

Private education as a policy tool in Turkey

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This paper discusses privatisation as policy tool to solve educational problems in Turkey. Turkey, as a developing country, is faced with many problems in education. Large class size, low enrolment rate, girl's education, high illiteracy rate, religious education, textbooks, curriculum and multicultural education are some of the important problems. On the other hand, cultural diversity, economical problems and lack of resources, migration, central management, the rapid growth in school-age population and regional differences make the solution difficult. In principle, privatisation could help in the solution of the problems in Turkey. Private schools can increase the quality of education. Private schools can share responsibility with the government by investing money in education. In addition, private schools can also meet the needs for diversity in society promoting specific religious or philosophical views by using their own teaching methods. The paper describes the availability of private schooling in Ankara as a baseline for thinking about the development of private schooling in Turkey.

Turkey, Ankara, privatisation, policy analysis, private schools

INTRODUCTION

Why do people pay fees for private education instead of using free public schools? Private schools are seen to provide better quality education with greater safety. From a policy perspective, they can meet needs of diversity in society. Private education can also help governments by contributing to educational costs. The importance of educational quality increases because of the relationship between the market economy and education. Parents demand quality education for their children and public schools are seen as failing to provide it: Public schools are bound by rules and regulations; they are managed by government bureaucracies; they cannot choose their teachers and curricula. Teachers are unionised and they have permanent status in public schools. These conditions are seen as reducing the success of public schools. On the other hand, private schools can choose their principals, and teachers. Private schools must provide quality education to keep their students because parents as customers always monitor and judge the success of private schools.

The Turkish educational system has problems of cultural diversity. The highly intensive central management of Turkish education does not meet the needs of a diverse society. Public schools serves the public interest by preparing students for society and by teaching common values, but private schools can better meet private interests by providing alternatives in order to address diversity so that parents can act in the best way according to their perception of the interests of their children.

Private education can also decrease educational costs for the governments. The Turkish Educational Ministry controls the largest component of the state budget, but does not have funds to provide quality education for all students. Moreover, the rapidly increasing population makes it

very difficult to solve the educational problems in Turkey. The private sector can invest capital and run schools efficiently.

This paper discusses privatisation as a policy tool to solve the educational problems in Turkey. The question in this paper is “Should privatisation be a policy tool to address educational problems in Turkey?”. The paper has five sections. First, the paper provides information about Turkey and the Turkish education system. Second, it explores privatisation as a new policy tool. Third, it considers private education and its problems. Fourth, the paper answers the question, How should private schools be supported? Finally, the paper discusses private schooling in Ankara and asks what does it involve?

TURKEY AND TURKISH EDUCATION SYSTEM

Turkey is a country which is located in Europe, Asia, and the Middle East. The capital city of Turkey is Ankara and the population of Turkey is 67.8 m. (as of 2002). Ninety-nine per cent of the population of Turkey is Muslim. After September 11, the importance of Turkey has increased because Turkey is the only country in which Islam is the major religious community, but is constitutionally secular guaranteeing complete freedom of worship to non-Muslims. In addition, the present conservative government, which has Islamic origins, is engaged in reform, with the goal of Turkey joining of the European Union (EU).

Westernisation policies have a long history in Turkey, beginning in the last period of Ottoman Empire. Modern Turkey was founded in 1923 by Mustafa Kemal Ataturk and the new republic turned to Europe and accepted Western values. Ataturk created the necessary conditions for the modernisation of Turkey with his radical reforms. Turkey applied to join the European Union (EU) in 1964 and, in December, 2004, the EU decided to commence discussion about the membership of Turkey, but full membership of the EU looks uncertain prior to 2015.

The Turkish educational system has to address many problems as a requirement of ‘Westernisation’, including those associated with highly central management, economical and cultural dispersion, diversity necessities, religious education, regional differences, educational quality, class size, enrolment rate, and girl’s education.

One of the major problems in Turkish education is its central management. The Turkish education system has highly centralised governance. However, there are many difficulties associated with governing a large education system from the centre. Central management prevents the efficient allocation of educational resources to local needs. Although the government started to decentralise in 2004 and many of the Ministries (except for the National Defence, Economy, and Education Ministries) delegated their authority to local management.

Religious education is another major issue in Turkey and the scarf is not allowed in the schools. Some parts of the society see the scarf is a symbol of an Islamic Regime, which challenges secular ideals. Others claim that the scarf is a requirement of their religious faith, and wearing it is a democratic right. Many women cannot continue to universities because of the scarf problem. Consequently, if they have enough money, many families send their children abroad for university education. The Prime Minister, Tayyip Erdogan, said that he had two girls and they were going to universities in the United States because of the scarf problem. This rule decreases the enrolment rates of girls in Turkey. With membership of the European Union (EU), Turkey must consider the problems of religious education. Private education can help to solve this problem by offering extensive educational opportunities for religious groups.

Turkey is a diverse country. Kurdish, Laz, Cerkez and Abaza are the major subcultures in Turkey. In 2004, the Turkish government gave greater rights to diverse cultural groups: The state-run radio

and television network, TRT, started to broadcast programs as Kurdish, Arabic, Cerkez and the government gave permission in Kurdish courses. It was assumed that the Kurdish population would request greater educational rights and, under the Westernisation policy, Turkey would have to solve these educational problems.

The status of women is another issue. Some women wear European-style clothes, work outside their home, go to hotels, discos, and beach resorts, and share housework with their husbands. Some women use the scarf traditionally and obey their husbands' or fathers' rules. They spend most of their time on housework and taking care of their children. Other women are conservative Muslims and wear gowns, but their numbers are relatively low. According to the constitution, males and females have equal rights and gender discrimination is prohibited. There has been one women prime minister, many women ministers, and many women in the National Council.

Among OECD countries, Turkey has the highest percentage of females not in education or not in work: The percentage of 15 to 19 year-old females, who are not in education or work, is 48 per cent while the male percentage is 24 per cent (Education at a glance, 2003). The rate of participation to in the labour force in Turkey is 24 per cent female and 75 per cent male (State Institute of Statistics Prime Ministry Republic of Turkey, 2001).

Another major problem in Turkey is regional inequalities, with significant differences between the east and west sides of the country. In the dispersion of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) among the regions, East Anatolia, Southeast Anatolia, and Black Sea are the poorest regions of in Turkey. While East Anatolia had 4.15 per cent of GDP in 1997, Marmara (West side of the country) has 38.14 per cent of GDP (See Table 1) (Gezici, F., Hewings, J.D. 2002). The majority of the population in these regions generally worked in agriculture and stockbreeding; since there was little industrial works. The private sector tended to avoid investment in the eastern part of the country because of transportation problems and terror, and most government employees did not want to work there because of the lack of social facilities, safety and difficult working conditions.

Table 1. Share of gross domestic product (GDP) among geographical regions

Geographical Regions	1980	1985	1990	1995	1997
Marmara	31.76	34.85	35.86	36.74	38.14
Aegean	16.08	16.53	16.48	17.15	16.75
Mediterranean	11.92	10.95	11.29	11.25	11.19
Central Anatolia	18.67	17.81	16.95	16.75	16.06
Black Sea	10.69	9.37	8.97	8.42	8.32
Southeast Anatolia	5.26	5.28	5.46	5.29	5.38
East Anatolia	5.63	5.20	5.00	4.39	4.15

Source: Gezici, F., Hewings, J.D. (2002).

On the other hand, Marmara is the most developed region, with Istanbul the biggest city of Turkey, being located in this region with its 10 m. population. This region is the heart of the Turkish economy. The Aegean Sea and Central Anatolia regions are also well developed. Generally, the most developed cities are located in the Western regions and along the west and south coast.

Educational services and quality are also very different between the eastern and western parts of the country. The most successful schools of the country are located in the west side of the country. In the high school and university entrance exams, the west part is significantly more successful.

The inequality between regions has led to major migration from the east to west. As a result of the migration, the economic, social, and educational problems have been increasing in big cities. Western migration affects the class size: Large classes are impacting on educational quality.

Turkey has also experienced serious economic problems. The economy has suffered from volatility in the macro economy and chronic inflation for three decades. The annual inflation rate in Turkey has averaged 100 per cent. Since 2002, the government has had an agreement with the International Monetary Foundation (IMF) and, as a result of new economic policies, inflation fell below 10 per cent in 2004 and macro economical balances were stabilised.

In spite of these positive developments in the Turkish economy, poverty and unemployment are still high and threaten the social peace. According to Turkey State Statistic Institution, the rate of total participation to labour force is 49 per cent and unemployment rate is 9 per cent with agriculture and 13 per cent without agriculture in 2004. The state is dominant in economy and the biggest employer, and privatisation is very slow. In spite of commitments made to the IMF, the governments has not undertaken major privatisation. Moreover, the state economic institutions have been the corruption centres and successive governments have used these institutions to make rich their supporters. A profile of the Turkish economy is presented in Table 2.

Table 2. Key figures in Turkish economy

GDP		\$183 billion
GDP/capita		\$2,700
GDP/sector	Agriculture 13%, Industry 30%, Services 57%	
Foreign debts		\$118 billion (2001)
Foreign debts/GDP		64%
Foreign debts/capita		\$1,760
Annual growth in GDP		4.9%
Trade balance		-19%
Annual inflation rate		45%
Official unemployment		10.8%

Source: Encyclopaedia of the Orient (All figures are 2002 estimates) http://i-cias.com/e.o/turkey_2.htm

Turkey has the lowest per capita in GDP among EU states according to purchasing power parities. With average per capita GDP in EU set at is 100, Turkey's index is 28, Germany is 108, Greece is 81, Portugal is 74, Poland is 46, and Romania is 30 (Eurostat, 2003).

The Turkish economy has recovered during last two years (2003-2004), growing 6 to 7 per cent yearly, which is the fastest rate in OECD countries. The government ran the highest primary surplus on record in that country – just over 6 per cent of Gross National Product (GNP). Turkey needs to continue having large primary surpluses to reduce its debt. Although gross public debt of the new member states of EU is about 40 per cent of their Gross Domestic Product (GDP), Turkey's gross debt is double with 80 per cent (www.imf.org).

Economic problems obviously affect educational investment negatively. In 2004, the first time, the budget of Educational Ministry surpassed the budget for National Defence, but it is not enough to solve educational problems. In the OECD countries, the average educational expenditure per student (primary to tertiary) was \$6,361 in 2000. While the expenditure was more than \$8,000 per students in the United States, Austria, Denmark, Norway, and Switzerland, Turkey had the lowest expenditure among OECD countries¹ with only \$1,000 per student. Obviously, Turkey should increase expenditure per student but government funds are not available for this. In 2000, Turkey had 1.4 per cent of private expenditure in all levels on educational institutions. This was very low when compared with other countries. For example, Table 3 shows that it was 18.9 per cent in Germany and 31.8 per cent in the United States

¹ *OECD Countries:* Austria, Australia, Belgium, Canada, Czech Republic, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Korea, Luxemburg, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Slovak Republic, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, United Kingdom, United States.
Non OECD Countries: Argentina, Chile, India, Indonesia, Israel, Jamaica, Paraguay, Thailand, Uruguay.

(*Education at a Glance*, 2003). The private sector could contribute to educational expenditure if the government established good regulations for the private sector.

Table 3. Relative proportions of public and private expenditure on educational institutions for level of education (2000)

Country	Public Sources	Private Sources
Germany	81.1	18.9
United States	68.2	31.8
United Kingdom	85.2	14.8
Korea	59.2	40.8
Greece	93.8	6.2
Turkey	98.6	1.4

Source: *Education at a Glance*, 2003 (OECD Indicators)

These social, cultural, and economical problems certainly affected the education system. Turkey had the lowest enrolment rates at primary and secondary level among the OECD countries of 30 per cent for 15-19 year olds, while Germany had 89.4 per cent, the United States 77.6 per cent, Zimbabwe 38.3 per cent, and Uruguay 65.9 per cent. For the 5 to 14 year old age groups, Turkey had the lowest enrolment rate with 83.5 per cent among the OECD countries. According to multiple comparisons of mean performance of fourth Grade students on the Progress in Reading Literacy Study (PIRLS), Turkey had the lowest reading rates among OECD countries in 2001 (*Education at a Glance*, 2003).

PRIVATISATION AS A NEW POLICY TOOL

When modern Turkey emerged after World War I, the country was very poor and did not have enough capital for investment and the Government played an important role in investments to produce and deliver services. Today, although there is a significant private sector, the Turkish government is still the biggest employer in the country and most of the state-run institutions are losing money because of their ineffective management. Governments started to privatise as a requirement of the market economy and liberalisation. Privatisation had many advantages. For example, consider a state-owned and state-run factory which was losing money. If the government sold this factory, it would stop losing money. Secondly, state would be paid money for selling the factory. Thirdly, the private-run factory would start to make a profit and would pay taxes to the state. Finally, the quality of service and customer satisfaction would change. In this sense, privatisation would be a totally useful policy tool for everybody.

As a policy tool, privatisation involves a transfer of services, property and responsibilities from the government to the private sector. Privatisation is a related concept with 'liberalisation' and 'marketisation' in that private organisations exist as alternatives to government services or state allocation systems (Levin, 2001). Privatisation is seen to maximise efficiency and increase service quality while decreasing costs. The main purpose of the private sectors is to make profit. In order to do this, they have to provide customer satisfaction, efficiency, transparency and quality at the lowest cost. In addition, they have to convince customers about the quality of their services.

Governments can create mechanisms for facilitating private participation in schooling. The private sector can be the owner and operator of schools. But the private sector can also operate public schools under contract. Under this approach, government can contract with education colleges, and education unions for more effective management. The private sector can also provide educational materials such as textbooks, and operate buildings, canteen services, and transportation services. This approach is very common in Turkey. In addition, if governments make good regulations involving a core curriculum and transparency of administration, religious groups, diverse cultural groups, and some organisations can build and operate schools. In this

way, they can share the educational cost of governments and service the need for diversity in society.

The World Bank and OECD are advocating privatisation policies for developing countries to address their educational problems. Belfield and Levin (2002) explain that “privatisation in education eases the pressure on governments to meet increasing demand and relieves them of excessive cost” (p. 7). Education is a very expensive investment in both developed and developing countries and government sources alone are not enough to provide quality education for all students. Privatisation eases some of these stresses. The private sector can be involved in educational investment to build and run schools, if they are supported by good regulation.

Private schools can also meet the need of diversity in society. Many ethnic and religious groups seek a different form of education than the one offered in public schools. Public schools have standardised practices and cannot meet specific group or individual needs. In principle, private schools do not need to follow the same calendars, course books or curriculum as do public schools.

Private schools are successful because they are more accountable. In private schools, teachers have no permanent status. If they do not work well enough, teachers can be fired. School owners and principals are also accountable to parents, because parents can withdraw their children if they do not obtain sufficient satisfaction. In Turkish public schools, teachers are accountable to only the principals and inspectors; and principals are accountable to district management; and district managements are accountable to the Educational Ministry; but nobody is accountable to parents and children. On the other hand, in the private sector, parents’ and students’ satisfaction are very important and all staff are accountable to parents and children.

PRIVATE EDUCATION PRO AND CON

In Turkey, education is undertaken under the supervision and control of the state. According to Article 42 of the Constitution, everyone has the right to receive education. Primary and secondary education is free of charge in public schools.

All private schools in Turkey are subject to Law No. 625 and fall under the administration and inspection of the Ministry of National Education. There is no curriculum freedom for private schools. All curricula are prepared by Educational Ministry and private schools must use them. Curricular innovations in schools are impossible.

In Turkey, most private schools can be classified as profit-making. Profit-making schools are opened as a result of diversification and unmet demands. Generally, they service middle- and upper- class clienteles in urban area. Some private schools have an Islamic character. Religious Islamic schools are not allowed and so religious schools do not say that they have an Islamic character. Customers know which schools are Islamic or secular.

As seen as Table 4, enrolments in private schools are low. The percentage of students in private schools (preschools, primary education and secondary education) is 1.6 per cent.

Beginning in the 1990s, the Turkish government began planning to increase the ratio of private education to 6 per cent in the short-term and to 15 per cent in the long-term. Government allocated land to 12 private schools in 1992 and supported 258 people and institutions from 1991 to 1998 to open private schools (Istanbul Ticaret Odasi, 1999 pp. 17-18). In addition, in summer 2004, the Government waived taxes for private schools for the next three years.

Public sector advocates have opposed the expansion of private sector. According to these advocates, the goal of privatisation was an increase in the role of parents in the financing of education, which could increase inequalities in access to education and break social cohesion

(Belfield and Levin, 2002). Education should be for the public good, but private education sectors attached more importance to markets instead of the public good. As a result, any expansion of private education would be at the expense of the social efficiency and equity. In addition, public sector advocates have said that some parts of education was an inevitable responsibility of government and private sector was unwilling to invest in such areas. Another problem was a lack of information for consumers in the education market.

Table 4. Comparing private and non-private education in Turkey (2002-2003 education year)

Education level	Total Number of Students	Total Number of Teachers
All preschools	320,038	18,921
Private preschools	(3%) 9,759	(3,3%) 626
All primary schools	10,331,619	390,275
Private primary schools	(1,5%) 155,868	(3,7%) 14,740
All secondary schools	3,034,959	148,563
Private secondary sch.	(1,8%) 57,365	(4,2%) 6,375
All schools	13,686,616	557,759
All private schools	(1,6%) 222,992	(3,8%) 21,741

Source: Translated and arranged from official web site of Turkish Educational Ministry
<http://www.meb.gov.tr/stats/apk2003/icindekilerSayisalVeriler2003.pdf>

Private sector advocates claimed that government did not need ownership of schools to overcome these problems. Thus, according to the World Bank (1999), these problems could be solved by effective regulation. If the Government established an appropriate mechanism to control quality and ensure transparency and accountability by forcing private schools to disclose information periodically, then the problem could be solved (pp. 6, 16, 17).

Private schools can play an important role in Turkish education and most policy makers support the expansion of the private sector in education. But such expansion requires the combined efforts of the public and private sectors.

HOW SHOULD BE PRIVATISATION SUPPORTED?

According to Tooley (2002), the role of governments should be changed for four main reasons. First, public schools are not managed efficiently and effectively. Second, there are doubts about the accountability of public schools, especially to poor families. Third, a competitive environment increases education quality. Fourth, the private sector can provide important alternative sources of educational funding (p.1). Instead of providing all education services, governments only provide priority services that cannot be purchased in the market. Governments can establish accountability and accreditation systems and turn over some or all schools to contractors. Governments can share the private school expenses to expand the privatisation in education. For example, Government can pay teachers' salaries or the running costs of private schools or Governments can pay the tuition of students. In addition, private educational investments can be tax-free because they are helping the government by investing money. In this way, private schools can replace all or most public schools. Private schools can increase the quality in education and meet diversity the necessary in society through effective regulation.

Regulation, funding, and accountability are the most effective ways to support privatisation. Through regulation, governments can establish a clear legislative framework and specify the roles of the public and private sectors. One of the important issues in regulation centres on student admissions. Schools can choose students based on independent criteria or schools must give preference to families of a certain type or location; admission can be done by lottery. According to the World Bank (1999, p.15), governments need to deal with such issue so that families who have different financial resources and needs can access education. In addition, schools need to meet

basic quality standards and contribute social cohesion. Beyond a set of such issues, governments need to provide freedom for private schools to ensure their effective management.

Funding is another policy tool. A funding system determines who pays education costs to the private sector. The general approach is that the person who benefits needs to pay but education provides social benefits in addition to individual benefits. This yields a new question: What proportion of the overall costs of education is best paid for by students and by governments. There is general agreement that public benefits are greatest at earlier stages of education and less at later stages, so most government funding is best directed at early childhood and primary education and less government funding is directed at secondary and higher education levels (World Bank 1999, p. 17, 18).

Governments can purchase goods and services for students instead of providing these services. In Turkey, the Government provides the 98.5 per cent of educational services by hiring teachers, building and running schools. In Turkey, private schools are supported by the payment of tuition fees. Governments can share the educational cost of private schools and, by doing so can help privatisation expand.

Vouchers and scholarship are common ways to fund education in the private sector. Governments can pay for students, who attend private school (a voucher system). In the voucher system, governments can determine eligibility of students. Vouchers can be made available for all students or only for low-income students. Alternatively, vouchers can be made available for disadvantaged groups, for example; girls in rural areas, disabled students. Governments can use voucher policy for schools such as religious schools or technology-based schools. Voucher amount is another important issue. Voucher amount² can be equal to per-pupil expenditures in public schools or less or equal to private school fees. School choice is an inevitable feature of private education but it creates a transportation problem. A voucher system can cover all transportation expenditure, some of it, or any part of it. All these policy options associated with voucher systems depend on government policy and country conditions. Levin (2001) explains that a good voucher policy should support four criteria: freedom of choice, productive efficiency, equity, and social cohesion. Vouchers are clearly seen to be a policy tool to expand private education

Accountability is another policy tool that is necessary for transparency. Consumers need information for making effective choices. If the private sector does not provide enough information, governments should do it.

Policy makers can mix these policy tools in an optimal way to meet government objectives in education (World Bank 1999, p 15). Governments need to create national standards, an accreditation system, and transparency and provide freedom to private schools to shape their own curriculum and innovations. Schools need to have a choice in curriculum, teachers, salaries, textbooks, and budget. In these ways, governments can provide competitive schools, and such schools can be monitored by parents and students who receive the services directly. This is a more effective control system because parents can withdraw their children from private schools if they are not satisfied or demand a better service and teachers can be fired if they are not teaching well. Thus, privatisation can give parents more choice and governments can regulate private schools, inspect them for basic standards, and create an accountability framework including a teachers' licence, a core curriculum, and academic standards for students.

² Ahmet Simsek, an owner a private high school in Istanbul/Turkey, suggests that private schools can service students from public schools if government pays them the same cost as they spend per student (Istanbul Ticaret Odasi 1999, p.54). Unfortunately, Cevdet Cengiz, who is the associate undersecretary in educational ministry, opposes the suggestion. According to him, it is not applicable but he does not explain why (Istanbul Ticaret Odasi, 1999, p.55). A voucher system, which is the most effective supportive system in private schools, is not known or not used in Turkey.

Private schools share educational expenses with government by spending money for buildings, and for operational expenses. If these schools are closed government would pay for all these expenditures. If government were to support private schools, the number of the private schools would be increased and government can save money from educational expenditure³. The money can be used for improvement of other public schools and for funding disadvantaged students.

PRIVATE SCHOOLING IN ANKARA

Ankara is the capital and the second largest city of Turkey with a population of 3.5 m. in 2003. Ankara is an important commercial and industrial city and serves as the marketing centre for the surrounding agricultural area.

I decided to describe the availability of private schooling in Ankara as a baseline for thinking about the development of private schooling in Turkey. The city can also characterise the country. Thus Ankara is the major population centre with every kind of subculture group; Kurdish, Laz, Alavi, Muslim, poor, rich, educated, and illiterate.

Ankara has 24 districts. The number of schools, students, and teachers in Ankara is presented in Table 5. Cankaya is the largest district and contains the most of the private elementary schools. Kecioren is the second largest district with 13 private elementary schools. Yenimahalle is third largest district and has four private elementary schools. Cubuk, Etimesgut, and Polatli each have two private elementary schools. Mamak, Golbasi, Altindag, Beypazari, and Sincan each have one private elementary school. The remaining districts do not have any private elementary schools.

Table 5. The number of schools, students, and teachers in Ankara (2002-2003 edu. year)

	Preschools	Elementary Education	Secondary Education
The number of schools	818	1,018	328
The number of students	25,002	549,889	182,338
The number of teachers	2,037	23,419	12,067

Source: Translated from official web site of Turkish Educational Ministry
<http://www.meb.gov.tr/stats/apk2003/SayisalVeriler2003.htm>

Population and socio-economic situation can explain the dispersion of private elementary schools in districts of Ankara. As seen in Table 6 and in Figure 1, there is a significant positive relationship between school numbers and the size of the population.

On the other hand, there are some exceptions and it is possible to explain these exceptions by drawing on an understanding of the socio-economic situations (SES) of districts. Table 6 also shows that Ankara has a total of 60 private elementary schools. More than half of the private elementary schools (32) are located in Cankaya. It is not possible to this just by its population. The expected number of private elementary schools is 12 but it has 32 private elementary schools. This can be explained by the socio-economic situation of Cankaya which has the best socio-economic condition among districts of Ankara.

Likewise, Kecioren and Cubuk have more private schools than expected. Both districts are high SES. Kecioren also has more private elementary schools than expected. The reason for this can be explained by its good socio-economic condition. The current Prime Minister is also living there with his family. Cubuk has two private elementary schools which is one more than expected. Some politicians and rich persons were living in Cubuk and their economic conditions were very good according to Turkey conditions.

³ Teachers and teacher unions probably oppose the expansion of private schools because of their job security. In the current Turkish education system, once you become a teacher it is almost impossible to be fired. Governments need to think about the students' right instead of teachers' rights and provide a consumer-centred education by expanding private education.

Table 6. Population, socio-economic level (SES) and the number of private elementary schools in the districts of Ankara

Districts	Population	Socio-economic Development level	Number of Private Elementary Schools	Expected Number of Schools According to Population Ratio	
1. Cankaya	769,331	N/A	32	12	>
2. Kecioren	672,817	N/A	13	10	>
3. Yenimahalle	553,344	N/A	4	8	<
4. Mamak	430,606	N/A	1	6	<
5. Altindag	407,101	N/A	1	6	<
6. Sincan	289,783	N/A	1	4	<
7. Etimesgut	171,293	N/A	2	2 or 3	=
8. Polatli	116,400	2	2	2	=
9. Cubuk	75,119	4	2	1	>
10. Golbasi	62,602	1	1	1 or 0	=
11. S.Kochisar	59,128	7	0	1 or 0	=
12. Haymana	54,087	17	0	1 or 0	=
13. Beypazari	51,841	6	1	1 or 0	=
14. Elmadağ	43,374	3	0	1 or 0	=
15. Nallihan	40,677	10	0	1 or 0	=
16. Bala	39,714	16	0	1 or 0	=
17. Kizilcahamam	33,623	11	0	1 or 0	=
18. Kazan	29,692	5	0	0	=
19. Kalecik	24,738	14	0	0	=
20. Ayas	21,239	9	0	0	=
21. Gudul	20,938	13	0	0	=
22. Akyurt	18,907	12	0	0	=
23. Camlidere	15,339	8	0	0	=
24. Evren	6,167	15	0	0	=
TOTAL	4,007,860		60		

N/A = These are central districts and there is no reported information about their socio-economic conditions.

> More than expected schools according to population ratio;

= Expected schools according to population ratio

< Less than expected schools according to population ratio

Source 1: State Institute of Statistics (SIS) Prime Ministry Republic of Turkey (2000, p.59)

Source 2: Prime Ministry, Government Planning Department. <http://ekutup.dpt.gov.tr/bolgesel/dincerb/ilce/2.pdf>

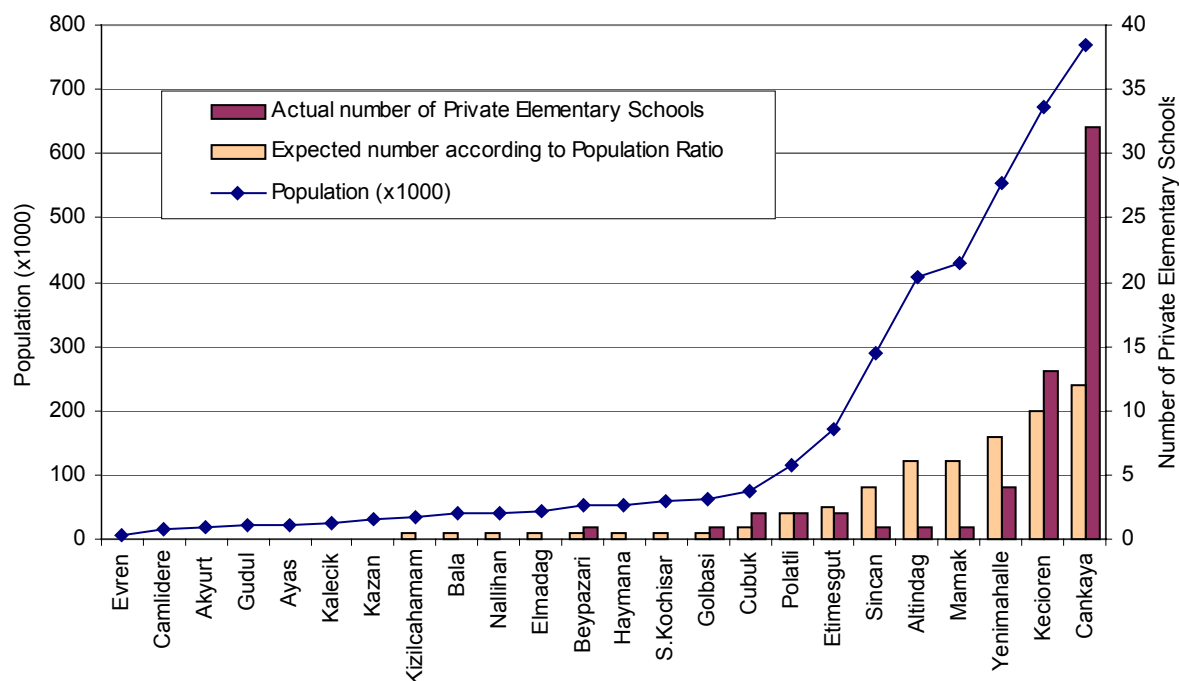


Figure 1. The relationship between the population of districts and the actual number of private elementary schools in Ankara, along with the expected number of schools

Also shown in Figure 1, Yenimahalle, Mamak, Altindag, and Sincan, have fewer private elementary schools than expected in terms of their population sizes. All these districts are known as less-developed and their socio economic situation is very low. For example, many residents of Mamak and Altindag are from rural areas around the city and from the east-side of the country. They are poor people. Their living conditions are very hard, in many cases with eight to 10 people live just in one room.

For all other districts, there is a strong relationship between their population and the number of private elementary schools. Ayas, Bala, Beypazari, Camlidere, Elmadag, Evren, Gudul, Haymana, Kalecik, Kazan, Kizilcahamam, and Nallihan do not have any private elementary schools. This is not surprising because all of these districts have small populations and their socio-economic situation is low. Etimesgut, and Polatli have two private elementary schools and Beypazari and Golbasi have one. In terms of their population, these numbers are expected.

In summary, private elementary schools in Ankara are dispersed according to the socio-economic situations of the districts. Most of these schools are profit-making and service the middle- and upper- class families to meet their quality education and religious needs. Private schools are not accessible for poor families. This causes inequality between rich and poor students in high schools and university entrance examinations, so that disadvantaged groups who are the majority of population, oppose the privatisation. Privatisation can help to solve many educational problems if government regulates it in ways that make private schooling accessible to students at different income levels.

CONCLUSION

Turkey, as a developing country, faces many problems in education. Large class size, low enrolment rate, girl's education, high illiteracy rate, religious education, textbooks, curriculum and multicultural education are some of the important problems. On the other hand, cultural diversity, economical problems (lack of resources), migration, central management, the rapid growth in school-age population and regional differences make the solutions very difficult.

In principle, privatisation as a policy tool in education can help in the solution of these educational problems in Turkey. Private schools can share responsibility with the Government by investing money in education. In addition, private schools can also meet the needs for diversity in society. Private schools can promote specific religious or philosophical views by using their own teaching methods.

However, in Turkey, the role of private education is very limited. Only 1.6 per cent of total educational expenditure comes from private sources when compare to the OECD mean of 11.6. There is no curriculum freedom for private schools in Turkey. Private schools do not need to follow the same calendars, course books or curriculum like public schools because they also have a mission to meet the necessary diversity and implementation of innovations. The Turkish Government can expand the privatisation in education to solve its educational problems. The Government needs to create an enabling environment, to increase accountability and transparency, and to establish an appropriate mechanism to control quality.

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