

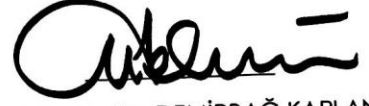
**İZMİR EKONOMİ ÜNİVERSİTESİ
İŞLETME ENSTİTÜSÜ**

SELF-VERIFICATION STRIVINGS IN ORGANIZATIONAL SETTINGS

ELA BURCU UÇEL

ARALIK, 2016

Approval of the Graduate School of Business



Assoc. Prof. Dr. Melike DEMİRBAĞ KAPLAN
Director

I certify that this thesis satisfies all the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.



Assoc. Prof. Dr. Burcu GÜNERİ ÇANGARLI
Head of Department

This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.



Prof. Dr. Remziye Gülem ATABAY
Supervisor

Examining Committee Members

Prof. Dr. Jülide ALTIÖK KESKEN



Prof. Dr. Remziye Gülem ATABAY



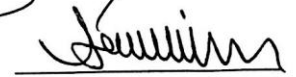
Assoc. Prof. Dr. Melike DEMİRBAĞ KAPLAN



Assoc. Prof. Dr. Burcu GÜNERİ ÇANGARLI



Prof. Dr. Sevinç KÖSE



ABSTRACT

SELF-VERIFICATION STRIVINGS IN ORGANIZATIONAL SETTINGS

Uçel, Ela Burcu

**Ph.D. in Business Administration, Department of Business
Administration**

Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Remziye Gülem Atabay,

December, 2016, 261 pages

The way people see themselves and others see them, shape their realities. Receiving verifying feedback for self-views is important, as it assures psychological well-being and psychological coherence. Self-verification strivings have been dominantly studied in intimate relationships and social relationships other than the business related interactions. The current study aimed to explore employee self-verification strivings and the outcomes of self-verifying feedback related to individual workplace behavior. In the study, 30 in-depth interviews are conducted and non-participant observation technique is used in order to gain an insight and develop an understanding about the issue at hand. Findings contributed the literature in a number of ways. The study is among the few self-verification studies that focused on colleague relationships and the first (to my knowledge) to examine self-verification strivings and related outcomes in the organizational settings. The two main groups of findings presented a general portrayal of the selected organizational setting (schools) from a managerial perspective and the results of receiving self-verifying feedback in the workplace in the means of individual workplace behavior.

Keywords: Self-verification strivings, self-verifying feedback, workplace behavior, organizations, schools

ÖZET

ÖRGÜTLERDE ÖZ DOĞRULAMA ÇABALARI

Uçel, Ela Burcu

Ph.D. İşletme, İşletme Bölümü

Danışman: Prof. Dr. Remziye Gülem Atabay,

Aralık, 2016, 261 sayfa

İnsanların kendilerini nasıl gördükleri ve başkaları tarafından nasıl görüldükleri şahsi gerçekliklerini şekillendirir. Kişilerin benlik kavramları için özdoğrulayıcı geri bildirim almaları çok önemlidir, çünkü psikolojik sağlığı ve ahengi sağlar. Kişisel öz doğrulama çabaları literatürde genellikle romantik bağlılıklar gibi özel ilişkiler bağlamında incelenmiştir. Dolayısıyla iş yerinde ve örgütlerde öz doğrulama çabalarının sonuçlarını inceleyen çalışmalara ihtiyaç duyulduğu açıktır. Bu çalışma örgütlerde çalışanların öz doğrulama çabalarını ve bunların iş yeri davranışları üzerindeki muhtemel etkilerini incelemektedir. Çalışmada öğretmenler örneklem olarak seçilmiş ve derinlemesine görüşme ve gözlem teknikleri kullanılarak 30 öğretmen ile görüşülmüştür. Çalışmanın bulgularının literatüre katkıları çeşitlidir. Çalışma örgütlerde öz doğrulama çabalarının sonuçlarını ve çalışanın iş yeri davranışlarına etkilerini sunmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Öz doğrulama çabaları, öz doğrulayıcı geri bildirim, iş yeri davranışları, örgütler, okullar

Annem ve kızım için,
For my mother and daughter...

XXXXXS
GC

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It has been one of the greatest challenges of my life to write this dissertation. Through this journey, a lot of beloved ones helped and supported me. I am beyond grateful to all my professors that I had the chance to study with. I want to thank to my advisor Prof. Gülem Atabay and Burcu Güneri Çangarlı for all their efforts and contributions; to Prof. Alev Katrinli for supporting me all the way; my friends Dr. Dicle Yurdakul Şahin and Dr. Mert Günerergin for being there for me every time that I needed; my friends that helped me in varied ways all through my way; my family, my father, my sisters and my brother for their prayers and supports; my mother in law for helping me when I needed; and my beloved husband Ömer for standing with me and behind me; lastly my little one, my beautiful Leyla, for being the inspiration.

I am grateful for all the teachers that participated this study and all my friends, professors and family that helped me find the connections.

I am happy and proud that I did not give up.

Ela Burcu Uçel

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1. INTRODUCTION

"Know thy self, know thy enemy. A thousand battles, a thousand victories"

Sun Tzu

The concept of self has been in discussion from the earliest times that human beings were able to think and communicate. How we perceive ourselves and how that perception comes into existence, also shape our subjective worlds. In a manner, we create our realities based on our "selves". Self has been a great interest and pursuit in the world of thought since the ancient times. Almost all of the great philosophers and thinkers reflected about it and provided us with invaluable ideas and detections. The academic efforts of the modern world were also directed to self. Academicians investigated and explored it; the result is an immense amount of contributions. Swann (1981, 1982, 1983, 1985) added to those contributions through his self-verification theory. Self-verification theory suggested that people seek to get confirmatory information to what they already believe about themselves. Collecting confirmatory information improved their psychological well-being (Swann, 2011) and through it, they maintained psychological coherence. Self-verification processes in personal life has attracted a lot of attention and it has been studied in personal and intimate relationships like marital relationships. Lately, self-verification processes in organizations and groups has started to attract attention, too (Messick and Mackie 1989; London and Smither, 2002; Swann et al., 2003; Swann et al., 2004; Chen et al., 2004; Gardner et al., 2005; Thatcher et.al, 2006; Seyle and Swann, 2007; Wiesenfeld et al., 2007; Gomez et al., 2009; Tierney and Farmer, 2011; Cable and Kay; 2012; Cable et al., 2013). As this research stream has newly started, there are numerous gaps in the literature. Self-verification research in organizational settings that focuses on organizational behavior lacked academic attention. The subject needed more studies, obviously. Also,

focusing on intimate relationships about self-verification is not enough regarding to the patterns of modern life. Modern people spend majority of their day time at work and in interaction with colleagues. Self, self-concept and self-verification literatures suggest that the way intimate others see us, shapes our self-views and in order to maintain coherence, we need stable self-views that can only be attained by receiving self-verifying feedback. So, will it be enough to get confirming feedback from friends and family (specific others) to maintain coherence and psychological well-being for the modern people? Regarding the time they spend at the office, probably not. Thus, current study focused on self-verification strivings in the workplace. The main curiosity was about how self-verifying feedback makes employees feel and how do those feelings influence (if they do) employee workplace behavior. Due to the nature of the research question, an exploratory research design is employed and 30 in-depth interviews with 30 teachers in the city of Izmir is conducted during the field study. Teachers were selected as the sample for a number of reasons. The relevant sample would be employees who spend time with colleagues on a regular basis, as employees that work alone during most of their business hours lacked the necessary interaction with colleagues. Interaction with colleagues is of importance here, as people need to spend time together to give and receive consistent self-verifying/self-discrepant feedback. Teachers regularly work in teams and besides the team work, they regularly spend time with colleagues during business hours, in the breaks, in teachers' room and in the meetings. In addition to the interviews, 150 hours of observation was executed in schools, in teachers' rooms, principal's rooms, asking questions, chatting and observing.

The analysis of data obtained from the field presented a number of findings, which will be presented under two main topics. First topic will submit the findings about the organizational setting and will present participant reflections about their working conditions, interpersonal relationships in schools, teamwork and cooperation, experiences about

neighborhoods and the meaning of teachers' room. The second topic will present findings related to the self-verification processes in the selected organizational setting. The findings include the reflections about self-verifying and self-discrepant feedback and the outcomes of self-verifying feedback in the workplace, as stated by the participants.

The rest of the current study is organized in such a way that, in the second chapter, the relevant parts of the self, self-concept and self-verification literatures will be presented. The third chapter will submit the research questions and aims. The methodology and all descriptive information about the field study will be presented in the fourth chapter. Fifth chapter will submit the findings of the data and the sixth chapter will include discussions of the findings alongside with the managerial implications. Lastly, the seventh chapter will present the limitations of the study and will show directions for future research.

2. LITERATURE

"No topic is more interesting to people than people. For most people, moreover, the most interesting person is the self." (Baumeister, 2003. pp.1)

The moment a baby is born, with all the tears, pain and joy, the journey of "self" begins. This little creature starts shaping his/her reality through the look in his/her mother's eyes, the taste of his/her mother's milk and the sweetness of his/her mother's loving kiss. He/she experiences life one step at a time, falling down on the carpet in his/her attempts to walk by himself, pouring milk on the couch in his/her experiment on everyday chemicals. His/her life and the journey to "self" gets challenging as he/she meets friends in the playground and starts socializing. The challenge pushes him/her to the wall in his/her adolescence as he/she strives to be accepted by others, faces bullying and falls in love. He/she tries to survive with the question storming in his/her mind: "Who am I?"

Thinking about this little baby's story, a bunch of questions arise in our mind: What is self? How does it form? How do we happen to have self-knowledge? Favorite questions for a number of philosophers and social psychologists, luckily. When we dive into the deep ocean of literature, we find consciousness expanding answers and everlasting discussions.

2.1. Self

Historical footprints of academic and intellectual focus on self can be traced to as early as 400 B.C.E. (Plato, 428-347 B.C.E.) Self has also captured an important place in Eastern tenets and philosophers' writings. In ancient Indian texts on religion and philosophy, the Upanishads (500-800 B.C.E.); in Tao te Ching, the philosophical texts on human existence

written by Lao Tzu in 500 B.C.E. and in Gautama Buddha's philosophy, self has been discussed and debated.

After more than 1.000 years, discussions about self emerged in theological texts, whose aims were to direct people towards pure will and disciplined immortal bodies. In these texts, self was examined in terms of selfishness, pride and other acts of the evil.

Then, in the Enlightenment period, philosophers like Descartes, Locke, Hume, Leibnitz, Kant and Berkeley worked on "the self". Although a number of thinkers and texts focused on the issue, the first ever written psychological discussion of self, belonged to James (1890). A chapter of his book "Principles of Psychology" was on "The Consciousness of Self". Later on, self is, not directly though, mentioned in Freud's studies. What he discussed was an executive ego, not a namely called self. In 20th century, the number of psychologists, sociologists and philosophers whose attention were on self, has increased enormously. First Cooley (1902) and then Mead (1934), by extending Cooley's ideas, focused on self. With the rise of symbolic interactionism, other sociologists like Blumer (1937) and Faris (1937) studied the concept. In 1959, with his book on self-presentation, Goffman contributed this tendency of studying self. Later, psychologists like Horney, Sullivan and Adler contributed the knowledge on self through examining its ties with the interpersonal processes.

During 1950s and 1960s, the attention was turned to self-esteem (Berger, 1952; Janis and Field, 1959; Rosenberg, 1965; Coopersmith 1967). In 1959, Rogers brought a humanistic look to self through his theory of personality. Then, after 1970s, researchers started to study self in terms of attention, cognitive processes and, new aspects of self came into discussion: self-awareness, self-regulation, self-consciousness, self-monitoring and self-concept (Leary and Tangney, 2003). Among these invaluable studies and contributions, and in this precious ocean of theories and ideas on self, it wouldn't be improper to start with Mead to an

attempt, which is sure to fall short of wisely capturing all the wisdom and knowledge provided to us.

Mead (1934) suggested that we separate the organism and the self. People who believe that the soul can leave the body, people who believe in the idea of immortality or the existence of ghosts, assume self to be something distinguishable from the physical body. This assumption gets back to primitive people who believed that, there existed a **"double"** which was located in the diaphragm. The double was assumed to leave the body in sleep for a temporary time and forever in death (Mead, 1934). But before Mead suggested this separation between the physical body and the self, philosophers like Augustine, Descartes and Locke wrote about **"the duality"** between the mind and the body. Augustine, for example, (From Taylor, 1989) mentioned about the importance of the **"inner man"**, the **"interiore homine"** just like the belief of a **"double"** in primitive people.

Like Augustine, Descartes distinguished **"cogito"**, the immaterial, nonphysical being, from the body. He put the self-conscious **"I"** in the center stage. He suggested that thinking is central. One can doubt everything he/she perceives, everything he/she believes; one can even doubt his/her own existence. But he/she cannot doubt that he/she is doubting. As doubting is possible through thinking; Descartes claimed, **"Cogito ergo sum"**, meaning **"I think, therefore I am."** Descartes' **"cogito"** is a non-bodily thinking thing (Meditation II and Discourse on Method, Descartes, (1637/1970). He said that, one can doubt that his/her body exists but cannot doubt that he/she exists as a thinking thing, because, he/she doubts (From Atkins, 2006; Cottingham, Stoothoff and Murdoch, 1988; Miller and Miller, 1983).

2.1.1. Reflected (socially constructed) self

James (1890), in his seminal work, introduced the idea of the reflected self. He focused on the social component of the self. He suggested that, self is both a product and a reflection of the social life (James, 1890). Referring to the social and variable nature of the concept, he said that a person may have "...as many different social selves as there are distinct groups of persons about whose opinion he cares" (James, 1910, pp. 294). Also for Mead (1934), self is a "...reflexive process of social interaction" (Callero, 2003, pp.119), it is built on the principle of reflexivity and social constructionism. In his words : "It is by means of reflexiveness -the turning-back of the experience of the individual upon himself-that the whole social process is thus brought into the experience of the individuals involved in it" (Mead, 1934, pp. 134).

Mead defined distinguishable self as "**a process**" which starts with one's birth and develops as relationships form and other people step into the story:

"The self is something which has a development; it is not initially there, at birth, but arises in the process of social experience and activity, that is, develops in the given individual as a result of his relations to that process as a whole and to other individuals within that process." (Mead, 1934, pp.135).

According to Mead (1921, 1922) "the other" is essential for the formation of self: *"..The self can exist for the individual only if he assumes the roles of the others."* (Mead, 1921-1925/1964. pp.284.) He suggested that, self is experienced indirectly, either from *"...the particular standpoints of the other individual members of the same social group, or from the generalized standpoint of the social group."* (Mead, 1934, pp.138)

Oyserman (2001) added that the selves are formed, constructed and created in contexts, thereby they take into account the norms and values of the others who are also in the same context.

Like Mead, Kashima and colleagues (2007) attempted to put self in a connectionist framework. They claimed that a great part of the self (the dynamic self) can be seen as a "narrative knowledge structure" that opens in consciousness. That very knowledge comes from the continuing social interactions with other people and from imitating others' behavior.

As Mead linked the development of self to social interaction, Baumeister (1998) also explained selfhood as being unthinkable outside a social context. He (2003) stated that, the roots of the concept of selfhood is in universal human experience. The initial thing that humans consider about themselves is their body. The body is self, for children and, in "some less psychologically minded" (pp.1) cultures, for some adults. And universally, "...self starts with body" (Baumeister, 2003, pp.1). But there is more in self than body. Referring to the idea of self being a result of social interaction, he named three roots of selfhood:

- 1- *Experience of reflexive consciousness*, meaning the conscious mind turning its attention to its own source and thus, gradually forming a concept of oneself. The person is constantly conscious of himself. He/she learns who he/she is from other people. Through others, he/she grasps the meaning of "self". So, the self does not form and grow in isolation. The person sees how he/she is perceived by others and through them, the self is formed (Baumeister 1998; James, 1892).

Contributing to Baumeister's idea; James (1892) named two separate main parts of the self: The "I" and the "me". As the person is aware of himself/herself, as he/she perceives himself, he/she has two distinct roles, the knower and the known aspect of self. The "I" (self-as-subject) is the

knower (self-as-knower), perceiving actively and the "me" (self-as-object, self-as-known) is perceived and known by the "I".

2- *Interpersonal aspect of selfhood*, meaning one's feelings which arise as a result of social interaction, like having a drink with a mate and feeling good or hearing a critic and feeling bad.

3- *Executive Function*, meaning controlling oneself like, preventing oneself from acting on an impulse or making rush decisions about one's career. Baumeister (1998) added here that, without the executive function, self would be helpless; it would be merely watching the events.

Also, in seeing self as a decision-maker, Hamachek noted that self involves "...The personality structure that represents the core of decision-making, planning and defensiveness" (Hamachek, 1971, pp.6).

Callero (2003), on the other hand, commented on self by saying that, self is not a given which is there from birth and it is not completely constructed by the social world but, it is a joint production. Also, Rosenberg claimed that self is a social force and it is a social product at the same time (Rosenberg, 1981).

From another perspective, Athens (1994) claimed that **self is a soliloquy**, based on the "**Meadian view of self**". She argued that Mead (1912, 1913, and 1934) saw self as a conversation between the "I" and "me"; "I" representing person's impulse to act and the expression of that impulse in action; and "me" representing the perspective of the other that views the "I". Through "I" a person expresses the impulse in an action and through "me" exercises control over his/her actions in order that, they do not fail to meet others' expectations. Self is a soliloquy through which a person tells himself what the **generalized other** is expecting from him. For Mead (1932, 1934), generalized other represents the whole community, it is the official voice and the attitude of the community that the person belongs to. When a person considers the attitude of the generalized other, it tells him what the whole community is expecting from

him. By taking the attitudes of that generalized other, the person controls (purposefully) own participation in a social experience (Mead, 1934 and Athens, 1994).

Whereas self is a conversation between the I (it exists in the present) and the me (it exists in the past) for Mead; it is a conversation between the I and the "you" for Pierce (From Colapietro, 1989). The "you" is "that other self that is just coming into life in the flow of time" (Colapietro 1989, pp.89).

Kuhn (1956), also based on the Meadian view of self, developed his "*Self theory*" which stated that self has crucial significance as a social object in that, it is the only stable common object in all the varied situations the person participates. Self is the anchoring point, from that, the person evaluates, makes judgements and plans for each and every situation (Hickman and Kuhn, 1956, Athens, 1994).

Blumer (1966, 1969), on the other hand, argued that Mead's self is not a structure, but it is a process, a fluid process. He claimed that self-conceptions are not as significant as self-interactions are, in self's operation. In his words: "...this (*self*) enables him to interact with himself. This interaction is not in the form of interaction between two or more parts of a psychological system ... Instead, the interaction is social - a form of communication, with the person addressing himself as a person and responding thereto." (Blumer, 1969, pp.13).

Athens (1994), in her paper on Blumer, Kuhn and the Meadian view of self, argued that both Kuhn and Blumer contributed the Meadian view of self. But according to her, Blumer's view of self as a fluid process lacks the recognition that "self" needs some amount of constancy. Without that "amount of constancy", people should be in a position to invent and reinvent themselves over and over again. Adding that, Kuhn recognized the need for a stable component of self; Athens (1994) also critiqued Kuhn for misidentifying that stable component as *the self-concept*. For Athens, the stable component is *the other*. In her words: "In my opinion,

the self's fluidity must be seen as arising from our ever-changing soliloquies; while its constancy must be seen as coming from the stability of the "other" with whom we soliloquize" (Athens, 1994, pp.524).

Athens, in her argument of calling self as a soliloquy, said there are always sets of interlocutors through whom we find ourselves. Those interlocutors are not only the people who are present in our daily lives and in our social experiences. There are also "phantom others" (different "phantom others" altogether make *the phantom community*), who are not there, present in flesh and blood, but who impact us during our everyday social experiences. As she put it, people view themselves from the different intimates' perspectives through soliloquy; by telling themselves how the intimate others think and feel about them: "..People judge themselves from the perspective of their phantom community through, once again, literally telling themselves how their phantom community would likely think and feel on the whole about them in light of their present individual intimates' thoughts and sentiments toward them." (Athens, 1994, pp.528).

It is the phantom community that people would ask themselves about "How do they judge me in the light of my present intimates' emotions and thoughts about me?" The answer would sometimes be one that makes the person happy and sometimes not. And sometimes, when the phantom community is fragmented; a contradictory picture of self may arise (Denzin 1984; 1987 and Athens, 1994).

Like Mead, Locke (1690) also studied the self. He suggested that one must have a "**body**" to be a "**man**", it is a necessity. By that, he meant, soul is not equated with man and vice versa. He defined man, a person as " a thinking intelligent being that has reason and reflection, and can consider itself as itself, the same thinking thing, in different times and places" (Locke, 1948, p.9). According to Locke, as long as a man has the "**same consciousness**", he/she is the "**same person**" By "same consciousness" he meant, whether the man is subject of the same

memories, actions and perceptions of the earlier person. For Locke, a man who suffers amnesia and, as a result develops new beliefs, skills and thus a new identity, is a *different person than the earlier one*. As the Tibetan teacher Tarthang Tulku (1977) put it: "... there is no abiding self..." (Tulku, 1977, pp.4)

Self is -in Locke's words "... that conscious thinking thing, whatever Substance, made up of Spiritual, or Material, Simple, or Compounded, it matters not, which is sensible, or conscious of Pleasure and Pain." (Locke, 1690).

Different from others, Jung (1965, 1971) conceived his understanding of self from an Eastern point of view. After reading the Chinese texts like *The Secret of the Golden Flower* and the *I Ching*, he came to an understanding that the center of gravity of one's personality shifts from ego to self when one reaches spiritual maturity. Self development is not a linear evolution; it is a circumambulation process which involves materials both from the external world and the inner psyche. Based on Taoist thought (The idea that there must be a balance between Yin and Yang; inner and outer), Jung believed that both inner and outer sides are needed for the development of the self. According to him, self is the midpoint of the opposites (Jung, 1965, 1971 and Coward, 1996).

Kant, on the other hand, used the term "self" in three different ways: first one is the "I" in apperception. Kant argued that, one cannot perceive himself/herself directly. One perceives the act of perceiving. So, through apperception, he/she gets information about the "self" (1787). Second one is "phenomenal self", which means "one's sense of oneself as one appears to oneself" (Atkins, 2006, pp.48) and the third one, the "noumenal self". Noumenal self is one's thought of oneself being the agent of his/her very own actions. According to Kant, a substance is an absolute subject which cannot be employed as the determination of another thing. Due to this definition, substance is a representation of intuitions, as one does not have any intuitions of the "I", "I" is not a substance, and it is not

represented at all. As only a substance endures, and "I" is not a substance, there would be no enduring "I" at different times (Kant, 1787). Additionally, Schopenhauer stated that, self can be known only by phenomena, by Kant's phenomenal self. For him, noumenal self is not knowable. Self can be known outward, not inward (In Prinz, 2011 and Schopenhauer, 1818/1969). But for Wittgenstein, there exists no phenomenal/noumenal self distinction like in Kant and Schopenhauer. For Wittgenstein, *no self* exists because no metaphysical self can be found in experience. No self can be found in the introspective experience. What we experience when we perceive or think, is not a subject of them (the self), but the contents of our perceptions and thoughts. According to Wittgenstein, the subject (self) does not belong to the world, it is a limit to the world; the subject is not an item in experience but it is the limit. For him, what exists is a sum total of thoughts, so the limit of a person's thoughts is the limit of the world. Self exists as an object, because it is an item which is in the world (Like in saying my finger is broken or I gained a few pounds) but is non-existent as a subject in experience (Like in saying I saw a bird, I heard a music). (In Prinz, 2011 and Wittgenstein, 1922, 1953, 1960, 1961).

On the issue whether self exists as an item in experience or not, Goldberg et al, (2006) claimed that self exists as an item of experience, but *not always*. In their experiment, they tried to prove that when doing something with a great focus, people lose themselves, which is the point where self is not existent. But Prinz opposed this argument; he claimed that losing oneself while overly focused in a sensorimotor activity is not *losing self* literally. It only involves person's high absorption to the activity and temporary loss of interest in personal goals and interests. It's only losing track of time (Prinz, 2011).

Apart from these discussions, according to James (1890), self is known through bodily activities; experience of self is associated with those activities. With his words: "In its widest possible sense...a man's Self is the

sum total of all that he can call his, not only body and his psychic powers, but his clothes and his house, his wife and children, his ancestors and friends, his reputation and works... If they wax and prosper, he feels triumphant, if they dwindle and die away, he feels cast down." (James, 1890, pp.291-292).

Prinz (2011) defined what he called the *Jamesian self* "...as the alleged experience of a self that consists of felt changes in the body, including those we identify as emotions" (pp.153). In relation to Wittgenstein's ideas, Prinz positioned Jamesian self as, self as an object, not self as a subject. Because in bodily states, self is an item in the world (object) not a subject which is an item in experience (Prinz, 2011).

Leaving philosophical discussions and turning back to the social view of self, Baumeister (1998) suggested that "self" is always a construction. It is not something which is known directly, it is a product of abstraction, inference and deduction. One knows his/her experiences directly and through the abstraction, inference and deduction of those experiences, he/she knows his/her "self". Higgins (1996), on the other hand, claimed that one obtains self-knowledge for improving his/her person-environment fit. According to him, self-knowledge offers adaptive benefits on this improvement. So, one constructs a self digest which contains useful information about the self with this motivation: "What is my relation to the world?"

2.1.2. Looking glass self and the mirror theory of self

After describing the views and ideas of self of a number of invaluable thinkers and academicians, it is time to get back to the idea that most of these ideas and views burgeoned from. As a ground breaking contribution to the study of self in those years, Cooley introduced "the looking-glass self" in 1902. He is credited as the first symbolic interactionist ever. According to his theory, self is developed in reference to others who are in the same social environment. For Cooley (1902), the self-idea has three

primary elements: What we imagine about our appearance to other people; what we imagine about their judgement of our appearance and lastly, the self-feeling that we have about ourselves. (Cooley, [1922] 1992:184) In short, he stated that we end up being what we think our intimate others think we are, or how we are labeled by them.

Jacques Lacan's (1949, 1966) self is mostly based on the mirror theory (looking glass self) of self. He stated that child's self is dependent upon what is reflected to him by the intimate others. The mirror theory of self/the looking glass self-claimed that intimate others' (mostly mother's) approval and recognition are fundamental in the shaping of the self.

Wiley (2003) summarized Lacan's theory so beautifully by saying "... the looking glass literally became the self; that is, we identify with the specular copy we see "out there" in the mirror." (Wiley, 2003, pp.505).

Also, apart from the issue how we came up with selves, Lacan claimed that self is always in disequilibrium, it is always on the edge of collapsing. There is a deep meaninglessness in every one and the self is there, as a defense against it (Lacan, 1949, 1966).

For Hegel, it is recognition that gives birth to the self. Self is an offshoot of the master-slave relationship between the baby and his/her parents. When the baby is born, parents start giving unconditional and free love, recognition and care. But this just don't last long... Until the baby can give something in return: joyful baby talk, sweet smiles, hugs with little arms. Although the parents are not doing it consciously, they are trying to create a self in the baby. It is trust that baby feels to his/her parents that links recognition to becoming a self (Hegel, 1807/1979). According to Hegel, approval and recognition of the intimate others provide a meaning to one's (self) life. The continuing stream of recognition/approval allows one (self) to live well. This creates instability in the self, as this stream may not always continue. The recognition can be lost, it is not secured forever. Thus, Hegel argued that, self is based on an interpersonal struggle for recognition and interpersonal recognition creates the self (Hegel,

1807/1979). But for Lacan, it is the intrapersonal recognition (which is at the mirror) that creates the self.

For Mead (1934) on the other hand, the looking glass self is some kind of internalized power or an internalized function. Mead suggested that when others say something to us, in other words, when they try to communicate some meaning to us, we reflect that meaning through role taking. When it is us, who is trying to communicate a meaning to the other, we reflect the meaning through meaningful and significant gestures. From this point of view, each baby is born like a species-bridging primate with the capacity of understanding that needs to be actualized. The baby is born without a self. But he/she has the preconditions (the capacity of understanding and acquiring meaning) to acquire a self. The baby has to transform nonsignificant gestures into significant gestures. When this transformation begins, the self is born. The self is born through reflexivity, language and thought. Although the baby is without a self at birth, the parents see him as a self from the beginning. They talk to him as if he/she could understand them. They give the baby recognition, thus, existence and selfhood. They find meaning in the baby, before there is any meaning (Wiley, 2003) this, also supports the idea of self being a self-fulfilling prophecy. For Mead (1934), how self is created is a self-fulfilling prophecy. Wiley (2003) also described self as a self-fulfilling prophecy: When the baby is born, he/she joins the physical, the *bodily world*. Later on, it's the parents' role to act like mid-wives who try to facilitate birth: birth of the baby into the *social world*. Parents' loving behaviors and their trust delivers a message to the baby: if you try, you will succeed (succeed in obtaining a self in this social world of interactions). Parallel with Wiley's thought, Mead (1934) argued that baby's self is brought to life by his/her parents' prediction that a little social self is born. Self is a self-fulfilling prophecy because the self will be created only if the baby believes in it, with the support of his/her parents (Collins 1988, Merton 1957). This idea is also parallel with the Thomas theorem: "If men define situations as

real, they are real in their consequences.” (Thomas, 1928, pp. 572). Wiley, changed this theorem as “If people define selves as real, they are real in their consequences” (Wiley, 2003, pp.507). According to Wiley (2003), as parents define their babies as selves, babies will become selves. This symbolic interactionist self, has a weakness though: it is based on a leap of faith. What if the self-fulfilling prophecy fails? What if the stable child-parent relationship is ruined? What if, something went wrong and the recognition, love and trust of parents are no longer there? Wiley (2003) suggested that, the average parent will provide an average/moderate level of parenting skills including providing recognition, love and trust. The baby of these average parents, may be a little bit harder, but, will find his/her way to be a self. But at the extreme, the parents with lousy parenting skills will only be able to provide a flow of recognition, love and trust in an unhealthily low level. For those babies, the way to becoming selves may be longer and the development of those selves may be delayed. As Wiley (2003, pp.507) described with great words: “... the self’s Achilles’ heel is the constant possibility of losing trust and self-confidence. We are blown-up balloons and it is always possible for the air to come out. The recognition and love that created a baby’s self, moreover, have to keep flowing throughout life. It is not enough for our parents to get us started as humans. We need continued support to keep developing and going as selves.” Thus, it is an everlasting quest to develop and maintain a self.

2.1.3. The Humean self

If we turn our attention to Hume’s ideas about self, we see that for him, the only basis of knowledge for a thing, even a human, in other words a thinking thing, is an impression and perception of that thing.

“When we talk of self or substance, we must have an idea annex’d to these terms, otherwise they are altogether unintelligible. Every idea is

derived from preceding impressions; and we have no impression of self or substance, as something simple and individual. We have, therefore, no idea of them in that sense." (Hume, 1978, pp.631)

As a skeptic and an empiricist, Hume (1978) argued that, if we take Descartes' point of view, knowledge of the self can be found through "an impression of it on introspection" (In Atkins, 2005, pp.34). He claimed that this could never happen, as one can never catch himself without a perception, at any time, anyone can never observe anything else than perception. He said, one's mind is always full of perceptions of other things, which keep on changing; and if one's mind is emptied of those perceptions of other things, there would be nothing else left. Thus, there would be no knowledge about the inner entity, no knowledge about the self.

According to Hume, imagination is a power of making images and ideas. Human imagination unites the diverse sum of perceptions in such a high degree that one experiences identity. There is a smooth and seamless transition from perception to perception and thus, "one mistakes the identity of object in consciousness for the identity of a substance" (In Atkins, 2006, pp.34).

For Hume, "I" is nothing but a bundle of perceptions that compose a single mind. He suggested that there is no abundant self which is unchanged through one's life. If we accept that self is the sum totality of person's feelings, perceptions and thoughts, self-changes as perceptions change. Self-changes when the person forgets and learns. Because when he/she forgets or learns, that sum totality of perceptions which constitute the "self" changes. The person has a new self (In Atkins, 2006; Selby-Bigge, 1975; Aiken, 1948).

Piper (1985) suggested that, Hume's conception of self is also motivated by desire. A self can be identified with its desires and related plans. According to Piper (1985), desires structure the Humean self. Firstly, desires are distinguished and separated as first order and second order.

Through this distinction, desires determine the basis of evaluation for the elements of personality like beliefs etc. First order desires are things or affairs that are conceived to be external to the self-whereas second order desires constitute a certain desired self-conception. For example, if the person has a central first order desire for sports, this first order desire either will fulfill a second order desire of being that kind of a person who likes sports, discipline and exercise. Or it will frustrate a second order desire to be that kind of a person who loves ease, comfort, laziness and tardiness.

"The actual first-order desires which constitute the self either buttress or undermine our desired self-conception; our second-order desires tell us what that desired self-conception actually is. Thus there is an important distinction to be drawn between a self-conception and a conception of the self. A self-conception picks out the basic intentional features in terms of which I actively identify myself. A conception of the self, on the other hand, provides a theoretical model that purports to explicate matters of fact regarding the nature and dynamics of the self." (Piper, 1985, pp. 174)

Desires structure the Humean self in a second way, too. Self's important feature of rationality shows itself in providing consistency to the desires; putting them in a hierarchical order with respect to their importance; planning for the satisfaction of these desires and facilitating the satisfaction through most efficient action (Piper, 1985). Piper named desires as structural components of the self. According to him, the Humean self, besides being motivated by desires, is also individualistic. Because the person is motivated to satisfy a desire only if that desire is his/her desire (Piper, 1985). Overwalle (2007) also had a similar conception. According to him, although self is formed in interaction with others, it is selfish in being motivational and in its cognitive function of preserving and enhancing own self well-being sometimes at the expense of other people.

The Kantian conception of self, on the other hand, is structured and motivated by internal norms. Those internalized norms are in order, based on theoretical rationality (which ensures internal unity) and they direct the self towards various kinds of conscious behavior (Piper, 1985).

Besides these philosophical screenings of self, some academicians and thinkers attempted to provide practical definitions and descriptions of self.

2.1.4. Practical definitions of self

As definitions of "**self**", literature and dictionaries present numerous alternatives. Baumeister (1998) stated that the term "self" is rooted in the common experience and basic communicative linguistic needs so widely that, definitions mostly fail to describe it in a fulfilling manner. Even if they mostly fail, some definitions will be presented here.

Thilly (1910), in his paper that he discussed self in reference with some early philosophers, defined self. He argued that self is something that identifies, recognizes, differentiates, compares, appropriates, puts meaning, remembers, affirms, judges, prefers, rejects, learns, selects, infers, denies, grows, attends, decides, sets up ideals, holds those ideals and it can be educated. Only through such a functioning self (and through experiencing the self) people can attend themselves as subjects of consciousness. Without the self, there would be no education and no development of personality.

Tesser, on the other hand, defined self as "... A collection of abilities, temperament, goals, values and preferences that distinguish one individual from another..." (Tesser, 2002, pp.185).

Employing completely different perspectives, Goldstein (2006) and Dillard also provided definitions. Goldstein (2006) claimed that self is "a fiction of all sorts" as the fact of selfhood cannot be accommodated by true view of things. Dillard (1974), argued that self takes shape through language and the "I" becomes apparent through it.

For Foucault, on the other hand, self is a consequence of power (Foucault, 1979). He argued that self is a mechanism of control, coerced to exist by the regimes of power. It is used as a control mechanism which is a self-regulating subject. Through self, disciplinary practices on body are imposed. The institutional practices which are designed as humane support systems for health, education and safety are in fact mechanisms of domination. So, teachers, physicians, therapists and others are merely vehicles of power that use measurement, assessment and surveillance to impose the self to practice discipline on the body (Foucault, 1979, 1980, 1988, 1994).

We can also view self, as a metamorphosis, referring to Goethe's words: "Everything in life is metamorphosis, in plants and in animals, up to and including mankind as well" (In Grant, 1962, pp.331). Vivian (2000) for example, argued that self can be thought of as a rhetorical form which exists in an indefinite becoming and continuing aesthetic creation.

As standard dictionary definitions, Cambridge dictionary described self as the set of one's characteristics, such as personality and ability that are not physical and make that person different from other people. Oxford Dictionaries, on the other hand, defined it as "A person's essential being that distinguishes him from others, especially considered as the object of introspection and reflexive action." The Oxford English Dictionary offered a different definition: "...that which in a person is really and intrinsically he (in contradistinction to what is adventitious); the ego (often identified with the soul or mind as opposed to the body); a permanent subject of successive and varying states of consciousness."

Among definitions offered by the academy, Zussman's (2005) described self through distinguishing it from personality. According to him, personality is a person's repertoire of behaviors that he or she performs in public, whereas self is private and more permanent and it is independent from behavior. He also called self as "...a secularized version of an originally religious concept" (Zussman, 2005, pp.48). But he noted that

self is not "soul"; these concepts are not identical because self involves no particular relationship or involvement with God (or any set of religious obligations).

Goffman's (1959) definition of self is "... as a performed character, is not an organic thing that has a specific location, whose fundamental fate is to be born, to mature, and to die; it is a dramatic effect arising diffusely from a scene that is presented. [The] self does not derive from its possessor . . . [but] is a product of a scene that comes off, and is not a cause of it." (pp.9) According to Goffman (1959, 1963, 1967) both self and others construct identities when they stage a definition of the situation that they are in. Thus, everyone is both a product and the creator of the encounter. According to Deci and Ryan (1990) self is more "A set of motivational processes within a variety of assimilatory and regulatory functions... the self does not simply reflect social forces; rather it represents intrinsic growth processes whose tendency is towards integration of one's own experience and action with one's sense of relatedness to the selves of others" (pp.238)

2.1.5. Self and culture

Cushman (1990), focusing on another aspect, studied self in terms of culture. He stated that there is no universal self. According to him, self is not universal or trans-historical. Self is local. It comprises a culture's belief about the talents, expectations and limits of the human-kind, it embodies human-kind's place in the cosmos. With his words: "The self, as an artifact, has different configurations and different functions depending on the culture, the historical era, and the socioeconomic class in which it exists." (Cushman, 1990, pp.601) He attributed this idea to the study of Heelas and Lock (1981). They stated that, self represents the shared understanding in a culture about "what it is to be a human" (Heelas and Lock, 1981, pp 3). Culture is widely described as a specific set of shared

meanings that help shape people's perceptions about the world and the self, thus, self can vary according to culture (Markus and Oyserman, 1989).

Cushman also stated that we need self as a crucial element for understanding and interpreting an era. Because when we study the self, we also learn about "... the forces that shape it, the discourse that justifies it, the consequences that flow from it, the illnesses that plague it, and the activities responsible for healing it." (Cushman, 1990, pp.600).

Swidler also argued that cultural narratives, storytelling, roles and identities are resources of self-construction and they are parts of a cultural toolkit (Swidler, 1986).

As self is believed to be socially constructed; as it is formed by the reflections that we receive from our intimate others, a conception of self which is totally immune of cultural effects is not possible. Holland suggested that (1992) child's newly forming self is affected by the cultural context in a number of ways, one of which is the childrearing practices of the parents. The child receives deep intuitions about culture's inherent truth and correctness. For example, any given American parent would strongly assert the importance and cultural value of autonomy through providing rights of privacy to his/her young children. The child will receive a strong message about independence and autonomy by his/her continuing interactions with his/her parents. In this way, culture affects, helps and mediates the forming of self. But, the opposite is also through. A parent can strongly resist the cultural context and through his/her childrearing practices, can raise a child who is at odds with the ideal sense of self which is promoted by the culture at large (Hollan, 1992; Hallowell, 1959; Wellenkamp 1988; Levy 1984).

"Thus, cultural discourse and ideal conceptions may not coincide neatly with personal experience and may ignore, obscure, and even misrepresent aspects of experience" (Hollan, 1992, pp. 286)

On self and culture, Abu-Lughod's study showed that different features of self can be elaborated culturally in different contexts (Abu-Lughod, 1986).

Also, a number of studies differentiated the "Western self" and the "Non-Western self" as, the first being individuated, egocentric, closed and autonomous and the latter being relational, socio-centric, open and interdependent (Kleinman, 1986; Mines, 1988; McHugh, 1989; Rosenberger, 1989; Stephenson, 1989, Ewing 1990, 1991 and Hollan, 1992). Similarly, the differences between individualistic and collectivist societies are reflected in the conceptions of self. Individualistic societies promote self-expression, individual rights and diversity (self-as-separate), but the collectivist societies support welfare of and obligation to groups and conformity (self-as-connected) (Markus and Oyserman, 1989). Markus and Kitayama (1991) argued that, it is the dimension of independence and interdependence which constitutes the fundamental difference between individualistic and collectivist cultures. People's selves in collectivist societies are defined in terms of interdependence, thus they seldom have a desire to have distinctive traits, whereas the selves in individualistic societies are defined in terms of independence, so they seek uniqueness and desire to have distinctive traits (Markus and Kitayama, 1991). Apart from individualistic and collectivist cultures, the African culture defines self in a totally different manner. In Africa, the self and the other (or the world) are not necessarily separate; they see the world, the self and every other thing which is in the world, as extensions of a whole (Dixon, 1976). Depending on the cumulated knowledge on self in reference with culture; it can be noted that cultural differences in self confirm the relativity of the concept self (Baumeister, 2003).

2.1.6. History of self

Reading and writing about self, it is not possible and wise not to ask "How did "self" emerge in human beings? How did it evolve historically? "

As an answer, Wiley (1994) argued in his study that, the forming of the concept and thus the forming of reality of self, started in primates. At some point in history, probably as a result of evolution, a new energizing gene must have developed in primates. A new gene which equipped the primates neurologically. Thanks to this gene, when they were assembled in groups, primates had a focus of attention in an animal level and there probably was a stimulus. This group of primates experienced the significance of a stimulus, an ordinary signifier (an animal for example) started to refer to something: the group itself. Thus, it gave the group of primates a "consciousness of the group". This way, the first act of reflexivity came out, not through an individual but through the group. (Wiley, 1994). The post primate self was anchored to the group for good. Mead (1934) also had his ideas about how primates became human. He believed that this was a transition through which, primates' nonsignificant gestures happened to become significant gestures. Primates did not have a reflexive understanding of their gestures which meant, they lacked meaning. When they happened to have (How it happened, no one really knows, there can only be theories) an understanding, when they acquired the meaning, they were transformed into human. They started communicating through language, by acquiring language. Thus, they acquired selves (Mead, Wiley, 1994).

Later, in the Ancient Greece, the Ancient Greek thought discovered the human mind and the self. Thus, reflexivity changed from group to the individual.

"...Oedipus and Socrates, the former mythical in Sophocles' plays, the later real on the streets of Athens. Together they symbolize the classical self, taking on the power of choice and thought." (Wiley, 1994, pp.535)

Wiley argued that Oedipus claimed a self-capacity; he claimed it to destroy his father so that he could marry his mother. When he claimed self-capacity, something was stolen from the gods of the Ancient Greece. The capacity which was attributed to a socially higher semiotic system

(Gods) was taken down to the self. The power was taken from the society and it was given to self. Oedipus and other heroes of the Ancient Greece, who were punished by the gods for claiming what once the gods had, both caused and represented the emergence and expansion of the Greek self. (Wiley, 1994).

In the Christian Middle Ages, this very power was mostly taken back from the self and given back to society, namely, religion. Christianity both enriched the self by boosting it through sacredness and immortality (Immortality increased the importance of self in a way which affected human thought deeply) and weakened it as cognition and freedom lost autonomy that they got in the Ancient Greece. Because, reflexivity was not to others, to other human beings, it was to God.

Later in history, in Durkheim's Europe, a European self came out, which was enriched by self-consciousness and individualization. Zussman (2005) claimed that with Protestantism and sanctification of the simple everyday life; self was no longer only found in higher activities, but in work, family and marriage. With the coming of the 19th century, and with the winds of the Romantic Movement, the term self became mostly related with nature and emotions, not with reason. It was about person's inner voice, not social convention. In the 20th century, the Protestant "self" referred to a character that involved integrity, rectitude and self-discipline.

Starting with Protestantism and continuing with the emergence of market institutions, self gained centrality. This more central self was enriched by the growth of civil liberties, rationalization of law, democracy and freedom of choice. Durkheim (1965) attributed some type of sacredness to self, which is quasi-emotional and moral. Durkheim's sacredness was derived from social solidarity. His sacredness was a result of division of labor. Durkheim (1965) saw an expansion of self and human liberation in the industrialization, whereas Weber (1920, 1921) only saw self-diminution and moral enslavement in it. Weber's famous theme "Iron Cage" is literally the exclamation of death of self. Thought, reflexivity, choice, sacredness;

a set of self-capacities were stolen from it. Later, increasing popularity of individuation and self-actualization (the ideas about discovering one's unique potential and achieving a sense of fulfillment) caused an increased attention on self. (Baumeister, 2003).

With the rise of modernity, according to Zussman (2005), self became a term which is mostly referring to something inward not outward (social).

2.1.7. Globalization and self

When it comes to the effects of globalization on the concept of self, there is a lot to read and think. Thanks to the incredible improvement in communication technologies and developments in ease and comfort in the means of travel; dispersion of people, culture, information and capital have enormously increased. The effects of this dispersion on self are observed mainly by the evaporation, colonization and disruption of local cultures everywhere (Held and McGrew, 2000). As globalization damages traditional practices, causes losses in meaning, mostly young adults and adolescents experience identity confusion (Tomlinson, 1999 and Arnett, 2002). Exposure to global mass media and increased rates of migration caused formation of bicultural identities (Arnett, 2002). Thus, the construction of selves are widely effected by these important globalization effects.

Also, related to the social changes brought by technological advancements, Knorr (2001) worked on the sociological effects of this post social atmosphere on the self. She argued that an expansion of object centered environments situate and stabilize selves and define selves like families and communities do (Knorr, 2001). Silver (1996) on the other hand emphasized the objects that became sources for identity. Referring to Mead's *generalized other*, Cerulo (1997), argued that with the advancements in new communication technologies, there has been an expansion in access to a very wide range of "the generalized other". This

had an impact on the way the selves are constructed. Meyrowitz (1997) also said that evidence showed the construction of a new self. This new self is less bounded with places and less dependent on the definitions of the situations. The global media apparatuses help the construction of it and they also separate the self from the body and hide it (Meyrowitz, 1997).

People are free to show the different aspects of self. They are liberated to have parallel lives when they play role-playing games on the internet. (Turkle, 1996). Or, they may experience self-worth and empowerment through revealing intimate life details on TV, when they are parts of certain television shows (Priest, 1996) or social media.

2.1.8. Empty self and possible selves

In his paper "The empty self: Self's construction through history", Cushman also traced the change in the concept of self through history (Cushman, 1990). He stated that, in the 16th century, the Western world faced a series of major shifts. Changes from communal understanding to individual subject; from rural living to urban living, from accepting religious frame of reference to accepting scientific frame of reference and from agricultural means of production to industrial means of production. Prospective to those changes, the modern state needed a means to control the modern populace: it utilized a new concept of self (which is instinct driven, deep, secret and thus, potentially dangerous) to control the "selves".

In the past, people were experiencing a deep need to save money and control their sexual impulses, but with the change mentioned before, they became people with deep needs to spend money and fully live their both sexual and aggressive impulses (Cushman, 1990). The state fully utilized this new self, which Cushman named the **"empty" and "fragmented" self**. He (1990) argued that, the new self is empty as it lacked (the older

meanings of) family, tradition and community. People strived to fill this emptiness through consumption. Consumption of goods, relationships, food and experiences. The state controlled the selves through consumption, as people needed "things and people" to fill the sense of emptiness. Those things were provided through the economy: People needed stable incomes to keep consuming. (Cushman, 1990).

Talking about the emptiness of self, we must refer to Kohut. Kohut (1977), developed a theory which focused on how self is developed and how psychotherapy can be used to deal with the emptiness and fragmentation of the self. According to Kohut's theory of self, in the parent-child relationship, it is the parent who is used by the child to develop a self by psychological implication (by taking in the parent psychologically). Parent here, is the "Self-object". Kohut also argued that, in the postwar world, children did not receive the empathic attention they needed, from their parents. This resulted in adult patients who needed a type of treatment which created a different context that offered them a nurturing environment for the growing self. In the patient-therapist relationship, therapist took the role of the self-object and tried to fill the emptiness by building the self of the patient (Kohut, 1977). To avoid their children become adult patients with fragmented selves and in need of this treatment, parents need to employ a special type of parenting. A nurturing type of parenting which included mirroring, reflecting, empathy and attention. Children needed more attention and guidance from their parents because with the social changes of the postwar world, the traditional sources of guidance that a child received in the past communal world are lost. Children needed an early nurturing environment to develop a self-loving, self-sufficient and self-soothing "self" (Fromm, 1956; Horner, 1984; Masterson, 1981; Stern, 1985). Because, they are expected to live in an isolated and highly autonomous way when they grow up. If the parents fail to provide this empathic, nurturing environment for their children, as a result of their highly ambitious, self-serving personalities;

future's young adults would feel like falling short of society's expectations and may become narcissistically wounded individuals (Miller, 1981). Their self-esteem would also be wounded, leaving them with a "**false self**". The **false self** is a product of the gap between the high expectancy from the young adult to be highly self-sufficient and his/her (not enough) capacity to achieve it. The false self is a "sense of personal fraudulence" and it hides the true self. (Masterson, 1981; Miller, 1981; Winnicott, 1965). Cushman claimed that the very difference between society's expectations and young adults' experiences also serve the construction of the empty self (Cushman, 1990). According to Craig (1994), false self lives an illusion, separated from the world whereas its opposite, the true self lives in an inter-relational world. The young adult with a false self, as he/she fears reality, would do everything/anything to avoid this fear and his/her false self would do everything/anything to avoid living in the reality. Merton (1961) also stated that the false self is an illusion:

"Every one of us is shadowed by an illusory person: a false self. . . . My false and private self is the one who wants to exist outside... of reality and outside of life. And such a self cannot help but be an illusion." (Merton, 1961, pp.34)

False self is also described as the self that a person knows others want him to have. (Harter et al., 1998)

For Merton, true self is a state where the self and the reality are united as one. It is a state where one lives certainly in uncertainty. If the person does not listen to his/her inner voice, his/her heart; if he/she only takes into consideration what the community dictates him/her about how to live, how to behave; then that person sets himself off center. Referring to Merton, Craig (1994) stated that the true self cannot be manipulated by others. It is "... like a very shy animal that never appears at all, whenever an alien presence is at hand.... The experience of the true self occurs when I do not need to think that I am better than you, nor worse than

you. In fact, the "true self" is experienced when I do not have to think of myself at all." (Merton, pp.5; from Craig, 1994)

In addition to Kohut, there is another theory that focused on what fills the emptiness of the current self: the ***Object relations theory***. According to object relations theory, representations of thoughts, needs and feelings of one's self at different stages of development and representations of others (meaning others' feelings, needs and thoughts) fill the emptiness of the self. Kohut's theory stated that the emptiness is filled by the self-object (Self object sometimes being the parent, sometimes being the therapist). But object relations theory argued that it is the representations of one's self and representations of others which fill the emptiness (Kernberg, 1975, Masterson, 1981 and Ogden, 1986). These representations are in interaction with each other and emptiness is partially filled by stable self-representation and by the external part objects through introjection.

On the other hand, Markus and Nurius defined possible selves in their 1986 paper, "Possible selves". According to them, there are possible selves that are derived from the past self and involve representations of self in the future. The possible selves are connected to the "now" self, but they can be separated and are different from it. Person's fantasies, hopes and fears are reflected in the possible future selves, like I am a PhD student now, but I can be a writer in the future or despite all the efforts, I can be a housewife. The possible selves mostly result from person's past social comparisons. ("What others are now, I can become", Markus and Nurius, 1986, pp.954.) They are derived from the categories which are defined by the historical and sociocultural context that the person is in and also by his/her social experiences (Elder, 1980; Stryker, 1984; Meyer, 1985; Markus and Nurius, 1986). Like possible future selves, past selves also matter. They can be possible selves if they can define the person again, in the future. Certain aspects of the past self may also remain as the aspects of the now self; or as potential aspects of a possible self (Block, 1981; Brim and Kagan, 1980). Markus and Nurius (1986, pp.955)

stated that "Through the selection and construction of possible selves individuals can be viewed as active producers of their own development (Lerner, 1982; Kendall, Lerner and Craighead, 1984).

Possible selves are related to now as both incentives and evaluative mechanisms. They are also those sets of self-knowledge that are most responsive and vulnerable to the changes in the environment; because they are the "future" selves thus, they are not verified by others or any social experience (Epstein, 1973; Snyder, Tanke and Berscheid, 1977; Swann, 1983). Like the possible selves, the idea of self-concept that extends both forward and backwards is discussed earlier in the literature. First James (1910) distinguished a "potential social me" from the "Me of the past" and "immediate present me". Also Freud (1925)'s "ego ideal," can be seen as a possible self, which is about child's conception of what his/her parents consider as being morally good.

Mead (1934), on the other hand, claimed that self has the capability of rehearsing possible future actions through analyzing other's reactions and then decide whether to take the action or not. Through this "role-taking", selves create possible selves. In 1951, Rogers mentioned about an "ideal self, which shows the person's perspective of "how I should be". Gordon (1968) examined the current, retrospective and prospective elements of the self; whereas Schuts (1964) put it in a different way and mentioned about the tenses of the self, which are the "future present tense" and the "present tense". Also Levinson's (1978) "dream" describes the imaginable future possibilities of the self; it is an imagined self (Markus and Nurius, 1986).

After mentioning all these great contributions to the literature of self, it is time to refer to Baumeister:

"...self is not really a single topic at all, but rather an aggregate of loosely related subtopics" (1998, pp.681). Thus, this current attempt to summarize the accumulated human knowledge about self is rather

blended and a mixture of independent but interrelated ideas and theories. Yet, it is not complete, so is our understanding of "self".

2.2. Self-Concept

Baumeister (1998), also pointed out to a widely common confusion: is self the same thing as self-concept? People mostly use self and self-concept interchangeably. As Baumeister (1998) noted in his chapter on self, these concepts cannot be used interchangeably as, *self is the entity* and *self-concept is an idea about that entity*.

Before acknowledging the definitions and descriptions about self-concept; it is essential to refer to self-knowledge. Psychology names two different forms of knowledge representations. They are, perception-based knowledge representations (in the form of mental images which represent the physical appearances of objects and their configurations in space) and meaning-based knowledge representations (in the form of stored propositional knowledge about semantic relations between events, objects and features). A person's knowledge about himself, self-knowledge, is also structured similarly: self-image and self-concept.

Psychologists and sociologists spent considerable time in examining, studying and understanding self and the self-concept. The earliest perspectives of self-concept were mostly about self-evaluation and self-concept was mostly used synonymously with self-esteem.

In 1979, Rosenberg described self-concept as the sum total of a person's thoughts, feelings and imaginations about who he/she is. After Rosenberg (1979), a voluminous number of researchers studied the subject. Their contributions showed that self-concept is system which is composed of both cognitive (collection of identities) and affective components (self-feelings, self-esteem, etc.) (Epstein, 1973; Franks and Marolla, 1976; Stryker, 1980; Rogers, 1981; Markus and Sentis, 1982; Greenwald and Pratkanis, 1984; Kihlstrom and Cantor, 1984 Stets and Burke, 2003).

Markus and Oyserman (1989) described self-concept as being responsible for governing person's perceptions of reality. "It is an important mediator and regulator of thoughts, feelings and actions." (pp. 5) They added that the function and structure of self-concept is dependent upon the nature of the social environment (Markus and Oyserman, 1989).

Stets and Burke (2003) described the development of self-concept as: "Over time, as humans point out who they are to themselves and to others, they come to develop a concept or view of who they are. Humans are entities that embody content and structure." (pp.130)

Self-concept is a set of meanings that the person derives from himself; when he/she looks at himself/herself. This concept is based on his observations of himself, evaluations of himself and reflections from others (Stets and Burke, 2003).

Kihlstrom and colleagues suggested that self-concept is identified through some set of features which are singly necessary and altogether sufficient to distinguish and identify the person from others (Kihlstrom et.al., 2003).

Markus and Wurf (1987) argued that the self-concept consists of multiple representations. Those representations vary in their: positivity or negativity; centrality; temporal orientation and if they reflect potential or actual achievements.

On the other hand, Heatherton et al. (2007) defined self-concept as "...consisting of all that we know about ourselves including things such as name, race, likes, dislikes, beliefs, values and even whether we possess certain personality traits" (pp.4). Additionally, Perkins' (1958, pp.221) definition of self-concept is "...those perceptions, beliefs, feelings, attitudes, and values which the individual views as describing himself"

Greenwald and his colleagues (2002), on the other hand, defined self-concept as "... the association of the concept of self with one or more (non-valence) attribute concepts" (p. 5)

Rosenberg's definition is also similar: "...the totality of an individual's thoughts and feelings having reference to himself as an object" (1979, pp.7).

Epstein (1973), rather than giving a definition, provided a description of self: "One can neither see a self-concept, nor touch it, and no one has succeeded as yet in adequately defining it as a hypothetical construct." (pp.404) He named self-concept as a theory which one (as a functioning and experiencing being, which is in interaction with the rest of the world) holds about himself (1973).

Turner's self-concept is "Typically my self-conception is a vague but vitally felt idea of what I am like in my best moments, of what I am striving toward and have some encouragement to believe I can achieve, or of what I can do when the situation supplies incentives for unqualified effort" (Turner, 1968, pp. 98). Turner's self concept is distinct from the self-image (how the person looks; his/her behavior and appearance). According to him, the foundation for self-concept is more of knowledge and beliefs than attitudes, motivations and values (Turner, 1968; Gecas, 1982)

For Stryker (1979) self-concept is a hierarchy of identities and the hierarchy is based on commitment. He claimed that a person will be committed to an identity as long as he/she exists, fits in, succeeds and has a sense of belonging in his/her social relationships based on that identity.

Self-concept is a central and highly contested topic among academics. It was a major focus of attention for symbolic interactionists like James (1890), Cooley (1902) and Mead (1934).

The symbolic interactionist perspective on self-concept formation is grounded in their work and the theory of looking-glass self (As mentioned in the previous section in detail). According to them, the process of reflected appraisals is a milestone in self-concept formation. (Rosenberg, 1979; Kinch, 1963; Gecas, 1982).

Self-concept was seen by early researchers as a unitary entity, something stable, not changing, and was defined as a stable set of generalized views about the self. The literature suggested that people would do much to avoid any changes in their self-concepts (Greenwald, 1980; Swann, 1983; Swann and Hill, 1982). But contemporary researchers have a different view. According to them, self-concept is a dynamic, cognitive schema. It is an organization of knowledge made up of values, memories and traits. This knowledge organization is the controller of the processing of self-relevant information. (Markus, 1977; Kihlstrom and Cantor, 1984; Greenwald and Pratkanis, 1984; Kihlstrom et al., 1984)

Self-concept is utterly important in information processing, as it mediates most of it (Lambert and Wedell, 1991; Markus, 1977; Kihlstrom and Klein, 1994). Rogers also supported this idea, according to him, it is the self-concept that behaves like a fixed reference point in interpreting the information (Rogers, 1981). Kihlstrom and colleagues (1988) argued that self-concept mediates the information processing system, namely, attention, encoding the message, retrieval and interpretation. It is the self-reference effect which describes that the information which is related or relevant to self is processed more deeply compared to others (Rogers et al, 1977; Catrambone et al, 1996).

There is voluminous literature about self-concept. Some studies focus on formation of the self-concept; some focus on its psychological and some on the social aspects and some on the nature of it. For example, some studies argue that self-concepts tend to maintain stability and they are resistant to change (Sullivan, 1953; Maracek and Mettee, 1972; McFarlin & Blascovich, 1981; Swann & Read, 1981; Swann & Hill, 1982; Swann, 1983, 1987; Swann & Ely, 1984; Swann & Predmore, 1985). It is a set of ideas which is constant over time and is about who we are, according to Oyserman (2001). For Mark and Wurf (1987), it is like an organizer of our experiences, a repository of our memories, a motivational resource and an emotional buffer. Similarly, Epstein (1973) named self-concept as a theory

about oneself, which organizes self-knowledge and perceives new self-knowledge, as it interprets and frames experience and motivates the behavior. Also, Andersen and colleagues (Andersen et al, 1998) stated that self-concept is an important memory structure and an important cognitive concept.

It is also suggested in the literature that self-concept is experiential, it is episodic and abstracted, and that's why the whole self-concept may not be salient at any given point in time. When asked, a person can only give an available subset of information which is salient at that point in time. People, when asked, answer about the self-concept with "ease of retrieval"-what comes to their mind easily. (Schwarz, 1998; Oyserman, 2001). Oyserman (2001) called self-concept as "...all of those things that we can remember about ourselves" (pp.504).

As self-concept has a great influence on what a person perceives, feels; how he/she behaves and reacts; it would be right to call it as a social force. It is also called as a social product which is formed through a person's social interactions with others and shaped by how those others view that person (Oyserman, 2001). As mentioned above, self acts like an information processor and an interpreter of social contexts and situations (Kihlstrom and Klein, 1994; Harris, 1995, Oyserman, 2001).

As others play a key role in the shaping of the self-concept, it would be proper to say that others are vital and present: they are there as subjects of comparison; we define ourselves by comparing ourselves with others. As Oyserman stated "... accomplishments and failures of close others help define the self." (Oyserman, 2001, pp. 506). Thus, self-concepts are results of social interaction. Besides significant others and immediate situations, the general context (sociocultural and historical) also plays an important role in the shaping of the self-concept. As Hofstede (1980)

stated, cultures and societies are different in the way how they make sense of what it is to be an individual.

Self-concept is both a tool in social and cognitive development and at the same time it is the result that comes out, at the end of it (Damon and Hart, 1988; Lewis, 1990; Bretherton, 1992). It is stated in the literature that self-concept is at work when it can moderate the outcomes of the situations for the individual (Oyserman and Harrison, 1997).

Also, as feeling good about oneself is a fundamental human need; it is a basic tendency related to the self-concept, to evaluate oneself in a positive manner and to maintain a positive self- image (James, 1890; Greenwald, 1980). As self-concept is defined as the total of all the inferences that an individual has for himself; favorability of those inferences shape a positive self-concept. Individuals with positive self-concepts accept themselves easily and positively; they evaluate themselves favorably and so on (Judge et.al, 1998). Judge and colleagues also stated that a positive self-concept is not a product, not a sum totality of positive self-views, on the contrary, positive self-views are the result of a positive self-concept in the global level.

Self-concept is defined from different perspectives, referring to different aspects like being a social product, being a result of the tendency to positively evaluating the self and etc. Additionally, Campbell (1990) and Campbell and Lavalley (1993) described "self-concept clarity". According to them, self-concept clarity (SCC) is described as the extent to which self-concept is stable, internally consistent and confidently and clearly defined. On the other hand, the self-concept literature shows that, academicians' (mostly psychologists') ideas about the concept is transformed in years. Early researchers saw and described self-concept as a monolithic and unitary entity. They provided a stable view of the concept. In their view, self was regarded as an enduring structure that resists change (Markus,

1977; Greenwald, 1980; Mortimer & Lorence, 1981; Swann & Read, 1981).

And majority of the studies focused on a single aspect of self-concept, self-esteem, as self-esteem was given more than deserved attention. As Swann and colleagues put forward clearly:

“At about the same time, an independent wave of enthusiasm within the lay community thrust the construct of self-esteem into the national limelight. On the basis of precious little evidence, the California Task Force to Promote Self-Esteem and Personal and Social Responsibility (1989) characterized self-esteem as a panacea, whose cultivation would protect people from a host of ills, including welfare dependency, teenage pregnancy, dropping out of high school, and so on. Thousands of laypersons across America were smitten with the hope that in self-esteem they had found a modern-day Holy Grail.” (Swann et al, 2007).

But later, this view changed dramatically (Markus and Wurf, 1987). For contemporary researchers, self-concept is a dynamic and multifaceted construal. They described it as a cognitive schema. This cognitive schema, this knowledge organization, contained memories, values and traits. It also, in acting like an information processor, controls the processing of self-relevant information (Markus, 1977; Greenwald and Pratkanis, 1984; Kihlstrom and Cantor, 1984; Kihlstrom et al., 1988). According to this new view of the self-concept, the contents of self-concept can be divided into two, as, its evaluative components and knowledge components. The evaluative components answer the question “How do I feel about myself?” and includes self-esteem and positive self-beliefs. It produces a global self-evaluation. On the other hand, the knowledge component answers the question “Who am I?” and includes roles, personal goals, values and specific attributes that the person believes to possess. How the knowledge and the evaluative components are organized, is the structure of the self-concept (Campbell et.al.1996).

On self-concept being dynamic, on the other hand, contemporary researchers suggested that different selves emerge in different contexts. Self-concept reflects how people think about themselves (Kernis and Goldman, 2003) and in different contexts, people's self-relevant thoughts, behaviors and feelings may change, this in turn may change the self-concept (Gergen, 1967; Savin-Williams and Demo, 1983). A person's self-feelings are different for example when talking to a lover and when talking to a friend; or self-feelings are different when in meeting with the boss and when in meeting with a team of subordinates (Markus and Kunda, 1986).

Based on these two different views of the self-concept, Rogers (1951) defined self-concept as fluid, but also consistent and organized. Turner (1956) on the other hand, described it as a "stable set of evaluative standards" but also as quite variable—"the picture the person has of himself or herself at any given moment" (pp. 231).

Markus and Kunda stated that "...The dynamic and malleable properties of the self-concept are thought to derive primarily from its essentially social nature." (Markus and Kunda, 1986, pp. 858).

Literature presented that self-concept is malleable and it is mutable; but, on the contrary, other findings presented that self has a stable sense. According to those findings, people are determined to preserve their selves and those selves are unresponsive to changes in the social situations. Although self-concept is, in some respects, quite stable, underneath this stability lies some significant local variations. Those variations come up when the person responds to the social environment: "How people think about themselves at any given moment is affected by such things as the immediate context, mood states, goals, cognitive priming and so forth." (Kernis and Goldman, 2003, pp.106) Thus, self-concept contains a wide variety of self-conceptions like the ideal self, the ought self, the bad and the good self, the hoped-for and the feared self... (Sullivan, 1953; Gergen, 1967; Jones & Pittman, 1982; Higgins, 1983;

Tesser & Campbell, 1983; McGuire, 1984; Greenwald and Pratkanis, 1984).

The concept that named, described and defined this idea is, the "working self-concept". It is described as "the self-concept at a given moment... a subset of this universe of self-conceptions" (Markus and Kunda, 1986, pp.859). It is a temporary structure which is made up of elements derived from the person's collection of self-conceptions. That temporary structure is formed according to the configuration of the ongoing social events. The working self-concept is composed out of the present and active self-conceptions. Those self-conceptions can be described as a portfolio of active self-knowledge which changes as the internal state of the person changes and/or the social circumstance changes (Markus and Nurius, 1986).

Thus, self-concept can be called as stable as "being a universe of self-conceptions" and the contents of the working self-concept change, based on the social situation. The present situation invokes a specific set of self-conceptions. During life time, new self-conceptions will be created and added, the hierarchy of those conceptions will change. Some self-conceptions are constantly available for forming the self, as they are "chronically accessible" as Higgins (1982) called them so. Because they are important in and good at elaborating the self.

Markus (1977) also mentioned about "core self-conceptions" (self-schemas) and defined them as conceptions that reflect person's behavior in domains of concern, investment and constant salience. He described core conceptions as those conceptions which are important in defining and identifying the self (Markus and Nurius, 1986).

Accessibility to other self-conceptions, those that are not core, vary according to the person's emotional states and the corresponding social situation (Markus, 1977). A person can see himself in different ways through activating different self-schemas (self-conceptions). (Baumeister, 2003).

As mentioned above in detail, because the working self changes according to the social situation, the self-concept can be called malleable. In other words, the self-concept is malleable in that, working self-concept changes dependent on the context (The mixture of self-conceptions other than the core ones change). Thus, Markus and Wurf (1987) suggested that (the multifaceted) self-concept has relatively stable components like core self-conceptions and also contextual and malleable components like the working self-concept.

Based on this view, Martindale (1980) named self-concept as a system; McGuire and McGuire (1982) as a space; Greenwald and Pratkanis (1984) as a confederation of self-conceptions. Early researchers like Mead (1934) also claimed that there was no fixed self-concept. According to him there was only a current self-concept. That current self-concept is a relevant set of self-conceptions that are negotiated from the whole set of self-conceptions (Markus and Kunda, 1986).

A person's perceptions about himself/herself are shaped by his/her social experiences; they are influenced by the intimate others and the reinforcements of the environment and they are called the self-concept. Person's perceptions about himself influences the way he/she behaves and his/her behaviors influence the way he/she perceives himself/herself. Additionally, Shavelson and colleagues (1976) argued that self-concept is organized, developmental, hierarchical and evaluative. It is organized because a person puts his/her experiences into categories so that they are not complex and readily available to give meaning and to base perceptions about self on. It is hierarchical based on the dimension of generality (Super, 1963). It is developmental as the age and the cultivation of experience change, self-concept becomes differentiated. Self-concept is evaluative in describing oneself in a particular situation and then evaluating that description.

Similarly, Markus and Nurius (1986) suggested that self-concept is an expansive structure which extends deeply in time as it carries the possibilities of change, development and growth in future states.

From a different perspective, Polkinghorne (1991) stated that narratives are important in self construction. He argued that stories about the histories of the nations, imaginative narratives (novels, movies), public stories and private and personal stories are important in shaping the self-concept.

Literature presents an almost endless volume of papers, books and research on self and self-concept. It is impossible to capture all in this study; it is irrelevant too, as the focal point of research is self-verification. The above sections about self and self-concept are written because, a thorough understanding of self-verification is not possible without understanding what self and self-concept are. Thus, after presenting a briefing on self and self-concept, the literature review will continue with an overview of self-verification theory and self-verification research.

2.3. Self-Verification

“Human mind is remarkably able to turn attention toward itself and construct extensive knowledge of itself.” (Baumeister, 2003, pp.4) In order to construct and maintain a self-concept, people have an enormous will and desire to collect self-knowledge.

The literature of social psychology determined three motives that guide people’s quest for collecting self-knowledge. First one is called the appraisal motive. This motive leads the person to seek diagnostic information about the self’s traits. Second one is the will to get information that would show the self in a favorable and positive manner. The last one is a quest for consistency. The self-verification theory, developed by Swann (1985 and 1987), described this quest: People seek

to get information which is confirmatory to what they already believe about themselves (self-verification).

The idea that this theory is built on, was first mentioned by Lecky (1945). In his study, he suggested that through strong self-views, individuals get a strong sense of coherence and to get that, they are overly motivated to maintain strong self-views (Lecky, 1945). In 1950s and 1960s, a similar idea emerged and Festinger (1957), Secord and Backman (1965) and Aronson (1968) developed their self-consistency theories. In 1983, Swann (1983) expanded Lecky's idea by structuring his *self-verification theory*. Different than Lecky's idea, self-verification theory stated that "... people are motivated to maximize the extent to which their experiences confirm and reinforce their self-views" (Swann, 2011, pp.26).

As the literature presents (Cooley, 1902 and Mead, 1934), people shape self-views through observation. They observe the way significant others and "others" treat them, and they form their self-views based on the way they are treated by others. They do so, because they believe that they deserve the treatment they receive (Cooley, 1902; Mead, 1934; Rosenberg, 1973). The self-views, when shaped, act like the grease that facilitate the functioning of the wheels of social interaction and the glue that puts together people's perceptions of reality (Buber, 1951; Swann and Brooks, 2012).

After shaping the self-views through social interaction and observation, people continue collecting supportive evidence. By receiving more and more evidence, they get certain about their self-views. Self-views, eventually, serve them in making sense of their social interactions, continuity and place; in maintaining coherence, in making predictions about the world and in guiding behavior. Stable and firmly held self-views constitute the centerpiece of a person's knowledge systems, thus, when continuing evidence about the self-view (self-verifying feedback) is received, the balance of the system is assured (Swann, 2011). If not, if the person is derived from stable self-views, he/she can be seriously

impaired. For example, in Sacks' (1985) study; the patient who lost his/her memory and only could remember some incomplete fragments about his/her personal history, entered into a state of psychological anarchy. Without a sense of coherence (provided by self-verifying feedback), people's worlds lack meaning; they feel they lack direction and purpose. When people lack the feeling of coherence, they think they cannot trust their expectations and beliefs, so they cannot cope with the challenges of life (Swann and Brooks, 2012). Thus, getting and maintaining stable self-views is utterly important for individuals' psychological well-being (Swann, 2011). That's why people start to have certain preferences for evaluations that help them to keep and confirm self-views starting from their childhood (Cassidy et. al., 2003). Children seek self-verifying feedback and they prefer such feedback over others (Cassidy et.al. 2003) and in youth this tendency and preference becomes more robust:

"...children are born with the expectation of finding a regularity. It is connected with an inborn propensity to look for regularities, or with a need to find regularities...This instinctive expectation of finding regularities...is logically a priori to all observational experience, for it is priori to any recognition of similarities...and all observation involves the recognition of similarities (or dissimilarities)" (Popper, 1963, pp.47-48).

The stable self-views that people get and feed by continuing evidence (regularity), serve two basic functions:

- 1- Epistemic function: Self views serve in affirming people's sense about things being as they should be.
- 2- Pragmatic function: Self views serve in guiding behavior.

People do have a self-verification motive; a need to get confirmatory feedback from their counterparts. Neurology supports this idea. Human brain prefers and easily picks familiar and predictable stimuli; as self-confirming feedback is familiar and predictable; human brain is expected to perceive and process such evaluations fluently and easily, compared to

others (Winkielman et al., 2002). Evolutionary biologists, also, contribute to the idea of self-verification motive. They suggest that, during evolution, humans lived as members of small groups that are hunter-gatherers. Through getting confirmatory inputs about their self-views from the social environment, they had stabilized self-concepts and behavior. Thus, each member of the group became predictable for other members. This mutual predictability increased the overall survival chance of the group (through daily survival and conception); it additionally improved interpersonal trust and group effectiveness and also contributed to the division of work (Goffman, 1959; Swann, 2011).

2.3.1. The basic self-verification effect

As self-verification theory states, people have the motivation to seek verification for their self-views. They do it regardless of if those self-views are objectively accurate and favorable or not (Swann, Pelham and Krull, 1989; Swann, Rentrow and Guinn, 2002). People want to confirm their self-views. They do it by using some self-verification strategies (Explained in detail in the following section). They do it all through the three stages of information processing. They try to make people react to themselves in a way which is self-confirmatory. They try to find self-verifying evaluations and when they find them, they value those evaluations more than others. Because they think that those evaluations are more diagnostic to and informative for their selves. They pay attention to confirmatory information more, they seek that kind of information more and they use their overt behavior to attract that kind of information.

An important point in the desire for self-verifying information is that, people with positive self-views prefer positive evaluations, whereas people with negative self-views prefer negative evaluations. This idea and finding of Swann (1983, 1985) was contrary to the self-enhancement theory (Allport, 1937 and Jones, 1973) which stated that people prefer positive

self-evaluations and "...are motivated to obtain, maintain and increase positive self-regard." (Swann, 2011, pp. 30). Literature showed that people have a fundamental desire for self-enhancement. People have a tendency to favor themselves over other people (Leary, 2007) and they prefer positivity starting from early ages (Shapiro et al., 1987). In the light of these findings and studies, critics approached the self-verification effect, which hold that people with negative self-views seek and prefer negative evaluations over positive evaluations- doubtfully. As an answer to these critics, Swann's (1983, 1985) findings were replicated in a number of other studies (Swann, Pelham and Krull, 1989; Swann, Hixon, Stein-Serous and Gilbert, 1990; Robinson and Smith-Lovin, 1992; Swann, Wenzlaff and Tafarodi, 1992; Swann, Wenzlaff, Krull and Pelham, 1992 and Hixon and Swann, 1993).

These studies revealed that, people with negative self-views not only prefer negative self-evaluations, but they also prefer evaluators who would evaluate them negatively and they prefer self-verifying interaction partners who would confirm their negative self-views (Swann, Wenzlaff and Tafarodi, 1992).

2.3.2. Self-verification strivings and self-verification strategies

People have self-verification strivings; they want to get appraisals which confirm who they think they are. In order to have stable self-views, to enjoy psychological coherence ("...a feeling that one's self and the world are as expected", North and Swann, 2009, pp.132), and to live in self-verifying worlds, people utilize different processes. Through those processes (self-verification strategies) they try to get self-verifying, confirmatory feedback from others.

The first process is constructing self-verifying opportunity structures. People look for and selectively enter social environments that would satisfy their self-verification needs. They prefer the relationships in which

they can receive confirmation for their self-views and leave those relationships that fail to provide confirmation (McCall and Simmons, 1966; Swann et al., 1989; Swann et al., 1994).

The second process is people's continuous and systematic efforts to communicate their self-views to others. People maintain certain physical appearances and display visible symbols and signs that tell others who they are. They also behave in a certain manner to get the verifying feedback they desire, to maintain self-views. The person gives strong messages about his/her life style, religious origin, political stand and income level to others by the clothes he/she wears, accessories he/she uses, and the hair cut he/she prefers and so on.

The third strategy is related to the need to receive self-verifying feedback in the case of failing to receive any. As Swann mentioned, "If people suspect that someone does not perceive them in a manner that befits their self-views, they will redouble their efforts to acquire self-verifying reactions" (Swann, 2011, pp. 27). In the case of not receiving self-confirmatory feedback, people engage in compensatory self-verification strivings to reaffirm their self-views (Brooks, Swann and Mehta, 2011; Swann and Hill, 1982; Swann and Read, 1981; Swann, Wenzlaf and Tafarodi; 1992). This is true even for the situations that people's self-views are not even challenged by self-discrepant feedback, but they are prevented to behave in a self-verifying manner (Brooks, Swann and Mehta, 2011).

When people -despite all the efforts, even doubled- fail to obtain confirmatory/verifying feedback, they use the strategy of seeing non-existent evidence. Through the stages of information processing-attention, recall and interpretation- people see confirmatory evidence which actually does not exist.

People also pay attention to those evidence that they think to be self-confirmatory. They selectively (and better) recall the evidence that they think to be self-confirmatory and interpret the information they receive in

a way that will confirm their self-views. (Suinn et al.1962; Crary, 1966; Silverman, 1964; Swann and Read, 1981; Swann, 2011). By the stages of information processes, people tend to see the world more confirmatory than it actually is.

2.3.3. Self-verification research

In order to present a general idea about the self-verification research, a briefing about the wide variety of academic contributions are included in this section.

A number of studies showed that people who have strongly held self-views tend to seek self-verifying evaluations (Swann and Ely, 1984; Swann, Pelham and Chidester, 1988):

"...people are especially likely to seek verification of their confidently held self-views as well as of self-views they view as particularly central or important to their self-definition." (Chen, Shaw and Jeung, 2006, pp.102). (Swann and Ely, 1984; Pelham and Swann, 1994)

On the other hand, a group of other studies examined self-verification in the context of marriage. Findings presented that people with positive self-views are more committed to positively evaluating spouses. Also, people with negative self-views reported less commitment to their positively evaluating (that they get self-discrepant feedback from) spouses (Swann, De La Ronde and Hixon, 1994). Supporting evidence is provided by a group of studies. They stated that people with negative self-views preferred self-verifying spouses -spouses with negative self-evaluations about them (Ritts and Stein, 1995; Schafer, Wickrama and Keith, 1996; De La Ronde and Swann, 1998; Murray, Holmes, Griffin, 2000; Cast and Burke, 2002). Also, people with positive self-views showed less commitment to spouses that made overly favorable evaluations (Swann, De La Ronde, Hixon, 1994).

Additionally, people with negative self-views prefer rejecting partners (those partners who provide negative evaluations); but with a vital point to pay attention for. They want to be evaluated positively by their partners on relationship-relevant dimensions. They want self-verifying feedback but, with a motive to ensure that their relationship remains viable. Swann and colleagues named this phenomenon as "strategic self-verification" (Swann, Bosson and Pelham, 2000; Swann, 2011). According to strategic self-verification, people with negative self-views seek and prefer partners who would provide negative evaluations about their characteristics which are low in relationship-relevance. Because those negative evaluations would not harm the viability of their relationship. Also they try to get positive evaluations on characteristics which are high in relationship-relevance (Neff and Karney, 2005).

Similarly, Hardin and Higgins (1996) argued that people seek and prefer confirmatory/verifying evaluations/feedback for their negative self-views to some limit. They stop doing it when there is a risk of being abandoned. Because in case of loneliness, all chances of receiving confirmatory feedback are gone.

Also, self-verifying feedback is reportedly affecting the quality of romantic relationships. Swann and colleagues claimed that relationship quality between spouses is driven by the extent to which the spouses are self-confirming to each other (Swann, De La Ronde, Hixon, 1994).

In another study of Swann (Swann, Stein-Seroussi and Giesler, 1992), which is not related to the marital relations, it was presented that people preferred to be with partners who made them feel known. They wanted the partners' evaluations about them to match their own ideas about themselves with both pragmatic and epistemic considerations. People with positive self-views select positive interaction partners and people with negative self-views select negative interaction partners.

Lastly, London (2012) proposed three elements of self-awareness as the antecedents of self-verification: self-evaluation, confidence in self-other

relationships and self-development orientation. He argued that the dominant factor that influences the self-verification motivation is self-awareness. He claimed that high need for self-evaluation, high self-development orientation and confidence in relationship with others (intimate others and others) may cause self-verification strivings.

2.3.4. Self-verification strivings in groups

In their research about group development, self-disclosure and sharing feedback, Polzer, Milton and Swann (2002) defined self-verification motivation as, group members' desire to see that other group members see themselves as they do.

They stated that self-verification in groups is a result of the identity negotiation processes and sharing feedback. Identity negotiation processes are defined as the processes of self-disclosure and seeking/receiving/giving task-related feedback (Polzer, Milton, Swann, 2002). This process usually occurs at the beginning of the interaction. Members present task-related information about themselves. Through this sharing of information, interpersonal continuity is maintained. This process enhances interpersonal congruence in groups. Interpersonal congruence, in turn, enhances group performance (especially in diverse groups) (Polzer, Milton and Swann, 2002).

2.3.5. Self-verification strivings for collective level self-definitions

Up to this point, all research presented was about the individual level of self-definition. They were about people's self-verification strivings for their self-definitions as unique and separate entities (Chen, Shaw and Jeung, 2006).

Another stream of self-verification research focuses on the collective level self-definitions. Collective level self-definitions are people's social identities as they are members of groups (Tajfel, 1982; Hogg and Abrams, 1988; Brewer and Gardner, 1996; Sedikides and Brewer, 2001).

Swann and Brooks defined collective self-views as "...personal self-views linked to social groups" (Swann and Brooks, 2012, pp.763). Collective level self-definitions (collective self-views) can be as influential and self-defining as individual selves (Turner, Oakes, Haslam and McGarty, 1994). Thus, people have collective self-verification strivings. Chen, Shaw and Jeung (2006) defined collective self-verification as others' confirmation of the person's certain self-conceptions as a member of the group. Worchel, Iuzzini, Coutant and Ivaldi also described collective self-verification as others verifying person's (member's) specific self-views related to the group-relevant attributes he/she thinks he/she possesses (2000).

Chen and colleagues, in two other studies, stated that people look for self-verifying feedback for their collective self-views (Chen et.al. 2004; Chen et.al. 2006). According to these studies, people who receive self-verifying feedback related to self-attributes which are prototypical to the group that they belong, are more committed to that group. These studies also indicated that when the group members are more identified to the group, they enjoy greater collective verification.

Chen and colleagues (2004) also showed that people prefer to be in interaction with a partner who verifies a negative collective level self-attribute rather than being with a non-verifying interaction partner. Furthermore, Gomez and colleagues (2004) showed that people seek verifying feedback even for those in-group attributes that they do not possess.

Additionally, they stated that "...highly identified group members exhibit especially strong and discriminating desires for collective self-verification because the epistemic and pragmatic costs of failing to receive verification of one's highly central, collective self-views are greater when the group

identity is a core aspect of self.” (From Chen, Shaw, Jeung, 2006, pp.103; Chen et.al, 2004).

In a recent study, Chen, Shaw and Jeung (2006) showed that collective self-verification is greater for high- relative to low-centrality attributes. On the other hand, Smith and Henry (1996) suggested that, as people involve their significant others to their self-views (Aron, Aron, Tudor, Nelson, 1991); they also involve in-group members to their collective level self-conceptions.

2.3.6. Outcomes of self-verification strivings

After presenting the self-verification theory briefly, this section will provide the research findings regarding the outcomes of self-verification.

Self-verification strivings provide people with a number of individual outcomes: Receiving self-verifying feedback brings stability to their lives, make their experiences coherent, ensure that their relationships are predictable and they live in a psychological state of comfort. “Direct benefits include psychological coherence, reduced anxiety and improved health.” (North and Swann, 2009, pp.131) (Swann et. al., 2007b)

The outcomes of self-verification for people with negative self-views, on the other side, vary. Mostly, individual’s behavior of seeking verifying feedback for negative self-views is adaptive in those cases that the feedback correctly reflects an immutable personal limitation (Taylor and Brown, 1989). When the person has an inappropriately held negative self-view, the positive outcome of receiving verifying feedback is that, it reduces anxiety, both psychologically and physically (Wood, Heimpel, Newby-Clark and Ross, 2005; Ayduk, Mendes, Akinola and Gyurak, 2008). Because people with negative self-views feel threatened when they receive positive feedback. When they receive negative feedback (self-verifying), on the other hand, they feel galvanized.

In their study, Brown and McGill (1989) found that positive life events effected the health conditions of people with negative self-views badly. Improvements in life conditions and positive developments in their lives were very unsettling to people with negative self-views, so unsettling that their physical health conditions worsened (Shimizu and Pelham, 2004). But, maintaining negative self-views and striving to receive verifying feedback may also bring negative outcomes:

- In personal life: a tendency to select partners who mistreat oneself, being in abusive relationships and damaging self-worth.
- In the workplace: ambivalence about getting fair treatment, failing to insist on getting what one deserves (Wiesenfeld, Swann, Brockner and Barter, 2007).

On the other hand, the interpersonal outcomes of self-verification strivings can be summarized as: decreased risk of misunderstandings and conflict, expectation-capability match, increased mutual predictability, increased commitment to the group, improved performance in group work (Swann, Milton, Polzer, 2000; Swann, Polzer, Seyle and Ko, 2004). Also, in small groups that are composed of people with diverse backgrounds, fear of the other, fear of being misunderstood and fear of sharing controversial ideas are reduced and probability to come up with creative solutions increased (Polzer, Milton and Swann, 2002; Seyle, Athle and Swann, 2009).

Through giving and receiving self-verifying feedback, the social interaction runs in ease for both of the parties involved. This is how mutual predictability is attained. With mutual predictability, the relationship is simplified and flows as expected.

Starting from the early, small hunter-gatherer groups: "In close relationships, a lack of predictability from a significant other could have thwarted coordination of meeting goals connected to survival and reproduction" (North and Swann, 2009, pp.132) and continuing with the modern human's relationships. Predictability in a person's behavior continues to be a highly valued characteristic in relationship partners even

today (North and Swann, 2009, pp.132) (Goffman, 1959, Athay and Darley, 1981; Rempel et.al. 1985; Buss, 2003; Buss, 2004; Swann et.el, 2007).

Through giving and receiving self-verifying feedback, the relationship quality is also reportedly increased (Swann and Pelham, 2002). In marital self-verification research it is found that spouses felt more intimate with their self-verifying partners as, self-verifying feedback made them feel more "known" by their relationship partners (Swann, 1994).

Another interpersonal outcome of self-verifying feedback is trust. In personal relationships, increased predictability (as a result of receiving self-verifying feedback) not only increases intimacy but also enhances trust (Rempel et.al, 1985; North and Swann, 2009). Because, predictability is among the key components of trust (Tyler, 2001).

On the other hand, the interpersonal outcomes of self-verification for those who hold inappropriately negative self-views can be harmful and damaging. As they select interaction partners who would provide self-verifying feedback for their inappropriately held self-views, their self-esteem may be lowered; lowered self-esteem may cause depression and they may find themselves in rejecting and harmful relationships.

Those people may also face negative outcomes in the workplace: they may willingly tolerate unjust treatment, they may be exploited and bullied (Swann, Stein-Seroussi and Giesler1992; Kernis, 2003; North and Swann, 2009).

In order to ensure that study is reported in a logical flow, a brief literature review was presented in this chapter. Because the research questions are about the outcomes of self-verification strivings in organizational settings; self, self-concept and self-verification literatures are presented respectively, in a manner which would give the reader a general idea about the issue at hand. In the following chapter, the aim of research and the research questions will be presented.

3. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Thoroughly examining the literature on self-verification as it is presented above, it can be accurate to say that the self-verification literature can be expanded through studies that focus on self-verification in the business context. As the concept is mostly studied from a psychological standpoint, a managerial standpoint, a business wise perspective would offer new insights and open different horizons.

The self-verification literature in psychology and social psychology mostly involve studies that examine the individual in personal, individual, private relationships. A majority of studies are conducted in the marital context and most of the findings represent the outcomes of self-verifying strivings in spouse and/or romantic partner relationships (Swann, De La Ronde and Hixon, 1994; Katz and Beach, 1997; Stets and Burke, 2005; Weger, 2005). Although there are studies that focus on self-verification strivings in the collective level and group settings (Burke and Stets, 1999; Swann, Milton, Polzer, 2000; Swann, Polzer, Seyle and Ko, 2004; Swann, Kwan, Polzer and Milton, 2003; London, 2003; Gomez, Seyle, Huici and Swann, 2009); and those conducted in organizational settings; the attention to organizational and managerial dimensions is yet insufficient (Cable and Kay, 2012).

Thus, the literature presents a gap about the outcomes of self-verification strivings in organizational settings. Further knowledge and understanding about the affects of self-verifying/self-discrepant feedback on individual's relationships with colleagues, supervisors and subordinates and his/her workplace behavior would be a remarkable contribution to the literature. Studies on marital and romantic relationships and self-verification present us a number of invaluable findings that enrich our knowledge on being human in a social environment: The quality of the relationship, a preference towards certain partners over others based on receiving self-

verifying feedback and so on. So, as an area that promises new academic explorations; possible effects of self-verification strivings on workplace behavior (Like job satisfaction, organizational commitment, intention to stay, performance and motivation) attract new studies.

Also, self-verification, as a psychological and social psychological concept, has attracted little attention from Turkish scholars. Only a number of studies contribute to our understanding of self-verification in the Turkish context. As self-concept formation is highly influenced by the cultural context and self-verification strivings and its outcomes may differ according to cultural variables; studying self-verification strivings and its outcomes in organizational settings in the Turkish context may contribute the literature with new insights.

With this motivation, current study aimed to reach an understanding of the effects of self-verification strivings in the workplace and (if affected) how is individual workplace behavior affected and changed through receiving self-verifying feedback, self-discrepant feedback or receiving no feedback at all.

In this attempt to explore these effects, I based my study on these research questions:

- How individual's relationships with colleagues, supervisors and subordinates are effected by receiving self-verifying/self-discrepant feedback from them?
- How do individuals feel when they receive self-verifying/self-discrepant feedback from their colleagues, supervisors and subordinates?
- (If effected) How is individual's workplace behavior effected by receiving confirmatory or discrepant feedback in the workplace?

In trying to find answers to these questions and explore and learn the effects of self-verifications strivings on individual workplace behavior, I aim to attempt to contribute the cumulative knowledge about psychology, business and management. If succeeded in its endeavor, this study will fill

the literature gap regarding self-verifying strivings and its outcomes in the organizational settings. Thus, it will provide insights and new ideas to managers and human resources professionals for the selection and retention processes and for the efforts to ensure employee happiness and commitment. Additionally the study will contribute the literature of self-verification from the cultural dimension. As majority of studies are conducted in Western societies, insights from a collectivist society may offer new perspectives. Last, but not least, the study will contribute the local (Turkish) literature on self-verification as there are not enough studies on the subject in the Turkish context. It will provide knowledge and understanding on the subject matter from a local frame: How Turkish citizens react to self-verifying and self-discrepant feedback from their colleagues and how do the outcomes of self-verification strivings affect their workplace behavior.

4. METHODOLOGY

The motive for this study emerged when I read a paper about self-verification strivings in married couples. The subject was both interesting and compelling. As a PhD scholar in management, my mind had a natural tendency towards thinking from a managerial perspective and thus, the questions "What about the workplace? What happens when a person does or does not receive self-verifying feedback from colleagues?" started to storm in my mind. As I read the literature, and as it is represented in the previous chapter, I noticed that there was a gap regarding the outcomes of self-verification strivings in organizational settings. Self-verification was not so popular for management scholars, apparently. The nature of the question that I asked myself seemed to best fit into a qualitative research design to me, as all I wanted to do was to explore and to understand how people feel and behave in the workplace when they receive self-verifying/self-discrepant feedback. Before I let the ideas firmly shape in my mind, with full support of my advisor, I contacted Prof. William Bill Swann, the owner of the self-verification theory (1983, 1985). I told him about my enthusiasm in conducting a research on the subject. He kindly answered my e-mail and offered me ideas about my research design. As a result, I designed my research as a hybrid one and replicated a method that he used in several of his studies (Pelham and Swann, 1989; Giesler, Josephs, Swann, 1996) His method was used in social psychology research but it looked relevant for my research aims, too. The research design involved both qualitative and quantitative methods as completing each other. But unfortunately, after more than 11 months of work and effort, I realized that the method failed me in obtaining data. The research design didn't work in the Turkish context. As it is not relevant to get into detail about this attempt in this section, a full description of the process will be given in the coming paragraphs. As Maxwell noted, "... [A] method in itself is neither valid nor invalid; methods can produce valid data or

accounts in some circumstances and invalid ones in others.” (1992, pp. 284)

Overly frustrated, I contacted Prof. Swann and he was as upset as I was and also he was surprised. He couldn't make sense of the method not working. After days and days of examination and hard thought, I understood that, the biggest mistake I made in replicating the method in Turkey, was ignoring the cultural differences. Those cultural differences deprived me of a year in my PhD study, but this failure was an invaluable lesson to me as a researcher. What I learned could be summarized in two sentences; do not underestimate the importance and vitality of the research design in getting you to the point you want to get, and do not ever underestimate the context special features in your research design. Well, when you fall, you need to rise and continue. I redesigned my research through a thorough inner investigation about how do I conceptualize the world (ontologically and epistemologically), what kind of a study would best meet my research needs, how can I obtain the data that would answer my research questions? In this redesigning process I paid full attention to all aspects of the subject and the context.

As I mentioned before, all I wanted was to understand people's feelings about and reactions to the outcomes of their self-verification strivings in the workplace. I wanted to learn how did it make them feel to receive confirmatory/discrepant feedback in the workplace, how did they behave when they receive the feedback, did it ever affect their workplace behavior, if yes, how? I didn't come up with some hypothesis to verify/falsify; I didn't ever wish to come up with statistical generalizations, I wanted to understand, I wanted to satisfy the academic curiosity in my mind.

In understanding the issue at hand, quantitative design did not seem to serve me: It is asserted in the literature that "...quantitative research is not apt for answering *why* and *how* questions." (Leech and Onwuegbuzie, 2007, pp.559) and "Human behavior, unlike that of physical objects,

cannot be understood without reference to the meanings and purposes attached by human actors to their activities. Qualitative data, it is asserted, can provide rich insight into human behavior” (Guba and Lincoln, 1994, pp.106).

As qualitative research methods are utilized by academicians with the aim of obtaining “...a more naturalistic, contextual and holistic understanding of human beings in society” (Todd, Nerlich, and McKeown, 2004, pp.4); and to make sense of the phenomena of interest referring to the meanings that people bring to them (Banister, Burman, Parker, Taylor and Tindal, 1994; Denzin and Lincoln, 2005) and as “...Qualitative data, it is affirmed, are useful for uncovering emic views..” (From Guba and Lincoln, 1994, pp. 106; Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Strauss and Corbin, 1990), I approached the qualitative design. Remembering that my initial research design failed by being irrelevant to the context, I made this decision. Because, in addition to other fundamental reasons, qualitative data is obtained in close proximity to the situation of interest, through interviews and observation. The local context is not discarded, it is taken into account. Also, one can claim that human behavior and humanly feelings are complex and qualitative data inherently possesses a strong capability for revealing that complexity. (Miles & Huberman, 1994).

Additionally, thinking from the ontological, epistemological and methodological perspectives, Positivist approach did not match my research aims:

- ontologically, because I don't have the claim or belief to find a “real reality” which is probabilistically apprehend able;
- epistemologically, as I do not necessarily believe that my findings will be objectively true, and,
- Methodologically, as, I don't have an intention to verify/falsify any hypothesis. I even don't have any hypothesis, just a bundle of questions that I wish to seek answers for.

In my case, I stand close to social constructivism. As, I believe that reality is socially constructed:

"Realities are apprehend able in the multiple, intangible mental constructions, socially and experientially based, local and specific in nature... and dependent for their form and content on the individual persons or groups holding the constructions. Constructions are not more or less "true", in any absolute sense, but simply more or less informed and/or sophisticated. Constructions are alterable, as are their associated realities." (Guba and Lincoln, 1994, pp.111).

Because my research aim involves reaching a deeper insight of people's relationships in the workplace; because social relationships are mutually constructed in social settings; and because, how people feel when they receive a self-discrepant/self-verifying feedback from colleagues is fundamentally (by nature) about emotions and psychological states.

And "...qualitative methods emphasize the value of individual experiences and views, as encountered in real-life situations" (Hewitt-Taylor, 2001, pp.39)... I adopted a certain bearing about my research:

To ensure the methodological coherence of my study, which grants the existence of a congruence between the research aims/questions and the method (Morse et.al, 2002); I adopted the constructivist paradigm, followed the humanistic approach and decided to have a qualitative research design. My research design will not be utterly following the grounded theory, but it is somewhat close to it in that, I did not walk this way standing a prior theory, I wish the data will let me come up with some. In the research design, I employed humanistic inquiry in my attempt to obtain a deeper understanding of people's realities in their relationships with colleagues in regard with self-verification processes.

4.1. Ensuring scientific rigor (Trustworthiness) and pre-understandings and biases of the researcher

"Without rigor, research is worthless, becomes fiction, and loses its utility" (Morse et.al, 2002, pp. 14).

The term, scientific rigor, is mostly used in the rationalistic, positivist paradigm and being so, it fundamentally represents the validity and reliability of the research in hand. Winter (2000), listed a number of definitions for validity and reliability in his study:

Validity is defined as, "The measure that an instrument measures what it is supposed to" by Black and Champion (1976, pp. 232-234); as "Degree of approximation of reality" by Johnston and Pennypacker (1980, pp. 190-191) and as "Are we measuring what we think we are?" by Kerlinger (1964, pp. 430, 444-445).

Reliability, on the other hand, is described by Lehner as "Reproducibility of the measurements..." (1979, p.130) and as "Capacity to yield the same measurement..." by Johnston and Pennypacker (1980, pp. 190-191).

After examining a number definitions for each of the concepts, Winter (2000) described validity as explaining if the means and methods of measurement are accurate (accuracy) and reliability as the replicability of the study (Winter, 2000). These two concepts are widely acknowledged as major indicators of quality for a research.

Maxwell (1992), discussed validity in qualitative and quantitative research from a generalizability perspective. He argued that, when it comes to the topic of being generalizable, these approaches are firmly distinguished from each other. The generalizability of the findings to the whole or to the majority is, the most common and widely used indicator of validity in quantitative research; thus, quantitative researchers try to ensure both external generalizations (external validity) and internal generalizations (internal validity). But, qualitative research does not have such a care or

aim. What qualitative approach cares for is "internal" generalizations, if it cares about generalizations at all. Also, according to Winter, quantitative approach claims and seeks generalizability because, it, in fact, "...attempts to fragment and delimit phenomena into measurable or 'common' categories that can be applied to all of the subjects or wider and similar situations. Hence, quantitative research, whilst able to claim validity for wider populations and not just merely samples, is restricted to measuring those elements that, by definition and distortion, are common to all." (Winter, 2000, pp.6). But qualitative approach is interested in the feelings, experiences and meanings of the individual person, as a whole; or is concerned with the local culture, sub-cultures or groups (Winter, 2000).

As validity is strongly rooted in the positivist paradigm and is closely related to positivist concerns of deduction, objectivity, universal laws, truth, evidence and reason; some qualitative researchers claimed that validity is not applicable to qualitative research. The qualitative paradigm does not accept the existence of objective, single and static truth. It seeks reality in the negotiation of multiple truths obtained from people, experiences and meanings. Seeing validity as not applicable to qualitative research, those researchers used new terms and concepts to measure the accuracy and quality of qualitative studies (Denzin and Lincoln, 1998; Guba and Lincoln, 1989; Hammersley, 1987; Mishler, 1990; Wolcott, 1990, Winter, 2000).

As Morse and colleagues stated. "...Each paradigm requires paradigm-specific criteria for addressing "rigor"..." (Morse et al., 2002, pp.15). The most widely used term in qualitative research instead of rigor, is trustworthiness. It was Guba and Lincoln (1981, 1982 and Lincoln and Guba, 1985) who used the term "trustworthiness" as a substitute to validity and reliability, thus, to rigor. The basic idea in this substitution is that, knowledge obtained by the quantitative paradigm and the knowledge obtained by the qualitative paradigm are different by nature (as explained above). So, scientific rigor is attained by reliability, objectivity, external

validity and internal validity in quantitative research, whereas trustworthiness (rigor) can be assured through credibility, confirmability, transferability, dependability in quantitative research (Guba and Lincoln, 1981 and 1985).

As mentioned above, according to Guba and Lincoln (1981 and 1985), trustworthiness involved four aspects, credibility, confirmability, transferability, dependability:

- Credibility: Refers to the extent to which the study involves adequate and believable representations of the reality being studied.
- Confirmability: Refers to the extent to which the researcher's construction of theory and interpretations can be traced by examining and following the data.
- Transferability: Refers to the extent to which propositions can be employed in similar contexts.
- Dependability: Refers to the extent to which researcher's construction of interpretation is stable (The inherent instability of the subject or phenomena that is being studied is an exception) (Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Wallendorf and Belk, 1987).

Additionally, according to Lacey and Luff (2007) and Winter (2000), in qualitative research, what validity means and is related to is, the representativeness of the descriptions; fairness and accuracy of the findings in reflecting the accounts and, the justifiability of the findings.

Reliability in qualitative research, on the other hand, is granted through, a clear description of the approach and the procedures used for the data analysis; justification of the approach and the procedures in the context; clear documentation of the process of generating the themes; referring to past studies and other theoretical and empirical evidence (Lacey and Luff, 2007).

To assure the validity and reliability (trustworthiness) of the research, literature offers a number of ways, tools and methods to the qualitative

researcher. Lacey and Luff (2007) suggested that the emphasis should be on the impact of the research design and the approach to the data analysis; the consistency of the findings; the extent to which the data represent all views (if the deviant cases and/or negative cases are included in data); systematic and adequate involvement of the original data (use of quotations from different participants).

Also, to ensure trustworthiness, Guba and Lincoln, suggested specific strategies to the researchers: peer debriefing, negative case analysis, structural corroboration, audit trail, member checks in coding, prolonged engagement, persistent observation, confirming results with the participants and referential material adequacy (Guba and Lincoln, 1981 and 1982; Lincoln and Guba, 1985). Morse et.al, also presented a list of strategies; amongst them are, theoretical sampling, sampling adequacy, active analytical stance, saturation, investigator responsiveness and methodological coherence (2002).

Besides these strategies, two major methods to grant validity are used in qualitative research. One is triangulation. Through triangulation, credibility of the research is ensured. Triangulation is defined as "...the combination of methodologies in the study of the same phenomenon" by Denzin (1978, pp. 294-307). The term triangulation, is originally a military term which stands for navigation, the use multiple reference points in order to find out an object's correct position (Smith, 1975).

In the classic view of triangulation, the aim is to avoid researcher biases that arise from the use of single methodologies, by the use of multiple methods (Flick, 1992). As Jonsen and Jehn clearly stated (2009, pp.126) "...assumption is that the validity of inquiry findings is enhanced, when two or more methods that have offsetting biases are used to assess a given phenomenon, and the results converge or corroborate", and through the use of multiple methods "...triangulation is supposed to support findings by showing that independent measures of it are in agreement or, at least, it should not contradict them (Miles and Huberman, 1984; Greene

et al., 1989; Scandura and Williams, 2000). In triangulation, different data collection techniques are used together, the analysis is conducted by more than one researcher and data is collected in different settings and in different points in time. Another view of triangulation is, as Carney (1990) suggested, to make triangulation a way of thinking to adopt, throughout the research design and the research process. It requires the researcher to constantly cross-check on herself, the methods, data, participants, meanings, explanations and the theories.

The second method to grant validity is respondent validation. Respondent validation is defined as feeding the findings back to participants. The extent to which the researcher provides feedback to the participants varies according to the choice of the researcher. In some studies, the transcripts are given to respondents so that they can check the accuracy of the quotations; in some cases, the findings and results of the analysis are presented to them, in order to collect their comments. The aim of respondent validation is to involve the respondents in the process, and it is seen important, because, this method does not let the researcher be the only interpreter of the data. Although respondent validation is seen as an indicator of quality for qualitative research, by some academicians, it is, of course, up to the researcher whether to employ this method or not (Pope et.al, 2000; Pope and Mays, 2006; Lacey and Luff, 2007).

In order to present my efforts in ensuring the quality, trustworthiness and accuracy of this study; the following paragraphs are written with the concern of being as more informative and clear as possible.

Referring to Lincoln and Guba's criteria (1985) for trustworthiness in qualitative research; in order to ensure that my study is

- Credible (The study involves adequate and believable representations of the reality being studied): I employed continuous triangulation during my research. I moved back and forth between my data, my interpretations and understandings of that data and the theories. I used prolonged engagement, I made

150 hours of observation. I continued the in-depth interviews up to the point that the data saturated and started repeating itself. Before, during and after the interviews, I observed the participant in his/her workplace, tried to understand the dynamics, relationships and the organizational culture. I took notes about the setting the participant works in, his/her relationships with colleagues, his/her reactions, feelings, behaviors and attitudes. I sent the transcriptions of three random interviews to the participants so that they could check whether the transcription process was accurate.

- Transferable (The ability of the study in generating naturalistic generalizations): I ensured variety and diversity of participants in my sample in order to enhance the quality and richness of the data obtained, also I tried to make sure that I included negative/deviant cases. Also I tried to describe and define the context of the study in detail.
- Dependable (The stability of the construction of interpretations and consistency of the findings): I double checked my interpretations referring to both the transcriptions and the audio recordings and the field notes. I discussed my interpretations with my advisor in order to ensure the stability and dependability of my construction of interpretation.
- Confirmable (Construction of theory and interpretations can be traced by examining and following the data): I wrote down my own feelings, experiences, ideas and understandings about the subject of study prior to the field study. So that I could be aware of my possible biases and pre-understandings and during the data collection and analysis phases, I tried to avoid them to interfere me in developing an understanding about the subject and to prevent them to manipulate the data. I also tried to be open to the data

and welcomed whatever meaning and information it presented to me.

Additionally, I used triangulation as a way of thinking and employed it throughout my study. I used it in order to reduce (minimize) biases and pre-understandings; to increase trustworthiness of the study; to provide richness and completeness in my understanding and to increase confidence in the results (Jick, 1979 and Greene et.al, 1989). I also used triangulation in my data collection process by collecting data from people with different perspectives, life styles and world views and from people who study in different settings (teachers who work in private schools and in good neighborhoods of the city, and teachers who work in state schools under bad and irrelevant conditions in bad neighborhoods). I did not use respondent validation through presenting the findings and/or interpretations to the participants because I felt close to the ideas presented by Hammersley (1992), Morse (1998) and Guba and Lincoln (1981). They viewed respondent validation as being actually more a threat to validity. Because, according to them, presenting the abstracted and synthesized results to the participants is useless as they can not necessarily understand and recognize their individual experiences or themselves in the results. Therefore, respondent validation "...may actually invalidate the work of the researcher and keep the level of analysis inappropriately close to the data." (Morse et. al, 2002, pp.16; and Sandelowski, 1993; Wolcott, 1994; Morse, 1998). But I used respondent validation through sending some of the interview transcriptions to the respective participants in order to check the quality and accuracy of the transcription process. As told before, I employed triangulation which I designed to be woven in every part of the study. As Morse ET. Al stated (2002, pp.17) "...strategies for ensuring rigor must be built into the qualitative research process per se". I used only two data collection methods (observation and in-depth interview), but I ensured the repetition of data collection and documentation of different perspectives on the

subject through my sampling efforts. Also, I cross checked every step of the research, by going back and forth, I checked my data and reviewed all that has been done up to date in order to maintain my focus and research's accuracy. I always questioned whether the data fits the conceptual standing of the analysis and interpretation. During the continuous checks and controls, I tried to identify whether I need to continue, change anything or stop the process, so that I could ensure trustworthiness. I also tried to stick to the notion of prolonged engagement, as I spent as much time as possible in the organizational settings observing. I observed, took notes and tried to be familiar to the context.

As repeated by various researchers, a research is as good as the researcher that conducted it. Additionally, it is stated that, what determines whether the study will be valid and reliable is the researcher's ability, flexibility, sensitivity and creativity in using the verification strategies offered by the literature (Morse et.al, 2002). Guba and Lincoln (1981) also said that a good (qualitative) researcher should be adaptive and responsive to the context, as it may change any time, every time. So, as I wanted my dissertation to be a quality and sound study, I tried to do my best to be in researching and to use the verification strategies sensitively, flexibly and creatively. I tried to be open and observing, so that I could respond to changes and adapt my study when needed. I tried to answer the research needs immediately. On the other hand, in order to minimize my biases and preunderstandings, the first thing to do was to be aware of them. So before I started the field study, I spared some time and I wrote down about my ideas and expectations regarding how could the outcomes of self-verification strivings effect individual workplace behavior. Thus, before I started my interviews I had a clear idea about my biases and pre-understandings. Knowing them let me be beware of them and detect them when they may affect my understanding of the data and

the analysis. Glaser and Strauss (1967, pp. 251) stated "...the root of all significant theorizing is the sensitive insights of the observer himself.", so, in my attempts to avoid my biases and pre-understandings, I tried not to exclude or miss my insights. Qualitative research is fundamentally an interpretive attempt, thus as Reinharz (1992) argued, the researcher should make own perspective clear about the subject. This attempt is named "reflexivity". The world view of the researcher, along with her pre-conceptions and pre-understandings, are likely to influence this interpretive attempt. Reinharz stated that through making own perspective clear, the researcher becomes visible in the data analysis process. While being aware of her own thoughts and understandings and avoiding biases and pre-understandings, the researcher should not fail to be a part of the research. As Winter (2000) stated, although researcher's personal involvement in the research process is not welcomed in quantitative research; the opposite is true for qualitative research. The researcher is expected to embrace her association and involvement in the qualitative data collection process. As validity is reduced with researcher's involvement in the process in quantitative research; what reduces validity is researcher's failure to accept and fully perform her role in the process in qualitative research (Winter, 2000). This was what I tried to do in my research. To ensure the validity of the study, I tried to fully perform my role as the researcher during the interviews, data analysis and the interpretations without stepping back.

Mentioned in the first paragraphs of this chapter, I changed my research design at the end of the first year of my initial field study. Because, my former research design and my research aims did not have congruence. The method I used before, did not lead me to the data that could provide me the knowledge and understanding that I was looking for. Thus, only after redesigning my research, I was able to ensure methodological coherence. After this major change, I always checked and re-checked the research process in order to maintain it.

To attain sampling accuracy, which means, sufficient data that covers all aspects of the subject in question is obtained from the sample, I ensured that my sample selection is totally relevant to my research aims. I used purposive/theoretical sampling. In doing so, I aimed it to reflect the diversity that is needed for my research aims. Through theoretical sampling, I was able to include deviant cases. When the subject in question is related to people, their feelings, their experiences and the meanings they give to those experiences, like in my research, it is vital to capture the different, the deviant, the outlier and the negative case. By including the deviant and negative cases, I was able to prevent/minimize the probability that the prior theories I read and my pre-understandings make me manipulate the data set. With theoretical sampling, I also tried to ensure sample's responsiveness to the needs of theory development, variation and verification. I also worked to grant saturation and replication in the resulting categories. So I continued to collect data until I clearly observed that, the data is saturated. I worked for my research to provide me optimal quality data while enabling effective and efficient saturation (Guba and Lincoln 1981 and 1994; Barbour, 2001; Morse et.al, 2002).

To summarize what I have done for the integrity, quality and trustworthiness of my study, I can note that I carefully involved and employed the verification strategies in every phase of this study.

I checked the study in every step of the way in order to detect possible errors and I tried to make sure that both the process and the researcher (I) were self-correcting. During the inquiries and while writing transcriptions, reading and analyzing, I moved back and forth (as advised in the literature) between the implementation and design with the aim of ensuring congruence among the parts of the study -my research aims, research questions, the questions that I formulated for my inquiries, my data collection strategies and the analysis of data (Kvale, 1989; Creswell, 1997; Morse et.al, 2002).

4.2. The initial study

The initial research design used in this study, was a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods and it involved a two phased field study. First of all, I translated the Self-attributes questionnaire developed by Swann (Pelham and Swann, 1989). After completing word to word translation, I presented it to an expert panel and the translation is discussed, examined and approved by the panel. Additionally, in order to make sure that the attributes are relevant for the Turkish context and to take cultural characteristics into consideration, I conducted a focus group study with a group of teachers. I asked them to discuss the characteristics of a good teacher. After the transcription and examination of the transcriptions, three additional characteristics emerged and I added them to the self attributes questionnaire. Meanwhile, I prepared a questionnaire that included organizational citizenship behavior, job satisfaction and intention to stay scales (Fahr, Podsakoff and Organ, 1990; Weiss, Dawis, England and Lofquist, 1967; Cowin, 2002). The sample I selected was the teachers who work in private schools in Izmir. I preferred teachers as my sample with two main reasons:

- In order to understand the effects of the outcomes of self-verifying strivings on individual workplace behavior, the best setting would be the one in which people work in groups. Because in a work setting that the individual works solely, self-verifying/self-discrepant feedback will be seldom received and the outcomes would be too weak to or insignificant to influence workplace behavior. This is the major reason that I chose teachers as my sample, because teachers often work together in groups as they prepare the syllabus, exams and the lesson, according to their field of expertise (eg. Math-teachers, science teachers etc.).

- I selected private school teachers as my sample with a fundamental reason of convenience. Because it is extremely hard and time consuming, most of the times not possible, to get the legal permissions to

conduct a study in state schools. In order to save time and efforts, I preferred to conduct my study with teachers in private schools.

I was supposed to conduct the study in the volunteer private schools; visit the schools, distribute the questionnaires to the teachers and ask them to complete the self-attributes questionnaire for themselves and also for their colleagues that they work in the same groups. Actually, the participants were expected rate their colleagues in terms of the attributes that were given in the self attributes questionnaire. They were also expected to fill the questionnaire about the workplace behaviors. After collecting the questionnaires I was supposed to understand:

- Each individual teacher's ideas about himself from the self-attributes questionnaire that he filled for himself. (For each teacher: What kind of a person he thinks he is)
- Each teacher's ideas about his/her colleagues in terms of the characteristics in the self-attributes questionnaire (For each teacher: What kind of a person his colleagues think he/she is)
- Compare each teacher's ideas about himself/herself with his/her colleague's ideas about him, in order to see if he/she is seen by his/her colleagues in the way he/she sees himself. This would show me if the person is receiving self-verifying feedback or self-discrepant feedback.
- Relate the findings with each teacher's results of the survey about workplace behavior (organizational citizenship behavior, job satisfaction and intention to stay)
- What I planned to do was to see if there existed any kind of relation between the outcomes of self-verification strivings and individual's workplace behavior.

This was how I planned my research design to work. But, reality is not always as expected. As I started visiting, calling and e-mailing the principals, I realized that it was utterly time consuming and hard to convince principals of private schools to contribute to and associate any academic research. At that time, there were 20 private schools in the city

of İzmir. I tried to contact all of them, several times. For some of the schools, my friends, professors or family tried to find contact persons so that I could get appointments. In order to make my request appealing and to turn it into a win-win situation, I offered schools free "student motivation" trainings in return for their cooperation. I was supposed to visit the schools, give free training to teachers and then distribute the questionnaires and conduct the study. Also, after completing the analysis, I offered to present reports about teachers' workplace behaviors to the schools (The results of organizational citizenship behavior, job satisfaction and intention to stay questionnaires) so that they could use the results in their human resource management efforts. As a result of my efforts I was able to contact to 17 schools out of the total of 20.

8 of the 17 schools that I contacted refused to see me or give me an appointment, thus I was not able to explain my study to them in detail.

The possible reasons for a total of 8 schools refusing me probably are:

- They don't want to spend efforts and time on anything else then their work.

- Some of the schools fear letting a stranger in.

- Some of them fear the possible results of the workplace behavior surveys

- They don't trust other institutions.

- They see these studies as useless.

6 of the remaining 9 schools that I was able to visit and present my study face to face, rejected to cooperate, with reasons which are unknown to me. This was a huge disappointment for me, but any way I continued my research with the remaining 3 schools. I conducted my study in two of the cooperating schools, the third one failed to set me a date despite my constant reminders, e-mails and calls. In the first school, I met the teachers in the conference room and I conducted the student motivation training. The training went so well, it was a welcoming, supportive and warm atmosphere. We all had fun and during the training, I was able to relate to the teachers, they liked me. This made them willing to help me in

my research. I told them about the research procedure and granted them that the surveys would be safe with me. When I asked them to write down their names on the questionnaires and also to write down their colleagues' names when they were rating them in terms of the characteristics given in the self attributes questionnaire, it was ok for them. I personally distributed and collected the questionnaires in envelopes. They eagerly filled the questionnaires. I was happy, teachers were happy and the school management was happy.

But in the second school, it all went wrong. School management did not let me/want me to conduct the student motivation training. They asked me to attend a regular teachers' meeting. They spared me a short period of time before the meeting started. I was only able to make a short speech and tried to explain the procedure. I was not introduced, I did not have time to relate to the participants, and thus, I was Jane Doe for them. As they didn't know me, as they were not sure about my aims or agenda, when I told them about the procedure, promised them about the confidentiality of the data and asked them to write down their names on the surveys, they reacted. It was a mass and harsh reaction. My instincts, insights and observations told me that, teachers did not trust the school management. Thus, they mistakenly thought that I was working for or with the management. They did not want to write down their names and rate their colleagues by giving the names. They filled the questionnaires, I collected them all in envelopes and thanked them for their cooperation. After the meeting, when I opened the envelopes, I faced the bitter truth. The result was utterly frustrating for me: out of 98 teachers, only 28 wrote their names. The 19 of them rated their colleagues in self attributes questionnaire with a full collection of 10 s in characteristics- Which, I think is a kind of protest to the study. The remaining 70 teachers did not write their names. So, all the questionnaires I collected were useless and meaningless. Those that have no name on it, useless; those that have names but a full set of 10s to rate the colleagues, useless. I couldn't use

any of the data collected. After this disaster, I planned to try another method, in which the participants would select their own nicknames in a closed meeting, then rate themselves and each other, so that the researcher would not know the real identities. But, the schools were not willing to provide meeting place and time for each group separately. They perceived this study as being a very time and energy consuming for themselves. Thus, me and my professor decided to change the sample and picked another working population: health industry professionals. This selection seemed appropriate as health professionals also work in teams. But the result was not pleasing, again. I could not receive the necessary permission from any of the hospitals I contacted. I was refused with similar reasons as I was in schools.

As plan B also did not work, me and my professors tried to understand why the study went so wrong. We tried to figure out the process. At the end, we came up with some explanations:

- Our culture did not support, even hinder or deter commenting on other people's characteristics, as it is seen as an insult or as being arrogant. So the teachers thought that it was so offensive to rate their colleagues.
- They perceived the method as a way of criticizing each other, or grading each other.
- The teachers did not trust a person that they just met (In this case, me), in sharing their ideas about their colleagues and their school. They thought I could give the surveys to the management.
- Last but not least, the general atmosphere in our country was based on distrust, suspicion and insecurity. People fear sharing their ideas. They avoid management and administration of all kinds.

Apparently, my original research design didn't work in the Turkish context. Losing more than 11 months, I realized this fact. After questioning my efforts and my study, I understood that, the mistake was ignoring the cultural differences in replicating the method in Turkey.

So, I redesigned my research after spending a considerable time on thinking about the conceptual basis and ontological, epistemological and methodological dimensions. At the end, in order to ensure methodological coherence, I decided to follow the humanistic approach and to have a qualitative research design. In the new design I planned to employ humanistic inquiry to get a deeper understanding of people's realities in their relationships with colleagues in regard with self-verification processes.

4.3. Data collection techniques

"..The expressive power of language provides the most important resources for accounts. A crucial feature of language is its capacity to present descriptions, explanations, evaluations of almost infinite variety about any aspect of the world, including itself." (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995, pp.126)

As Hammersley beautifully described above, I wanted to utilize the expressive capacity of language in my study, to collect data. Therefore, the main data collection technique that I employed is semi-structured in-depth interviews.

In-depth interviews are used in studies where the aim is to obtain detailed information and develop an understanding about the experiences, feelings, ideas, understandings and perspectives of a small number of respondents related to a certain phenomenon, subject or situation. The fundamental advantage of this method is that, through it, a rich and much more detailed information can be gathered compared to other methods, like questionnaires (Boyce and Neale, 2006). In order to learn how people feel when they receive self-verifying or self-discrepant feedback from their colleagues, or when they receive no feedback at all; and do those feelings influence their workplace behavior; the most relevant technique seemed to be in-depth interviews.

As stated in the previous paragraphs, I used purposive sampling and selected teachers who live and work in the city of İzmir as my sample. I conducted the study in Izmir due to a number of constraints like, time, accessibility and financial requirements of travelling. The verifying reasons for my sample selection as teachers can be summarized as:

My basic research aim is to explore the effects of the outcomes of self-verification strivings on individual workplace behavior. To do so, I needed to obtain data from a working population who work in organizational settings that necessitate group work. Because, it would be insignificant or useless to try to obtain data about the subject, from people who work solely all the time or most of the time. In order to learn how people feel when they receive self-verifying or self-discrepant feedback from colleagues on a everyday basis and, if this state of "feeling" affects their workplace behaviors; I selected an organizational setting that people work in groups on a regular basis. As teachers work in groups according to their profession (the group of math teachers, group of French teachers etc.) frequently, teachers seemed to be a good choice. In my former research design, I conducted the study in private schools because it was utterly time-consuming and mostly not possible to get the legal permission from public schools. This time, a legal permission was not needed, as I would conduct the study one by one with the teachers based on their free will. So my sample consisted of primary and high-school teachers who work in public and private schools in the city of İzmir.

4.4. Research context

The research context must be divided into two and then described in detail. Because it has two fundamental features, first, the study is conducted in the city of İzmir; second, it is conducted in a particular organizational setting- private and public schools-, the Turkish education sector.

4.4.1. City of İzmir

İzmir is the third biggest city of Turkey in terms of population, 4.168.415 people live in this city, according to 2015 data provided by the governorship of Izmir. It is located in the west of the country, in the Aegean Region. Therefore it is a port city and a center of international trade and tourism. With its mild climate and available weather conditions for 12 months of outdoor activities and 8 months of sea sports, it is a center of attraction. It is also one of the biggest cities of the country according to economic and cultural criteria. The city is known with its democratic and westernized life style which is mainly based on a slow mood of living and enjoying the life. This makes İzmir a very popular city for the rest of the country, as most people wish to move to and live in İzmir. Thus, Izmir attracts migration from all over the country.

Izmir is also differentiated from the other cities in the country with the education level of its citizens (Based on statistical data provided by governorship of İzmir). With 2.909 schools and 47.105 teachers, Izmir is also a center of education in the country.

4.4.2. Turkish education sector

Every country has a tailor-made education system that fits its economic, sociological, cultural and political features, values and needs. Also, each education system reflects the realities of the society that it belongs. This system, as all systems, is open to influence of both internal and external factors, thus, it changes in order to adopt the changing environment and conditions (Çelik, 2002; Akgün and Şimşek, 2011). Turkish education system is no exception, therefore several changes and adaptive efforts are observed in the past 15 years.

According to the Turkish Constitution (Article 42), education is stated as one of the most basic human rights in Turkey. Also, as Cinoğlu mentioned

(2006), due to the importance that Turkish constitution gives to the human right for education, the government holds the power to require parents to ensure that their kids attend school. Children are required to attend a 12 years of basic education; 8 years of primary and secondary education and 4 years of high school in order to be accepted eligible to attend higher education -to enter the university exams (Cinođlu, 2006; Aydın, 2012).

Education is governed, controlled and monitored by the Ministry of Education in Turkey. MEB (Ministry of Education) is responsible for all the planning, implementation and management of the education system involving all public and private schools. MEB governs the system with a centralized approach, thus, schools are not free in shaping, changing or quitting the curricula developed by the ministry.

The literacy rate of Turkish people older than 6 years is 96,2 % (2015 data, provided by the governorship of Izmir). But, Turkey's overall education assessment is not well, according to the PISA (The Programme for International Student Assessment). Compared to other countries with similar per capita income, the total years of education received is low in Turkey (7,2 to 11,7 years in other countries, 6,5 in Turkey). This is one of the major reasons why Turkey is in the 51st place among 144 countries in the Global Competitiveness Index published by World Economic Forum (2015-2016).

From a managerial and financial perspective, Turkish education sector has a great economic capacity and flow, as, the budget of MEB was 76.354.306 TL in 2016¹. This amount is 13,11 % of the total budget of the country. Although public education is free to all citizens, more than 3 % of the students attend private schools. The fees for these schools differ from 5.000 TL annually to 70.000 TL annually. Besides, the education system is

¹ Milli Eđitim Bakanlıđı Strateji Geliřtirme Bařkanlıđı 2016 yılı bütçe sunumu (http://sgb.meb.gov.tr/meb_iys_dosyalar/2016_03/25025608_2016yiligenelkurulsunu_25.03.2016.pdf)

a major employment provider and the private schools are big taxpayers. To describe the sector with numbers, there are

- 17.588.958 million students (1.174.409 in private schools)
- 993.794 teachers (130.868 in private schools)
- 61.203 schools (9.581 private schools)

in the system.

As told before, private schools are big tax payers and employment providers, but, compared to the rest of the world, this sector is not as developed as it should be. The percentage of private schools to the total number of schools is an average of 10 % globally but it is 3 % in Turkey (in terms of number of students).

Besides these economic fact that this sector is economically important, it has greater importance in other dimensions. As young people are the future for any country, and as, a well-educated generation is the most valuable strategic asset for any country, education is important. (Data provided by: TOBB, Türkiye eğitim meclisi sektör raporu, 2011; TSKB Ekonomik Araştırmalar, Eğitim sektörü raporu, 2014; and National education statistics, 2014/2015, Ministry of Education).

Keeping the strategic value of the education system in mind, it should also be stated that it is the teacher who holds the greatest importance in the system. The basic tool, fundamental vehicle, golden employee and most strategic input is the teacher.

In this context, this study focused on teachers' self-verification strivings, the outcomes of those strivings, and the possible effects of these outcomes on teachers' workplace behaviors.

4.5. In-depth interviews

During my research, I conducted 30 in-depth interviews with 30 primary and high-school teachers in İzmir. The field study started on September, 14, 2015 and ended on August 27, 2016.

Before the interviews, I prepared an interview protocol that described the ways to

- approach the potential participant to ask for an appointment for the interview
- behave when we meet
- create, provide and maintain a silent, warm and comfortable atmosphere for the interview
- assure the participant about confidentiality and ask for permission to audio tape the interview
- have a small talk before the interview and try to build trust and create a bond between me and the participant
- begin the interview
- probe
- make the participant share personal experiences, stories and feelings
- close the interview
- inform the participant about the respondent validation process (The probability that I could ask them to read the transcription of their own interview and to get approval of its accuracy)

Interview protocol included the 5 questions that I prepared to lead me and help me to get insights about my research questions from the participants:

- Could you kindly tell me about the general atmosphere and inter personal relationships in your school?
- How could you describe yourself to me as a person and as a teacher?
- If I would ask your colleagues to describe you as a person and as a teacher, would they describe you to me as you did?
- Do you think that your colleagues know who you are?

- How does it make you feel? (If they know who you are or do not know who you are)

The protocol also involved guidelines to me on how to take field notes and write down my own feelings and observations. After preparing the protocol, I started to contact the potential participants and took appointments for the interviews.

As mentioned in the previous sections, I used purposive sampling in my research. Purposive sampling can be defined simply as selecting the participants according to a predetermined criteria that serves the research aims (Patton, 2002). Sample size in purposive sampling, as offered by the literature, is decided by examining the data obtained. When data starts to repeat itself and no new understanding can be deducted from it, it is time to stop. So, the sample size is determined by the saturation of data. My choice was purposive sampling, as it seemed the most relevant (the one that would serve my research interests best) sampling type for my research aims and also, as Miles and Huberman stated, it is the most widely used sampling in the applied research (1994).

After I started the interviews; as I conducted the interviews, listened the audio tapes and read the transcripts and analyzed data, data determined the actual sample size. I stopped interviewing, when the data was saturated, as saturation is said to be the golden standard for purposive sampling size (Morse, 1995).

In order to capture all aspects of the subject; to enrich the data that I aim to obtain and to ensure diversity, I composed my sample in a way that it would be balanced in terms of:

- Gender: 14 participants out of the total of 30 were male and 16 were female.
- The type of school: private or public, as they differ from each other in terms of the wages that teachers are paid, the conditions that teachers work under, organizational cultures of the schools, criteria

of success and so on. 13 participants were teachers at privately owned schools, 17 participants were working at public schools.

- The neighborhood that the school is in: I selected three types of neighborhoods; high income - mostly private schools; middle class - well known public schools and low income, public schools with poor conditions. The sample included 9 teachers from private schools, 8 teachers from middle-class neighborhoods and 13 teachers from low income neighborhoods.

The sample also involved ethnic and religious diversity: there were Christian, Jewish, Sunni, Alevi, Turkish and Kurdish participants, all of them being citizens and teachers in Izmir. Through providing diversity in different dimensions, I tried to enrich the data that I obtained and to capture different perspectives on the subject. (Descriptive information about the sample is provided in Table.1, at the end of this section.)

I conducted the interviews in the schools that teachers work, there are 5 exceptions though. Five of the participants couldn't meet me in their schools, as, some of them didn't feel comfortable there; for some, it was not relevant due to their time constraints and some were not available on weekdays, so we met in the weekend. I preferred conducting the interviews in schools because I used it as an opportunity to observe my participants in their organizational setting. I went to the school at least three hours prior to the interviews to spare time for observation. I sat in the teachers' room in all the schools, I chatted with teachers, talked about politics, sports, literature, new generations and a number of other topics. I ate the cookies, simits and sandwiches they offered, had coffee and tea with them. In one occasion, I joined a birthday party, in another occasion, I examined the bracelets and rings that a teacher made herself as a hobby with a number of other teachers and we made girl talk. I conducted the interviews in rooms where we could be alone; it was sometimes the library, sometimes principal's room, sometimes the lab. Twice, the teachers that I was interviewing cried, I had to spare a moment to calm

them down; once students came into the room without permission, but with joy and enthusiasm. Sometimes the teachers shared the injustice they faced during their career, sometimes they told me the stories of students that they literally saved the lives of. One of the teachers told me about her fatal illness, another shared her retirement plans with me. I felt as a friend and I felt like I was doing it right. They saw me as a colleague, in one school they literally thought I was an intern and tried to help me feel comfortable. This whole process was emotional for me, because I understood that the teachers receive so less than they deserved.

I also had problems in the interviews. At the end of one of the best interviews (the participant was so willing to talk, she told me wonderful stories about her experiences with colleagues and we unwillingly finished the interview), I realized that my tape recorder was out of order. I lost the whole interview record. Up to that time, I was using single recorder and in order to maintain full concentration, I was keeping continuous eye contact with the participant. This made the participants feel that I listen to them all ears. So I only took notes about my observations and about the feelings, mimics, and times of silence of the participant during the interview. My notes included so little about what they said. After this experience, I used two tape recorders simultaneously for the rest of my interviews and I tried to take notes about the important things that they told me, but always maintaining eye contact.

Another bad experience was that, one of the participants was so tense before, during and after the interview. She did not have any small talk with me, she refused my request of using the tape recorder and she barely answered any of my questions and she barely talked. I did all my best to make her feel comfortable and to gain her trust, but I failed. The interview lasted so short, she wanted it to finish as soon as possible. She cut it at some point and said that she should leave. After she left, I took notes and reflected about my experience. After trying to understand why the interview went so bad, I realized that she came to meet me

unwillingly. She couldn't say no to the person that set us the appointment. She accepted to see me only because she owed a favor to that person. So, for the rest of the interviews, I paid attention to make sure that the participants join the study completely willingly.

When the interviews finished, I did not leave the school, I stayed longer, observed, and had small talk with teachers and sometimes students. At the end of the field study, I realized that I spent nearly 150 hours in schools, observing. After leaving the school, I had at least half an hour alone, read my field notes and then I wrote down my own feelings and observations. I summarized the interview: how the participant looked, how he/she behaved, what were the nonverbal clues, mimics, intonations. In the evenings of the interviews, for some occasions the day after the interview, I listened the audio tape and thought about the interview all over again, taking notes. I listened the audio tapes several times; after the transcription is complete, I read the transcriptions, also, several times. I gave randomly selected three transcripts to the respective participants and asked them to read in order to check the accuracy of the transcription process. The transcriptions were approved. While I was interviewing I was also listening, reading and trying to get an understanding. After the third interview I realized that it would be better if I asked one of the questions with another wording, so I changed it and got better results. Also while interviewing I kept on shaping my sample, so based on the finished interviews, I arranged the composition of the rest of the sample in a way that its diversity is ensured.

Table.1.

No.	Pseudonym	Branch	Age	Tenure	School	Years in this school
1-	Osman Bey	Maths	35	12	Private school	9
2-	Zeynep Hn	English	43	14	Private school	13
3-	Burçak Hn	French	24	1	Private school	1
4-	Defne Hn.	Elementary teacher	38	14	Private school	2
5-	Deniz Hn.	Maths	62	40	Public school	3
6-	Ülkü Hn	Sports	33	3	Public school	1
7-	Eda Hn.	Science	30	4	Public school	1
8-	Meltem Hn.	Kindergartner	35	14	Private school	4
9-	Asuman Hn.	Sports	43	20	Public school	1
10-	Elif Hn.	English	49	27	Public school	1
11-	Burcu Hn.	History	35	12	Private school	5
12-	Muhittin Bey	Elementary teacher	57	34	Public school	7
13-	Oya Hn	Maths	43	20	Private school	20
14-	İbrahim Bey	Elementary teacher	38	14	Public school	2
15-	Recep Bey	English	36	15	Public school	4
16-	Ayşegül Hn	Guidance counselor	27	5	Public school	2
17-	İsa bey	Elementary teacher	41	18	Public school	3
18-	Dila Hn	Guidance counselor	32	10	Private school	6
19-	Oğuz Bey	Elementary teacher	45	20	Public school	10
20-	İpek Hn.	Technology	42	20	Public school	4
21-	Kamil Bey	Guidance counselor	35	10	Private school	3
22-	Ali Bey	Science	40	17	Public school	4
23-	Gülşah Hn	Sports	55	33	Public school	1
24-	Mehmet Bey	Maths	57	35	Public school	4
25-	Mustafa Bey	Turkish	42	19	Public school	2
26-	Kemal Bey	Elementary teacher	47	24	Public school	4
27-	Şahika Hn.	Kindergartner	32	9	Private school	3
28-	Şahin Bey	Sports	35	12	Private school	4
29-	Hüseyin Bey	Elementary teacher	54	30	Private school	8
30-	Ferhat Bey	Turkish	47	21	Private school	5

4.6. Data analysis

"Data analysis is a systematic search for meaning. It is a way to process qualitative data so that what has been learned can be communicated to others. Analysis means organizing and interrogating data in ways that allow researchers to see patterns, identify themes, discover relationships, develop explanations, make interpretations, mount critiques, or generate theories. It often involves synthesis, evaluation, interpretation, categorization, hypothesizing, comparison, and pattern finding. It always involves what Wolcott (2001) calls mind-work ". . . Researchers always engage their own intellectual capacities to make sense of qualitative data." (Hatch, 2002, pp. 148)

In this "search for meaning" and "mind-work", I adopted an approach which would help me conduct a sound, accurate and reliable analysis. I tried to approach the data with openness and welcomed what it presented.

In my study, I collected and analyzed data concurrently. By doing so, I tried to reach and ensure; "...a mutual interaction between what is known and what one needs to know. This pacing and the iterative interaction between data and analysis is the essence of attaining reliability and validity.... Ideas emerging from data are reconfirmed in new data; this gives rise to new ideas that, in turn, must be verified in data already collected. Thinking theoretically requires macro-micro perspectives, inching forward without making cognitive leaps, constantly checking and rechecking, and building a solid foundation." (Morse et.al, 2002, pp.18)

As mentioned in previous paragraphs, I audio taped all interviews (except for two, details given above) and transcribed each right after the interview. I gave pseudonyms to each of the participants, and numbers to each interview. I created a secure file in which I kept the names, numbers and demographics of the participants. Also, I removed all confidential

information that was mentioned during the interviews from the transcriptions in order to assure the anonymity of the participants.

Following Carey (1995)'s directions, I made the initial analysis of data as soon as I made the interview and completed the transcription, in order to recall my observations better and to ensure accuracy.

I printed the transcriptions and read them several times with the aim of detecting specific units of themes and meanings to generate codes and categories. I read each transcription right after the interview. In these initial readings, I also listened to the respective audio tape. My concern was to catch the intonations to understand the underlying emotions and thoughts and, to notice moments of silence and the unspoken meanings. Being all ears while listening the recordings, helped me to capture the "nonverbal and para-linguistic levels of communication" (Hycner, 1985, pp.282).

In the data analysis process, I used inductive constant comparison method/coding (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Miles and Huberman, 1994; Ryan and Bernard, 2000). Because, it is stated to be a useful method in "...utilizing an entire data set to identify underlying themes presented through the data,.." (Leech and Onwuegbuzie, 2007, pp.565). While coding, I used color coding rather than cutting pasting, as I wanted to keep the transcriptions uncut. I went through every paragraph, every sentence and every word in order to elicit meanings accurately (Tong et.al.2007). As I continued, the coding became more and more refined. Additionally, I read my field notes and the observations that I noted after the interviews alongside with the transcriptions. While analyzing the data set, I took notes about my ideas about the emerging concepts, meanings, themes and categories and briefly explained how I came up with them (Lacey and Luff, 2007; Pope et.al, 2000; Pope and Mays, 2006). During the process, the initial analysis lead me to the further collection of data, thus, data collection evolved to be better focused and to the point after each interview.

During coding, I created a file for the emerging codes and categories. In those files, I noted the code, the interviews that they have emerged and the respective quotations. I grouped the codes based on their similarities and the categories emerged (Strauss and Corbin 1990). I tried to let the categories emerge themselves, I tried not to interfere as the researcher and welcomed all that the data presented. I did not let the negative cases and the deviant cases left out. My aim was to include the complete variety of voices I heard, and to take in all the different realities I witnessed. Besides the obvious, I tried to find out the hidden and the shadowed. After the categories emerged, I defined them in detail. Then, I related the categories to the research questions that they present answers to.

As Hammersley (1987, 1992) noted, the quality of data analysis fundamentally depends on the systematic and repeated search of data. So, I didn't stop reading the transcriptions after the emergence of the codes and categories. I re-read them, compared, contrasted, checked and cross-checked them. I repeated the coding and reviewed my interpretations. Also, I tried to find out if my analysis is influenced by my bias or pre-understanding. To do so, I used triangulation. I checked my field notes and I also checked the statement that I wrote before I started my field study, which tells my ideas and pre-understandings about the issue, to see if I transferred any to my analysis (Hewitt-Taylor, 2001).

At some point of my study, the analysis showed me that a conceptual saturation is reached, as data generated no more new categories. That was the point that I stopped the interviews.

The results of my data analysis are presented in the following chapter, supported by the respective quotations.

5. FINDINGS

With the aim of ensuring a logical flow and easy reading, this chapter is designed in a way that in the first section, the organizational setting is, as observed by me and as emerged in the inquiries, presented in detail. Before submitting the answers to my research questions as provided by the data, it is essential to draw a picture of the context: What are the working conditions that the teachers are exposed to? What is the nature of interpersonal relations in schools? How do the teachers feel when they are in school? As the current study is basically interested in the feelings of teachers, the life that they live during their work hours is of great importance. Presenting a comprehensive portrayal of schools, is a must to understand teachers' feelings and their effects on teacher workplace behavior.

After providing the reader a complete view of the context, the following two sections will submit findings related to the focal aim of the study: the realities of teachers as they are provided to be answers to the research questions.

5.1. Organizational setting: schools

In my field study, I conducted 30 in-depth interviews with 30 teachers. Most of the interviews (Only five were conducted in places other than schools) took place in the schools that the teachers work. Thus, in addition to in-depth interviews, I was able to use observation as a tool to understand the setting and the reality that I am exploring. I spent almost 150 hours in schools, watching, observing, chatting, asking questions and trying to get an insider's view. During the interviews, participants described the general atmosphere, the managerial understanding and interpersonal relations in their schools in detail. Thus, the interviews

presented an overall look and general view for each school from the eyes of the participants. These views are enriched by my observations and reflections.

In this section, I presented the organizational setting in detail, relying on data.

5.1.1. Working conditions

My observations, the interviews and data analysis submitted that, working conditions of teachers differ in public schools and private schools. Thus, in order to present the difference, I exhibited the findings separately for public and private schools, only in this chapter. My aim is to clarify the differing work conditions to the reader, so that a comprehensive look to the context is assured.

a. Private schools

As mentioned in the methodology chapter, in Turkey, all (public and private) schools are governed with a centralized understanding by the Ministry of Education. All major dimensions of education (the courses to be taught, eligibility criteria etc.) are defined and determined by the ministry. Private schools, have some autonomy, but they must stick to the syllabus and report frequently to the ministry. They have to follow and obey certain rules, procedures and decisions. They are examined and assessed by the ministry through inspector visits and, each student (all the data about the student) is registered to the ministry data base. Being bounded by the state rules in terms of educational frame, they are free in management. They employ the teachers they choose, teach a number of foreign languages they prefer, set the tuition fee and can include certain electives in their syllabus (as approved by the ministry). Also, as any other organization, they are free to have their own management style; free to

create the organizational culture, organization climate and working conditions they wish to have. As the owners or principals of these schools seldom change, most of them enjoy continuity. Some are newly founded; some are old and have rooted organizational cultures, long lasting traditions and strong communities of alumni.

Oya (Participant.13): There is an established order... You can get to know about the student group, the system of the school....and you can work in comfort when you are a part of that culture...our school has a warm atmosphere, like a family, like a community.

Kamil (Participant.21): The school I am working is a very systematic school. The corporate structure is very strong. When I compare it to my former schools, this is my personal observation...

Meltem (Participant.8): Private sector has added a lot to me... The reason I preferred this school was that, it is institutionalized and well rooted, it has a history. There is a hierarchy, an order..

Some sound and some troubled, all private schools have a system of their own. As seen in the reflections of Oya, Kamil and Meltem, participants mentioned about the systems, corporate structures, procedures, processes and traditions of their schools. During the interviews besides the working conditions, we had conversations about the general atmosphere, the climate and culture of the schools with the participants. As will be presented in the following sections, participant statements provided the insight that, principals play a vital role in public schools. As the representatives of the state in schools, they hold the power to set the rules of communication, cooperation and interaction for teachers. So, when the principal is incompetent, inexperienced, unwilling, or all at once; the working conditions for teachers deteriorate. The conditions and climate may even be so unbearable that, they may ask for transfer to other schools. The same situation applies for public schools in small towns and villages, too.

On the other hand, for private schools, the situation is different. In most private schools, the working conditions, organizational climate and the general atmosphere are not dependent upon the principal. In majority of these schools, the owner foundation has strict surveillance over the management about obedience to the pre-determined rules, procedures and traditions. The situation may be opposite for schools owned by persons, though. In those schools, the climate and working conditions are dependent upon the owner. Owner's perspective about education, his/her competencies, personality and overall managerial understanding widely influence teachers' working conditions and their feelings for the school.

Defne (Participant.4): ..the principal, the management, they do not govern the school by fear, by trying to find mistakes; they support us. In my former school, the management was so though, so self-opinionated. Because it was owned by a person not by a foundation. The owner's wife was the manager, and their motivation was profit.everything was done according to their wish, nothing was consulted to us. Our opinions were never heard. We were obliged to accept things even if we thought they were not right. But here, as they talk to us all the time, I am motivated.

Dila (Participant.18):, in my school, there is a structure, like a family...We support each other in every way. We are a supportive team....we celebrate birthdays, special days. In my old school, it was harder back there. Because it was a smaller private school and a lot of people interfere in your business. My current school is more like corporate, institutionalized. People just can't act as they wish, there are people they must consult to, there are questions they must ask. But in the other school, no institutionalization there...Here, there are rules, procedures but I have an area of freedom, I can take initiative, I can offer new methods, new ways and they are accepted.

b. Public schools

Public schools, on the other side, seldom have continuity in managerial style and understanding. Because, for managerial, performance related, personal or sometimes political reasons, managers (principals) frequently

change in those schools. And, as the principal changes, the managerial understanding, the general organizational climate and working conditions change. This may both endanger the stability, continuity and performance of the school (also the teachers) and may also present new opportunities for positive change, depending on the educational and managerial capabilities of the new coming principal.

Findings presented that public schools' general atmosphere, working conditions, organizational climate and the teachers' positive feelings to school differ deeply based on the character and managerial understanding of the principal. What makes the teachers happy at school, what makes them come to school and work willingly and also what makes them wish to leave the school and be transferred to another one, is mostly the managerial understanding and the resulting organizational climate. In public schools, ministry determines the expected performance standards in terms of the hours of courses to be taught, the subjects to be covered and related paper work done. The rest is up to the principal. The principal sets the stage, shapes the relationships between management and teachers and also between teachers and teachers. As one of the participants said, the managerial style is reflected downwards. Most of the teachers working in public schools tied their positive feelings towards school, to the attitudes and behaviors of the management.

Ülkü (Participant.6): The management is very good in here. A management that protects the teacher.... Our principal came to this school at the beginning of the school year. He wants to do something new. He is in communication with us. For example, he asks us how should I do this and that...You feel it better here, that you are a teacher. I have been to three schools since now. The teachers in the school that I was originally working in, are so complainant from the management. All the other schools that I have worked in, had better principals..

Oğuz (Participant.19): ...in our school we have a very good team of managers, we are so lucky to have such a principal. We can enter his room unceremoniously. He is a person who

made himself clean of his egos. His vice principals are good too, hardworking and good working. No conflicts between the management and the teachers. He has an education on conflict management, he manages conflicts well...he tells the mistake he sees so kindly. He follows every one and if something is not done on time, asks why, but not in a way to arise conflict, with a will to solve the problems. Because he knows that if teachers are happy here, it will be reflected to their performance. He knows it, thus he does his job without hurting or offending people.... As I am happy, I took on some tasks which are not mine originally, without being asked to.

Gülşah (Participant.23): I am new in this school. I liked the management here. The way they speak to the teachers, as equals. They have experience, they know this job, they are equipped.

I also witnessed the influence of principal's attitude and style on teachers and the general atmosphere of the school, during my observations. In a school, the teacher that I was going to meet was so comfortable that he invited me to the principal's room. He said that the principal is so supportive, so nice and understanding to all the teachers that he wouldn't be offended if we conducted the interview in his room. So, we made the interview there. In another school, I witnessed a birthday party of a teacher, actually I joined the party. It was organized by the principal. The principal and the vice principal brought a cake with candles. All teachers gathered in teachers' room in the lunch break. It was such a warm, sincere party. All teachers were like, as if they were surrounded by family and close friends. In a third school, which was in a very poor and troubled neighborhood, I observed that teachers were happy, committed and in comfort despite the poor conditions and the danger of the surroundings. The principal was so supportive, kind and hardworking that, in spite of all the disadvantages of the neighborhood, he was able to create a supportive, empowering and peaceful climate in the school. In some schools, on the other hand, as I observed, teachers were feeling alienated, lonely and distressful because of the principal's managerial style

or in some cases, personality. Principal's attitudes towards teachers and the staff; his/her communication abilities/disabilities, his/her ideas about delegation, empowerment and team work, his/her managerial abilities and capabilities directly influenced the general atmosphere. That, in turn, influenced teachers' willingness, and feelings related to the school. In one of those schools, the teacher that I was supposed to interview was very tense and distressed about my presence, because she (as she told me before the interview) feared the principal's possible negative reaction. Thus, in order to provide her a comfortable atmosphere, we got out of the school building and conducted the interview in a silent corner of the cafeteria.

Deniz (Participant.5): We are content with the management right now, generally. But I have worked with such principals... Ufff... This is my 40th year...Especially during the military coup period (Sept, 12, 1980).. A lot of political stuff was involved in... in the selection of both principals to schools and students to educational institutions. We had a lot of problems and distress during the time of the wag the dog.....A principal who meets us with a smiley face, a principal that we can freely visit and tell about our problems, is an exceptional principal...Besides, there have been cold hearted and rude principals who stand against teachers, we were so unhappy with them. It destroys your enthusiasm...I mean the managerial style, it is reflected downwards. Those were the years that I was distressed most..

Ayeşgül (Participant.16): ...the problems between teachers, the decomposition and the enmity... It is a result of the principal's behavior. He left some teachers out and worked with the teachers who took part in an EU Project...some teachers are offended because of that, they felt like left out..

In the interviews, almost all participants that work in public schools shared memories about the changes in working conditions and organizational climate with the coming or leaving of a past or present principal. Even in schools where the teachers were content about the management, when they reported that they wanted to stay in the school and continue working, they added a condition "unless the principal changes". Because

when the principal changes, in most cases, the school changes radically. On the other hand, as mentioned above, change in organizational climate, working conditions and the general attitude towards teachers is also apparent in the reflections of participants from private schools. But with one major change. They reportedly experienced such changes when they changed schools. In their case, they faced a new organizational culture, a new organizational climate and a new managerial understanding when they quitted one school and started working in another one. The reason is that, most private schools are owned and operated by foundations and thus, they are institutions that have long standing procedures, rules, traditions and cultures. A new principal may only be able to change a few.

c. Village and small town schools

The schools in small towns and villages (all of them owned by the state, as operating schools in small towns or villages is not profitable for the private sector) are totally a different story. Public schools in the villages usually have only one or two teachers. They have no principals. The teachers act as both teachers and principals. They also serve as janitors of the school. All educational and administrative functions of the school are expected from them. They teach the children of the village, who are at different ages. They teach all of them simultaneously, according to their age and the respective syllabus. They also paint the school, clean it, carry sacks filled with coal in the winter, for heating. They serve as consultants, referees and confidants to the village people, as the most educated person in town. In bigger towns, there are principals in the schools, but again there are only a few teachers. They also do what is needed for the sake of the school, regardless of their job descriptions.

Ísa (Participant.17): ...I worked in villages, you work all by yourself in the villages. Very few people that you can contact and interact. Like I told you before, you stay in the village for a whole month, and then you have a monthly meeting in the

big town. You go to the meeting and see other fellow teachers. Just a day in a month, not enough.

İbrahim (Participant.14): In Van... it was a small place, a place where everybody knows each other..... I was doing jobs which were the ones I was not supposed to do...something which is not my job, painting the classroom, as an example.....when there is a need in the school, you know, those places are where low income people live, teacher wanders around to find money or sponsor to the school.

Muhittin (Participant.12): ...there were 104 students, I tried to teach them as good as I could and I tried to be effective. I went to Gaziantep (the big city) one weekend, to take coal for the school for heating. Me and the driver of the tractor... While I was carrying the sacks, the attendant asked me, are you the janitor, I answered, yes, I am the janitor, the principal, the teacher, I am all of them at once....in a village school, you do all of these things, you must.

As it is in public schools in cities, the principals greatly influence the working conditions and the organizational climate in schools of small towns, too. They represent the state and the ministry. Their managerial style and attitudes form the school's atmosphere and influence the feelings of teachers towards the school.

Ülkü (Participant.6): I worked in a small town. It was beautiful there, a small school. Teachers were sweeter natured... The principal had full knowledge of what he's doing. He was in full control. He was a teacher for the teachers. Patient, understanding. I have learned all that I have learned, from him. As an example, if TEOG exam was approaching.. He held a meeting, he taught us everything to the tiniest detail, he informed us..... School was all good...even the janitors....

As discussed by the participants and seen in their reflections; the managerial style, attitudes and behaviors of principal is important to a great extent in public schools. For public schools in small towns, the same thing applies. For village schools, though, it does not, because teacher is the lone wolf there.

In public schools, principal has the ability to influence the working conditions and the overall atmosphere of the school, and both the atmosphere and the working conditions are of vital importance to the quality of education. Quality of education is a major concern for all citizens as, education is the means of developing and shaping the human capital of a country. It plays a vital role in the scientific, economic, social and cultural development (Bowen, 1980). The findings submitted in the current and the following sections can be examined in the light of this important role.

5.1.2. Interpersonal relationships

Due to the focal interest of the study, and the nature of that interest, interpersonal relations were one major issue that dominated the interviews. Even without being asked, the participants brought up the subject I observed and understood that, supposedly an effect of living in a collectivist society, interpersonal relations were utterly important for teachers. They mostly related their emotional states at work to the nature of interpersonal relations. This is reasonable when we think that most of the teachers spend majority of their day time in school and school is almost the only place for humane interaction and socialization for them. Also, their profession is about shaping human beings, working with and on human beings.

Directed by the data, I submitted participants' reflections about interpersonal relations in schools in this section.

a. Good interpersonal relationships

Participants who shared positive experiences about interpersonal relationships in the workplace were both from private and public schools.

The findings showed no difference in terms of the subject at hand between these two contexts.

Participants described their schools as home and colleagues as family, in most of the circumstances. They portrayed their schools as places where they find peace, comfort, support and professional and emotional help. They mostly named their colleagues as "friends". Flow of the interviews and my own observations also presented that, those teachers were coming to school willingly, they felt happy and it seemed that working was no obligation for them.

Kamil (Participant.21):..if you have good personal relationships with colleagues, it helps you get through difficult times easily, for example, if you have problems about the school, the students or parents, they help you get through it...and, also people do not let their feelings about you to influence their cooperation with you. They separate feelings and professional life, which is good.

Defne (Participant.4): We help each other, no matter at what level we work in the school. When a person tells she needed something, we talk about it right away and get back to her to help her as soon as possible. We are supportive to each other, not only about education related stuff, it is also reflected in our private lives...but there are bad examples, too, naturally...if the institution (school) creates competition between teachers, then, people behave cold to each other and stay in distance...teachers may hide their methods and materials from others...also, teachers from different branches, like maths teacher and science teacher, may not have that warm and sincere relationships because they do not come together and work together often..

As Defne did, in the above quotation, some participants reported that lack of competition is seen as a sign of good interpersonal relationships. And they named the institutions or principals as creating a competitive environment and thus hindering close personal relationships between teachers. Some participants, like Oya, also told that they have good interpersonal relationships because schools have a different context than

the general business world. Referring to the rivalry, though competition, distant relationships as characteristics of the business world.

Oya (Participant.13): Teaching is not really like you are in the business world, it is at ease.....I have been working in this school for 20 years now. I have very close and warm relationships with old teachers like me. We have so strong bonds. ... I love the atmosphere here.

As in Oya's case, most of the teachers who are content with the interpersonal relationships in their schools, have been working in the same school for long years. Although most of them reported some problems, they stated that they were happy to be working in their schools.

In my observations, I also witnessed very good, warm and close relationships between teachers and between teachers and principals in those participants' schools. They looked like close friends who accidentally work in the same school, not teachers who just get along well. During our chats, they shared their memories about vacations, the dinner parties and sports matches that they had with colleagues. They knew about each other's families, they were sharing personal secrets with each other. Also some participants said that, they kept seeing their friends that they worked together in their former schools, they never gave up on their friendships. They were not best friends to all, naturally. But even if they are not friends, they were still very kind, helpful and supportive to each other. The schools that teachers had good interpersonal relationships looked like a home full of friends and acquaintances to me.

b. Poor interpersonal relationships

Along with reflections of good interpersonal relationships, a remarkable amount of negative experiences are shared by the participants. Both my observations and participant inquiries presented that, in schools which has a negative organizational climate, it is likely that, the overall interpersonal relations are not good. In these schools, people either just say hi to each

other, and focus on their jobs, or they behave in a hostile manner to each other and they socialize only as groups.

Kemal (Participant.26): People don't like each other in here. Forced smiles, pretending like enjoying the conversation.... People prefer to be alone here. There is a tension..woufff..

Like Kemal, the participants told me about the poor relationships with dissatisfaction and discontent. They apparently told that they'd preferred to work in a school which has good relationships between teachers. An exception was Zeynep. She reported that she did not even care about the relationships. She added that she did not like her colleagues but that was ok.

Zeynep (Participant.2): We have, actually no relationship at all. All they do is talking from people's back, criticizing. You see two people talking, they stop it when they see you. Awkward.. When they have something to say, they don't say it to your face. I don't care about them, I ignore them.

While they were telling about their experiences of poor interpersonal relationships, most of the participants shared their ideas about the possible reasons for it. They named the though living conditions and the management, as being responsible for people being distant and cold to each other.

i. Troubles of the modern life

As making both ends meet financially gets harder and harder every day; as traffic continues to consume people's time and patience; as the reflections of civil war in the neighboring country Syria influences the country harshly; as terrorism terrifies people in their ordinary lives... People have lesser and lesser patience for each other. They do not want to struggle to make friends. They want to stay in their safe circles and protect themselves from others, even if the cost is being all alone.

Gülşah (Participant.23): ...as the life conditions get harder, people become more and more individualistic. I don't observe the old fashioned friendships. That sincerity is lost.

İsa (Participant.17): It was very hard for me, like I told you before, interpersonal relations here, it put me off the school. People's behavior in the place you work, effects everything. Pretty cold, distant relationships, mostly based on personal interest...Human relations are on the edge of break off...this effects my feelings for the whole place...life is hard, very hard...I understand, but any way, we should try to be nice to each other...

As stated by the participants, life is hard and it influences the quality of interpersonal relationships. People prefer to hide in the cocoon of their private lives and isolate themselves.

ii. Management

Like İsa did, some participants also blamed the principals for poor relationships in their schools. Like the saying in Turkey "Where the front wheel goes, the back wheel goes, too"

They thought that principal's attitude towards others, his cold, distant and hostile behaviors lead others to behave in such a way. Like a small wave causing bigger and bigger waves that shake the boat.

İsa (Participant.17): Also, here, the principal and vice principals, they are so distant, they behave so distantly. You arrange your behavior accordingly, naturally... One day, our principal, I and a colleague, we were having a conversation about something, I don't remember the subject. Anyway, the principal shared his ideas drawlingly, then, when he finished, I started talking. You know what the principal did? He just stared at me and he walked away, without saying anything to me. No excuses, no explanations. I was left there talking, you know, like... Ok, I cannot use the word in front of you.

Numerous stories like this, are told to me. Also, I observed certain incidents like this. Once, when a teacher wanted to introduce me to his

principal with enthusiasm, he was rejected coldly. The principal just looked at him, without even looking at my face or saying something, and said he didn't have time and he had to rush for something. This attitude was like an insult to that teacher. His mood suddenly changed, he felt very bad. He regretted even accepting to have the interview with me. When the principal is behaving as such to his colleagues, the resulting cold and rejecting atmosphere affects every one.

c. Outcomes of poor interpersonal relationships

During the interviews, in the natural flow of the conversations, participants also mentioned about the consequences and outcomes of poor interpersonal relationships, based on their own experiences. They named lack of cooperation and pretending as being the results.

i. Lack of cooperation

When teachers are distant to each other and they avoid communication; the probability and quality of cooperation is hindered. The ideas of new projects, end-of-year shows can only blossom in the case of healthy communication; new methods, materials and solutions to problems can only be shared through personal communication. If the teachers do not get along well, if they avoid each other or if they prefer staying alone rather than joining others; the chances of cooperation diminishes.

Oğuz (Participant.19): ...the missing component is cooperation, the understanding of let's do it together...teachers are distant to each other...the nature of our profession requires us to remove the distance...there should not be any distance among teachers in the school...of course people will have some close friends, some will not be that close, but with the distance, you feel like you have a missing feet...

Osman (Participant.1): Everybody knows how important personal relations are. Everybody have expectations about it. But they do not perceive their own behavior. Everyone tells

their expectations but when it comes to self-evaluation, there are problems... So little cooperation, so much rivalry...Even when we work in teams, they try to own the success alone. But also there are people who have a team spirit, who support and protect each other. But they are only a few. So little sincerity...this causes problems in the spirit of the school.

As Osman reflected, poor relationships and distant behaviors do not leave room for cooperation but open the doors for rivalry. As he mentioned, even engaged in team work together, people may even try to rise and shine personally rather than utilizing their potential for team success. Another point he told is people expecting others to step up and show efforts for cooperation and good relationships, but without doing anything for it themselves.

ii. Surface acting

According to the participants, a result of poor personal relationships is pretending to get along well with each other. Actually for me, it can also be seen as a sign of poor interpersonal relationships. This phenomena is apparently seen in some schools, I personally observed it. It was obvious in the faces of some teachers that the nice talking, sweet smiles and offers of help were fake. They obviously engaged in surface acting, which is defined as faking the relevant behavior for the context (Hochschild,1983). They seem to be simply trying not to make enemies and striving to act in a politically right manner.

Zeynep (Participant.2): ...personal relations are so artificial. People walk with masks. Thus, if you are as you are, and honest, you have problems...no team spirit...fractions... talking behind people's back. They pretend to have team spirit but actually, they don't have it, at all. They evaluate each other in terms what they wear, how they walk, not how they work and perform...they have the understanding of I am the star, so everyone thinks about himself.

Burçak (Participant.3): When I first started working in this school, I thought that people have good relations, warm relations with each other. But in time, I saw that it was not the case. There are problems between teachers and the management. Teachers have problems with teachers...they do not welcome a new comer...also as most of the teachers are female, there is kind of female jealousy...what is seen at the first glance, is not the reality.

As presented above, factions, hostility, jealousy and rivalry among teachers and poor cooperation are widely seen in schools that teachers have poor relationships with each other. As teaching requires team work and good communication skills, this is an issue that needs attention. It's management's duty to detect the reasons of such a hostile environment and to find ways to change into positive. As would not be logical to expect sound personal and group performance from teachers in such a distressful context.

d. Interpersonal relationships in village and small town schools

As mentioned in the previous section, a number of participants worked in village schools some time in their careers. When talking about interpersonal relationships in their current schools, they couldn't help remembering and telling the village schools. They mostly had remarkably nice experiences in those schools.

İbrahim (Participant.14): I worked in Van for 12 years. More sincerity there...more trust.. in this school, it's my second year...here, everybody does his job then leaves school and goes home. But in Van, you become like a family, with other teachers. Here every one is so formal, in a respectful manner.. no argument, positive or negative... In Van..... Management of the school was mostly dependent upon friendship... because we had very good relations with the principal, because it was built upon friendship, teacher paints the classroom, cleans the classroom does extra things.

Muhittin (Participant.12): I worked in village schools. Schools are more candid and sincere places there, because there are only a few teachers. Our relationships were intimate, the school atmosphere was good. We had problems regarding the working conditions. No heating. But we were so close to each other. We had such good dialogues. We all cried when leaving. We had no problem but the conditions.

In village and small town schools, people reportedly have closer and warmer relationships compared to the city. This is a reasonable tendency, as in those places chances of interaction and socialization are very limited. The alternatives of spending leisure time are almost limited to getting together as teachers. No cinemas, no theatres, no shopping malls and restaurants. In most of the villages and towns, the weather conditions are another limitation. Sometimes people cannot contact the bigger towns or cities for weeks in winter time. Thus in such a condition of deprivation and harsh life style, people hold tight to each other and almost become families.

Also, the working conditions are poor in those schools. They do not have the necessary material and financial and human resources to effectively operate the schools. As a result of this, teachers are performing one-man shows in the village schools, doing all that's needed to run the school smoothly. And handling all the duties in cooperation with a few other teachers. This also, strengthens the personal relationships.

Kemal (Participant.26): Tire (a small town near İzmir) is totally a different story. Students were coming from the villages...it is so good to be a teacher in small towns. A lot of respect. People are different, so willing to help..

As expressed by Kemal, people of small towns and villages are more humble, friendly, amiable and considerate. Most of the teachers described those people as being great hosts, very respectful and warm hearted neighbors and acquaintances.

During the interviews I did not hear even one deviant case about the village and small town schools. All of the participants shared their experiences about those schools expressing the love and longing, despite the harsh and poor working conditions.

5.1.3. Working in private versus public schools

The differences between teaching in private schools and public schools from the perspective of teachers and the nature of teaching in these two different contexts, also became apparent during the interviews. Participants' reflections about their own experiences of teaching in these schools presented valuable findings about the nature of this profession.

a. Public schools

In public schools, teachers either work so devotedly, or so unwillingly, just showing up for their lessons and leaving the school as soon as the lesson finishes. For some teachers the reason is personal; either the characteristic of not loving to work or, not loving to teach. It mostly is, though, a result of the organizational climate (which is brought in by the principal) and working conditions.

i. Performing organizational citizenship behavior

If the principal is capable of creating a bond between teachers and between teachers and the management; creating an atmosphere of unity and an organizational climate of empowerment, open communication and support; then, the teachers work heartily. They feel as part of a bigger whole in school. They work in devotion, they do more than what is expected of them. They come to school with willingness and affection. In my observations, I saw that, those teachers were spending the business hours in school, even after their class hours were finished. They were

either working in groups about the courses, projects or simply chatting, having fun or resting together. Some were helping other teachers in their work, some were visiting the principal for some small talk, and some were spending time with the students after the class hours. They did not seem like counting the minutes, they were staying in school willingly.

Asuman (Participant.9): ...our principal has been here, long. He shaped the school, the structure.... As the school has a very high academic achievement profile, such a motive, everyone is trying to do his job very well. They do it loving what they do but they also try to do it good.... There is good communication between branches. The science teachers are not just close to each other as a group. There are connections between branches... Communication is very good between teachers.... People help each other in their work. I personally do it. After my class hours I assist my team mates in their projects. I volunteer, but they also help me when I need. We do it to help our friends and we do it because we want the students do better in the general exams, also to help them learn more.

Ülkü (Participant.6): In my old school... we used to go dining together, or go to dance together, once we traveled to İstanbul with students, we visited universities... That was a more organized, structured school. I was doing things that I was not supposed to do, back there. End-of-year shows as an example. No one was demanding me to do it, or help others doing it. But I was helping them, showing effort..

Those participants in public schools engaged in organizational citizenship behaviors, as they were performing extra role behaviors and helping colleagues and students. These roles were not in their job descriptions, but as they had good relationships in the school, they voluntarily engaged in such helping behaviors.

As mentioned in the above sections, these extra-role behaviors are also performed in small town schools, due to the warm and close relationships.

İbrahim (Participant.14): He was (the principal) doing so nice things that I felt that I owed him, I owed the school because of him and I did things that were not expected from mein Van, my school was my personal concern. It was

like my own... I loved it there....I helped painting the school, I found sponsors to the school, for example, I asked a parent to buy a deliascope. Because we lacked it, we needed it for the students..

But in these schools, teachers' organizational citizenship behaviors were mostly organization-focused, rather than individual focused. They performed civic virtue behaviors and they had a personal concern for the future and well-being of the schools (Organ, 1988; Robinson and Morrison, 1995; Robinson, 1996; Moon et.al, 2005).

ii. Detached teachers

On the other hand, when the principal is

- not capable of or does not care about creating a supportive and family like atmosphere;
- if he/she is discriminating people based on certain criteria (gender, ethnic origin, etc.);
- if he/she simply is a person who is incompetent in communication, empowerment and empathy;

Then, the teachers just work to fulfill their obligations. They do only what they have to do, and leave the school as soon as possible.

Ülkü (Participant.6): Usually, here, the teachers just do their job. It changes in each school. The system in this school, is different. Teachers from different branches, all separated... every one does his job and leaves... on the teachers' day, the teachers from different branches did not unite, they had separate celebrations. Because they don't see each other much, may be that's the reason why there is a disconnection between them.... on teachers' day, there was no unity, I was surprised... I guess only three or four people are friends here. People don't see each other outside the school... They say, in this school, teachers who complete three years of service ask to be assigned to a different school from the ministry..

Kemal (Participant.26): The efficiency of the teacher changes according to the principal. How the principal handles issues,

his approach, attitude....with some principals, you work in comfort, but with some, not at all. It mostly depends on their personality....in schools which does not have a warm and comfortable atmosphere teacher come, complete their lessons and leave. No interaction. They don't spend any time more than it is necessary to fulfill their class hours.

Another reason why teachers who work in public schools do not adopt the business and their schools, as reported by some participants, is the job guarantee given by the state and the lack of performance assessment. Those teachers know that, unless they do something unacceptable in terms of performance and/or relations with students, parents and principals, they will be paid and they will continue working. So most of them just show the minimum effort that is expected of them, and then, they leave school and spend the rest of the working hours for their private life.

Eda (Participant.7): ... teachers that complete their lessons, just get out and leave...they have the idea, I'd better finish my job and leave.. The sooner I leave the better...In some public schools, there is a phenomenon of not adopting the business. The major disadvantage of public schools is, like it says to the teachers, ok I will pay you, you work here, you have job guarantee...There are efforts to change this now. If this job guarantee of "no matter what" changes, people will be more diligent. It will be reflected to performance.

Gülşah (Participant.23): .. teachers, they only complete the bureaucratic necessities. They even don't have sincere communication with kids. They do not work with self-sacrifice.

The time I spent in public schools, observing, also showed me that, in some schools, teachers just come, teach and go. In those schools, teachers' room looked and felt like a cold and empty operating room. I used to sit and observe in teachers' rooms and in those schools, there were mostly only one or two teachers in. Mostly they were only saying hi when they entered and then, they sit and do their job. Most of them even

did not distinguish me sitting there, as a stranger, as they supposedly, come and go as strangers themselves, too. Teachers who complete their class hours came, collected their belongings and left, even if it's early, like lunch time.

b. Private schools

In private schools, different than some public schools, teachers are expected to work with strict business hours, like in every other private company or institution. They must obey the daily working hours. They do not leave the school when their lessons are finished. They stay and complete the required paper work or prepare for the other days' lessons or examinations; or sometimes they perform what is asked by the management. They sometimes work on administrative staff; they have regular meetings with parents; they prepare for end-of year shows and projects. Actually, they have a lot to do when they are in school. Almost all participants working in private schools reported to have busy working hours and not having spare time at school. Also, during my observations in private schools, I seldom saw teachers sitting, having a cup of coffee and chatting in the teachers' room. They were either in the classroom, teaching, or in teachers' room working on something.

Dila (Participant.18): ...we are very busy, we have such a rush... this is exhausting.

Kamil (Participant.21): We have coordination meetings, meetings with students, parents, other teachers.....we have a very busy agenda all day.

Zeynep (Participant.2): I am not happy with teaching. Because it is exhausting, teaching in a private school. Very heavy work load...We are tired not only physically but also mentally. I have no spare time. I teach 31 hours a week. Two hours of group meetings, preparing exams. Sometimes we work overtime, at the evenings. We have no Saturday that we do not work, project meetings, parent meetings. Two days a week we stay after business hours for in-service

trainings. We have to attend to book presentations extra workshops. In the lunch time we work with students who are not good at English...You see, very exhausting...Our psychology is ruined.

Whether they work in public schools or in private schools, teachers' adopting their jobs, is very important. The interviews presented that, in schools that have no unity between teachers and that does not provide a positive climate to them, teachers want to leave the school as quickly as possible. Their unwillingness to spend time in school mostly results in an official demand from the ministry to be transferred elsewhere. Thus, the principal's efforts to provide a positive, peaceful atmosphere plays an important role in teacher retention.

5.1.4. Teachers' room

For every school and every teacher, teachers' room has important symbolic meanings. It is the place where teachers rest, work, socialize, laugh, chat, and eat. Also a place where they become members of groups or they are excluded from groups and alienated. Sometimes teachers' room is monopolized by a group, sometimes it is a place where teachers find asylum and hide. Some feel utterly lonely there and try to avoid going. Some feel as comfortable as they are at home. Thus, for every school, depending on the general atmosphere and interpersonal relations, teachers' room symbolizes different things.

Zeynep (Participant.2): I don't want to go to the teachers' room. I don't want to see the other teachers. I just want to stay in my classroom. There, I forget about all the troubles and conflicts.

Aysegül (Participant.16): ...our school is in some sort of a ghetto, there are problems...there are really troubled students. While dealing with all these, it was an escape for me to go to the teachers' room...like I go there, have some small talk with other teachers, have some rest...it was so in my first year...now the principal changed...the problems

between teachers, the decomposition and the enmity....Now when I go to the teachers' room there is a tense atmosphere....

...distress....disputes...people don't want to be in the teachers' room. A group sits in the teachers' room, other groups sit in the kitchen...

In Zeynep and Ayşegül's cases, they avoid going to the teachers' room because of the troubled interpersonal relationships between teachers. As Zeynep reflected, they stay in the classroom as they find asylum there. In those schools, teachers' rooms are like where rivals and factions face off. In Ayşegül's case, some schools are troubled both in means of relationships between teachers and students and neighborhood. Teachers are divided into factions as some occupy the teachers' room and others are forced to rest in the kitchen.

İsa (Participant.17): There is a problem in our school, actually we (male teachers) see it as a problem. There are far more female teachers compared to male teachers....for example, when the lesson finishes and we go to the teachers' room, there is either only one male teacher or none. Therefore, we stand alone in a context that is female dominant. And that causes problems because ladies talk too much, they never stop talking. We go there to have a peace of mind because during the lessons, we are exhausted by the students. We go there to have some rest but we regret going there. Unfortunately we have nowhere else to go.

İsa's case, however, is different. In his school, there are 40 female teachers and only 6 male teachers. Because of this quantitative imbalance, male teachers feel themselves alienated. They do not favor female kind of friendship and talk. When they enter the teachers' room they feel irritated and distressed. They cannot share anything with female teachers. I observed the teachers' room in that school. It was like invaded by female teachers. They looked happy, talking about beauty tips, cooking, enjoying some gossip, whereas the male teachers were sitting in the garden. I went to talk to them. They expressed their feelings of being left out by

laughs. They said they usually stay alone, as it is seldom that two male teachers are free at the same time. They were used to spending their spare time alone.

Oğuz (Participant.19): ..I don't feel myself safe in teachers' room, because, as I told you, they are distant...I have only a few teachers that I feel close but even for them, I can't go and sit with them in the teachers' room. So when I enter and see that distant atmosphere there, I directly go to the principal's room. I sit with him, chat with him, or I chat with the janitors.

Some participants, like Oğuz, preferred to go and spend their spare times with the principal and the janitors. As they had poor relationships with teachers. Actually, as they reported, the general atmosphere of the school was cold and not friendly. The formal, distant and tense atmosphere in the teachers' room withhold them from spending time in there.

Burçak (Participant.3): I was hesitated to enter teachers' room, what if I enter and what if someone asks me something... because I didn't feel like belonging there, as I was new and young.

Burçak was new in her school and in teaching. So, in her case, the situation is a little bit different. She expressed that she hesitated entering teachers' room, as she perceived other teachers as being very old and professional teachers who could judge her competency. Also, as she did not completely socialized in the school and adopted her new role. Another factor was that, she was younger than all the other teachers and thus, it was hard for her to make friends.

During my 150 hours of observation, I mostly was in the teachers' room. There, I had the chance to observe the general atmosphere, the relationships between teachers, the way things are done, the nature of student-teacher relationships and many more. Mostly I felt the warm, friendly and close or, on the contrary, distant, cold and tense atmospheres at the moment that I entered the teachers' room. In some schools,

teachers' room was so distracting, cold and tensed was that, I even felt very disturbed and uncomfortable. Also, in some other schools, I witnessed that teachers' room was like the party room of a dormitory: always crowded with teachers, everybody chatting, laughing, and joking with each other. Teachers bringing cakes, cookies, pastry and sharing with everyone; sitting altogether in a big table and eating what is offered altogether. I observed some teachers working as groups of two or three, some gossiping, some others showing each other some shopping web sites and examining the products, some discussing politics and sports. I also saw that principal and vice principals were also joining them in their spare time, sharing this friendly atmosphere.

It was obvious that schools that teachers have good interpersonal relationships had living teachers' rooms, whereas schools that teachers have poor relationship did not. I think teachers' room has a great importance in teacher well-being in school, based on my observations. Because, human is a social animal. A constant state of working cannot be expected, humans need to rest, chat, laugh, share problems once in a while. And for teachers' it is the teachers' room that teachers find that opportunity.

5.1.5. Team work and competition

Talking about relationships in school, it naturally came to a point that participants started reflecting about team work and competition in their schools. As mentioned in the prior sections, teachers work in teams according to their branch in order to design and prepare the weekly, monthly and yearly programs for students. They also prepare the exams, quizzes and project requirements together. In most schools, teams have weekly meetings.. They make announcements, share ideas, experiences, methods and problems. It is very important that a teacher has the ability to adopt team work and be a good team mate. Participants pointed out

the importance of team work in this profession multiple times. They also reflected that the strength of the team influences the overall success of students.

Osman (Participant.1): Among the most important things in teaching is the strength of the team, it is so important. If there is trouble in team work, no way.

The interviews and my observations showed that, in private schools, team work continues on a regular basis. It is an obligation for teachers to work in teams, no teacher can act alone. This is a practice that aims to ensure standardization in education between classes. Via this execution, all students in the same grade but in different classes study the same topics utilizing similar exercises, case studies and methods.

Zeynep (Participant.2): Actually, for me, our system is perfect. We have five teachers in our team. We have a team hour every week. We meet, we do not leave the room, we make announcements, share our ideas.. Like, we will make this activity, what do you think, etc...I like it..

Depending on the size of the school, there are usually 3 to 9 teachers in teams. The rapport of the team is important both for its effectiveness and happiness of the teachers. As seen in Zeynep's reflection above, smooth operation of the team is influential on teachers' feelings. If there are problems between team mates, if there are conflicts, competition and hostile behaviors towards each other, team work is negatively affected.

But in public schools, quality of, for some schools even the existence of, the team work, is mostly up to the principal. If the principal cares about, motivates and controls team work and gives importance to it, team work is smooth and is done on a regular basis. If he/she does not, as it is in some schools, no team work exists.

Eda (Participant.7): Some teachers just do not pay the necessary attention to teamwork. They do not understand its importance. We should be attending weekly team meetings,

but here, in some public schools, some teachers don't.....It is up to management to hinder or support and demand this.

Regardless of private or public; in schools that team work is continued on a regular basis, related problems occur time to time. As reflected by the participants, some teachers are not simply good at team work; some do not get along well with others and conflicts arise; some ignore team decisions and some are not able to have healthy communication with others. All of these, at the end, influence the operation and performance of the team negatively.

Muhittin (Participant.12): ..in our team, we all get along well. We are five teachers, we come together in the meetings, we share everything, we act together... We make decisions about the programme, the syllabus all together. Everyone obeys the team decision. But sometimes, some teachers act alone, ignore the team decisions. It happens.

Dila (Participant.18): Teachers work as teams, you know. But not all teachers are good at it. Some have trouble with cooperation...teaching is all about communication, cooperation, openness... During team meetings and workshops, people just don't understand each other sometimes, or, how to say, they do not focus on the solutions, they focus on problems. Every one gives answers from his point of view and there comes the crisis.

Another problem related to team work is rivalry and competition. Although it is completely contrarian to team spirit and the fundamental idea of working in teams, some teachers try to shine out and be the achiever.

Recep (Participant.15): ...there is a secret competition between the teachers. Competition is good but, when it starts damaging people and the relations, it is not nice at all. Some negative consequences arise.

Oğuz (Participant.19): People are with their egos in team work. They work not to achieve the best as a team, but they try to put forward themselves as achievers..... we are in the same boat, we either survive together or sink together. ...sooo weird, people see their colleagues as rivals.. There are some general exams that assess students' knowledge.

When the results are listed, teachers check the best results, not their own students' results. They want to learn who did the best. They do not work to be the best, but want to be the best. The important point here is, if we do not achieve an overall success, neither of us is successful. This happens with sacrifice. They do not understand team work, at all.

As seen in Oğuz's reflections, teachers compete on their students. They compare students, sometimes they arrange extra class hours so that their students perform better than the other teachers' students.

Oğuz (Participant.19): Some teachers conduct extra lessons, they make extra exercises with their students, voluntarily. That's ok, what is not ok is, as they know the exam questions, they make the students answer and work on similar questions. By that they want to ensure that their students will get better grades than others. I don't do it. It is some kind of cheating. Besides, all students are my students. This is unfair..

Also, Osman's statements show that when competition is tough and teachers simply become rivals to each other rather than team mates, students somehow feel it. This competition and rivalry reportedly influences student success and even their personal relationships negatively. The competition between teachers is reverberated to the students, thus, students start to see each other as rivals, not friends. And the focal point becomes scoring better, not learning more.

Osman (Participant.1): As teachers we work in teams. There are four teachers in each team in our school. Their harmony influences the overall success of the students. If the rivalry among teachers is apparent, if students feel it, it causes problems. It even damages students' interpersonal relations..

Like in İbrahim's case, as an example, some participants stated that the major reason of tough competition between teachers is that they are compeers. When teachers are in the same age group, they naturally compare themselves with others. Also, probably depending on the life

stage, young teachers want to achieve more and have a desire to be noticed. This increases the tendency to being more competitive compared to older teachers. Older teachers, mostly, either satisfied their need to success or gave up on it. Thus, they mostly stay away from competition.

İbrahim (Participant.14): If the teachers are almost at the same age, or in the same age group, competition becomes inevitable. All are young and dynamic...when there is competition, factions emerge..

As presented in this section in detail, team work is of great importance in teaching. Because the major function and reason for existence of education is to equip students with relevant and sufficient knowledge in a number of different areas. As each teacher is expected to transfer the knowledge in his/her area, in order to ensure that the student is equipped well in all different areas, a mutual understanding, synergy and cooperation is a must for teachers. If we think of teachers as weaving a carpet, it is necessary that each should complete his/her pattern correctly and right in time. So that the resulting product is of quality and the overall pattern is meaningful.

5.1.6. Neighborhoods

As I mentioned in the methodology chapter, the field study is executed in different neighborhoods of İzmir. Participants were working in private schools that high level income families' children attend; public schools that are located in middle income neighborhoods and low income neighborhoods. Thus, schools' location and the income levels of parents inevitably emerged as factors influencing teachers' working conditions, in the interviews. Frankly, participants only shared their experiences about low income neighborhoods. Because teaching in those neighborhoods is utterly hard for a number of reasons, as reflected by the participants. In

this section, participants' experiences in schools in low income context neighborhoods and the effects on working conditions will be presented.

Ayşegül (Participant.16): The neighborhood is very bad. Families they both lack financials and education. They migrated here. They have a lot of children, troubled.. But we try to solve the problems. We handle it in the classroom. We strive to solve the problems, to overcome them..

As reflected by Ayşegül, one of the major drawbacks of low income neighborhoods is that families usually have a lot of children, but they lack both financial and immaterial resources to provide them. They are not educated. Their familial relationships are troubled mostly, due to financial problems. Domestic violence is prevalent. They do not have financials even to feed their children properly.

Thus, teachers in those schools not only try to teach students the lessons, but also they try to educate them on some simple daily living necessities, like personal hygiene, eating, knocking the door before entering. They usually act both as teachers and mothers/fathers, as they give the primary family training. They teach the students manners. They try to provide them clothing and stationery themselves, within the bounds of possibility. Teaching in those schools is very demanding for teachers. As a result of this, as reflected by the participants, teachers stick together, they unite and act together in order to overcome the challenges.

Asuman (Participant.9): My former school was in the worst area of Narlıdere. I worked there for a year. The area where people who migrated, lived. The management and teachers were obliged to stick together, they had to have strong relationships to handle the trouble... you have to teach every single thing to the student, how to knock the door, how to clean your hand...they always hear curses from the family...teachers have to adopt the students as their own kids, to teach them to help them..

Oğuz (Participant.19): I worked in a ghetto for two years. The friendship between teachers in that ghetto school, was amazing. Very good friends.

Another drawback is the violence which is directed towards teachers. Participants shared a number of experiences about being victims of assaults of parents and families of students. When their children fail in the exams, or be fined, the parents blame teachers. That is how teachers face this threat.

Recep (Participant.15): I worked in Kuruçeşme. The profile is so bad over there, the student profile. The families are not educated. They engaged in violence to us, the teachers, they stopped us on the way to school, they threatened us with knives. My psychology was so bad. I even had suicidal thoughts. I quitted and I had psychological treatment for more than three months.

Recep's story is a very heart breaking story about the above mentioned problem. He was attacked by a parent, for a reason which is unknown to me. Because, he felt so bad when he was sharing this experience with me that, he couldn't continue and I didn't persist and ask any further questions. He was only able to say that after the incident he had psychological treatment for a while, he was transferred to another school and from that time on, he was having trouble in trusting people that he just met.

Even if not faced any personal threat or assault, teachers in those schools still work in fear. They either hear some incidents happening in the neighborhood, witness others in their schools or they see policemen waiting in the front door of their school and feel restless.

Ülkü (Participant.6): ..there is always an ambulance or policemen by the school gate...so complicated. A couple of students cause trouble..

As I have witnessed personally during my observations and the interviews presented, teaching in low income neighborhoods is very hard and challenging. Besides the necessity of teaching kids in multiple dimensions and facing threats and fear; teachers also feel very sad. Because they everyday face the poverty that they are surrounded with. Witnessing the

students' undernourishment; seeing the bruises of kids who are victims of domestic violence; facing their great need for clothes, shoes and stationery; teachers undertake heavy moral responsibilities, themselves. They feel saddened and helpless seeing the children in poor conditions. They try to help students with their personal incomes. But, as it is impossible to help all, teaching in such schools is like working with a constantly bleeding scar in their hearts.

After presenting an overall view of the organizational context; I will present the findings about the focal research aim of my study: self-verification and the outcomes of self-verifying/self-discrepant feedback in the workplace.

5.2. Self-verification strivings in the workplace.

As stated by Swann, "... People are motivated to maximize the extent to which their experiences confirm and reinforce their self-views" (Swann, 2011, pp.26). Receiving verifying feedback for his/her self-view is of vital importance for the psychological well-being of an individual. People strive to get such feedback from their, intimate others, friends and family. If their self-views are confirmed by those people, they feel content because the reality they are living in is expectable and safe for them. Modern people spend an average of 8 hours in the workplace. They spend more time with colleagues than with friends and family. Thus, it is important that they receive confirming feedback in the workplace, from colleagues. Or, is it? What happens when they receive verifying feedback from colleagues, what happens when they receive discrepant feedback? How do they feel? What happens when they work with verifying colleagues, does it influence their workplace behavior? If so, how does it effect?

I tried to find answers to these questions through the experiences, stories and reflections of the participants and also from my personal observations. In this section, I will submit the understanding that I have obtained

through my field study. I will present the realities of my participants as they have presented. I have organized this section in four parts. The first part involves participant reflections about verifying feedback that they get from colleagues and second part is about self-discrepant feedback. In the third section participants' ideas and experiences about whose feedback is of more value to them, is presented and in the fourth section, the outcomes of self-verifying feedback in the workplace are submitted, based on participant reflections.

5.2.1. Self-verifying feedback

During the interviews, participants mostly descanted on the atmosphere of the school, interpersonal relationships and the working conditions. The experiences and ideas they have presented me were very important for my study, as, they led us to the focal point that I was interested in. At some point, after they were relaxed, shared a lot about their workplaces, felt safe and trusted me, I asked them the question if their colleagues knew them as they see themselves. I asked them whether their colleagues get to know themselves well. After that time, they shared their stories and experiences about receiving verifying feedback from their colleagues.

Muhittin (Participant.12):my colleagues, I know that they know me very well. Both my colleagues in here, and back in the village schools.

As in Muhittin's case, some participants reflected that their colleagues know them very well. They started telling stories without a moment of hesitation. Other teachers understanding their feelings just from how they sounded or looked like; offending them against others in times of trouble; joking around them about some personal details and predicting how they would react, before they react.

On the other hand, some participants needed some time to think, after that moment of silence and inner assessment, some told me that some

colleagues do, and some participants stated that they received verifying feedback only from a few people in the workplace. But this statement was made with a malcontent expression, almost at all times.

Recep (Participant.15): ...as I told you, a few colleagues know who I am, actually...

After stating that they received confirmatory feedback from their colleagues, they added that they are known by them even to the tiniest details. In some cases, I met their colleagues and witnessed the closeness of their friendships. They opened up about their memories about friend/colleagues. The hard times that they supported each other to get through, like the loss of a loved one. Happy moments, like welcoming a new born or celebrating the championship of the football team that they support. Almost all participants recalled people that they are close with, when they think about the people who know them very well at the workplace. But after sharing those stories, most of them also talked about people that they are not close friends with, but know them very well even so.

Oğuz (Participant.19):...Ahmet Bey, for example, he knows me very well. We are working in the same team...but I don't like him, at all. He does not like me either...I don't like his world-view, his attitude towards others... not my type of person.

When talking about this subject, some participants shared how it feels to receive verifying feedback from colleagues, based on their personal experiences. They told me how they felt when they interacted with those colleagues, when they met them, worked with them and spent time with them.

Defne (Participant.4): . ..being known by people, being able to express yourself accurately, being who I am...it is so nice.

Defne, as an example, reflected that she felt good that her colleagues knew her. She added that she felt content, because she was able express

herself to others well. She saw people self-verifying feedback for a proof that she expressed herself accurately.

Asuman, on the other hand, said that her colleagues know her and its a comfort for her. Because she is free of worrying about being misunderstood and hurting people.

Asuman (Participant.9): The fact that my colleagues knew me very well.... for example, on a bad mood day I might have talked to them with a bad face, or said something wrong, but they'd understand, they'd see that I was having a bad day, not something personal. They already know that I am not that kind of a person, rude, unpleasant, insensitive. They'd ask me if something is wrong. This is such a nice feeling.

Through receiving verifying feedback and being known by her colleagues, the relationship becomes predictable and the uncertainty is reduced (Swann, 2011). This made Asuman content and happy, as she did not need to tell herself and her intentions every other time to her colleagues. This saved her time and energy.

On the other hand, some participants said that the reason their colleagues knew them well is that they have been working together for a long time. They reflected that, in time, people get closer, they learn the characteristics and the personality of each other and, at the end, they become people who know each other very well. It was the frequency and the intensity of the mutual interaction and sharing.

Şahika (Participant.27): The colleagues that I have been working in the same school for a long time, they know me very well, naturally. We shared a lot, we witnessed a lot about our personal and professional lives. It takes time.. New comers, I don't know them, they don't know me. Also, if I'm the new comer, same thing applies.

Some participants, on the other hand made an exact distinction about their characteristics. They stated that, they received verifying feedback,

not for their general self-views (they named as personal characteristics), but for their professional characteristics. The following section presents the related reflections.

a. Self-verifying feedback for professional characteristics

A number of participants reflected that, they receive verifying feedback by their colleagues, but for their “specific selves”. The self-views that are related to their professional life and Professional characteristics and abilities. They separated themselves as a person and a teacher. They received verifying feedback from the colleagues as a teacher.

Deniz (Participant.5): My colleagues, they know me very well but in terms of professional characteristics. They know Deniz as a teacher, not as a person.

Oğuz (Participant.19): I see myself as two different person, one is private life, one in professional life.

As seen in Deniz’s statement, she defined two different Deniz. Deniz in her personal life and Deniz in her Professional life. She said that she received verifying feedback from her colleagues for Deniz, the teacher. They draw lines between the person and the teacher, as if they were talking about two different human beings, like Oğuz did.

On the other hand, after telling that they see themselves as being different in different contexts, some participants added that, they preferred it to be so. They stated that they did not disclose themselves as a person, as they are in their private lives, as their family and friends know them, to their colleagues. This has been an informed choice for them. They draw lines for the colleagues and they let them see only what they preferred to be seen.

Oya (Participant.13): My colleagues do not witness me as I am in my personal life. I keep my personal life to myself. They know me in terms of professional characteristics. They know me good in that.

Participants like Oya, perceived school as the place they perform their profession; the place they make a living; the place they make a difference professionally; not a place to make friends. Thus, they are simply not interested in getting people know them as they are. What they care for and want, is to be known well as a teacher.

b. Self-verifying feedback for weaknesses

In the interviews, participants also mentioned about the points and the areas that they feel weak about. For them, receiving confirmatory feedback meant receiving feedback both for strengths and weaknesses all at once. As in Defne's statements, some mentioned the absurdity of trying to hide it or preferring it to be unknown, because it was impossible.

Dila (Participant.18): I am human, I do have weaknesses, flaws.. I don't hide them. I have no patience, for example and they know it.

As in Dila's reflection, a human is a package that involves the good and the bad; the strong and the weak. So it is natural to have weaknesses and it is ok that they are known by the colleagues.

Burçak (Participant.3): I prefer to be known by my strengths, my successes, but any how, my weaknesses and failures are also known, which is, at the end of the day, not bad.

Receiving verifying feedback from colleagues, even for weaknesses, flaws and imperfections; is also seen by an opportunity by some participants. An opportunity to be compensated and corrected by the colleagues; a chance to get help from them. The logic is simple, if they know my weaknesses, they will compensate me for the sake of the team performance or the school.

Defne (Participant.4): My weaknesses... Here they are, obvious, clear, not hidden...for example I can't speak English well, this is obviously seen in the meetings ...It is ok that my

colleagues know my weaknesses, they can compensate them, we are team.

On the other hand, some participants reported that they did not prefer their weaknesses to be known by the colleagues. Because they feared of being abused by them using those very weaknesses. Like the Achilles' heel, those weaknesses could have been used against them, to hurt them or take advantage of them.

Ayşegül (Participant.16): Actually I do not want my colleagues to know about my weaknesses, because, my weakness for example is that I cannot say no to people. A characteristics which is so prone to abuse.

On the contrary, some participants preferred their weaknesses to be known just for the same reason: they wanted their colleagues to be aware of their weaknesses so that they do not abuse or take advantage of them. If they know the weaknesses, they can arrange their behavior accordingly and do not use those for bad, as they could do so, without even realizing what they do.

İpek (Participant.20): They know, they'd better know. For example I cannot refuse people. They should know it and not abuse me...I am who I am, this or that. Nothing to hide.

From the teachers that I have conducted in-depth interviews, I heard many stories of verifying colleagues in the school. The verifier, the amount of verifiers; the stories and memories they shared; the way they expressed their feelings about receiving verifying feedback varied. Also, there were cases where the participant reported that he received discrepant feedback. In the following section, I will present the reflections of participants about receiving discrepant feedback from colleagues.

5.2.2. Self-discrepant feedback

Receiving self-discrepant feedback, a person fails to get confirmation for his/her self-view from the other. That very self-view would serve him/her in making sense of his/her social interactions, in maintaining coherence, in making predictions about the world and in guiding behavior. If deprived from confirmation steadily, the person can be impaired psychologically.

In the interviews, I heard stories of discrepant feedback as much as I heard about verifying feedback. Some participants reported that they received non-confirmatory feedback in their past, back in the former schools that they have worked; and added that they received verifying feedback in their current school. The opposite cases were also told. Many participants shared that they experienced the feeling of receiving discrepant feedback from their colleagues.

Ayşegül (Participant.16): (Talking about her former school)...I don't think they knew me. I don't think so. I felt lonely there. I was just doing my job, distant, cold. No opportunities to have a decent, nice chat between colleagues. Focus was on the job...I felt lonely, it is all that I remember.

As Ayşegül reflected, she felt lonely working with people who did not know her. While in school, she didn't find any chances for personal interaction, she just completed her class hours and focused on her work. Not having people who actually knew her; knew about her characteristics, likes, dislikes and preferences, she felt lonely and distanced from others. She craved for humane interaction; a nice chat, mutual smiles and sharing. As seen in her statements, the only problem was not colleagues not knowing her, interpersonal relationships looked troubled, either.

a.They don't want to know me

Recep (Participant.15): I think most people don't know me as I am. Some can see me as I am....they don't know me

because they don't communicate, they don't talk. They just come to the teachers' room and sit quietly....they don't wanna know..they don't have any desire to get to know me, know who I am...

While reflecting about discrepant feedback, some participants offered their ideas about the reasons why the colleagues did not know them. As Recep stated, one reason is lack of communication. The distant relationships, detachedness and the unwillingness to get to know each other are the other reasons. Without personal communication, people do not have chances to learn about the others.

Burçak (Participant.3): Some teachers, teachers of age, did not know me at all. Because they never had any efforts to get to know me. We never talked, never had a chat, even small talk. Just hello and good morning....I really wish we had the chance to know each other. In that case, I would have learned a lot from them, their experiences, their know-how. May be they could have learned some from me, too.

Burçak, also, stated that she was not known by some colleagues. She thought, that was a consequence of their unwillingness to learn about her, get to know her. According to Burçak, those colleagues did not have any efforts because, as they are aged compared to her, they didn't want to be friends. Their relationship was limited to only greeting each other. As she reflected, not having any personal communication not only prevent people from getting to know each other, but also hinders the transfer of ideas, know-how and experiences, which is disadvantageous for any organization. It diminishes the chances to create a synergy between colleagues.

b. I don't (can't) disclose myself

Of course, there is the other side of the coin: some participants reflected that, the reason that they received self-discrepant feedback from colleagues is their free or forced choice of not disclosing themselves.

i. My choice

Eda (Participant.7):I am quiet mostly. I withdraw myself. I keep myself to myself. I am quiet mostly. I withdraw and keep myself to myself...they only know that I am excited and anxious. Because it is seen when I talk.... My students know me tough, after a while, they got to know me.

In Eda's case, it's her choice not to disclose herself to colleagues. She stated that she stayed quiet, did not engaged in conversations and she voluntarily kept a distance to everyone. She repeatedly said that she kept herself away and did not prefer people to get to know her. But, she also reported that she received discrepant feedback from her students and that made her unhappy (details will be given in the following sections). She reflected that she tried to change the situation and showed efforts to get her students know her. Her staying distant to colleagues and not preferring them to know her personally but showing efforts to get her student know and understand her, tells something. It does not mean that receiving confirmatory feedback in the workplace is not important for her; it just means that she preferred to get verifying feedback from a specific group in the workplace: students.

ii. Forced to do so

For some participants, on the other side, not disclosing themselves is not a personal choice. It is a result of the circumstances and they are forced to do so. For example, in Muhittin's case, while he was teaching in small cities like Erzurum, Gaziantep and Kütahya, he was not able to disclose himself. He feared to do so. As he is an Alevi (A branch of Islam, that is different then Sunni Islam) and Kurdish, he kept this dimension of his self-silenced when he was working in Sunni and Turkish dominated regions.

Muhittin (Participant.12): Most of the time, I couldn't directly and openly disclose myself, my identity, in my professional

life, when I was working in villages and other small towns. With a number of reasons. If you work in a village, you cannot directly and openly express who you are. If you do so, they misunderstand you, they misjudge you. It doesn't happen here, in İzmir. But when we were in Erzurum, Gaziantep, Kütahya, we couldn't be open about who we are. The reasons are several, because of your birth place, your political ideas or religious identity...these things are inappropriate for those communities. There will be trouble, for sure...This is my 8th year in İzmir. I have been open about who I am in İzmir...for example, 15 years ago I was not able to say that I am an Alevi, or when I said I am from Tunceli (a city that mostly Alevi and Kurdish people live), people stared at me, they distanced me, not lived such things in Izmir, though.

He experienced that when he disclosed himself as being an Alevi Kurt, people of the small villages (Parents) distanced him, some blamed him for being a separatist and not loving the homeland. Such experiences made him very unhappy and restless, as he saw himself as a good citizen who serves his country with love and willingness. This non-confirming feedback made him to avoid disclosing himself in the other schools that he was transferred so that he did not live such incidents again. This, in turn, caused him to receive discrepant feedback, again. But when he was transferred to İzmir, the situation changed. As Izmir is a big city, people did not care about his race and religion, it was ok for them that he was an Alevi and Kurdish. He was free to disclose himself as he wished, and as he reflected, he thinks receives confirmatory feedback from his colleagues in Izmir.

c. Managerial influence

On the other hand, some participants reflected that people's behaving distant to others and not showing any efforts to know each other is a result of the managerial attitude in school. When the management, principal and the vice principals, stay away from colleagues, do not have

any humane interaction, avoid to know others; it is reflected downwards and teachers behave in the same way. As seen in İsa's statements below, if the principal does not care about getting to know people that he/she leads, if he/she does not have personal interaction with others, teachers are influenced negatively and they may behave accordingly.

İsa (Participant.17): Look, I strongly think that principal and the other managerial staff, they do not know me at all...respecting a teacher because he is a person, he is a teacher; trying to understand him, trying to learn who he is, these are things that I did not experience in this school. People do not know each other well and because of that, they misjudge each other.....using generalizations, without any efforts to get to know the person, just judging by evaluating what is obvious, what is seen.....this affects me badly, negatively...people criticize others without knowing them. The truth is, people are influenced by the management. The attitude of management mostly influence how the teachers approach each other.... the important thing is to know your colleagues well, so that you can behave accordingly, in a way that he deserves.... here, people act...thus, the atmosphere is cold and we are like, forced be distant to each other.

Actually, Ferhat's below statement summarizes this section very accurately:

Ferhat (Participant.30): At some point how much people know you is about the boundaries, limits. There are limits that we draw personally and there are limits that the school, the management draws. You get to know each other as much as those limits let you. How much does the person want to know me, how much the school and the community let us.

People disclose themselves to colleagues within the boundaries that Ferhat explained: the boundaries that they themselves set, the ones set by the management and the community and the ones set by the colleagues.

d. Feelings about receiving self-discrepant feedback

In the interviews, participants also shared their feelings about not being known, actually, being known as a person that, they think they are not. They described how it made them feel and reflected their experiences.

Kemal (Participant.26):...being known as person that I am not, it really, deeply bothers me. I feel depressed, distressed. It feels like I am walking around wearing a mask. Someone put it on me, I can't get rid of it, it is not me, because of, it people cannot see the real me. Like a horror movie, right?..... If you are a healthy person psychologically, such a situation bothers you, naturally, inevitably.

Dila (Participant.18): ..when I am surrounded with colleagues who have no idea who I am.....I mean...the result is exhaustion, or burn out, I think this is the best word to describe it. Also, feeling inadequate and awkward. I experienced it in the past. Not healthy, not at all....depending on my experience of 10 years, I think for this profession, teaching, getting approval is a must... Teachers need approval.

Kemal reflected his feelings as distress, depression and bother. He draw a beautiful analogy; he likened receiving discrepant feedback as wearing a mask without his will, under compulsion. The mask is representing a self which he does not accept to be his. He described the situation as being in a horror movie. That's why people engage in compensatory self-verifying behavior when they receive self-discrepant feedback (Brooks, Swann and Mehta, 2011; Swann and Hill, 1982; Swann and Read, 1981; Swann, Wenzlaf and Tafarodi; 1992). They have compensatory self-verification strivings in order to get rid of that feeling of psychological distress and lack of cohesion.

e. Compensatory self-verification strivings

Dila, also reflected that she worked with people who did not know her. She described the situation as exhausting. She felt inadequate and awkward.

Eda (Participant.7): At first, my students did not know me, did not know my character. They were afraid of me...I am disciplined, I am normative, so they knew me as a bad teacher...it was my mistake...I felt so bad and then, I tried to get them know me, the real me Now, they do and they love me.

When they feel and observe that others know them differently than they think they are; people start to labor; they use self-verification strategies and show maximum efforts to get verification for their selves (McCall and Simmons, 1966; Swann and Read, 1981; Swann and Hill, 1982; Swann et al., 1989; Swann, Wenzlaf and Tafarodi; 1992; Swann et al., 1994; Brooks, Swann and Mehta, 2011) As seen in Eda's reflection, in her first year teaching in her current school, she thought that her students feared her, thought her as being a bad teacher. After receiving self-discrepant feedback, she felt herself very bad. She was sad and shocked. She never expected or imagined to be seen as a rigid and harsh teacher. Not being confirmed by her students, she started showing efforts to get her students know her better. As she taught that, if students knew the "real Eda", they would love her. And after some time, she reflected that, students really met her, got to know her and they loved her as their teacher.

Kamil (Participant.21): When I realize that someone thinks I am a person that I really am not, I try to compensate it, change it..... A person not knowing you well may cause him to misjudge you, make wrong decisions about you. When such a thing happens, to me, for example, I try to explain myself, disclose myself and try to make that person understand who I really am. But this is abrasive, really.

Right along with the efforts they showed to get confirmatory feedback from people who do not know them, participants reflected about the consequences of discrepant feedback, too. Those consequences were related to the interpersonal relationships. As Kamil said, it is highly likely that the non-confirming colleague may misjudge him and this misjudgment may cause the colleague to make inexact and wrong decisions. This situation does not permit a mutual predictability to form between the two and may cause problems in guiding behavior (Swann, 2011). There are little chances that these two have a smooth relationship, which may affect their performance in team work.

f. I don't care at all

Among all the participants who reported feeling bad, distressed, left out and depressed when they received discrepant feedback, there was one deviant case.

İbrahim (Participant.14): People know me, they don't know me, whatever. I don't care. Not important for me. My habitat is my classroom, school means classroom to me. I don't care what happens outside...these things are never reflected in my classroom. My classroom is so important for me, nothing may influence me in there.

As seen in his statement, İbrahim reflected that receiving discrepant feedback has never been important for him. He defined himself as being integrated with his classroom. He expressed that school meant classroom for him; he spent his time there and when the class hours are finished he studies alone in some quiet place. His isolation and loneliness, were they the signs that tell us he did not care about receiving discrepant feedback from colleagues, or were they the result of it? He had no humane interaction with colleagues unless it was absolutely necessary; is it his choice or is it how colleagues alienated him through discrepant feedback? I could not obtain an understanding about it during my interview, because

although he loved talking a lot, he did not open up about it. Also, his was one of the five interviews that I conducted in a place other than the school that the teacher is working. He preferred to meet me in a cafeteria, and so we did it. This withheld me from observing.

In the current section, I tried to submit participants' reflections about receiving non-confirmatory feedback from colleagues. They have discussed the issue from a number of domains with me, as I presented all above. In the following section, I will provide participant experiences and ideas about whose feedback is of more value to them in the workplace.

5.2.3. Self-verifying feedback: from who?

During the interviews and when we were talking about whether they received verifying feedback, participants' certain preferences about by who they want to be known by, has emerged. In our interview with Eda, she first reflected that she purposefully withdrew herself from colleagues and did not disclose herself to them.

Eda (Participant.7):I am quiet mostly. I withdraw myself. I keep myself to myself. I am quiet mostly. I withdraw and keep myself to myself...they only know that I am excited and anxious. Because it is seen when I talk.... My students know me tough, after a while, they got to know me.

This statement may lead to the idea that Eda did not care about getting confirmation about her self view in the workplace, because she actually preferred to hide her "self" from them. But later, she shared another experience with me

Eda (Participant.7): At first, my students did not know me, did not know my character. They were afraid of me...I am disciplined, I am normative, so they knew me as a bad teacher...it was my mistake...I felt so bad and then, I tried to get them know me, the real me Now, they do and they love me.

This statement was saying something else: After receiving discrepant feedback from students, Eda was disappointed and wanted to get confirmatory feedback from them. For her, it was the students that being known by, mattered.

Also in other interviews, participants either directly named their preferences or their experiences and stories about from whom they preferred to receive confirmatory feedback.

a.Students

Some participants said that they wanted the students to know them well. Their reasons for that were somewhat similar. Like in Gülşah's and Ülkü's statements, students were their work of art; their way of creating a difference, a value and their way of leaving a mark. That's why those participants desired to be personally known by their students.

Gülşah (Participant.23): I want students to know me very well. They are my product. I work for them, I work with them. How can we achieve anything without knowing each other?

Ülkü (Participant.6): I want my students to know me well. When I think about my professional contribution, the way I create value and difference, it is the students. That's the reason why I want them to know me, know my personality.

Dila (Participant.18): My kids know me best. I have to have good communication with them, the result of good communication is that, you know each other well. I know them well, they know me well. They are my job. They are the reason of my existence in this school.

Their efforts and performance are visible only through the students. I witnessed and observed that most of the participants perceived the students as their products. They saw themselves as sculptors shaping the mud. What the mud means for the sculptor, students meant the same thing for the teachers. They spend most of their school time with the

students, they have the greatest amount of interaction and cooperation with them. They mostly try to have good communication with their students, as Dila reflected, through good communication they have good relationships and they get to know each other.

Additionally some participants reported that they wanted the students and their parents to know themselves. As seen in Muhittin's reflection, parents are also important actors for teachers.

Muhittin (Participant.12): It is all tied together, I mean if teachers know me, students know me, principal knows me, parents know me, being known by everyone, it is the best. But among them I want my students and parents know me well. It is the most important thing that they know me well. The teachers in my team, it is not that important for me that they know me or not. Parents should know me well because they commend their children to me, they should know me well, thus they trust me and feel safe that the children are with me in school.

Parents commend and entrust their children to teachers. "Emanet", the entrusted entity to someone, is of great value and importance in Turkey. It means a lot to be entrusted by someone in the Turkish culture. The person shows maximum efforts to protect and preserve the entity which is entrusted to himself/herself. In schools, that entity is the student. As Muhittin described, participants think that parents should know the teachers well, as they are entrusting their children to teachers. Entrusting something to someone requires mutual trust. Which also requires to know the person well.

b. Teachers-colleagues

Some participants stated that it was most important for them to receive verifying feedback from the teachers that they work with. Ayşegül, Defne and Oya and all other participants that made the same preference, voiced similar reasons. While working in teams together, cooperating in projects,

discussing ideas and themes, attending workshops together; teachers spend a lot of time with each other. The quality and sincerity of their relationship is important for them. As they perform together, receiving verifying feedback from other teachers enables team work and ensures that it runs smoothly.

Ayşegül (Participant.16): I'd prefer that teachers know me, as a person, because we share a lot with them. The principal, I'd prefer him to know me as a teacher, as a professional.

Defne (Participant.4): My team mates... we work together as a team, we are together most of the time. But I don't see my principal that much, two times a week in the meetings, so I prefer the teachers in my group to know me well.

Oya (Participant.13): We work in teams and during the meetings, in brain storming sessions, we get to know each other well. I show my passion, my priorities my desires in the meetings. I appear as who I really am in there, with my colleagues..

Participants reflected that it is also easier for them to get other teachers know themselves. Because as mentioned in the statements, they share a lot of experiences, spend much time together and have more chances to disclose themselves to. During the brain storming sessions and team meetings people tear down their polite masks and are seen as who they are. Thus the chances are high that they get to know each other well.

Ferhat (Participant.30): The times you spend with that person and the importance of knowing each other well, these two are positively correlated. It is more that a person knows you well, if you work with him a lot. When you share a lot of things, also you want that person to know you well.

As reflected above by Ferhat, teachers want teachers to know themselves well for this main reason; the adults that they spend the most of their day time are other teachers. They are each other's most relevant option to have interpersonal interaction. The better they know each other, the more

chances they have of having good relationships and avoiding conflicts. The better they know each other, the easier, smoother and less time consuming the team work becomes.

c. Principals-managers

The third group of participants stated that they preferred the principals to know them well. The reason behind this choice was that the principal holds the power for delegation and division of work. Participants think that if they received confirmatory feedback from the principal, their probability of being assigned to jobs which are appropriate and relevant for themselves would increase. Also getting principal's approval and confirmation is important. For them, being accepted, approved and recognized by management is a sign of success. In some cases, being friends with the principal or being a member of his/her in-group is desired, as it may bring some privileges and advantages.

Meltem (Participant.8): My principal and a couple of colleagues, it is more than enough for me to know me very well....the principal knows me very very well. My principal to know me, my abilities, characteristics, is most important for me, her saying to me, Meltem will do this very well, Meltem is good at this subject, it is important for me.

Osman (Participant.1): Normally I want the principal and the vice principals to know me. When I started working here, it was my wish to get to know each other with them. I wanted them to know me, see my potential. How much I can achieve, how do I perform, how I am with the kids. It happened, in time.

Participants reflected that they particularly showed efforts to receive verifying feedback from their principals with the reasons stated above. In some cases, on the other hand, participants did not name specific groups of people as the ones that they want to receive confirmatory feedback

from. Those participants reflected that it was important for them that the teachers that they respect most knew themselves.

Zeynep (Participant.2): I care about the ideas of teachers that I respect. My priority is that, I want them to know me personally. I want them to know the true me. They matter for me.

For Zeynep, as an example, being known by colleagues that she perceived to be successful, respected and venerable mattered. As she valued those colleagues, it was enough for her that they got to know her well. Whether others knew her or not was not of importance.

After presenting the findings related to receiving self-verifying and self-discrepant feedback from colleagues in this section, I will submit the outcomes of confirming feedback in the workplace in the following section.

5.2.4. Outcomes of self-verifying feedback in organizational settings

Receiving self-verifying and self-discrepant feedback has both psychological and sociological effects on the individual. Self-verification research showed such effects in the marital relationships. The major aim of the current study was to investigate the influence of self-verifying and self-discrepant feedback on workplace relationships. In this section, I will present the related findings along with reflections from the participants.

a. Improved communication

During the interviews, observations and in the analysis, it emerged that when people received self-verifying feedback, their communication with the verifier improved. They felt relaxed, safe and as a result they communicated easily and with comfort.

Dila (Participant.18): Last year, for example, I have expressed myself very well. This happened in time. When I

was new, I was thinking twice before speaking, as people may not agree, they may not welcome what I say. How will they react.. It is easier to express yourself with limits, it is safer. No risks. But in time, as I noticed and be sure that people know me, that I know them, I started expressing myself comfortably. It is with experience in job, experience in the school that you work and getting to know each other with colleagues.

Dila reflected that, when she was new in her school, she avoided speaking. Because she thought that she might be misunderstood, misjudged and not welcomed by the colleagues. She stated that, as she was completely unknown to her colleagues, as she received discrepant feedback from them, communication failures were likely to happen. When she couldn't avoid communication, she did it with limiting herself, cautiously and anxiously. But after some time, as they got to know each other with colleagues and she was sure to be known by them; she received verifying feedback and she relaxed. She did not fear being misunderstood or misjudged because people knew her. They knew her limits, values, priorities, personality and communication style. Thus, alongside with socialization, being known by colleagues played an important role in the improvement of communication.

Dila (Participant.18): (Being known well by the colleagues) makes me feel happy, because I do not have to put any efforts to tell myself to them. I don't have explain what I meant, I do not have to defend myself, I do not have to strive for approval. Weapons down.....Trying to explain yourself, trying to make people understand you is such an energy and time consuming effort in relationships. It badly effects me.. I don't need to make explanations, this is such a comfort.

Dila's story is also similar. She expressed that, receiving verifying feedback from her colleagues was a great comfort because it removed and abolished the efforts to tell herself, explain and defend herself. When colleagues knew her well, she did not need to spend time and efforts to

be understood accurately and she did not need to be offensive and cautious. In this case, she saved time and efforts. Being known was a comfort as the social surroundings became more predictable (Swann, 2011).

Same feeling of comfort can also be seen in Osman and Şahika's statements.

Osman (Participant.1): First of all, I am known here. I mean, who I am is known by the management, my team mates, my students and this reflects on my relationships with them. I know how to communicate with them, it shapes my relationships. I feel comfortable, no tension...I am comfortable with people who know me well. I do not focus on the relationship, I focus on my job...

Şahika (Participant.27): When you get to know each other with your colleagues, you feel free to act as you are, talk as you wish. You can insist on an issue, because people know you both personally and professionally.

As Osman stated, that feeling of comfort let him to focus on his job and spend time and energy to it. Otherwise, the same time and energy would have been spent to communication and relationships. He would have been trying to explain himself in every occasion in order to prevent mistakes, misunderstandings and conflicts. But, in his current state, he could say what he wished freed from the fear of being misunderstood or misjudged. Also, as Şahika reflected that she felt free to act as she is. She could freely disclose herself to colleagues and did not have the need to limit or bound herself. As it is obvious in the statements, participants associated engaging in communication with colleagues who do not know themselves with tension, distress, anxiety and fear. When they received confirmatory feedback from them and thus relaxed, how they felt is, as described by Dila as "weapons down".

Gülşah (Participant.23): As I am new in this school, as they don't know me, and because of that they can misjudge me, I behave cautiously. I think before I talk...Thinking hard before talking, thinking twice every time I say or do

something, you know what I think then, I think that I don't feel like I belong here.

Some participants, like Gülşah, even stated that the tense atmosphere, the feelings of anxiety, and fear may even made them feel that they did not belong to the organizational setting. They needed people to know themselves and they needed to have good communication and relationships to have a feeling of belonging to the school.

As people know each other well, even to the tiniest details of each other's personalities, then communication is enabled, it is joyful, relaxing and smooth. When communication is good, the probability of avoiding and solving problems and conflicts increase; the chances of having good interpersonal relationships increase; team work is facilitated as ideas and feelings can be shared at ease, mutually. Thus, improved communication is a desired outcome in every organizational setting, and, so it is in schools.

b. Facilitated team work through effective division of work

Another emergent outcome of self-verifying feedback in the workplace is effective division of work. Participant reflections presented that they wanted and tried to receive verifying feedback from their colleagues as submitted in the above sections. Giving confirmatory feedback, thus knowing a person, means knowing his/her personal characteristics, professional abilities, skills, capabilities as well as his/her strengths and weaknesses. So, participants stated that, working with colleagues who knew their strengths, weaknesses, capabilities, skills; in sum, their limits in professional life and as a person, facilitated cooperation.

Osman (Participant.1): They know the subjects that they can ask help from me. In delegating the work, in cooperation, they know how they can use me. They intervene in subjects that they know I am not good at or will have trouble

organizing... if not, the quality of job would not be as good as it could, also a lot of time would be lost.

Osman described how being known by the colleagues, ensured well-directed division of work. He stated that his colleagues knew the areas that he is good at and not good at, at all. By having that knowledge, the work which he could perform well would be given to him and the work he could not complete as good as someone else could, given to another colleague. By assigning people the work that they would perform well, team resources are used efficiently and team work is facilitated.

Hüseyin (Participant.29): I want my colleagues, my principal to know me, and my weaknesses, because division of work will be done accordingly. A person cannot be good at everything, isn't it so? They assign work to people like this, Ali is good at this, let him do this, Ayse is not experienced in that, let Meryem do it, Ayse can complete the paper work. This is good for the team work.

In the interviews, same condition has arisen multiple times. While they were sharing their experiences about how much their colleagues know themselves, participants also reflected about the same condition. They told how work is delegated and divided between colleagues effectively, as a consequence of people knowing each other well. They also referred to the effective and efficient use of resources in team work, as a consequence of it.

Defne (Participant.4): It is ok that my colleagues know my weaknesses, they can compensate them, we are team.

As Defne stated, participants thought that, when they are working with colleagues that know them well, their weaknesses are atoned, deficiencies and lack of experience are compensated. This is a condition which both facilitates team work and comforts the participant. As mentioned before, teachers work in teams and the overall performance of the team influence individual in-class performances. When team-mates know each other well,

the correct division of work which uses each member for the work that he could perform better than others is made. The result is the efficient and effective use of team resources and facilitated team work.

c. Accurate expectations about performance

Besides well-directed division of work, participants saw colleagues/students/parents having accurate expectations about their performance as another consequence of receiving verifying feedback from these parties.

Dila (Participant.18): When people know you, in your workplace, they know your limits. How much you can perform, how much they can ask and expect from you.....no inefficient meetings, no time and energy lost..

Dila stated that, when she works with colleagues that know her, things are predictable. Colleagues know what they can ask from her. Their expectations are reasonable and accurate because they know her abilities, skills, knowledge, experience and limits. Her resources are utilized effectively, neither overloaded nor remained idle.

Deniz (Participant.5): My students better know me, because they should know when I demand silence, when I need to hear ideas...I also should know them so that I can arrange the pace according to them. It is mutual...they are free to love me or not, but they must know me, so I make efforts to be known by them.

Muhittin (Participant.12): If the student knows me well, he will know what I expect, how I want things done. It is important because it effects my performance in the classroom as a teacher.

According to the participants, the same goes for students, but with a difference. This time, it is the teacher whose expectations are the point in question. When students know the teacher well, they are aware of his/her expectations from them. They will organize and direct their behavior

accordingly. The chances that they meet those expectations increase. This condition influences teachers' in-class performances.

As seen in the quotations, receiving verifying feedback from colleagues and students influence teachers in multiple ways. When the participant receives such feedback from colleagues, their expectations from him/her are based on his/her abilities, skills, strengths, weaknesses and experiences. This condition may effect both cooperation and interpersonal relationship positively. When the participant receives confirmatory feedback from the students, then, students know about his/her expectations from them. They know how they are expected to behave in the classroom, how they are expected to perform about the lessons. This condition, as voiced by the participants, influences teacher's performance.

d. Trust

Participants reflected that the more confirmatory feedback they received from colleagues the more they trusted them. In the case that the participant feels himself/herself as known well by the colleague, that he/she receives verifying feedback, the behaviors and attitudes become predictable and this mutual predictability increases the likelihood that two trust each other. As the colleague knows participant's personality and professional characteristics, the points that he/she can rely on the participant and the limits of expectations become clear and uncertainty is reduced. In most of the cases, participants reported that receiving confirming feedback from colleagues increased the likelihood of forming better personal relationships between two and this in turn facilitated trust.

Şahin (Participant.28): When I work with people who know me well and vice versa, when I have a problem, I can talk to them, I know that they understand me, I know how they react. When I'm sad I know that they will be sad for me. Knowing that they will understand me and support me in any circumstance is a great comfort. I trust them.

Şahin reflected that, the colleagues that knew him well, also understand him. He can freely communicate with them, he can express his ideas, feelings, problems to them without any concerns. He feels supported by them. He thinks he will be supported by them at all times. And this condition builds trust between them.

Meltem (Participant.8): My principal, she completely knows my character...This makes me feel, how to say, nice. She trusts me because she knows me, she travels in peace because she knows I will handle the place...

Participants also stated that they trust the principals that knew them very well, and trusted by them in return. As seen in Meltem's experiences, she thinks that her principal knew her very well and because of that she trusts Meltem. She trusts Meltem so that she leaves her as her replacement when she travels. Knowing her capabilities, the principal feels comfortable leaving the office to her. Receiving confirmatory feedback from the principal and being trusted by her makes Meltem feel good.

Recep (Participant.15): Being known in the school, that teachers know me, principals know me....it creates an atmosphere of trust. In this atmosphere of trust, I even trust myself more.

Recep also reflected his feelings of trust to colleagues that knew him well. Additionally added that, receiving confirmatory feedback from them increases his self-trust, too. Being confirmed by colleagues, moreover, being trusted by them increases his feelings of trust to himself.

Deniz (Participant.5): It makes me feel safe, that they know me, they know how far I can go, how much I can do and cannot do. They trust me and I trust them back...as they know my negative sides along with my positives.

As seen in Deniz's statements, participants trust the colleagues "back", as a result of being known and trusted by them. As explained in the literature, through receiving self-verifying feedback from others, the

mutual predictability increases and uncertainty reduces (Swann, 2011) in relationships. Improved predictability and reduced uncertainty builds trust. Trust between colleagues is a very desirable condition as, when people trust each other both the quality of relationship and the commitment to that relationship is improved. This may also have positive influence on the teamwork, which would be very desirable from a managerial perspective.

e. Affective organizational commitment

As presented in above sections, the outcomes of self-verifying feedback from colleagues are (as reflected by the participants) improved communication, facilitated team work via effective division of work, accurate expectations about performance and trust. All of these outcomes create positive feelings in the teacher. As he/she has good communication with colleagues, the probability that he/she faces conflicts, unresolved disputes are decreased, on the contrary, the chances that he/she can have good interpersonal relationships with colleagues are increased. As he/she is assigned to works that he/she is good at, an assignment that his/her capabilities, skills and experiences would let him/her to perform well; the chances of achievement and satisfaction from performing it are increased. Also, team work is facilitated and the chances of overall team success is increased. As the expectations of colleagues and/or principals about his/her performance are based on his capabilities, limitations and experiences, the distress and anxiety of failing to perform well is decreased and chances of meeting those expectations are increased. As he/she feels trusted by colleagues and he/she trusts them back; a feeling of safety emerges and interpersonal relationship quality increases. All the outcomes and related possible results cause overall positive feelings in the participant both towards colleagues and to the school.

Participant reflections showed that receiving verifying feedback from colleagues caused positive feelings towards them and towards school.

Those positive feelings evolve to become affective commitment to the school, as seen in Ülkü's statements.

Ülkü (Participant.6): People know me here, so I have warmer feelings for them, also I have sincere feelings for the school. People's behavior influence how you feel about the place you work.

Ülkü has been working in the same school for some time. Although colleagues change time to time, she reported that she has good relationships with them and she is known by them. She also reflected that, because she receives confirmatory feedback from her colleagues and they behave her accordingly and nicely, she has very positive feelings for school, she adopted the school. Thus, she was affectively committed to her school. Affective commitment is defined as an emotional attachment to the organization. The employee feels committed, involved and attached to the organization, emotionally (Meyer and Allen, 1987)

İsa (Participant.17): (talking about his former school)...Teachers and the management knew each other very well... you know, as I told you, the relationships back there were very sincere, close, warm...no masks, no role-playing....people were behaving as who really they are and thus, it was like home. We all felt like home when we were at school...

İsa, while he was talking about his former school, also stated that he felt home when he was at school. Because both colleagues and principals knew him, and they had very good interpersonal relationships. Everybody behaved as who they are, no surface acting, no role playing. As a result, he was committed to his school affectively and he accepted there as home.

Asuman (Participant.9): My former school, people there, they knew me to the tiniest detail. Knowing that they know who Asuman is, was a great comfort for me.We shared a lot. It made me feel special. I was going to school willingly, not a place that I hardly go, reluctantly. Having good communication with colleagues was very nice.

*İbrahim (Participant.14): My principal in Van. He was my friend. We knew each other so well. We were so close and sincere. A very good friend. It is a result of mutual trust. He was so supportive. He was doing so nice things that I felt that I owed him, I owed the school because of him and I did things that were not expected from me ...my principal, the parents, they knew for who I am, they were so nice to me and in return I wanted to do something for them...
...in Van, my school was my personal concern. It was like my own. I loved it there.*

İbrahim's reflection shows that as a result of receiving confirmatory feedback from the principal and all the other actors in school, he accepted the school as his own place. He was committed strongly. He expressed his feelings for school as love and affection.

Meltem (Participant.8): My colleagues, they also do know me. When I can be hurt, offended, angry, how do I behave in certain circumstances... I do things not just because those are my duties, but because I want to do them. Like, I made the school my own, school became literally my life at some point.

Meltem's statement above also supports the idea that participants adopt their school when they receive verifying feedback and enjoy its outcomes like good relationships as a product of good communication. Meltem stated that school has literally become her life. She does not only work for completing her obligations but also as she wants to serve her school.

Feeling a belonging to the school and the community, also feeling among family when with colleagues, creates affective commitment in the participants. They love to be in school, they love the people in school and they love the school. They feel the school as their own, because they are known for who they are and they are accepted for who they are. This makes them feel safe and comfortable. Those feelings lead to affective commitment, which would benefit the school in a number of ways. Thus,

teachers being affectively committed to their school is such a desirable condition for the management.

In this section, I tried to submit the findings of my study that was related to the self-verification strivings. I presented participants' feelings, experiences and stories about receiving self-verifying and self-discrepant feedback from colleagues. I also listed the feelings that aroused in them when they received such feedback. Those feelings led them to a number of outcomes related with their workplace behaviors like trust and affective commitment. Receiving confirmatory and non-confirmatory feedback also had a number of work-related outcomes like improved communication, facilitated teamwork as a result of improved division of work and accurate expectation about performance. All these outcomes were listed, presented and explained in the above paragraphs.

In the following chapter, I will discuss the findings of my study along with the related literature and my personal ideas and observations. I will also present a number of managerial implications and suggestions to managers and decision makers in the education sector with the hope of contributing the practical problem solving and improvement efforts.

6. DISCUSSION and MANAGERIAL IMPLICATIONS

The main aim of the current study, as presented in previous chapters, is to explore and gain an understanding about self-verification strivings in the workplace. The starting point of the study was an academic curiosity about how people felt when they received self-verifying feedback from the colleagues in the workplace and if they did, how did they feel, did this feeling influence their workplace behaviors, how?

The analysis of data obtained through in depth interviews, provided findings that can be grouped under two main topics. The first group of findings present micro-level detections about individual workplace behavior as a result of receiving verifying or discrepant feedback from colleagues. This group of findings contribute the general understanding about individual workplace behavior and effects of the psychological process of self-verification strivings on them. Self-verification strivings are mostly studied in intimate relationships or in collective level, in teams (student teams, emergent teams). There are only a few studies that focus on self-verification strivings in organizational settings. Also, to my knowledge, there are no studies examining self-verification strivings and its outcomes related to workplace behaviors. Through this exploratory study, an understanding about how people feel when their colleagues know them very well, how this condition effect their feelings towards the workplace and their workplace behaviors is gained and presented. Thus, study contributed the literature by presenting insights about self-verification strivings in the workplace and the effects of self-verifying/self-discrepant feedback on individual workplace behavior of teachers.

Another contribution is to the Turkish education, management and self-verification literatures, as, to my knowledge, there are no studies that focus on self-verification strivings in organizational settings in the Turkish

context and again no studies about the self-verification strivings of teachers in Turkey.

The second group of findings submit macro level detections about the general atmosphere, organizational climate, working conditions and interpersonal relationships in schools in the country. These findings contribute the cumulative knowledge about the education sector in Turkey. Education, a keystone of the welfare, prosperity and development of any country deserves academic attention at all times. The following sections will provide insights about the organizational climate, working conditions, neighborhoods, interpersonal relationships, cooperation and team work in schools.

6.1. Organizational setting: schools

During the field study, I had the opportunity to observe the schools, witness the interpersonal relationships and sense the untold and see the not voiced. For eleven months, I interviewed 30 teachers but had the chance to chat, talk and meet more than a hundred teachers. They helped me understand the context and obtain an understanding about the teaching profession in Turkish context. With their help, I was able to have an idea about their lives, experiences, problems, hopes and despairs related to their profession.

As stated by Bursalioğlu (2008), schools are organizations that receive its raw materials from the society (children), process that raw material and deliver the end product (educated children) back to society and the teachers are one of the most important strategic elements of this process. He added that, due to the nature of this process of transforming children into educated individuals, the individual dimension is far more sensitive than the corporate dimension in schools. Because the raw material, the end-product and the element that provides the transformation through education, are all individuals. Findings of this study support and draw

attention to this sensitivity. Teachers' individual sensitivity to the organization climate, working conditions, interpersonal relationships and the results of the psychological process of self-verification involved in these relationships are presented in the following sections.

6.1.1 Working conditions

Participant reflections presented that, teachers working in public schools and teachers working in private schools are subject to different conditions in schools. The major reason is the system. In private schools, the owner foundations or individual owners follow, control and observe the management of schools with great attention and tight surveillance. This provides a sense of continuity and sustainability in terms of management. In those schools, a principals seldom change and they have little effect on the working conditions, the system and the organizational climate. Because these schools mostly have pre-stated rules, procedures, methods, traditions and mechanisms.

But in public schools, the owner (state) provides the principal the chance to reshape school climate and working conditions according to his managerial understanding. This is an opportunity for some schools but an unfortunate change for some others, depending on the new coming principal. Thus findings presented that, organizational climate in public schools is likely to change when the principal changes.

The concept of organizational climate is coined by Lewin, Lippitt and White in 1939. It is the set of characteristics that are dominant in the organization; it provides the organization an identity; it is perceived by the members and it influences them (Ertekin, 1978). Organizational climate of a school is, the sum of inner characteristics that differentiates it from other schools and effects the principal, teacher and student behaviors. School climate is highly related to the attitudes and behaviors of the actors in the school (Korkmaz, 2007). It can be seen as the personality of

the school. It also effects the climate of the classroom and thus, students are influenced by it (Çelik, 2002). It is seen as an end-result of the relationships between individuals and groups in the organization (Bursalıoğlu, 2005).

As submitted in the findings chapter, some participants reflected that, they had a positive and supportive climate and were happy in their schools in the past. But, as they reported, with the change of the principal, things changed. The new coming principal's attitudes, behaviors and managerial style influenced and changed the school climate negatively. The opposite cases are also reported by the participants. As stated in the literature, in those schools, the leadership behaviors of the principal influenced the shaping of the organizational climate (Korkmaz, 2007; Şentürk and SaĖnak, 2012) and changed it.

Halpin and Croft (1963) defined eight dimensions of school climate in their study. These are; disengagement, hindrance, esprit and intimacy dimensions which are related to teachers' behavior and aloofness, production emphasis, thrust and consideration dimensions; which are about the principal behavior. Also, in a recent study, Şentürk and SaĖnak (2012), showed that there is a significant relationship between principal's leadership behaviors and school climate. This relationship is negative between leadership behaviors and the disengagement, hindrance and aloofness dimensions and positive between leadership behaviors and intimacy, esprit, production emphasis, thrust and consideration dimensions (Şentürk and SaĖnak, 2012).

Halpin and Croft (1963) described the eight dimensions as

- Disengagement: teachers not working well together for a task. They squabble and grumble.
- Hindrance: teachers' perception and feeling that they are burdened by the unnecessary workload given by the principal.

- Aloofness: principal's general attitude of being impersonal and formal, doing things only by the book and avoiding humane contact.
- Intimacy: teachers' taking pleasure of friendly relationships with colleagues
- Esprit: morale and satisfaction of teachers' social needs
- Production emphasis: principal being task-oriented, directive and closely supervising.
- Thrust: principal motivating teachers not through close supervision, but by setting himself as an example.
- Consideration: principal behaving and treating the teachers humanly and doing humanly things for them (Halpin and Croft, 1963)

When the principal is performing leadership behaviors, then, school climate's intimacy, esprit, production emphasis, thrust and consideration dimensions are positively influenced and a warm and supportive climate emerges in the school. As the principal's behavior and attitudes are friendly and humanly (consideration), he/she motivates teachers by setting himself as an example (thrust), he/she closely supervises and is directive, teacher morale (esprit) is high and teachers enjoy each other's friendship (intimacy); a warm and supportive school climate exists.

However, if the principal lacks the leadership behaviors, then teachers do not work well together (disengagement) and they think they are burdened by the principal through unnecessary workload (hindrance) and the principal behaves in an impersonal and formal manner (aloofness), school climate becomes cold, distant and impersonal.

The effects of principal's leadership behaviors on the school climate is stated by previous research and is once again supported by the current study.

It is also stated in the literature that leadership behavior of the principal effects teacher behavior (Cemaloğlu, 2007).

Managers, owners and other education professionals should emphasize the school climate, as it is highly influential on the stress level of teachers (Friedman, 1991) and is among reasons of teacher burnout (Kırılmaz, Çelen and Sarp, 2003). On the other hand, school climate is related to school effectiveness, student success and teacher commitment (Stedman, 1987; Bossert, 1988; Tsui and Cheng, 1999; Cemaloğlu, 2007a; Cemaloğlu, 2007b; Buluç, 2009).

In public schools, principals frequently change. It is not a logical practice to change principals in schools frequently, because principal has a great influence on the school climate and school climate has on teacher workplace behavior, school effectiveness and student success. A major drawback of Turkish education system is the lack of human resource practices. Hiring is done through general exams, promotion is based on years served as a teacher, performance is assessed by principals only with the aim of fulfilling an obligation and retention is totally neglected. In such a condition it is not surprising that principals frequently change without considering the effects of this change on school climate, teacher well-being and student success. Keeping in mind that education plays a focal role in country's development and prosperity, policy makers should consider the necessity of utilizing human resources practices and hiring human resources practitioners.

Although the related findings pointed out to the importance of school climate in schools, as a result of the selected organizational setting; they apply to all organizations. More importantly, as this study primarily has a managerial perspective, the implications of the findings to the management circles are of greater importance. The findings basically proposed that, managers, regardless of the sector of the organization, should emphasize the importance of organizational climate on employee workplace behavior. Also, managers' role in shaping the organizational climate is vital and ignoring this role would cause undesired consequences

that would harm the overall well-being and effectiveness of the organization.

6.1.2 Interpersonal relationships

Participant reflections about interpersonal relationships in schools showed that good interpersonal relationships usually look alike but poor relationships differ based on what causes them. Regardless of working in public or private schools, some participants reported that they had good interpersonal relationships in school. They felt like home and colleagues were like family to them. In addition to their expressions, I also observed those family like relationships and witnessed school being accepted like home. Teachers were willing to go to school, they barely felt like working, classes and paper work did not seem as obligations to them. But for other participants who reflected that interpersonal relationships are very poor, school looked a lot different than home. Those participants described the schools as cold places where people are behaving distant. Teachers barely talking to each other, coming and going only to complete their class hours, nobody helping or supporting another. Participants that were complainant about interpersonal relationships about their schools showed two different reasons why they thought people had poor relationships with each other: troubles of the modern life and managerial influences.

Participants stated that modern life, the troubles that it brings, is a major reason of the poor interpersonal relationships in school. According to them, the long list of demands that modern living brings; the time consuming and mood breaking traffic jam; distrustfulness among people; financial problems that almost all teachers fight with; region specific uncertainty; rushing to places as a living pattern....All the side effects of modern city life leave so little room for kindness, sincerity and the will to make friends. Participants reflected that people have so little time and energy to make friends. They thought that people get lonelier every day;

relationships become distant; and old fashioned friendships disappear. This is also reflected to the schools and relationships between colleagues become poor and cold.

Participants listed management as another reason of poor interpersonal relationships between teachers. They reflected that, principal's cold, distant and detached attitude is reflected downwards and lead the way to teachers. The same behavior pattern is adopted by the teachers. In such a condition, people seldom have the chance to make friends. Sometimes management's competitive concerns cause teachers to see each other as rivals and relationships deteriorate; sometimes its principal's character or lack of leadership abilities (Cemaloğlu, 2007). In either of the circumstances, principal behavior influences the general atmosphere and the teachers and may hinder colleagues being friends.

As mentioned in the findings, participants listed lack of cooperation and surface acting as the outcomes of poor relationships in the workplace.

When interpersonal relationships are bad, normally, the time that teachers spend together is low and the communication between them is weak. This condition prevents teachers coming together to share ideas, initiate new projects, discuss new methods, materials and common problems. Thus, lack of cooperation is a natural consequence of bad quality interpersonal relationships. In such a case, even obligatory cooperation does not run smoothly because of possible disputes and conflicts.

The other outcome voiced by participants is surface acting. Participants reflected that people wear masks, pretend to behave nicely or pretend to like others. Some participants called it as role-playing. What they were reporting was Surface Acting. It is a concept related to the emotional labor construct. The concept is first defined by Hochschild (1983) as faking the relevant behavior for the context. She suggested that people use surface acting as a process of emotional control and modifying facial expressions. Grandey (2000) also described it as faking and simulating the relevant emotions without actually feeling them This behavior is found to be

related to stress (Erickson and Wharton, 1997; Pugliesi and Shook, 1997; Pugliesi, 1999; Brotheridge, 1999; Brotheridge and Grandey, 2002; Montgomery, 2005). Also, as surface acting requires the person to use personal resources for faking, his/her capability to show goal-directed behavior (Rogelberg et al., 2010; Diestel and Schmidt, 2012) is decreased. Grandey (2000) and Gross (1998) similarly argued that surface acting drains person's emotional and cognitive resources, thus the person lacks those resources when required for other behaviors or works (Baumeister, Muraven and Tice, 2000). Research showed that surface acting is significantly related to emotional exhaustion (Grandey, 2003). Thereby, the person may withdraw himself from his/her job as a result of this feeling of exhaustion (Grandey, Dickter and Sin, 2004; Chau, Dahling, Levy and Diefendorff, 2009). On the other hand, other research presented that surface acting has damaging influence on the person like anxiety, burnout and job dissatisfaction (Zapt, 2002; Hülshager and Schewe, 2011; Pugh, Groth and Hennig-Thurau, 2011; Wegner, Barnes and Scott, 2013; Shanock et.al, 2013; Wang and Groth, 2013).

As it is related to teacher burnout, stress, anxiety, emotional exhaustion, weakened goal-directed behavior and job dissatisfaction, surface acting is not a desired outcome in the workplace. But findings presented that it is not an uncommon behavior among teachers. Depending on my observations and the interviews, I can suggest that the reason teachers use surface acting is the poor interpersonal behaviors in the workplace. People do not know each other, they have distant relationships, but in order to prevent possible drawbacks and prevent hostility, they pretend liking colleagues. Nonetheless, this behavior looks fake and faking is easily understood, thus, the behavior does not serve its main aim.

Regardless of its reason, the fact that it is widely used must be taken into consideration by school management; and, it should be a managerial priority to detect the school/teacher private reasons of this behavior and prevent it.

As mentioned in above sections, education is a process where the raw material, the end product and the technology are all human beings. Thus, role of interpersonal relationships in schools is central, vital and strategic. Supportive to this idea, previous research showed that teachers' good relationships with colleagues, students and parents are positively related to their professional accomplishment and negatively related to cynical depersonalization and exhaustion (Russell, Altmaier and Vanvelzen, 1987; Friedman, 1995, Greenglass, Burke, and Konarski, 1997; Dorman, 2003; Leung and Lee, 2006; Grayson et al., 2008; Gavish and Friedman, 2010). Also, literature presents interpersonal relationships as a reason of burnout among senior teachers (Droogenbroeck, Spruyt and Vanroelen, 2014). Not only direct outcomes of poor interpersonal relationships effect teachers badly, but also the indirect ones like, the outcomes of lack of cooperation and surface acting influence them negatively. For all of the listed reasons and drawbacks, interpersonal communications between teachers and in schools is too important to be neglected. For private schools, it's the human resources professional's duty to observe, detect, control, support, motivate and change the dimensions of interpersonal behavior. But for public schools, the situation is complex and there seems to be no hope for finding a way out in the near future. Lack of human resource functions and professionals in public schools or in the regional management offices of the ministry of education means that the issue is unattended and will remain so.

The findings discussed above also point out to the importance of the nature of interpersonal relationships and the human resources functions, in all organizations. Whether an educational institution or a production facility, all organizations are made up of people and thus, interpersonal relationships matter in all. The nature of interpersonal relationships influence employee morale, well-being and a number of other related workplace behavior. With this influence in mind, it should be an important concern for all managers to observe, support and facilitate relationships

between employees. Because, both the benefits of emphasizing and the price of ignoring the subject would be great for the organizations.

6.1.3 Working in private versus public schools

As submitted in the findings chapter, participants reflected their experiences and ideas about what it meant to work in a public or private school. Their statements revealed that the conditions that they are subject to are varied. In the means of physical conditions like classroom and office furniture, technological equipment and other related materials, the resources that public schools and private schools have, are not comparable. Private schools are well-equipped but public schools mostly have only the must-haves. If the public school is in a high or middle income neighborhood then, with parents support and sponsor and the school's needs are met. But for schools in low income neighborhoods or in villages, the physical conditions are very poor. Schools mostly lack necessary equipment, even soap for the children to wash their hands.

On the other hand, the business hours that teachers are bound to also differ in private and public schools.

In public schools mostly depending on the discretion of the principal and the school climate, the hours that teachers spend in school change. In some cases, teachers reported that they stayed in school and worked during the business hours and in some cases, they reported that some colleagues (they never reflected themselves doing it) leave school right after their classes are finished, and go home. The difference between two cases is reportedly dependent upon the school climate and the quality of interpersonal relationships. Thus, findings presented that some teachers are detached and some perform organizational citizenship behavior in public schools, depending on the conditions and relationships of the school.

As explained in the findings chapter in detail and supported by participants' statements, in schools that has poor interpersonal relationships between colleagues and principal attitude is cold, distant and impersonal, teachers almost count the moments in school, complete their obligations and leave. They do not spend the business hours in school, they do not engage in any kind of cooperation with colleagues unless they are obliged to. They also do not engage in interpersonal communication unless they have to. They act as freelance teachers. This condition is due to the attitudes of the principal in some schools, but for some cases, the job guarantee given to teachers by the government is a reason for this behavior pattern. Some teachers think that whether they work heartily at school in business hours or just complete obligatory class hours and leave, it does not make any difference. Because neither the first case is rewarded, nor the second case is punished. So, they prefer to spend their day time with their family or friends, or by teaching some private students at home to earn some extra money. This time, the reason is management practices of the ministry of education. Lack of sound performance assessments, lack of teacher retention practices and the lack of concern on teacher happiness, motivation and empowerment effect teacher behavior in such patterns.

But in schools that have good interpersonal relationships between colleagues and, the principal is supportive and empowering, then teachers stay after their class hours. They spend time with colleagues, help them in their work and perform jobs that are not expected from them. Actually, they perform organizational citizenship behavior. OCB (Organizational citizenship behavior) is defined as the extra-role behaviors of employees which support and promote organization's effectiveness (Organ, 1988). In schools, organizational citizenship behavior involves helping and supporting other teachers, principals and students (Penner, Midili and Kegelmeyer, 1997; Van Dyne, Cummings and McLean, 1995).

OCB is especially important in schools, because "The success of schools fundamentally depends on teachers' willingness to go above and beyond the call of duty..." (Somech and Ron, pp.38). Another reason for its importance is that, as, in order to achieve the overall goals, performing the formal job descriptions is not enough (George and Brief, 1992) for schools.

Participants that reported staying in school after class hours, assisting colleagues, explaining the topics that they did not understand during the class hours to students, they engage in organizational citizenship behavior, obviously. Because the interpersonal relationships are good in their schools and they mostly see colleagues as family, it is utterly natural for them to perform those extra role behaviors.

On the other hand, teachers that worked in village schools reported that they painted the schools, cleaned the classrooms, and fixed the roof. Those teachers engage in a specific type of organizational citizenship behavior: civic virtue.

Organ (1988) defined five dimensions of OCB; these are conscientiousness, sportsmanship, courtesy, altruism and civic virtue. He described civic virtue as the employee feeling responsible for the life of the organization. Civic virtue, which is the dimension that best fits these participants' behavior, is also defined as employee's macro level interest and care in the organization (Robinson and Morrison, 1995; Robinson, 1996; Bellou, 2008). It is one of the organization-focused OCBs, as, its main focus is the organization, not other employees (Moon, Van Dyne, and Wrobel (2005). Podsakoff et.al (1990) stated that employees who are willing to search and work for organization's best interests and look for the organization in order to detect threats and opportunities, engage in civic virtue (Bellou, 2008; Dussault, 2006).

Employee engagement in civic virtue behavior is actually very desirable as, previous research suggested that, unless employees perform civic virtue

behavior, most of the organizations cannot survive itself (Barnard, 1938; Graham, 1991; MacKenzie et al., 2001; Werner, 2000).

Keeping that in mind, principals should be aware of the conditions that hinder the teacher from engaging in civic virtue behavior. Research has shown that, employees may leave civic virtue behavior in a number of cases: if the organization does not fulfill its obligations towards the employee and if the affective commitment of the employee is low, then employees stop engaging in civic virtue behaviors (Meyer, et, al. 2002). Meyer and colleagues' research is supportive to Podsakoff et.al study, because Podsakoff and colleagues (1990) reported that civic virtue is indicative of high levels of commitment in teachers. Thus, if principals ensure that the teachers receive their rights and they provide the conditions so that teachers are committed to the school, they also promote civic virtue behavior.

Decision makers, if they aim to improve the quality of education in the country, should take note of providing the conditions that are necessary for promoting organizational citizenship and civic virtue behaviors.

Also, the finding applies to the business context as a whole. Managers should emphasize the importance and benefits of organizational citizenship behavior of the employees and try to empower and facilitate those behaviors.

In private schools, working conditions related to business hours and workload is completely different. They have strict business hours and their workload does not only involve the class hours. They are expected to engage in cooperative projects with colleagues, develop new teaching material, have regular meetings with parents, and have extra teaching hours with students that fail the test.

During the interviews, teachers in private schools mostly reported to work with a busy schedule. I neither witnessed nor heard the two cases that I had seen in public schools. None of the participants reflected about performing any extra-role behavior or non-reported about leaving the

school before business hours. This is a sign that private schools have strict expectations of performance and strict work hours. But it also showed that teachers mostly do not perform extra role behaviors.

Thus, managers and owners of private schools should spend time and efforts to find the reasons why teachers do not show organizational citizenship behavior and also initiate the practices to promote OCB. Because, as stated above, "The success of schools fundamentally depends on teachers' willingness to go above and beyond the call of duty..." (Somech and Ron, pp.38)

6.1.4 Teachers' room

My observations and the interviews provided an insight about schools which was pretty interesting for me: Teachers' room can both be a sacred place and a terrifying one for the teachers, depending on the school climate. What makes the teachers' room a sacred place is that teachers find asylum, peace, friendship, joy, support, a feeling of belonging and a helping hand in there. What makes it a terrifying place is that they fear, avoid and hate the attitudes and behaviors that they face in there.

For schools that have poor relationships and a bad school climate, the second scenario applies. Teachers either did not ever enter teachers' room, as the only thing they found over there was hostility, rivalry, criticism and surface acting; or they entered the room and sat alone, avoiding human contact. Because for some cases, they were not welcomed by others and for other cases, they preferred to stay away from others. For other cases, teachers' room was seen as a private place for a fraction, the members of opposing fraction either rested in the kitchen or in the garden. In those schools, the air was full of tension and distress.

For schools that, teachers have good interpersonal relationships and warm and supportive school climates, teachers' room was like a cocoon that teachers found asylum in. When the end-of-class ring belled, they rushed

to the teachers' room with enthusiasm and joy. That 10 minutes break was their chance to rest, chat with friends, laugh and have a cup of coffee. I myself enjoyed the time that I spent in those places.

The findings of this study presented the importance of teachers' room as an indicator of teacher well-being and morale, school climate and interpersonal relationships between colleagues.

Principals and managers should emphasize the role of teaching room and observe it. That observation may assist them in understanding teacher attitudes, behaviors, interpersonal relationships, fractions, well-being and morale. They can also show efforts to facilitate interpersonal relationships between colleagues through the teachers' room. Another important point related to the issue is that, principals and managers should try to improve the physical conditions of the teachers' room, as it is the personal space and personal place to rest, socialize and work for teachers.

6.1.5 Team work and competition

As mentioned in previous chapters, teaching is a team work. Teachers work in teams, have regular weekly team meetings and they cooperate in preparing the lessons, syllabus, materials and projects. On the other hand, teacher's in-class performance is also some kind of team work. Teacher and students, they also form a team and work together as a team during class hours. Thus, teacher's ability to cooperate and work well as a team member should not be neglected by managers, principals and human resource professionals.

The field study of my thesis showed that in private schools, team work is regular, continuous and standard. Some problems like teacher ego, competition and rivalry arise in teams, from time to time. Competition is good as long as it benefits both sides and the school. But at some level, it becomes damaging, as competition is done through students, or for the

expense of the students. Students become a part of that rivalry, which is not desirable.

Meanwhile, team work in public schools, is almost discretionary for the principal. In some public schools, unless the principal asks or requires the teachers to work in teams, they do not. They avoid team work and work individually. This hinders standardization of education, as the students at the same grade, learn at a different pace, through different material and with different focuses. New methods, materials and ideas are not shared and the chances of improvement both for teachers and for the general level of education in school are diminished.

In public schools that the principal emphasizes team work, teachers do work in teams regularly, but again some problems like competition and rivalry may arise time to time. Again, it is the principal who is in charge to prevent or solve the problems like competition and rivalry in teams.

Both in public and private schools, team work is essential for teachers. They (participants) also reflected that the overall performance of the school is promoted by team work. Education is a living concept, as what it involves change as fast as the life changes. Teachers cannot stick to old methods, materials and knowledge. They should follow the pace of change. The only way for this is, cooperation. When teachers cooperate, ideas, knowledge, know how, materials, cases, problems and solutions are transferred and the cumulative knowledge which is available in the school is enhanced.

Once again, it is the managerial responsibility to ensure, control and promote team work in schools/organizations, so that the overall performance of the school/organization can be improved.

6.1.6 Neighborhoods

The sample of my study was composed of teachers who teach in different districts of İzmir. I have been to really rich neighborhoods, also to very

poor and needy neighborhoods. Teachers' reflections changed according to the neighborhood, as neighborhoods influenced teachers' working conditions. I will not discuss the condition in private schools in this section, because all private schools have a high standard of equipment and furnishings. Also teachers in private schools never mentioned about the neighborhood that the school was in, because it did not affect their living or performance in schools.

But in public schools, neighborhood matters. The teacher either goes to school with enthusiasm or is afraid to go, as some neighborhoods are troubled and some neighborhoods are peaceful. In the following paragraphs, I will discuss how the life of teacher changes according to school neighborhood.

As I have mentioned in the previous section, furniture, materials and facilities strongly differentiated in different neighborhoods. In some schools, teachers lacked the equipment that they needed for the lessons, in others, they had more than they needed. The parent and student profile was also differentiated.

In high and middle income neighborhoods, schools were mostly well-equipped, and even if somethings were needed, parents provided them to the school. Parents were somewhat educated, they wanted their kids to get good education and they seemed willing to provide the conditions needed to their kids to study well.

In low-income neighborhoods, on the other hand, schools were poorly equipped and designed. Teachers lacked materials and classes were crowded. Parents were mostly poorly educated, had more children compared to other neighborhoods and this decreased the attention they could provide to each of their children. Another reason of this decreased attention was that, they had to work a lot to make a living for their large families. Thus, students were mostly unattended in subjects related to education. Teachers needed to give basic training to the students that should have been given by the family. They reflected that they had to

spend so much time in teaching the kids to knock the door, sit in silence, wash hands, and say hi or goodbye that they could not even start teaching the lessons. This condition required the teacher give more than she is required to.

It is also a heavy emotional work, because seeing the children in need and deprivation upsets the teacher. Most of the times, they try to meet some needs of their students with their personal financial resources, but in fact, this is an ever ending story. Thus, most teachers feel distressed in these schools, as they feel helpless.

Another problem related to neighborhoods is the threats, attacks and verbal attacks to the teachers in troubled neighborhoods. A number of participants reported that they experienced such threats and attacks from parents. Even one teacher reflected that he had to have psychological treatment to get over the incident. In some other cases, the attacks are not directed towards the teachers, but to students. Students engage in violence against each other, or some other parties attack the students while entering or leaving the school. All of these cases has very negative influence on the teacher morale and well-being.

Campbell (1983) argued that unbearable parents, crowded classes, threats and abuses are among the reasons that cause teacher burnout. Teachers that work in low-income and in troubled neighborhoods face the threat of burnout.

On the other hand, I have witnessed one case that the neighborhood was very troubled, teachers did not even have security of life, but they were happy in their schools. The main reason of this condition, as voiced by them was the principal. Their principal was a supportive, smiley, warm person. He had good relationships with everyone including the students. He was helping, empowering, motivating to everyone in the school. He was creating solutions to problems. Because of him, teachers could stand the bad conditions. As stated before in the literature, leadership behaviors effected burnout, in this case, prevented it (Campbell,1983; Kayabaşı, Y,

2008). Thus, it is possible to ensure teacher well-being and happiness even in the worst neighborhoods; it is principal's attitudes and behaviors that compensate the context related burden.

6.1.7. Summary

In this chapter, I discussed the findings about the organizational setting as presented by the data set and by my observations. The overall findings presented that principal's leadership behaviors influence the teacher behaviors (Cemaloğlu, 2007) and the school climate (Şentürk and SaĖnak, 2012). As it stated by the literature that school climate is related to teachers' stress level (Friedman, 1991) and teacher burnout (Kırılmaz, Celen and Sarp, 2003). It also positively effects school effectiveness, student success and teacher commitment (Stedman, 1987; Bossert, 1988; Tsui and Cheng, 1999; Cemaloğlu, 2007a; Cemaloğlu, 2007b; Buluç, 2009). Principal attitudes are also strongly linked to teacher well-being (Gilbreath and Benson, 2004). Thus, the principal plays an important role in the success and effectiveness of a school and this importance is highly significant in public schools in Turkey. Managers and decision makers in the Ministry of Education should note that principal selection, training and performance assessment are vital points in improving the overall success and effectiveness of the schools. Also, the attitudes of the manager in every single organization has to be viewed in conjunction with its influences on employee well-being and workplace behavior.

The other major finding about the organizational setting was related to the interpersonal relationships in schools. Good interpersonal relationships in schools seemed to be a highly favored condition by the teachers and it made them feel at home and among family. It also has positive effects on teacher's accomplishment and negative effects on burnout, depersonalization and exhaustion (Russell, Altmaier and Vanvelzen, 1987; Friedman, 1995; Greenglass, Burke, and Konarski, 1997; Dorman, 2003;

Leung and Lee, 2006; Grayson et al., 2008; Gavish and Friedman, 2010; Droogenbroeck, Spruyt and Vanroelen, 2014). Thus, principals should promote and facilitate good relationships between colleagues in order to benefit the positive effects.

Poor interpersonal relationships on the other hand, are reportedly caused by though living conditions and attitudes and behaviors of the principal. When the relationships were bad, it is stated to result in a lack of cooperation and surface acting in teachers. Literature offered that surface acting is related to stress and it drains the mental and physical resources of the person in such a way that no resources are left for other workplace related behaviors like goal directed behaviors (Erickson and Wharton, 1997; Pugliesi and Shook, 1997; Gross, 1998; Pugliesi, 1999; Brotheridge, 1999; Grandey, 2000; Baumeister, Muraven and Tice, 2000; Brotheridge and Grandey, 2002; Montgomery, 2005; Rogelberg et al., 2010; Diestel and Schmidt, 2012). It is also related to emotional exhaustion (Grandey, 2003) and as a result of it, the person may withdraw himself/herself from his/her job (Grandey, Dickter and Sin, 2004; Chau, Dahling, Levy and Diefendorff, 2009;). Additionally, surface acting is related to anxiety, burnout and job dissatisfaction (Zapt, 2002; Hülshager and Schewe, 2011; Pugh, Groth and Hennig-Thurau, 2011; Wegner, Barnes and Scott, 2013; Shanock et. al, 2013; Wang and Groth, 2013). Thus, surface acting is completely undesirable and so is poor interpersonal relationships between teachers. It is again the principal's duty to detect and eliminate the reasons that cause poor interpersonal relationships and surface acting among teachers, for the sake of the school.

Additionally, managers as a whole, should embrace this duty of surveillance and always keep an eye on the nature and pattern of interpersonal relationships between employees in the organization.

The third major finding related to the organizational setting was about the differences between working in a public and a private school. Private schools are well-equipped and there are strict working hours and

obligations for teachers. But in public schools, even the working hours and patterns are dependent on the principal. In schools that had a good, warm and supportive climate, teachers showed organizational citizenship behaviors, helping colleagues and students and they also engaged in civic virtue behaviors and adopted the school as their own.

But in schools where the interpersonal relationships are poor and the school climate is distant, cold and sometimes even hostile, teachers just completed their obligatory class hours and left the school in the rest of the working hours.

Again, it is the managerial responsibility to provide the school climate which would encourage and lead to organizational citizenship behaviors and prevent the detachment of the teachers. Detachment is a condition that would need emphasis, because teacher isolation is stated to be a major barrier in education reform (Lieberman, 1995).

Rest of the findings presented that teachers' room had symbolic meanings in schools and it is sometimes a place the teachers find peace and rest and sometimes a place that they avoid and stay away. This difference is also based on the interpersonal relationships and the school climate.

Findings also presented that teamwork and cooperation is a must in private schools and they are controlled and directed by principals. In public schools in the other side, depending on the personality and leadership characteristics of the principals, teamwork is not regular and standard, it can be omitted or avoided. For the public schools that teachers work in teams and for the private schools, there are problems related to the teamwork, such as competition and rivalry among teachers. Competition is not bad unless it is damaging the teamwork and is reflected on the students. Principals (also managers as a whole) should observe the quality of teamwork and also observe the competition in order to prevent that it becomes dangerous and damaging.

The last finding was the neighborhoods. The experiences of teachers that work in public schools changed dramatically depending upon the

neighborhood of the school. In low-income and troubled neighborhoods teachers face a number of problems like threats, attacks, lack of equipment, crowded classes and work overload due to the lack of basic training of children which should have been given by the families in the first place. These problems may cause burnout in the teachers (Campbell, 1983)

Having a look at the findings listed and discussed above, one thing is obvious: Turkish education system needs a major improvement related to the human resource functions. As I have mentioned earlier, human resources functions should be employed and integrated in the management of public education. Hiring, training, assessment, promotion and retention policies and practices should be designed and applied. Hiring teachers by general exams, thus by only relying on the assessment of some basic knowledge; assessing them through principals (most of whom assess all teachers with straight 90's); promoting based on exams and doing even nothing for retention causes the mishandling of the human capital in education. With employing human resources professionals and practices and the integrating of HR functions, slight improvements in school effectiveness, teacher well-being and student success can be attained. Selecting the right candidates to be the principals, would have enormous effects, because -as seen in findings and discussions above and also mostly supported by the literature- both school climate and teacher behaviors are widely influenced by the principal. Candidates who have expertise both in education and management would create difference and value in schools all across the country.

In addition to the implications for the education sector, there are implications for the business world as a whole. Organizations, regardless of size, sector or location, should understand the importance of managers on employee workplace behavior. Selecting the right manager, or training the manager to be a right one, and also ensuring the existence of a healthy human resources function, would let the organizations to observe,

empower and regulate the organizational climate, interpersonal relationships and teamwork and cooperation.

In the following section, I will discuss the findings about self-verifying and self-discrepant feedback from colleagues and related outcomes in the workplace.

6.2. Self-verification strivings in the workplace

As I presented in the findings chapter, participants reflected their experiences about receiving self-verifying and self-discrepant feedback. They shared experiences about their current and former schools, thus in some cases a participant reflected receiving both confirming and non-confirming feedback and they had the chance to compare how they felt. Other participants shared experiences of only receiving verifying or discrepant feedback and they also reflected about their feelings. The dominant theme of the interviews about self-verification strivings was feelings.

6.2.1 Self-verifying feedback

Participants reflected to receive confirmatory feedback from their colleagues. The number of colleagues that verify and the extent to which they are known by colleagues differed for each participant. The common reflections were about the feelings. Participants stated that they felt good, relaxed, safe and comfortable when they received confirming feedback. They felt safe from being not understood, misunderstood, misjudged and hurt. Receiving verifying feedback from the people that they work with eliminated those threats. Because they felt sure that the colleagues know them and understand them. The uncertainty is reduced in relationships and predictability is increased (Goffman, 1959; Swann, 2011), and psychological well-being is maintained (Swann, 2011). They also feel that

they have some control over the relationship (Swann, 1990). Predictability is important in any relationship. When the person knows, at least predicts what kind of a response he will receive to a certain behavior decreases uncertainty and improves psychological well-being. When the person is not known, thus does not receive confirmatory feedback, relationships are not predictable and uncertain. The response to a certain behavior is unknown. This condition is supported by the reflections of the participants. Some participants stated that when they work with people who do not know them, they need to spend time and show efforts to be correctly understood. In order to eliminate the chances of being misunderstood and misjudged; they need to explain themselves and express themselves with attention. In the opposite case, as colleagues know them, there is little room for misunderstandings, misjudgments, and no efforts are needed. Some participants on the other hand, reflected that they wanted the colleagues to only know their job related characteristics. They wanted to be known as the teacher not the person. They stated that they have two different selves, the self in private life and the self as a teacher.

It is stated in the literature that self is a multifaceted construct (Kihlstrom and Cantor; 1984; Markus and Nurius, 1986; Linville, 1987; Higgins, 1987) and those multi-facets are mostly linked to different functions and contexts (Greenwald and Breckler, 1985). People define themselves using different characteristics in different contexts (McGuire and Padawer-Singer, 1976). It is also stated by Swann (1984) that, people mostly care about the pragmatic accuracy rather than global accuracy when they are describing their selves. Additionally, Chen and colleagues (2006) argued that some people (people whose core self-concepts involve situation or context specific self-views) have contextualized self-views, views that describe them in specific relationships and contexts. Thus, participant reflections about preferring to be known by colleagues solely as a teacher, is a notion which is mentioned and supported by the literature.

Participants also stated that they preferred to be known with their weaknesses. They wanted the colleagues to know their weaknesses or negative qualities because it has practical results. When known, weaknesses can be compensated by team mates in teamwork. Division of work will be done accordingly and colleagues will avoid abusing weaknesses. Additionally, as stated by Polzer et al (2002) and London (2003), when the person thinks that he/she has some negative qualities and receive confirming feedback for those qualities, he/she feels more comfortable in the group as a group member. This condition applied for the participants, as obviously seen by their reflections. On the other hand, in a deviant case about weaknesses, a participant reflected that she preferred the weaknesses to remain unknown, as she feared her colleagues may abuse them.

Another subject that participants reflected about was, from whom they wanted to receive self-verifying feedback from. Some participants stated that they preferred students, as students are the means that they create value and difference. Other participants mentioned that they wanted to receive verifying feedback from their colleagues as, they work with them in teams and they share a lot in the school with them. The other group of participants' choice was the principals. The motive for some, is to obtain some privileges and advantages in the workplace and to get approval, for some others.

In sum, receiving self-verifying feedback brings stability to teachers' lives, make their experiences coherent, ensure that their relationships are predictable and they live in a psychological state of comfort. They enjoy psychological coherence, reduced anxiety and improved health (Swann et. al., 2007b; North and Swann, 2009). Also, self-verifying feedback is likely to improve both the relationship quality with colleagues, as it does with spouses (Swann, De La Ronde, Hixon, 1994) and it contributes the psychological well-being of the receiver. Also, a sense of coherence is assured. The teacher experiences well-being and a sense of coherence,

he/she does not need to spend personal resources to show efforts in order to be understood by colleagues and those resources are available for use in professional efforts.

6.2.2 Self-discrepant feedback

Participants who reflected that they received self-discrepant feedback reported different emotional states, as expected. Loneliness, distress, depression are among the states reported by participants. Receiving discrepant feedback from the colleagues necessitated time and efforts to express oneself and explain oneself. The possibility of being misunderstood, misinterpreted and misjudged causes anxiety and stress. Additionally, participants reflected about the reasons of the discrepant feedback they received. One reason was the colleagues' unwillingness to get to know them. For person and situation specific reasons, colleagues avoided getting to know and being friends. The other reason is participants' own choice of not disclosing himself to the colleagues. Again with certain reasons that differ according to the person, they avoid letting people know about themselves and do not disclose themselves. Self-disclosure is defined as the process through which the person lets the others to know about them and it is sharing personal information about characteristics, values, past experiences and future plans (Deriega and Grzelak, 1979). Self-disclosure can be a behavior that is used in certain situations and it can be a personal trait (Archer, 1979; Solano et.al., 1982). It is a necessary ability to get close to others (Altman and Taylor, 1973; Berscheid and Walster, 1978). Also, as stated in the Johari Window model, it is related to self-awareness (Luft and Ingham, 1961). The model argues that as the person discloses himself/herself to others, he/she invites feedback from them; and it's a managerial role to facilitate disclosure and feedback in the group (Luft and Ingham, 1961). Also, research stated that, self-disclosure facilitates mutual understanding and

helps developing caring between people (Chelune, 1979; Berg and Deriega, 1987). When the person avoids self-disclosure, the opportunity developing a mutual understanding and caring diminishes. But why do some teachers prefer to hide themselves from colleagues. One reason, as stated by the literature, is his/her dissatisfaction with the social network he/she is in. If the teacher is not satisfied with the school climate, it is likely that he/she avoids self-disclosure. Participants' reflections are in this direction. Some participants who stated that they do not disclose themselves to colleagues on purpose also reported that interpersonal relationships in their school is poor. The school climate is cold and distant. Thus, it can be suggested that when the teacher is not happy with the school climate, he/she can choose to avoid self-disclosure and as a result of this choice may receive self-discrepant feedback.

Another reason of avoiding self-disclosure was stated by the participants as the necessity to keep some self-attributes (race, religion or political ideas) hidden in order to avoid some unpleasant consequences. The last reason is managerial influence, according to the participants. As they stated, principal's distant behaviors may affect the teacher behavior, and by taking him/her as an example teachers behave in distance to colleagues. This situation hinders self-disclosure and as a result getting to know the others.

Another finding related to self-discrepant feedback was participants' compensatory self-verification behavior that they engage in, when they receive self-discrepant feedback in school. Some teachers shared their experiences about engaging in confirmatory self-verification strivings, this behavior is defined by the literature previously (Brooks, Swann and Mehta, 2011; Swann and Hill, 1982; Swann and Read, 1981; Swann, Wenzlaf and Tafarodi; 1992).

Receiving self-discrepant feedback may damage the feeling of psychological coherence and psychological well-being can be challenged (Lecky, 1945; Swann, 2011; Swann and Brooks, 2012). Also, interpersonal

relationships do not develop, people do not get close to each other and the positive effects of close relationships in workplace are hindered. The isolated teacher cannot engage in teamwork as expected and cannot collaborate.

To summarize the discussions about self-verifying and self-discrepant feedback in the selected organizational setting, it can be stated that people receive both in the workplace. Receiving verifying feedback improves psychological well-being and it provides a sense of coherence. Also it enables the person to be more open, relaxed, easy and expressive in the personal relationship. Receiving discrepant feedback, on the other hand, causes loneliness and the feelings of distress and depression. It also hinders relationship development and may damage teamwork in the long-run.

In the above sections I discussed the findings related to self-verifying and self-discrepant feedback in organizational settings. Previous research focused on self-verification strivings in marital relationships and to relationships with significant others. There are a number of research about self-verification of collective level self-definitions and group identities, and about self-verifying feedback in organizations. But, the current research is the first, to my knowledge, that focused on the effects of self-verifying and self-discrepant feedback on individual workplace behavior. The findings showed that self-verifying feedback may lead to trust between the verifier and the verified in the workplace and it may also facilitate affective commitment of the verified. Additionally, self-verifying feedback is likely to improve communication and may facilitate teamwork through the improved division of work. In the following section, I will discuss the related findings.

6.2.3. Outcomes of self-verifying feedback in the workplace

a. Improved communication

Participant reflections showed that a major outcome of receiving self-verifying feedback from colleagues is the improvement in communication. When they receive confirming feedback, participants reportedly enjoy a sequent emotional state of comfort, relaxation and safety. They feel like swimming in familiar seas. The idea that "the other" knows them is a comfort in terms of communication. Because the person knows that his character, values, concerns, strengths, weaknesses, priorities and communication style and patterns are known by the other. He/she does not need to explain himself/herself with a great deal of effort. He/she does not fear being misunderstood or not understood at all. He/she does not fear to be criticized and misjudged. As participants reflected, when he/she feels down, the other does not take it personally and understands that he/she is just having a bad mood day. Receiving confirmatory feedback from the other prevents or at least minimizes communication failures and accidents. Sometimes, he/she just does not need to say anything to be understood by the other, non-verbal communication is more than enough to be understood accurately.

Additionally participants stated that, when they are unknown to colleagues, they need to invest a great deal of time and efforts to ensure that communication runs smoothly. They try hard to explain themselves, be cautious when speaking and pick the words and gestures carefully. Mostly they cannot speak directly, they beat around the bush to express their needs and ideas. As they do not get confirmation to their selves, they need to engage in self-verification strategies (McCall and Simmons, 1966; Swann et al., 1989; Swann et al., 1994; North and Swann, 2009; Swann, 2011) like, they need to send messages and signals to the other with the concern of receiving verifying feedback in return. They need to

strive to tell who they are in every possible way, so that they can ensure their self-views are confirmed and stable. In this case, communication is not simply expressing needs, wants and ideas. It turns into a complicated process of trying to get confirming feedback and express needs, wants and ideas. Participant reflected that, this communication pattern requires time and energy which should have been devoted to work. So they reportedly were able to use those resources to their jobs when they are working with colleagues who knew them.

Additionally, receiving confirming feedback from colleagues not only improves communication, but also enhances collaboration indirectly. Because it is stated in the literature that professional dialogue (which is facilitated by working with people who confirms the self-view) fosters collaboration (Main, 2010). Moreover, as the communication is improved through self-verifying feedback, a positive communication climate emerges. Positive communication climate is suggested to contribute relationship maintenance (Canary and Stafford, 1992; Canary, Stafford, Hause and Wallace, 1993; Messman et al., 2000). Thus it can be suggested that receiving confirmatory feedback not only helps develop new relationships and improve communications, it also contributes the maintenance of existing relationships. On the other hand, improved communication is highly likely to facilitate team effectiveness, because literature stated that team effectiveness is a function of personal interaction (Kozlowski and Ilgen, 2006; Marks, Mathieu, and Zaccaro, 2001).

Communication is named as the primary process through which humans experience their lives (Craig, 1999), thus any improvement in communication processes would enhance that experience of life, whether in private or in professional domain. As the focal domain of interest of the current study is the professional life, consequences of improved communication in organizational settings that are mentioned above, and matters here.

b.Facilitated team work through effective division of work

The second finding related to the outcomes of self-verifying feedback in organizational settings emerged to be facilitated teamwork through effective division of work. Participant reflections presented that, working with colleagues who knew them, provided the comfort of not feeling sorry for, or being anxious about personal weaknesses and insufficiencies. Because division of work is done in such a manner that, every teacher is assigned to a work that he/she is good and/or competent at. The weaknesses, insufficiencies and incompetencies are tolerated and compensated within the team. In this way, teacher feels comfortable, secure, confirmed and relaxed. Additionally, team resources are used with maximum efficiency, as tasks are divided according to competencies and experience. Team saves time, energy and efforts. In result of this, team effectiveness is enhanced, as Hackman and Oldham (1980) stated, group effectiveness is determined by the level of effort and a number of other criteria. As teamwork is facilitated through effective division of work, and thus team saves efforts, team effectiveness is likely to be enhanced. Additionally, London stated that "...group members' understanding each other's strengths and weaknesses may enhance group process and encourage further feedback sharing..." (2003, pp.275).

Teams undoubtedly play a vital role in the modern organizations through achieving efficiency and competitiveness (Hodson, 1997), this fact applies to schools, too. Effective team performance is related to increased innovation (Edmondson, 2002), productivity (Salanova, Llorens, Cifre, Martínez, and Schaufeli, 2003) and efficiency (Cohen and Bailey, 1997) in schools. With the reasons presented, colleagues knowing each other benefits the school, through saving time, efforts and other resources (effective division of work), and also through effective teamwork, as teamwork is facilitated and saving efforts positively influenced team effectiveness.

c. Accurate expectations about performance

Participants also reflected that, another major positive outcome of receiving verifying feedback from team-mates, colleagues, principals and students is that, those parties may arrange their expectations from the participant according to his/her experiences, skills, competencies, strengths, weaknesses and personality. When those parties have accurate expectations from the participant, the chances that his/her performance meets expectations increase and this may cause mutual satisfaction from the relationship. Participants also stated that when the students know their teachers well, they be aware of his/her expectations from them. This condition ensures that more students arrange behaviors and working pace according to teacher's expectations and the chances that teacher-student performances meet expectations, would increase.

This condition also reduces uncertainty and ambiguity in the relationships. The behaviors, expectations and performance would be within the suggested limits and this would create a sense of stability and predictability. As mentioned above, the sense of coherence and predictability improves psychological well-being of the individual. In sum, it would be correct to propose that, when teachers work with colleagues and students that know them well, their psychological well-being is positively influenced, as the relationships are predictable and uncertainty and ambiguity is reduced in the relationship (Goffman, 1959, Swann, 2011; Because colleague and student expectations from the teacher are based on his/her capabilities and personality, and this condition increases the likelihood of teacher performing in a satisfying manner for the both sides. Also, student knows about teacher's expectations from students and arranging behavior accordingly would enhance class performance.

The same situation applies for other employees. When the colleagues and supervisors know the employee well, they will have accurate expectations from him. Accurate expectations in turn, will lead to satisfaction of those

expectations, as they are based on employee capabilities and skills. The result would improve both the performance of the organization and the interpersonal relationships in the organization.

Swann and colleagues (1992) argued that self-discrepant feedback can be a sign of holding inaccurate expectations from the person, which in turn may hinder the smoothness of the social interaction. The current finding expanded their argument in the sense that, it presented the confirming feedback to ensure colleagues to hold accurate expectations from the participant and the specific social interaction, professional interaction in the workplace, runs smoothly.

d. Trust

Trust emerged to be another workplace related outcome of self-verifying feedback from colleagues. Almost all participants reported to trust colleagues that knew them very well. Additionally, some participants also reflected that colleagues who knew themselves trust them back. They trust confirming colleagues, because in most cases, they become friends with them. Through mutual confirmation of self-views, the relationship becomes predictable and reliable. They trust, because they feel that expectations of support will be met and the predicted behavioral patterns will be followed by the confirming colleague.

No doubt that trust is an important human feeling. It is defined by Zand (1972) as a process through which the individual becomes vulnerable to another person. Because when a person trusts the other, the walls of offence are lowered. Person stands vulnerably, without protection, relying on the good intentions of the person trusted. Hoy and Tschannen-Moran (2003) also define trust as the willing vulnerability of an individual or group to another party, which is based on a confidence to that party, believing that the other party is reliable, competent, open and honest.

As Durkheim (1956) argued, trust between individuals and groups state the basis of social order. On the other hand, Elster (1989) suggested that, the predictability of people's social lives, the rules and norms make up that social order, but both the social order and daily life cannot exist as they are, without trust (Misztal, 1996). Trust between people provides cohesion and stability and reduces uncertainty (Porter et al., 1975; Mayer et al., 1995)

On the other hand, organizational trust is defined as being an atmosphere that provides the organizational members with mutual feelings of warmth, acceptance and confidence (Gibbs, 1972). Trust is vital in the development of a healthy organizational climate and a healthy workplace in organizations and necessary for the long-term stability of the organization (Cook and Wall, 1980). Concern for the well-being of the employee, valuing contributions and proper treatment are among the conditions that lead to employee trust (Robinson, 1996; Donney and Cannon, 1997; Robinson and Morrison, 1995; Dulac et al., 2008; Guzzo and Noonan, 1994; Whitener, 2001).

The organizational setting of the current study, schools, are among the organizations that trust matters most. Because education is based on mutual trust. Hargreaves (1998) stated that teaching is engaging in trustful relationships with colleagues, principals, students and parents (Hoy and Tschannen-Moran, 2003), because it is an emotional practice. Teachers need to trust colleagues, principals and the students. Findings of the current study proposed that self-verifying feedback leads to trust between colleagues. Self-verifying feedback and trust has been studied before, but in a different context, as personal relationships in the society (Burke and Stets; 1999). The contribution of this study lies in that, it presented confirming feedback leading to trust between colleagues in the organizational settings. Thus, it can be suggested that, managers should try to provide the necessary conditions and create the organizational climate that would foster good interpersonal relationships. Good

interpersonal relationships would lead employees to disclose themselves to colleagues; spend more time with them and have close relationships with them, so that they can have the chances to know each other well. Through getting to know each other, people confirm self-views mutually and trust develops between the parties. The findings of my study supported Burke and Stets'(1999) study, as mentioned above, which suggested that "self-verification operated indirectly through self-feelings and trust to increase subjective commitment and emotional attachment; and, self-verification directly operated on the behavioral measures of commitment and a group orientation." (pp.361)

My study both supported the findings of this previous study (in terms of trust and commitment) and also expanded it to the organizational settings, in the business context.

e. Affective commitment

As submitted in the findings chapter, participants reflected to be affectively committed to their school where they had the opportunity to work with colleagues who knew them. As the following outcomes of self-verifying feedback from colleagues, improved communication, facilitated teamwork via effective division of work, accurate expectations about performance and trust altogether create positive feelings in the teacher/employee. As, teachers'/employees' chances of having good communication with colleagues are increased and the probability of facing interpersonal conflicts and unresolved disputes are decreased. They are assigned to works that is relevant to their capabilities, skills and experiences and thus the chances of success and good performance are increased. Also, teamwork is facilitated and the chances of overall team success is increased. Expectations from the teacher/employee are based on capabilities, limitations and experiences and thus, the distress and anxiety of failing to perform well is decreased. Moreover, the chances of

meeting those expectations are increased. The teacher/employee trusts colleagues and thus a feeling of safety emerges and interpersonal relationship quality is enhanced.

All the outcomes and related possible results of receiving confirmatory feedback from colleagues cause overall positive feelings in the employee both towards colleagues and to the organization. As they are known for who they really are and they are accepted for who they are, they feel safe and comfortable. Those feelings lead to affective commitment towards the organization and the colleagues.

Affective commitment is defined as an emotional attachment to the organization. It is described as "an affective or emotional attachment to the organization such that, the strongly committed individual identifies with, is involved in, and enjoys membership in the organization" (Allen and Meyer, 1990, p. 2). Meyer and Allen's (1987) model of "commitment" described the construct as having three components; affective, continuance and normative commitment. These three are different by nature, but all of the three are positively related to some positive outcomes, like intention to stay, related to the organization:

"Employees with strong affective commitment remain because they want to, those with strong continuance commitment because they need to, and those with strong normative commitment because they feel they ought to do so" (Wasti, 2005, pp.295)

The antecedents of affective commitment are listed as personal characteristics, job characteristics, work experiences and structural characteristics by Meyer and Allen (1987) and positive work-related experiences by (Meyer et al.2002). As all the outcomes of working with confirming colleagues create positive feelings and positive work-related experiences, the participant becomes emotionally attached and affectively committed to the organization.

Among other components of commitment, affective commitment has the most significant and strong relationship with the desired work-related

outcomes like attendance, organizational citizenship behaviors and performance. It is also negatively related to stress and work-family conflict (Meyer et al.2002).

Participant reflections of being affectively committed to the organization, where they work with colleagues who knew them well, allows me to propose that managers who contribute, support, shape and empower a warm and supportive organizational climate would lead employees to be affectively committed. Because warm and supportive organizational climates lead to good interpersonal relationships, which in turn let people to know each other well. People feel emotionally committed to the organization when they receive confirming feedback and feel that they are known by their colleagues. When they are affectively committed, they attend the work place (attendance), they engage in organizational citizenship behaviors and their performance improves. Also stress and work-family conflict reduces.

With all the desirable outcomes in head, it can be concluded that both in schools and in all other organizations, interpersonal relationships matter. Working with colleagues who know you, also matters. Receiving confirming feedback both improves individual psychological well-being and creates emotional bonds between the employee and the colleagues and the organization. That emotional bond facilitates the adoption of job and trust and affective commitment towards colleagues and the organization.

f. Summary

I have discussed the findings of my study about the main research question in the above section: How do people feel when they receive verifying feedback from colleagues in the workplace and do those feelings effect individual workplace behavior?

The field study proposed that being confirmed by colleagues positively influences workplace behaviors like trust and affective commitment. When

people know that they are known by their colleagues, their experiences in the workplace become more positive. They have positive feelings towards colleagues and the organization. Receiving verifying feedback from colleagues also improves communication, as certain barriers to communication are removed (fear of being misunderstood etc.); it improves the effectiveness of division of work as people are assigned to work according to skills and competencies. This in turn, facilitates teamwork and, team effectiveness is enhanced via the reduced amount of efforts. People also perceive that others' expectations about performance from them are more realistic, when others know them well. Thus, the accuracy of expectations are improved and the chances of meeting those expectations are increased.

All of the above listed outcomes present that, working with colleagues who know the person well, not only have positive results for the individual (psychological well-being and feelings of coherence), but also for the organization. Organizations favor the situation because employee trust is positively influenced and affective commitment arises towards the organization and colleagues. Also, the positive outcomes related to communication, teamwork and performance are more than desirable for the management, as they positively influence overall goal attainment of the organization.

Thus, school principals and managers of organizations in general, should emphasize the importance of providing the conditions that would present the chance of getting to know each other to employees, as the only beneficiary will not be the employee in this situation.

From the educational frame, the overall findings suggested that Turkey needs a reshaping and reorganization in the education sector, in order to integrate human resources functions. Because all dimensions of teacher workplace behavior, happiness and well-being are neglected and unattended. It is beyond dispute that, teacher is the most important, valuable and strategic asset of education. Methods, materials and

conditions cannot compensate the incompetency, deficiency and lack of a teacher. Education is an emotional and cognitive process and it is directed and facilitated by the teacher. Teacher happiness and well-being is vital for its success. Thus, principal's role in shaping the school climate and the effects of school climate on teacher behavior should be emphasized. An integrative approach would provide all the positive outcomes listed in this study to the schools and, the country as a whole would enjoy the resulting improvements.

Additionally, in all organizations, the role of human resources functions shine out, regarding the findings of the current study. Keeping in mind the positive effects of self-verifying feedback on employee workplace behavior, it is human resources practitioners' duty to provide the conditions and create the chances for employees to get to know each other well. Weekend organizations with families, joining corporate sports and arts events, engaging employees in corporate social responsibility efforts, assigning employees in work teams or even designing the offices in way that would facilitate good interpersonal relationships would help empower employees to learn about each other. When dealing with people, it is never easy to reach the desired ends. Thus, managers' role in organizations is complicated and demanding. Academic efforts, like the current one, try to contribute managerial efforts, so that the complicated work of managers are somewhat facilitated.

7. LIMITATIONS

The major aim of this study was to understand employee emotions when the employee received verifying feedback from colleagues in the workplace; and to explore if those emotions influenced employee workplace behavior. With this aim, I conducted 30 in-depth interviews in twenty schools and in five different districts of the city. My sample consisted of teachers from different branches, different backgrounds, different genders, age groups and life styles. The reason that I tried to diversify the sample and the settings was to ensure triangulation of input in the study. I collected my data using two different techniques, in-depth interviews and non-participant observation. Although using two different techniques allowed me to ensure triangulation of techniques, other techniques may have been employed. As an example, I was not able to obtain the necessary permission from the ministry to use participant observation technique. It was a limitation of this study that I couldn't use it, as that technique could have enriched the data even more. Researchers can employ different techniques like participant observation or they can conduct ethnographic study, in order to fully participate the setting, so that they can enrich the data and gain a better and richer understanding about the issue, in future research.

Another limitation of the study was about the geographical location of the setting. I conducted the field study in Izmir, the biggest city of the Aegean Region. This region and Izmir show differences in behaviors, life styles, religious and cultural practices compared to other regions of the country. The region and the city that I selected, are more western-wise than rest of the country. As interpersonal relationships, self-views and individual workplace behaviors may differ depending upon cultural, religious and sociological patterns, future research can be conducted in different regions of the country, in order to capture the issue from different perspectives.

Also, the study is conducted in a country which has a collectivist and Muslim dominant society. The findings may differ in countries with different religious and sociocultural characteristics. The study can be replicated in different countries in order to enrich the understanding; also comparative studies between countries may contribute the overall knowledge.

In this study, I explored employee's feelings and workplace behaviors related to self-verification strivings. Depending on the different role that they play in the organizational setting; the same study can be conducted with a sample of managers (principals) in order to understand the different approaches, life experiences and dynamics related to the issue.

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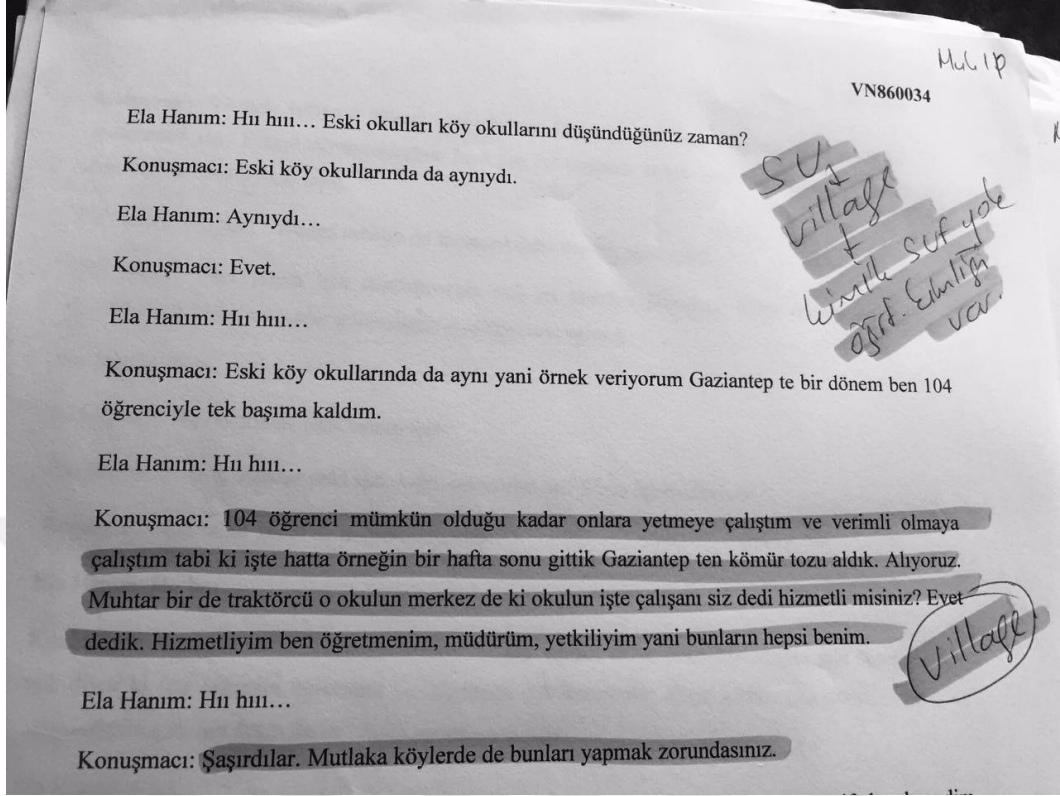
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Appendix A. Sample From Data Analysis



VITA

Ela Burcu Uçel was born in May, 17,1975 in Adana. She was graduated with bachelor's degree in Business Administration from Hacettepe University, in 1996. She worked in various positions in private sector for 12 years. In 2008 she changed the course of her carrier and started working as a research assistant at the department of Business Administration of İzmir University of Economics. She has been working as a lecturer and a trainer in the same university since 2011.