The Spatial Regulation of Pupils' Bodies to Train Turkish Nationals in Primary Schools: A Foucauldian Analysis

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this research was to explore the use of space and place in natural classroom and the school environment in a Turkish context. Drawing upon the theoretical framework of Foucault's modern power control strategies, a major factor influencing teachers' classroom practices both in the State and the Private Primary Schools emerged. A highly centralised Turkish educational system has a major influence on teachers' classroom practices. Teachers' classroom behaviour may be explained through the spatiality of the schools. Spatiality can also be considered to be a mode of modern power control. Therefore the structure of space in both the State and the Private Primary Schools is a form of surveillance apparatus. In particular, Ataturk portraits and Turkish flags were prominently displayed in every corner of the Primary Schools, which seemed to act as a reminder of the state control and 'Turkishness'. Systematic surveillance techniques were employed at the schools.

INTRODUCTION

The Turkish Educational system is centralised and is regulated by the Ministry of National Education (MONE). A highly centralised Turkish educational system dictates the structure of space and place in schools, which has direct impact on teachers' classroom practices and pupils' construction of national identity (Karabat, 2009). Teachers' classroom behaviour may be explained through the architectural layout of the schools and classrooms which displays power control strategies (Paechter, 2004). This study reveals both the State and the Private Primary Schools' use of space and place as a means of power control with no significant difference between the two types of school. The policy and intellectual context of the study would provide a better perspective of the use of space and place in natural classroom and the school environment in Turkey.

The Policy and Intellectual Contexts of the Study

The Gokturk Empire was the first formal state established at the foot of the Altai Mountains in Central Asia by Bumin and Istemi Khan in 552AD. Information about educational practices of that time is sparse; "the only evidence of formal education was the alphabet of 38 letters" (Turan, 2000, p. 102). In time, some of the tribes moved westward and eventually settled in Anatolia in central Turkey. Gradually, after accepting Islam, the influence of Islam was almost indelibly stamped on the educational system. The Selcuk Empire was the first leading empire to form an educational system in Turkish history, and was followed by the Ottoman Empire (Turan, 2000). The educational system was predominantly influenced by Islamic values, since the Ottoman Empire was governed by the principals of Islam. Primary education was intended to make 'good' Muslims (Aycan, 2005; Kazamias, 1966).

The Turkish Republic, which was established in 1923, paved the way for top-down transformations in the structure of the country. Mustafa Kemal Ataturk was elected as leader of the newly proclaimed Republic (Kazamias, 1966). The main problem at the time was that 90% of the population were illiterate (Kazamias, 1966).

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Today, our most important and most productive task is national education. We have to be successful in national education and we shall be. The liberation of a nation is only achieved in this way (Ataturk, 1922).

'Europeanisation' was Ataturk's ultimate aim (Turan, 2000). 'Europeanisation' was considered to be a modernisation process which altered the new Turkish Republic in light of European models (Turan, 2000). Dewey (1964) defines this modernisation period as a moment of tragedy and confusion for Turkey. 'Europeanisation' diminished the traces of the Ottoman Empire and propagated the founding of a new Republic on the basis of European standards (Turan, 2000, p. 553).

In the process of 'modernising and westernising' the Turkish nation, education was considered to be a functional tool (Gok, 2006, p. 248). It was believed that education was a helpful agent to transform an 'Islamic community' into a 'modern society and a respectful member of Western civilisation and culture' (Gok, 2006, p. 248). In other words, the target of education was to build a 'Turkish' nation (with a national culture, a single ethnic identity and a single religion and language) (Cayir, 2009, p. 40), which Dewey in his report considered the 'modernising and westernising' process as a dangerous strategy for the nation (Turan, 2000). 'The Turkish nation is a military nation' is one of the foundational myths of Turkish nationalism (Kanci & Altinay, 2006, p. 52). Therefore, the apparent mission of Turkish education was manifested in primary schools by certain compulsory elements of the curriculum, such as 'The History of the Turkish Revolution and Ataturkism', 'Studies in National Security' and 'Religious Culture and Ethics' (Cayir, 2009, p. 40). These courses praised the 'nationalistic, passive and authoritarian notion of citizenship' (Dimitrov & Boyadjieva, 2009, p. 159). Moreover, these courses denied 'other' ethnic groups and even portrayed them as a threat to the Turkish nation (Cayir, 2009; Cayir & Gurkaynak, 2008; Kanci & Altinay, 2006).

The Turkish educational system is strictly centralised and controlled by the Code for the Unification of Teaching (1924) (Cayir, 2009; Gok, 2006). All schools in Turkey are required to be administrated by the Ministry of National Education (MONE) (Cayir & Gurkaynak, 2008, p. 51), including foreign and minority schools (Gok, 2006, p. 247). MONE is responsible for everything related to education; the appointment of teachers and head teachers, the preparation of the curriculum and structural designs of schools and classrooms (Karakaya, 2004). This highly restricted system does not allow teachers, pupils and parents to create an effective learning environment (Gok, 2006). Moreover, this restricted system does not permit teachers to personalise their teaching methods according to pupils' individual learning styles. All the administrative 'red tape' and 'clerical routine work' are also controlled by the MONE (Cayir, 2009; Karakaya, 2004). Due to the centralised nature of the Turkish curriculum, the textbooks are adorned with nationalistic themes (Cayir, 2009; Cayir & Gurkaynak, 2008). Syllabi, textbooks and guidelines are prepared by MONE (Atici & Merry, 2001; Demir, 2006; MONE, 2001; Turan, 2000; Yildirim, 2003). Every minute of classroom teaching is also prescribed by the central authority (Karakaya, 2004).

Teachers are civil servants, thus, they rationalise their practices to head teachers and head teachers in turn justify these to MONE (Karakaya, 2004). The typical responses of Turkish teachers' when asked to describe their responsibilities, as reported by Karakaya (2004), are listed below:

- *To do one's work and be present every day.*

- *To respect the curriculum objectives.*

- *Responsibility for carrying out curriculum objectives, that is putting them into practice in my class.*

(Karakaya, 2004, p. 202)

As these statements suggest, teachers regard themselves as being accountable to MONE and its guidelines rather than being responsible for the pupils' enhancement (Yildirim, 2003).

The use of space and place in schools is a concrete manifestation of the centralised state control over pupils. The state control trains pupils to leave them in no doubt about their national identity and their ultimate function in the nation. In both of the schools, spaces and places are organised, segregated and designated to represent the Turkish Republic and the nation and everyday activities are structured in order to remind

pupils of their 'Turkishness' and to 'standardise' the society accordingly. Pupils are conditioned to consider sacrificing their existence for the nation as normal, something that is perhaps symptomatic of the militaristic nature of the education system in Turkey (Calislar, 2009 ; Karabat, 2009). This can also be presented as a tool of military discipline. Moreover, 'marginal groups' or 'docile bodies' are corrected and put into the 'social mainstream' of 'Turkishness' (Gutting, 2005, p. 90). This study therefore analyses how the state shapes pupils' national identity through exercising power control strategies and spatiality in schools.

Research Methodology

The aim of this research was to explore the use of space and place in natural classroom and the school environment in a Turkish context. School and classroom spatiality could be understood through a naturalistic paradigm, which allows the researcher to observe the phenomena without manipulating it. The case study method is one of the ways of investigating naturalistic approaches without manipulating the events; therefore, a case study was employed to gather qualitative data (Stake, 1995).

In this research, participant observations or unscheduled observations (field notes) were used for data collection. Since I attempted not to manipulate the natural classroom flow, it was better to be part of the classroom environment and record observations as field notes.

The first phase of the research took place in the State Primary School. Forty-four classroom observations were made and they were kept as field notes. In the State Primary School, there were four teachers who were teaching fifth grade Turkish lessons. In the Private Primary School, there were six 5th Grade Turkish teachers and in total fifty-seven classroom observations were made throughout the fieldwork.

Observations were employed to gather information about the teachers' classroom practices and the structure of the schools. In this research, field notes were used to record the data. Observations were recorded mainly on the basis of the school and the classroom space-place organisations and the teaching activities.

Brief Introduction to the State and the Private Primary Schools

The first part of the study was conducted in a rural school in Sincan, which is a large district extending to the east of Ankara. Because of its easy access to the capital by means of public transport, it is a popular location for labourers working in Ankara city centre ("Sincan Local Authority ", 2012). The State School is not a fee-paying institution and it is preferred by local blue collar work force because of its convenience.

The Private Primary School is situated in a fashionable part of Ankara near to a number of new shopping malls. The school is popular among the rich 'elite' middle class since it is expensive to enrol at the Private Primary School. The enrolment fee for primary school is around £5000. Children from all over Ankara study at the school. Pupils have to sit and pass entrance exams before being offered a place in the school.

The Private Primary School catered for middle and upper class pupils. Teachers are employed by the Private Primary School and not the state, and are carefully chosen from a competitive field of applicants. Private Primary School participants all had a university degree as a classroom teacher from reputable institutions. The State Primary School teachers were considered to be civil servants and were assigned to work at the State Primary School by MONE. The State Primary School teachers were not necessarily trained as teachers.

There is double shift system in place at the State Primary School. In order to use the facilities effectively, they have morning shifts and afternoon shifts for both pupils and teachers. The double shift system was organised in order to divide over-populated schools into morning and afternoon shifts. The morning group starts school at 7.45am and finishes at 12.45pm and the afternoon group starts at 12.45pm and finishes at 5.45pm. It is like two different schools in one building. There were 82 teachers and 1493 pupils. Although the school was over-populated, classrooms were not crowded because of double shift system. On average there are 30 pupils per classroom.

The Private Primary School starts at 8.40am and finishes at 3.40pm. English is the medium language so pupils receive intensive English classes (10 hours per week). There are 100 teachers in the Private Primary School. On average there are 14 pupils per class. There are a sufficient number of teachers for each subject group.

Use of Space in Schools

The structure of State Primary School building represents state control. The building is a horseshoe shaped construction, which is painted in pink. Although the colour pink may be considered inviting, it is not a friendly building. By the entrance, there is a statue of Mustafa Kemal Ataturk and a Turkish flag; it is in front of these two national symbols that assemblies take place every morning and afternoon. The assembly area is the place outside the school building where all the students and teachers get together in front of the Ataturk statue. This designated area symbolises the Republic and the nation and provides surveillance for the school staff, used for regulating pupils' uniform and attendance in order to maintain discipline throughout the school. In the mornings and afternoons, just before starting lessons (because of the double shift system there are two assemblies take place) each year group lines up according to height order and waits to be checked and corrected by their form teachers. The assembly area is also used for reminding pupils of their national identity. Two pupils are selected to recite the National Pledge to Allegiance which is a compulsory part of everyday school life for Turkish pupils, as stated in Article 12 (MONE, 2003). The National Pledge to Allegiance is as follows:

> *I am Turkish, I am honest, I am hard working, and my aim is to protect the young and to respect elders and to love my country and my nation more than my essence. My mission is to move up and go forward. Great Ataturk, I make a vow to walk on the path you opened, towards the aim you directed, without any hesitation. My existence is the gift to the Turkish nation. How happy is the one who can say, "I am Turkish". (MONE, 2003)*

The National Pledge to Allegiance used to be recited daily in primary schools all around Turkey. Additionally, on Monday mornings and Friday afternoons, pupils sing the Turkish National Anthem as part of the state regulations.

This pledge of allegiance disciplines 'the trainable through repetitive disciplinary practices' to leave them in no doubt about their identity and their ultimate function. The purpose of these repetitive practices is to correct the docile bodies (Foucault, 1976). Pupils are conditioned to consider sacrificing their existence as normal, something that is perhaps symptomatic of the militaristic nature of the education system in Turkey (Calislar, 2009 ; Karabat, 2009). The Vow to Turkish Youth may also be considered as a 'tool' for 'standardising' the society. This can also be presented as a tool of military discipline. Moreover, 'marginal groups' or 'docile bodies' are corrected and put into the 'social mainstream' of 'Turkishness' (Gutting, 2005, p. 90). In addition, 'Turkishness' is portrayed as the ultimate way to happiness. In other words, being Turkish is presented as being 'happy'. As part of the 'democratization package' the National Pledge of Allegiance does not need to be performed in primary schools in Turkey since 2013.

Figure 1 State Primary school building

Space is used for controlling, training and correcting pupils (Foucault, 1977; Gutting, 2005, 2008). First of all, space should have allocated purposes so that it is easier to identify and label individuals with their places (Foucault, 1977). The boundaries of the school should be drawn very clearly for the pupils and their parents (Foucault, 1977). Spaces are allocated to certain uses like tables for working, a playground for games, and a library for studying. In addition, the space is organized according to where each person stands in hierarchical pecking order (Foucault, 1977). Each floor of the school is organized according to the year groups or subject areas. The decoration of the rooms and the seating plans are arranged according to symbolic power and discipline which all represent state control at the school (Laerke, 2006).

There are four floors and each year group has been separated with a floor, which has corridors opening to classrooms (RD/02.04.2007). The corridors are decorated with pupils' pictures of nationalistic themes like pictures of Ataturk or Ataturk's sayings; these were not updated during my visit (RD/02.04. 2007). The marble stairs are new, shiny and the walls are also decorated with nationalistic pictures. The centralised nature of the education system reflects on how the school has been decorated (Baban, 2005).

The Private Primary School is part of a highly prestigious high school (RD/28.12. 2007). The school is situated in the high school campus, which is owned by a reputable university. The severe surveillance technique is evident even before entering the school. When I arrived at the campus on the 22nd December 2007, I was asked to leave my identification card by the security guards and I was also asked to display my visitor's card on my collar at all times.

When Foucault's (1977) power control strategies are applied to the Private Primary School context, the security regulations at the entrance of the campus can be interpreted as a way of instilling disciplinary control. In addition, stationing security guards at the entrance of the campus is a way of locking the schools from the outside world (Horne, 2004). This physical boundary alienates the Private Primary School from the outside world. Although the Private Primary School aims to produce pupils who are aware of societal needs, pupils were kept away from the society by security guards.

There are four main buildings and one of them is the primary school building, which is more distinctive than the others, as it has been painted and decorated in order to make it seem more appealing to primary school pupils (RD/22.12.2007). The Private Primary School site consists of one large circular construction linked to three smaller, similarly shaped constructions; each building has been painted a different colour symbolising different year groups. The main building is orange and has a very friendly ambience. However, when you enter the building, you are welcomed by a 'symbolic' Ataturk portrait from the foundation of Modern Turkish republic (1920's), which is centrally situated and framed with the Turkish flags (RD/22.12.2007).

Figure 2 Private Primary School building

The gigantic entrance leads to two main corridors and each corridor is divided into five different year groups (RD/22.12.2007). Pupils were divided and placed in different classrooms, which may be considered to be an example of distribution of docile bodies (Gore, 2001). Distribution is one of the ways of practicing modern power control (Foucault, 1977). In this case, the different spaces are identified through the use of different colour schemes, and pupils are placed in different corridors according to their year groups.

Classroom Space

The origin of school and classroom space traced back to the late 19th Century (McGregor, 2004, p. 15). The emergence of schools was related to the need of manifestation of systematic power control in a concrete demonstration (McGregor, 2004). In other words, spaces and objects were used in order to demonstrate and systematise power control. According to Foucault's (1977) panoptic surveillance, normalising judgement and examinations are the systematic ways of manifestation of power through spatiality. The designation of the room and time of 'the class', the arrangement of the furniture and the use of space by pupils and staff plus the curriculum and pedagogic strategies employed: all interact as social relations of power in which individuals are differently located (McGregor, 2004, p. 15). This disciplinary order and control have been considered as the measure of teachers' success rather than pupils' attainment (McGregor, 2004). Therefore it is crucial for the teacher to maintain discipline and order through spatial distribution.

In the State Primary School, pupils sit in a shoebox like classrooms in Victorian style rows. Box like classrooms make classroom control easier ("World Bank," 2005), as it directs pupils' attention to the teacher

(Demir, 2006). Box style classrooms symbolise teacher-led classroom activities as there is not much room for more interactive teaching activities and therefore a teacher can maintain control at all times. Box like formal classrooms enable teachers to create places with clearly defined hierarchies. Most of the time teachers are on top of the surveillance apparatus representing the state control and the state agenda of standardising and mainstreaming docile bodies.

Throughout the classroom observations in both of the schools, teachers were mainly situated in the centre of the classroom transmitting knowledge, controlling and disciplining; however pupils had to sit down on their allocated places at all times, unless they have been asked to move around as part of this systematic power control strategies. In classrooms, power has been associated with designated areas and objects like the teachers' table, the white board or in front of the classroom, however; certain places and objects like the corner of the classroom and pupils' desks are part of the modern punishment apparatus (detailed explanation will be given in page 17). Classrooms were organised and designed to produce docile bodies who are normalised and corrected to fit in to Turkish nation. When Bentham's panopticon prison model is applied in the classroom context, teachers may be considered to be a warder in the central tower. "A relation of surveillance, defined and regulated, is inscribed at the heart of the practice of teaching, not as an additional or adjacent part, but as a mechanism that is inherent to it and which increases its efficiency" (Foucault, 1977, p. 176).

'Nature of space and place has changed little in the concept of the classrooms in 200 years' (Fisher, 2004, p. 37). Although physical spaces in schools do not meet pupils' physical needs and development, they discipline and train children about 'adult expectations and power structures' (Dixon, 2004, p. 20). In other words, they prepare pupils for the outside world in an unintended paradoxical way.

> What young children could be learning, for example, from the space and place where the teacher sits, to where the children themselves sit for most of the day, to who is allowed to use the pencil sharpener or collect books. All represent the beginning of a social knowledge situated in a particular space. (Dixon, 2004, p. 20).

The interior designs of the schools were planned according to relationships with authorities (Margolis & Fram, 2007). In the surveillance system, every individual either takes part or is a victim of the apparatus (Foucault, 1977). It may explain playground social hierarchies where pupils participate in severe surveillance when adult control is not present (Dixon, 2004).

Meaning of space and place in a classroom context

Notions of place vary considerably in terms of their definitions (Massey, 1994). Since a place divides the people and the power relations among them, it is essential to identify the analogy of place. Massey (1994), in her definition of place, noted that it is not the boundaries of the areas, but the social networks of relations in a particular time that identify the notion of place. According to this definition, place has been identified with people and the people's constructions of the meaning of it (Massey, 1994). Although a place cannot be interpreted within its physical environment, it becomes meaningful along with the social interactions. In addition, the boundaries of a place do not draw lines around the social networks; to a certain extent, social networks draw the boundaries of a place. Thus, a society can construct its 'place' wherever it is, which does not mean that a place loses its meaning with the mobility of a society, rather it gains meaning in a different 'place'.

When Massey's (1994) argument is considered, the question of whether boundaries construct a place or social networks draw the boundaries of a place could be raised. Visibly, a place is defined by its boundaries. However, the social networks construct a meaning to a place. In other words, a place exists without a social network. However, the meaning of a place would not be there without the society. Thus, when the society leaves a place, the place gains a different meaning.

Centre of the classroom

The meaning of the centre of the classroom has been constructed through pupils and teachers engagement with it. Both pupils and teachers use the centre of the classroom for exercising power and manifestation of the power relations. On this hierarchical display of power, both teachers and pupils draw the boundaries of the centre of the classroom through their engagement with it. When the meaning of the centre of the classroom decoded, the State control and the regimental education system would be elicited

from teachers and pupils discourse analysis. Display of Ataturk's portrait and the Turkish flag on the wall also bear a symbolic meaning, which accentuates the significance of the centre of the classroom. In addition, teachers mainly used the centre when they were transmitting knowledge and therefore the centre of the classroom was the heart of the knowledge, which may be associated with power and state control.

In one of the lessons in Private Primary School, Ms Fun was using questioning technique in order to explain 'adjectives' (RD 24.12.2007). She was eliciting answers through questions. Ms Fun was situated at the front of the classroom and the pupils were on their seats waiting for their turn to answer questions. All the questions were factual and related to 'the use of adjectives in a sentence structure'.

Ms Fun: *Ayse, could you please show me what is the adjective in this sentence?*

I could see a beautiful tree.

Ayse: hmm 'see'? (she was not sure if it was the right answer)

Ms Fun: *you have to think carefully! Come here and write the sentence on the board.*

Ayse writes the sentence on the board and says 'beautiful'.

Ms Fun: *well done! You can go back to your seat now.*

In this example, the teacher wanted to single Ayse out and correct and discipline her through spatiality. The teacher's desk and the centre of the classroom were the areas which pupils do not have access when the teacher is teaching. However, pupils are only allowed to use the centre of the classroom when they are punished and isolated from their peers (McGregor, 2004, p. 14). In this case, the centre of the classroom has been used as a tool for normalising the docile bodies and moulding them into the desired shape. Ayse was not able to answer the question and therefore she had to be corrected through symbolic spatial display at the centre of the classroom in front of her peers. She was summoned to the centre where she could concentrate better and answer the question as a panel punishment. 'The old partners of the spectacle of punishment, the body and blood, gave way', however; the new panel system is still in operation (Foucault, 1977, p.16). The individual body had been moved, placed and became the centre of the attention until Ayse answered the question. She was subjected to be disciplined with the state reminders at the centre of the classroom.

In both the Private and the State Primary Schools, pupils were separated in year groups and they were divided into different sections according to their attainment level. Each section had an allocated classroom next to each other which did not change throughout the year. This description also echoes Foucault's (1977) description of Ecole Militarie 'the very building of the Ecole was to be an apparatus for observation; the rooms were distributed along a corridor like a series of small cells; at regular intervals, an officer on each side' (p.172).

An ordinary school day is divided in segments of 40 minutes lessons and 10 minutes breaks. During the breaks, pupils were allowed to play in the school premises without leaving the school boundaries. Although school corridors and playgrounds are the only spaces where pupils can explore their physical environments as there is not a visible authority present (Dixon, 2004; McGregor, 2004), in both Private and State Primary Schools, teachers' control was present in corridors and the playgrounds during breaks, the aim of which is to prevent pupils from misbehaving.

Just after the break pupils had to go to their classrooms, be present in their allocated places and wait for their teachers quietly. Pupils had to be quietly preparing for the lesson while waiting for Mrs Joy in the State Primary School (R.D 05/03/2007). A couple of pupils were asked to patrol and maintain discipline among their peers (role of a prison warder) during the teacher's absence. According to Foucault's (1977) surveillance apparatus, the system can be watched by any member of the society. In this case pupils took the teachers' role while the teacher was not present. These pupils situated themselves in front of the classroom and wrote down the names of the pupils who were misbehaving on the board. 'What young children quickly learn nowadays about their classrooms is that it is clearly not the place in which lively or indeed any physical activity is welcomed. Such behaviour is for elsewhere' (Dixon, 2004, p. 21).

The panopticon system is a surveillance mechanism whose limits and borders of power have not been identified or clearly defined (Foucault, 1977). Everybody in the society is involved in this surveillance

mechanism in one way or another. Foucault (1977) defines this as the transparency of the panoptic institutions. It makes the mechanism democratic, and therefore the exercise of power can be observed by the entire society because everybody is allowed to enter into the system of surveillance (Foucault, 1977). This flexibility allows anyone to be part of the surveillance apparatus and therefore anyone can be top of this system which makes power relations complex and unpredictable; however place and space do not change its meaning through power shifts, the meaning of the space and place remains the same in the same social network. Although the top of the system changes drastically, the meaning of the place stays the same. The meaning of the space and place change only when the social actors remove the label from it.

In the Private Primary School, Mrs Art used spatiality as a tool to punish pupils (RD 27.12.2007). She was interrupted by a couple of pupils who wanted to use the bathroom.

Mrs Art: *you have been to the loo 10 minutes ago (to Ahmet).*

(Ahmet and Mehmet sit next to each other in the same desk.)

Ahmet: *No, it wasn't me! It was Mehmet who went to the loo.*

Mehmet: *He is lying; I did not go to the toilet (they start arguing among each other)*

Mrs Art: *you are not going; you should have gone to the loo during the break. You need to stop arguing now. Ahmet, you go and sit next to Bahar. Mehmet, if you continue acting like this, I will have to change your place, too. That's enough now!*

Ahmet had been punished and corrected through removing him from his seat. Although he was moved to another seat from his usual place, it was a form of disciplining as it was done as an act of punishment. The symbolic meaning of the place therefore has changed as soon as the teacher reproduced different meaning with it. The teacher had the autonomy of forming new codes and displayed authority over pupils by changing their places and it was done by targeting their 'body'. Changing Ahmet's place is a way of punishing and correcting him and at the same time distancing him from his misbehaviour instead of allowing him to sit at his allocated place with Mehmet. The aim of the seating arrangement is to prevent 'inmates' from 'the planning of new crimes, bad reciprocal influences' (Foucault, 1977, p. 200).

RESULT, DISCUSSION, AND SUGGESTIONS

With the foundation of the Turkish Republic in 1924, education became a tool for building a strong Turkish nation (Cayir & Gurkaynak, 2008). Thus, the main objective of Turkish education is to impose 'Turkishness' upon pupils. Although Turkey is considered to be multi-cultural, every citizen has to be a proud Turk. Therefore a highly regimented education was the main objective. This power control was part of Foucault's (1977) 'hierarchical observation, normalising judgement and examination', which identifies the 'abnormal' or 'marginal' and tries to normalise 'them' and put them into mainstream.

According to Foucault (1977) the systems of punishment reflect political structure and the state control. In a Turkish context, the aim of the punishment was to correct and mould docile bodies and uniformalise society. In order to achieve this, there should be a punishment system in place that the body is the main target (Foucault, 1977). In this case, docile bodies are moved around, they are placed and spaced accordingly.

Spatiality can be considered to be a mode of modern power control (Massey, 1994). There are places and spaces for everybody and every activity in different time segments, which have been organised through systematic power control strategies. Therefore the structure of space and place in schools is a way of exercising power, which also reflects state control. The structure of Schools is a form of surveillance apparatus. In particular, Ataturk portraits and Turkish flags were prominently displayed in every corner of the schools, which acted as a reminder of the state control and 'Turkishness'.

In both Private and State primary schools systematic surveillance apparatus is evident through spatial distribution. According to Foucault (1977), modern architecture serves for the needs of institutions and at the same time, it makes it easier for teachers to watch, punish and correct pupils. In both of the schools, pupils are watched by the teachers and they are trained and kept 'well-behaved' at all times through spatiality.

When the panopticon prison model is applied to classroom settings, the centrally situated warders' tower resembles the teachers' desk or the centre of the classroom. In particular, the centre of the classroom was associated with the core of power control; teachers were the centre of the knowledge situated at the centre of the classroom or by the board and occasionally moving pupils around the classroom in order to isolate, exclude, reward, punish and correct 'docile bodies'. Spatiality has been used in various ways as a manifestation of power relations both in state and private sectors in Turkey.

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