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# Teaching Profession in the Written and Oral Proposals Submitted to the TBMM: Problems, Demands and Issues on the Agenda



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#### **Abstract**

This study examines the discussions on the teaching profession and the search for solutions through written and oral proposals submitted to the Grand National Assembly of Türkiye (TBMM) between 2002 and 2024. In this research, which was carried out using the document analysis model within the qualitative methodology, a total of 3671 proposals were identified from the official archive of the TBMM and these proposals were analyzed by content analysis. These proposals were analyzed through content analysis. The results of the research show that the problems of the teaching profession in the proposals submitted to the Grand National Assembly of Türkiye are concentrated in the economic, social and professional dimensions. The proposals focus on issues such as teacher appointments, personal rights, professional development opportunities and teacher shortages in rural areas. However, low response rates and delays in the process prolong the time it takes to find solutions to teachers' problems. It was observed that opposition parties are more likely to raise teachers' issues, while the ruling party makes limited contributions to these issues. The research shows that a comprehensive restructuring of education policy is needed to address the chronic problems of the teaching profession. In addition, improving teachers' personal rights, increasing professional development opportunities and ensuring equal educational opportunities in disadvantaged regions are crucial for the sustainability of the profession.

#### Keywords

Education Policies • Education Sociology • TBMM Proposals • Teaching Profession



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# Teaching Profession in the Written and Oral Proposals Submitted to the TBMM: Problems, Demands and Issues on the Agenda

The teaching profession in Türkiye stands out not only as a cornerstone of the education system but also as a fundamental element in the processes of social transformation, progress, and cultural transmission. Beyond being a mere profession, it is one of the most critical dynamics of societal development (Akyüz, 2011; 2012). Due to its impact on society, teaching has historically been accorded a special status and recognized as a respected profession (Pişkin & Parlar, 2021). Since the proclamation of the Republic, the teaching profession in Türkiye has undergone a continuous process of change driven by educational reforms and social transformations (Deringöl, 2007). In the early Republican era, teachers were positioned as key actors in cultivating "ideal individuals" who would fulfill the goals of modernization and development within society (Ergün, 2000). Legal regulations such as the Law on the Unification of Education (Tevhid-i Tedrisat Kanunu) adopted in 1924 and initiatives like the Village Institutes further reinforced the pioneering role of teachers within the community (Akyüz, 2011).

Over time, the changes in education policies in Türkiye have also reflected on the roles and responsibilities of teachers. Since the 1980s, under the influence of globalization and neoliberal policies, processes of marketization in education have begun, reshaping the education system around concepts like competition and efficiency (Keleş & Aslan, 2022; Kılıç & Tunç, 2022). During this period of transformation, issues such as teacher performance evaluations, workloads, and job descriptions have become increasingly complex, while uncertainties regarding job security and working conditions have grown (Özdem, 2007). Today, some of the key challenges faced by the teaching profession include economic difficulties, low levels of job satisfaction, and a decline in the profession's status and respectability (Atmaca, 2020; Yurdakul et al., 2016).

In recent years, teaching in Türkiye has been the subject of significant debate from economic, social, and professional perspectives (Yaraş & Turan, 2021). Issues such as teachers' job security, salaries, professional rights, professional development opportunities, and recruitment processes are frequently brought to the forefront of education policy discussions (Göker & Gündüz, 2017). At the heart of these debates lies the aim of both preserving and improving the professional status of teachers and enhancing the overall quality of education.

One of the most notable recent reforms in this context is the "Teaching Profession Law" published in 2024. This law aims to elevate the status of the teaching profession while introducing a new framework for career progression, including titles such as "expert teacher" and "master teacher," which require specific exams and training processes to obtain (ÖMK, 2024). However, this regulation has sparked debates about the creation of hierarchical statuses among teachers and the institutionalization of an exam-focused approach to professional development (Yazıcı & Çolak, 2024). Furthermore, research indicates that career ladders determined through examinations fail to provide effective solutions to the chronic problems faced by teachers and the teaching profession (Akın & Çolak, 2024).

Teacher salaries and economic rights are another central focus of recent discussions. It is often argued that teachers' salaries in Türkiye are insufficient compared to other professions and that their purchasing power remains low (Cantürk, 2021; Çınkır & Kurum, 2017). Economic challenges negatively affect teachers' motivation and job satisfaction, which in turn pose a risk to the quality of education (Demirbas, 2022). Another contentious issue is the challenges faced in the teacher recruitment processes. Despite a significant



teacher shortage in certain regions of Türkiye, the growing number of unappointed teachers stands out as a critical problem (Kus-Gürbey et al., 2021; Manav, 2022). Teacher candidates graduating from education faculties or other faculties that provide a pool for teacher recruitment must pass various exams for public appointments. However, the lack of sufficient positions delays or complicates these candidates' recruitment processes. This situation has created a serious problem among unappointed teachers and has heightened criticism about the mismatch between the number of graduates from education faculties and available public positions (Kiraz & Kurul, 2018).

Another prominent issue in recent years is how to support teachers' professional development (Bümen et al., 2012; Külekçi-Akyavuz & Küçükkapdan, 2024; Sancar & Atal, 2021). The increasing prevalence of educational technologies and innovations in teaching methods require teachers to engage in continuous learning (Kurtoğlu & Seferoğlu, 2013). In this context, enhancing access to in-service training programs and improving teachers' digital competencies have become key priorities in education policy (Avc. & Güven, 2021; Sarıtepeci et al., 2016). However, there is criticism that current in-service training programs fail to fully address teachers' needs and that qualitative improvements in these programs are necessary (Ayvacı et al., 2014; Kaya & Akçadağ, 2022).

In Türkiye, teacher training policies, professional rights, and professional development have become prominent topics on the political agenda (Baş & Nural, 2023). Given the significant role of education in shaping the social structure and future of the country, the role of teachers within the education system holds a central place in the education policies of both the ruling and opposition parties (Küçük & Akpınar, 2022; Toprakçı & Akçay-Güngör, 2014; Yıldız & Yıldız, 2016). Discussions about teachers' economic conditions (Çimen & Karadağ, 2020), professional status (Ünsal, 2018), working conditions, and recruitment processes are frequently addressed in the political arena, with various solutions proposed from differing ideological perspectives (Çoban, 2018; Tok, 2012). The ruling Justice and Development Party (AK Party), which has been in power since 2002, has introduced structural reforms in recent years aimed at supporting teachers' professional development and improving the quality of education (Sunar et al., 2024). On the other hand, the opposition parties consistently emphasize the need to improve teachers' salaries and working conditions. They also advocate for strengthening job security, addressing challenges in recruitment processes, and ending the practice of employing teachers on a contractual basis.

These political debates reflect differing approaches to issues such as teachers' economic rights, professional development, and employment conditions (Aslan, 2017; Berber, 2014). The ideological differences between the ruling and opposition parties create a platform for broader societal discussion about the role of teachers in the education system and their position in society. These debates in the political arena are also echoed in official documents such as written parliamentary proposals, assembly discussions, and election manifestos presented to the Grand National Assembly of Türkiye (TBMM), thereby serving as a pressure mechanism for shaping education policies.

In recent years, education reforms in Türkiye have significantly impacted teachers' working conditions, professional roles, and responsibilities, requiring them to adapt to various transformations in the education system. During this process, numerous issues have surfaced, ranging from recruitment processes and working conditions to professional rights and career development. The Grand National Assembly of Türkiye (Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi-TBMM) plays a critical role in addressing these challenges and demands through written and oral parliamentary proposals submitted by members of parliament (MPs). These proposals serve as a formal platform for discussing teachers' issues and concerns, highlighting the shared

interest of both educators and political actors in addressing these challenges. Enhancing teachers' professional status, improving their economic conditions, and strengthening public perception of the teaching profession remain central to the policies proposed by political parties, with the ultimate goal of ensuring the sustainability of the education system.

While research on the teaching profession in Türkiye often focuses on teachers' economic, social, and professional challenges, there is a lack of comprehensive studies analyzing how parliamentary proposals categorize these issues, how they evolve over time, and which specific topics related to teachers are prioritized by political parties, particularly the opposition. Examining the approaches of political parties toward teacher-related issues provides valuable insight into the decision-making processes that influence the professional and societal status of teachers. This study seeks to contribute to this gap by analyzing how teachers' problems are addressed from a political perspective. Written and oral parliamentary proposals submitted to the TBMM provide crucial data on the current problems, demands, and reform agendas concerning the teaching profession. These proposals reflect several expectations regarding teachers' professional rights, working conditions, and career development needs. They not only shape the direction of education policies but also allow for a holistic assessment of the teaching profession's status. This study contributes to the existing literature by systematically analyzing the role of parliamentary proposals in shaping educational policies. It provides insight into the political discourse surrounding the teaching profession and highlights how policymakers prioritize teachers' issues.

## The Function of Parliamentary Proposals in the TBMM

In the TBMM, MPs can submit written or oral parliamentary proposals to fulfill their role in overseeing the executive branch, obtaining information on specific topics and drawing public attention to particular issues (Bülbül, 2007). These proposals, which require a formal response, function as a constitutional and legal oversight mechanism (Koca, 2020). Written proposals, often preferred for detailed inquiries, are answered in writing by the relevant ministry or institution within a specified period and are published in the TBMM records. Oral proposals, which are typically aimed at obtaining brief responses or addressing urgent matters, facilitate direct dialog between MPs and government representatives during general assembly sessions. The TBMM's internal regulations outline specific procedures for handling parliamentary proposals. According to Article 99 of the TBMM's Rules of Procedure, the relevant ministry or institution must answer written proposals within 15 days of receiving them. Responses are prepared and submitted in writing, with the entire process recorded in TBMM's system, making them accessible to MPs and the public. The status of parliamentary proposals is categorized as follows:

- 1. **Answered:** Proposals that are responded to within the designated timeframe by the relevant ministry or institution.
- 2. Announced in Official Papers as Not Answered: Proposals that are not answered within the specified timeframe are officially documented in the TBMM records as unanswered.
- 3. Declared Useless Due to the End of the Legislative Term: Proposals lose validity if the legislative term ends before they are answered.
- 4. Answered After the Deadline: Proposals were answered after the designated 15-day period, indicating delays in the government's responsiveness.
- 5. 15-Day Response Period Ongoing: Proposals are still within the 15-day response period.



The rate of timely responses to parliamentary proposals serves as an indicator of governmental accountability. Proposals that are delayed or left unanswered point to potential shortcomings in the democratic oversight mechanism.

## **Research Objectives**

Despite extensive debates on teachers' professional conditions in Türkiye, there is limited research on how these issues are represented in parliamentary proposals and how they shape education policies. This study aims to bridge this gap by analyzing written and oral proposals submitted to the TBMM between 2002 and 2024 to understand how teachers' concerns are addressed in political discourse. The study addresses the following research proposals:

- How are the numbers of written and oral parliamentary proposals related to teachers distributed across legislative terms from 2002 to 2024?
- 2. How are these proposals distributed across political parties in each legislative term from 2002 to 2024?
- 3. How do the outcomes (e.g., answered, unanswered) of written and oral proposals related to teachers vary by legislative term and political party from 2002 to 2024?
- 4. What specific themes and issues related to teachers do political parties prioritize in their parliamentary proposals during this period?
- 5. How are the themes and issues in parliamentary proposals distributed across legislative terms from 2002 to 2024?
- 6. Which MPs stand out in terms of the frequency and focus of their proposals about the teaching profession during this time?

#### Method

#### **Research Model**

This study was conducted using the document analysis model, a qualitative research method. Document analysis is a research model aimed at obtaining information by examining existing written or visual materials (Yıldırım & Şimşek, 2018). In line with the research objective, written and oral parliamentary proposals submitted to the Grand National Assembly of Türkiye (Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi, TBMM) between 2002 and 2024 regarding the teaching profession were analyzed. These parliamentary proposals underwent a comprehensive analytical process to evaluate the issues, demands, and topics related to the teaching profession through a historical and thematic approach.

#### Sample

The sample of this study consists of written and oral parliamentary proposals submitted to the TBMM regarding the teaching profession between 2002 and 2024. To select the sample, the purposive sampling method was employed, as it allows for the selection of data that best addresses the research problem (Patton, 2002). Accordingly, parliamentary proposals obtained from TBMM records were selected based on specific criteria, ensuring that they were directly related to issues, demands, and topics concerning teachers.



## **Data Collection Process and Analysis**

The data for this study were obtained from the online archives of the TBMM (https://www.tbmm.gov. tr/denetim/yazili-soru-onergeleri). A data search was conducted using keywords related to the teaching profession (e.g., "teacher") to identify relevant parliamentary proposals. As a result:

- A total of 3,671 parliamentary proposals submitted between 2002 and 2024 (covering the 22<sup>nd</sup> legislative term to the 28th legislative term, up to December 2024) were identified using these keywords.
- Parliamentary proposals included in the scope of the study were selected based on their relevance to the economic, professional, and social challenges faced by teachers, their demands, and issues raised on the TBMM agenda.
- · If a parliamentary question addressed multiple topics, the first-mentioned topic was prioritized for analysis.

The researchers classified the selected parliamentary proposals by legislative terms, political parties, and prominent themes. The analysis of the data categorizing and coding the parliamentary proposals submitted by MPs into specific categories, followed by calculating the frequency of these categories. This process falls under content analysis and descriptive analysis, which are the key methods in qualitative data analysis. Content analysis is a method used to systematically examine data, create meaningful themes and categories, and code these themes to identify patterns and frequencies (Yıldırım & Şimşek, 2018). The primary goal of content analysis is to uncover the implicit or explicit meanings within the data and to identify the relationships and trends among them. Coding, as part of the content analysis process, serves as a tool for organizing and classifying the data.

In this study:

- The parliamentary proposals submitted to the TBMM were coded into 32 distinct categories.
- Descriptive analysis was employed to calculate the frequencies of these categories and to systematically present the results.

An example of how a category was created is shown in Table 1.

Table 1 Example of coding

Sample Parliamentary Question	Included Categories
Regarding the Shortage of Subject Teachers in the Ilıca District of Erzurum (22 <sup>nd</sup> Legislative Term)	Shortage of Teachers in Specific Locations and Subject Areas
Regarding Teacher Appointments to Anatolian, Science, and Social Sciences High Schools (24 <sup>th</sup> Legislative Term)	Teacher Appointments, Teacher Shortages, and Surplus Staffing
Regarding Efforts to Improve the Economic Conditions of Teachers (26 <sup>th</sup> Legislative Term)	Working Conditions and Professional Rights
Regarding Allegations Against the principal and Certain Teachers of a Primary School in Mersin (22 <sup>nd</sup> Legislative Term)	Special Cases, Various Practices, and Allegations
Regarding Teachers Under Investigation for Social Media Posts (24 <sup>th</sup> Legislative Term)	Legal Issues (Investigations, Suspensions, Dismissals, etc.)



## **Limitations of the Study**

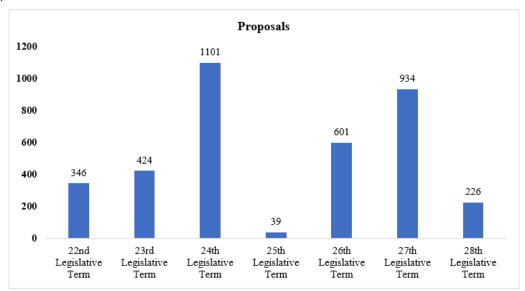
This study is limited to the legislative terms between 2002 and 2024. Parliamentary proposals outside these terms were excluded from the scope of the research. Only written and oral parliamentary proposals submitted to the Grand National Assembly of Türkiye (TBMM) were analyzed. The study is further limited to parliamentary proposals identified through searches in the TBMM archives using the keyword "teacher", and it does not claim to represent all issues or demands related to the teaching profession. Additionally, party changes by members of parliament during certain legislative terms were disregarded. As the 28th legislative term has not concluded, proposals from this term were limited to those submitted up to December 2024.

## **Findings**

Findings on the Quantitative Distribution of Parliamentary Proposals Related to Teachers Submitted to the TBMM Between 2002 and 2024 by Legislative Terms

The findings on the quantitative distribution of parliamentary proposals related to teachers submitted to the Grand National Assembly of Türkiye (TBMM) between 2002 and 2024 by legislative terms are presented in Graph 1.

**Graph 1**Distribution of Written and Oral Parliamentary Proposals Related to Teachers Submitted to the TBMM by Legislative Terms (2002–2024)



As shown in Graph 1, the distribution of the written and oral parliamentary proposals submitted to the TBMM between 2002 and 2024 can be observed. It is evident that various topics, issues, or details related to teachers' concerns and professional rights were most frequently raised during the 24th legislative term. Considering that the 25th legislative term was a transitional period due to early elections and that the 28th legislative term is still ongoing (following the 2023 elections), it can be stated that teacher-related topics were brought to the agenda least often during the 22nd legislative term.



# Findings on the Quantitative Distribution of Teacher-Related Parliamentary Proposals Submitted to the GNAT (TBMM) Between 2002 and 2024 by Political Parties

Table 2 presents the frequency with which teacher-related topics were raised in the GNAT by political parties with parliamentary representation during the period from the 22<sup>nd</sup> legislative term to the 28<sup>th</sup> legislative term.

**Table 2**Frequency of Teacher-Related Topics Raised by Political Parties in the GNAT (22<sup>nd</sup>–28<sup>th</sup> Legislative Terms)

LEGISLATIVE TERMS	AK PARTY	СНР	МНР	DTP-BDP-HDP-DEM*	DEVA**	GELECEK***	SP***	İYİ PARTY****	TİP*****	BBD*****	DSP	TOTAL
22 <sup>nd</sup> Term	21	325	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	346
23 <sup>rd</sup> Term	0	196	184	35	0	0	0	0	0	1	8	424
24 <sup>th</sup> Term	0	458	525	118	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1101
25 <sup>th</sup> Term	2	25	4	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	39
26 <sup>th</sup> Term	13	389	80	119	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	601
27 <sup>th</sup> Term	13	514	33	263	0	0	7	104	0	0	0	934
28 <sup>th</sup> Term	1	80	2	86	2	8	6	40	1	0	0	226
Total	50	1987	828	629	2	8	13	144	1	1	8	3671

<sup>\*</sup>DTP-BDP-HDP-DEM: This political group first gained representation in the parliament during the 23<sup>rd</sup> legislative term, with 20 members of parliament. Over different legislative terms, it participated in elections under various party names, reflecting changes in its organizational identity.

According to the distribution presented in Table 2, during the 22<sup>nd</sup> legislative term, only members of parliament from the AK Party (Justice and Development Party) and the CHP (Republican People's Party) submitted written and oral parliamentary proposals to the Grand National Assembly of Türkiye (TBMM). Of the 346 proposals submitted during this term, 325 (93.93%) were submitted by the CHP, while 21 (6.07%) were submitted by the AK Party.

In the 23<sup>rd</sup> legislative term, 424 proposals were identified. Of these, 196 (46.23%) were submitted by the CHP, 184 (43.40%) by the MHP (Nationalist Movement Party), 35 (8.25%) by the DTP-BDP-HDP-DEM, 1 (0.24%)

<sup>\*\*</sup> The DEVA Party was founded in 2020 and did not participate in elections prior to this date. It contested elections for the first time in 2023, running on the candidate lists of the CHP (Republican People's Party) and the İYİ Party.

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> The GELECEK Party was founded in 2019. In the 2023 elections, it entered the parliament with 10 members of parliament through the CHP candidate lists.

<sup>\*\*\*\*</sup> SP (Saadet Party) could send members of parliament to the legislature for the first time in the 2018 elections. In the 2023 elections, it secured representation in the parliament with 10 MPs running on the CHP (Republican People's Party) candidate lists, bringing its total representation to 19 MPs.

<sup>\*\*\*\*\*</sup> The iYi Party was founded in 2017. Following the 2018 elections, it began to be represented in the parliament with 43 members of parliament.

<sup>\*\*\*\*\*\*</sup> The Workers' Party of Türkiye (TİP) began to be represented in the Grand National Assembly of Türkiye (TBMM) during the 28th legislative term, with 4 members of parliament.

<sup>\*\*\*\*\*\*\*</sup> The Great Unity Party (BBP) was represented in the 23rd legislative term by one member of parliament, its Chairman Muhsin Yazıcıoğlu. In the 2018 elections, the party participated with 18 candidates on the AK Party lists, and only its Chairman, Mustafa Destici, was elected as a member of parliament.



by the BBP (Great Unity Party), and 8 (1.88%) by the DSP (Democratic Left Party). During the 24<sup>th</sup> legislative term, a total of 1,101 proposals were identified. Among these, 458 (41.60%) were submitted by the CHP, 525 (47.68%) by the MHP, and 118 (10.72%) by the DTP-BDP-HDP-DEM.

In the 25<sup>th</sup> legislative term (a transitional period due to early elections), 39 proposals were identified. Of these, 25 (64.10%) were submitted by the CHP, 2 (5.13%) by the AK Party, 4 (10.26%) by the MHP, and 8 (20.51%) by the DTP-BDP-HDP-DEM. In the 26<sup>th</sup> legislative term, 601 proposals were submitted. Of these, 389 (64.73%) were submitted by the CHP, 13 (2.16%) by the AK Party, 80 (13.31%) by the MHP, and 119 (19.80%) by the DTP-BDP-HDP-DEM.

During the 27<sup>th</sup> legislative term, 934 proposals were identified. Of these, 514 (55.03%) were submitted by the CHP, 13 (1.39%) by the AK Parti, 33 (3.54%) by the MHP, 263 (28.16%) by the DTP-BDP-HDP-DEM, 104 (11.13%) by the İYİ Parti, and 7 (0.75%) by the SP (Felicity Party). Finally, in the 28th legislative term (up to December 2024), 226 proposals were identified. Among these, 80 (35.40%) were submitted by the CHP, 1 (0.44%) by the AK Parti, 2 (0.88%) by the MHP, 86 (38.05%) by the DTP-BDP-HDP-DEM, 2 (0.88%) by the DEVA Party, 8 (3.55%) by the GELECEK Party, 6 (2.66%) by the SP, 40 (17.70%) by the İYİ Parti, and 1 (0.44%) by the TİP (Workers' Party of Türkiye).

The AK Party submitted the highest number of parliamentary proposals during the 22nd legislative term, while the CHP submitted the most proposals in the 27th legislative term. Similarly, the MHP was most active during the 24th legislative term, while the DTP-BDP-HDP-DEM and iYi Party submitted the highest number of proposals during the 27th legislative term.

Table 3 and Table 4 present the distribution of written and oral parliamentary proposals submitted to the TBMM between the 22<sup>nd</sup> and 28<sup>th</sup> legislative terms in terms of their outcomes (e.g., response types) by political parties.

**Table 3**The Status of Responses to Proposals Concerning Teachers Submitted by Political Parties Represented in the Grand National Assembly of Türkiye (GNAT-TBMM) Between the 22<sup>nd</sup> and 28<sup>th</sup> Legislative Terms

							PARTIES					
Legislative Terms	Status of the Question	AK PARTY	СНР	МНР	DTP-BDP-HDP-DEM	DEVA	GELECEK	S	İYİ PARTY	ĖΕ	ВВР	DSP
	Answered	18	285	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
22 <sup>nd</sup> Term	Announced in Official Papers as Not Answered	3	36	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
. 22 <sup>nd</sup> .	Declared useless Due to the End of the Legislative Term	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	TOTAL	21	325	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Answered	-	107	80	22							5

							PARTIES					
Legislative Terms	Status of the Question	AK PARTY	CHP	МНР	DTP-BDP-HDP-DEM	DEVA	GELECEK	S	İYİ PARTY	<u>a</u>	ВВР	DSP
	Announced in Official Papers as Not Answered	-	9	17	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
23 <sup>rd</sup> Term	Declared useless Due to the End of the Legislative Term	-	2	13	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Answered After the Deadline	-	78	74	10	-	-	-	-	-	1	2
	TOTAL	-	196	184	35	-	-	-	-	-	1	8
	Answered	-	55	88	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
24t <sup>h</sup> Term	Announced in Official Papers as Not Answered	-	220	222	72	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2	Answered After the Deadline	-	183	215	43	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	TOTAL	-	458	525	118		-	-	-	-	-	-
25 <sup>th</sup> Term	Declared useless Due to the End of the Legislative Term	2	25	4	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	TOTAL	2	25	4	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Answered	-	9	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
E	Announced in Official Papers as Not Answered	1	68	6	23	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
26 <sup>th</sup> Term	Announced in Official Papers as Not Answered	-	52	4	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Answered After the Deadline	12	260	69	94	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	TOTAL	13	389	80	119							



Table 4 The Status of Responses to Proposals Concerning Teachers Submitted by Political Parties Represented in the Grand National Assembly of Türkiye (GNAT-TBMM) Between the 22<sup>nd</sup> and 28<sup>th</sup> Legislative Terms

							PARTIES					
Legislative Terms	Status of the Question	AK PARTY	СНР	МНР	DTP-BDP-HDP-DEM	DEVA	GELECEK	S	IVI PARTY	ίΤ	ВВР	DSP
	Answered	3	111	5	77	-	-	2	21	-	-	-
٤	Announced in Official Papers as Not Answered	-	46	-	25	-	-		12	-	-	-
27 <sup>th</sup> Term	Declared useless Due to the End of the Legislative Term	-	10	-	12	-	-		1	-	-	-
	Answered After the Deadline	10	347	28	149	-	-	5	70	-	-	-
	TOTAL	13	514	33	263	-	-	7	104	-	-	-
	Answered	-	20	-	18			1	14			
	Announced in Official Papers as Not Answered	-	5	1	10	-	1	1	-	-	-	
28 <sup>th</sup> Term	Declared useless Due to the End of the Legislative Term	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Answered After the Deadline	1	52	1	56	2	6	3	26	1	-	-
	15-Day Response Period Ongoing	-	3	-	2		1	1	-	-	-	-
	TOTAL	1	80	2	86	2	8	6	40	1	-	-

According to Table 3 and Table 4, during the 22nd Legislative Term (total number of proposals: 346), 18 (85.71%) of the 21 proposals submitted by the AK Party to the Grand National Assembly of Türkiye (GNAT) concerning teachers were categorized as "Answered", while 3 (14.79%) were listed under the category of "Announced in Official Papers as Not Answered". During this same period, of the 325 proposals submitted by the CHP, 285 (87.69%) were categorized as "Answered", 36 (11.07%) as "Announced in Official Papers as Not Answered", and 4 (1.24%) as "Declared Null and Void Due to the End of the Legislative Term".

In the 23rd Legislative Term (total number of proposals: 424), of the 196 proposals submitted by the CHP regarding teachers, 107 (54.59%) were categorized as "Answered", 9 (12.31%) as "Announced in Official Papers as Not Answered", 2 (1.02%) as "Declared Null and Void Due to the End of the Legislative Term", and 78 (39.80%) as "Answered After the Deadline" During this period, of the 184 proposals submitted by the MHP, 80 (43.48%) were categorized as "Answered", 17 (9.24%) as "Announced in Official Papers as Not Answered",



13 (7.06%) as "Declared Null and Void Due to the End of the Legislative Term", and 74 (40.22%) as "Answered After the Deadline". Similarly, of the 35 proposals submitted by DTP-BDP-HDP-DEM during this term, 22 (62.86%) were categorized as "Answered", 3 (8.57%) as "Announced in Official Papers as Not Answered", and 10 (28.57%) as "Answered After the Deadline". Of the 8 proposals submitted by DSP, 5 (62.50%) were categorized as "Answered" 1 (12.50%) as "Announced in Official Papers as Not Answered", and 2 (25.00%) as "Answered After the Deadline".

During the 24th Legislative Term (total number of proposals: 1,101), of the 458 proposals submitted by the CHP concerning teachers, 55 (12.00%) were categorized as "Answered", 220 (48.04%) as "Announced in Official Papers as Not Answered", and 183 (39.95%) as "Declared Null and Void Due to the End of the Legislative Term". During the same term, of the 525 proposals submitted by the MHP, 88 (16.76%) were categorized as "Answered", 222 (42.29%) as "Announced in Official Papers as Not Answered", and 215 (40.95%) as "Declared Null and Void Due to the End of the Legislative Term". Similarly, of the 118 proposals submitted by DTP-BDP-HDP-DEM, 3 (2.54%) were categorized as "Answered", 72 (61.02%) as "Announced in Official Papers as Not Answered", and 43 (36.44%) as "Answered After the Deadline".

In the 25<sup>th</sup> Legislative Term (total number of proposals: 39), all proposals submitted by the AK Party (2), CHP (25), MHP (4), and DTP-BDP-HDP-DEM (8) were categorized as "Declared Null and Void Due to the End of the Legislative Term", as the short duration of this legislative period prevented their evaluation.

During the 26th Legislative Term (total number of proposals: 601), of the 13 proposals submitted by the AK Party concerning teachers, 1 (7.69%) was categorized as "Announced in Official Papers as Not Answered", while 12 (92.31%) were categorized as "Answered After the Deadline". Of the 389 proposals submitted by the CHP, 9 (2.31%) were categorized as "Answered", 68 (17.48%) as "Announced in Official Papers as Not Answered", 52 (13.37%) as "Declared Null and Void Due to the End of the Legislative Term", and 260 (66.84%) as "Answered After the Deadline". During this term, of the 69 proposals submitted by the MHP, 1 (1.25%) was categorized as "Answered", 6 (7.50%) as "Announced in Official Papers as Not Answered", 4 (5.00%) as "Declared Null and Void Due to the End of the Legislative Term", and 58 (86.25%) as "Answered After the Deadline". Similarly, of the 94 proposals submitted by DTP-BDP-HDP-DEM, 23 (19.33%) were categorized as "Answered", 2 (1.68%) as "Announced in Official Papers as Not Answered", and 69 (78.99%) as "Answered After the Deadline".

In the 27th Legislative Term (total number of proposals: 934), of the 13 proposals submitted by the AK Party concerning teachers, 3 (23.08%) were categorized as "Answered" and 10 (76.93%) as "Answered After the Deadline". Of the 514 proposals submitted by the CHP, 111 (21.60%) were categorized as "Answered", 46 (8.95%) as "Announced in Official Papers as Not Answered", 10 (1.95%) as "Declared Null and Void Due to the End of the Legislative Term", and 347 (67.50%) as "Answered After the Deadline". Similarly, of the 33 proposals submitted by the MHP, 5 (15.15%) were categorized as "Answered" and 28 (84.85%) as "Answered After the Deadline". Of the 263 proposals submitted by DTP-BDP-HDP-DEM, 77 (29.28%) were categorized as "Answered", 25 (9.51%) as "Announced in Official Papers as Not Answered", 12 (4.56%) as "Declared Null and Void Due to the End of the Legislative Term", and 149 (56.65%) as "Answered After the Deadline". During this term, of the 7 proposals submitted by SP, 2 (28.57%) were categorized as "Answered", and 5 (71.43%) as "Answered After the Deadline". Of the 104 proposals submitted by the İYİ Party, 21 (20.19%) were categorized as "Answered", 12 (11.54%) as "Announced in Official Papers as Not Answered", 1 (0.96%) as "Declared Null and Void Due to the End of the Legislative Term", and 70 (67.31%) as "Answered After the Deadline".

In the 28th Legislative Term (total number of proposals as of December 2024: 226), the single proposal submitted by the AK Party concerning teachers was categorized as "Answered After the Deadline". Of the 80



proposals submitted by the CHP, 20 (25.00%) were categorized as "Answered", 5 (6.25%) as "Announced in Official Papers as Not Answered", 52 (65.00%) as "Declared Null and Void Due to the End of the Legislative Term", and 3 (3.75%) as "15-Day Response Period Ongoing". During this term, of the 2 proposals submitted by the MHP, 1 (50.00%) was categorized as "Announced in Official Papers as Not Answered", and 1 (50.00%) as "Answered After the Deadline". Similarly, of the 86 proposals submitted by DTP-BDP-HDP-DEM, 18 (20.93%) were categorized as "Answered", 10 (11.63%) as "Announced in Official Papers as Not Answered", 56 (65.11%) as "Answered After the Deadline", and 2 (2.33%) as "15-Day Response Period Ongoing".

During the same period, of the 6 proposals submitted by SP, 1 (16.67%) was categorized as "Answered", 1 (16.67%) as "Announced in Official Papers as Not Answered" and 3 (50.00%) as "Answered After the Deadline". Of the 40 proposals submitted by the IYI Party, 14 (35.00%) were categorized as "Answered" and 26 (65.00%) as "Answered After the Deadline". Of the 2 proposals submitted by the DEVA Party, 1 (50.00%) was categorized as "Announced in Official Papers as Not Answered", and 1 (50.00%) as "Answered After the Deadline". Similarly, of the 8 proposals submitted by the Future Party, 1 (12.50%) was categorized as "Answered", 6 (75.00%) as "Answered After the Deadline", and 1 (12.50%) as "15-Day Response Period Ongoing". Lastly, during this term, the single proposal submitted by the TIP was categorized as "Answered After the Deadline".

During the 22<sup>nd</sup> Legislative Term, a significant portion of the proposals submitted by the AK Party and CHP (85.71% and 87.69%, respectively) were categorized as "Answered". This demonstrates the executive's effectiveness during this period in providing timely responses. However, during the 23rd and 24th Legislative Terms, the response rates to proposals from the opposition parties showed a significant decline. For instance, in the 23<sup>rd</sup> Legislative Term, only 54.59% of the CHP's proposals were categorized as "Answered", and this rate dropped to 12% in the 24th Legislative Term, indicating a regression in accountability by the executive. In the 25th Legislative Term, all proposals were categorized as "Declared Null and Void Due to the End of the Legislative Term", which reflects the short duration of the term and the inability to process proposals.

In the 26<sup>th</sup> and 27<sup>th</sup> Legislative Terms, the majority of proposals submitted by opposition parties (66% or higher) were categorized as "Answered After the Deadline", which highlights delays in addressing opposition demands. Although the 28th Legislative Term shows slight improvements in the proportion of proposals categorized as "Answered", the high rates of "Answered After the Deadline" persist. The lower number of proposals submitted by the ruling party contributes to relatively higher response rates, as seen during the 22<sup>nd</sup> Legislative Term, when 85.71% of the AK Party's proposals were answered. Conversely, the large volume of proposals submitted by opposition parties, such as the CHP, resulted in lower response rates. Additionally, during the 23rd and 24th Legislative Terms, a significant portion of opposition proposals fell under the categories of "Answered After the Deadline" or "Announced in Official Papers as Not Answered", which indicates slower processing of opposition demands by the executive.

In Table 5, it is possible to observe the general distribution of the outcomes of the proposals concerning teachers submitted to the Grand National Assembly of Türkiye (GNAT) according to political parties.



Table 5 General Distribution of the Outcomes of Proposals Concerning Teachers Submitted to the GNAT (TBMM) by Political Parties

PARTIES	Answered	Announced in Official Papers as Not Answered	Answered After the Deadline	Declared useless Due to the End of the Legislative Term	15-Day Response Period Ongoing	TOTAL
AK PARTY	21	4	23	2	0	50
ВВР	0	0	1	0	0	1
DTP-BDP-HDP-DEM	120	133	352	22	2	629
СНР	587	384	920	93	3	1987
DEVA	0	0	2	0	0	2
DSP	5	1	2	0	0	8
GELECEK	0	1	5	0	1	8
İYİ PARTY	35	12	96	1	0	144
MHP	174	246	387	21	0	828
SP	3	1	8	0	1	13
TİP	0	0	1	0	0	1
TOTAL	945	782	1797	139	7	3671

A total of 3,671 proposals submitted to the Grand National Assembly of Türkiye (GNAT) revealed the approaches of political parties toward addressing issues related to the teaching profession. These proposals have been categorized as "Answered", "Announced in Official Papers as Not Answered", "Answered After the Deadline", "Declared Null and Void Due to the End of the Legislative Term", and "15-Day Response Period Ongoing".

The majority of proposals fall into the categories of "Answered After the Deadline" (1,797 proposals, 48.94%) and "Announced in Official Papers as Not Answered" (782 proposals, 21.31%), which indicates that most parliamentary proposals are not addressed within a timely manner. Furthermore, 139 proposals (3.78%) were "Declared Null and Void Due to the End of the Legislative Term", and only 7 proposals (0.19%) remained in the category of "15-Day Response Period Ongoing".

The AK Party submitted only 50 proposals, making it a party with the fewest proposals compared to the opposition parties. Of these, 42% (21 proposals) were answered on time, 46% (23 proposals) were answered after the deadline, 8% (4 proposals) were announced in official papers as not answered, and 4% (2 proposals) were declared null and void due to the end of the legislative term. These data indicate that the AK Party's effectiveness in submitting proposals is limited. However, the fact that the majority of its proposals were answered may stem from its direct access to government mechanisms as the ruling party.

The CHP, with 1,987 proposals, accounted for 54.13% of all proposals submitted, making it the party most actively raising issues related to the teaching profession. Of these, 29.54% (587 proposals) were answered on time, 46.29% (920 proposals) were answered after the deadline, and 19.32% (384 proposals) were not answered. Additionally, 93 proposals (4.68%) were declared useless due to the end of the legislative term. The high number of proposals submitted by the CHP reflects its prioritization of issues affecting teachers.



However, the fact that 65% of its proposals were not addressed on time highlights the limited effectiveness of parliamentary proposals as a mechanism for resolving such issues.

The MHP, with 828 proposals, emerged as the second most active party on issues related to the teaching profession. Of its proposals, 21.01% (174 proposals) were answered on time, 46.74% (387 proposals) were answered after the deadline, and 29.71% (246 proposals) were not answered at all. Only 2.54% (21 proposals) were declared useless due to the end of the legislative term. The MHP's effectiveness in submitting proposals is relatively low compared to other major parties, with more than 70% of its proposals either answered late or left unanswered.

The DTP-BDP-HDP-DEM submitted 629 proposals, ranking third among the parties. Of these, only 19.08% (120 proposals) were answered on time, 55.95% (352 proposals) were answered after the deadline, and 21.14% (133 proposals) were announced in official papers as not answered. Additionally, 22 proposals (3.50%) were declared useless due to the end of the legislative term. The fact that approximately 76% of the proposals submitted by DTP-BDP-HDP-DEM were either answered late or not answered at all indicates that the issues raised by this bloc through parliamentary proposals were not adequately addressed by the government.

The İYİ Party submitted 144 proposals, of which 24.31% (35 proposals) were answered on time. However, 66.67% (96 proposals) were answered after the deadline, and 8.33% (12 proposals) were not answered at all. Only 1 proposal (0.69%) was declared useless due to the end of the legislative term. The İYİ Party's effectiveness in submitting proposals is limited, and most its proposals were answered late, indicating that its recommendations on educational policies were not addressed in a timely manner.

The contributions of other parties were relatively limited. The Saadet Party (SP) submitted 13 proposals, the majority of which were answered after the deadline. The DEVA Party and the GELECEK Party each submitted 8 proposals, most of which were also answered after the deadline. The DSP submitted only 8 proposals, showing a similar trend. Meanwhile, BBP and TİP submitted only one proposal each, both of which were answered after the deadline. These parties made limited contributions to addressing issues related to the teaching profession.

The distribution presented in Table 5 indicates that the majority of proposals submitted to the GNAT regarding the teaching profession were not addressed on time, and a portion of them were declared null and void due to the end of the legislative term. Opposition parties such as the CHP, MHP, and DTP-BDP-HDP-DEM frequently raised issues related to the teaching profession. However, a significant portion of their proposals were either answered late or left unanswered. While the AK Party submitted fewer proposals overall, the fact that most of its proposals were answered is noteworthy, likely reflecting its position as the ruling party.

# Findings on the Distribution of Proposals Related to Teachers Submitted to the GNAT (TBMM) (2002–2024) by Party and Category

The distribution of proposals related to teachers, categorized by political parties, is presented in Table 6.



Table 6 General Distribution of Categories of Proposals Related to Teachers Submitted to the GNAT by Political Parties

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CATEGORIES	AK PARTY	GH	MHP	DTP-BDP-HDP-DEM	İYİ PARTY	SAADET	DEVA	GELECEK	DSP	ВВР	₽	TOTAL
Teacher Shortages in Specific Locations and Branches	5	348	63	24	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	440
Teacher Appointments, Staffing Needs, and Surpluses	7	253	139	70	27	1	0	3	2	1	0	503
Working Conditions and Employment Rights	4	135	107	20	14	0	0	0	2	0	0	282
Special Circumstances, Various Practices, and Allegations	5	262	52	160	13	0	1	0	2	0	0	495
Regional and Local Educational Problems	0	8	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	10
Teacher Candidates, Pedagogical Formation, Anatolian Teacher High Schools, KPSS, etc.	1	60	33	10	4	2	0	0	0	0	0	110
Teachers' Guesthouses	1	75	14	6	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	99
Contract Teachers	1	71	34	17	9	0	0	0	2	0	0	134
Professional Development, Career Progression, and Performance Systems	1	31	26	10	6	0	0	1	0	0	0	75
Legal Situations (Investigations, Dismissals, Expulsions, etc.)	2	106	11	113	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	233
Logistical Support and Material Assistance	0	11	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	12
Legal Regulations (Regulations, Directives, etc.)	1	40	21	5	4	1	0	0	0	0	0	72
Retired Teachers	0	7	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	12
Relocation, Branch Changes, and Transfers (e.g., Spousal Transfers)	2	82	69	18	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	177
Teachers' Housing and Other Miscellaneous Issues	7	52	36	15	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	118
Educational Affairs and the Quality of Education and Teachers	0	3	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7
Substitute and Temporary Teaching Positions	3	70	39	39	8	2	1	0	0	0	0	162
Teachers Working Abroad	0	2	7	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	11
Teachers with Disabilities	2	48	15	18	6	0	0	1	0	0	0	90
Teachers in Private Schools	1	38	7	30	15	4	0	1	0	0	1	97
Violence Against Teachers	0	18	20	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	43
Teachers Who Committed Suicide, Passed Away, Resigned, Were Abducted, or Injured	0	10	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	16
Statistics on the Number of Teachers in Various Areas	4	158	50	34	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	256

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CATEGORIES	AK PARTY	GH	МНР	DTP-BDP-HDP-DEM	İYİ PARTY	SAADET	DEVA	GELECEK	DSP	ВВР	Η̈́	TOTAL
Interview System Used for Appointments, Exams, KPSS, Application Requirements, etc.	1	15	3	5	3	3	0	2	0	0	0	32
Circumstances Regarding Teachers' Additional Duties, Assignments to Different Roles, and Responsibilities	0	16	12	4	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	33
Foreign National Teachers	0	3	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
Teachers Working in Non-School Institutions	0	3	2	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	10
Covid-19, Vaccination, Distance Education, and Teachers	0	18	2	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	24
Various Awards, Incentives, and Campaigns for Teachers	1	4	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	9
Teachers Becoming Administrators or Inspectors	0	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
The Status and Problems of Teachers in Specific Branches	0	12	22	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	36
Other	1	25	26	11	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	63
TOTAL	50	1987	828	629	144	13	2	8	8	1	1	3671

According to the distribution in Table 6, the Justice and Development Party (AK Party) submitted 50 proposals, accounting for only 1.36% of the total 3,671 proposals. The party submitted the most proposals in the categories of "Teachers' Housing and Other Miscellaneous Issues" (7 proposals, 5.93% of its total) and "Teacher Appointments, Needs, and Surpluses" (7 proposals, 1.39% of its total). However, it is noteworthy that the AK Party did not submit any proposals in important categories such as "Regional and Local Educational Problems" "Covid-19 and Distance Education" and "Logistical Support and Material Assistance". This indicates that the party prefers to address these issues through government policies rather than parliamentary proposals. Furthermore, the AK Party's contributions in other categories were limited to "Statistics on the Number of Teachers in Various Areas" (4 proposals, 1.56% of its total) and "Legal Situations (Investigations, Dismissals, Expulsions, etc.)" (2 proposals, 0.86% of its total).

The Republican People's Party (CHP) emerged as the most active party, submitting 1,987 proposals, which accounted for 54.13% of the total. The CHP submitted the most proposals in the categories of "Teacher Shortages in Specific Locations and Branches" (348 proposals, 79.09% of the total) and "Teacher Appointments, Needs, and Surpluses" (253 proposals, 50.30% of the total). Additionally, the CHP made significant contributions to critical areas such as "Special Circumstances, Various Practices, and Allegations" (262 proposals, 52.93% of the total) and "Working Conditions and Employment Rights" (135 proposals, 47.87% of the total). However, the CHP's contributions were relatively lower in categories such as "Covid-19 and Distance Education" (18 proposals, 75% of the total), "Teachers Working Abroad" (2 proposals, 18.18% of the total), and "Legal Regulations (Directives etc.)" (40 proposals, 55.56% of the total). By actively contributing across



a wide range of categories, the CHP systematically brought teaching profession issues to the parliamentary agenda, with a particular focus on critical topics such as unemployed teachers and regional shortages.

The Nationalist Movement Party (MHP) ranked as the second most active party with 828 proposals, accounting for 22.56% of the total. The MHP submitted the most proposals in the categories of "Teacher Appointments, Needs, and Surpluses" (139 proposals, 27.63% of its total) and "Working Conditions and Employment Rights" (107 proposals, 37.94% of its total). The party also contributed to areas such as "Teacher Shortages in Specific Locations and Branches" (63 proposals, 14.31% of its total) and "Legal Situations (Investigations, Dismissals, Expulsions, etc.)" (11 proposals, 4.72% of its total). Categories with fewer proposals from the MHP included "Covid-19 and Distance Education" (2 proposals, 8.33% of its total), "Violence Against Teachers" (20 proposals, 46.51% of its total), and "Legal Regulations (Directives, etc.)" (21 proposals, 29.17% of its total). The MHP primarily focused on fundamental issues such as unemployed teachers, employment rights, and social conditions, providing substantial contributions in these areas.

The DTP-BDP-HDP-DEM ranked third with 629 proposals, representing 17.14% of the total. The DTP-BDP-HDP-DEM submitted the most proposals in the categories of "Special Circumstances, Various Practices, and Allegations" (160 proposals, 32.32% of its total) and "Legal Situations (Investigations, Dismissals, Expulsions etc.)" (113 proposals, 48.50% of its total). The DTP-BDP-HDP-DEM also actively contributed to areas such as "Teacher Appointments, Needs, and Surpluses" (70 proposals, 13.91% of its total) and "Substitute and Temporary Teaching Positions" (39 proposals, 24.07% of its total). However, categories with no or minimal contributions from the DTP-BDP-HDP-DEM included "Educational Affairs and the Quality of Education" (0 proposal), "Logistical Support and Material Assistance" (0 proposal), and "Awards and Incentives for Teachers" (1 proposal, 0.16% of the DTP-BDP-HDP-DEM's total). The DTP-BDP-HDP-DEM primarily focused on regional issues, legal processes, and teachers' individual circumstances, making significant contributions in these areas.

The İYİ Party submitted 144 proposals, accounting for 3.92% of the total. The party submitted the most proposals in the categories of "Teacher Appointments, Needs, and Surpluses" (27 proposals, 5.37% of its total) and "Working Conditions and Employment Rights" (14 proposals, 4.96% of its total). The party's contributions were limited in areas such as "Substitute and Temporary Teaching Positions" (8 proposals, 4.94% of its total) and "Teacher Shortages in Specific Locations and Branches" (0 proposals). Categories with no contributions from the İYİ Party included "Educational Affairs and the Quality of Education", "Teachers Working Abroad", and "Covid-19 and Distance Education". The IYI Party primarily focused on issues such as job security, appointment processes, and teachers' social issues.

Other parties made limited contributions. The Saadet Party (SP) submitted 13 proposals, primarily focusing on the "Appointments and Needs" category. The DEVA Party provided only 2 proposals, making it the party with the least contributions. The GELECEK Party submitted 8 proposals, focusing on areas such as "Surpluses in Staffing". The DSP, with 8 proposals, made limited contributions, particularly in categories such as "Housing Issues". The BBP and TIP each submitted only one proposal, both of which focused on minor areas.

With a 54.13% share, the CHP was the most active party in addressing issues related to the teaching profession. The MHP and DTP-BDP-HDP-DEM followed with shares of 22.56% and 17.14%, respectively. The contributions of the IYI Party were limited to 3.92%, while the AK Party's proposals accounted for only 1.36% of the total. Other parties made mostly symbolic contributions. This demonstrates that opposition parties



with a significant number of members of parliament have been more active in bringing teachers' issues to the parliamentary agenda.

# Findings on the Quantitative Distribution of Proposals Related to Teachers Submitted to the GNAT (TBMM) Between 2002 and 2024 by Legislative Terms

The distribution of proposals related to teachers by legislative terms and categories is presented in Table 7.

Table 7 General Distribution of Categories of Proposals Related to Teachers Submitted to the GNAT (TBMM) by Legislative Terms

CATEGORIES	22 <sup>nd</sup> Term	23 <sup>rd</sup> Term	24 <sup>th</sup> Term	25 <sup>th</sup> Term	26 <sup>th</sup> Term	27 <sup>th</sup> Term	28 <sup>th</sup> Term	TOTAL
Teacher Shortages in Specific Locations, and Branches	188	57	109	0	26	51	9	440
Teacher Appointments, Staffing Needs, and Surpluses	25	67	180	20	59	113	39	503
<b>Working Conditions and Employment Rights</b>	18	54	93	1	27	77	12	282
Special Circumstances, Various Practices, and Allegations	45	63	113	2	104	138	30	495
Regional and Local Educational Problems	0	0	9	0	0	0	1	10
Teacher Candidates, Pedagogical Formation, Anatolian Teacher High Schools, KPSS etc.	8	15	38	2	20	22	5	110
Teachers' Guesthouses	13	16	28	0	8	24	10	99
Contract Teachers	11	45	7	1	37	32	2	135
Professional Development, Career Progression, and Performance Systems	3	5	23	0	23	18	3	75
Legal Situations (Investigations, Dismissals, Expulsions etc.)	5	15	42	0	75	85	11	233
Logistical Support and Material Assistance	2	0	2	0	1	7	0	12
Legal Regulations (Regulations, Directives etc.)	9	24	15	0	13	8	3	72
Retired Teachers	2	3	6	0	0	1	0	12
Relocation, Branch Changes, and Transfers (e.g., Spousal Transfers)	6	22	104	5	19	14	7	177
Teachers' Housing and Other Miscellaneous Issues	2	13	47	4	16	23	13	118
Educational Affairs and the Quality of Education and Teachers	1	0	5	0	1	0	0	7
Substitute and Temporary Teaching Positions	1	3	57	1	18	62	20	162
Teachers Working Abroad	0	0	7	0	1	3	0	11
Teachers with Disabilities	0	0	18	0	23	40	9	90
Teachers in Private Schools	0	2	11	0	2	59	22	96
Violence Against Teachers	0	0	24	0	11	6	2	43
Teachers Who Committed Suicide, Passed Away, Resigned, Were Abducted, or Injured	0	0	8	0	3	4	1	16
Statistics on the Number of Teachers in Various Areas	0	4	77	1	80	81	13	256

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CATEGORIES	22 <sup>nd</sup> Term	23 <sup>rd</sup> Term	24 <sup>th</sup> Term	25 <sup>th</sup> Term	26 <sup>th</sup> Term	27 <sup>th</sup> Term	28 <sup>th</sup> Term	TOTAL
Interview System Used for Appointments, Exams, KPSS, Application Requirements, etc.	1	1	3	0	4	15	8	32
Circumstances Regarding Teachers' Additional Duties, Assignments to Different Roles, and Responsibilities	1	1	19	0	6	6	0	33
Foreign National Teachers	0	1	0	0	3	1	0	5
Teachers Working in Non-School Institutions	0	0	0	2	2	6	0	10
Covid-19, Vaccination, Distance Education, and Teachers	0	0	0	0	0	24	0	24
Various Awards, Incentives, and Campaigns for Teachers	3	2	1	0	1	2	0	9
Teachers Becoming Administrators or Inspectors	0	4	1	0	0	0	0	5
The Status and Problems of Teachers in Specific Branches	0	0	25	0	8	3	0	36
Other	2	7	29	0	10	9	6	63
TOTAL		424	1101	39	601	934	226	3671

According to the distribution in Table 7, 346 proposals were submitted during the 22<sup>nd</sup> Legislative Term, accounting for approximately 9.42% of all proposals submitted across legislative terms. The majority of these proposals focused on the category of Teacher Shortages in Specific Locations and Branches (188 proposals, 54.34%). This indicates that imbalances in teacher distribution and branch-specific shortages were prominent issues during this term. Additionally, 25 proposals (7.23%) were submitted in the category of Teacher Appointments, Needs, and Surpluses, and 18 proposals (5.2%) focused on Working Conditions and Employment Rights, highlighting other significant topics of the period. Overall, during the 22<sup>nd</sup> Legislative Term, regional and branch-based problems related to the teaching profession were more frequently brought to the agenda compared to other issues.

During the 23<sup>rd</sup> Legislative Term, 424 proposals were submitted, representing 11.55% of the total. During this period, the distribution of proposals was more balanced. The category of Special Circumstances, Various Practices, and Allegations stood out with 63 proposals (14.86%), while Teacher Appointments, Needs, and Surpluses saw 67 proposals (15.8%), indicating an increased focus on this issue. Additionally, economic matters such as Working Conditions and Employment Rights were significant on the agenda, with 54 proposals (12.74%) submitted. The 23rd Legislative Term reflects a more comprehensive range of issues related to the teaching profession.

The 24<sup>th</sup> Legislative Term saw the highest number of proposals, with a total of 1,101 proposals, accounting for 29.99% of all proposals. The most prominent category during this term was Teacher Appointments, Needs, and Surpluses, with 180 proposals (16.34%). Other notable categories included Special Circumstances, Various Practices, and Allegations (113 proposals, 10.26%) and Working Conditions and Employment Rights (93 proposals, 8.45%). This period displayed widespread interest in nearly all categories related to the teaching profession, with discussions focusing heavily on topics such as unemployed teachers and working conditions.

In contrast, the 25<sup>th</sup> Legislative Term had the lowest number of proposals, with only 39 proposals, representing 1.06% of the total. During this period, proposals were extremely limited and primarily concentrated on the category of Teacher Appointments, Needs, and Surpluses (20 proposals, 51.28%). The number of



proposals in other categories was minimal, reflecting a significant decline in legislative activity related to the teaching profession.

During the 26th Legislative Term, 601 proposals were submitted, accounting for 16.37% of the total. A significant portion of these proposals focused on the category of Special Circumstances, Various Practices, and Allegations (104 proposals, 17.3%). Other notable categories included Working Conditions and Employment Rights (27 proposals, 4.49%) and Teachers with Disabilities (23 proposals, 3.83%). This term demonstrated a broader scope of issues being addressed regarding the teaching profession.

The 27th Legislative Term saw 934 proposals, representing 25.45% of the total. The most prominent category was Special Circumstances, Various Practices, and Allegations, with 138 proposals (14.77%), followed by Teacher Appointments, Needs, and Surpluses, which accounted for 113 proposals (12.1%). The diversity and high number of proposals during this term indicate an intense focus on various issues related to the teaching profession.

During the 28th Legislative Term, 226 proposals were submitted, accounting for 6.15% of the total. The most active categories were Teacher Appointments, Needs, and Surpluses (39 proposals, 17.26%) and Special Circumstances, Various Practices, and Allegations (30 proposals, 13.27%). However, the number of proposals in other categories was relatively low, indicates that issues related to the teaching profession were brought to the agenda less frequently compared to previous terms.

When examining the table as a whole, it is evident that the largest number of proposals concerning the teaching profession was submitted during the 24th Legislative Term (1,101 proposals, 29.99%), while the fewest were submitted during the 25th Legislative Term (39 proposals, 1.06%). The most frequently discussed categories were Teacher Shortages in Specific Locations and Branches, Teacher Appointments, Needs, and Surpluses, and Special Circumstances, Various Practices, and Allegations. Topics such as unemployed teachers, regional teacher shortages, and employment rights were consistently discussed across legislative terms. However, the low number of proposals in certain terms highlights that issues related to the teaching profession did not receive sufficient attention on the parliamentary agenda during those periods.

## Findings on the Distribution of Proposals Related to Teachers Submitted to the GNAT (TBMM) (2002–2024) by Members of Parliament

Table 8 presents the distribution of proposals related to teachers submitted by members of parliament from the 22<sup>nd</sup> to the 28<sup>th</sup> Legislative Terms, highlighting those who were the most active in addressing these issues.

Table 8 Members of Parliament Who Submitted the Most Proposals Related to Teachers in the GNAT (TBMM) Between the 22<sup>nd</sup> and 28th Legislative Terms

Legislative Terms	Members of Parliament	Occupation	Deputy Period	Party	Number of Proposals	The Most Frequently Raised Category
22 <sup>nd</sup> Term	Bursa Deputy Kemal DEMİREL	Administrative of Private Education Institute	2002-2011	СНР	158	Teacher Shortages in Specific Locations and Branches
23 <sup>rd</sup> Term	Kütahya Deputy Alim IŞIK	Agricultural Engineer and Academician	2007-2015	MHP	34	Teacher Shortages in Specific Locations and Branches



Legislative Terms	Members of Parliament	Occupation	Deputy Period	Party	Number of Proposals	The Most Frequently Raised Category
24 <sup>th</sup> Term	Balıkesir Deputy, Ahmet Duran BULUT	Teacher	2007-2015	МНР	127	Teacher Appointments, Staffing Needs, and Surpluses
25 <sup>th</sup> Term	istanbul Deputy Mahmut TANAL	Lawyer	Since 2011	СНР	4	Teacher Appointments, Staffing Needs, and Surpluses
26 <sup>th</sup> Term	Niğde Deputy Ömer Fethi GÜRER	Industry Engineer	Since 2015	СНР	97	Statistics on the Number of Teachers in Various Areas
27 <sup>th</sup> Term	Kocaeli Deputy Ömer Faruk GERGERLİOĞLU	Doctor	Since 2018	DTP-BDP- HDP-DEM	100	Legal Situations (Investigations, Dismissals, Expulsions etc.)
28 <sup>th</sup> Term	Kocaeli Deputy Ömer Faruk GERGERLİOĞLU	Doctor	Since 2018	DTP-BDP- HDP-DEM	32	Special Circumstances, Various Practices, and Allegations

In Table 8, the professions, political affiliations, and levels of contribution of members of parliament who submitted proposals related to teachers to the GNAT (TBMM) from the 22<sup>nd</sup> to the 28th Legislative Terms are displayed. During the 22<sup>nd</sup> Legislative Term, Kemal Demirel, a CHP member and an administrator of educational institutions, submitted 158 proposals, highlighting the prioritization of issues related to the teaching profession and the CHP's active stance in this area during that period. In the 23<sup>rd</sup> Legislative Term, Alim Işık, an academic from the MHP, submitted 34 proposals addressing various issues and demands of teachers. Although this number reflects a notable decrease compared to the previous term, it demonstrates that educational issues were approached with a local and academic perspective within the party.

In the 24<sup>th</sup> Legislative Term, Ahmet Duran Bulut, a MHP member with a teaching background, submitted 127 proposals, indicating that education policies were actively brought to the parliamentary agenda by a representative with direct experience in the profession. In contrast, the 25<sup>th</sup> Legislative Term stands out as a particularly passive period, with only 4 proposals submitted. However, this can be attributed to the fact that the term lasted only a few months and was followed by an early election. This short transitional period created a pause in addressing issues related to teachers. During the 26<sup>th</sup> Legislative Term, Ömer Fethi Gürer from the CHP submitted 97 proposals. Despite his engineering background, this demonstrates that educational policies were given significant importance at the party level.

In the 27<sup>th</sup> and 28<sup>th</sup> Legislative Terms, Ömer Faruk Gergerlioğlu, a member of the HDP-DEM, submitted 100 proposals in the 27<sup>th</sup> term and 32 proposals in the 28<sup>th</sup> term. This reflects the continuation of addressing issues related to the teaching profession across various contexts. Overall, the approach to addressing teacher-related issues varied depending on the priorities of the period, the influence of the political atmosphere, and the professional backgrounds of the members of parliament.

# **Discussion, Conclusion, And Recommendations**

The teaching profession in Türkiye has long been a focal point of public and political attention due to its role as the cornerstone of education and its critical importance in societal development. However, this attention has not resulted in sufficient and effective solutions to the economic, social, and professional challenges faced by teachers. The findings of this study highlight that written and verbal parliamentary



proposals submitted to the Grand National Assembly of Türkiye (GNAT-TBMM) serve as an important channel for expressing demands and issues related to the teaching profession. Nonetheless, the low response rate to these proposals and the frequent delays in the process reveal the weaknesses in the democratic accountability mechanisms.

Various studies in the literature emphasize that the professional challenges faced by teachers in Türkiye fall under several key themes. According to a study by Esen et al. (2017), the major issues faced by teachers include the Ministry of National Education (MoNE) policies, a decline in professional prestige, inadequate physical conditions and infrastructure, student-related problems, employment rights, and economic challenges. Teachers in Türkiye face significant economic, social, and professional challenges. Key problems include low salaries, the erosion of the profession's status, and uncertainties in appointment processes. In a study by Unsal (2018), the low status of the teaching profession was attributed to factors such as teacher training institutions, working conditions, economic factors, media portrayals, societal perceptions, teacher qualifications, hierarchical relationships with superiors, and education policies.

Additionally, a study by Kiraz and Kurul (2018) found that teachers who are not appointed often have to work in low-paid and insecure jobs, negatively affecting their professional identity. Furthermore, limited opportunities for professional development and inadequate in-service training programs undermine job satisfaction among teachers. According to Altun and Sarpkaya (2021), the OECD's TALIS 2018 report noted that the rate of professional collaboration among teachers in Türkiye is low and below the OECD average. Teachers primarily participate in standard in-service training programs, but the effectiveness of these programs is often questioned. These challenges directly impact the quality of education and pose a longterm threat to societal development.

This study analyzed 3,671 proposals submitted to the GNAT between 2002 and 2024, which addressed various issues related to the teaching profession. The most frequently raised topics included teacher appointments, economic conditions, and regional teacher shortages. In particular, the issue of "unemployed teachers" has been a recurring concern highlighted by political parties. Teacher shortages or high turnover rates in certain regions of Türkiye contribute to educational inequities. Teacher shortages in rural or disadvantaged areas negatively affect the quality of education (Kızıltaş, 2021; Özdemir & Kazancı-Tınmaz, 2024). However, the focus of parliamentary proposals on repetitive issues indicates that chronic problems within the teaching profession remain unresolved.

The findings reveal that a significant portion of the proposals were either unanswered or answered after the deadline. For example, a large share of proposals submitted by opposition parties fell into the categories of "answered after the deadline" or "announced in official papers as not answered." This indicates a limited responsiveness by the ruling party to the issues raised by the opposition. While the proposals submitted by the AK Party had relatively higher response rates, this reflects the government's prioritization of its own agenda rather than broader educational issues. Notably, the AK Party was responsible for just 1.36% of proposals related to the teaching profession. This indicates that the ruling party tends to avoid addressing these issues through parliamentary mechanisms.

For political parties, the teaching profession serves as a platform for debate and policy development (Küçük & Akpınar, 2022). However, there are significant differences in how the ruling and opposition parties approach these issues. Between 2022 and 2024, opposition parties frequently brought up problems related to teachers' economic rights, appointment processes, and working conditions in their proposals to the GNAT (TBMM). This demonstrates a more participatory approach toward resolving issues related to the teaching



profession. Conversely, the low number of proposals submitted by the ruling party, coupled with their relatively higher response rates, indicates that the government prefers to address these issues through internal mechanisms rather than parliamentary proposals.

While parliamentary proposals provide a platform for addressing problems related to the teaching profession, the findings show that this mechanism remains limited in producing effective solutions. The issues raised in the proposals tend to concentrate on specific periods and are influenced by the political atmosphere of the time. Consistent with findings in the literature, teachers often complain about the frequent changes in education policies and the lack of adequate financial resources (Demirkol et al., 2023). Karatas (2024) found that the necessary steps to elevate the teaching profession to a professional status have not been taken, with new legislative drafts being prepared instead of revising existing laws. However, a lack of sufficient political will to address these issues and the structural limitations of the parliamentary proposal system hinder its capacity to offer effective solutions.

Although the teaching profession is central to education policies, the findings indicate that the proposals submitted to the GNAT (TBMM) highlight the chronic nature of teachers' problems and the ongoing inadequacies in finding concrete solutions to these issues. The low response rates and slow processing of proposals underscore the need for this mechanism to be used more effectively to ensure democratic accountability.

Parliamentary proposals reveal that different political parties develop varying perspectives on teachers' problems and address these issues in line with their political agendas. Overall, how teacher-related issues are addressed depends on the priorities of the period, the influence of the political atmosphere, and the professional backgrounds of the members of parliament. The educational levels and professional experiences of MPs play a decisive role in shaping education policies. For example, during the 27th Legislative Term, the majority of MPs in parliament were lawyers (127 MPs) and businesspeople (106 MPs), while only 33 MPs had an educational background (Coban & Ergenekon, 2021). In this context, it can be argued that MPs' perceptions and approaches to education policies are shaped by their professional backgrounds and personal experiences. Therefore, contributions from MPs with diverse professional and academic backgrounds are essential for creating more inclusive and effective education policies.

While evaluating parliamentary proposals, considering the proportional representation of political parties in the GNAT is crucial for an accurate interpretation of the findings. Larger parties with greater parliamentary representation are inherently more likely to submit proposals, whereas smaller parties may rely on alternative political strategies due to their limited legislative power. A proportional analysis of proposal submissions relative to party representation in parliament reveals that opposition parties, despite having fewer seats, have been more active in raising issues related to the teaching profession. This indicates that parliamentary representation influences the extent to which parties engage in educational policy discussions through proposals.

## **Conclusion and Recommendations**

Political parties approach teachers' problems differently: while opposition parties frequently raise issues such as teachers' economic rights, appointment processes, and working conditions, the ruling party's proposals are limited and focus primarily on its own political priorities. To address the challenges faced by the teaching profession, education policies must be comprehensively restructured. Long-term strategies should be developed with contributions from experts across various disciplines and insights gained from interna-



tional experiences. Teacher training programs should be restructured to emphasize practical applications and align with contemporary needs, while appointment processes should be based on the principles of merit and transparency. Improving teachers' economic and social rights is crucial for enhancing their professional motivation and prestige. Teacher shortages in rural and disadvantaged areas should be addressed, with additional incentives provided to teachers serving in these regions to promote educational equity. Future research could explore the varying approaches of political parties to education policies and their impact on teachers. Comparative analyses could also examine discussions related to the teaching profession in the parliaments of other countries to identify best practices and areas for improvement.



Ethics Committee Approval

This study does not involve the collection of data from human participants, nor does it employ an experimental research design. The analysis is based exclusively on publicly accessible official documents. As such, the research does not fall within the scope of studies requiring prior approval from an ethics committee, in accordance with relevant national and institutional guidelines.

Peer-Review Author Contributions Externally peer-reviewed.

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