [whose courses focused on gender], expecting, as she put it, that it would be a 'piece of cake'. Neither of their responses were encouraging. It seems they felt I would be intrusive. She said that she was sorry, for herself, obviously feeling a little [discouraged ...]. She also said, for a couple of reasons which I did not ask her to elaborate on as we were so pushed for time, that I could not observe her class on [ ] Women's Employment. So, in a department full of classes specifically on gender, I have no access to any of them. What's going on there?

#### *H.4 Field notes extract*

25/05/2016

##### *Observation of Intro to Politics on Feminism*

So this was the hour or so on feminism. She had clarified in the lecture yesterday that she doesn't want to be marked as the feminist, so deals with a bit more academically. In this lecture wrote feminism on the board and asked what words they think of. Got them to reiterate difference between sex and gender, latter social. Looked at liberal feminism with an emphasis on public rights equality, especially suffrage and some economic. Then skips to 1980s and radical feminism with the problem of patriarchy, with men responsible for the exploitation of women. Emphasised that not only a problem for women, and asked men to come up with examples of the restrictions placed on them. Men somewhat reluctant, though most laughing section of the class was where one was talking, I think, about not being expected to sit and drink tea. Almost all student contributions were in Turkish, and difficult if not impossible for me to follow. Also looked at how patriarchy involves dominance of certain women over

others, and the statements about what you should and should not do. Then looked at how radical fem looked beyond the public private divide into the family, including the dark side of the family (which was connected with violence, rape, incest, seemingly economic and division of labour didn't constitute this). What is personal is also political. Also looks at the objectification of women, asking for examples on adverts etc, and a brief bit looking at language. Overall felt a bit sterile. I'm not sure there was anything here that would have been persuasive or mind changing – this was informing. The arguments were not set out with the reasons for them, and the problems they raise. Perhaps similarly to the section on the environment I listened to, which was rather facile, with the solutions put forward (small is beautiful, reducing consumption, making economy smaller) addressed without looking at what the problems were with them – again there I don't think people would have been persuaded. This is knowing about, not knowing / learning / being changed.

*Interview with Serkan religious student*

This was a very interesting interview. Serkan is [from an ethnic minority], and while when he came up to [Brook] (which he got into remarkably having only attended a village high school) secularly inclined, he became dissatisfied with that life and returned to conservative religious roots at some point in his first year. As soon as we were talking about religion in the [Brook] context we were talking about gender. He talked about his discomfort at 'naked' women, and shared how he chose his routes around campus, and where he studied in order to avoid seeing too many women. Innately he was attracted to women and he wanted to avoid these situations. He would really like segregated education. The problem of impurities of thought (and I guess conceivably other types) leads him to desire this segregated situation. He is making his job choices on the basis of companies with more men. He said that religious students were hesitant to share their views on gender in class because of the prevailing secular atmosphere – though staff made space for it. He himself is a silent student because of [ ] and insecurity about English. He told of one time a female student did a presentation on Islam, was asked about homosexuality, said immoral and that got a lot of difficulty because of it. So the classes don't give space for these people to voice criticisms / their views, at least not with their religious foundations / justifications. Towards the end he suggested that he would be able to get a job if he were a woman – perhaps a trace of resentment there. I feel for him, and wonder how / whether this institution could serve him better.

*Interview with Murat former dorm [ ] student*

This was an interesting interview too. Murat is studying human rights, so I almost didn't do an interview with him (as I wanted to do some synthesis), thinking that he wouldn't give me the dorm 8 view I was after. He clearly had happy memories of his time in dorm [ ], smiling as he reflected. He said it was just fun. He portrayed the group

activities of dorm [ ], their placard waving etc as part of a tradition. He saw it as caricature, as undermining of Turkish society. When I pressed why horniness was the most prominent form of this mask he described he could not account for it. But he did not think that views on gender or gender equality or homophobia were statistically any different in dorm 8 than elsewhere. He didn't see any GI at [Brook]. He didn't describe, and in fact denied swearing when they shout. 'I want pussy' didn't feature. The idea of the mask is interesting. But I'm not sure I got a full account of the hypermasculinity exported to [a local private university] as told by the GWS students.

## I Full-time staff gender ratios

The following data was compiled from departmental websites accessed in February 2016 and statistics provided from the gender research project.

### *1.1 Civil engineering*

<b>Position</b>	<b>Female</b>	<b>Male</b>	<b>Female %</b>
Professor	4	24	14.2
Associate professor	4	13	23.5
Assistant professor	8	4	0.66
Instructor	0	1	100
Total	16	42	27.6

### *1.2 Business studies*

<b>Position</b>	<b>Female</b>	<b>Male</b>	<b>Female %</b>
Professor	4	4	50
Associate professor	1	1	50
Assistant professor	3	3	50
Instructor	1	0	100
Total	9	8	52.9

### *1.3 Politics*

<b>Position</b>	<b>Female</b>	<b>Male</b>	<b>Female %</b>
Professor	1	1	50.0
Associate professor	3	5	37.5
Assistant professor	8	4	66.7
Instructor	0	1	0
Subtotal	12	11	52.2
Research assistant	10	8	55.6
Total	22	19	53.7

*1.4 Sociology*

<b>Position</b>	<b>Female</b>	<b>Male</b>	<b>Female %</b>
Professor	6	1	85.7
Associate professor	2	1	66.7
Assistant professor	2	3	40.0
Instructor	0	1	0.0
Subtotal	10	6	62.5
Research assistant	18	14	56.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>58.3</b>

*1.5 Selected non-academic roles*

<b>Position</b>	<b>Female</b>	<b>Male</b>	<b>% Female</b>
Driver	0	72	0
Guard	3	74	4
Technician	24	333	7
Engineer	9	26	26
Computer technician	177	165	52
Office worker	57	44	56
Faculty secretary	8	2	80
Nurse	13	0	100
Kindergarten employee	7	0	100
<b>All technical / administrative state employees</b>	<b>477</b>	<b>919</b>	<b>34</b>