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Professional Autonomy of High School Teachers in Turkey: A Retrospective and Prospective Policy Analysis *

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Abstract

Unlike the restrictions on teacher autonomy over the decades, recent policy documents developed by the Ministry of National Education propose expanding their professional autonomy in Turkey. Based on existing and potential policies on the agenda, the current study examines high school teachers` professional autonomy in Turkey utilizing explanatory mixed research design. In the quantitative phase, data were collected from 12.329 teachers sampled via a two-stage stratified sample design by statistical region, school type and subjects using the "Teacher autonomy scale". Besides, to reveal an in-depth interpretation of the findings obtained in the quantitative dimension, the qualitative dimension was conducted with 12 teachers sampled through the maximum variation method. The qualitative data were collected through a semi-structured interview form developed by the researcher based on findings from the quantitative phase. Results indicate that teachers think all dimensions of professional autonomy are perfectly or very reasonable. They find existing and potential policies of instructional, administrative, and personal-professional development autonomy very feasible whereas they find financial autonomy partly feasible. Although teachers have limited instructional autonomy, their responsibilities for the outcomes of instructional decisions are limited as well, due to the lack of a systematic accountability policy. I argue that potential policies should focus on redress the balance. Based on centrally developed curriculum frameworks, these policies should support teachers` instructional autonomy and increase their responsibility for instructional decisions. Flexible and balanced accountability policies are recommended rather than standardized and test-based approaches.

Keywords

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Introduction

Teacher autonomy generally refers to authority and freedom in the teaching profession. This includes making important decisions as professionals (Ingersoll, 2007; Webb, 2002), having authority in their working environment (Pearson & Moomaw, 2005), planning and development of instruction and participating in administrative processes (Friedman, 1999). Teacher autonomy indicates a balanced structure with other components of the education system. It focuses on innovation, collaboration and sharing experiences (Gabriel, Day, & Allington, 2011). Considering teachers` tasks and responsibilities, their professional autonomy can be grouped by instructional autonomy, administrative autonomy, financial autonomy, and personal and professional development autonomy. These four components of teacher autonomy refer to the authority in the instructional process inside classrooms; participating in school administration; being involved in financial decisions both in classrooms and schools; and participating in personal and professional development activities, respectively (Karabacak, 2014). Based on these definitions, teacher autonomy can be defined as the freedom to make decisions for curriculum and instructional materials; participating in school management and other activities relevant to their professions.

Studies suggest that perceived teacher autonomy is an important factor for teachers` job satisfaction (Pearson & Moomaw, 2005). Effective implementation of teacher autonomy provides educational freedom for teachers. Thus, personal knowledge, instruction, experience and the needs of specific educational contexts can be balanced (Hoyle & John, 1996). More autonomous teachers are more engaged and motivated to perform in their profession (Ayral et al., 2014). Restricting autonomy, on the other hand, hinders teachers` professionalism (MacBeath, 2012). What makes the difference regarding professionalism is the implementation of teacher autonomy. Self-controlled autonomy or diversity in professional practice may have different consequences. As opposed to self-controlled autonomy, diversity in practice has a positive effect on professionalism (Parker, 2015).

Despite the fact that teacher autonomy is seen as an important component of the profession in the literature, education policies have restricted teacher autonomy in many school systems for decades (Anderson, 1987; Ball, 2000; Lundström, 2015). In line with this trend, teachers` professional decisions have diminished in Turkey, particularly beginning in the 90s (Ünal, 2011). Currently, teachers have limited autonomy even in fundamental decisions. For instance, all textbooks are selected by the Ministry of National Education (MoNE) and teachers have no authority to make decisions on the textbook selection (Regulations for High Schools, 2016, section 13). On the other hand, recently developed macro-level policy documents such as Turkey`s Education Vision 2023 and Teacher Strategy Paper (2017-2023) aim to increase teacher autonomy (MoNE, 2017; 2019). For instance, Vision 2023 maintains that "A flexible curriculum framework is more effective than strict curriculum for a school system where teachers are highly qualified".

Although teacher autonomy is an important and ongoing issue on the national education policy agenda, our knowledge of teachers` perspectives of current and potential policies are limited (Karabacak, 2014). Most of the existing studies have examined how and the extent to which teachers use their autonomy (e.g., Bümen, Çakar, & Yıldız, 2014; Çolak & Altınkurt, 2017; Gür, 2014; Üzüm, 2014). To address this knowledge gap, the main purpose of this study is to analyze policies for high school teachers` professional autonomy in the Turkish National Education System.

This paper begins with the introduction of the analytical framework and outlines the policy context of teacher autonomy in Turkey. The policy context is structured based on one of the most

common definitions of policy-that is to say "policy as a text" (Jones, 2013). In this section, I compared the intended and observed outcomes of teacher autonomy policies utilizing current knowledge of teacher autonomy in the literature. This comparison frames the background of teachers` appropriation of the policies in the study. After presenting the method section where quantitative and qualitative phases are explained, results are reported. Finally, the conclusion, discussions, and policy implications are presented. While developing policy recommendations, findings of the current paper, existing literature and policy texts are considered. The policy experiences of other countries are discussed where appropriate.

Analytical Framework

In his well-known book, Dunn (2017) categorizes public policy analysis into two fundamental types: retrospective (ex-post) policy analysis and prospective (ex-ante) policy analysis. Retrospective analysis is conducted after policies are implemented while prospective analysis is conducted before policies are implemented. Each approach can be used in a study as both two approaches can be used as well (see Irvine & Irvine, 2007; Villegas & Lucas, 2004). Using both in the same study can help us broaden our understanding of the connection between the past and the future of policies. In fact, specifically in education policies, it is more important for those policies that directly affect teachers. Although most policies are structured for a specific period, the policy experiences of teachers influence their appropriation of current and future policies (Coburn & Stein, 2006).

Recent years have witnessed a policy shift in teacher autonomy at least in terms of policy documents in Turkey. Unlike the restrictions on teacher autonomy over the decades, emerging policy documents such as the Education Vision of 2023 and the Teacher Strategy Paper (2017-2023) indicate that we may observe major changes in authorities, autonomies, and responsibilities of the profession. In this period of a policy shift, it is important to link the realities of the current situation and possibilities of future policies. To analyze existing and future possibilities of policies, retrospective, and prospective policy analysis are used in the current study. This approach is not only reflected in the analysis of policy texts but, more importantly, in the quantitative and qualitative inquiry of the study.

Policy Context

Teachers` professional autonomy is determined by the Fundamental Law for National Education in Turkey. Teaching is defined as a profession that requires specific expertise. Teachers are responsible for fulfilling the State`s education policies (Fundamental Law for National Education, 1973: section 43). Furthermore, Regulations for Upper Secondary Schools shape high school teachers` professional autonomy. The Regulations state that teachers are responsible for all educational activities in schools, developing educational standards, supporting the relationship between school and community, and collaborating with school administration to provide instructional materials (Regulations for High Schools, 2016: section 86). One of the other important aspects of teacher autonomy is the national curriculum. While the curriculum restricts teachers making changes in curricular objectives, it provides more flexibility in content and instructional methods (Education Board, 2018a, 2018b, 2018c).

Teachers not only have limited autonomy but also have limited responsibilities over their instructional decisions. For instance, they do not have permission to eliminate learning objectives defined in the national curriculum based on students` readiness and learning needs. Regulations for High Schools (2016, section 10) require that only curriculum and weekly course schedules approved by MoNE can be implemented in upper secondary schools. There are just a few exceptions to these

requirements such as individualized curriculum for special education students. Schools can develop curriculum for elective courses only if it is approved by directors of national education at the province level. Textbooks, provided by MoNE for free regardless of student background, are developed by MoNE and teachers do not have the authority to choose textbooks. The same Regulations also determine student assessment standards and criteria for the success and failure of students as well. As an expected result of these policies, regulations do not define an accountability mechanism for the effects of instructional decisions taken by teachers. In other words, teachers practice their professions based on a detailed plan of MoNE and they are not deemed responsible for the impact of their decisions.

Indeed, limited school autonomy has impacts on the lack of teacher autonomy in Turkey. It is a well-documented finding that school autonomy, to the extent which schools have authority to make decisions for specific policies and practices, determines teacher autonomy (EURYDICE, 2008; Helgoy & Homme, 2007; Mayer, Donaldson, LeChasseur, Welton, & Cobb, 2013; Parker, 2015; TEDMEM, 2015; Wall & Rinehart, 1997). From a comparative perspective, the results of PISA (Programme for International Student Assessment) 2015 indicate that Turkey is among the countries where schools are the least autonomous over curriculum and student assessment policies (OECD, 2016).

The other component of teacher autonomy, administrative autonomy, is put into practice by teacher councils and commissions in schools (Regulations for High Schools, 2016, section 107). These councils and commissions aim to involve teachers in administrative decisions. It is important to note that if school administrators` are not the chair of a commission, a decision taken by the commissions is only serves as advice but does not have a regulative function.

Thirdly, teachers` financial autonomy is very limited in schools since school administrations are obliged to manage school finance by law (Ministry of Finance, 2006). Most of the school-level expenditures including textbooks and some instructional materials are provided directly by MoNE. This also limits the number and scope of financial decisions taken by teachers.

There are also some incentives in official regulations to support personal and professional development autonomy (Regulations for Teachers` In-Service Teacher Training, 1995: section 6; Regulations for Teachers` Benefit, 2013: section 18). These regulations provide administrative and financial support to attend academic conferences. Teachers can attend conferences without any salary deduction and take reimbursement for the expense of travel and attendance.

Consequently, the policy context indicates that teacher autonomy is restricted by several policy tools such as laws, regulations, and curriculum. On the other hand, there are some policy documents that aim to improve their autonomy as mentioned above. Teacher Strategy Paper (2017-2023) purposes improving teachers` authorities and responsibilities in school administration and educational practices ( MoNE, 2017, Action 28.). In a similar vein, Turkey`s Education Vision emphasizes, "Unfortunately, curriculum development, which is overwhelmed by centralized exams as a result of higher inequality between schools, becomes a mean as opposed to an end". As mentioned in the earlier sections of the paper, the document suggests "A flexible curriculum framework is more effective than strict and detailed curriculum for a school system where teachers are highly qualified" (MoNE, 2019, p.9). The current National Development Plan aims to improve teachers` professional as well, which can be interpreted as a component of their autonomy (Presidency of Republic of Turkey, 2019, item 553). This policy trend indicates that teacher autonomy is an important issue for the Turkish National Education System on the policy agenda.

Existing Literature on Teacher Autonomy in Turkey

Although regulative guidelines including curriculum, textbooks, and weekly course schedules aim to manage the education system in the lens of "one size fits all", our current knowledge indicates that teachers do not adopt all these policies as intended in policy texts. In their review of curriculum fidelity in Turkey, Bümen et al. (2014) argue that despite a centralized school system, teachers make changes in curriculum based on their preferences and students` need. In his qualitative case study, Gür (2014) maintains that the detailed curriculum and guidebooks do not restrict teachers` professional autonomy. In their quantitative study conducted in Muğla province, Çolak and Altınkurt (2017) confirm similar findings. They point out that the lack of autonomy in policy prescriptions does not completely restrict teacher autonomy since they take more responsibilities and risks to implement curriculum than expected by written regulations. In her quantitative-survey research conducted in Izmir province, Üzüm (2014) argues that teachers` awareness of psychological and technical autonomy are high and political autonomy is moderate. These studies indicate that as opposed to the intentions of policies, teachers tend to use their autonomy to shape the curriculum. In other words, there is a "de facto" implementation of the curriculum.

Before discussing the research gap on teacher autonomy, it would be useful to point out that, in addition to the field of educational leadership and policy studies, the concept of teacher autonomy is also examined in the field of second language studies in Turkey. However, studies in this field focus more on the concept of learner autonomy. The studies examine teacher autonomy also investigate it within the context of second language teaching and learner autonomy, which is quite different from the context of ongoing discussions explained above (e.g., Bayat, 2007; Oğuz, 2013; Sert, 2007).

As discussed in the first paragraph of this section, although existing studies shed light on teachers` practices, we have little known the extent to which teachers find current and future policies that allow more professional autonomy. It is important to understand whether teachers support current and future policies of teacher autonomy or not. Besides, as discussed in the introduction, teacher autonomy does not only consist of instructional autonomy. The above studies mostly focused on instructional autonomy and neglected other dimensions of teacher autonomy. Only Karabacak (2014) systematically seeks to understand teachers` perceptions regarding the other components of teacher autonomy. In her correlational study conducted in Ankara province, she examined the relationship between teacher autonomy and teacher self-efficacy. She found that there are positive correlations between instructional autonomy, administrative autonomy; and personal-career development and the efficacy of classroom management. However, she only examines the reasonability and feasibility of teacher autonomy in a limited part of her study and does not provide detailed findings on the underlying reasons for their opinions regarding policies. Moreover, none of these studies examined the extent to which teacher autonomy differs by subjects and school types. While MoNE has an extensive role in almost all education policies in the country, teacher autonomy has not been studied with a large sample that represents the entire Turkish school system yet. Nor did existing studies use a mixed method design to examine teacher autonomy. Indeed, mixed method design is recommended in policy analysis studies to reveal "persuasive generalization about policy outcomes". It provides an opportunity to examine both quantitative and qualitative data regarding specific policies (Dunn, 2017).

The current research aims to contribute to the elimination of this lack of research. In addition to this contribution to the literature, it is expected that the research findings and suggestions will support macro-level policies and school-level practices. It is also expected to contribute to the process of curriculum development, enactment of educational legislation, teacher training, and more effective school management practices.

In this context, the purpose of the current research is to analyze teacher autonomy policies in Turkish general upper secondary schools, henceforth high schools, based on teachers` opinions. The below research questions are examined for this purpose:

1) What do teachers think about instructional autonomy, administrative autonomy, financial autonomy, and personal and professional development autonomy in the context of existing and possible policies?

2) Do their perceptions differ by educational attainment, subject, experience, the school type in which they work, and school size? What are the underlying rationales behind these differences?

Method

The research design, population, sample, study group, measurement tools, the procedures for data collection, data analysis and interpretation of results are discussed in this section.

Research Design

To analyze teacher autonomy policies in high schools, the current study utilizes an explanatory mixed method design. Mixed-method research is defined as the collection, analysis, and integration of quantitative and qualitative data (Creswell & Clark, 2017) that uses both quantitative and qualitative methods based on pragmatist philosophy (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 1998). The mixed-method approach assumes that each fact and phenomenon have both qualitative and the quantitative dimensions (Yıldırım & Şimşek, 2013).

To reveal the in-depth interpretation of the findings obtained in the quantitative dimension, quantitative dimension and the qualitative dimension were conducted respectively. The research process is shown in Figure 1.

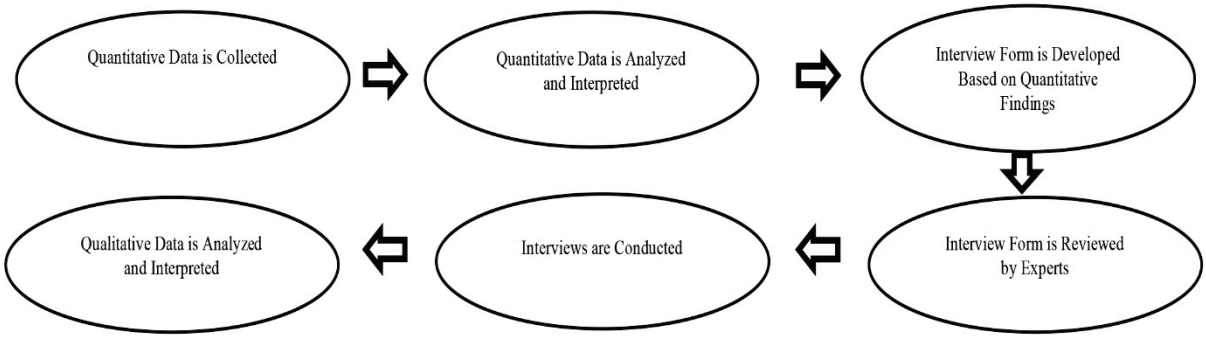

Figure 1. The Research Process

The survey model is used in the quantitative dimension of the research. The model is defined as a study that reveals participants' opinions on a topic or fact; or interests, skills, abilities, attitudes, etc. Compared to other studies, these studies are generally conducted with relatively larger sample sizes (Büyüköztürk, Akgün, Demirel, Karadeniz, & Çakmak, 2015). The case study model is used in the qualitative dimension. The model provides detailed data to reveal an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon (Patton, 2015).

Population, Sample and Study Group

In a mixed-method study, the sample should be examined separately within the framework of both quantitative and qualitative phases (Yıldırım & Şimşek, 2013). Therefore, population and sample for the quantitative phase; and study group for the qualitative phase are explained in the following two sections.

Population and Sample for Quantitative Phase

The research population is comprised of 99.577 teachers who worked at 2.778 public high schools in the academic year of 2014-2015. The sample is designed with a two-stage stratified sample design. The number of teachers in Nomenclature of Territorial Units for Statistics (NUTS-1) regions is

the first strata and the number of teachers by subjects and school type is the second strata, both of which are considered respectively to determine the sample. While designing the sample, the ratio of teachers in the population is considered by region based on the optimal number of teachers that can represent the related population in the region where the number of teachers is smallest. A similar method is used for subjects and school types within each region. This allowed for the design of a nationally representative sample. The sample size is 12.309 teachers. The relationship[1] between the population and the sample by subject, region and school type are shown in Figure 2.

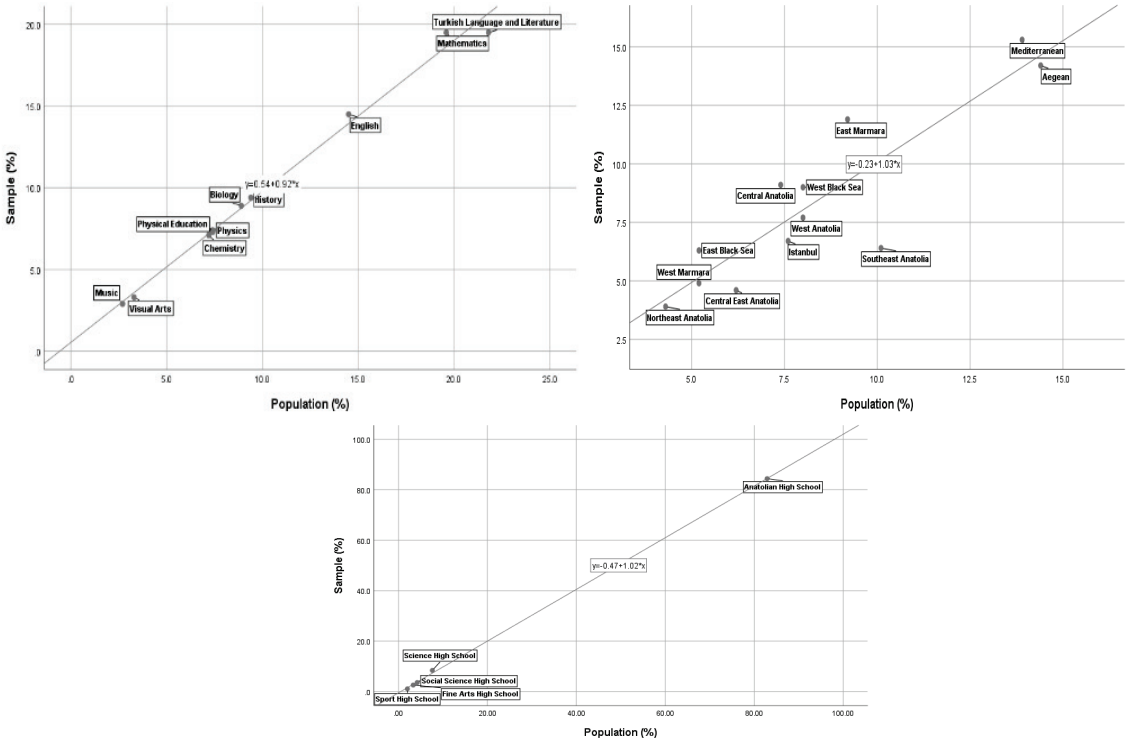

Figure 2. The Relationship Between the Population and the Sample by Subject, Region and School Type

The percentages of Turkish language and literature (21.8%; 19.5%)[2] and mathematics (20.0%; 19.5%) teachers are the highest in the population and sample, while the ratios of music (2.6%; 2.9%) and visual arts (3.3%; 3.3%) are the lowest. The regions with the highest percentages in the population and sample are the Mediterranean (13.9%; 15.3%) and Aegean regions (14.4%; 14.2%) while Northeast Anatolia (4.3%; 3.9%), West Marmara (5.2%; 4.9%), East Black Sea (5.2%; 6.3%) and Central East Anatolia (6.2%; 4.6%) regions have the lowest. Anatolian high schools (82.9%; 84.4%) have the highest percentages both in population and sample while sport high schools (2.0%; 1.1%) have the lowest. Figure 2 shows strong similarities between percentages of population and sample by subject, region, and school type.

The numbers and percentages of teachers in the sample by subject, region, school type, gender, age, and experience are reported in Table 1.

[1] Due to the limited number of independent variables visual representation is preferred rather than correlation coefficients.
[2] The percentages of population and sample are presented in parenthesis, respectively.

Table 1. The Numbers and Percentages of Teachers in the Sample by Subject, Region, School Type, Gender, Age and Experience

Variable	Category	Frequency (n)	Percentage (%)	Category	Frequency (n)	Percentage (%)
Subject	Biology	1096	8.9	Chemistry	874	7.1
	Physical Education	899	7.3	Mathematics	2400	19.5
	Physics	911	7.4	Music	357	2.9
	Visual Arts	431	3.3	History	1157	9.4
	English	1785	14.5	Turkish Language and Literature	2400	19.5
NUTS-1 Region	Mediterranean	1888	15.3	Aegean	1752	14.2
	West Anatolia	950	7.7	Southeast Anatolia	789	6.4
	West Black Sea	1114	9.0	Istanbul	821	6.7
	West Marmara	598	4.9	Northeast Anatolia	479	3.9
	East Black Sea	771	6.3	Central Anatolia	1128	9.1
	East Marmara	1472	11.9	Central East Anatolia	567	4.6
School Type	Anatolian High School	10394	84.4	Sport High School	139	1.1
	Science High School	1033	8.4	Social Science High School	447	3.6
	Fine Arts High School	316	2.6			
Gender	Female	5361	43.5	Male	6968	56.5
Age	20-30	1787	14.5	41-50	4049	32.8
	31-40	5347	43.4	51-60	1146	9.3
Experience	1-5	2205	17.9	16-20	2929	23.8
	6-10	1382	11.2	Above 20	3134	25.4
	11-15	2679	21.7			

84.4% of teachers work in Anatolian high schools, 8.4% in science high schools, 3.6% in social sciences high schools. 43.5% of the teachers are female and 56.5% were male. 17.9% of teachers have up to 5 years of experience; 11.2% of them have between 6-10 years of experience and 25.4% of them have more than 20 years of experience.

Study Group for Qualitative Phase

In an explanatory mixed-method study, participants for the qualitative phase should be selected from individuals included in the initial quantitative sample since the purpose of the research design is to follow and examine quantitative findings. Explaining this mechanism and examining how variables interact are the strengths of this design. It is necessary to design a purposeful sampling method (Creswell, 2014). Therefore, 12 teachers from different subjects who participated in the quantitative phase are interviewed. The maximum variation method is used to sample those teachers. The purposes of the maximum variation method are selecting relatively a small sample and including more perspectives by selecting various individuals from different backgrounds. Subject, school type, educational attainment, gender, and region are considered in the selection. Some of the teachers who were invited to interview did not accept to involve in the research. To reach 12 teachers, approximately 30 teachers were invited. Consequently, there are more participants from West Anatolia, the region which includes Ankara, in the final study group. The study group for the qualitative phase is shown in Table 2.

Table 2. The Study Group for Qualitative Phase

Pseudonym	Subject	Experience (Year)	Educational Attainment	School Type	Gender	Region
Ali	Physical Education	21	Undergraduate	Sport High School	Male	West Anatolia
Ayşe	Biology	15	Ph.D.	Science High School	Female	West Marmara
Ahmet	Psychics	18	Undergraduate	Anatolian High School	Male	Southeast Anatolia
Hasan	Visual arts	16	Master	Fine Arts High School	Male	West Anatolia
Hüseyin	English	6	Undergraduate	Anatolian High School	Male	West Anatolia
Fatma	Chemistry	18	Undergraduate	Anatolian High School	Female	West Blacksea
Mustafa	Mathematics	12	Master	Anatolian High School	Male	West Anatolia
Zeynep	Mathematics	4	Undergraduate	Anatolian High School	Female	West Anatolia
Elif	Music	14	Ph.D.	Fine Arts High School	Female	West Anatolia
Emine	History	20	Ph.D.	Social Science High School	Female	West Anatolia
Ömer	Turkish Language and Literacy	15	Undergraduate	Anatolian High School	Male	Istanbul
Mehmet	Turkish Language and Literacy	3	Undergraduate	Anatolian High School	Male	East Marmara

Mathematics and Turkish language and literature, which have the highest percentages in the quantitative phase, are represented by two teachers. The rest of the subjects are represented by one teacher per subject. The experiences of teachers in the study group ranged from 3 to 21 years. Seven of them have undergraduate degrees, 2 of them have master's degrees, 3 of them have Ph.D. degrees. Seven of the participants work at Anatolian High Schools, 2 of them work in fine arts high schools. Science high school, social science high school, and sport high school are represented by one teacher for each.

Data Collection Instruments

For the quantitative phase, the "Teacher Autonomy Scale" is used, developed by Karabacak (2014). It consists of 42 items and follows four dimensions: Instructional autonomy, administrative autonomy, financial autonomy and personal and professional development autonomy. Items have two measurements of "Reasonability", and "Feasibility". 5-point Likert items are used in both aspects. Options are as follows for the aspects of reasonability "Not reasonable at all", "Slightly reasonable", "Moderately Reasonable", "Very reasonable" "Perfectly reasonable"; and "Not feasible at all", "Slightly feasible", "Partly feasible", "Very feasible" and "Perfectly feasible" for the aspects of feasibility. There are 19 items in instructional autonomy, 12 items in administrative autonomy, five items in financial autonomy, and seven items in personal and professional development autonomy. Example items are "Teachers should be able to teach some learning objectives which do not exist in the official curriculum developed by the Ministry of Education" for instructional autonomy, " Teacher should be able to participate the process of determining the specific purpose of a school" for administrative autonomy, "Teachers should be able to use school budget funds to purchase instructional materials" for financial autonomy, "Decisions regarding participation to professional development activities should be able to be taken by teachers` commission and school administration" for personal and professional

development autonomy. Cronbach Alpha values for pre-implementation of the scale vary between .65 and .92 by dimensions (Karabacak, 2014). These values are .88 for reasonability of instructional autonomy and .89 for feasibility; .79 for reasonability of administrative autonomy and .82 for feasibility; .72 for reasonability of financial autonomy and .85 for feasibility; .90 for reasonability of personal and professional development autonomy and .83 for feasibility. Values between .60-.80 indicate good internal consistency and values between .80–1.00 indicate excellent internal consistency (Kalaycı, 2014). Based on these findings, the scale is accepted as a reliable measurement tool for teacher autonomy.

Based on the findings in the quantitative dimension, the semi-structured interview form is developed by asking the opinions of three experts. The areas of experts are measurement and evaluation, educational management, and curriculum and instruction. The interview form includes unique questions according to the interviewee`s background such as subject and experience in to reveal in-depth information about the findings revealed in the quantitative dimension. Pre-implementation was made with two teachers. Based on the feedback obtained in the pre-implementation, the interview form was finalized.

Data Collection

In the quantitative phase, data were collected with the "Teacher Autonomy Scale" via an electronic survey tool. Permission for data collection was obtained from the Secondary Education General Directorate. Permission to use the scale was obtained from the researcher. In the qualitative phase, face to face and phone interviews were done with 10 and two teachers, respectively. Quantitative data was collected in June 2015 and qualitative data was collected in October 2015. All interviews were recorded with the consent of interviewees. Finally, transcriptions were completed.

Data Analysis and Interpretation

For quantitative data, mean ($\overline{X}$) and standard deviation (SD) were examined. In order to decide statistical methods for the second research question, the normality test was examined first. Since the sample size (N=12.329) is greater than 30, Kolmogorov-Smirnov values were considered and found statistically significant. The reason for the significant result is the fact that the sample size is too large. If a sample size is too large, it is recommended to consider the shape of data distribution rather than inferential statistics since standard the error is too small for larger sample sizes. Hence, the null hypothesis for skewness and kurtosis tend to be rejected (Tabachnick & Fidel, 2013). Therefore, mean, standard deviation and skewness values are considered as shown in Table 3. Since these values fall in the acceptable range, t-test and one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) were applied. To determine the equality of variance, the results of the Levene test were checked. Scheffe and Tamhane tests were examined for multiple comparisons of homogeneous and heterogeneous distributions, respectively.

For the qualitative phase, since data was analyzed based on the pre-determined themes of teacher autonomy which are instructional, administrative, financial, personal and professional development, a descriptive method was preferred. Results that arose in the quantitative phase were prioritized. Thus, the aim was to deepen the quantitative findings. To analyze similar opinions in the same direction, they were categorized by their substantive meanings. Opinions that were consistent with quantitative findings and those that provided a different perspective are noted and interpreted.

Results

In this section, results are presented by sub-problems of the study.

Results for the First Research Problem

The first research question is as follows: "What do teachers think about instructional autonomy, administrative autonomy, financial autonomy, personal and professional development autonomy in the context of existing and possible policies?". Regarding this research question, the means ($\overline{X}$), standard deviations (SD) and skewness of the responses are shown in Table 3.

Table 3. Means ($\overline{X}$), Standard Deviations (SD) and Skewness for Teacher Autonomy by Dimensions

Dimension	$\overline{X}$	SD	Skewness
Instructional Autonomy (Reasonability)	3.74	1.16	-0.5
Instructional Autonomy (Feasibility)	3.53	0.93	-0.4
Administrative Autonomy (Reasonability)	4.58	0.67	-1.9
Administrative Autonomy (Feasibility)	3.72	1.04	-0.6
Financial Autonomy (Reasonability)	4.14	0.87	-1.0
Financial Autonomy (Feasibility)	3.35	1.14	-0.3
Personal and Professional Development Autonomy (Reasonability)	4.54	0.77	-1.9
Personal and Professional Development Autonomy (Feasibility)	3.76	1.16	-0.5

According to the results in Table 3, teachers report that instructional autonomy is very reasonable ($\overline{X}$=3.74) and very feasible ($\overline{X}$=3.53). They think that administrative autonomy is perfectly reasonable ($\overline{X}$=4.58) and very feasible ($\overline{X}$=3.72), while they report financial autonomy as very feasible ($\overline{X}$=4.14). However, they think financial autonomy is partly feasible ($\overline{X}$=3.35). Personal and professional development autonomy is reported as perfectly reasonable ($\overline{X}$=4.54) and very feasible ($\overline{X}$=3.76). While administrative autonomy has the greatest reasonability ($\overline{X}$=4.58), instructional autonomy has the smallest ($\overline{X}$=3.74). Personal and professional development autonomy has the greatest feasibility ($\overline{X}$=3.76) and financial autonomy has the smallest ($\overline{X}$=3.35).

Beyond these quantitative results, teachers are asked "How do you define teacher autonomy?" in order to understand their meaning-making and their priorities for teacher autonomy. Teachers use the following notions while defining teacher autonomy: "Characteristics of the teacher", "Teacher competence", and "Flexibility based on circumstances". For instance, Ali defines teacher autonomy as "The ability of a teacher to reflect his/her personal preferences, inclination and opinions in relation to his/her own competence in curricular and extracurricular activities based on his/her field and to apply them by using his/her own methods." Likewise, Elif defines an autonomous teacher as "A teacher who is able to use his/her potential and freedom without losing his/her own characteristics."

In teachers' definitions of professional autonomy, the emphasis on teacher autonomy that has certain types of limits comes to the fore. In other words, teachers do not mention unlimited professional autonomy. In this regard, the views of Mehmet and Zeynep are comprehensive interpretations, respectively: "Having a broad range of freedom in a system that is outlined by external authorities." "It is a characteristic that every teacher should possess. Whether it is an instructional method, communication with the students, there should be an autonomy that is provided within a general framework."

As discussed above, teachers rate reasonability higher than feasibility in all dimensions and items. Teachers were asked about the underlying reasons for this finding. They mention multiple reasons to explain this. Some of them are the level of trust to teachers, the structure of the curriculum, uncertainty in the limits of teacher autonomy, taking responsibility, resistance to change, social status of the profession, teacher competence and motivation. Some teachers think that the level of trust to teachers at the system level is not enough. This is the reason for lower reasonability than feasibility. "Society does not trust teachers as it does not trust physicians or engineers. This is the issue. Therefore, teachers think that the system does not authorize us since it does not trust. (Mustafa)" "It depends on your administrators. They should trust you and know your potential. Trust matters. (Hasan)" Ahmet, who also thinks that the level of trust is problematic, emphasizes the changing role of teachers in recent years:

"Teachers think that as their rights and responsibilities are limited, the system does not permit to be more autonomous. It is about the social status of teachers. Teachers do not have the same social status in the society as forty years ago. I have 18 years of experience, the role of teachers in society has changed dramatically. Besides, if too many regulations are established and do not allow flexibility, it harms self-confidence. Indeed, this perspective implicitly says: I do not believe that you are capable. Therefore, I have established too many regulations. I think too much control causes failure."

Regarding the restrictions created by the curriculum: "I think the curriculum is too detailed. It does not allow any flexibility for teachers. (Fatma)" Another teacher (Emine) states the issue similarly as follows: "Sometimes, the curriculum may become too detailed. History of Modern Turkey and the World is an example of this issue." Ayşe, who criticized the detailed structure of the curriculum, argues that "The curriculum should not restrict teachers this much. It dictates every detail of instruction. It does not reflect the reality of the classroom. In fact, it is impossible. I believe teachers should decide on details." In addition to the curriculum, another aspect is commented by Fatma: "First, the curriculum is the fundamental factor. When a teacher made any change in curriculum, both parents and students… Parents compare what is taught in different classrooms. Then, they question decisions regarding this and ask you not to go beyond the official curriculum. Since additional responsibilities require more risks, teachers hesitate to make changes in the official curriculum." These opinions indicate that students and parents may influence teachers` professional autonomy.

Results for the Second Research Problem

The second research problem is "Do teacher`s perceptions differ by educational attainment, subject, experience, school type, and school size? What are the underlying rationales behind these differences?"

Teacher Autonomy by Educational Attainment

The results of ANOVA for teacher autonomy by educational attainment is shown in Table 4.

Table 4. The Results of ANOVA for Teacher Autonomy by Educational Attainment

Instructional Autonomy	**N**	$\overline{X}$	**SD**	**F**	**p**
Reasonability					
Associate Degree	35	3.70	1.07	4.41	.00*
Undergraduate	9.846	3.31	1.08		
Master	2.378	3.24	1.10		
Ph.D.	70	3.31	1.11		
Feasibility					
Associate Degree	35	3.60	0.91	5.32	.00*
Undergraduate	9.846	3.52	0.99		
Master	2.378	3.43	1.02		
Ph.D.	70	3.51	1.03		
Administrative Autonomy	**N**	$\overline{X}$	**SD**	**F**	**p**
Reasonability					
Associate Degree	35	4.51	0.63	2.49	.06
Undergraduate	9.846	4.46	0.65		
Master	2.378	4.50	0.63		
Ph.D.	70	4.48	0.81		
Feasibility					
Associate Degree	35	3.94	0.91	6.03	.00*
Undergraduate	9.846	3.72	0.98		
Master	2.378	3.63	1.01		
Ph.D.	70	3.78	1.00		
Financial Autonomy	**N**	$\overline{X}$	**SD**	**F**	**p**
Reasonability					
Associate Degree	35	4.10	0.79	1.74	.16
Undergraduate	9.846	4.10	0.82		
Master	2.378	4.14	0.81		
Ph.D.	70	4.21	0.88		
Feasibility					
Associate Degree	35	3.70	1.07	4.97	.00*
Undergraduate	9.846	3.31	1.08		
Master	2.378	3.24	1.10		
Ph.D.	70	3.31	1,11		
Personal and Professional Autonomy	**N**	$\overline{X}$	**SD**	**F**	**p**
Reasonability					
Associate Degree	35	4.35	0.74	5.94	.00*
Undergraduate	9.846	4.49	0.68		
Master	2.378	4.55	0.65		
Ph.D.	70	4.51	0.78		
Feasibility					
Associate Degree	35	3.84	0.96	1.20	.30
Undergraduate	9.846	3.69	1.07		
Master	2.378	3.66	1.09		
Ph.D.	70	3.85	1.05		

*p<.05

ANOVA results indicate that there is significant difference(s) in reasonability (p=.00 <0.05) and feasibility (p=.00<0.05) of instructional autonomy; feasibility of administrative autonomy (p=.00<0.05); feasibility of financial autonomy (p=.00<0.05); reasonability of personal and professional autonomy (p=.00<0.05).

The results of post-hoc tests by educational attainment are shown in Table 5.

Table 5. The Results of Post-hoc Tests by Educational Attainment

Dimension	Educational Attainment	Variable	Difference in Means	S.E.	p
Instructional Autonomy					
Reasonability	Undergraduate	Master	-0.05	0.01	.00*
Feasibility	Undergraduate	Master	0.09	0.02	.00*
Administrative Autonomy					
Feasibility	Undergraduate	Master	0.09	0.02	.03*
Financial Autonomy					
Feasibility	Undergraduate	Master	0.08	0.02	.00*
Personal and Professional Autonomy					
Reasonability	Undergraduate	Master	-0.06	0.02	.00*

*p<.05

There are statistically significant differences in reasonability (p=.00<0.05) and feasibility (p=.00<0.05) of instructional autonomy; feasibility of administrative autonomy (p=.03<0.05); feasibility of financial autonomy (p=.00<0.05); reasonability of personal and professional development autonomy (p=.00<0.05) between teachers with undergraduate and master's degrees. Teachers with master's degrees gave higher means in reasonability of instructional autonomy, personal and professional development autonomy while teachers with undergraduate degrees gave a higher the rating in feasibility of instructional autonomy, administrative autonomy, and financial autonomy.

Teacher Autonomy by Educational Attainment

Mean ($\overline{X}$) and standard deviation (SD) values of dimensions of teacher autonomy by subjects are shown in Table 6.

Table 6. Means ($\overline{X}$) and Standard Deviations (SD) Values of Dimensions of Teacher Autonomy by Subjects

Dimension		Instructional Autonomy		Administrative Autonomy		Financial Autonomy		Personal and Professional Autonomy	
Subject		**B**	**U**	**B**	**U**	**B**	**U**	**B**	**U**
Physical Education	$\overline{X}$	3.57	4.33	4.49	3.75	4.28	3.44	4.51	3.67
	SD	0.99	0.69	0.65	0.97	0.77	1.14	0.67	1.09
Biology	$\overline{X}$	3.47	4.30	4.48	3.66	4.14	3.26	4.51	3.65
	SD	0.98	0.68	0.63	1.01	0.79	1.10	0.68	1.12
Physics	$\overline{X}$	3.56	4.30	4.43	3.75	4.09	3.38	4.47	3.76
	SD	0.93	0.64	0.64	0.94	0.81	1.09	0.67	1.04
Visual Arts	$\overline{X}$	3.67	4.39	4.50	3.77	4.22	3.38	4.55	3.74
	SD	1.01	0.60	0.57	0.99	0.74	1.11	0.60	1.10
English	$\overline{X}$	3.39	4.40	4.47	3.55	4.10	3.15	4.51	3.56
	SD	1.04	0.67	0.67	1.01	0.82	1.07	0.69	1.07
Chemistry	$\overline{X}$	3.45	4.29	4.42	3.67	4.04	3.21	4.45	3.62
	SD	0.94	0.67	0.66	0.93	0.81	1.04	0.71	1.06
Mathematics	$\overline{X}$	3.44	4.32	4.45	3.63	4.04	3.23	4.47	3.62
	SD	1.01	0.67	0.66	0.99	0.84	1.06	0.68	1.07

Table 6. Continued

Dimension		Instructional Autonomy		Administrative Autonomy		Financial Autonomy		Personal and Professional Autonomy	
Subject		**B**	**U**	**B**	**U**	**B**	**U**	**B**	**U**
Music	$\overline{X}$	3.70	4.39	4.46	3.82	4.22	3.49	4.47	3.75
	SD	0.96	0.67	0.69	0.95	0.82	1.09	0.75	1.07
History	$\overline{X}$	3.63	4.32	4.52	3.87	4.15	3.46	4.56	3.87
	SD	0.99	0.69	0.61	0.96	0.81	1.08	0.64	1.05
Turkish Lang. Lit.	$\overline{X}$	3.54	4.31	4.49	3.76	4.08	3.33	4.51	3.74
	SD	1.00	0.68	0.65	0.99	0.83	1.07	0.67	1.08

R: Reasonability F: Feasibility

In reasonability of instructional autonomy, music ($\overline{X}$=3.70) and visual art ($\overline{X}$=3.67) have the highest means while English ($\overline{X}$=3.39) and mathematics ($\overline{X}$=3.44) have the lowest. For feasibility, English ($\overline{X}$=4.40) and music ($\overline{X}$=4.39) have the highest; biology ($\overline{X}$=4.29) and chemistry ($\overline{X}$=4.30) have the lowest means. History ($\overline{X}$=4.52) and visual arts ($\overline{X}$=4.50) have the highest means while physics ($\overline{X}$=4.43), chemistry ($\overline{X}$=4.42) and mathematics ($\overline{X}$=4.45) have the lowest in reasonability of administrative autonomy. History ($\overline{X}$=3.87) and music ($\overline{X}$=3.82) have the highest; while English ($\overline{X}$=3.63) and mathematics ($\overline{X}$=3.55) have the lowest means in the aspect of feasibility as well. In reasonability of financial autonomy, physical education ($\overline{X}$=4.28), music ($\overline{X}$=4.22) and visual arts ($\overline{X}$=4.22) have the highest means; mathematics ($\overline{X}$=4.04) and chemistry ($\overline{X}$=4.04) have the lowest. English ($\overline{X}$=3.15), chemistry ($\overline{X}$=3,21) and mathematics ($\overline{X}$=3.23) have the highest; music ($\overline{X}$=3.49), history ($\overline{X}$=3.46) and physical education ($\overline{X}$=3.44) have the lowest means in the feasibility of financial autonomy. History ($\overline{X}$=4.56) and visual arts ($\overline{X}$=4.55) have the highest means while mathematics ($\overline{X}$=4.47) and chemistry ($\overline{X}$=4.45) have the lowest in reasonability of personal and professional development autonomy. In the aspect of feasibility, history ($\overline{X}$=3.87), physics ($\overline{X}$=3.76) and music ($\overline{X}$=3.75) have the highest; English ($\overline{X}$=3.56), chemistry ($\overline{X}$=3.62) and mathematics ($\overline{X}$=3.62) have the lowest means.

The results of ANOVA for teacher autonomy by subject are shown in Table 7.

Table 7. The Results of ANOVA for Teacher Autonomy by Subject

Instructional Autonomy	**F**	**p**
Reasonability	4.03	.00*
Feasibility	10.45	.00*
Administrative Autonomy		
Reasonability	2.36	.01*
Feasibility	12.02	.00*
Financial Autonomy		
Reasonability	9.78	.00*
Feasibility	12.87	.00*
Personal and Professional Autonomy		
Reasonability	2.8	.00*
Feasibility	9.44	.00*

*p<.05

Not: Means and standard deviation are shown in Table 6.

ANOVA results indicate that teacher perceptions of autonomy are statistically different by subjects in all dimensions. The results of post-hoc tests by subject are shown in Table 8.

Table 8. The Results of Post-hoc Tests by Subject

Dimension	Subject	Variable	Difference in Means	SE	p	Subject	Variable	Difference in Means	SE	p
Instructional Autonomy										
Reasonability	English	Chemistry	.11	.03	.05	English	Turkish Lang. Lit.	.09	.02	.00*
Feasibility	Phys. Ed.	English	.18	.04	.00*	Music	Chemistry	.26	.06	.00*
	Phys. Ed.	Mat.	.14	.04	.00*	Music	Mathematics	.27	.05	.00*
	Physics	English	.17	.04	.00*	History	Biology	.17	.04	.00*
	Physics	Mathematics	.12	.04	.00*	History	English	.24	.04	.00*
	Visual Arts	Biology	.20	.06	.00*	History	Chemistry	.19	.04	.00*
	Visual Arts	English	.28	.06	.00*	History	Mathematics	.20	.04	.00*
	Visual Arts	Chemistry	.22	.06	.00*	Turkish Lang. Lit.	Biology	.17	.04	.00*
	Visual Arts	Mathematics	.23	.05	.00*	Turkish Lang. Lit.	English	.15	.03	.00*
	Music	Biology	.24	.06	.00*	Turkish Lang. Lit.	Mathematics	.10	.03	.00*
	Music	English	.31	.06	.00*					
Administrative Autonomy										
Reasonability	History	Chemistry	.10	.03	.03*	History	Mathematics	.07	.02	.04*
Feasibility	Phys. Ed.	English	.19	.04	.00*	History	Biology	.21	.04	.00*
	Physics	Mathematics	.04	.04	.12	History	English	.31	.04	.00*
	Visual Arts	English	.21	.05	.00*	History	Chemistry	.20	.04	.00*
	Music	English	.27	.06	.00*	Turkish Lang. Lit.	Mathematics	.24	.03	.00*
	Music	Mathematics	.19	.05	.02*	Turkish Lang. Lit.	English	.20	.03	.00*
Financial Autonomy										
Reasonability	Phys. Ed.	Biology	.14	.03	.00*	Visual Arts	Chemistry	.18	.05	.00*
	Phys. Ed.	Physics	.19	.04	.00*	Visual Arts	Mathematics	.18	.04	.00*
	Phys. Ed.	English	.19	.03	.00*	Visual Arts	Turkish Lang. Lit.	.13	.04	.04*
	Phys. Ed.	Chemistry	.24	.04	.00*	Music	Chemistry	.18	.05	.02*
	Phys. Ed.	Mathematics	.24	.03	.00*	Music	Mathematics	.05	.01	.18
	Biology	Mathematics	.10	.03	.03*	History	Mathematics	.11	.03	.01*
Feasibility	Phys. Ed.	Biology	.18	.05	.01*	Turkish Lang. Lit.	Mathematics	.11	.03	.03*
	Phys. Ed.	English	.29	.05	.00*	Music	Biology	.23	.07	.03*
	Phys. Ed.	Chemistry	.23	.05	.00*	Music	English	.34	.06	.00*
	Phys. Ed.	Mathematics	.21	.04	.00*	Music	Chemistry	.28	.07	.00*
	Physics	English	.23	.04	.00*	Music	Mathematics	.26	.06	.00*
	Physics	Chemistry	.17	.05	.03*	History	Biology	.20	.05	.00*
	Physics	Mathematics	.15	.04	.01*	History	English	.31	.04	.00*
	Visual Arts	English	.24	.06	.00*	History	Chemistry/	.25	.05	.00*
	Turkish Lang. Lit.	English	.19	.03	.00*	History	Mathematics	.23	.04	.00*

Table 8. Continued

Dimension	Subject	Variable	Difference in Means	SE	p	Subject	Variable	Difference in Means	SE	p
Personal and Professional Autonomy										
Reasonability	History	Chemistry	.10	.30	.20	History	Mathematics	.09	.02	.00*
Feasibility	History	Phys. Ed.	.20	.05	.04*	History	Mathematics	.25	.04	.00*
	History	Biology	.22	.04	.00*	Physics	English	.20	.04	.02*
	History	English	.30	.04	.00*	Turkish Lang. Lit.	English	-.18	.03	.00*
	History	Chemistry	.25	.05	.00*					

*p<.05

In reasonability of instructional quality, there are differences between English and Turkish language and literature; and English and chemistry. These results indicate that English and Turkish language teachers find instructional autonomy more reasonable than chemistry teachers. Teachers of music, history and visual arts find instructional autonomy more feasible than teachers of English, mathematics, biology, and chemistry.

The reason for higher feasibility in music and visual arts may be related to some unique characteristics of these subjects. Regarding this, a music teacher, Elif remarks that: "This is the nature of fine arts and it does not make sense if people draw a limit to their feelings. You must always compete with yourself. If you exceed the quality of what you did a week ago, then you are successful. On the other hand, if the systems limit your flexibility, it is less likely to fulfill your potential. It also harms your motivation. Freedom is always needed, if you're not free, you can't be an artist. It's so obvious." A visual arts teacher says: "The bottom line is it is the nature of fine arts. In other subjects, it is possible to draw strict lines. In our subject, however, the individuality of art ensures this autonomy."

The reason for the lower level of responsibility for instructional autonomy in mathematics, chemistry and biology seems to be related to the objectivity of the content and scientific knowledge in this field: "Teaching mathematics is independent of the social, and cultural structure of the environment where we teach (Mustafa, Mathematics)." "It is clear what you teach in mathematics. It does not change by the school. The only thing that changes is the method based on the level of student achievement in school. (Zeynep, Mathematics)." "In science teaching, the social conditions of schools are less likely to be in the forefront compared to other subjects" (Fatma, Chemistry).

Centralized exams, the only criteria for the college admission in Turkey, found to be an important factor that hinders teacher autonomy. This factor is emphasized by teachers who teach Turkish language and literature, history, mathematics, physics, chemistry, and biology, all of which are tested in these exams. In this context, Mustafa emphasizes instructional quality and says: "We can't go beyond the written curriculum. Secondly, we can't go beyond the content covered in centralized exams. We focus on the questions that are potentially tested in these exams, due to its high stake pressures" A teacher who also wrote a textbook for the Ministry argues that textbooks are also not flexible enough compared to other countries because of centralized exams in Turkey: "As a teacher who also writes textbooks for the Ministry, I think the flexibility of curriculum varies by subject. There are already certain limits in some subjects like mathematics and science. Furthermore, when I read textbooks of social sciences and arts which are used in the United States and European countries, I realized that these textbooks are also more flexible than our books in similar subjects. The underlying reason for this, the centralized exams as well. Our students are motivated to learn what they are tested on in the centralized exams, but not in anything else. (Ömer)" Fatma, who accentuates the pressure created by centralized exams states: "Centralized exams generate pressures for teachers rather than restrictions. This an expected result of stress created by students. Analogically, we are placing students in two contests-meaning that one is the centralized exam, while the other one is the curriculum taught in schools. Therefore, when students pressure themselves to study for centralized exams, it is difficult to teach the

curriculum." (Emine). These opinions indicate that centralized exams function as a second curriculum: "If you start to teach autonomously, it is not possible to ignore the students who study for centralized exams. At the end of the day, what I taught in the classroom will not be tested in the centralized exams. This is another aspect of the issue. I can only teach what is determined in the curriculum" (Ahmet).

History teachers find administrative autonomy more reasonable compared to chemistry and mathematics teachers; and find it more feasible than teachers of four subjects (mathematics, English, biology, and chemistry). English and mathematics teachers find administrative autonomy more feasible than history, Turkish language and music teachers. In addition, compared to some other subjects, physical education, physics, music and history teachers think that administrative autonomy is more feasible. History teachers have higher means of reasonability and feasibility than many of the other subjects in administrative autonomy. It is interpreted by Emine as follows: "Although I do not have a precise understanding of that, I think the relationship between our subject (history) and administration may be one reason."

Physical education teachers find the dimension of financial autonomy more reasonable than teachers of the following five subjects: Physics, chemistry, biology, English, mathematics; and in the dimension of financial autonomy, more feasible than teachers of the following four subjects: Chemistry, biology, English, and mathematics. Reasonability in the same dimension is rated by visual arts teachers higher than teachers of chemistry, mathematics and Turkish language while rated by music teachers higher than teachers of chemistry, mathematics.

Physical education teachers find financial autonomy more reasonable and feasible than teachers of several subjects. There are two possible reasons for that. First, the need for sports equipment. Secondly, physical education teachers have an autonomous position in the school financial expenses through the league delegation policy applied in the past. As Ali states: "There were physical education clubs. Money was collected in an official bank account based on the criteria determined by the Ministry of National Education. I was purchasing the required equipment for my class using that account. It was very convenient to be flexible on those kinds of expenses (Ali)."

The reason for higher feasibility in the financial autonomy of visual arts and music is related to the perpetual needs for instructional materials: "If you want to model a sculpture, you need different kinds of materials. It is difficult to provide them separately. Because it is not easy to find every one of them in the same place. Sometimes a person should only be responsible for this in order to purchase cheaper. (Hasan)"

Finally, history teachers found personal and professional development autonomy more feasible than teachers of physical education, biology, English, chemistry, mathematics. Physics and Turkish language and literature teachers found the same dimension more feasible than English teachers.

Teacher Autonomy by Experience

The results of ANOVA for teacher autonomy by experience is reported in Table 9.

Table 9. The Results of ANOVA for Teacher Autonomy by Experience

Instructional Autonomy	N	$\overline{X}$	SD	F	p
Reasonability					
1-5 years	2205	4.39	.64	17.12	.00*
6-10 Years	1382	4.41	.65		
11-15 Years	2679	4.33	.68		
16-20 Years	2929	4.30	.70		
20 Years and Above	3134	4.27	.67		

Table 9. Continued

Instructional Autonomy	N	$\overline{X}$	SD	F	p
Feasibility					
1-5 years	2205	3.44	.95	10.73	.00*
6-10 Years	1382	3.41	1.01		
11-15 Years	2679	3.52	1.01		
16-20 Years	2929	3.51	1.02		
20 Years and Above	3134	3.59	.97		
Administrative Autonomy					
Reasonability					
1-5 years	2205	4.47	.63	3.91	.00*
6-10 Years	1382	4.53	.64		
11-15 Years	2679	4.46	.67		
16-20 Years	2929	4.47	.65		
20 Years and Above	3134	4.45	.65		
Feasibility					
1-5 years	2205	3.62	.93	10.13	.00*
6-10 Years	1382	3.61	1.02		
11-15 Years	2679	3.71	.97		
16-20 Years	2929	3.73	1.01		
20 Years and Above	3134	3.76	1.00		
Financial Autonomy					
Reasonability					
1-5 years	2205	4.18	.77	13.15	.00*
6-10 Years	1382	4.20	.78		
11-15 Years	2679	4.09	.83		
16-20 Years	2929	4.07	.84		
20 Years and Above	3134	4.07	.83		
Feasibility					
1-5 years	2205	3.23	1.07	4.84	.00*
6-10 Years	1382	3.25	1.09		
11-15 Years	2679	3.31	1.07		
16-20 Years	2929	3.31	1.10		
20 Years and Above	3134	3.35	1.08		
Personal and Professional					
Autonomy					
Reasonability					
1-5 years	2205	4.54	.64	6.3	.00*
6-10 Years	1382	4.55	.67		
11-15 Years	2679	4.49	.69		
16-20 Years	2929	4.49	.68		
20 Years and Above	3134	4.47	.69		
Feasibility					
1-5 years	2205	3.66	1.02	3.14	.01*
6-10 Years	1382	3.61	1.11		
11-15 Years	2679	3.70	1.07		
16-20 Years	2929	3.67	1.10		
20 Years and Above	3134	3.73	1.08		

*p<.05

According to Table 9, teacher perceptions of autonomy are statistically different by experience in all dimensions. The results of post-hoc tests by experience are shown in Table 10.

Table 10. The Results of Post-hoc Tests by Experience

Dimension	Experience	Variable	Difference in Means	SE	P
Instructional Autonomy					
	1-5 years	11-15 Years	.05	.02	.04*
	1-5 years	16-20 Years	.09	.02	.00*
	1-5 years	20 Years and Above	.12	.02	.00*
Reasonability	6-10 Years	11-15 Years	.07	.02	.01*
	6-10 Years	16-20 Years	.11	.02	.00*
	6-10 Years	20 Years and Above	.14	.02	.00*
	11-15 Years	20 Years and Above	.07	.02	.00*
	11-15 Years	6-10 Years	.11	.03	.01*
	16-20 Years	6-10 Years	.10	.03	.04*
Feasibility	20 Years and Above	1-5 years	.15	.03	.00*
	20 Years and Above	6-10 Years	.18	.03	.00*
	20 Years and Above	16-20 Years	.08	.03	.02*
Administrative Autonomy					
Reasonability	6-10 Years	11-15 Years	.07	.02	.01*
	6-10 Years	20 Years and Above	.08	.02	.00*
	11-15 Years	1-5 years	.09	.03	.01*
	11-15 Years	6-10 Years	.10	.03	.04*
Feasibility	16-20 Years	1-5 years	.11	.03	.00*
	16-20 Years	6-10 Years	.11	.03	.01*
	20 Years and Above	1-5 years	.14	.03	.00*
	20 Years and Above	6-10 Years	.15	.03	.00*
Financial Autonomy					
	1-5 years	11-15 Years	.09	.02	.00*
	1-5 years	16-20 Years	.11	.02	.00*
Reasonability	1-5 years	20 Years and Above	.12	.02	.00*
	6-10 Years	11-15 Years	.11	.03	.00*
	6-10 Years	16-20 Years	.13	.03	.00*
Feasibility	20 Years and Above	1-5 years	.12	.03	.00*
Personal and Professional Autonomy					
	1-5 years	20 Years and Above	.07	.02	.00*
Reasonability	6-10 Years	11-15 Years	.07	.02	.03*
	6-10 Years	16-20 Years	.07	.02	.03*
	6-10 Years	20 Years and Above	.09	.02	.00*
Feasibility	20 Years and Above	6-10 Years	.11	.04	.01*

* p<.05

Results in Table 10 indicate that inexperienced teachers find teacher autonomy more reasonable, whereas more experienced teachers find teacher autonomy more feasible. This result is consistent by dimensions of teacher autonomy.

There are two potential reasons for the fact that as experience increases, ratings of reasonability of teacher autonomy tend to decrease. First, teachers at the beginning of their professions tend to be more idealist and take more risks: "Teachers begin the profession with a more idealistic perspective. In gaining more experience, however, their opinions regarding autonomy change. (Ali)" Secondly, as

teachers become more experienced, they gain a broader knowledge of effective instructional methods and techniques: "As a young teacher, you are trying to implement everything you learn in college. Yet, you realize that you cannot implement everything you intend to. Ultimately, you gain a more realist perspective. More experienced teachers prioritize effective teaching methods that they learn in the profession rather than trying to implement everything they know (Zeynep)".

Teacher Autonomy by School Size

The results of ANOVA for teacher autonomy by school size (number of enrolled students in a school) are shown in Table 11.

Table 11. The Results of ANOVA for Teacher Autonomy by School Size

Instructional Autonomy	**N**	$\overline{X}$	**SD**	**F**	**P**
Reasonability					
Smaller than 500	5469	4.36	.66	9.11	.00*
500-1000	5841	4.32	.68		
1001-1500	799	4.25	.71		
1501 and Above	220	4.23	.78		
Feasibility					
Smaller than 500	5469	3.53	.98	3.89	.01*
500-1000	5841	3.50	1.00		
1001-1500	799	3.47	1.02		
1501 and Above	220	3.32	1.02		
Administrative Autonomy					
Reasonability					
Smaller than 500	5469	4.49	.63	6.47	.00*
500-1000	5841	4.46	.65		
1001-1500	799	4.42	.69		
1501 and Above	220	4.34	.80		
Feasibility					
Smaller than 500	5469	3.73	.97	6.76	.00*
500-1000	5841	3.69	.99		
1001-1500	799	3.65	1.03		
1501 and Above	220	3.45	1.05		
Financial Autonomy					
Reasonability					
Smaller than 500	5469	4.14	.80	5.29	.00*
500-1000	5841	4.09	.82		
1001-1500	799	4.06	.85		
1501 and Above	220	4.05	.95		
Feasibility					
Smaller than 500	5469	3.33	1.07	6.85	.00*
500-1000	5841	3.29	1.09		
1001-1500	799	3.26	1.12		
1501 and Above	220	3.03	1.17		
Personal and Professional Autonomy					
Reasonability					
Smaller than 500	5469	4.52	.66	5.26	.00*
500-1000	5841	4.49	.68		
1001-1500	799	4.42	.73		
1501 and Above	220	4.45	.79		

*p<.05

These results indicate that except for the feasibility of personal and professional development autonomy, all dimensions and aspects of teacher autonomy differ significantly by school size.

The results of post-hoc tests by school size are shown in Table 12.

Table 12. The Results of Post-hoc Tests by School Size

Dimension	School Size	Variable	Difference in Means	SE	p
Instructional Autonomy					
Reasonability	Smaller than 500	500-1000	.04	.01	.01*
	Smaller than 500	1001-1500	.11	.03	.00*
Feasibility	Smaller than 500	1501 and Above	.21	.07	.03*
Administrative Autonomy					
Reasonability	Smaller than 500	1501 and Above	.15	.05	.03*
Feasibility	Smaller than 500	1501 and Above	.28	.07	.00*
	500-1000	1501 and Above	.24	.07	.01*
Financial Autonomy					
Reasonability	Smaller than 500	500-1000	.05	.02	.00*
Feasibility	Smaller than 500	1501 and Above	.30	.08	.00*
	500-1000	1501 and Above	.26	.08	.01*
Personal and Professional Autonomy					
Reasonability	Smaller than 500	1001-1500	.10	.03	.00*
	501-1000	1001-1500	.07	.03	.04*

*p<.05

Results of a post hoc test indicate that teachers who work in smaller schools find teacher autonomy more reasonable and feasible. Teachers in schools with less than 500 students find instructional autonomy (p=.01<.05) and financial autonomy (p=0.00<.05) more reasonable than teachers in schools with 500-1000 students. Teachers in schools with less than 500 students find instructional autonomy (p=.00<.05) and personal and professional development autonomy (p=.00<.05) more reasonable than teachers in schools with 1001-1500 students. The same group of teachers also find instructional autonomy (p=.03<.05), administrative autonomy (p=.01<.05), and financial autonomy (p=.01<.05) more feasible than teachers in schools where the number of enrolled students is higher than 1501.

The higher rates for reasonability and feasibility of teacher autonomy in schools with fewer students are associated with the difficulty of school management and communication in larger schools. Hüseyin, who states the advantages of smaller teacher councils and commissions, says: "In small schools, there are one or two teachers who teach the same subject. In this case, decisions can be made more autonomously in commissions." Focusing on making easier decisions, Zeynep says: "For example, my school is a small school, we are two teachers in our group. We make decisions together. But it would be harder if there were ten people, for instance. It is a striking example of how teacher autonomy is limited in large schools where common examinations of different classes at the same grade level are held: "Common exams were enacted by a new regulation. We prepare these exams together with seven or eight teachers. In this case, you cannot act on your own. This limits flexibility in the decisions." (Zeynep)

Teacher Autonomy by School Type

The results of ANOVA for teacher autonomy school type are shown in Table 13.

Table 13. The Results of ANOVA for Teacher Autonomy School Type

Instructional Autonomy	N	$\overline{X}$	SD	F	p
Reasonability					
Anatolian High School	10394	4.33	.67	1.91	.11
Science High School	1033	4.36	.66		
Fine Arts School	316	4.37	.66		
Sports High School	139	4.35	.77		
Social Science High School	447	4.26	.66		
Feasibility					
Anatolian High School	10394	3.50	.99	1.76	.13
Science High School	1033	3.50	1.02		
Fine Arts School	316	3.63	.99		
Sports High School	139	3.45	1.09		
Social Science High School	447	3.57	.95		
Administrative Autonomy					
Reasonability					
Anatolian High School	10394	4.47	.65	3.17	.01*
Science High School	1033	4.53	.61		
Fine Arts School	316	4.53	.60		
Sports High School	139	4.46	.79		
Social Science High School	447	4.43	.65		
Feasibility					
Anatolian High School	10394	3.70	.98	1.97	.10
Science High School	1033	3.69	1.03		
Fine Arts School	316	3.81	.99		
Sports High School	139	3.61	1.08		
Social Science High School	447	3.77	.94		
Financial Autonomy					
Reasonability					
Anatolian High School	10394	4.11	.81	3.71	.01*
Science High School	1033	4.17	.82		
Fine Arts School	316	4.14	.82		
Sports High School	139	4.12	.90		
Social Science High School	447	3.99	.86		
Feasibility					
Anatolian High School	10394	3.30	1.08	.07	.99
Science High School	1033	3.31	1.12		
Fine Arts School	316	3.31	1.08		
Sports High School	139	3.26	1.24		
Social Science High School	447	3.30	1.02		
Personal and Professional Autonomy					
Reasonability					
Anatolian High School	10394	4.49	.68	2.39	.05
Science High School	1033	4.54	.63		
Fine Arts School	316	4.57	.63		
Sports High School	139	4.47	.83		
Social Science High School	447	4.46	.69		
Feasibility					
Anatolian High School	10394	3.69	1.07	1.80	.13
Science High School	1033	3.63	1.12		
Fine Arts School	316	3.76	1.06		
Sports High School	139	3.55	1.24		
Social Science High School	447	3.72	1.06		

*p<.05

ANOVA results indicate that teacher autonomy does not significantly differ by school type in the following dimensions: Reasonability (p=.11> .05) and feasibility (p=.13> .05) of instructional autonomy; feasibility of administrative autonomy (p=.10> .05); feasibility of financial autonomy (p=.99>.05); reasonability (p=.05) and feasibility (p=.13>.05) of personal and professional development autonomy. On the other hand, the reasonability of administrative autonomy (p=.01< .05) and financial autonomy (p=.01<0.05) differ significantly by school type.

The results of post-hoc tests by school size are shown in Table 14.

Table 14. The Results of Post-hoc Tests by School Size

Dimension	School Type	Variable	Difference in Means	SE	p
Administrative Autonomy					
Reasonability	Science High School	Anatolian High School	.06	.02	.02*
Financial Autonomy					
Reasonability	Science High School	Social Science High School	.17	.05	.00*

*p<.05

Teachers in science high schools ($\overline{X}$=4.53) find administrative autonomy more reasonable (p=.02<0.05) than teachers in Anatolian high schools ($\overline{X}$=4.47). In addition, teachers in science high schools ($\overline{X}$=4.17) find financial autonomy more reasonable (p=.00<0.05) than teachers in social science high schools ($\overline{X}$=3.99). Consequently, these results indicate that school type is not an important factor that determines the reasonability and feasibility of teacher autonomy.

Discussion and Conclusion

The main purpose of this study was analyzing teacher autonomy policies in Turkish high schools based on teachers` opinions. Participants find different dimensions of teacher autonomy very or perfectly reasonable and feasible varying by dimensions of teacher autonomy. The highest mean score for teachers' ratings in reasonability is in administrative autonomy and the lowest is in instructional autonomy. This finding is consistent with Karabacak (2014) in many senses expect for instructional autonomy. She found that teachers rate instructional autonomy higher both in reasonability and feasibility than in other dimensions. In the aspect of feasibility, I reveal that while instructional, administrative, and personal-professional development autonomy are found very feasible, financial autonomy is found partly feasible, which is also consistent with her study.

Means of reasonability are higher than the means of feasibility in all dimensions. Some policy experiences exist in other school systems that have similar contexts. For instance, teachers demanded more autonomy in developing curriculum at the local level in Indonesia. Despite their initial intentions, they failed to motivate other teachers to implement the new policy and requested more and more supervision to develop curriculum at the local level (Bjork, 2004). Therefore, teachers` motivations and competencies are as important as the reasonability of teacher autonomy to initiate a policy or delegate teachers.

Teachers emphasize instructional autonomy in defining their professional autonomy. This corroborates previous results (e.g., Özaslan, 2015). In addition, teachers use notions of "characteristics of teachers", "teachers' competence" and "flexibility based on circumstances" to define teacher autonomy. They also emphasize "teacher autonomy within certain regulations", rather than full

autonomy. As suggested by Arslan and Atasayar (2008), Can (2009) and Öz (2013), teachers think that curriculum should be developed by MoNE. Indeed, even in school systems where schools have full autonomy, there are certain types of national regulations that influence instructional processes (EURYDICE, 2008). Yet, the policy of providing a detailed curriculum that does not allow flexibility is criticized by teachers. Because they think the detailed curriculum restricts their professional autonomy. This is in line with the findings in Öztürk (2011). He also argues that in addition to administrative control mechanisms, the detailed structure of curriculum hinders their participation in the process of development and implementation of the curriculum.

Lack of flexibility for teachers at the systemic level, the structures of curriculum, the inspection approaches and practices, some competency problems in the profession hinder teacher participation in the processes of instructional design and implementation. Yet, Gür (2014) finds that the structure of curriculum and guidebooks do not restrict their autonomy. Bümen et al. (2014) argue that teachers exercise their autonomy more profoundly than expected. Çolak and Altınkurt (2017) reveal similar findings as well. As discussed earlier, however, we have little known how profound their exercises and discretions over the curriculum. Nonetheless, findings in the current paper indicate that most teachers find more discretions reasonable and feasible.

The fact that mathematics, chemistry, and biology teachers, subjects tested in centralized exams, find instructional autonomy less reasonable and feasible strengthens the argument that centralized exams are one of the important factors that influence teacher autonomy. This fits well with findings in Şakar (2013) who conducted such studies in middle schools. Similarly, as another school system in the US, English and mathematics teachers, subjects by which schools are tested to be held accountable, have less perceived autonomy (Sparks & Malkus, 2015).

Teachers with master's degrees find instructional and personal-professional development autonomy more reasonable than those with undergraduate degrees. Teachers with undergraduate degrees find instructional autonomy, administrative autonomy and financial autonomy more feasible than those with master`s degrees. In fact, existing studies do not reveal consistent findings on teacher autonomy by educational attainment. While Karabacak (2014) finds some difference by educational attainment, Üzüm (2014) argues that although it does not differ in technical and political meanings, it does in awareness for practical meaning of teacher autonomy.

Teachers with relatively less experience more likely to find instructional autonomy reasonable than more experienced teachers. With the feasibility aspect, the opposite findings were revealed. According to Şakar (2013), as the experience of teachers increases, the perceived autonomy of teachers increases. Karabacak, (2014) argues that teachers' perceptions of instructional autonomy and administrative autonomy do not differ by experience in the aspect of reasonability. As experience increases, the level of feasibility of instructional, administrative, financial and personal-professional development autonomy increase. As experience increases, teachers find financial autonomy less reasonable. Üzüm (2014) holds that the awareness levels of teachers regarding technical autonomy do not differ by age; psychological awareness of teacher autonomy varies significantly by age on the other hand. According to Sparks and Malkus (2015), as teachers' age and experience increases, the level of perceived autonomy increases, albeit modest in magnitude. The results of the research on the relationship between teacher autonomy and experience in the current study are consistent with other research in the literature. In general, teacher autonomy is found more reasonable with less experience,

whereas it is more feasible for experienced teachers. Considering the relatively younger population of teachers (OECD, 2018) instructional autonomy policies have become more important in Turkey.

Findings indicate that teachers working in smaller schools find instructional autonomy more reasonable and feasible. Administrative autonomy is found more reasonable and feasible in schools with a relatively small number of students. This is associated with difficulties in school management and communication as the number of students increases. Financial autonomy is found more reasonable and feasible in smaller schools. Karabacak (2014) maintains that teachers' perceptions of instructional autonomy do not differ by school size in the reasonability of instructional autonomy and feasibility of financial autonomy. In line with the findings of the current study, Sparks and Malkus (2015) argue that teacher autonomy is relatively higher in smaller schools. According to Karakütük et al. (2014) small schools are superior to medium and large schools in terms of communication and human relations. The findings of the two studies are consistent in this context. There are also studies showing that small schools have a more appropriate environment in terms of teacher autonomy. In their analysis, Demirtaş, Üstüner, Niyazi, and Cömert (2008) point out that the effectiveness of board meetings decreases as the number of teachers in the school increases. In a similar vein, Lee and Loeb (2000) suggest that teachers' responsibility level is higher in smaller schools. Both Memduhoğlu and Zengin (2011); and Bökeoğlu and Yılmaz (2008) affirm that organizational trust levels of teachers are higher in relatively small schools. All these findings indicate that schools with fewer students are more convenient in terms of reasonability and feasibility of teacher autonomy. Because the number of students per school at general secondary schools in Turkey is 446 (MEB, 2015), teachers who work at schools where the number of students is around the national average have found teacher autonomy more reasonable and feasible. Findings on administrative autonomy, financial autonomy, and personal-professional development autonomy are similar to instructional autonomy.

In conclusion, the evidence in the current study suggests that the role of teachers in instructional processes is determined by law, regulations and detailed curriculum. These curricula restrict the role of teachers in instructional decisions. Teachers have limited authority on basic issues such as when to teach, which books to use, or under which circumstances students are to be considered successful/unsuccessful. In addition to this, especially in the subjects covered by the centralized exams, parental supervision limits teachers even more. Yet, teachers shape the curriculum by taking on responsibilities and risks (Bümen et al., 2014; Çolak & Altınkurt, 2017; Gür, 2014). That said, policies for the development of administrative autonomy and autonomy of personal and professional development, including participation in school administration incentivize more teacher autonomy. In terms of financial autonomy, which means that teachers can use the school budget for instructional materials, their powers and responsibilities are quite limited. Although there are some differences by subject, experience and, school size, it is possible to say that teachers are willing to increase instructional autonomy, administrative autonomy, and personal-professional development autonomy. Furthermore, teachers find potential policy change feasible to a large extent.

Policy Implications

As discussed above, the borders of teacher autonomy are strictly defined by centralized policies. This situation potentially prevents effective and need-based decision making and implementation. On the other hand, teachers' responsibilities for the outcomes of the educational process are limited and there is no systematic accountability policy. Future policies should focus on redress the balance. Such policies should support teachers to have more voice and decision-making power in the educational process. Furthermore, the policies should expand teachers` responsibility to hold them accountable for

the effects of their own decisions. It is important to note, rather than standardized and test-based accountability mechanisms, flexible and balanced policies are recommended in order to not hinder their professional autonomy. Poor effects of such mechanisms on teacher autonomy are evident in some school systems such as the US and Australia (Appel, 2019; Sparks & Malkus, 2015). Alternatively, some studies suggest teachers should mainly be responsible for "themselves, their colleagues, and their professional associations" (Hyslop-Margison & Sears, 2010). I discuss the details of this approach below.

As suggested by several studies (e.g, Çolak & Altınkurt, 2017; Şakar, 2013) teachers should be able to eliminate some learning objectives or add new ones in a centralized curriculum based on their teaching environment. After determining the extent to which students are ready or need to acquire learning objectives in a centralized curriculum, they should be able to develop their own curriculum for each class. Curriculum developed by teachers should be discussed with their colleagues, school principals, parents, and students. Based on their feedback, teachers should revise their intended curriculum. They should show that they use the best research evidence in their decisions. As argued in Canbolat (2018), MoNE should develop an online evidence library that synthesizes educational research in each subject. Teachers will benefit from this evidence to inform and support their decisions. They should also present the impact of their decisions over curriculum with their colleagues, school principals, parents, and students. External assessments, specifically formative ones rather than summative, can be used as a secondary tool in addition to teacher-made assessments in order to inform instructional decisions. If teachers fail to reach learning objectives, they should explain the reasons to their colleagues, school principals, and parents. They should be able to request, collaboration, guidance, and additional in-service training to improve instructional quality if needed.

As mentioned in the 2023 Education Vision of Turkey, while developing "a measurement and evaluation framework for teachers and school principals` performance", flexible, balanced, research- and evidence-based approaches are recommended. The Teacher Strategy Paper (2017-2023) states, "in order to determine teachers` and school principals` professional development needs, a performance evaluation system will be developed that can be used periodically". While implementing this, policy-makers should consider the above issues in order to not hinder teachers' professional autonomy.

Even in the most autonomous school systems, the general objectives of education are centralized. The current study also confirms that the centralized curriculum is one of the most important factors influencing teacher autonomy in Turkey. However, a detailed curriculum triggers a different problem of restricted instructional autonomy. Therefore, investigating the curriculum of all subjects in terms of teacher autonomy is recommended.

Centralized examinations are among the important determinants of teacher autonomy, especially in certain subjects. However, the existence of centralized examinations does not necessarily limit teacher autonomy if appropriate policies are implemented. For instance, in line with a curriculum approved by MoNE, leaving the decision of curricular objectives to teachers based on the needs and readiness of the students, gradually supporting teacher autonomy in terms of content, instructional methods, assessments and systematically evaluating the results may be a policy option. Even for certain types of subjects, teachers should be able to choose textbooks from a list of textbooks approved by MoNE. As argued by Özaslan (2015) and Öztürk (2011) the selection of textbooks by teachers is important for teacher autonomy. For instructional autonomy, rather than a standard policy for all subjects, subjects that are not tested in centralized exams may have more flexible policies as a beginning. Hence, there would be room for teacher autonomy that can vary by subject. For those subjects which

are not tested in centralized exams, teachers can have more autonomy to design instructions, and develop and choose textbooks. The results of these shifts can inform future decisions.

Enriching the methods of participation of teachers in the development processes of curriculum, projects and policies is important for improving the administrative autonomy of teachers. In this context, it is possible to support the organization of teachers at the national level based on subjects as implemented in some school systems. This practice is important in terms of reflecting the expertise of teachers in the process of national decisions. For example, the involvement of an organization such as the "National Mathematical Teachers Association" in the process of developing a secondary school mathematics curriculum can increase the level of participation of teachers in the decision-making process. It can also provide a more systematic reflection of the expertise of mathematics teachers in the curriculum.

It will be beneficial to make legislation change that proposes improving the functionality of the decisions taken by the teachers' boards. Hence, it can be ensured that teachers' decisions taken jointly will be put into practice rather than being only the advisory.

Particularly in cases where the course materials need to be met at the school level, teachers can be provided a budget determined by the school administration. For example, it can be ensured that physical education teachers purchase sports equipment that must be covered by the school, and music teachers provide instruments and other materials required for their class from this budget.

The fundamental limitation of this study is that only teachers` perspectives were able to be included in the analysis. Future studies can examine teacher autonomy with school principals, parents, students and policy-makers as well. In addition, the accountability mechanism that I briefly discussed and other possible models can be examined with teachers and other stakeholders in further detail.

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