

İSTANBUL BİLGİ UNIVERSITY
INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
CULTURAL STUDIES MA PROGRAM

POLITICIZING THE DE-POLICITIZED:
THE REPRESENTATION OF DISABILITY IN TURKEY'S TEXTBOOKS

Melike ERGÜN

114611007

Prof. Dr. Kenan ÇAYIR

İSTANBUL

2017

Politicizing the De-politicized:
The Representation of Disability in Turkey's Textbooks
Depolitize Olanı Politize Etmek:
Türkiye'deki Ders Kitaplarında Engellilik Temsili

Melike ERGÜN

114611007

Tez Danışmanı: Prof. Dr. Kenan ÇAYIR



Jüri Üyesi: Doç. Dr. Itır ERHART



Jüri Üyesi: Yrd. Doç. Dr. Volkan YILMAZ
(Boğaziçi Üniversitesi)

Tezin Onaylandığı Tarih:

6/7/2017

Toplam Sayfa Sayısı:

93

Anahtar Kelimeler (Türkçe)

- 1) Disability
- 2) Eğitim
- 3) Ders kitapları
- 4) Kalıpyargılar
- 5) Sakatlık Çalışmaları

Anahtar Kelimeler (İngilizce)

- 1) Engellilik
- 2) Education
- 3) Textbooks
- 4) Stereotyping
- 5) Disability Studies

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES	iv
LIST OF TABLES	v
ABSTRACT.....	vi
ÖZET	vii
INTRODUCTION.....	1
Methodology	3
Outline of the Thesis	4
CHAPTER I	6
THEORIZING DISABILITY	6
1.1. Main Approaches and the Emergence of Disability Studies	7
1.1.1. The Medical Model and De-politicization of Disability	7
1.1.2. Disability Rights Movement and the Social Model of Disability	9
1.1.3. The Biopsychosocial Model and the Critique of the Social Model.....	15
1.2. Other Interpretations on the Construction of Disability	17
1.2.1. Finkelstein and the Three Phase Process	17
1.2.2. Biopower and Critique of ‘Normalcy’	19
1.3. Terminological Discussion.....	22
CHAPTER II.....	25
DISABILITY IN THE TURKISH CONTEXT	25
2.1. Disability Rights and Activism in Turkey.....	26
2.2. Perception and Stereotyping	31
2.3. Education and Review of Literature	39
CHAPTER III	45
RESEARCH FINDINGS.....	45
3.1. Content Analysis.....	45
3.2. Critical Discourse Analysis.....	46
3.2.1. Representing Disability Only within Certain Themes.....	47
3.2.1.1. Difference	47
3.2.1.2. Communication	51
3.2.1.3. The Five Senses	53
3.2.2. Identification of Disability and Exception of Success Stories	55
3.2.3. Handling Disability with a Charity-based Approach	59
3.2.4. Problematic Handling of Disability in the Context of Human Rights.....	66
3.2.5. Handling Disability with Medical Model and Defining Differences as ‘Problem’	69
3.2.5.1. Medical Model and Ableism	69
3.2.5.2. ‘Normalcy’	74
CONCLUSION	76
BIBLIOGRAPHY	79
APPENDIX.....	86
Appendix 1: The List of Analyzed Textbooks	86

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Elementary Civics 1, MoNE, 40	48
Figure 2: Elementary Civics 3, Sevgi, 20	50
Figure 3: Social Studies 4, Koza, 16	50
Figure 4: Elementary Civics 2, Evren, 75	52
Figure 5: Mathematics 5, MoNE, 155	53
Figure 6: Physical Sciences 3, MoNE, 9	54
Figure 7: Social Studies 7, MoNE, 46	56
Figure 8: Turkish Language 8, MoNE, 65	58
Figure 9: Physical Sciences 3, MoNE, 13	59
Figure 10: Turkish Language 4, Özgün, 44	60
Figure 11: Turkish Language 4, Özgün, 46	61
Figure 12: Social Studies 7, MoNE, 131	62
Figure 13: Social Studies 4, Koza, 141	63
Figure 14: Mathematics 5, MoNE, 57	64
Figure 15: Health Education, MoNE, 13	71
Figure 16: Health Education, MoNE, 15	73

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Disability Models	13
Table 2: The distribution of characters according to subject, and content type	45
Table 3: The distribution of characters according to gender and age,.....	46
Table 4: The distribution of characters according to type of impairment	46



ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the representation of disability in Turkey's textbooks with content and critical discourse analyses. A total of 37 textbooks used in the 2016-17 academic year, on 10 different subjects including Turkish Language; Elementary Civics; Social Studies; Human Rights, Citizenship and Democracy; Mathematics; Physical Sciences; Religious Culture and Morals; Health Education; Psychology and Sociology are examined. Textbooks, as primary educational materials reflect and promote what Apple calls "official knowledge" of societies. Textbooks studies in Turkey mostly focuses on the representation of minorities, national identity and gender. Disability is a rarely studied topic in the Turkish context. This thesis aims at analyzing the depiction of disability in visual and written content within the framework of various theoretical approaches to disability as well as the historical background of the perception of disability. It contends that current textbooks present disability with a charity-based approach rather than rights-based one. Thus, textbooks promote the stereotypical images of disability by presenting the disabled needy and pitiful persons. The thesis demonstrates the necessity of re-writing textbooks which represent the disabled as equal and independent citizens.

ÖZET

Bu tez, içerik ve eleştirel söylem analizi yöntemleri kullanılarak, Türkiye’deki ders kitaplarında engelliliğin temsilinin araştırılmasını amaçlamaktadır. 2016-2017 eğitim-öğretim yılında kullanılan, 10 branştan (Türkçe; Hayat Bilgisi; Sosyal Bilgiler; İnsan Hakları, Yurttaşlık ve Demokrasi; Matematik; Fen Bilimleri; Din Kültürü ve Ahlak Bilgisi; Sağlık Bilgisi; Psikoloji; Sosyoloji) toplam 37 ders kitabı incelenmiştir. Temel eğitim materyalleri olarak ders kitapları, Apple’ın toplumlara ait "resmi bilgi" olarak adlandırdığı unsurları yansıtmakta ve desteklemektedir. Türkiye’de ders kitapları çalışmaları çoğunlukla azınlıklar, milli kimlik ve toplumsal cinsiyete odaklanmaktadır. Engellilik, Türkiye bağlamında ender incelenen bir konudur. Bu tez, engelliliğe ilişkin çeşitli teorik yaklaşımlar ve engellilik algısına dair tarihsel arkaplan çerçevesinde, ders kitaplarında yer alan görsel ve yazılı içerikteki engellilik temsilini analiz etmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Mevcut ders kitaplarının, engelliliği hak temelli bir yaklaşım yerine yardım/hayırseverlik temelli bir yaklaşımla ele aldığını ileri sürmektedir. Dolayısıyla, ders kitapları engelli bireyleri ‘muhtaç’ ve ‘acınası’ bireyler olarak sunarak, engelliliğe yönelik kalıpyargıları destekler niteliktedir. Bu tez engelli bireyleri eşit ve bağımsız yurttaşlar olarak temsil eden ders kitaplarının gerekliliğini ortaya koymaktadır.

INTRODUCTION

This thesis explores the representation of disability in Turkey's current textbooks. Research on textbooks usually focuses on issues, such as wars, national identity, ethnicity, and gender both in international and Turkish literature. Disability is rarely studied in textbook analysis. There are several reasons for the scarcity of studies on disability in Turkey. First, disability rights movement is newly gaining ground in the Turkish context. Second, the perception of disability and the dominant discourse is inegalitarian and charity-based, rather than rights-based. Thus disability is not addressed in relation to social justice. Since it is perceived as a 'problem' that should be solved with 'help', it is considered as a 'non-political topic' in the field of education.

Disability is not pre-culturally given; rather it is historically and socially constructed. How it is perceived today is context-bound and is determined by historical processes. There emerged different interpretations and approaches to disability throughout history. For example, disability activism that emerged in the 1970s' UK and US challenged the medical model, and brought to the agenda issues of barriers and discrimination. The medical model addressed disability as an 'abnormal' condition resulting from the individual's 'imperfection' that should be 'cured' medically. This approach confines the disabled individual merely to the medical context. On the other hand, according to the social model, it is not the 'imperfection' of the individual that makes up the barrier to social participation; rather it is the discriminatory social order and conditions, which neglect and exclude the disabled. For this reason, the social model aims social transformation to prevent discrimination, because disabled people should not be prevented from actualizing themselves. In addition to models, there are interpretations within different frameworks, such as explanations on the construction and exclusion of disability in relation to the development of modern science

(specifically medicine, demography, sociology and psychology), industrialization and urbanization.

The struggle for disability rights in ‘the West’ enabled the improvement of the movement and activism in Turkey. Policies regulating the participation of the disabled in Turkey were developed gradually and rights began to be granted to the disabled individuals. For example, Turkey ratified the UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPD), legislation on the prohibition of discrimination is constituted, provisional measures for employment are provided, and public expenditures increased. Yet, the dominant discourse of the state and NGOs in the field affirms the ‘necessity’ of charity campaigns as solution, rather than realization of disability rights within a citizenship framework. Although there are steps taken for securing disability rights in the Turkish context; disabled people still face discriminatory practices, severe abuses of rights, and social exclusion. The main reason behind this is the stereotypes that depict the disabled as ‘pitiful’ individuals ‘in need’, rather than equal citizens and holders of rights. The fact that disability is mostly associated with ‘mercy’ and ‘compassion’¹ hinders the development of a social justice perspective in the Turkish context.

Education is crucial in the process of secondary socialization in that it shapes the way in which individuals understand themselves and the social world around them. It is a field, where differences can meet and learn from each other. The content and discourse of, and methodology used in educational materials shape students’ schemas, i.e. their cognitive framework and mental structure, which they use to interpret the knowledge of the surrounding world, and thereby influence their perception towards different social groups. Textbooks, as main materials of education stereotypically and

¹ Süleyman Akbulut, “Gerçekten eşit miyiz? Acı(ma), Zayıf Gör(me) ve Yok Say(ma) Ekseninde Engelli Ayrımcılığı,” In *Ayrımcılık: Çok Boyutlu Yaklaşımlar*, edited by Kenan Çayır, and Müge Ayan Ceyhan. Istanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2012. 152.

hierarchically define what is ‘acceptable’ and what is not. In a nutshell, how a human condition or a social category is represented in textbooks is crucial; because representations mirror the power relations within a society. As Hall claims, “stereotyping tends to occur where there are gross inequalities of power. Power is usually directed against the subordinate or excluded group.”² In the context of disability, the disabled appears as ‘inferior’.

Textbooks are powerful, *living* documents that have the function to reflect and shape the understandings of individuals, and this reveals the importance of research on and analysis of textbooks. Nevertheless, research on the representation of disability in textbooks remains inadequate, and this calls for the need for analyzing whether (and how) textbooks reinforce and/or transform the existing charity-based, ‘pitying’ perception and stereotypes in Turkish society.

Methodology

This study focuses on the analysis of texts and images in textbooks, published by both the Ministry of National Education (MoNE) and private publishers, used in the 2016-17 academic year, on 10 different subjects including Turkish Language; Elementary Civics; Social Studies; Human Rights, Citizenship and Democracy; Mathematics; Physical Sciences; Religious Culture and Morals; Health Education; Psychology and Sociology. List of examined and reported textbooks is presented in Appendix 1.

The methodology used is content analysis and critical discourse analysis.³ These two methodological approaches complemented one another in that they provided both

² Stuart Hall, “Chapter 4: The Spectacles of the ‘Other’,” In *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*. London: Sage in Association with the Open University, 1997. 258.

³ Teun Van Dijk, “Critical Discourse Analysis,” In *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis*, edited by Deborah Schiffrin, Deborah Tannen, and Heidi E. Hamilton. Oxford: Blackwell, 2003. 352-372.

qualitative and quantitative data: content analysis uses mainly a quantitative approach to retrieve meaning, and critical discourse analysis uses a qualitative approach to textual and contextual uses of verbal and nonverbal language. In other words, since the quantitative information gathered via content analysis does not include the meanings and messages in a text or image, and it lacks the intentions of the authors, the research is supported with critical discourse analysis that allows for the elaboration on contextualization of the representation of disability.

During the research, all 37 textbooks were examined by using critical discourse analysis method in order to reveal the approach to disability in textbooks. Furthermore, 20 of the books (Turkish Language; Elementary Civics; Social Studies; Human Rights, Citizenship and Democracy textbooks) were analyzed by content analysis method and the disabled characters in the books were counted, and the distribution of characters is coded in the following categories, which are exemplified in parentheses:

- Gender and age (woman, man, girl, boy)
- Designation (name, student, profession)
- Space (public, private)
- Type of impairment (orthopedic, hearing, visual, multiple disabilities...)
- Action (play games, go to school, read books...)
- Feature (patient, determined, loving...)

Outline of the Thesis

The first chapter of the thesis begins with a theoretical framework on social construction of disability. It includes the development of approaches to disability. It mentions the medical model that has a role on the de-politicization of disability. Then the chapter presents the development of disability rights movement -challenging the medical model and coining the social model- in relation to the emergence of the academic field entitled Disability Studies. Following this, it focuses on the

biopsychosocial model as a critique of the social model. In addition to these approaches, extra number of related discussions and interpretations are detailed, such as Finkelstein's theory of "three phase process" regarding the construction of disability in relation to the development of capitalism, and Foucault's explanations on "biopolitics" and "biopower" with critique of 'normalcy'. Finally, the terminological discussion on disability is examined. The second chapter of the thesis contextualizes the theory of disability in Turkey. The development of disability activism and improvements of disability rights will be briefly detailed. Following the legal progress in the Turkish context, the failure of the realization of rights will be discussed regarding the stereotypes towards the disabled and the charity-based perception of disability in Turkey. Finally, by way of addressing the review of both Turkish and international literature on the representation of disability in textbooks, the determinant role of education and textbooks will be discussed. The third chapter focuses on the findings of the research conducted, and discusses the opportunity and constraint of the development of a rights-based perspective in Turkish textbooks.

CHAPTER I

THEORIZING DISABILITY

Disability is socially constructed and historically contingent, as are other social categories. The production relations, the ways of thinking, and perception of the social world determine the understanding of any experience in any context. There is not any one experience, which is fixed and/or pre-culturally given; rather each experience is changeable. This standpoint allows us to critically reflect upon and thereby change the existing perception and definition of any situation or category. This very perspective also enables us to take into account historical singularities of different experiences, and thus to propound different subjective, particular interpretations. This stance is crucial because questioning the stability and uniformity of the limits of solid discourses on bodies is an essential part of the struggle towards transforming the imposed perceptions and grand narratives.

Disability has been associated with different interpretations throughout history. For instance, the disabled were believed to be ‘cursed’ or ‘punished’ by God.⁴ They were massacred during the Holocaust in Nazi Germany.⁵ On the other hand, it is known that dwarves and deaf people were employed in the monarchical tradition.⁶ So the meanings attached to disability, and how it is experienced are not fixed and stable. Arguably, disability as it is understood today will be different than the way in which it will be conceived in the future.

⁴ Pauline A. Otieno, “Biblical and Theological Perspectives on Disability: Implications on the Rights of Persons with Disability in Kenya,” *Disability Studies Quarterly*, 29(4), 2009.

⁵ United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. “Euthanasia Program,” *Holocaust Encyclopedia*. Accessed June 9, 2017. <https://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/article.php?ModuleId=10005200>

⁶ A. Ezgi Dikici, “Saltanat Sembolü Olarak ‘Farklı’ Bedenler: Osmanlı Sarayında Cüceler ve Dilsizler,” *Toplumsal Tarih*, 2014, August, 248. 17.

1.1. Main Approaches and the Emergence of Disability Studies

To understand the objectives and arguments of Disability Studies and the disability rights movement, major approaches to disability should be discussed. Firstly, the medical model that constructed disability as a personal *tragedy*, and the consequences of this understanding will be detailed. Then, as a challenge to the medical model, the disability rights movement and the social model it supported will be explained with reference to the emergence of the academic field entitled Disability Studies. Finally, as a critique of the social model, the biopsychosocial model will be explained.

1.1.1. The Medical Model and De-politicization of Disability

The first perspective on disability is *the medical model*, which conceives of disability as a personal ‘disease’, that should be ‘treated’ and ‘normalized’, by taking medicine’s authority into account. This model is also called *the individual model*, because it constructs disability as an individual ‘problem’, ‘deficit’, and lack of functioning faculties of individuals. What is accepted and ‘normal’ for the medical model is ‘able-bodiedness’ and people who are not regarded as ‘normal’ are seen as the objects of treatment. The medical model dominated and still partially dominates the perception of disability; it stigmatizes and excludes the disabled. It is still presented as a ‘problem’ that should be controlled from birth till death. Even before a baby is born, whether or not the child will be disabled is checked; if so, it can *easily* be aborted.⁷ So disability is interpreted as an unwelcome situation and the life of the disabled is not valuable.

Along with the development of the profession of medicine, different spheres of

⁷ Lynn Gillam, “Prenatal Diagnosis and Discrimination against the Disabled,” *Journal of Medical Ethics*, 25, 2, 1999. 163-171.

everyday life have become medicalized. With the authority of medicine and development of institutions, the distinction between the 'normal' and 'abnormal' has become rigid. Disabled people were considered to be 'abnormal' and disability was regarded as 'anomaly'. So it was believed that disability is a 'pathology', which needs to be controlled and 'corrected'. Therefore, by way of focusing only on the impairment, medicine targeted for impaired bodies and minds expecting to be treated and 'corrected'. That was how the medical model positioned the disabled as passive receivers.

There was the belief that disabled people should stay at home or be confined in institutions. The main institution for the disabled was asylum. By confining the disabled in the same way with imprisoning 'criminals', the government of disability became 'easier' for the power. Therefore as a 'threat', disabled people were segregated both physically and symbolically from the society.

The dominance of this perspective affected the perception of disability by society (both disabled people and non-disabled people). The *-medically-* calculated and diagnosed disability caused *-sociologically-* stigmatization of individuals and segregation. The reason why they cannot (in fact are not allowed to) act as equal citizens and participate in everyday life and workforce was ascribed to their bodies, minds, and impairments. In other words, they were accepted as 'useless', 'lacking' and 'needy'. Non-disabled people felt 'pity' for disabled people and affirmed helping them. Based on this 'pitying' attitude and with reference to 'conscience', disability became accepted as a 'desperate' and an 'inferior' category. So the singularity of an impaired individual's experience to challenge the medical and dominant narrative for performing her/himself became more difficult. Eventually, disabled people internalized and self-fulfilled this perception, which, in turn, reinforced the stereotypes and the 'benevolent' attitude

towards them.

The stereotypical image of the disabled and setting disabled individuals as targets of medical interventions further reinforced their social distance with ‘the rest’ of society. The uneven perception of disability strengthened the hierarchy between the ‘able-bodied/minded’ and the disabled in so far as seeing the disabled ‘in need’ constructed the non-disabled as ‘superior’, and ‘compassionate helpers’. This precluded the discussion of disability on a rights-based level and, therefore, provided no space for the rights of disabled individuals. As a result, the medical model caused and served the de-politicization of disability. It was dogmatized that the disabled people not participating in social life is caused by the dysfunctions and impaired bodies/minds of individuals.⁸ This is why and how disability has not been perceived as a social, political problem till 1980s.

1.1.2. Disability Rights Movement and the Social Model of Disability

Influenced by identity politics and new social movements of the 1960s, such as women’s movement and American anti-racist movement, disability activism arose. To elaborate on how the seeds of disability rights movement have sown, the struggle of veterans who returned from the Vietnam War in the 1960s is addressed. Veterans became unemployed and could not take advantage of some services and benefits; so they could not feel themselves as ‘full’, ‘equal’ citizens. Their priority was dignity and social justice. Therefore they claimed their voices to be heard, highlighted the obstacles they come across and realize their rights.

Disability rights movement enabled and interacted with the developing, multidisciplinary field entitled Disability Studies in 1970s. There were disabled people

⁸ Bill Hughes and Kevin Paterson. “The Social Model of Disability and the Disappearing Body: Towards a Sociology of Impairment,” *Disability & Society*, 12:3, 1997. 328.

and many academics in the movement. The disabled scholars, who were organized, gave acceleration to Disability Studies as an academic field. So, one side of the movement was in activism and the other was in academia. This interaction enabled disability to be discussed on a different and productive level. The ultimate objective was addressing disability as a political question, and supporting disabled people's independent living, full participation in society and control on their own lives.⁹ So the cooperation of the movement and Disability Studies raised their objections towards the biological reductionist 'problem' of the medical model, and its 'norm'-centric attitude, which desires the 'normal' (average) individual.

In 1976, the leading organization in the British disability rights movement, Union of the Physically Impaired Against Segregation (UPIAS) carried out studies focusing only on physical impairments and separated two key terms: impairment and disability. The union published a document called the Fundamental Principles of Disability and defined impairment as "lacking part of or all of a limb, or having a defective limb, organ or mechanism of the body", and disability as "the disadvantage or restriction of activity caused by a contemporary social organization which takes no or little account of people who have physical impairments and thus excludes them from participation in the mainstream of social activities."¹⁰ So the UPIAS described disability as a social condition and "a form of social oppression".¹¹ In comparison to the medical model, the activists supporting this approach endeavored to relocate the problem from the individual (body or mind) by defining disability as "something imposed on top of impairments, [and disabled people are] unnecessarily isolated and

⁹ Tom Shakespeare. "The Social Model of Disability," In *The Disability Studies Reader (Second Edition)*, edited by Lennard J. Davis. New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2006. 197.

¹⁰ Union of the Physically Impaired Anti Segregation, *Fundamental Principles of Disability*, 1976. 14.

¹¹ Mike Oliver. "Social Policy & Disability: Some Theoretical Issues," *Disability, Handicap & Society*, 1:1, 1986. 14.

excluded from full participation in society.”¹² In comparison with the traditional, victim-blaming understanding, the movement put a spotlight on the barriers disabled people come across. In 1983, Mike Oliver gave this perspective its name and called it as the *social model of disability*.¹³

Oliver, as an activist and sociologist, took place in organizations supporting social change, rather than charity. He emphasizes the importance of civil rights of disabled people and finds the social model necessary. For strengthening the movement, the social model acted as a “vehicle for developing a collective disability consciousness”,¹⁴ he claims. Social model contest that disabled people should be convinced that what causes disability is not their impairments, but the disabling barriers surrounding them. Thus, they can question the dominance of the medical model and ask for social justice. Rather than treatment, social change is needed to achieve social justice, the movement argued, and advocated for the social model to challenge the medical model. It also protested against the obstacles (architectural, institutional, judicial and cultural barriers) disabled people come across.

Oliver coined the terminology for the medical model of disability as *personal tragedy theory*; on the other hand, he refers to the social model of disability as *social oppression theory*.¹⁵ As stated in the Fundamental Principles of Disability, the disabled is a socially oppressed group.¹⁶ So the movement questioned the medical model describing disability as an individualistic issue and highlighted the systemic conditions that disable impaired individuals. By distinguishing impairment and disability, the biological and social aspects of the experience become separated and the movement

¹² Ibid., 3.

¹³ Mike Oliver. *Social Work with Disabled People*. Basingstoke: Macmillan. 1983.

¹⁴ Mike Oliver. “The Social Model of Disability: 30 Years On,” *Disability & Society*, Vol. 28 No. 7, 2013. 1024.

¹⁵ Mike Oliver. “Social Policy & Disability: Some Theoretical Issues,” *Disability, Handicap & Society*, 1:1, 1986. 5.

¹⁶ Union of the Physically Impaired Anti Segregation, *Fundamental Principles of Disability*, 1976. 14.

gained power for politicizing disability. Discourses about the politics of disability were produced and the language of the medical model was abandoned. For instance, the terms such as ‘oppression’, ‘discrimination’, ‘independence’, ‘citizenship’, and ‘civil rights’ started to be discussed. So by relocating the focus from the impaired body/mind to the society itself, it was acknowledged that the society and system, which accommodate the needs of non-disabled people only prevent disabled people’s emancipation. To transform the existing order, a political position should be taken up.

As the social model sees disability as a social consequence rather than biological and individual disease, it explains disability with a focus on the lack of accessible environment and rights. By way of accommodating the needs of non-disabled people only, the discriminatory socio-spatial environment is blamed to make one disabled. Therefore, focusing on the disabling reasons and factors causing social exclusion, the activists primarily target the ideologies of ‘compulsory’ able-bodiedness and ‘ableism’, and call for the need to transform the dominant way of thinking. It is indicated that disability is not determined by an individual defect. Rather, it is the stereotypes towards disability, the discriminatory ideology called ‘ableism’ and its marginalizing consequences, which determines disability.

Oliver shares the table¹⁷ below to summarize how the social model transforms the discourse of the medical (individual) model and how both models differ. Mainly, he challenged the individualistic emphasis of the medical model and switched to a sociological framework. One of the striking phrases on the table is the switch from ‘individual adaptation’ to ‘social change’. According to the medical model, what deviates is the impaired individual. The individual is responsible of its ‘tragedy’ and should ‘adapt’ the expectations of the society. However, what the social model

¹⁷ Michael Oliver. “The Social Model in Context,” In *Understanding Disability: From Theory to Practice*. New York: Palgrave, 1996. 34.

advocates is the change of society and its organization in an ‘inclusive’ order regarding all different beings with a rights-based level.

<u>The individual model</u>	<u>The social model</u>
personal tragedy theory	social oppression theory
personal problem	social problem
individual treatment	social action
medicalisation	self-help
professional dominance	individual and collective responsibility
expertise	experience
adjustment	affirmation
individual identity	collective identity
prejudice	discrimination
attitudes	behaviour
care	rights
control	choice
policy	politics
individual adaptation	social change

Table 1: Disability Models¹⁸

Another issue that the social model of disability puts forward is the critique of the de-politicization of the experience because of medicalization and oppression.¹⁹ Silent, docile disabled people concerning medicine’s authority and seen as ‘deprived’, ‘wretched’ should become acting, political actors. Only then can they eliminate the medical and paternalist discourse deciding and speaking in their stead, and become

¹⁸ Michael Oliver. “The Social Model in Context,” In *Understanding Disability: From Theory to Practice*. New York: Palgrave, 1996. 34.

¹⁹ James I. Charlton. *Nothing About Us Without Us: Disability Oppression and Empowerment*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998. 8.

active citizens who have the right to speak on their own experiences, bodies and lives.²⁰ There is a reciprocal turn on the politicization of disability. To develop a political understanding of disability, the ‘pitying’ and segregationist mentality and practices should lose their dominance and the independence of disabled people should be taken as a goal. But also, the weakening of the discriminatory culture is based on the politicization of the experience and demanding social justice.

UPIAS advocated for independent living, full participation in society, taking part in workforce, and one’s full control over own life.²¹ By describing disability as oppression and highlighting the barriers disabled people face, a rights-based discourse has developed and emancipation of the disabled was keynoted. In order to make visible and combat discrimination experienced by disabled people there emerged some legal achievements. These achievements also provided the proliferation and consolidation of the social model of disability within organizations internationally.

One of the achievements is the Disability Discrimination Act in 1995. The Act discusses harassment and discrimination towards disabled people and highlights the necessity of accessible public buildings, public transport and services. But the most substantial and international step is the United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPD)^{22,23} adopted in 2006, signed in 2007. The activists participated in the negotiation process (between 2002 and 2006) of the Convention. So they have the agency for decision making on their own lives and problems. Moreover they influenced even how disability is defined in the Convention.

The CRPD highlights government liability for realizing rights of the disabled

²⁰ Ibid., 3.

²¹ Tom Shakespeare. “The Social Model of Disability,” In *The Disability Studies Reader (Second Edition)*, edited by Lennard J. Davis. New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2006. 197.

²² The term that is used by the Convention is ‘persons with disabilities’. The debate on terms about disability will be discussed in the section entitled “Terminological discussion”.

²³ The convention has 147 signatories.

and defines discrimination on the basis of disability as “any distinction, exclusion or restriction on the basis of disability which has the purpose or effect of impairing or nullifying the recognition, enjoyment or exercise, on an equal basis with others, of all human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural, civil or any other field. It includes all forms of discrimination, including denial of reasonable accommodation”.²⁴ So the Convention is broad in scope (by including participation in different spheres of social life and protection of subjectivity and rights) and it touches upon different forms of discrimination disabled people come across with reference to human rights. Also it is inclusively prepared to specify the juridical, structural and environmental requirements for the organization of the society. For example there are articles regarding disabled children and disabled women too. All in all, the preparation and adoption of the CRPD to secure the rights of disabled people under the UN became possible with international organizations persuading governments about the prevalence of violations and discriminations that disabled people come across and challenging the ‘we know what is best for you’²⁵ approach.

1.1.3. The Biopsychosocial Model and the Critique of the Social Model

Just like the medical approach, the social approach was criticized too. As it underlines the word ‘discrimination’ and regards disability as something totally social, it leaves the ‘reality’ of the body and the mind (the impairment) to the field of medicine. Oliver calls this “denial of ‘the pain of impairment’, both physical and psychological”.²⁶ As a result of denial, the ‘individual-society dualism’ becomes recreated. It is objected

²⁴ The United Nations Convention on the Rights of People with Disabilities, *Article 2 - Definitions*

²⁵ Mike Oliver. “Social Policy & Disability: Some Theoretical Issues,” *Disability, Handicap & Society*, 1:1, 1986. 10.

²⁶ Michael Oliver. “The Social Model in Context,” In *Understanding Disability: From Theory to Practice*. New York: Palgrave, 1996. 38.

that it reduces disability only to an environmental and social issue, as well as reinforcing social constructionist views. Social constructionist views reject the dominance of biological determinism that ignores individuals' sociocultural agency, in relation to the environment around them. At this point the social approach focuses only on the social aspect of the issues and it fails to notice the existence of an impaired body and mind in the world of 'the normal'; a body or a mind that can/not do certain things. Designing an accessible social environment for all and/or legislation cannot provide a holistic and permanent solution; because disability is a multidimensional issue. Rather than providing arrangements *for* the disabled, transforming the discriminatory culture and stereotypes against and *through* the disabled is also necessary, for politicizing disability.

At this point, to satisfy the need for a holistic approach, the biopsychosocial (BPS) model of disability emerged. Engel aimed to transform the traditional (bio)medical model and complete it with social aspects and interactions.²⁷ This model criticizes the exclusionary, strict dualism -recreated by the first two approaches, between the individual (the medical approach) and the society (the social approach)- in the exact same way as queer theory questions the 'modern', reductionist dualisms, such as -biological- sex and gender distinction. According to this approach, every single individual encountering, and interacting with, the environment (not only physical environment, but also social relations, legal conditions, family, etc.) is different; therefore, the body's own possibilities and limitations, and the constraining, discriminatory elements and conditions in its environment should be taken into consideration all together and at the same time. This model considers not only the impaired subject; but also people, system, culture, the time and space surrounding the

²⁷ George Engel. "The Clinical Application of the Biopsychosocial Model," *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 137, 1980. 535.

subject.

1.2. Other Interpretations on the Construction of Disability

1.2.1. Finkelstein and the Three Phase Process

As is mentioned before, disability, like other social categories, is socially constructed and has not corresponded to the same experiences throughout history. To be able to understand the way in which disability is perceived today, some scholars examined the historical continuity that shape the experience and attitudes towards the disabled. Vic Finkelstein explains²⁸ the historical processes that caused the creation and elimination of disability with a historical materialist framework and discusses the rise of capitalism regarding its strengthening role on the individualization of disability with the medical model. He elaborates a three phase process starting with pre-industrialization period and calls this period *Phase 1* and he mainly questions the shift from *Phase 1* to *Phase 2* that is the emergence of industrialization. With *Phase 3* he implies the shift from focusing on the impaired to the disabling society.

Formerly, before the capitalist mode of production was developed, impaired people were working together in agriculture and small-scale, feudal mode of production with their families and neighbors, around their *Lebensraum* (living space) and under flexible circumstances. This allowed them to attend both workforce and social life. With industrialization (*Phase 2*), the space of production has been changed and it was moved from villages to factories and social life was moved to places in the center. So people were obliged to leave their spaces and collectivist working routines they took part in. Also the progress of industrialization enabled the improvement of institutions. Different disciplines had their own organizations and places. For example, the focus on

²⁸ Vic Finkelstein. *Attitudes & Disabled People: Issues for Discussion*, New York: World Rehabilitation Fund. 1980. 6-8.

‘the body’ for governing and controlling populations brought out medical profession. And the medical model of disability dominated that period. Disabled people became objects of separate treatment and they were segregated in hospitals and asylums for social ‘*hygiene*’. Unfortunately, procedures and treatments in those institutions were not humane. People were not informed about procedures, and/or their basic needs were not provided;²⁹ they were not accepted as free, holders of rights. Even today, there are patients making an analogy of asylums and prisons.³⁰

All these consequences created a new agent/subject, who has the faculty to attend the process of rapid, capitalist, mass production independently. It is believed that only able-bodied/minded individuals can be subjects to the discipline (capitalism) and the space (factory) this new mode imposes.³¹ The ones who cannot perform assigned tasks are described as ‘useless’.

The disabled, who could not take part in production, were also excluded both economically and socially from social life, too. The ones who could not accommodate themselves to the rapid acceleration of life, coupled with industrialization and rapid urbanization, could not find a place in society, and could not stand independently. The growth of cities, which were constructed in a way that it disregards the needs of the disabled also opposed an inclusive and pluralist social life. Furthermore, -regarding the influence of bourgeois ethics- exalting ‘to work’, seeing ‘not working’ as an ‘unwelcome’ situation and relating it to ‘immorality’ strengthened the ‘negative’ common perception of disability. The disabled were confined together with ‘prostitutes’ and ‘beggars’, who were also accepted as ‘unwanted’ states. It was approved that, the

²⁹ It is known that mentally impaired people were tied for days or left without food. Electroshock was used for ‘control’ without hesitation. Just because of government of disability, people were tortured.

³⁰ *Depo: Life in Mental Hospitals*. Dir. Ege Kanar and Can Dinlenmiş. Human Rights in Mental Health Initiative Association (Ruh Sağlığında İnsan Hakları Girişimi Derneği -RUSİHAK-), 2014. Documentary.

³¹ Michael Oliver. “The Ideological Construction of Disability,” In *The Politics of Disablement: A Sociological Approach (Critical Texts in Social Work and the Welfare State)*, London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1990. 48.

disabled population who were 'useless' and 'incapable' of appearing in production were 'charge' on society and the government. Therefore the social distance between non-disabled and abled population became stronger and the 'pitying', 'fearful' attitudes towards disabled people became prevalent. By the end of the 1980s, the dominance of the medical model of disability weakened and with the emergence of the social model the idea of social restriction emerged within disability rights movement. Finkelstein calls this period *Phase 3*.

1.2.2. Biopower and Critique of 'Normalcy'

The cooperation of the movement and scholars focusing on Disability Studies aimed at addressing disability as a political question. By emphasizing the 'problem' of the medical model of disability, they aimed to transform the de-politicized situation. As they problematize the model, they define the problem as the 'norm'-centric attitude, which shows regard to and desires the 'normal' (average) individual. Therefore the issue of 'normalcy' is brought to agenda.

"Disability Studies aims to examine the constructed nature of concepts like 'normalcy' and to defamiliarize them."³² At this point I will try to discuss the explanations on '*normalcy*' together with the term *biopower*. Biopower is a key concept used by Michel Foucault as he explains the shift from the repressive, traditional power to a power that "has a positive influence on life".³³ Foucault reveals the concept of biopower as he examines the relation between subject, knowledge and power. He argues that the form of punishment until the 18th century took place in a 'violent' (gallows and torture were some of the methods) way. Foucault describes this traditional

³² Lennard J. Davis. "Crips Strike Back: The Rise of Disability Studies," *American Literary History*, 11.3, 1999. 504.

³³ Michel Foucault. *The Will to Knowledge: The History of Sexuality Volume 1*, translated by Robert Hurley. New York: Pantheon Books, 1976. 137.

form of power as the repressive, negative power. Later on, we witness a shift towards the regulation of human body and mind by disciplining individuals and creating docile bodies, as argued by Foucault, the body is in the center of the network of power relations. This power is what Foucault calls the biopower, aspiring to create subjects, who are submissive, obedient; who affirm and internalize the power's authority and what its *dispositives* (the apparatuses, institutions, ideologies etc. immanent in biopower) put across. It aims to control populations by the surveillance of bodies.

The biopower creates a society of 'normalization' and forces the individual to conform the norm. Therefore, the border between what is 'normal' and 'abnormal' or 'pathological' becomes rigid. Also the subjectivity of individuals is developed both as an object and subject of knowledge. It is created and shaped by scientific disciplinary mechanisms. For example, as Foucault examines how madness as a type of disability is constructed in time, he details the dominant, medical discourse and practices disciplining bodies and minds.

The 'desire' of 'normalcy' and the biopower strengthen each other for controlling the masses. Quite relevantly, Tremain reads Foucault's explanations and argues, "the biopower or biopolitics is the strategic movement of relatively recent forms of power/knowledge to work toward an increasingly comprehensive management of problems in the life of individuals and the life of populations."³⁴ With the development of modern science and disciplines, the aim to control masses' bodies led to the emergence of statistics, demography, psychology and sociology that progress in collaboration with 'normalcy'. So, the medical model of disability is based on the control of 'anomalies' with identification, categorization and exclusion. For example,

³⁴ Shelly Tremain. "On the Government of Disability: Foucault, Power, and the Subject of Impairment," In *The Disability Studies Reader (Second Edition)*, edited by Lennard J. Davis. New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2006. 185.

disability is calculated for diagnosis; there is a term called *disability-rate*. Also to estimate the development of a country, firstly it is looked at live-birth and stillbirth. In other words, the desire of 'healthiness' reproduces 'normalcy'.

Disability rights activists who put forward the social model of disability questioned the biopower over body and described disability as a social construction, and not 'natural'. They focus on the exclusionary and monist ethos of modern world that is constructed and reproduced without taking into account the infinite variety of experiences. Moreover, this problematic understanding supports 'correcting' and 'normalizing' differences. Disability Studies, Davis argues, "demands a shift from the ideology of normalcy, from the rule and hegemony of normates, to a vision of the body as changeable, unperfectable, unruly, and untidy."³⁵ By moving the focus from the impaired body to the society and combating discrimination, and questioning what is 'normal', different experiences will be heard and will become visible. So that what makes impaired people 'disabled' will no more be found on bodies or minds, rather on the surrounding environment and the embedded mentality. It is believed that by legislation, problems encountered by the disabled will be solved and people will be able to access their rights and overcome obstacles.

Garland-Thomson, who studies feminist theories and disability uses the word "normate" and claims that "Normate ... is the constructed identity of those who, by way of the bodily configurations and cultural capital they assume, can step into a position of authority and wield the power it grants them."³⁶ The 'normal' is seen as the bee's knees and is scientifically confirmed by disciplinary authorities statistically and medically. So the disabled does not have the power to declare its experience. The

³⁵ Lennard J. Davis. "Crips Strike Back: The Rise of Disability Studies," *American Literary History*, 11.3, 1999. 505.

³⁶ Rosemarie Garland-Thomson. *Extraordinary Bodies: Figuring Physical Disability in American Culture and Literature*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1997. 8.

disabled was considered as ‘inferior’, ‘degenerated’ and ‘defective’, with regards to the constructed average and artificial characteristics of the ‘normal’. With reference to the diagnosticating and stigmatizing understanding, the ‘lacking’ disabled people are believed to have deserved ‘corrective’ interventions. Therefore, this point of view constructed the experience of medical model of disability and viewed disability as an individual ‘problem’, without raising concern about the social aspects of disability.

Another issue that is related to the discussion on ‘normalcy’ is the *eugenics movement*. Disabled people were also seen as threats to society. It is believed that they *degenerate* the ‘pure’ and ‘genuine’ DNA of ‘the nation’. This understanding is called “eugenics”, and refers to the movement that aims for the protection of the ‘healthy’, and -weakening and- destroying ‘the rest’. In modern world, this violent movement also targeted the disabled. Hundreds of thousands disabled people were massacred during the Holocaust in Nazi Germany. Also, the medicine and doctors are still in the center of the social life. There were studies³⁷ conducted by medical doctors questioning the authority of medicine and medicalization of different spheres of life. Szasz sees diagnosis as stigma and he questions naming the ‘different’ deviation from the ‘average’, ‘norm’.

1.3. Terminological Discussion

Even the terminology used concerning disability has been transformed in time. Different groups argue about which concept ‘should’ be used. Disabled, crippled, impaired, handicapped (*sakat, engelli, özürlü*)... These concepts refer to different perspectives on disability today. The conceptual discussion needs to be considered in relation to the struggles between different discourses: the struggle between social

³⁷ The most popular publications were written by Thomas Szasz (1920-2012), mostly on madness and psychiatry. Szasz, as a psychiatrist, was also criticizing the approach adopted and ‘treatment’ techniques used by authorities.

sciences and medicine, between the disabled and ‘ableist’ people, and even among different cliques of disability activists. Evidently, naming disability and the disabled through history was dependent on power relations between different ways of thinking. As mentioned, the hegemony of medical model and its discourse dominated the arena first. Later, the social model was developed and the disability rights movement acted up, and it is only then that the question of naming became a field of struggle.

In Turkish language, the frequently used and discussed concepts are ‘*engelli*’ and ‘*sakat*’. The common belief is that ‘*sakat*’ is a vulgar term, as will be explained below; but ‘*engelli*’ is not. So, almost all NGOs working on disability and society prefer using the word ‘*engelli*’. But there is still a discussion on the term ‘*engelli*’ that is not clear yet. The root of ‘*engelli*’ (*engel*) means ‘obstacle’. There are people prefer using the word ‘*engelli*’ for highlighting the obstacles the disabled come across and become ‘disabled’; but some argue that the suffix ‘*-li*’ makes the word mean ‘the person carrying the obstacle’. So, while some support the use ‘*engelli*’, others do not. The discussion on ‘*sakat*’ is more complex:

Languages include some concepts that are selected to connote ‘negative’ meanings and as a resistance, a group of people can appropriate those concepts for a political aim and reputation (e.g., “Black is beautiful.”). Thus, the ‘negative’ connotation of a concept can become reversed. For example, the most common concept to describe disabled people in Turkish language is ‘*engelli*’ today. The word ‘*özürlü*’ (means ‘defective’) used to be adopted mostly by the bureaucratic discourse. And the word ‘*sakat*’, which also has a negative connotation (there are idioms, such as ‘*sakata gelmek*’³⁸) is seen degrading. Nevertheless, some activists³⁹ of the disability rights

³⁸ In English: to fall into a trap

³⁹ Bülent Küçüktaşlan. “‘Sakat’ Politiktir,” Engelliler.biz Platform. September 8, 2011. Accessed April 1, 2017. <https://www.engelliler.biz/forum/ayrimcilikla-mucadele-insan-toplum-siyaset-bugun-yarin/76428-sakat-politiktir-tartisma.html>

movement and also some scholars focusing Disability Studies in Turkey prefer using the word '*sakat*' just for resisting the negative meaning attached to the concept. Similarly, disabled people in the U.S. *proudly* prefer using the word '*crip*'⁴⁰ (shortening the word 'crippled') and LGBTI (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and intersex) activists own the word '*queer*' that means 'weird', 'odd' and is used against compulsory heterosexuality.

In English language, with the dominance of the medical model disabled people were named as 'people with disabilities'. Also the juridical discourse preferred using this term (i.e., Convention on the Rights of People with Disabilities). But the disability rights movement and the scholars supporting the social model challenged this term as it implies that disablement is because of the impairment. However, the social model argues that what causes disability is not the personal impairment; but the barriers faced by impaired people.

⁴⁰ Robert McRuer, "As Good As It Gets: Queer Theory and Critical Disability," *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies*, 9:1-2, 2003. 96.

CHAPTER II

DISABILITY IN THE TURKISH CONTEXT

Studies on discrimination and human rights in Turkey mostly focus on ethnicity, religion-sect, gender, gender identity and sexual orientation.⁴¹ Disability is a rarely mentioned topic in this context. One reason for this is the dominance of the medical model of disability that perceived the ‘problem’ as an individual *tragedy*. This hegemonic approach obstructed the strengthening of the social model of disability that questions the barriers and discrimination the disabled come across. Therefore, the emergence of a disability rights movement was not possible until the end of the 20th century, and disability continued not being perceived as a political problem.⁴²

Not seeing disabled people as equal actors and considering disability (unlike different bases of discrimination) a non-political arena in Turkey is mostly rationalized on the basis of disabled individuals’ ‘deficiency’ of ‘required’ characteristics to be ‘self-sufficient’ citizens. To be sure, the experience of disability is as political as the ‘accepted’ political issues as they all are subjected to the domination of ideologies of normalcy.⁴³ Therefore, it has to do with the realization of rights and overcoming the stereotyped image of disability.

In this chapter, I will first address the developing activism and disability rights in Turkey. Secondly, I will discuss the social perception of disability with common beliefs and stereotypes about the disabled. Thirdly, I will focus on the role of education, mainly through textbooks as primal instruments, on the reproduction and/or transformation of the dominant perception and stereotypes.

⁴¹ *Ayrımcılık: Çok Boyutlu Yaklaşımlar*, edited by Kenan Çayır, and Müge Ayan Ceyhan. Istanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2012.

⁴² Lennard J. Davis, *The Disability Studies Reader (Second Edition)*. edited by Lennard J. Davis. New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2006. xiii.

⁴³ Lennard J. Davis. “Constructing Normalcy: The Bell Curve, the Novel, and the Invention of the Disabled Body in the Nineteenth Century,” In *The Disability Studies Reader (Second Edition)*, edited by Lennard J. Davis. New York: Routledge, 2006. 3.

2.1. Disability Rights and Activism in Turkey

The dominance of the medical model and considering disability as a non-political issue have blocked a rights-based activism and advocacy in ‘the West’ as well as in Turkey. Nevertheless, for the last fifty years, with the contribution of the activism and scholarship in the UK, disability based discrimination and the inclusion of the disabled has started to take place on the agenda of civil associations, governmental bodies and international institutions.

The developments regarding the disability rights in ‘the West’ also affected the movement in Turkey. Yet, it could be argued that ‘the problem’ is not still dealt with a rights-based framework in the Turkish context. For example, the adoption of the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPD) and Turkey’s ratification in 2008 is an enormous progress;⁴⁴ it additionally affected the organization of national/domestic law (i.e., combating disability based discrimination in different spheres, such as employment, education health services, etc.; implementation of reasonable accommodations). However, as I will discuss below there is a huge discrepancy between legal and social policy developments and the implementation of laws and regulations.

Volkan Yılmaz, a scholar studying on social policy, services, and the development of disability rights in Turkey, makes⁴⁵ a connection between the emergence of disability as an ‘administrative category’ within the welfare state regime by touching upon Stone’s explanations,⁴⁶ and the policy oriented to the disabled with

⁴⁴ İdil Işıl Gül. “Birleşmiş Milletler Engelli Hakları Sözleşmesi,” *In Engellilik ve Ayrımcılık: Eğitimciler için Temel Metinler ve Örnek Dersler*, edited by, Kenan Çayır, Melisa, Soran and Melike, Ergün. İstanbul: Karekök, 2015. 32.

⁴⁵ Volkan Yılmaz, “Tarihsel Gelişimi ve Güncel İkilemleriyle Türkiye’de Engellilik ve Sosyal Politikalar,” *In Dezavantajlı Gruplar ve Sosyal Politika*, edited by, Betül Altuntaş. Ankara: Nobel Akademik Yayıncılık, 2014.

⁴⁶ Deborah A. Stone, *The Disabled State*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1984. 13. (cited in Volkan Yılmaz, “Tarihsel Gelişimi ve Güncel İkilemleriyle Türkiye’de Engellilik ve Sosyal Politikalar,” *In Dezavantajlı*

practices, such as income support or some exemptions for accessing basic needs without having to work. Yılmaz mentions about a short chronology of developments regarding the disabled in Turkey. In 1957, the invalidity insurance (*maluliyet sigortası*) was provided for the disabled. Yet, he finds the insurance not serviceable, since all disabled people cannot take advantage of it because of its exclusivist preconditions, such as being employed for a given period.⁴⁷ Another point Yılmaz highlights is the orientation of civil society that is taking responsibility of curing the disabled's problems. As disability was not regarded as a political issue and a problem of social justice, the state assigned its role and duty to organizations in the field. Rather than combating poverty and social exclusion, the main aim was restricted to charity and 'benevolence', and targeting the employment and education of the disabled.

In the end of the 1960s, legislation and practices regarding social inclusion started taking place as part of employment policies, such as the affirmative action for employment of the disabled. Yılmaz at this point finds this obligation not efficient, because of the lack of deterrent penalty. This ineffective development should also be thought in relation to the dominant discriminatory mentality that leads to avoiding to employ a disabled. In 1976, following the employment policies, disability pension (*engelli aylığı*) as income support took place. Yılmaz criticizes this program because of obstructing independent living by keeping the disabled between the state and the family for care and protection.

The political will for developing legislation was not strong; but the organizations pursued a holistic law for the disabled in the 1990s by the influence of the activism in 'the West' and following the improvements in the UN. In 1997, the

Gruplar ve Sosyal Politika, edited by, Betül Altuntaş. Ankara: Nobel Akademik Yayıncılık, 2014.)

⁴⁷ Volkan Yılmaz, "Tarihsel Gelişimi ve Güncel İkilemleriyle Türkiye'de Engellilik ve Sosyal Politikalar," In *Dezavantajlı Gruplar ve Sosyal Politika*, edited by, Betül Altuntaş. Ankara: Nobel Akademik Yayıncılık, 2014.

establishment of the Presidency of Administration on Disabled People (*Özürlüler İdaresi Başkanlığı -ÖZİDA-*) provided an addressee within the state. In 2002, the Justice and Development Party (*Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi*) came into power and problems of the disabled started to take place on the agenda. At this point, Yılmaz mentions about the increasing public expenditures, and research on population structure and socio-economic conditions of disabled people living in Turkey, and emphasizes the government's strategic choice of the disabled among other groups through the process of EU accession.

In 2005, The Disability Act no. 5378, a remarkable development regarding disability rights in Turkey that provided the enlargement of policies, entered into force. Although the state tended for inclusion of the disabled, the policy provided did not work effectively. So the need for a comprehensive and holistic legislation continued. By 2011, The General Directorate of Disabled and Elderly Services (*Engelli ve Yaşlı Hizmetleri Genel Müdürlüğü*) under the Ministry of Family and Social Policy (*Aile ve Sosyal Politikalar Bakanlığı -ASPB-*) took over the portfolio of ÖZİDA with new political tools, such as cash for home care program. Again Yılmaz disapproves the conservative approach of the pension that subjects the disabled to domesticity. The social policy approach regarding the disabled has been strengthened without an emancipatory perspective that supports the pride and independence of the disabled, and without securing disability rights.

Although there are many regulations (progress in accessible public transport, quota for employing the disabled, etc.) for an inclusive society, disabled people come across a large number of abuses and violations of their rights.⁴⁸ However the state is

⁴⁸ Social Rights and Research Foundation (TOHAD) periodically publishes monitoring reports about abuses of rights of the disabled. For detailed information, see: <https://www.dropbox.com/sh/0vofkgrebwia3r6/AAA8cJI2bDw-FdyDef9FLdrVa?dl=0> (Accessed June 20, 2017)

responsible to provide the required measures and devices for full participation of disabled citizens, and to control the realization of their rights with monitoring mechanisms. Despite the UN stipulates the countries adopted the Convention for constituting independent committees for monitoring,⁴⁹ Turkish state does not have a committee for controlling the realizations and violations of rights.⁵⁰ So for the Turkish case, there are legal steps taken, but the disabled is not perceived as *holders of rights* and equal citizens in practice.

The difficulty of developing a rights-based ethos within disability movement in Turkey has also to do with some social and historical characteristics of the Turkish context. Bezmez and Yardımcı, scholars studying on disability, outline those characteristics as “a ‘strong-state’ tradition”, “the impact of Islam”, “socio-economic conditions of the disabled”, and “the disunity among organizations”.⁵¹ What they refer with “a ‘strong state tradition’” is the relationship between organizations and the state without highlighting social justice. It was experienced that the state provides charity to organizations and protects them. The emergence of charitable foundations (*vakıf*) supporting personal aid and the weak social policy approach did not enable rights-based demands of organizations. In addition, “the impact of Islam” reinforced the ‘compassionate’ perception of disability and prevented a struggle for independent living. Moreover, because of the lack of participation of the disabled in social life, the idea for demanding justice gets harder with socio-economic conditions (low literacy, education and employment rates) of the disabled in Turkey.⁵² Finally, the disagreements

⁴⁹ The United Nations Convention on the Rights of People with Disabilities, *Article 33 – National Implementation and Monitoring*

⁵⁰ İdil Işıl Gül. “Birleşmiş Milletler Engelli Hakları Sözleşmesi,” *In Engellilik ve Ayrımcılık: Eğitimciler için Temel Metinler ve Örnek Dersler*, edited by, Kenan Çayır, Melisa, Soran and Melike, Ergün. İstanbul: Karekök, 2015. 43.

⁵¹ Dikmen Bezmez, and Sibel Yardımcı. “In Search of Disability Rights: Citizenship and Turkish Disability Organizations,” *In Disability & Society*, 2010. 25:5, 606-609.

⁵² Dikmen Bezmez, and Sibel Yardımcı. *Bir Vatandaşlık Hakkı Olarak Sakat Hakları ve Sakat Hareketi*. Birikim – Güncel Yazılar. December 29, 2008. Accessed June 15, 2017. <http://www.birikimdergisi.com/guncel-yazilar/697/bir-vatandaslik-hakki-olarak-sakat-haklari-ve-sakat-hareketi#.WUvw4fGXsx9>

of the organizations in the field obstruct the development of an integrative movement. With reference to the dominant cultural understanding of disability, most of NGOs support charity campaigns. Rather than combating the hierarchy that ‘culture of help’ consolidates, they get along with ‘protectionist’ and ‘conservative’ approach of the Turkish state.⁵³

Although disability rights and activism developed in time, disabled people experience violations and discriminations on accessing rights and services. For instance, a deaf individual cannot communicate by using sign language with many of the personnel in public institutions and places, or a blind child cannot reach the descriptions of images in storybooks and textbooks. According to the findings of the research conducted within the project entitled Disability Rights Monitoring Group (*Engelli Hakları İzleme Grubu*) by the Social Rights and Research Foundation (*Toplumsal Haklar ve Araştırmalar Derneği -TOHAD-*), it is revealed that the employers venture to pay the penalty and do not employ disabled employees. For example, by the end of 2014 there are still 24.566 disabled civil servants lacking in the public sector.⁵⁴ Also participation to higher education is another problem area. It is calculated that, approximately 90.000 disabled students participated in middle school education, compared to about 21.000 students in high school education in 2014.⁵⁵ At this point, it is obvious that legislation is not enough for combating inequalities. The state’s intention for practicing the law is the basis for social justice, and the cultural conditions and barriers also affect the realization of the law.⁵⁶ In this regard, it is

⁵³ Dikmen, Bezmez, and Sibel, Yardımcı. “In Search of Disability Rights: Citizenship and Turkish Disability Organizations,” In *Disability & Society*, 2010. 25:5, 606-608.

⁵⁴ Social Rights and Research Foundation (TOHAD), *Mevzuattan Uygulamaya Engelli Hakları İzleme Raporu 2014 Rapor Özeti*. Ankara, 2015. 77.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 42.

⁵⁶ İdil Işıl Gül. “Engelliliğe Dayalı Ayrımcılıkla Mücadelede Hukukun Rolü,” In *Engellilik ve Ayrımcılık: Eğitimciler için Temel Metinler ve Örnek Dersler*, edited by, Kenan Çayır, Melisa, Soran and Melike, Ergün. İstanbul: Karekök, 2015. 57.

necessary to look at the social perception of disability as a leading motive on the way to discrimination.

2.2. Perception and Stereotyping

As argued in the theoretical chapter, the medical model of disability regarded the impaired individual responsible of her/his segregation. This idea led to the ‘pitying’ and ‘protectionist’ perception of disability. Rather than acquiring the independence and full participation of the disabled and persisting to realize disability rights in practice, the dominant discourse and perspective strengthen intergroup bias and see the disabled ‘in need’, and ‘to help’ as a solution.

As disability rights movement in the UK gained success by challenging the medical model and developing the social model, and thus relocating the focus from the individual to the society, disability started to be discussed in political arena. The redefinition of disability within Disability Studies academically and the movement as a socio-political issue, and pointing the structural obstacles enabled juridical progress. Thus, disability has gained attention within a citizenship perspective. These developments in ‘the West’ influenced and enabled the emergence of activism in Turkey; but the establishment of a strong, rights-based approach within the movement for politicizing disability is newly gaining ground in the Turkish context.

The social model and the importance of social policy within the context of disability have been mentioned for the last two decades in Turkey. However, this perspective still needs to be strengthened and spread within the movement for equal citizenship by combating discrimination and stereotypes. A rights-based perspective claims that steps for the removal of barriers disabled people face should not be limited to disabled people, but also include and target the wider society. With rights-based

politics, disabled people can participate in different spheres of life equally with people who see themselves 'separate' and 'independent'.

At this point, to understand how the perception of disability is constructed and settled, I intend to emphasize how intergroup bias is structured in general. Research on intergroup bias increasingly progresses within frameworks of different disciplines, such as anthropology, sociology, psychology and psychoanalysis. To detail how intergroup bias works, the terms 'prejudice' and 'stereotype' need to be discussed. For understanding the concepts comprehensively, it is inevitable to refer to psychoanalysis and social psychology literatures.⁵⁷

Allport, one of the most cited scholars in the field, defines prejudice as "an antipathy based on faulty and inflexible generalization. It may be felt or expressed. It may be directed toward a group as a whole or an individual of that group".⁵⁸ In other words, prejudice is the 'positive' or 'negative' attitude developed towards an individual regarding the generalized beliefs about the group s/he is a member of. So in the context of disability, the belief that 'the disabled should stay at home', and describing an individual 'needy' and 'desperate', having 'compassion' can be thought to constitute generalizations and thus prejudices towards disabled people.

Allport also claims that "prejudice relies on people's propensity to categorize".⁵⁹ To understand the social world, the mind categorizes an object, a moment and/or an individual with another by coding their similarities or common traits. The categorization of individuals is based on their group memberships, rather than unique features of each individual. By coding with connection to social groups, expectations regarding the generalized beliefs about those groups are developed towards individuals.

⁵⁷ Murat Pakar, "Psikolojik Açıdan Önyargı ve Ayrımcılık," In *Ayrımcılık: Çok Boyutlu Yaklaşımlar*, edited by Kenan Çayır, and Müge Ayan Ceyhan. İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2012. 50.

⁵⁸ Gordon Allport, *The Nature of Prejudice*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1954. 9.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 14.

This cognitive process is called “*social categorization*” in social psychology literature. Rather than evaluating each element on an individual basis, the brain categorizes things with reference to specific common characteristics or criteria to make the ‘data processing’ convenient.⁶⁰ Therefore, social categorization can be described as a time and effort saving method for making sense of the world.

Stereotypes are “associations and attributions of specific characteristics to a group.”⁶¹ It includes information, beliefs and expectations regarding the group.⁶² In 1922, Lippmann used the concept first and defined it as “the pictures inside our heads”⁶³ to refer the generalized judgments and -natural/essential- features attached to members of social groups. At this point, Stuart Hall emphasizes stereotyping as a signifying practice, fundamental for representing any difference and claims “stereotyping reduces people to a few, simple, essential characteristics, which are represented as fixed by nature.”⁶⁴ So stereotyping causes reduction of an individual only to the attributions attached to the group he/she is member of. It breeds the avoidance of individual aspects and features by focusing on the beliefs about the group/category. In this regard, showing ‘burden’ or ‘indiscipline’ as reasons of not wanting a disabled employee can be an example of what consequences stereotypes and prejudices can cause.

Disability is mostly discussed within the context of charity campaigns, ‘destiny’ and ‘mercy’ (*merhamet*) in Turkey, and the stereotype of being ‘pitiful’ is very powerful. It is believed that the disabled is a category that needs non-disabled people’s ‘help’ and ‘protection’; therefore, they *cannot* be independent. For the inclusion of disabled citizens, referring ‘compassion’ and ‘help’ is not questionable, according to

⁶⁰ Henri Tajfel and Joseph P. Forgas, “Social Categorization: Cognitions, Values and Groups,” In *Social Cognition: Perspectives on Everyday Understanding*, edited by Joseph P. Forgas. London: Academic Press, 1981.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 7.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 32.

⁶³ Walter Lippmann, *Public Opinion*. New York: Harcourt Brace, 1922.

⁶⁴ Stuart Hall, “Chapter 4: The Spectacles of the ‘Other’,” In *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*. London: Sage in Association with the Open University, 1997. 257.

this perception. Moreover, since disability based discrimination is not usually accepted as a form of discrimination by some sections of society in Turkey, it is argued that the disabled *cannot* be victims of discrimination. It is assumed that ‘protection’ and ‘favor’ are not discriminatory acts. However, since this approach sees impaired people as ‘incapable’ and ‘in need’, the categories and stereotypical images about the disabled become reinforced. The legitimized stereotypes cause labeling, and conceal the discriminatory practices and/or attitudes disabled people come across.

Another point to be mentioned is the affect (*duygulanım*) of disability that interacts with stereotypes and prejudices based on social exclusion and the lack of social contact. There are strong emotions towards the disabled, such as ‘fear’, ‘hatred’, ‘disgust’, ‘pity’, ‘love’, etc.⁶⁵ When the non-disabled interact with the disabled, both with fear or hatred and pity or love, the existing -both physically and symbolically- exclusivist practices and discriminatory considerations that dominate social life become reproduced.

Stereotypes and prejudices towards the disabled that cause discrimination depend on power relations. Stereotyping is a process that the power takes advantage of for the continuity of social order; because “it sets up a symbolic frontier between the 'normal' and the 'deviant', the 'normal' and the 'pathological', the 'acceptable' and the 'unacceptable', what 'belongs' and what does not or is 'Other', between 'insiders' and 'outsiders', Us and Them.”⁶⁶ It produces opposing and imaginary categories historically and socially, and hierarchically positions them by determining what is ‘normal’ (and what is ‘abnormal’ at the same time). The former (i.e., non-disabled) is matched with

⁶⁵ Süleyman Akbulut, “Gerçekten eşit miyiz? Acı(ma), Zayıf Gör(me) ve Yok Say(ma) Ekseninde Engelli Ayrımcılığı,” In *Ayrımcılık: Çok Boyutlu Yaklaşımlar*, edited by Kenan Çayır, and Müge Ayan Ceyhan. İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2012. 151.

⁶⁶ Stuart Hall, “Chapter 4: The Spectacles of the ‘Other’,” In *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*. London: Sage in Association with the Open University, 1997. 258.

‘positive’ features (i.e., productive, independent) and emotions (i.e., admiration), but the latter (i.e., disabled) is with ‘negative’ (i.e., idle, poor and pity). Thus, stereotyping is dependent upon power relations. It is not something purely intrapsychic, and everyone (both the ‘superior’ and ‘inferior’) takes part in the maintenance of the social order. However, this uneven relationship provides basis to discrimination, and has the potential to reinforce prejudices, violence.

Discrimination, as a result of the cognitive background, “refers to inappropriate and potentially unfair treatment of individuals due to group membership.”⁶⁷ According to Allport, discrimination contains refusing “individuals or groups of people equality of treatment which they may wish;”⁶⁸ it is affected by prejudices and stereotypes and determined by domination relations. So judgments and beliefs about a group (with its members) influence how people ‘should’ behave towards any group.

As the dominant discourse homogenizes the ‘inferior’ and prevents heterogeneous images emerge in people’s minds by creating judgments, disabled people are homogenized and reduced only to the disabled using wheelchair. The stereotypical image of the disabled mostly matches with the ones who are orthopedically impaired. However, there are different types of disabilities and diverse range of experiences. For instance, the experience of disabled women is excluded within disability rights movement. Generally, the disabled person referred is mostly a man. Moreover, as the NGOs in the field do not take disabled *women*’s voices into consideration, organizations focusing on women’s rights do not pay attention to *disabled* women. The NGO entitled the Association of Women with Disabilities (*Engelli Kadın Derneği*) combating discrimination and exclusion of disabled women,

⁶⁷ John F. Dovidio, Miles Hewstone, Peter Glick, and Victoria M., Esses, “Prejudice, Stereotyping and Discrimination: Theoretical and Empirical Overview,” In *The SAGE Handbook of Prejudice, Stereotyping and Discrimination*. London: SAGE Publications, 2010. 8.

⁶⁸ Gordon Allport, *The Nature of Prejudice*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1954. 51.

trying to transform the understandings of both disability rights movement and women's rights movement. The same is discussed for LGBTI disabled people too. They organize and come together under umbrellas of NGOs studying on gender identity and sexual orientation. For example there is a study group called Crip(pled) LGBTI (*Sakat LGBTİ*) under Social Policies, Gender Identity and Sexual Orientation Studies Association (*Sosyal Politikalar Cinsiyet Kimliği ve Cinsel Yönelim Çalışmaları Derneği -SPoD-*). So, disabled women and disabled LGBTIs struggle for recognition within movements and bring their intersectional experiences to the agenda. All those experiences are *political* and challenge the power's dominance on *the body*.

There is an ambivalence within the approach to disability in Turkey. It is thought that 'loving the disabled' and/or 'helping *them*' are *true* and *acceptable* than 'avoidance'. There is a common belief that the disabled is 'chosen' and 'like an angel'. However, some activists⁶⁹ argue that these attitudes are also problematic, and 'helping the disabled' should be avoided, because of reproducing the hierarchical power relations between the non-disabled and the disabled. In one of his posts, Bülent Küçükbaşlan criticizes and expostulates about associations collecting donations, and argues "An association that has to struggle for the pride of the disabled seeks profit by humiliating the disabled. What a pity!"⁷⁰ In the literature on social exclusion and poverty, the *language* of help is questioned. It is claimed that, help should not damage human dignity and it should aim making individuals' 'rights of citizenship' actual.⁷¹ But mostly, help happens under 'charity', and it contains 'despise', supporting

⁶⁹ Süleyman Akbulut, "Gerçekten eşit miyiz? Acı(ma), Zayıf Gör(me) ve Yok Say(ma) Ekseninde Engelli Ayrımcılığı," In *Ayrımcılık: Çok Boyutlu Yaklaşımlar*, edited by Kenan Çayır, and Müge Ayan Ceyhan. İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2012. 149-162.

⁷⁰ Bülent Küçükbaşlan, "(Eleştiri) DİLENCİLER! Yuh Olsun Sizin Sakatlığımıza!..." Engelliler.biz Platform, December 20, 2004. Accessed June 15, 2017. <https://www.engelliler.biz/forum/sivil-toplum-orgutleri/178-elestiri-dilenciler-yuh-olsun-sizin-sakatliginize.html>

⁷¹ Pınar Uyan Semerci, "Ayrımcılık Bağlamında Yoksulluk ve Sosyal Dışlanma," In *Ayrımcılık: Çok Boyutlu Yaklaşımlar*, edited by Kenan Çayır, and Müge Ayan Ceyhan. İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2012. 195.

prejudices and stereotypes.

The ‘pitying’ discourse towards the disabled in Turkey is accepted and adopted by the disabled and even activists. They participate in the continuity of the help-based understanding of the society. Furthermore, the state passes its obligation to correct lacking arrangements and to check the adoption of legislation to ‘volunteer’ and ‘merciful’ citizens -mostly via charity/aid campaigns- in correspondence to its dominant discourse. This perception hereby is cyclically reproduced. For instance, even the state is responsible to provide wheelchairs for orthopedically disabled citizens; there emerges several charity campaigns such as the Bottle Cap Campaign (*Mavi Kapak Kampanyası*) -the campaign that aims collecting 2,5 tons of plastic bottle caps for getting a battery powered wheelchair in return-. The critique of this ‘humiliating’ campaign is not spread, and many people are ‘glad’ because of ‘helping’ their ‘sisters/brothers in need’.⁷² However, what ‘ableism’ as an ideology of ‘normalcy’ does is not *accepting* the disabled as equal citizens and excluding for the sake of ‘protection’. It reproduces the schematical images/stereotypes towards and uneven perception of disability by reinforcing power relations. So at this point, transforming this perception to a rights-based view is another tedious and difficult issue. If we go forward with the same example, most of the disabled citizens in Turkey are *happy* with ‘others’ helping them and do not even ask the question “Why bottle caps?” because of waiting for a wheelchair *impatiently*.

Considering how the perception of disability is constructed in the Turkish context, interacting with cognitive processes behind intergroup bias, we learn what is ‘acceptable’ and what is ‘not acceptable’ during the process we internalize the norms of the society we live in. Stereotypes are “transmitted through socialization, the media,

⁷² Hürriyet Gazetesi. “Engelli Kardeşlere Yardım Eli,” December 27, 2016. Accessed July 1, 2017. <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/engelli-kardeslere-yardim-eli-40319274>

and language and discourse,”⁷³ and apparatuses of the power influence and determine perceptions of ‘me’/‘us’ and ‘other’/‘them’. Regarding the context of disability, Barnes examines the media representation of the disabled and outlines the stereotypes as the following:

“... the disabled person as pitiable and pathetic, as an object of violence, as sinister and evil, as atmosphere or curio, as super cripple, as an object of ridicule, as their own worst and only enemy, as burden, as sexually abnormal, as incapable of participating fully in community life, as normal.”⁷⁴

He emphasizes the role of media on transforming the perception of the society. Harnett in this regard, points the ‘ableist’ assumption of media workers supposing that their followers are consisted of only ‘non-disabled’ people, and the language used also excludes and marginalizes the disabled.⁷⁵

Education is another sphere that may reproduce stereotypes by using stereotypical images and judgments. What is formally taught and addressed is the knowledge the power intends to spread. As stereotypes are not fixed, and they can evolve according to the changing norms and ideologies, they can be transformed for serving social justice. So at this point, education may be an opportunity for challenging settled, discriminatory beliefs and judgments. As the exclusionist attitudes and judgments are learnt through socialization, an egalitarian perspective can also be learnt. Reading from this point of view, analyzing domination relations behind, and studying how things become perceived as they are today -historically- can be steps for combating discrimination.

All in all, for developing a secured, rights-based discourse within Turkish

⁷³ John F. Dovidio, Miles Hewstone, Peter Glick, and Victoria M., Esses, “Prejudice, Stereotyping and Discrimination: Theoretical and Empirical Overview,” In *The SAGE Handbook of Prejudice, Stereotyping and Discrimination*. London: SAGE Publications, 2010. 8.

⁷⁴ Colin Barnes, *Disabling Imagery in the Media: An Exploration of Cultural Representations of Disabled People*. Belper: Ryan Press in association with the British Council of Organisations of Disabled People. 1992.

⁷⁵ Alison Harnett, “Escaping the ‘Evil Avenger’ and the ‘Supercrip’: Images of Disability in Popular Television,” *Irish Communication Review*, Vol.8. 2000. 22.

society, a shift from the ‘pitying’ and victim-blaming understanding of disability to recognition of the disabled’s rights of citizenship is required. So the learnt schemas, stereotypical judgments towards disabled people need to be challenged. Therefore the common *images* of the disabled on minds can become transformed.

2.3. Education and Review of Literature

Education is the most important area of secondary socialization. It may play a role on reproducing intergroup inequality and discrimination within a society by delivering a stigmatizing and homogenizing view of some groups.⁷⁶ Textbooks, as primal instruments of formal education system do not transmit an objective knowledge, but convey certain political, social and cultural values.⁷⁷ They promote, what Apple calls, the “official knowledge”⁷⁸ of a society. However, textbooks also might let pupils build up a pluralist understanding of the social world. They have the potential to overturn stereotypes related to social perception of disability by presenting a just world. So, education (and textbooks) should be constructed as a field where anti discriminatory opinions and attitudes are developed, rather than the reproduction of discrimination.

National education and textbooks usually function as an arena where normalcy is (re)produced. In the Turkish context, existing educational policy regarding disability targets only students who learn *differently* or those who *need* special education.⁷⁹ This policy involves two shortcomings. One is that, it does not take the stigmatizing perception of disability in wider society into account. Secondly, it does not see disabled

⁷⁶ Kenan Çayır. “Gruplararası İlişkiler Bağlamında Ayrımcılık,” In *Ayrımcılık: Çok Boyutlu Yaklaşımlar*, edited by Kenan Çayır and Müge Ayan Ceyhan. İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi, 2012. 12-13.

⁷⁷ Gürel Tüzün, ed. *Ders Kitaplarında İnsan Hakları II Tarama Sonuçları*. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı, 2009. 13.

⁷⁸ Michael W. Apple. *Official Knowledge: Democratic Education in a Conservative Age*. New York: Routledge, 1993.

⁷⁹ Z. Hande Sart. “Engelli Çocukların Eğitim Hakkı: İnsan Hakları Çerçevesinde Kaynaştırma/Bütünleşme Yoluyla Eğitim,” In *Engellilik ve Ayrımcılık: Eğitimciler İçin Temel Metinler ve Örnek Dersler*, edited by Kenan Çayır, Melisa Soran, and Melike Ergün. İstanbul: Karekök, 2015. 105.

people as political actors, whose experiences are recognized. Thus educational policy and processes do not aim to transform the discriminatory culture, such as not wanting a disabled schoolmate, student, employee or neighbor. However, what should be strived after is transforming the stereotypical image of the disabled ('poor', 'disadvantaged', 'needy' and 'helpless') and making the social, legal, architectural and cultural barriers clear to be removed for combating social distance and discrimination within society.

A textbook –with what it includes and/or excludes– is the basic instrument, which pupils contact with during their school life and contains the 'valid knowledge' of the society. It presents apparently indisputable ideas and legitimizes a specific version of society,⁸⁰ by normalizing, homogenizing and classifying.⁸¹ However, it should show pupils how heterogeneous the society is and what sort of problems people come across for creating awareness of the world. Accordingly, textbooks are one of the powerful instruments during the process of construction of social reality. The images and texts in textbooks can reinforce and strengthen the stereotypes within a society. Therefore, they are not only cultural, but also political means as a mechanism of social control.⁸² As Çayır states,

“while on the one hand textbooks can contribute to the expansion of a country’s basic rights and freedoms, to the development of students’ imaginary, and to social peace; on the other hand, with the discriminatory discourse they contain, they can cause increased social conflict and inequality...”⁸³

The central position of textbooks in Turkish education system is indispensable.

Textbooks in Turkish formal education system are obligatory; additionally the

⁸⁰ Maria Inés, Taboas-Pais, and Ana Rey-Cao, “Disability in Physical Education Textbooks: An Analysis of Image Content,” *Adapted Physical Activity Quarterly* 29, no. 4, 2012. 313.

⁸¹ Susanne V. Knudsen, “Intersectionality: A Theoretical Inspiration in the Analysis of Minority Cultures and Identities in Textbooks,” In *Caught in the Web or Lost in the Textbook? Eighth International Conference on Learning and Educational Media*. edited by E. Bruillard, B. Aamotsbakken, S. V. Knudsen, and M. Horsley. IARTEM. 62. Accessed May 19, 2016. https://iartemblog.files.wordpress.com/2012/03/8th_iartem_2005-conference.pdf.

⁸² Michael W. Apple. *Teachers and Texts*. New York: Routledge, 1986.

⁸³ Kenan Çayır. *'Biz' Kimiz? Ders Kitaplarında Kimlik, Yurttaşlık, Haklar*. Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı, 2014. 2.

institutive authority, Ministry of National Education (MoNE), determines their programs and content and freely distributes them, without offering any other alternative to teachers. The Turkish nation state aims to ensure its existing ideological and cultural structure by transferring the dominant discourse and ignoring the issues regarded as taboo.⁸⁴ Hence it is impossible to see textbooks independent from the power relations within Turkish society. On the other hand, education has the potential to create a more egalitarian ethos. But the unequal relations in society are emphasized and crystallized by reinforcing stereotypes and thus, legitimizing discrimination via education.

To transform this dominant understanding, textbook analysis and reports are crucial for decision-making mechanisms. At this point, seeking for and raising awareness on stereotypes towards disability in Turkish textbooks are required to strengthen the movement's hand for rights-based politics. But research on textbooks does not focus on disability and see disability as a 'problem' to be investigated in the educational content; because it is accepted that, the disabled is not worth being included in textbooks. The ignorance of disability causes the reproduction of inequality and discrimination based on disability, through education.

The History Foundation periodically carries out the pioneering studies⁸⁵ on textbooks in Turkey since 2002, and analyzes textbooks by only looking at issues such as human rights in general, us-them dichotomy, gender and philosophy of education.⁸⁶ The criteria for analyzing textbooks and research reports do not include any information on disability. The perception of disability is not considered a topic to be discussed politically with reference to its representation in the content.

There are a handful of studies on the representation of disability in textbooks

⁸⁴ Ibid., 1.

⁸⁵ Human Rights in Textbooks I, II and III.

⁸⁶ Gürel Tüzün, ed. "Niteliksel Çözümleme İçin Ölçütler," In *Ders Kitaplarında İnsan Hakları II Tarama Sonuçları*. Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı, 2009. 363-73.

both in international and Turkish literature. Hardin complains of the stereotypical image of the disabled in textbooks, which is seeking for help and being represented without an integrated manner.⁸⁷ One of the researches was a report published in 2001 by Centre for English Language Education and Communication Research in Hong Kong⁸⁸ and focused on different teaching materials, not only textbooks. Examination papers were also investigated within research. One of the detected patterns at the end of the study was the change of the stereotypical representation of disability according to subject area, school level, publisher and mode (text/image). The general findings are; the rarity of disabled characters, visibility of only physical disability and stereotypes towards them. In addition to these findings, at some parts, there was no simple pattern with relation to disability. Linguistic analysis findings show that the dominant discourse reinforces negative stereotypes towards disability. For example, metaphors used in textbooks may include discriminatory, *genderized*, ageist and ableist points, such as the phrase “fathers of a country” and relating old/disabled people with “weakness”. Additionally, disabled people are depicted with old people and with ‘passive’ representations (needing help).⁸⁹ This research shows that textbook authors are aware of gender and ethnicity issues, because the findings under those titles are numerous. It can be read that they don’t find disability worth to discuss and review it in textbooks.

Another study concerning the depiction of disability in textbooks was a subject-based research⁹⁰, conducted in 2012 by Taboas-Pais and Rey-Cao on the image content of Physical Education textbooks in Spanish secondary schools. The patterns found different than the previous study explained were the intersectional issue of double

⁸⁷ Brent Hardin. “Physical Education Textbooks and Portrayals of Disability,” *PALAESTRA* 23, no. 4. 2007. 6-8.

⁸⁸ Centre for English Language Education and Communication Research, City University of Hong Kong. *Stereotypes in Textbooks and Teaching Materials in Hong Kong*. Human Rights Education in Asian Schools. Vol. 6. Hong Kong: Equal Opportunity Commission of Hong Kong, 2001. 57-73.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 68.

⁹⁰ Maria Inés, Taboas-Pais, and Ana Rey-Cao, “Disability in Physical Education Textbooks: An Analysis of Image Content,” *Adapted Physical Activity Quarterly* 29, no. 4, 2012. 310-28.

discrimination (disabled women were numerically less represented and also they were visible in relation to emotional attributions), and the dominance of orthopedically impairment over other types of disability. Another interesting point is the camera angle as disabled people are pictured. When a disabled person is photographed, the camera is positioned higher to her/him, and turned below. Even the depiction of disabled people contrasted with able-bodied people in image content.⁹¹

The third study⁹² was published in 2011 by Tuncer, Karasu, Altunay and Güler, that focused on primary school Turkish language books. Texts and images on disability were counted and examined. It is indicated that only 4 of 170 texts include disability.⁹³ Also, the study found no informative readings and notes about disability for awareness raising.

The fourth study was a short report⁹⁴ published in 2014 by Center for Sociology and Education Studies (SEÇBİR) in Turkey, aimed to appoint the numerical and contextual representation of disability in Turkish textbooks. The study was a cooperative research between the Center and an NGO on disability rights entitled Social Rights and Research Foundation (TOHAD). What is important and different at this juncture is the dialogue between academia and disability activism. The research shows that disability is mentioned something ‘defective’, again shows us the dominance of medical approach in Turkish textbooks. Textbooks portray disabled people ‘in need’ and to ‘feel sorry about’. So the major problem is supporting charity and not touching upon the rights-based aspect of the issue. Disabled characters are underrepresented both numerically and contextually, furthermore the scenes they are visible reinforce and

⁹¹ Ibid., 324.

⁹² A. Tuba Tuncer, Necdet Karasu, Banu Altunay, and Özgül Güler. “Involvement of Disability in Turkish Textbooks: An Example of Document Analysis,” In *Gazi Üniversitesi, Gazi Eğitim Fakültesi Dergisi*. 31:2, 2011. 439-457.

⁹³ Ibid., 450.

⁹⁴ Kenan Çayır and Melike Ergün. *Ders Kitaplarında Engellilik*. Accessed May 19, 2017. http://secbir.org/images/haber/2012/07/derskitaplarindaengellilik_rapor.pdf.

have the characteristics of traditional stereotypes towards disability in Turkey.

Literature on Turkish textbooks resonates with international literature. All four studies complain with the marginalizing perspective towards disability and disabled people in textbooks. So the exclusionist and discriminatory content of textbooks should be questioned, transformed and rendered in a diverse and inclusive status, reflecting the social reality to transform the attitudes, and struggle against discrimination. Since education might have a potential to create social change by including the representation of a pluralistic world-view, research on the representation of disability and the discourse constructed via educational materials is mandatory.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH FINDINGS

3.1. Content Analysis

A total of 31 disabled characters were coded in 20 textbooks examined and reported by content analysis. Some of the characters are represented in written texts, while others are represented in visuals. On the character distribution by subject, almost 70% of the characters found in the written content, and come from Turkish Language for middle school textbooks. Also almost 45% of the characters found in the visual content come from Elementary Civics textbooks.

Subject	Written content		Visual content	
	Number	Frequency	Number	Frequency
Elementary Civics	-	-	8	44,40
Turkish Language (Primary school)	3	23,10	3	16,70
Human Rights, Citizenship and Democracy	-	-	1	5,60
Social Studies	1	7,70	1	5,60
Turkish Language (Middle school)	9	69,20	5	27,80
Total	13	100	18	100

Table 2: The distribution of characters according to subject, and content type

On the distribution of characters by gender, it is found that more than half (54%) of the characters represented in the written content are men, and almost half of the characters found in the visual content are boys. So the representation of women and girls is fewer than men's and boys'. Women and girls are not visible in textbooks.

Gender and age	Frequency (%)	
	Written content	Visual content
Man	54,00	13,85
Woman	15,40	10,00
Girl	23,10	29,25
Boy	7,70	46,90

Table 3: The distribution of characters according to gender and age, and content type

In the representation of the characters for the type of impairment, it is found that orthopedic disability is the most frequent type of disability both in written content (31%) and in visual content (61%). This finding coincides with the common understanding about the disabled, and it does not reflect the heterogeneity of the disabled; because the image appears on the society's mind usually corresponds to an orthopedically impaired individual using a wheelchair.

Type of impairment	Frequency (%)	
	Written content	Visual content
Visual	23,00	11,10
Hearing	-	11,10
Speech	-	-
Orthopedic	30,80	61,10
Mental	15,40	-
Chronic illness	15,40	11,10
Multiple	15,40	5,60

Table 4: The distribution of characters according to type of impairment and content type

3.2. Critical Discourse Analysis

It is possible to compile the qualitative findings under five basic titles:

representing disability only within certain themes (themes about difference, communication and the five senses), identification of disability and exception of success stories, handling disability with a charity-based approach, problematic handling of disability in the context of human rights, problematic handling of disability in the context of human rights, and handling disability with medical model and defining differences as ‘problem’.

3.2.1. Representing Disability Only within Certain Themes

The fact that disability is not represented in whole textbook and it is locked in certain themes, especially in themes about ‘difference’ became one of the main problems drawing attention during the research. Disability is attached to certain points in the textbooks from different subjects by being briefly mentioned. Yet, disability should be represented in the textbooks as *an ordinary situation* throughout life. In this section of the thesis, it will be focused on the themes about ‘difference’ (*farklılık*), ‘communication’ (*iletişim*) and ‘the five senses’ (*beş duyu*) in textbooks, which specifically address disability, and it will be revealed in which contexts the disability was included in these themes.

3.2.1.1. Difference

Disability is found in the themes about ‘difference’ (*farklılık*) in Elementary Civics textbooks. For example, in three Elementary Civics textbooks analyzed, almost all of the content and characters addressing disability (6 of 8 characters) are found in themes entitled “We are Different, We Are Happy” (*Farklıyız, Mutluyuz*), “Difference is Beautiful” (*Farklılık Güzeldir*), “Being Different is Natural” (*Farklı Olmak Doğaldır*). The largest number of disabled people are found in the theme of “We are Different, We are Happy” in the first grade Elementary Civics textbook, among

these themes. Only 4 of 122 characters represented in all the images of this theme and counted in the scope of content analysis are disabled people; this ratio corresponds to 3%.

As exemplified in Figure 1, the physical features of individuals are referred with the concept of “difference” in the themes about ‘difference’ and the type of disability is emphasized mostly as well as features such as hair color, eye color, height.



Figure 1: Elementary Civics 1, MoNE, 40

WE ARE DIFFERENT, WE ARE HAPPY

Does everyone look alike in your class?

What do you see in the pictures below? Please explain.

Picture 3: -“My hearing device has fallen”.

-“I am sorry, I should have been more careful.”

Picture 4: -“I am blonde, you have black hair.”

Picture 5: -“My feathers are yellow. My friend’s feathers are green.”

It is noteworthy that the distinction of activities that a disabled individual can perform and/or cannot perform in these themes, including an approach aimed at the

integration of the disabled and non-disabled individuals, were emphasized. For example, a child using wheelchair depicted as watching his friends on the edge of a playground in Figure 1 is shown as playing basketball with his friends in the next frame. The main idea intended by such a flow is that, there are activities which the disabled people cannot perform; it is necessary to 'bring disabled individual to the life' by establishing a relationship with the things s/he can perform. However, it is necessary for adapting and transforming the content of the activity, instead of changing it at such moments (in the context of the cited example, playing basketball instead of football). The depiction of a child in the wheelchair as watching athletes in a frame while s/he is depicted as riding side by side with a wheelchair produced for sports purposes in the next frame can be given as an example in this regard. So the stereotypical perception of the disabled can be transformed with alternative and challenging representations in textbooks. Therefore, the idea and possibility of acting together, rather than segregating can be transmitted to the students.

In the textbooks, the representation of disability corresponds to the idea that is common in the society and disability is depicted mostly with orthopedically impaired individuals using wheelchairs. However, disability is a heterogeneous condition and there are different types of impairment, including orthopedic. When the characters in Elementary Civics textbooks are considered in terms of type of disability, the orthopedically impaired characters as well as hearing impaired characters are often found (Figures 1 and 2). It is possible to interpret the presence of hearing impaired characters as well as orthopedically impaired characters positive, in terms of making different impairments and experiences visible.



Figure 2: Elementary Civics 3, Sevgi, 20

“Let's not forget that Bahri is hard of hearing. Let's play a game which he won't have difficulty in playing.”
Is it an appropriate behavior to mock about different physical features of others? Share your thoughts with your friends.

In these themes, as it is in Figure 3 from the fourth grade Social Sciences textbook, it is mentioned that the differences are “natural” and the differences are “wealth”. Therefore, it is advised that differences should be “accepted” and “tolerated”. The importance of humanity and respect for differences is emphasized. Another point to draw attention at this point is that the differences of the characters described as ‘disabled’ or ‘different’ in these themes are underlined and the recognition of difference is desired. This situation carries the risk of ‘identification’, instead of ordinariness of the difference. The problem of ‘identification’ will be discussed in the next section of the findings.



Figure 3: Social Studies 4, Koza, 16

3.2.1.2. Communication

Another field where disability is frequent in the textbooks is the themes about ‘communication’ (*iletiřim*) in Elementary Civics and Social Studies textbooks. These themes provide information on communication types and rules for effective communication. However, this information is chosen or prepared with the assumption that the reader is ‘non-disabled’ and they address to ‘non-disabled’ individuals. It is stated that dialogue is the most effective way to communicate in the content quoted from 7th grade Social Studies textbook below.

“... İnsandan insana ulaşma yoludur konuşmak. ... Kiřinin tüm duygularının yanı sıra tüm düşüncelerini de çevresine ulařtırabildiđi en etkin yoldur. ... İletiřim kurmanın bir diđer yolu ise beden dilidir. ... Genellikle işitme engelli insanların kullandığı bu iletiřim řeklini işitme problemi olmayan kişiler de kullanabilir.” (Sosyal Bilgiler 7, Ekoyay, 12-15)

“... Dialogue is the way to reach an individual.... Besides the feelings, it is the most efficient way that one can transmit all of her/his thoughts. ... Another way to communicate is the body language, which is usually used by our hearing impaired people, can also be used by people who do not have a hearing problem.” (Social Studies 7, Ekoyay, 12-15)

It is possible to say that the quote can also mean that individuals ‘who cannot communicate through verbal speech’ cannot communicate effectively. Disability is mentioned in the last part of the related text while informing about the body language. This overlaps with the fact that the discourse and approach used in the overall textbook do not cover disability, and disability is attached only to a part of the issues that are seen relevant. It is also problematic to use the phrase “body language” instead of “sign language” as a form of communication used by hearing-impaired individuals.

In Figure 4 from the 2nd grade Elementary Civics textbook, it is desired to explain how the elements such as body language and tone of voice are important and effective when communicating. At the end of the page, a question was added to make the students think how hearing-impaired people communicate.



Figure 4: Elementary Civics 2, Evren, 75

While Communicating

Picture 1: "I guess I steamed my teacher's beam."

Yasin thinks that his teacher is angry with him. What could be the reason for him to think like that?

Picture 2: "My mother loves me so much."

Hande thinks that her mother loves her so much. What could be the reason for her to think like that?

Picture 3: - "I am fine."

- "But you sound sad."

Burçin's mother thinks that she is sad. What could be the reason for her to think like that?

Have you ever thought about how hearing impaired people communicate?

Disability is a frequently related to communication, information and communication technologies for accessibility today is not handled in a comprehensive and awareness raising manner in the textbooks, and it is attached to the end of the subject via an information note or question. A similar example is also found in 5th grade Mathematics textbook. In the quote in Figure 5, a short information that explains the meaning of the embossed dot on button 5 of keyed phones -even though its use is considerably diminished today- in the "Do you know?" box, and is pinned in any

place of the subject. At this point, it should not be denied that the textbooks have an effort to include disability; but it will be more meaningful that this effort is not limited to certain points and spread throughout the book.

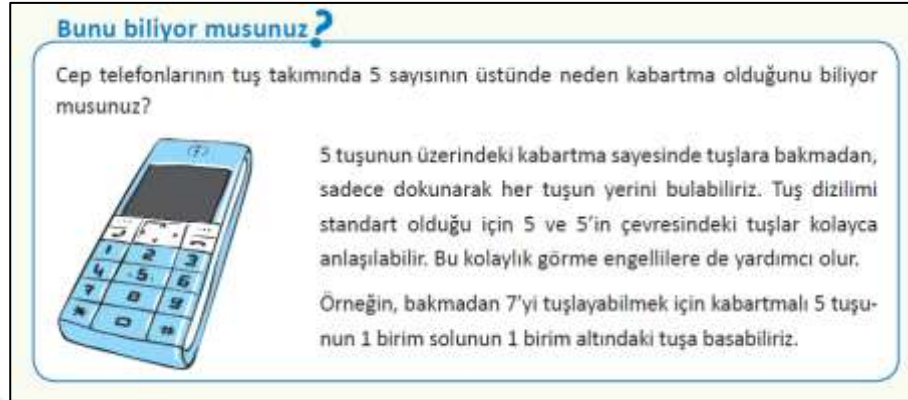


Figure 5: Mathematics 5, MoNE, 155

Do you know?

Do you know why there is an embossed dot on button 5 on the cell phone keypad? With the embossed dot on button 5, we can locate other buttons by just touching, without looking. As keypads are standart, the key number 5 and the keys around 5 can be found easily. This convenience helps visually impaired people. For example, to click the button 7 without looking, we can click the key 1 unit left and 1 unit below 5.

3.2.1.3. The Five Senses

Another example of the representation of disability within certain themes is the theme about 'the five senses' ('beş duyu') in Physical Sciences textbooks. After informing about eyesight, as one of the five senses in this theme, Braille Alphabet is included as a reading text at the end of the section (Figure 6).

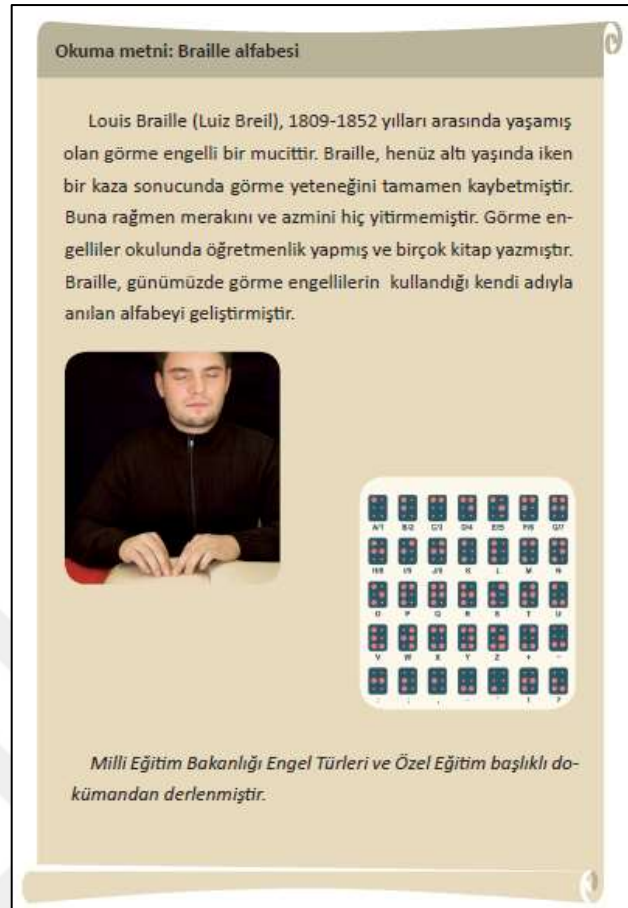


Figure 6: Physical Sciences 3, MoNE, 9

Reading text: Braille alphabet

Louis Braille is a visually impaired inventor who lived between 1809-1852. Braille lost his sight because of an accident when he was 6 years old. Despite this, he never lost curiosity and ambition. He worked as a teacher in a school for the visually impaired, and wrote many books. Braille created the alphabet named after its originator and used by the visually impaired today.

Edited from the document entitled Ministry of National Education - Types of Disabilities and Special Education.

In the reading text, brief information about Louis Braille is provided. In addition to the representation of disability with a reading text attached to the end of the subject, it is emphasized that Braille “had never lost his curiosity and ambition *despite of being disabled*”. With this emphasis expressed by the assumption that a person who is visually impaired ‘should not lose curiosity and ambition’, the efforts of disabled people are shown as a solution to the difficulties they faced and no reference is made to the social, legal and environmental aspects of the matter. This is a pattern, found in different places in the context of the handling of

disability in textbooks. With the use of the concept “despite”, the approach that heroizes and exempts some disabled people is also a point to be questioned and it will be addressed in the next section of the findings.

When these three subheadings are collected, the fact that disability is not included in the discourse and approach in the whole textbook, as well as the different aspects and the problems faced by the disabled people are not mentioned makes it difficult to discuss the disability in the context of human rights. Hence, a hierarchical relationship is established between disabled people and non-disabled people, and makes it difficult for students to adopt the belief that disabled people are equal citizens and holders of rights. For this reason, the fact that books covering disability only in certain themes and the emphasis on “tolerating the differences” in the context of “humanity” have the potential of preventing the disabled from being involved in every aspect of social life; making it difficult to consider disability as an ‘ordinary’ condition.

3.2.2. Identification of Disability and Exception of Success Stories

As argued in the previous heading, underlining differences of the characters that are described as “disabled” or “different” carries the risk of identification instead of recognition of ‘ordinariness’. Considering found and reported characters during the research, it is noteworthy that most of them are called with the type of impairment and/or adding the type of impairment in front of the names of the characters as an adjective. Such examples are frequently found in texts especially in Turkish Language textbooks. This situation, which can be called as *the identification of disability*, presents a danger; because it can cause disabled people to be considered *primarily and only* as disabled. However, disabled people are not only disabled; they have different features and aspects (occupation, interest, etc.). For example, an

orthopedically impaired individual may be an engineer at the same time, and there is no need to refer to feature (disability) other than her/his professional identity in some contexts. The newspaper clipping in Figure 7 is an example for this situation, quoted from 7th grade Social Studies textbook. The news mentions about Mustafa Yazgöl, who made one-room school with his own effort because there was not a school at where he lived. The words “A disabled called Mustafa Yazgöl” and “physically impaired Mustafa Yazgöl” especially emphasize that the character is disabled.



Figure 7: Social Studies 7, MoNE, 46

EDUCATION IS A MUST

A disabled man named Mustafa Yazgöl, built a 12 m² one-room school next to his house because he didn't want the children to be uneducated due to lack of school. He also made teachers to be assigned there.

Physically impaired Mustafa Yazgöl said "Education is a must" and achieved the impossible in Basamak village in Yüksekova district of Hakkari. 6 months ago, Yazgöl built a 12 m² one-room school next to his house, because there was no school in the village for his 2 children and his neighbor's 3 children. Later, he wrote a letter of application to Hakkari's Provincial Directorate of National Education and wanted teachers to be assigned.

ALL OF THEM ARE SUCCESSFUL

After evaluating the application, authorities approved the building as a substitute classroom

for the nearest elementary school in Alacık village and sent teachers to the village starting by the spring term of 2010-2011 academic year. With the arrival of the teacher, Şahabettin Çelçok, Melike (7) and Yusuf Yazgöl (8); Ali (7), Rabia (8) and Fatma Bakin (7) 's destinies were changed and they learned how to read and write.

A HOUSE IS ALSO ALLOCATED

After the assignment of the teacher to the building he built for his children, Yazgöl also provided one of the rooms in his house for Çelçok and said "The teacher came here for our children. Life is so hard here, especially in winter, and there is no rental house in the village. So I gave one of the rooms in my house to him. Whatever we do for him won't be enough. 5 children shouldn't be illiterate and they should be educated. Education is always necessary."
Edited from newspaper, March 15, 2011.

The fact that Yazgöl is disabled is a detail that is not related to news' content and does not carry news value. It will be useful to remember the use of the concept "despite" another result, which is found commonly and explained in the next paragraph. From a similar point of view, "achieving the impossible" emphasized in the news text, suggests to aim at making the readers feel that 'the character is determined despite of his impairment'. Another point that should not be neglected in the related news is that the content quoted under the title of "Education is a must" is the result of a situation in which the right to education is violated. However, there is no information or directive on this issue in the news text and on the relevant page of the textbook, and trying to cope with such a problem by a citizen alone is not questioned in the context of the violation of the right to education.

In the textbooks, it is often seen that being 'extraordinary' and 'heroism' are attributed to disabled characters. The stories are presented as success stories and the characters are represented as exceptions. At this point, the successes that will 'not be expected from a disabled individual' comes out in different places in the textbooks. The first of the following examples are quoted from some parts of a reading text from 8th grade Turkish Language textbook; other example is quoted from 3rd grade Physical Sciences textbook. Coming out in different subjects tells us that this situation is a pattern. Helen Keller's life story, which is the subject of the first example, is a

success story considering the conditions of the time she lived.



Figure 8: Turkish Language 8, MoNE, 65

“Perkins Görme Engelliler Okulu’ndan yeni mezun olan yirmi yaşındaki genç öğretmen Anne Mansfield Sullivan, Helen Keller’a öğretmenlik yapmak üzere Tuscumbia şehrine geldiğinde, karşısında duran konuşma, görme ve işitme engelli küçük kızın insan beyninin doğru kullanıldığında olağanüstü bir kapasitesi olduğunu tüm dünyaya göstereceğini bilmiyordu. ... Helen yenilgiye uğramayı kabullenmektense durmaksızın çalışarak mücadeleden başarıyla çıkmayı seçmişti. ... Helen Keller on yaşına geldiğinde konuşmayı öğrenmeye karar verdi. Norveç’te görme ve işitme engelli küçük bir kızın konuşmayı başardığından haberi olmuştu. Kendisine duyduğu sonsuz güvenle ‘Bir başkası başardıysa ben de başarabilirim’ diyordu. ... Helen Keller için vazgeçmek yoktu.” (Türkçe 8, MEB, 64-65)

“The 20 year-old young teacher Anne Mansfield Sullivan, who was graduated from Perkins School for the Visually Impaired and arrived in Tuscumbia to teach Helen Keller, didn’t know that the speech, visually and hearing impaired girl standing in front of her would show the world that the human brain has a remarkable capacity when it is used accurate. ... Helen chose to get out of a struggle successfully rather than to accept defeat... At the age of 10, Helen Keller decided to learn how to speak. She has heard about a visually and hearing impaired little girl in Norway has been successful in learning how to speak. With infinite trust to herself, she said ‘If someone has succeeded, I can succeed too’. There was no giving up for Helen Keller.” (Turkish Language 8, MoNE, 64-65)

However, the glorification of being able to achieve something with ambition ‘despite of’ being disabled is not limited to this example in textbooks. This situation, which is seen as a pattern repeating itself in different parts of the same book or in different subjects and levels, heroizes and regards the characters as exceptional, prevents the ‘ordinariness’ of disability.

The example in Figure 9, which is quoted from 3rd grade Physical Sciences textbook giving information about Thomas Edison, does not objectively deal with Edison's scientific work, but has a basic idea of how successful he is 'despite of his impairment'.



Figure 9: Physical Sciences 3, MoNE, 13

Let's get to know about a scientist

Thomas Edison was a hearing impaired scientist who lived between 1847 and 1931. Because of an illness, he started to have difficulties in hearing, and in consequence of fire he lost his hearing permanently. Being hearing impaired never interfered with his success. He made so many experiments and invented the lamp. In his early ages, he even set up a laboratory inside his house. He showed us that nothing can compete with being eager, determined and zealous. Edited from TÜBİTAK - Science for Children Magazine "A Successful Inventer: Thomas Alva Edison", June 2006.

In the textbooks, it is necessary for the disabled to take place by emphasizing the important aspects regarding the context they are represented, without referring only to the types of impairment. Disability should be considered an ordinary situation rather than a 'label' addressed at every opportunity, and disabled characters should be represented in every spheres of life, in many different ways, *without emphasizing disability and without exception of their successes.*

3.2.3. Handling Disability with a Charity-based Approach

In the textbooks examined during the research, it appears that the disability is

represented by a *charity-based axis*. The visibility of the disabled characters is frequently referred to emotions such as ‘sadness’, ‘pity’ and ‘mercy’, and phrases such as “*our disabled brothers*” and “*our disabled children*” are used. Thus, the belief that disabled people are hierarchically inferior among social groups gets stronger; it is forgotten that disabled people are citizens with equal rights and free as everyone and it is difficult to defend a rights-based approach for disability. One of the important reading texts to be detailed at this point is *Imaginary Child (Hayal Çocuk)* in 4th grade Turkish Language textbook.

The main character in *Imaginary Child* is Zuhâl, an orthopedically impaired child. She cannot go out, so watches his peers playing in the street from the window and speaks to them by writing a letter (Figure 10).



Figure 10: Turkish Language 4, Özgün, 44

“... Beni duymanıza gerek yok. Hissedin yeter. Benim de bu dünyada yaşadığımı, benim gibi engelli kardeşlerinizin olduğunu hissedin, yeter. Ya kollarım, ellerim tutmasa ne olurdu hâlîm? Bacaklarım engelli ama ellerim, kollarım sapasağlam. Beynim de öyle. Hele kalbim, sevgi dolu! ... O günü, yani tekerlekli sandalyeye kavuşacağım günü sabırsızlıkla bekliyorum. Yok, hayır! Sabırsızlıkla değil, sabırla bekliyorum. Çünkü sabretmeyi öğrendim. Benim durumumdaki bir çocuk için sabır çok önemli. Sabretmesini bilmeyen bu duruma dayanamaz. ... Sahip olduğunuz şeylerin değerini bilin. Bir çift sağlam bacağın ne kadar önemli olduğunu düşünün.” (Türkçe 4, Özgün, 45-46)

“... *You don't need to hear me. Just feel; it is enough. Just feel that I am also living in this world, and there are disabled brothers/sisters, that would be enough. What would I be, if my arms, hands didn't work? My legs are impaired but my hands and arms are fit. So is my brain. My heart especially, is full of love! ... I am impatiently waiting for the day I will have a*

wheelchair. No! Not impatiently, patiently. Because I have learned how to be patient. Patience is very important for a child like me. The one who does not know how to be patient cannot bear this situation. ... Appreciate the things you have. Think about how important it is to have a pair of fit legs. To meet someone who is like me might make you think about this.”
(Turkish Language 4, Özgün, 45-46)



Figure 11: Turkish Language 4, Özgün, 46

In the letter, it is shown that Zuhâl cannot play in the street as a result of the ‘impairment’ and the absence of a wheelchair -however, it is emphasized that Zuhâl is a person full of love *despite of* this state-; no information or expression about the obstacles for equal participation of the disabled in life are included in the text. Besides, with the expressions “What would I be, if my arms, hands didn’t work? My legs are impaired but my hands and arms are fit. So is my brain,” it is also possible to say that a hierarchy between different types of impairments is created. Furthermore, the expressions “I accepted my situation”, “The one who does not know how to be patient cannot bear this situation” reinforce the ‘pitying’ attitudes towards the disabled. Disability is presented as a situation ‘from which lesson should be taken’ and Zuhâl sees herself as a ‘tragedy’ by putting herself in a position below the non-disabled. Emphasizing disability as ‘a situation that is difficult to endure and that can be coped with by being patient and accepting’, and describing it as ‘an individual tragedy’ strengthens the perception that disabled individuals in society are constantly ‘sad’ and ‘sorry’.

In the textbooks, disability is handled by associating with charity campaigns.

This situation overlaps with the charity-based and ‘pitying’ perception of disability; it strengthens the idea that disabled individuals are ‘helpless’, ‘miserable’ and ‘helpless’ individuals. As a result of this, it is becoming difficult for students to be aware of disability-based discrimination and to accept the idea that disabled people are not beneficiaries and objects of the help, but are independent, equal citizens.

The handling of disability with a charity-based approach is also found in the sections about “foundations” and “civil society”, which are covered in 7th grade Social Studies textbook. The importance of charity and the tradition of foundation are covered, and examples of different foundations in the pre-republican period are given. One of the foundations addressed is the Foundation Helping the Blind (Figure 12).



Figure 12: Social Studies 7, MoNE, 131

Foundation Helping the Blind

The name of the foundation: Hüseyin Ağa Foundation

Site of establishment: Siirt

Date of establishment: 1903

Endowment: Gardens and shops being consecrated to the blind...

With the information above, what can be told about the foundations in the Ottoman period?

Please explain.

Following the information that the foundation tradition continued after the declaration of the republic, the activities of the General Directorate for Foundations are introduced and “pension for needy” is announced. In this explanation, the disabled people are referred as “needy” individuals.

It is a historical fact that disability is associated with philanthropy at certain

periods. However, disability is still being handled today with a charity-based approach and is presented as an ‘issue that can be solved through charity campaigns’. In the case of Nongovernmental Organizations, which are handled in 4th grade Social Studies textbooks and shown in Figure 13, the role of civil society is reduced to running charity campaigns and aid is emphasized as a necessity of effective citizenship. This section includes only non-governmental organizations that conduct charity-based works and the name of Six Points Association for the Blind is also addressed.



Figure 13: Social Studies 4, Koza, 141

-Dear children, there are many institutions and nongovernmental organizations around working for us. Who can tell the names of these organizations and give information about?

-Association of Hope for Children tries to help the children living in the street.


-Six Points Association for the Blind succors for the help of the visually impaired.

-AKUT is known for their work on search and rescue.

Nongovernmental organizations are social organizations that strengthen the social relations between people and enrich sharing. In these organizations, friendship and feelings of

fraternity are consolidated, and the solutions are searched for different problems.
When you grow up, in which nongovernmental organization would you like to work? Please explain why.

Another example of charity-based handling of disability is a math problem about the Bottle Cap Campaign, which has been extensively conducted in schools in recent years and which is supported by the public (Figure 14).

27.  Tekerlekli sandalye kampanyasına destek vermek için iki okul, pet şişe kapağı toplamaktadır. A okulu 56 789, B okulu 62 450 kapak toplamıştır. Buna göre aşağıdaki soruların cevaplarını tahmin ediniz.

a) Hangi okul daha çok kapak toplamıştır? Bu okul yaklaşık kaç tane fazla kapak toplamıştır?

b) İki okul birlikte yaklaşık kaç kapak toplamıştır?

c) İki okul birlikte 150 000 kapak toplamayı hedeflemektedir. Sizce hedeflerine ulaşabilmişler midir? Hedeflerine ulaşamadıysa yaklaşık kaç kapak daha toplamaları gerekir?

Figure 14: Mathematics 5, MoNE, 57

To support the wheelchair campaign, two schools are collecting plastic bottle caps. School A collects 56.789 caps, whereas school B collects 62.450.

Guess the answers of the questions below.

- a) *Which school collected more caps? How many more?*
b) *How many caps in total did both schools collect?*
c) *Two schools are aiming to collect 150.000 caps. Do you think they achieved their goal? If not, how many caps should they collect more?*

Charity campaigns strengthen the perception that disabled people are people in need of the society, and thus prevent them from being perceived as free, independent citizens with equal rights. For example, Bottle Cap Campaign aims to donate wheelchairs to disabled people in exchange for a certain amount of pet bottle caps. The most important point to be underlined and defended in this context is that the state is obliged to meet the needs of wheelchairs and there is/should be no need for charity campaigns. The 'pitying' perception that is dominant in Turkish society due to charity

campaigns is becoming chronic and the fact that the state is responsible for meeting the needs of disabled people is ignored.

One of the subjects in which the charity-based approach to disability is most prominent is Religious Culture and Morals. At this point, it is necessary to focus on the concept of “philanthropy” as a feature often referred by the expression “act in good faith” in Religious Culture and Morals textbooks. In expressions quoted from 4th grade Religious Culture and Morals textbook below, it is said that the merchant who seeks a new employee for the store is shown as “merciful” because s/he “gave her/his place to the old and disabled man” as a reason for choosing the employee.

Güzel davranışlarda bulunalım

Büyük tüccarlardan birisi, mağazasına bir eleman alacağını ilan etti. Elli kadar kişi geldi. Bunlardan birini seçti... “Neden bunu seçtin?” sorusuna mağaza sahibi yanıt verdi: ... İçeri girince oturdu, sonra yerini yaşlı ve sakat adama yer verdi. Bu onun merhametli, saygılı ve düşünceli olduğunu gösterir. (Din Kültürü ve Ahlak Bilgisi 4, Yıldırım, 24)

Let's act in good faith

A merchant announced that s/he is to hire a worker to her/his store. Almost 50 people came. The merchant chose one. ... and answered the question “Why did you hire that applicant?” ... “S/he came in and sat, then gave her/his place to an old and disabled man. This shows that he is merciful, respectful and thoughtful.”

(Religious Culture and Morals 4, Yıldırım, 24)

The concept ‘mercy’ found in many places in Religious Culture and Morals textbooks, is defined as “the feeling of love, compassion and *pity* for any creature”⁹⁵ in 8th grade textbook. The definition of the concept of ‘mercy’ in such way shows us that Religious Culture and Morals textbooks also approach to disability and the disabled with charity-based perspective, when it is combined with the lack of rights-based expressions in the textbooks. Furthermore, 6th grade Religious Culture and Morals textbook mentions about the importance of financial aid under the “measures to provide social security and to prevent imbalance”, and expressions such as “charitable contribution”, “helping needy people” are frequently referred in various textbooks of

⁹⁵ Religious Culture and Morals 8, MoNE, 64.

this subject. It is possible to say that the general discourse in Religious Culture and Morals textbooks reproduces the dominant, exclusivist understanding towards the disabled by using expressions such as “to have mercy on needy/poor people” and “financial aid”. Therefore, the language and prevailing discourse used in these books reinforce the pitying approach to disability.

3.2.4. Problematic Handling of Disability in the Context of Human Rights

In the previous heading, we said that handling of disability with an aid-based approach reinforces the perception that disabled individuals are ‘in need’, and this situation prevents to consider the matter based on human rights approach. Disability is handled with a rights-based approach even in the textbooks of Human Rights, Citizenship and Democracy examined within the scope of the research. In the reading text titled Badi and Bidi on the textbook, it is mentioned about a character, who is excluded by his friends because of being lame.

-Çık oyundan! Sen topalsın, kimseyi tutamazsın!

-Ahh! Keşke beni de oyuna katsalar... Benim hiç arkadaşım yok. Beni sevmiyorlar. Bana “topal” diyorlar, “Badi” diye alay ediyorlar, canım yanıyor. (İnsan Hakları, Yurttaşlık ve Demokrasi 4, MEB, 58-59)

-Get out of the game! You are lame, you cannot hold anybody.

-Ahh! I wish they include me in their game... I do not have any friends. They do not like me.

They call me “lame”, they make fun of me by saying “Badi”, it hurts.

(Human Rights, Citizenship and Democracy 4, MoNE, 58-59)

Although emphasizing that the character is “discriminated” in the discussion questions at the end of the text and drawing attention that the character is “blocked” is positive, empathy and aid are still emphasized as a solution at the end of the questions (See Question 7).

Düşünelim, Tartışalım

... Badi’ye nasıl bir ayrımcılık yapılmış?

...engellendiğinde ne hissedersin?

...onları anlayabiliyor musun?

...yardım etmeye çalışır mısın? (İnsan Hakları, Yurttaşlık ve Demokrasi 4, MEB, 60)

Let's Think and Discuss

1. ... *On what basis did Badi face discrimination?*
6. ... *what do you feel when you are blocked?*
7. ... *Can you understand them? ... Do you try to help them?*
(*Human Rights, Citizenship and Democracy 4, MoNE, 60*)

While one of the discussion questions following another reading text in the book could be interpreted as positive in terms of indicating that disabled people are *hindered* by environmental regulations, it is problematic because of reducing the solution to *individual aid*. If disability occurs because of regulating the environment without regarding differences, and if it affects the capabilities of individuals, the solution should be presented as *accessibility for all* and providing necessary *reasonable regulations* on a human-rights level.

Düşünelim, Tartışalım

... 2. Engelli bir arkadaşınızın okuldaki eksiklikler nedeniyle bazı işlerini yapamadığını fark ettiniz, arkadaşınıza yardım edebilmek için ne yapabilirsiniz? (İnsan Hakları, Yurttaşlık ve Demokrasi 4, MEB, 68)

Let's Think and Discuss

- ...2. *You realized that a disabled friend of yours cannot do some stuff because of the deficiencies at school. What can you do to help your friend?*
(*Human Rights, Citizenship and Democracy 4, MoNE, 68*)

By finding out that some disabled people cannot use the right to education, a suggestion is made to overcome the problem in the following Let's Learn box quoted from the Human Rights, Citizenship and Democracy textbook.

Bilgi Edinelim

Her insan farklıdır. Farklılıklar vardır ve bu doğaldır. ... Kimi insanlarla ten rengimiz, kimisi ile ses tonumuz, kimisi ile fiziksel özelliklerimiz, kimisi ile kültürel özelliklerimiz, kimisi ile dilimiz, kimisi ile dinimiz farklıdır. ... İnsanların farklılıkları kimi zaman dezavantaja dönüşmektedir. ...eşit davranmak dezavantajı ortadan kaldırmak için yeterli değildir. ...pozitif ayrımcılık yapmak gerekebilir. Örneğin, bazı engelli arkadaşlarımız engelleri nedeniyle eğitim hakkını kullanamamaktadır. Eşitlikçi bakış açısıyla bakıldığında "herkes eşit, onlar da okula gelsin, okul herkese açık" denilebilir. Ancak onların engelleri bu haklarını kullanmayı imkânsız hâle getirmektedir. Bu sorunun üstesinden gelmek için engelli öğrencilere devlet tarafından evlerinde eğitim hizmeti alma imkânı sağlanmıştır. (İnsan Hakları, Yurttaşlık ve Demokrasi 4, MEB, 85-86)

Let's Learn

Everybody is different. There are differences and this is natural. ... Some have different body color, some have different voice, physical features, culture, language or religion. ... Differences of individuals sometimes become a disadvantage. ... Treating equally is not enough to eliminate the disadvantage. ... It might be necessary to make an affirmative action. For example, some of our disabled friends cannot actualize their right to education because of their impairments. It can be said “Everybody is equal, let them come to school, school is for everybody” with an egalitarian perspective. But their impairments make it impossible to use their right to education. To overcome this, an opportunity has been provided by the state for the disabled students to be educated at home.
(*Human Rights, Citizenship and Democracy 4, MoNE, 85-86*)

It is important to point out in the quotation above that treating equally without considering the differences is not sufficient to remove the problem. Just as in this case, practices regarding the population in general are discrimination and have negative consequences for the disabled. Such form of discrimination, which is called *indirect discrimination*, is not taken into account in the textbooks.

In this context, that is intended to inform on indirect discrimination, the disabled failing to actualize the right to education is justified by the expression “due to their disabilities” and “their disabilities make it impossible to actualize the rights”. This approach reproduces the prevailing discourse that interprets disability as an individual problem and rejects the social aspect of disability. However, the disability results from not the ‘impairment’ in one’s body, on the contrary from the arrangement of social regulations in an ‘ableist’ and ‘exclusivist’ way regardless of differences. For this reason, disabled people who *cannot* actualize the right to education have problems because of *being hindered*, not because of *their disabilities*. Furthermore, state’s providing disabled students with the opportunity to receive education services at home is handled as the solution to this problem in the textbook. Home education service is a matter discussed and disagreed by disability rights activists, educators and experts from different disciplines. However, when considered together with the prevailing discourse in the textbooks, home education service carries the risk to

exclude disabled individuals from social life, thus to prevent social contact. This risk can be avoided in textbooks, when a frame in which disabled people participate in all spheres of social life -and the information that it is a right- and when books are provided with a rights-based approach. At this point, the necessity of accessibility for participation of the disabled in social life should be emphasized in the relevant quotation; the education system and the institutions should be designed and serve as *accessible to all*.

3.2.5. Handling Disability with Medical Model and Defining Differences as ‘Problem’

Disability is handled on a different level in secondary school textbooks examined within the scope of the research. While the discourse in Health Education textbooks handles disability with medical model and aims for treatment, Sociology and Psychology textbooks include a content that describes being ‘normal’ -*being healthy*- and defines descriptions other than this -*being disabled*- as ‘social problem’.

3.2.5.1. Medical Model and Ableism

The first unit of Health Education textbooks is entitled “Health, Disease and Disability”. These books include the definition of health by citing the World Health Organization, and according to the definition, disability is excluded from being healthy as it is referred together with disease.

Dünya Sağlık Örgütü:

Sağlık: *Sadece* hastalık ve sakatlık olmaması değil; ...tam bir iyilik hâli. (Sağlık Bilgisi, MEB, 12)

World Health Organization:

Health: ... not merely the absence of disease or infirmity; ... a state of complete physical, mental, and social well-being. (Health Education, MoNE, 12)

At this point, it will be meaningful to remember the medical model, which sees

disability as an unwanted state and an individual problem. From this point of view, disability is a disease that originates in the individual and belongs to the individual, and it should be treated or corrected. For this reason, unhealthy individuals are deferred. It is said that “Healthy society is composed of healthy individuals” and “Healthy and qualified human power” are wealth for the societies.

Sağlıklı insan; üretken, kendinin, ailesinin ve ülkesinin mutluluğu için çalışan, sosyal bir varlık olarak kendinden beklenen görevleri yerine getirebilen kişidir. (Sağlık Bilgisi, MEB, 39)

Sağlıklı bir toplum sağlıklı bireylerden oluşur. Sağlıklı bireylerden oluşan toplumlar daha kolay kalkınabilir. Çünkü sağlıklı insanlar daha verimli çalışır, daha çok üretirler. ... Toplumların en önemli zenginliği sağlıklı ve nitelikli insan gücüdür. (Sağlık Bilgisi, Tuna, 22)

A healthy individual is the one who is productive; who works for herself/himself, for her/his family and country; who can fulfill the expected tasks as a social being.
(Health Education, MoNE, 29)

A healthy society is composed of healthy individuals. The societies which are composed of healthy individuals can easily develop. Because healthy people work more effective and produce more.
... The most important wealth of a society is its healthy and qualified human power.
(Health Education, Tuna, 22)

In this context, it is possible to say that this approach defines unhealthy individuals as ‘non-beneficial’ individuals to the society. This approach glorifying and imposing on being healthy is handled as a way of thinking, an ideology that legitimizes disability based discrimination, and called *ableism*. Ableism prevents disabled people from being perceived as holders of rights and equal citizens, and causes them to exist as a ‘burden to the society’. It strengthens the perception that disabled people cannot take advantage of their rights due to their ‘individual impairments’ rather than the lack of planning and regulations necessary for equal participation in social life. As a result this, charity-based approach to disability is dominant in society and disabled individuals are not characterized as subjects of rights; instead as objects of help who are expected to adapt to the society and/or who are ‘needy’ and ‘pitiful’.

In Health Education textbooks, some solutions are provided for disabled

people's "adaptation to social life". These solutions, however, do not reflect a single point of view and they are partly in conflict with each other. At some points in the books, it is mentioned that disability is not only social but also individual; at some points, there are also discourses that consider disability as an individual tragedy. This suggests us that not only a single approach to disability is adopted in Health Education textbooks.

Engel, kişinin eğitim ve iş yaşamındaki performans ve başarısını olumsuz etkilediği gibi günlük gereksinimlerini karşılamada da sorunlar oluşturmakta, engelli kişi bir başkasının yardımına ihtiyaç duyabilmekte ... (Sağlık Bilgisi 9, Tuna, 13)

Hastalığın *yalnızca* bireyin sorunu olmadığı anlayışı ... (Sağlık Bilgisi 9, Tuna, 14)

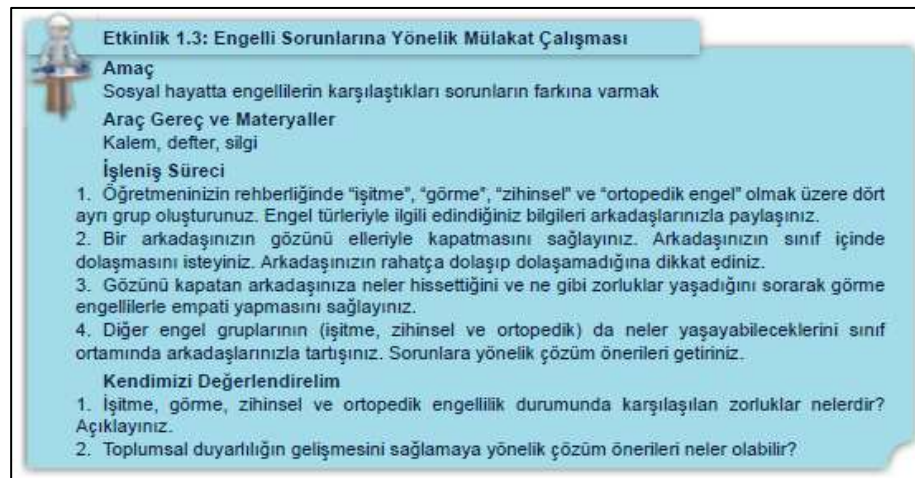
Tüm engellerde olduğu gibi bireyin ve ailesinin sorunu olmaktan çok toplumu ilgilendiren bir durum ... (Sağlık Bilgisi 9, Tuna, 13)

Impairment affects the performance and success negatively in education and business life, and also causes problems on meeting daily necessities, and the disabled individual may need the help of others. (Health Education 9, Tuna, 13)

The understanding that illness is not the problem of the individual only... (Health Education 9, Tuna, 14)

It is a situation that regards whole society, instead of being a problem of an individual or the family. (Health Education 9, Tuna, 13)

Considering the solutions that are offered for "adaptation to social life" in the Health Education textbooks, firstly "empathy" studies are mentioned. In the empathy activity quoted in Figure 15, it is aimed to make students aware of the problems faced by disabled people by closing their eyes and wandering around the class.



Etkinlik 1.3: Engelli Sorunlarına Yönelik Mülakat Çalışması

Amaç
Sosyal hayatta engellilerin karşılaştıkları sorunların farkına varmak

Araç Gereç ve Materyaller
Kalem, defter, silgi

İşleniş Süreci

1. Öğretmeninizin rehberliğinde "işitme", "görme", "zihinsel" ve "ortopedik engel" olmak üzere dört ayrı grup oluşturunuz. Engel türleriyle ilgili edindiğiniz bilgileri arkadaşlarınızla paylaşınız.
2. Bir arkadaşınızın gözünü elleriyle kapatmasını sağlayınız. Arkadaşınızın sınıf içinde dolaşmasını isteyiniz. Arkadaşınızın rahatça dolaşıp dolaşamadığına dikkat ediniz.
3. Gözünü kapatan arkadaşınıza neler hissettiğini ve ne gibi zorluklar yaşadığını sorarak görme engellilerle empati yapmasını sağlayınız.
4. Diğer engel gruplarının (işitme, zihinsel ve ortopedik) da neler yaşayabileceklerini sınıf ortamında arkadaşlarınızla tartışınız. Sorunlara yönelik çözüm önerileri getiriniz.

Kendimizi Değerlendirelim

1. İşitme, görme, zihinsel ve ortopedik engellilik durumunda karşılaşılan zorluklar nelerdir? Açıklayınız.
2. Toplumsal duyarlılığın gelişmesini sağlamaya yönelik çözüm önerileri neler olabilir?

Figure 15: Health Education, MoNE, 13

Activity 1.3: Interview practice about problems of the disabled

Objective: To recognize the problems that the disabled face in social life.

Instruments and Materials: Pencil, notebook, eraser

Process:

- 1. With the guidance of your teacher, form 4 groups named “hearing impairment”, “visual impairment”, “mental impairment” and “orthopedic impairment”.*
- 2. Make one of your friends cover her/his eyes with her/his hands. Ask your friend to walk around the classroom. Please give attention to whether your friend walks easily in the classroom.*
- 3. By asking your friend what s/he felt and what problems s/he had, make her/him empathize with the visually impaired.*
- 4. Discuss what other impairment groups (hearing, mental, and orthopedic) might experience. Offer solutions to the problems.*

Let’s Evaluate Ourselves:

- 1. What are the problems faced in the situation of hearing, visual, mental and orthopedic impairment? Please explain.*
- 2. What solutions can be offered to improve the societal sensitivity?*

Such an activity for empathy is problematic. Although the aim is to “recognize the problems faced by the disabled people”, the perception that the disability is a ‘pitiful’ state is triggered by the emphasis on emotions in such activities, and charity-based approach to disability is strengthened. Furthermore, environmental regulations and discriminatory social perception are not targeted as the main reason for the problems faced by disabled people in such studies. Therefore, the fallacy that ‘disability is an individual problem’ is reproduced.

Rehabilitation is recommended as another solution for the adaptation of disabled people to the society and it is emphasized that “physical disability should be corrected as much as possible”.⁹⁶ Rehabilitation is claimed to be necessary for disabled people to “get rid of being dependent on others”. However, the only thing necessary for the independence of disabled people is not rehabilitation, and the living environment is one of the aspects of this matter. In this context, it will be useful to inform about environmental regulations, which is attached to some points in Health

⁹⁶ Health Education, MoNE, 21.

Education textbooks, but which is another subject not covered extensively.

The books underline that the regulations in the textbooks alone are not sufficient and that “social sensitivity” and awareness is also needed; a vehicle parked on the tactile path is depicted by an image. The following quote can be recorded as a positive example for awareness raising. However, the title of the image (You are not handicapped/You are the handicap) has an attitude that targets and accuses the whole of the society. At this point, it will be useful to note that the state should impose sanctions in order to prevent insensitive and discriminatory behaviors.



Figure 16: Health Education, MoNE, 15

Engellilerin günlük yaşamını kolaylaştırmak için yapılan hizmetler, toplumsal duyarlılığın artması ile daha etkili olur. Aksi takdirde görme engelliler için özel yapılmış hissedilebilir kaldırım yüzeyleri fotoğrafta görüldüğü gibi duyarsızca park edilmiş araçlar yüzünden amacına ulaşamayabilir. (Sağlık Bilgisi, MEB, 14-15)

The services for facilitating everyday life of the disabled become more effective with an increase of social sensitivity. Otherwise, the tactile sidewalks built for the visually impaired may not achieve the goal because of the cars parked callously, as it can be seen in the photograph.

(Health Education, MoNE, 14-15)

As such information is included in Health Education textbooks, it is valuable because it proves there is an effort for awareness raising; but this approach is not reflected throughout the books. The prevailing discourse in the books strengthens the medical model and ableism, and disability is not represented outside of some points, nor is it handled on a wide margin.

3.2.5.2. 'Normalcy'

Unlike other subjects, Sociology and Psychology textbooks have a more social and psychosocial framework, rather than an axis of physical impairments or being healthy (bodily). For example, the topics of "social norm" and "social deviation" in Sociology textbooks and "types of abnormal behavior" in the Psychology textbook is based on the necessity of who are called 'normal' or 'abnormal' within the boundaries of these two disciplines. In Sociology textbooks, a state of behaving contrary to 'prevailing' 'norm' and 'values' is called "social deviation", moreover, social deviation is described as a "social problem". The subject about "types of abnormal behavior" in Psychology textbook is also handled through a dual opposition, as in the case of "social deviation" in Sociology textbooks. The 'normal' behavior is characterized and affirmed by the adjectives "proper", "correct" and "regular".

Normal Dışı Davranış Türleri

Normal ve Anormal Kavramları Normal, kurala ve alışlagelene uyan, anormal ise bunlara uymayan anlamına gelir. ... Normal davranış, insanın ... alışlagelene, düzgün, doğru, kurala uygun biçimde gösterdiği tepkidir. (Psikoloji, Ekoyay, 198)

Types of Abnormal Behavior

The concepts normal and abnormal: Normal means the one who obeys the rule and routine while abnormal means the one who does not. ... Normal behavior is the reaction of the person... which is routine, proper, correct, regular.
(Psychology, Ekoyay, 198)

Psychology textbooks refer to the concept of 'normal' at many points. A situation or an individual who is not considered 'normal' is referred to and evaluated with reference to the state of being 'normal'. A person who is considered 'normal', -based on the assumption- is compared with another person who is considered 'not normal'. Thus, different states are categorized and named according to this assumption.

... Diğer yönlerden normal olan bu kişiler ... Normal insan gücünün üstünde ... bazen iki dönem arasında normal davrandığı ... (Psikoloji, Ekoyay, 199)

... These people who are normal in other aspects... Superior than the normal human power...

sometimes act normally between two periods...⁹⁷
(Psychology, Ekoyay, 199)

In the following quotation, it is possible to say that hearing impaired children are compared with their non-hearing impaired peers; the expression “up to” exemplifies and strengthens the belief that addresses and defines ‘healthy’ as ‘normal’ and causes this comparison.

Altı yaşındaki işitme engelli çocuklar ... Bu çocuklar ... genellikle bu tür çocuklar normal yaşları kadar iyi düşünebilir görünmektedirler. ... Bu çocuklar, resimleri kendi başlarına sınıflandırdıklarında ... normaller kadar başarılı olmuşlardır. (Psikoloji, Ekoyay, 153)

The six years old kids who are hearing impaired... These kids... usually seem sane as their peers. ... When these kids categorize the pictures by themselves... have become successful as normals.
(Psychology, Ekoyay, 153)

⁹⁷ Manic and depressive periods are referred.

CONCLUSION

This thesis aims to reveal the current situation about the representation of disability in Turkey's textbooks. Since disability is perceived as 'a non-political issue,' the research on textbook analysis related to disability is lacking. The dominant, charity-based and medical approach to disability in Turkey hinders the development of a rights-based understanding. So in order to shift the existing social perception from charity to social justice and human rights, educational materials (especially textbooks) can be instruments for informing and awareness raising, and achieve a rights-based framework for prevailing judgments and attitudes about disability.

A total of 37 textbooks were analyzed during the research with content and critical discourse analyses. One of the main findings of the thesis is that disability is locked into certain themes. Disabled people are represented in 'difference' theme in Elementary Civics textbooks, 'communication' theme in Turkish Language textbooks, and 'five senses' theme in Physical Sciences textbooks. The content about disability is attached to specific points of the themes and disability is not included within the general discourse of textbooks. Thus the disability is not presented as an 'ordinary' situation. Furthermore, disability is identified in textbooks and disabled characters are included *only* because of and with reference to their disability. It should be noted that the disabled should be represented in various social roles and while participating in social life. In addition to identification, the success stories are frequently included in textbooks, and the individual's own effort is emphasized by overcoming the barriers in these stories; the individual is presented as a "*determined hero*", "*despite of every difficulty*". Such a story put the responsibility on the disabled people and it makes the importance of regulations and measures to be taken by the state invisible. The reason behind seeing disabled individuals responsible of their success or capability is the dominance of the medical model that interprets disability

as a personal tragedy, and neglects the social aspects of disability, rights of the disabled for participation to social life. Disabled characters are also presented as the non-disabled decide or do favor *for* them. However, as the disability rights movement claims for *independent living*, the activists and scholars within the movement targets the disabling and ableist conditions and regulations that prevent the disabled's participation and decision making on their own lives. As they shout out and say "*Nothing about us, without us*", they criticize the paternalist discourse and claim for independence. So the disabled should be presented independent and active as they make decisions about themselves, rather than waiting for others' 'empathy' and 'protection'.

It is also found that the general discourse in the textbooks is charity-based approach to disability. This approach promotes the belief that disability is a problem to be solved by "*helping*", "*accepting*", "*tolerating*", "*loving*" is reinforced; it is denied that disability is a matter of social justice. It is obvious that there is a need for a right-based perspective, since the content with charity-based approach to disability was frequently found during the research. The state's support to legal legislation, the policies for the participation and the increase of public expenditures regarding the life quality of the disabled show us that the disabled is a social group that the state tends to include within a political framework; but still the content of policies and steps taken is not correlated to the political improvements. The dominance of the culture of help and charity still continues. In addition to the charity-based approach; the problematic handling of disability in the context of human rights in textbooks is another finding. While the content in the Human Rights, Citizenship and Democracy textbook should handle disability by the human rights approach, as it should be in all other subjects, the content in these subjects reinforces the 'pitying' perception as well.

Disability is handled on a different level in secondary school textbooks than in primary school textbooks: Ableism and 'normalcy'. Disability is handled in the context of "*disease*", "*social deviation*" and "*being out of norm*" in Health Education, Sociology and Psychology textbooks examined and reported within the research. The prevailing discourse is the medical model of disability in Health Education textbooks. This approach treats disability as an 'individual problem' and 'a disease to be treated'. It also hierarchically positions the impaired body as inferior, and does not take the social dimensions of disability into account. This way of thinking is called 'ableism' and the ableist depiction of disability does not enable an egalitarian framework in textbooks. Disability is treated as a 'marginal' and an 'abnormal' state; it is defined and categorized with reference to the accepted 'norm' in Sociology and Psychology textbooks.

As a conclusion, there is an effort to include disability in textbooks in recent years; but as long as this effort is not provided within a rights-based framework and disability is not depicted as an 'ordinary' state, prejudices, stereotypes and discrimination towards disabled people will continue to persist. Since disability is described as an 'unwanted' state in textbooks, and the lack of information about legal and social aspects that makes disability based discrimination visible, handling disability on an egalitarian level becomes difficult. It is important and necessary for textbooks to be transformed in order to make students, and therefore the society, aware of the fact that the disabled people are holders of rights and equal citizens.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Akbulut, Süleyman, “Gerçekten eşit miyiz? Acı(ma), Zayıf Gör(me) ve Yok Say(ma) Ekseninde Engelli Ayrımcılığı.” In *Ayrımcılık: Çok Boyutlu Yaklaşımlar*, edited by Kenan Çayır, and Müge Ayan Ceyhan. Istanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2012. 150-162.

Allport, Gordon, *The Nature of Prejudice*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1954.

Apple, Michael W., *Official Knowledge: Democratic Education in a Conservative Age*. New York: Routledge, 1993.

Apple, Michael W., *Teachers and Texts*. New York: Routledge, 1986.

Barnes, Colin, *Disabling Imagery in the Media: An Exploration of Cultural Representations of Disabled People*. Belper: Ryan Press in Association with the British Council of Organisations of Disabled People. 1992.

Bezmez, Dikmen, & Yardımcı, Sibel, “In Search of Disability Rights: Citizenship and Turkish Disability Organizations,” In *Disability & Society*, 2010. 25:5, p. 603-615.

Bezmez, Dikmen, & Yardımcı, Sibel, *Bir Vatandaşlık Hakkı Olarak Sakat Hakları ve Sakat Hareketi*. Birikim – Güncel Yazılar. December 29, 2008. Accessed June 15, 2017. <http://www.birikimdergisi.com/guncel-yazilar/697/bir-vatandaslik-hakki-olarak-sakat-haklari-ve-sakat-hareketi#.WUvw4fGXsx9>

Centre for English Language Education and Communication Research, City University of Hong Kong. *Stereotypes in Textbooks and Teaching Materials in Hong Kong. Human Rights Education in Asian Schools*. Vol. 6. Hong Kong: Equal Opportunity Commission of Hong Kong, 2001. p. 57-73.

Charlton, James I., *Nothing About Us Without Us: Disability Oppression and*

Empowerment. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998.

Çayır, Kenan & Ayan Ceyhan, Müge, ed. *Ayrımcılık: Çok Boyutlu Yaklaşımlar*. İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2012.

Çayır, Kenan, & Ergün, Melike, *Ders Kitaplarında Engellilik*. Accessed May 19, 2017.
http://secbir.org/images/haber/2012/07/derskitaplarindaengellilik_rapor.pdf

Çayır, Kenan, “Gruplararası İlişkiler Bağlamında Ayrımcılık,” In *Ayrımcılık: Çok Boyutlu Yaklaşımlar*, edited by Kenan Çayır and Müge Ayan Ceyhan. İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi, 2012. 1-11.

Çayır, Kenan, *'Biz' Kimiz? Ders Kitaplarında Kimlik, Yurttaşlık, Haklar*. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı, 2014.

Davis, Lennard J., “Constructing Normalcy: The Bell Curve, the Novel, and the Invention of the Disabled Body in the Nineteenth Century,” In *The Disability Studies Reader (Second Edition)*, edited by Lennard J. Davis. New York: Routledge, 2006. 3-16.

Davis, Lennard J., “Crips Strike Back: The Rise of Disability Studies,” *American Literary History*, 11.3, 1999. 500-512.

Davis, Lennard J., *The Disability Studies Reader (Second Edition)*. edited by Lennard J. Davis. New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2006.

Depo: Life in Mental Hospitals. Dir. Ege Kanar and Can Dinlenmiş. Human Rights in Mental Health Initiative Association (Ruh Sağlığında İnsan Hakları Girişimi Derneği -RUSİHAK-), 2014. Documentary.

Dikici, A. Ezgi, “Saltanat Sembolü Olarak “Farklı” Bedenler: Osmanlı Sarayında Cüceler ve Dilsizler,” *Toplumsal Tarih*, 2014, August, 248. 16-25.

Dovidio, John F., Hewstone, Miles, Glick, Peter, & Esses, Victoria M., "Prejudice, Stereotyping and Discrimination: Theoretical and Empirical Overview," In *The SAGE Handbook of Prejudice, Stereotyping and Discrimination*. London: SAGE Publications, 2010. 3-28.

Engel, George, "The Clinical Application of the Biopsychosocial Model," *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 137, 1980. 535-544.

Finkelstein, Vic, *Attitudes & Disabled People: Issues for Discussion*, New York: World Rehabilitation Fund. 1980.

Foucault, Michel, *The Will to Knowledge: The History of Sexuality Volume 1*, translated by Robert Hurley. New York: Pantheon Books, 1976.

Garland-Thomson, Rosemarie, *Extraordinary Bodies: Figuring Physical Disability in American Culture and Literature*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1997.

Gillam, Lynn, "Prenatal Diagnosis and Discrimination against the Disabled," *Journal of Medical Ethics*, 25, 2, 1999. 163-171.

Gül, İdil Işıl, "Engelliliğe Dayalı Ayrımcılıkla Mücadelede Hukukun Rolü," In *Engellilik ve Ayrımcılık: Eğitimciler için Temel Metinler ve Örnek Dersler*, edited by, Kenan Çayır, Melisa Soran and Melike Ergün. İstanbul: Karekök, 2015. 45-59.

Gül. İdil Işıl, "Birleşmiş Milletler Engelli Hakları Sözleşmesi," In *Engellilik ve Ayrımcılık: Eğitimciler için Temel Metinler ve Örnek Dersler*, edited by, Kenan Çayır, Melisa Soran and Melike Ergün. İstanbul: Karekök, 2015. 31-44.

Hall, Stuart, "Chapter 4: The Spectacles of the 'Other'," In *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*. London: Sage in Association with the Open University, 1997. 225-279.

Hardin, Brent, "Physical Education Textbooks and Portrayals of Disability," *PALAESTRA*, 23, no. 4. 2007. 6-8.

Harnett, Alison, "Escaping the 'Evil Avenger' and the 'Supercrip': Images of Disability in Popular Television," *Irish Communication Review*, Vol.8. 2000. 21-29.

Henri Tajfel and Joseph P. Forgas, "Social Categorization: Cognitions, Values and Groups," In *Social Cognition: Perspectives on Everyday Understanding*, edited by Joseph P. Forgas. London: Academic Press, 1981.

Hughes, Bill, & Paterson, Kevin, "The Social Model of Disability and the Disappearing Body: Towards a Sociology of Impairment," *Disability & Society*, 12:3, 1997. 325-340.

Hürriyet Gazetesi. "Engelli Kardeşlere Yardım Eli," December 27, 2016. Accessed July 1, 2017. <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/engelli-kardeslere-yardim-eli-40319274>

Knudsen, Susanne V., "Intersectionality: A Theoretical Inspiration in the Analysis of Minority Cultures and Identities in Textbooks," In *Caught in the Web or Lost in the Textbook? Eighth International Conference on Learning and Educational Media*, edited by E. Bruillard, B. Aamotsbakken, S. V. Knudsen, and M. Horsley. IARTEM. 62. Accessed May 19, 2016.

https://iartemblog.files.wordpress.com/2012/03/8th_iartem_2005-conference.pdf

Küçükaslan, Bülent, "(Eleştiri) DİLENCİLER! Yuh Olsun Sizin Sakatlığınıza!..." *Engelliler.biz Platform*. December 20, 2004. Accessed June 15, 2017.

<https://www.engelliler.biz/forum/sivil-toplum-orgutleri/178-elestiri-dilenciler-yuh-olsun-sizin-sakatliginiza.html>

Küçükaslan, Bülent, "'Sakat' Politikdir," *Engelliler.biz Platform*. September 8, 2011. Accessed April 1, 2017. <https://www.engelliler.biz/forum/ayrimcilikla-mucadele->

insan-toplum-siyaset-bugun-yarin/76428-sakat-politiktir-tartisma.html

Lippmann, Walter, *Public Opinion*. New York: Harcourt Brace, 1922.

McRuer, Robert, "As Good As It Gets: Queer Theory and Critical Disability," *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies*, 9:1-2, 2003. 79-105.

Oliver, Michael, "The Ideological Construction of Disability," In *The Politics of Disablement: A Sociological Approach (Critical Texts in Social Work and the Welfare State)*, London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1990. 43-59.

Oliver, Michael, "The Social Model in Context," In *Understanding Disability: From Theory to Practice*. New York: Palgrave, 1996.

Oliver, Mike, "Social Policy & Disability: Some Theoretical Issues," *Disability, Handicap & Society*, 1:1, 1986. 5-17.

Oliver, Mike, "The Social Model of Disability: 30 Years On," *Disability & Society*, Vol. 28 No. 7, 2013. 1024-1026.

Oliver, Mike, *Social Work with Disabled People*. Basingstoke: Macmillan. 1983.

Otieno, Pauline A., "Biblical and Theological Perspectives on Disability: Implications on the Rights of Persons with Disability in Kenya," *Disability Studies Quarterly*, 29(4), 2009.

Paker, Murat, "Psikolojik Açıdan Önyargı ve Ayrımcılık," In *Ayrımcılık: Çok Boyutlu Yaklaşımlar*, edited by Kenan Çayır, and Müge Ayan Ceyhan. Istanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2012. 41-52.

Sart, Z. Hande, "Engelli Çocukların Eğitim Hakkı: İnsan Hakları Çerçevesinde Kaynaştırma/Bütünleşme Yoluyla Eğitim," In *Engellilik ve Ayrımcılık: Eğitimciler İçin*

Temel Metinler ve Örnek Dersler, edited by Kenan Çayır, Melisa Soran, and Melike Ergün. Istanbul: Karekök, 2015. 93-108.

Shakespeare, Tom, “The Social Model of Disability,” In *The Disability Studies Reader (Second Edition)*, edited by Lennard J. Davis. New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2006. 197-204.

Social Rights and Research Foundation (TOHAD), *Mevzuattan Uygulamaya Engelli Hakları İzleme Raporu 2014 Rapor Özeti*. Ankara, 2015.

Stone, Deborah A, *The Disabled State*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1984.

Taboas-Pais, Maria Inés and Rey-Cao, Ana, “Disability in Physical Education Textbooks: An Analysis of Image Content,” *Adapted Physical Activity Quarterly*, 29, no. 4, 2012. 310-328.

The United Nations, *Convention on the Rights of People with Disabilities*, 2006.

Tremain, Shelly, “On the Government of Disability: Foucault, Power, and the Subject of Impairment,” In *The Disability Studies Reader (Second Edition)*, edited by Lennard J. Davis. New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2006. 185-196.

Tuncer, A. Tuba, Karasu, Necdet, Altunay, Banu, & Güler, Özgül, “Involvement of Disability in Turkish Textbooks: An Example of Document Analysis,” *Gazi Üniversitesi, Gazi Eğitim Fakültesi Dergisi*. 31:2, 2011. 439-457.

Tüzün, Gürel, ed. “Niteliksel Çözümleme İçin Ölçütler,” In *Ders Kitaplarında İnsan Hakları II Tarama Sonuçları*. Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı, 2009. 363-73.

Tüzün, Gürel, ed. *Ders Kitaplarında İnsan Hakları II Tarama Sonuçları*. Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı, 2009.

Union of the Physically Impaired Anti Segregation (UPIAS), *The Fundamental Principles of Disability*, 1976.

United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. “Euthanasia Program,” *Holocaust Encyclopedia*. Accessed June 9, 2017.
<https://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/article.php?ModuleId=10005200>

Uyan Semerci, Pınar, “Ayrımcılık Bağlamında Yoksulluk ve Sosyal Dışlanma,” In *Ayrımcılık: Çok Boyutlu Yaklaşımlar*, edited by Kenan Çayır, and Müge Ayan Ceyhan. Istanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2012. 189-198.

Van Dijk, Teun, “Critical Discourse Analysis,” In *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis*, edited by Deborah Schiffrin, Deborah Tannen, and Heidi E. Hamilton. Oxford: Blackwell, 2003. 352-372.

Yılmaz, Volkan, “Tarihsel Gelişimi ve Güncel İnkilemleriyle Türkiye’de Engellilik ve Sosyal Politikalar,” In *Dezavantajlı Gruplar ve Sosyal Politika*, edited by, Betül Altuntaş. Ankara: Nobel Akademik Yayıncılık, 2014.

APPENDIX

Appendix 1: The List of Analyzed Textbooks

Subject	Grade level	Publisher 1	Publisher 2
Turkish Language	1	MoNE	
Turkish Language	2		Doku
Turkish Language	3		Kartopu
Turkish Language	4		Özgün
Turkish Language	5	MoNE	
Turkish Language	6	MoNE	Dörtel
Turkish Language	7	MoNE	Meram
Turkish Language	8	MoNE	Dikey
Elementary Civics	1	MoNE	
Elementary Civics	2		Evren
Elementary Civics	3		Sevgi
Social Studies	4		Koza
Social Studies	5		Berkay
Social Studies	6		Evren
Social Studies	7	MoNE	Ekoyay
Physical Sciences	3	MoNE	
Physical Sciences	5	MoNE	
Physical Sciences	7		Sonuç
Mathematics	1	MoNE	
Mathematics	4		Dikey
Mathematics	5	MoNE	
Mathematics	8		Sevgi
Religious Culture and Morals	4		Yıldırım
Religious Culture and Morals	6	MoNE	
Religious Culture and Morals	8	MoNE	
Religious Culture and Morals	9		Netbil
Religious Culture and Morals	11		Dikey
Human Rights, Citizenship and Democracy	4	MoNE	
Health Education	High school	MoNE	Tuna
Sociology	High school	MoNE	Ekoyay
Psychology	High school		Ekoyay