

Student Resistance Culture against School Values: An Ethnographic Research

Aygülen Kayahan Karakul,

İzmir Kâtip Çelebi University, İzmir, Turkey

Abstract

Schools operating within capitalism reproduce class differences, and aim to graduate students who comply with the capitalist system. On the other hand, according to the principles of dialectical materialism, while schools aim to produce obedience, they also produce resistance to themselves at the same time. Working class children sometimes refuse to be obedient students and reject the values that are given to them in schools.

This research aims to examine the underlying reasons for the “resistance behaviors” of students to the values that are represented by schools. These resistance behaviors are defined as a part of a resistance culture that is also a part of the self-transformation of the human being from obedience to freedom.

An ethnographic methodology was used in a vocational and technical high school in a slum area, populated mainly by working class in Ankara, the capital city of Turkey.

Keywords: Resistance behaviors, education of working class children, neoliberalism

Introduction

The main change in education created by neo-liberalism is to make the education system a part of the market mechanism in all its aspects: finance, management, aims, goals and outputs, and “the establishment of competitive markets in public services such as education” (Kumar & Hill, 2009, p.1). Standing (2011) has stated that the central aspect of globalization is commodification and this involves treating everything as a commodity, to be bought and sold, subject to market forces. Under neoliberalism education has lost its meaning of being a social right and has started to be sold by private institutions and, inexplicitly, by the state itself. So disadvantaged groups that benefit from education started to be socially excluded from educational institutions or they started to be radicalized while they are inside the school system. Kumar & Hill (2009) have stated that the privatization of public services, capitalization and commodification of humanity and the global diktats of the agencies of international capital have been the basic causes of establishment of competitive markets in education.

Another change that occurred in the neoliberal era is the reduction of the effect of education, of being educated, on social mobility, due to the increasing unemployment of educated labor. In recent years education has lost its promise of employment and social mobility to a large mass of people with the changes in labor markets in Turkey (Bora & Erdoğan, 2011). Most of the jobs in production processes do not need educational qualifications. Many jobs require working insecurely, in flexible working conditions. There has been a new concept: *precariat* in literature that has the meaning of people working under insecure conditions (Standing, 2011, p. 26-27). In addition, with improved technology, many jobs that formerly required qualifications have been transformed into jobs that require only waiting and pushing buttons on machines like technicians, so there is no need for an educational background or qualifications for these jobs (Braverman, 2008, pp. 294 & 400).

Neoliberalism has had a major effect on the living conditions of the working class and underclass.¹ Working conditions have changed and work has lost its old meaning of continuity. Production processes that were standard, offering secure work and specialization, have been transformed into informal, flexible, unsecured, temporary work, with low priced, contracted or subcontracted based forms of production (Standing, 2011); policies on de-unionization have proliferated, while unemployment has risen and many people have started to experience unemployment so many times in their lives (Sennett, 2011). The effects of neoliberalism on the working classes have been a worsening of living conditions and increased impoverishment. Poorer living conditions combined with lowering expectations from educational institutions have had the effect of making those in this situation and their children more hostile to the authorities that they meet in their lives.

Some critical education researchers have declared that schools operating within capitalism have functioned so as to produce students who have obedient behaviors and to act as a mechanism that transfers and reproduces class differences to new generations (Apple, 1995; Bourdieu, 2002; Althusser, 2008) Althusser (2008) stated that education system is an apparatus to reproduce the conditions of production. Bourdieu (2002, p.69) remarked that the action of the schools tends to reinforce and to consecrate by its sanctions the initial inequalities among children from different social classes. Apple (1995, p.39) indicates that schools basically act as sorting devices, rather than stimulating a widespread social mobility and they allocate individuals to “proper places” within the hierarchical division of labor.

According to the dialectical materialist approach schools and the education system can be accepted as a micro arena for creating a resistance culture shaped by the inequalities of neoliberalism. This is because every action (or thesis) creates its own reaction (or antithesis). The culture of resistance is the antithesis of the oppression and inequalities that are shaped by neoliberalism, and this culture of resistance can be named as “new” condition that is formed, growing up inside the “old” conditions, until its negation, that is, the negation of the neoliberal culture and oppressive and unequal relationships occurs dialectically until the resistant culture is dominant.

Literature Review

In many cases the rebellious behaviors of students are evaluated as bad behavior that must be corrected and the purpose of the education system is seen by the system itself as being to integrate students to a standard model. Students rebellious and resistance behaviors have been emerging as a defect of the system. There is also some research that evaluates these resistance behaviors as resulting from the standardization purpose of education which ignores students' social class related needs. Here are some examples of research concerning deviation from the 'ordinary', the expected norms of behavior.

The ethnographic research of Willis, in an industrial town in the West Midlands of England, in a school that takes male students only is a good example of examining the resistance behaviors of students. In "*Learning to Labor*" (1977), he examined the arguments that students produced against the school values and values represented by schools. Willis conducted a series of interviews and observations within a school, with the aim of discovering how and why "working class kids get working class jobs." The actors of counter-school culture are the "lads." The "lads" ostracize conformists, whom they call "ear' oles," who support the "idea" of teachers; "having invested something of their own identities in the formal aims of education..." (Willis, 1977, p. 125). Willis explains that counter-school culture in the working class context is preliminary to "the culture most of its members are mostly destined for – shop-floor culture" (Willis, 1977, p. 130). A main theme of shop-floor culture is, "the massive attempt to gain informal control of the work process" and the output of production, just as the lads try to control their working environment (Willis, 1977, p. 131). He explains that the popular feeling of the working classes that "practice is more important than theory" is similar to the rejection of school by the "lads."

McRobbie carried out a similar ethnographic research on 1978 in Birmingham, England. Her research was on working class girls between the ages of 14 and 16 in a youth club. The girls' fathers were mostly working in the automotive sector, the car industry, and their mothers were mostly working in part-time cleaning, bar work, waitressing and clerical work. In "*Working Class Girls and the Culture of Femininity* (1978)" she wrote that these girls see school as a place to celebrate their culture of femininity, smoking, gossiping about their boyfriends they fancied, and playing up the teachers. They dismiss successful middle class girls as swots and snobs with whom they could compete with academically but choose not to. Their response to schooling both liberated and trapped them by reproducing gender and class relations.

Similar research was carried out by Everhart in the 1980s in a junior high school in the USA using the methodology of participatory observation. In "*Reading, Writing and Resistance* (1983)" he wrote about those students who do only what is necessary in school to the minimum level, whose values do not coincide with the values in school, who do not accept the values of school. Everhart used participant observation to record his descriptions of students who pay little or no attention to what is being taught, who alternately use and abuse the teachers, who terrorize the weaker among them, and who drink, smoke dope, get stoned

on other illegal substances (all in the 7th and 8th grade), and in general just fool around. But as the author presents it, since these students do not wish to be expelled, they carry on their activities in a careful, intelligent, almost appealing manner. Furthermore, he argues that these behaviors really are quite rational because the students are resisting an oppressive form of state capitalism that is using the school to set them up to exploit their productive capacities (Everheart, 1983).

Sayılan and Ozkazanc (2008) carried out a similar ethnographic research on a high school in Ankara/ Turkey in 2005 for five months about resistance to gender roles. They aimed to explore the construction of schoolgirl femininities, and they tried to address the question of how multiple schoolgirl femininities are constructed within the context of gendered school culture, and especially in relation to hegemonic masculinity? They carried out in depth interviews with 40 students, 15 teachers and all the school management teachers as well as carrying out observations and searching the archives of the school's discipline committees. They found gender has a distinct role in order to formation of revolt in school. They have interesting results: The students were resisting the discipline of the teacher authority by sabotaging order in class, protesting against the rules about time, place and body. The teachers in classrooms were trying to control students more than teaching them intellectual knowledge and skills; the students were well aware that success is determined by social class.

Sayılan and Ozkazanc concluded that two interrelated positions affected girls' resistance in the school. Firstly their expectation for individual empowerment through education in order to avoid future repression by a husband. Secondly, the school experience of female students is determined by their differential position vis a vis the masculine resistance culture which is dominant in the school (Sayılan & Ozkazanc, 2008).

McLaren (2011) conducted similar research in a ghetto school of poor and black pupils as a white teacher from the city for two and a half years. McLaren wrote that students are trying to guarantee their dominance against the failure that they experience in school. They refuse to become inactive receivers when they experienced that the knowledge taught in schools is in disaccord with the knowledge in the streets that can be felt, that is concrete, and that is objective. Resistance for the girls took the form of rejecting tidiness, diligence, consistency, femininity and passivity that are upheld in schools and to replacing these with their own femininity and sexuality (McLaren, 2011, p. 341).

Another research study on the rebellious and resistant behavior of students from Turkey is quantitative research by Dogan, Dagköy, Avcı & Tunca (2014) that was conducted in some of the middle and high schools whose students were mostly middle and lower middle class. The researchers aimed to measure the rebelliousness of adolescents on a scale. They planned the research on 256 students in the preparation and pre-implementation processes and they requested that the students write an essay for their 4 questions related with the rebellious behaviors.ⁱⁱ Then they coded the answers according to themes and they tried to understand the structure of the concept of rebellion. Then they prepared a questionnaire of 76 questions in the 5 scaled Likert scale for the experimental group from the same schools. Rebelliousness

of adolescents can be analyzed in 6 categories: family, teacher, school, education system, to a group, to society/system. They found in their research that students don't make a distinction between the rebelliousness against schools and rebelliousness against society/the system'. And the adolescents see the school as an element of the system. They didn't put this into such words but of course in their research, the system means capitalist system and neoliberal system of the world.

There are, in contrast, concrete examples that reverse the resistance behaviors of students, whereby they react positively to the learning process. This is when the social class related needs of students are considered. The Barbiana School is one of the examples of radical and critical education experiences of the 20th century. The students who had been dismissed from or had failed in the state schools, continue their education in a school established by Don Lorenzo Milani in the village of Barbiana in Italy where they teach literacy to each other, discuss newspaper articles, when necessary debate the penal code and constitution- all of these ignoring the methods of state schools. They wrote in their long letter "A Letter to a Teacher (1978)" to senior teachers that success is dependent on class relations and the lessons in their old schools were not about their everyday life. They wrote about the positive experiences of students in School of Barbiana who had been characterized as stupid by teachers in their old schools. They resist in practice by refusing the classic school system in the School of Barbiana where they learn collectively.

The Aim of the Research

The aim of this research is to search out the resistance and rebellious behaviors of students in a vocational high school in a slumⁱⁱⁱ in Ankara, the capital of Turkey, to the values given them in school as well as to the cultural values or behaviors about education. Resistance behavior is defined as rejecting the values that are aimed at the students and accepting counter values, and behaving rebelliously in the school processes both in and outside of the classrooms.

The research is intended to consider the contradiction between the theory and the practice of education on the working classes. According to the human capital theory, education is useful and desirable for all layers of society with its fixed content. But this claim must be evaluated in the practice, i.e. if all the layers of society desire to take this standard education content which aims to give all the students the middle classes' value judgements independent of their social class related problems and needs.

The Methodology of Research

This research was carried out in a vocational high school in Ankara, Turkey by the researcher who was a teacher in the school for two years between September 2012 and June 2014.

The Researcher was a mathematics teacher in the school and had 25 hours lessons per week for two school years from September 2012 to June 2014, participated to all special days, festival celebrations etc. She has been on duty one day in each week. In Turkey every teacher

is 'on duty' one day for a week in a fixed area of the school, such as corridors, front garden, back garden, entrance door, in workshops etc. The teacher on duty stands up and walks around the area that s/he responsible for during the school day including the break times and lesson hours. For the Researcher it was a great opportunity to observe the relationships between students or between students and teachers while 'on duty' in the school and while the students and teachers were in their natural daily life as opposed to being in a formal classroom or school situation. Apart from daily duty there are yearly tasks of each teacher in Turkey. The celebration and commemorative ceremonies in the special days and weeks are prepared by teachers. Each teacher in the school is given a task to prepare ceremonies in the schools acting with students like reading poems, singing songs with choir, speeches, theatres and etc. These ceremonies are part of the hidden curriculum of the school and contain the values that will be imparted to students. There are some photographs in the Appendixes part which reflect the life in the school which were taken by the Researcher and another teacher from the school.

As a methodology, ethnography was used. Ethnography is a kind of description and an interpretation of a cultural and social group, system or a culture sharing group (Cresswell (2013). Ethnographic research can be used to highlight the culture, the meaning of the cultural interactions and the meaning of daily life, the meanings of behaviors and beliefs.

As a process, ethnography involves extended observations of the group, most often participant observation, in which the researcher immersed in the day to day lives of the people and observes and interviews the group participants" (Creswell, 2013, p.68). It involves cognitive activities like the ideas and beliefs, physical activities like how they behave in the group (rituals, conventional social behaviors) and it involves examining the group culture (Cresswell, 2013, p. 69).

The resistance and rebellious behaviors that are embedded in daily life in the school cannot be classified as a quantity. These behaviors can be observed by a qualitative method that is carried out over a long period. Also if the observer of these behaviors is a part of a daily life in the school, not an agent from outside, the research will better reach its goal. Ethnography is the best method to examine culture, behaviors, beliefs, emotions in the meaning of daily life in the school, used by the teacher. Resistance and rebellious behaviors of students were recorded; interviews with students, teachers and managers were conducted and then recorded. When teachers reported extraordinary events in the teachers' room/ staff room, their comments were recorded; interviews were conducted with students involved in these extraordinary events. The school discipline and award records for two years were examined, and interviews were carried out with the students who had been punished and were still in the school. The school students' success rates for university exams were examined over three years. An interview form was prepared and in May 2014 teachers were questioned about the resistant behaviors of students. Then students and classes were interviewed according to the teachers' responses to the interview form. Above all, observations made by the Researcher over the two academic years, in all the teachers' meetings, in ceremonies and celebration days, during supervision by inspectors, and during visits of the city managers etc. The

findings were analyzed according to themes that were considered by the Researcher best at depicting daily life in school. These themes are: resistance through language and communication styles; resistance through the culture of listening to music and television viewing; resistance through clothing and personal appearance; resistance to the learning processes in class.

The themes were determined according to the values that schools intended impart to the student. Different classes have different cultures. Middle class people have a typical communication and speaking culture shaped over a long period of years under the similar living conditions (Brantlinger, 2003).

The music listening and television viewing habits of the working class and middle classes are different. According to the research of Sager and İmik (2008) there is a distinct social class related discrepancy between the kind and habits of listening to music in Turkey. People from the working class in Turkey mostly listen to the Arabesque music and people from middle class mostly listen to Turkish Folk Music and Turkish Classical Music.

Dursun and Evirgen (2014, p.131) state that educated and elite groups in Turkey prefer to watch cultural contents, documentaries, news, criticism programs, art contents and knowledge contents in television. They also declared that since the education level of the population in Turkey is low and most of the people in society are from middle and lower middle classes, television program ratings are very high and television is watched for many hours a day in Turkey.

Similarly, fashion, clothing style and hair style express the roles and characteristics of the social classes. Clothes meaning is more than they appear to, and one can understand the mentality, by looking at clothes and hair styles. Also clothing style gives clues about the social class that the people relate to.

As a result, language and communication style; culture of listening to music and television viewing patterns; clothing and personal appearance are, typically, those values, or reflect those values, that are, stereotypically and typically working class. Schools attempt to pass on to students these 'valued' middle class values and cultural attributes.

The Turkish Education System and Vocational and Technical Education in Turkey

Compulsory education starts at age 6 and continues for 12 years in Turkey. Primary school, middle school and high school proceed for 4 years each. After middle schools students take an exam, named TEOG, for high school enrollment. Vocational and technical high schools take the students with very low scores in this exam, since most families prefer not to send their children to vocational high schools. In the last year of high school education at the grade 12, students take the central university exam that is undertaken in two stages by the public institution Student Selection and Placement Centre. The questions in the central university exam are from Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, Biology, Literature, Geography, History,

Philosophy, Religion and Foreign Language. The First stage exam is carried out on March or April, the second stage is carried out on June. Students from the ordinary High schools' are more successful in the central university exams since the exam content fits the High School curriculum. In contrast the curriculum of the Vocational and Technical High Schools contains workshop lessons which based on practical education at the grades 10-11 and 12. The huge proportions of the lessons at these grades are practical lessons in the workshops. Only the curriculum of 9th grade is same as the ordinary high schools. So the students of vocational and technical high schools perform the worst in the central university exams. Since they are intended to be intermediate workers in industry, only very few of them can have a chance to have a university education.

The students of Vocational and Technical High Schools can go to the Vocational Schools of Higher Education which are under the management of universities, without taking an exam. These Vocational Schools of Higher Education provide two year vocational courses of further education. So the graduates work in the intermediate jobs, nearly same with the graduates of Vocational and Technical High Schools.

General Characteristics of the School

The school is located 21 km from the city center outside the settlement areas, even outside the slum areas, and is close to a motorway and a village. The transportation of students to school is with service vehicles such as buses or public service vehicles. Some of the students hitch rides so they can use their pocket money for other purposes.

Students are between 9th and 12th grades between the ages of 15 and 19. There are six vocational programs offered in the school: metal technologies, machine technologies, information technologies, electric & electronic, installation works and air conditioning, furniture & interior design technologies. Students choose one of these 6 programs at the beginning of 10th grade, commonly after taking 9th grade.

The school occupies a site equivalent to two and half times the size of a football field. There are three buildings; two of them are used for workshops. Lessons are between 8:30 and 17:00 hours and there are mostly 10 lessons a day.

Students' families have mostly come from the eastern cities to Ankara by migration one or two generations before. The fathers are mostly unemployed or working in insecure, temporary, contract work. The mothers are usually not working, and those who are working mostly work in part-time, insecure and contract jobs such as domestic cleaning, when they can find work. There are students in the school whose fathers are in prison, have left the family home or has been missing for many years, or whose father has two polygamous marriages and two wives and their children living in the same house, and students whose father and mother are divorced or living separately with no formal divorce.

Families live in the slum area where the school is located. Despite the fact of their poverty and being unemployed, people in the slum area district vote for the ruling party AKP (neoliberal and neo-conservative Islamic) with 41.3 % in the 2009 local elections; 47,9 % in the 2014 local elections and 49,5 % in the general elections of November 2015^{ivv}

The policies of the ruling party for middle and lower middle classes are based on huge and continuous grants to poor households especially in the slum areas. So these people feel the reality of coal to heat them, the reality of rice and other materials for kitchen, the clothes and boots for children etc. These materials are granted to the families funding programs of local governments of ruling party and the national state.

These materials are granted to family funding programs run by the national state and by the local government/ municipalities run by the ruling AKP party. (Local government/ municipalities run by other parties such as the CHP or HDP can give funds, but only by only using their own resources. The allocations to the municipalities run by these parties are far lower than the funding given to AKP run municipalities).

There are 35 girls and 782 boys, a total of 817 students, in the school. The school's six vocational programs are seen as for male jobs, because of their need for physical power. So the working class boys are mostly sent to this school. There are four more Vocational High Schools in this slum area. The gendered division of labor is reflected and reproduced through the vocational schools. The other vocational schools in the area contain these vocational programs: Services of foods & drinks, Public Services, Information Technologies, Secretarial and Office Management, Marketing and Retailing, Accounting and Finance. These programs are seen as the programs that prepare students for more female jobs. So working class girls are mostly sent by their families to other vocational schools in the slum area. It is possible to select the high school according to the results of TEOG in Turkey. On the other hand most of the girls in this area do not work after they leave school, they become wives and mothers. So the parents in this slum area most of whom have traditional views, want their daughters to marry after high school, or if this is not the case, want them to work in the jobs seen as jobs for females. This traditional structure, this gendered conservative view of society is the main reason for the parents in this area to not send their daughters to the vocational and technical high school. The research carried out in this study shows this, that parents do not want their daughters to go into what is seen as 'masculine' work or vocational training.

Most of the boys have been working in part-time, low paid manual work since a very young age; usually car washing, mechanic's helper, mate on a bus, tea maker in a cafe, helper in a hairdresser, builder's laborer, laborer in the industry area etc. These jobs are not undertaken for fun or to earn extra money in the summer holidays, these jobs are obligatory to earn basic necessities by working after lessons and at weekends during school semesters between 17:00 and 24:00 hours. Students do not speak of their jobs, they only mention them when obliged to. The worst job that students do is to collect and sell waste materials from refuse tips that

are on the streets. The students who collect waste materials refuse to talk about it, but hide this information but students who see them pass this information to teachers.

Classrooms in the school lie east to west; there is always insufficient fuel oil for the central heating, so the school is very cold in winter. The allocation sent by the state is always insufficient so the central heating is switched off in March even the winter conditions have not yet finished. There are 32 classrooms, three laboratories, 24 workshops in two different buildings, two information technology classrooms, one gymnasium, one conference hall, one dining hall, one canteen, one chess table and two table tennis tables in the corridors. There are more chess tables, but because of the risk of vandalism of students, that is just a risk, the school management hides them. Except for the dining hall and canteen, the nearest grocers to buy something to eat is 2 km away in the village across the motorway.

There were one director, and six assistant managers in the school. In the first year there was no psychology counsellor teacher in the second year there was one. Five women teachers were on maternity leave. As a result there were 61 teachers, 18 of them were substitute teachers^{vi}, 43 of them were permanent teachers.

School is seen as a temporary workplace for permanent teachers because of the transportation difficulties and because the families are from the slums which is seen as a disadvantage. This situation is true for the subject teachers (i.e. teachers of math, physics, chemistry, biology, history, geography, philosophy, art, and gym lessons). The workshop teachers are satisfied with the school and serve as workshop teachers for many years. The substitute teachers tolerate this school because they need for work and a salary. When they come to a point where they can no longer stand it, they end their contract and leave the school. This is seen frequently every academic year.

In the lunch hour of 40 minutes students have lunch in the dining hall for 2 TL (two and a half times the price of one bread^{vii} consisting of three menus, or they can buy something from the canteen or go to the grocery store in the village across the motorway. Students that smoke prefer to going to the grocery store. The students that eat from canteen eat only crackers which are half the price of one bread. Some of the students bring lunch from home or don't eat anything and some of them said that they are on a diet in order to hide their poverty. Two students from each classroom and 74 in total receive free meals from the dining hall.^{viii} Nearly 40 students pay for their meals according to the records each month, so 713 students eat food from the canteen, grocery store, from home, or nothing at all. Teachers usually eat food from the dining hall, canteen or bring food from home; none of the teachers ever go to the grocery store.

There is no point for students to continue to a university education. Central university exams can only be passed by studying at private teaching institutes ('Dershane').^{ix} Nevertheless the 12th grade students who believe in miracles take to the first university elimination exam. The disappointment is taken with humor. A total of 207, 167 and 164 students sat the first elimination exam in the last three years respectively. Of these, 32, 22 and 19 obtained the

passing grade respectively (i.e. 15,4 %; 13,1% and 11,5 %). Respectively 4%, 5% and 7% of those passed the second elimination exam and succeeded in entering entered a 4 years university program (i.e. 1,9 %; 2,9 % and 4,2 % of the student population at the school). Those without exams, undertake a 2 year apprenticeship program in vocational high schools in order to work in a paid job and be a student at the same time. In the last three years 100, 103 and 71 students respectively entered a vocational school of higher education for 2 years (48,3 %; 61,6 % and 43,2 %). The students who do not get to university and who do not go to a Vocational High Schools of Higher Education leave the education system. The lucky ones start work (or continue to work) in a paid job. The luckiest ones are those who start work in the jobs for which they have gained the relevant qualification in the vocational and technical high school. Many of the girls get married and have babies.

When asked what is their ideal for the future, boys mostly answer that they want to join the police or the army; girls mostly answer that they want to marry a policeman or soldier, even the most disobedient, rebellious students. They desire to be or to marry a policeman/soldier although these jobs require a high degree of discipline and obedience. These jobs are secure jobs with state guarantees and they represent state authority in these slum neighborhoods. The students believe that they will be able to demonstrate obedience and submission because there will be a tangible benefit in their lives. So they work hard to meet the physical requirements like height and weight and some of them take up bodybuilding in order to have these jobs.

Findings according to Themes

In the Vocational and Technical High School where this ethnographic research was conducted, the official discourse and, as well, the general view, is that education is based on the aim to socialize working class youth into youth who are obedient and have 'acceptable' goal-oriented behaviors. As a result of this goal, the findings of this research study are that most of the students are obedient and meek. However, there are a few students who affect and direct others and refuse to acquire such 'acceptable' goal-oriented behaviors.

1. Resistance in Language and Communication Styles

All the male students who refused to obey rules in school considered that physical strength is significant while intellectual work is believed to be feminine and is despised. Physical power is the most significant instrument for status. This situation can be seen in the friendship among them and in their communication with teachers. Masculine identity indicators are carrying sharp objects, using bad language, smoking, carrying prayer beads, looking rough, having rough behavior, showing violence even when communicating with friends. Students who have such behaviors are described as “delikanlı and adam” (adolescent lad and man) while the mild, well behaved, cooperative students are secretly despised. It is seen that the number of students who have “delikanlı” attitudes is very high and there are many students who want to be in this group. Sometimes, obedient and meek students attempt to be “delikanlı.” Sharp objects are not generally hidden, it is believed that teachers will not bring

them to the discipline committee but will only give them a warning; these objects are shown to teachers, and students boast about this.

On the other hand, female students who refuse to obey the rules have rude and offensive behavior and use bad language. They are always arguing with friends or teachers and they put their friends into difficult situations by using their sexuality. For instance, they break school rules based on conservative values which limit their communication with male friends; they tell teachers that male students have hit, pushed, humiliated or insulted them, and they take pleasure when male students are punished. Most of the fights in school result from such behavior by female students despite the fact that they are in minority. This is because students in the school are at the ages that they identify the opposite sex and they want to have boyfriends and girlfriends. But the cultural heritage in the slum area is not suitable for this. So school is the only place for young students to strike up a friendship with opposite sex. The 35 girls in the school have become very popular among the 782 boys. The relationship between girls and boys is characterized by girls transgressing the conservative codes of behavior by using their femininity. They frequently complain that boys annoy them, even if it is not true. They enjoy watching boys getting punished, for example being beaten, shouted at, scolded, denigrated as a result of girls' complaints. Male students who are rude and refuse to obey the rules are provoked by these punishments they become ruder every day. Female students, who refuse to obey the rules, think that the desired female student image is too passive, too moderate, too obedient and designed to raise women who will spend their lives in domesticity. So they resist this image and their behaviors are rough, offensive and disobedient. They do not trust authority and they behave rebelliously.

Male students often call one another “bebe” (baby boy). When they are accused by teachers, or blamed for a specific behavior, they say “biz X bebesiyiz” (we are baby boys from X^x), “biz gecekondubebesiyiz” (we are slum baby boys). “Bebe” is a special word used by Ankara’s lower middle classes living in the slums and it is not used for humiliation; it reminds the teachers, who generally come from wealthier neighborhoods, that they are different from them. In communicating with teachers they mostly use the first person plural. They generalize whatever they do, and they mention that students from X’s slum areas or the students living in slums have a different culture and whatever they do represents this culture. However, as some of the workshop teachers come from similar cultural and socio economic backgrounds, they can be a part of their group and the word “bebe” is used more in the language they use. Student communication with teachers varies according to whether the teachers are permanent or substitute teachers. Students show respect to permanent teachers, and they are more careful in their behavior, but they show almost no respect to substitute teachers.

Students who refuse to obey the rules state that with the exception of workshop teachers, all teachers treat them badly, don’t communicate with them properly, humiliate them all the time, and threaten them with bad grades or promise to give them good grades but then don’t, and that teachers even lie. They also state that they only want respect, to be listened to, and to be understood by teachers, and that when they are listened to, they don’t behave defiantly.

According to them, when teachers or managers need them to carry tools, machines or desks in the school, they behave respectfully to them. Many teachers and managers carry sticks and walk around the school with threatening behavior. There are sticks in the teachers' room and these sticks are used "when necessary." Students are not afraid of being beaten, they think that this is a part of education, and they sometimes boast about driving teachers crazy and being beaten with a stick.

Another determining factor in student-teacher relationships is the age and sex of the teacher; male students who refuse to obey the rules make jokes about sexuality and use humiliating words in their communication with young and female teachers. Female students who refuse to obey the rules see young and female teachers as opponents, they have fun in humiliating these teachers and they try to avoid communicating with them. Middle-aged female teachers with children are seen as mothers, but this fact is not seen as a reason for the students to reduce their disobedient or rude behavior.

In the course of the two academic years, 220 students were sent to the school disciplinary committee^{xi} for punishment. Of these, 60 were for being involved in fights; 37 for smoking; 27 for rude and disrespectful behavior to others in the school; 29 for immoral behavior; 6 for bringing dangerous items to school; 18 for disrupting order in class; 14 for disobeying teaching staff; 12 for cheating; 6 for using IT equipment for their own purposes; 8 for molesting, insulting and slandering; 3 for damaging school equipment.

2. Resistance in the Culture of Listening to Music and Television Viewing

Students in the corridors, garden, classrooms and other places listen to Arabesque and Arabesque-rap music, which is a significant element of the slum areas of X and working class, also they sometimes dance. Students who listen to pop music are labeled as "tiki" or "popi."^{xii} Pain, suffering, and gloominess in the music signify the oppression and anger they feel and represents the slum area they come from. One can see many students listening and dancing to that kind of music in the school. Whenever they have the chance, they listen to this type of music loudly in a way that teachers can hear. This situation is an element of resistance against the middle class culture and students take pleasure in reminding teachers, with the exception of the workshop teachers, of their lower class status. They imply that they will never sacrifice their culture even if they come to school.

There are very many TV programs on Turkish Television channels such as soap operas, cinemas, discussion programs on policies of government or discussion programs of daily news, health programs, documentaries etc. Almost all students in the school watch the programs on conservative TV channels the soap operas and TV programs that include elements of guns, war, struggle, mafia, police, soldiers, killing, hurting etc. Rebellious students try to imitate the behaviors of the characters in these TV series like, a godfather who is fighting for truth, a hero policeman who is using his gun for justice, a macho character who is so masculine, a team of soldiers who are fighting killing etc.

Many students despise the teachers who are watching economy programs, news or TV series which include love, wheeler dealing and drama elements etc. This despising by the students means the rejecting of the culture of teachers i.e. middle class culture. Students see these love, wheeler dealing and drama elements outside the real life that they live in the poor conditions in the slum areas, and they see the elements of guns, fighting, heroes that save good people from evil are more real and interesting. This reflects their subconscious desire for seeking of a hero who will rescue them from their poor and suffering life and who distributes justice by using brute force or guns when needed.

3. Resistance in Clothing and Personal Appearance

The clothing, make-up, and the personal appearance of teachers are mentioned in regulations governing schools in Turkey, and there is a specific culture among the teacher community which is reproduced and continued in education faculties. This is why teachers generally have a specific culture and a clothing style. They also want to set an example to future generations through their clothing style which has some specific conservative codes.

There are indications of the fact that students do not accept these codes or they don't want to use these codes in their behaviors. Despite the fact that there are school rules on clothing and appearance (like not having a beard or moustache, not messy hair, not putting on make-up etc.) and this is inspected every day by the school administration following the entrance ceremony, nearly all the students come to school violating the school dress standards. Students always find ways to violate the written or unwritten rules.

Male students who refuse to understand or obey clothing codes have specific hair styles; they straighten their hair with straightening irons or hair gel and adopt a punk hair style at school and they call this hair style "psycho style." Another specific hair style they use is called EMO (abbreviation of "emotional" from English to Turkish). They give a specific shape to their eyebrows by using a blade, and they make tattoos on their hands or arms, and wear low cut pants in contrasting colors. They generally wear a tracksuit top which is sold at very cheap bazaars; at the back of the tracksuit top they wear is printed the word "Gecekondu" (meaning slum and representing the fan club of Ankaragücü football team^{xiii}). This clothing style is a reflection of the resistance of the underclasses to middle class culture.^{xiv}

Female students who resist the classical clothing codes of teachers wear make-up, they sometimes bring cosmetics into school, hide them in the girls' toilet, come to school early and wear make-up. Make-up is usually heavy as students want to be noticed through their make-up, they especially do not want to use the make-up styles of the teachers. This situation implies denying school values and the teachers as role-models.

To take one example, a female student is angry with all the teachers because of the fact that they all shout for the children to sit, be silent, and write or listen only. She wears very big, eye catching and multicolored buckles. When the teacher told her to wear something "simpler and simpler", she answered "No! wear more and more garish".

While some of the students refuse to obey the conservative clothing codes of teachers, some of them wear clothes that are similar to the school uniform and they style their hair properly. The most extreme example of conformist students is a 9th grade student who wore school uniform all the time (grey pants, white shirt, and dark black jacket). The student never took off his jacket no matter how hot the weather was since the jacket is a symbol of respect. He wanted to help teachers or managers in breaks, cleaned the managers' rooms, and brought tea to teachers just like a worker. He helped during school ceremonies and did whatever he could to help with every kind of problem in school. He buttoned his jacket whenever he saw a teacher as a sign of respect, he always apologized or thanked teachers, behaved mildly, respectfully, disciplined, and properly. Teachers always showed him as an example to his friends and his first semester verbal grades were very high even in the lessons in which he was unsuccessful. He had no close friends at school at the end of the second semester; although teachers and managers liked him very much, other students left him alone in the classroom, garden and cafeteria. At the end of the semester, students threatened him and told him that they did not like him. He was seriously beaten by a student at the end of the second semester, he submitted a petition to the disciplinary committee, but as he was afraid that he would also be punished by committee, he withdrew his complaint petition. This is seen often in the school. The rebellious students get very angry with the students who follow the school rules and accept teachers or the school system.

Conservative people believe that they have been oppressed in Turkey because of the modernization policies that were implemented by the republican parties for many years^{xv}. For instance, teachers were forbidden to wear headscarves until September 2013, but it was still forbidden for students when this research has been implemented.^{xvi} But female students who wear headscarves outside school also started to wear them in school although it was forbidden. Teachers who wore headscarves at school some months before it was allowed, expressed this as a resistant behavior to the rules, and this had been an example for these female students. Headscarves have been a sign of resistance and while school managers warned and punished students who wear make-up or apply nail polish, they did not warn students who wore headscarves. So, this can also be seen as a sign of adaptive behavior based on the power of government ruled by a conservative party.

4. Resistance to Learning Processes in the Classrooms

Most of the disobedient behaviors of students occur in class. Students don't like any of the classes except the workshop classes. They clearly refuse to obey teachers' authoritarian attitudes, teachers' attempt to make them listen in class, take notes, to determine where to look, when to speak or remain silent, how to sit etc. As a result, they don't like teachers, they try to do things that will make teachers angry, violate the rules, prevent teachers from teaching a lesson etc.

For example, a male student, repeating the 9th grade, was angry about all aspects of the school and all the teachers. He never brings books, notebooks or any pencil to school, similar to most of the students, and states that “I don’t like any of the teachers. I wish there would be school, but no lessons and no teachers.” His statement which reflects the feelings of many students containing the wish of existence of school without teachers, rules and other authority symbols show that these students life in their homes are in difficult conditions. They mostly have got to work in paid employment in bad conditions.

The rebellious students come to school late, talk in class, disturb teachers and other students. These examples can be seen in every classroom, and sometimes more obedient, meek students show similar behaviors. They cheat, lie, make promises to teachers, and use family problems in order to gain high grades. Some students come to school as they get bored and don’t have fun at home, they think that school is the place to have fun and they are never demoralized even if they are punished.

For example, a male student, repeating the 9th grade, was taking the math exam in another classroom of 12th grade because he was absent in the ordinary time of exam. He had received disciplinary punishments and was close to being dismissed from school one week ago before the exam. He was still cheerful and joking that he wanted to be dismissed. When the teacher gave free time to some 12th grade students to prepare for the central university exams, by solving questions themselves, some of them were not working on solving questions, but quarreling and walking around the classroom. He said, “Teacher, there are no lessons in the 12th grade. Now I wish to continue school.” It involved a counter humor that he meant that he did not want to come to school because of the obligations symbolized by the “lessons.”

Rebellious students especially attempt to disrupt the classes of young female teachers. When young female teachers are also substitute teachers, most of the disobedient students make jokes including sexual elements. Sometimes these teachers can even resign as they can’t stand these humiliating jokes any more. On the other hand, other teachers think that these young teachers are inexperienced and that these behaviors are caused by their inexperience or not having an ability to manage the classroom. Students cannot tolerate an authoritarian teacher who is young and female. Students in 11th and 12th grades in the metal technologies department which requires the most physical strength show the most disobedient behaviors toward young female teachers. In the interviews, these students mentioned that having classes with newly graduated female teachers gave them more pleasure as they can undermine the teaching processes of these teachers more easily. The rebellious behaviors of students towards female teachers can be seen as related to the rejection of ‘mental labor’ and placing female authority in an inferior position.

At the beginning of semester, these classes caused three female, Religious Culture and Moral Knowledge Lessons’ substitute teachers under the age of 30, to end their contract and leave the school. Then the school management searched for a male teacher and finally employed a

religious worker from a mosque nearby. According to the interviews held with three other teachers, the students humiliated them, prevented them from teaching and taking the register, made sexual jokes and couldn't be silenced no matter what they did. When the researcher asked them what they do in order to silence them, teachers said that they threatened them with grades, threatened them by referring them to the disciplinary committee, calling managers to classes, bringing them to managers in order to be beaten, beating them personally, calling their family and telling them what they did, implying that they themselves also have an awkward friend and he will beat them up outside school etc.

But students are never afraid of these tactics, because in their daily lives they face more terrible events. These teachers' statements are not extra-ordinary. These tactics are carried out, used, in these slum area schools by too many teachers. Many teachers come to school in September firstly with positive feelings but find themselves using threatening behavior and beating students within a few months. So it is inevitable for these students to feel aggressive, indignant and inclined to use violence, they even threaten their teachers when they are able to do so. Even where the teacher has not used corporal punishment, has not humiliated the students, and in fact perhaps has behaved in a friendly fashion to the students, even in such cases the reaction of rebellious students always comes sooner or later, because of the accumulation of anger against authority itself and against the meaningless authoritarian instructing processes that is inherent to education, not to the personality of the teacher himself or herself.

There was a striking example of this situation. A female substitute literature teacher under the age of 30 started to work at this school aiming to save money for her wedding. She mentioned in the interviews with the researcher in the staff room that the students in the metal technologies program said that they made every single female teacher cry and said that they would succeed in making her cry one day. She was talking about the rude and unendurable behaviors of students almost every week, in the staffroom. Students were trying many things to make the teacher give up, like not listening her, not carrying out her instructions, not doing their homework, cheating, sabotaging the learning processes, being always late, fighting with each other during the literature lessons. But she was bearing up since she was saving money every day that she continued to work in the school. Finally they did make her cry too in April, 8 months after she started to work in the school and 4 months after she mentioned the wishes of students to make her cry. She talked, in another interview with the researcher in the staff room about how the students achieved their aim. The young female teacher was conservative and preparing for a marriage, they made jokes including about sexual codes during her lessons and also in the break times in the corridors, in the garden i.e. everywhere they saw her in the school, for more than a week. Finally the young female teacher ended her contract and the students prepared a party in classroom to celebrate their success. The masculinist school management blamed the young teacher's failure to control the classroom, to manage a crisis and her failure to ignore the student's harassment because the substitute teacher did not give a complaint petition to the discipline committee. She just wanted to be free. After this event, the school management started to prefer male teachers as substitute teachers for all programs. As a result the students were not punished over these events,

although they were punished for many unimportant reasons, nor were there any efforts to change the behaviors of students towards females. Masculine and conservative school management is reproducing the inequalities on gender in the working life.

One of the underlying causes of the behaviors of students towards young female teachers is seeing mental labor despicable that is materialized in the teachers' labor. The most macho and sexist behaviors towards female teachers are seen in the programs that are based on the most physical power such as Metal Technologies program. The students in these programs see themselves more superior than the young mental laborer, as they are using their physical labor which she can't use in the workshop lessons or in their daily life. So they can't stand her authority and try in every way to break her authority. Despite her sex, her age is the important factor for female teachers to be seen as an authority. The older female teachers receive disobedient and macho behavior less, because the students see them as mothers and according to their culture mother is a blessed person who deserves respect.

Students who are disobedient almost never showed these rough behaviors to workshop teachers. As most of these teachers are graduates from vocational schools and use physical labor during teaching, students believe that they have a common destiny and culture, they come from a similar socio-economic level and they relate to these teachers. On the other hand, because of the nature of the work in workshops, teachers firstly show the work process, then a task is given and students are free all of the day in order to complete the task. This situation lets students control their personal time and choose between the options of learning or not learning the work. 11th and 12th grade metal technologies students state that even if they don't complete the work, these teachers don't get angry or yell at them, they call them "my son" and mention that they can complete the work later. But the other teachers never allow them to be free during class period.

Mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology, history, geography and philosophy are the lessons that students do not like. Students don't do the homework for these lessons and they don't study for exams. The teachers of lessons in foreign language, literature, language and expression also have the same problems. But the students who are disobedient and unsuccessful in these lessons can be very successful in workshop classes.

Students think that the workshop teachers are on their side in the most significant life struggle against "poverty," these teachers are similar to the bosses in a workplace. Workshop classes are also very important for students as teachers help them during the compulsory 300 hours training period during the school period of 4 years. They sometimes find them ateliers and places to complete their training period. Few students find places to complete this period on their own. These teachers are like employers as they find places, transportation, manage hours and salaries of students etc. Training periods are also very important for students as they can get the opportunity to work in a paid job at these places after school or during weekends. Teachers of these lessons are significant not because of the grades they give, or because they beat students, they are important as they are believed to be employers. On the other hand, according to students, teachers of cultural subjects (of maths, chemistry, physics,

biology, literature and etc.) are strangers who steal their time, try to teach subjects that they will never use in their life, threaten them with grades or exams and demand they carry out different duties all the time.

Conclusion

Intermediate workers in the industry sector in Turkey are trained in vocational high schools. As mentioned in the arguments of Bowles & Gintis (2002), various elements of working habits such as punctuality, tidiness, and being respect for authority are taught to the children of the laboring class; on the other hand, skills and behaviors which enable students to become managers or professionals in future such as intellectual open-mindedness, problem solving and flexibility are taught to students who are from higher social classes and who continue to progress on to higher educational institutions. Although the socio-economic causes of this hidden curriculum are very complicated, this situation shows that the basic role of school is to perpetuate the division of labor (Apple, 1995). Although the socio-economic causes of this hidden curriculum are complex, this situation shows that the basic role of the school is to perpetuate, to reproduce, the division of labor (Apple, 1995).

Dialectical processes are presented as jumping through transitions on the basis of the movement of their opposites. This is one of the basic principles of dialectic method that can be explained as the contradiction of two conflicting forces being the determining factor in their continuing interaction. Here the contradictory forces are neoliberalism and the resistance culture against neoliberalism. Neoliberalism increased social inequalities by moving away from the welfare state. Every kind of public right, including education, has become the subject to the profit of the market. One of the impacts of the transformation to neoliberalism has been to decrease the hope of mobility among lower social strata i.e. the decreasing of hopes through education to achieve a better future than the destiny of the former generation.

The most famous myth of the 1990s in Turkey was the story of how a former shepherd and general manager in a public institution became president of the republic.^{xvii} Of course it is possible to see the examples of resistant behaviors in the schools of lower middle class students in the history of the Turkish republic. After the 2000s with the increasing imbalance in income distribution, the decreasing effect of education on employment, the emergence of atypical employment styles, de-unionization policies, the reduction in the number of jobs that require qualifications, and the degradation of labor (Bora & Erdoğan, 2011), the education system lost its former value in the eyes of the working classes. As ordinary people cannot influence such changes personally in daily life, it becomes more and more difficult for their children to internalize the values of schools that represent the only authority source in their daily lives. Students resist obeying and showing respect to teachers, values and classes with the exception of those who teach them a profession. While schools aim to raise individuals who have goal-oriented behaviors and mostly succeed in doing this (Althusser, 2008), they sometimes raise individuals who reject school values. Despite the fact that resistant students are in minority, they are creative and innovative; but according to teachers, “every activity that is creative directs them to a frightful future full of uncertainties” (Mayo, 2012, p. 88).

The most general conclusion of this article is that the resistant behaviors of working class students against school values result from the increased inequalities and injustices that are the results of neoliberalism. They resist the authority that they see in their lives as a concrete entity: that is, school and school values.

The resistance of students from the working class against school values only in the 'culture lessons' and their co-operative behaviour in the workshop lessons is a reflection of the separation of mental and physical labor within the education system. Workshop lessons are seen as useful in life since they teach an occupation for a paid job, while the 'culture lessons' are seen unnecessary since they are the parts of mental labor that these students think that they won't use in the future.

Teachers teaching 'culture lessons' are, within the teacher dominating pedagogical tradition in Turkish schools, accepting students as passive receivers, and making them memorize what is taught. In this teaching method, which is called the "banking concept of education" by Freire (Mayo, 2012, p.90), teachers are investors while students are the objects of investment. For the students who refuse to be objects, schools are sometimes places that they visit in order to learn a physical trade and sometimes places they visit in order to take a break from boring, tedious daily life, sometimes schools are places where students can escape from working in hard conditions in a paid job and have a rest and funny times.

Rebellious students reject the mental labor with behaving disobediently in lessons such as mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology, history, geography etc. The students who are unsuccessful in these lessons can be very successful in the workshop lessons for the reason that they believe in the superiority of physical labor.

The rebellious students resist the school values as well as the middle class values and cultures. The Middle class gives a value to the education and puts a price on it, so middle class families provide an environment at home for their children that encourages education by providing books, monitoring television watching, conversation at dinner table and so these kids have a common knowledge of culture (Brantlinger, 2003). Until the last decade middle class families were getting a good economic return for their education investments in their children but there are very few parents from working classes that benefit from the increasing the education level of their children. This is because of the social inequalities that can nobody overcome even with education unless there is a major change in the economic and social relations of production in society. In fact, some students are aware of the fact that there are social inequalities which they cannot overcome. But the schools and education system ignore class inequalities and teachers think that all students are the same; they treat this situation as a positive principle called "non-discrimination." But children of working class already enter the system under unequal conditions. Students who refuse to obey the rules deny what is given to them –consciously or unconsciously – and they are aware of the fact that they will belong to the lower income classes in future, just like their parents. These students vaguely see that they will be unemployed most of their lives just like their fathers, or work in temporary employment based on physical labor, live in the slums, and raise their children under very

harsh conditions. Female students seem to be aware that they will marry young and have children just like their mothers, be unemployed, or at best, will become domestic cleaners when they reach middle age and when they send their children to school. Because of all these realities, they prefer to enjoy personal liberation 'in the moment' by rejecting school values and refusing to internalize them and acquire the culture of obedience.

Acknowledgements

I would like to acknowledge to all students and teachers in the Vocational and Technical High School that I conducted this research. Especially thanks to Hilmi Aslan, the metal technologies teacher in the school for some of the photos of students. Thanks to Prof. Hasan Hüseyin Aksoy for his support and encouragement in all stages of the research. Also thanks to two anonymous referees and Prof. Dave Hill for their useful, helpful and constructive comments for improving and editing the paper.

References

- A Letter to a Teacher* (1978). [Edited by Don Lorenzo Milani]. http://www.swaraj.org/shikshantar/LTAT_Final.pdf. The original book published in 1967 in Italian.
- Althusser, Louis. (2008). Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses. In, Althusser, L. editor. *On Ideology*. London: Verso Books.pp.1-61. Original book is published on 1970.
- Apple, Michael (1995). *Education and Power*. New York-London: Routledge Publications.
- Brantlinger, Ellen. (2003). *Dividing Classes: How the Middle Class Negotiates and Rationalizes School Advantage*. New York-London: Routledge Publications
- Bora, Tanıl & Erdoğan, Necmi (2011). Cüppenin, Kılıcınve Kaleminve Mahcup Yoksulları. [Ashamed Poor of Frock, Sword and Pen]. *Yeni Kapitalizm Yeni İşsizlikve Beyaz Yakalılar.Boşunamı Okuduk? Türkiye’de Beyaz Yakalı İşsizliği İçinde*. [In New Capitalism New Unemployment and White Collar Workers. Did We Study Uselessly? White Collar Unemployment in Turkey]. İstanbul: İletişim Publishing.
- Bourdieu, Pierre (2002). Cultural Reproduction and Social Reproduction. In *Culture: Critical Concepts in Sociology*. Chris Jenks. Editor. London: Routledge Publications.
- Bowles, Samuel & Gintis Herbert (2002). Schooling in Capitalist America Revisited. *Sociology of Education*, Vol. 75, No:1. p. 1-18.
- Braverman, Henry. (2008/ 1974). *Labor and Monopoly Capital: The Degradation of Work in the Twentieth Century*. Monthly Review Press.
- Creswell, John W. (2013). *Qualitative Inquiry & Research Design. Choosing Among Five Approaches*. 3rd Edition. Thousand Oaks: Sage
- Dogan, Murat, Dagköy, Servet. Avcı, Hikmet & Tunca Nihal., (2014).Ergen Asiliği Ölçeği (ERAS) [Adolescent Rebellion Scale]. Eğitim Bilimleri Araştırmaları Dergisi.

- Uluslararası E- Dergi. [*Educational Sciences Researches Journal*]. Vol 4.No:1.pp.281-300.
- Dursun, Onur. & Evirgen Dilek. (2014).The Field in Which Information Is Used As Popular Culture and Popular Culture Is Used As a Means of Information: What are the Expectation of Commercial Televisions from Quiz Shows? *Global Media Journal* TR Edition.Vol 4 (8). Spring 2014.pp.125-153.
- Everheart, Robert B. (1983). *Reading, Writing and Resistance: Adolescence and Labor in a Junior High School*. Boston: Routledge Publications.
- Hill, Dave & Kumar, Ravi (2009). NeoliberalCapitalismandEducation. In*Global Neoliberalism and Education and Its Consequences*.(Editors: Dave Hill & Ravi Kumar) London: Routledge Publishing.
- Mayo, Peter (2012). *ÖzgürleştirilenPraksis. Paulo Freire'n in Radikal Eğitimve Politika Mirası*. [*Liberating Praxis. Paulo Freire's Legacy for Radical Education and Politics*].Translated to Turkish by H.H. Aksoy & N. Aksoy. Ankara: Dipnot Publishing.
- McLaren, Peter (2011).*Okullarda Yaşam: Eleştirel Pedagojiye Giriş*. [*Life in Schools: An Introduction to Critical Pedagogy in the Foundations of Educations*]. Translating Editors to Turkish: M.Y. Eryaman, H. Arslan) Ankara: Anı Publishing.
- McRobbie, Angela (1978).Working Class Girls and the Culture of Femininity. *Women Take Issue*. p.96-108.
- Sager, Turan & İmik, Ünal. (2008). The Role of Social Statue on Musical Liking in Turkey. *The Journal of Erciyes University Social Sciences İnstitute*. Vol : 24. 2008/1. Pp. 273-291.
- Sayılan, Fevziye & Ozkazanç, Alev (2008).Gendered Power Relations in the School: Construction of Schoolgirl Femininities in a Turkish High School. *International Journal of Social Sciences*, vol.3, n.1.pp.1-12.
- Sennett, Richard. (2011). *The Corrosion of Character, the Personal Consequences of Work in the New Capitalism*. New York: N. W. Norton Publishing.
- Standing, Guy. (2011). *Precariat. The New Dangerous Class*. New York: Bloomsbury Academic Press.
- Willis, Paul (1977): *Learning to Labor: How Working Class Kids Get Working Class Jobs*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Author's Bio

Dr. Aygülen Kayahan Karakul worked as mathematics teacher for three years in the public vocational schools of the Ministry of National Education in Turkey. Currently she is an Assistant Professor at Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences. in İzmir Kâtip Çelebi University, İzmir, Turkey. She has studied the relationship between education and

employment, the unemployment of university graduates, educating 'green collar' workers (workers in the renewable energy/ sustainable development sector), quality in education, education finance etc. She is associate editor of the *International Journal of Educational Policies*. (<http://ijep.icpres.org/>).

ⁱThe term "working class" in this article refers to the blue collar workers whose work is highly routinised, with low job security, low earnings and with inadequate living standards. The term "underclass" refers to the people who have limited or no participation in the labor force, and who are reliant on local and national government welfare benefits. The term lower middle class refers to a subdivision of the greater middle class whose living standards and education level is low, working conditions are worse and unprotected.

ⁱⁱThe four questions are the following: 1: "What do you 'rebellion' means and what are the rebellious behaviors that you have and people you are around?" 2: "How do you feel when you are obliged to follow a rule that you don't accept?" 3: "What are the situations in which you revolt although you know they are right, and how do you behave in these situations?" 4: "In what situations do you revolt, explain by considering your family, friends and the social system."

ⁱⁱⁱThe word slum in this article refers to a district of a city in which the people live in huts and shanties. In Turkey there are many slum areas in metropolitan areas. The people in these slum areas are mostly migrants from the east and south-east cities of Turkey. Life in these areas are marked by poverty and inferior living conditions. There are photographs of the slum area where the school lies in the Appendix.

^{iv}The voting support for parties that are represented in the parliament until the last elections for this slum area were: AKP 49,5% ; CHP 32,7% ; MHP 11,8% ; HDP 4,0% in the November 2015 general elections; AKP 47,9% CHP 38,9 %; MHP 10,1% ; 0,8% HDP in the 2014 local elections; AKP 41.3% ;CHP 35,7%; MHP 19,6%; DTP (former name of the HDP) 0,4% in the 2009 local elections. (<http://secim.haberler.com/>)

^vThe distribution of votes of the four parties at the national level were: AKP 49,5 %; CHP 25,3% ; MHP 11,9% ; HDP 10,8% in the November 2015 general elections; AKP 45,6% ; CHP 27,8% ;MHP 15,2% ; HDP 1,9% in the 2014 local elections ; AKP 38,8% ; CHP 23,1% ; MHP 16,1% ; DTP(the former name of the HDP) 5,7% in 2009 local elections. (<http://secim.haberler.com/>)

^{vi} Substitute teachers have no job security, have lower salaries (nearly half that of a permanent teacher) and they are not civil servants of the state but are contracted by the school management, so have very few social rights in their employment.

^{vii}The price of bread is a basis indicator for Turkey to explain the prices and cost of living, since it is the main food consumed in all meals especially for poor households. A standard white bread sold widely in Turkey is 300 grams.

^{viii} According to Regulation of Secondary Education Institutions, students who are reported by their form teacher as having an insufficient economic, can eat free meals in the school's dining hall. This is valid for only the students in Vocational and Technical High Schools. In the school where this research was conducted almost all students are from poor families, accordingly nearly all of them were entitled to free school meals. So the school management brought in a quota that only 2 students from each classroom would be selected for a free school meal.

^{ix} Nearly almost all of the students who passed the university entrance exams have gone to these private institutions, after the end of the school day or at weekends, as well as going to school. These institutions' prices were differentiated according to their place, fame and former success etc. The minimum cost was five or six times the minimum wage. All of these institutions were closed down by legislation in September .

x X represents the name of the slum area.

xi The disciplinary committee consists of two teachers and an assistant manager who are chosen by the teachers committee.

xii “Tiki” and “Popi” refer to the people who are snobbish, brand slave and wannabes. These word are slang and do not exist in the formal Turkish language

xiii Ankaragücü is a football team whose fans are mostly from poor, and from slums of Ankara and mostly showing aggressive - amusing behaviors while watching the football. One of their slogans is “We don’t have money to buy Johnny Walker to wear Versace shirt. Drink two beer, have a cigarette you are the champion Ankaragücü”

xiv The hairstyles and clothing styles of students can be seen in the photos in the Appendix. There are also photos in the Appendices, in which students wear shirts with “ Gecekonu” written on their backs.

xv Although there has been so many right-wing parties in power, according to the current conservative belief power was always held by the Kemailist elite ever since the establishment of the Turkish Republic- until the coming to power of the AKP in 2002.

xvi In September 2014 the AKP Government declared that wearing headscarves in schools is also allowed in for students.

xvii The 9th president of Turkey, Suleyman Demirel, was a shepherd in his childhood. After his education including 4 years of university, he climbed up the career ladder eventually becoming a general director of an important public institution, a member of parliament, prime minister and then president. His rise was called “Shephard Süli” in the recent history of Turkey and was a symbol of social mobility by means of education, which is a myth nowadays.

Appendices

Some photos that reflects the life in the School.

Note: All photos are taken by researcher A. K. Karakul and Metal Technologies teacher H. Aslan in the school, except the slum area in the second photo (it is from www.konuttimes.com)





SHIRTS WRITTEN SLUM / GHETTO / GECEKONU



STUDENTS WITH TATTOOS



STUDENTS SMOKING



STUDENTS DANCING WITH ARABESK AND ARABESK-RAP MUSICS



STUDENTS ON BUS

STUDENTS HITCHHIKING



Photo by Hilmi Aslan
Metal Technologies Teacher in the School

Photo by Hilmi Aslan
Metal Technologies Teacher in the School

Photo by Hilmi Aslan
Metal Technologies Teacher in the School